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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

September 28, 1982

TO: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, DIRECTOR  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

REQUEST: Presidential participation in the Council  
of Jewish Federations' General Assembly

PURPOSE: To address the single largest gathering  
of grassroots Jewish leadership on the  
Middle East and domestic issues.

BACKGROUND: The General Assembly of the Council of  
Jewish Federations will be attended by  
3,000 to 5,000 grassroot Jewish community  
leaders.

The Council of Jewish Federations is the  
association of 200 local Jewish federations  
in North America, 190 of which are in the  
United States and represent an excess of  
300 communities.

The federations deal with a broad range of  
Jewish and human services, communal activities  
and oversees responsibilities in Israel and  
throughout the world.

Each year the leadership of these local units  
gather in the General Assembly to consider the  
emergent issues and their plans for the coming  
year.

PREVIOUS  
PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: November 11, 1982 DURATION: Open  
Evening - Dinner

LOCATION: Bonaventure Hotel, Los Angeles, CA

PARTICIPANTS: Top national Jewish leadership and 3,000 to  
5,000 Jewish community leaders

OUTLINE OF EVENT: Keynote address - Dinner speaker

REMARKS REQUIRED:

Remarks

MEDIA COVERAGE:

Full Press

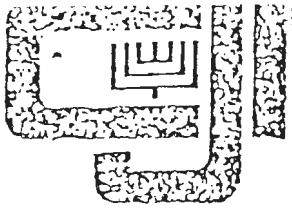
RECOMMENDED BY:

Elizabeth Dole  
Albert Spiegel

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER:

Michael R. Gale



# Council of Jewish Federations, Inc.

575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022/212 751-1311

Cable: Councilfed, New York

Office of the President  
Martin E. Citrin

July 12, 1982

Honorable Edwin Meese  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Counsellor Meese:

I am writing to you on behalf of the Officers and Board of Directors of the Council of Jewish Federations. We would be most appreciative if a small group of two or three could have an appointment with you in Washington, at your convenience, some time before the end of this month, to seek your personal advice and counsel on this important matter.

The Council of Jewish Federations will be celebrating its 50th Birthday at its General Assembly in Los Angeles November 11 - 14, 1982 at the Bonaventure Hotel. We have written to President Reagan inviting him to address this Assembly on this special occasion on Thursday evening, November 11.

As you may know, the Council of Jewish Federations is the association of 200 local Jewish Federations in North America (190 in the United States alone, representing in excess of 300 communities), which deals with the broad range of Jewish and human services, communal activities and overseas responsibilities in Israel and throughout the world. Each year the leadership of these local units gathers to consider the emerging issues and to make plans for the coming year. Attendance exceeds 2,500 and the group is composed of leaders in voluntary and philanthropic enterprises who hold respected positions in business, industry and the professions in their local communities.

I would be most appreciative if you could indicate when we can see you for one-half hour or so at your convenience. Would you be kind enough to let me know either in writing or by telephone at 313-647-7900

...continued

July 12, 1982

I thank you in advance for your very kind and cordial cooperation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

MARTIN E. CITRIN  
President

MEC:gr

As Prepared for Delivery

ADDRESS BY

THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

TO

THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1983

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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY, SCHEDULED FOR APPROXIMATELY 10:00  
P.M., EST, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1983. NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY  
CITED, QUOTED FROM, OR USED IN ANY WAY.

Every Secretary of State becomes a Middle East expert very rapidly, whether he wants to or not. Usually his training is a process of ordeal by fire. But the process has a healthy way of bringing you back to the basics of foreign policy: the importance of standing by principles and commitments to friends; the virtue of courage and steadfastness in the face of challenges; the uses and limits of power as a factor in diplomacy; and the need for a moral compass to steer you on a steady course through turbulent waters.

Today, in the Middle East, the United States is engaged on a variety of fronts. We are extending our cooperation with Israel. We are seeking to restore peace to Lebanon. We are trying to strengthen the forces of moderation in the Arab world. We are exploring new possibilities for progress in the peace process. We are attempting to contain the possibly dangerous consequences of the Iran-Iraq war. *applause*

It may seem a confusing kaleidoscope of problems, but there is a central core to our diplomacy, which pulls together all these issues and all our strategic, political, and moral concerns about the future of the Middle East. And that core is the effort to achieve a secure peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. So all our activities, in whatever dimension of the Middle East, are geared in one way or another to that central goal. *applause*

And that goal itself has a deeper meaning. In the final analysis -- behind all the codewords about "just and comprehensive peace" and "secure and recognized boundaries" -- we are talking about people and the quality of their lives. True peace is not measured only by legal or political criteria but in human terms: by whether individuals can live their lives and go about their business and raise their children without elemental fear for their personal safety. It means people's confidence that their community and their society have a future. It means a sense of opportunity and possibility, not fear of random danger or deliberate threat.

As the poet said, "no man is an island." So the fate of others affects our own. No people understands this better than the Jewish people. Anti-Semitism in a faraway country; persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, Iran and Ethiopia; mindless denunciations of "Zionism as racism" in international forums; Katyusha rockets landing on the towns of northern Israel -- these touch you deeply. No people understands better than you the fragility of the restraints that hold civilized society together, because no one knows better the profound inhumanity of which the darker recesses of human nature are capable.

Similarly, the people of Israel have struggled so long and so hard for peace with their neighbors; but then the first leader to make peace with them is assassinated. And Lebanon, the second moderate Arab country to negotiate an agreement with them, is right now under assault from Arab radicals precisely because it did so.

There should be no doubt of where the United States stands on any of these questions. The Jewish tradition is one of the principal sources of the values of our civilization -- freedom, democracy, the dignity of the individual. In a world where those values are widely threatened, the condition of Israel and the Jewish people is a measure of the vulnerability of those values. The appearance of anti-Semitism has always been a symptom of the deeper sickness of a society; similarly, the vicious international campaign against the existence of Israel is a reflection of a much broader ideological assault on the interests, well-being, and principles of the whole free world. Therefore, when we concern ourselves with the fate of Israel, we are also concerning ourselves with the fate of the values that both we and Israel stand for. *applause*

In this spirit, I want to say a few words about our policy in Lebanon and then about the broader subject of promoting peace between Israel and all its Arab neighbors.

#### The Agony of Lebanon

At stake in Lebanon are some of these basic values and some basic principles of international law and international morality:

- the principle that differences among nations are to be settled by reason and negotiation, not by the use or threat of force, and
- the right of a small country to decide for itself how to achieve its sovereign objectives, free from outside pressure, threat, or blackmail.

Lebanon is a proud and beautiful country whose people have contributed much to the world. Yet it has had a complex and turbulent history. The roots of enmity in that country go very deep. Nevertheless, for many years Lebanon thrived because political rivalries were accommodated and a delicate balance maintained. The yearning for peace, too, runs deep in Lebanon.

But the delicate balance in Lebanon was upset, primarily by the involvement of outside, non-Lebanese forces -- just as today, the primary obstacle to internal reconciliation is the presence of outside, non-Lebanese forces.



The Palestinian terrorists, expelled from Jordan in September 1970, came to Lebanon and proceeded to do in Lebanon what they had attempted to do in Jordan. They turned southern Lebanon into an armed camp which became a state-within-a-state terrorizing the local population; ultimately it became a battleground. Raids and rocket attacks on the towns and villages of northern Israel became a common occurrence. Diplomacy did achieve a ceasefire but tension remained high. In any case, Israel <sup>invaded</sup> Lebanon in 1982 with an announced intention to eradicate the threat once and for all.

When the guns fell silent, the terrorists had been driven from Beirut and south Lebanon. Although we had not agreed with Israel's decision to invade Lebanon, we accepted the request of Lebanon and Israel to help them negotiate a longer-term solution to the basic problem. Months of negotiation produced the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of last May 17, which provides for total withdrawal of Israeli troops, arrangements to assure the safety of the people of northern Israel, and the opportunity for the Lebanese government to extend its sovereignty throughout its territory and achieve reconciliation among the country's many religious communities.

But the agony of Lebanon continues. The May 17 agreement has not yet been implemented, largely because of Syria's refusal to negotiate the withdrawal of its own forces from Lebanon, reneging on repeated pledges to do so once Israel did so. No one questions that Syria has legitimate security concerns with respect to Lebanon. But Syria, unlike Israel, has so far been unwilling to negotiate with Lebanon over how to reconcile those concerns with Lebanon's sovereign right to decide its own destiny.

We are heartened by the willingness of a broad spectrum of Lebanese leaders finally to sit down with President Gemayel at Geneva. We believe the political process that they have begun can start the urgent task of rebuilding their country on the basis of an equitable sharing of authority and responsibility. This must be our first priority. After so much suffering, the people of Lebanon are entitled to it. With patriotism, vision and courage on all sides, a political solution can be achieved.

But we are realists: It is essential to maintain an environment of stability and security so that radical forces cannot steamroll the negotiations and so that a fair political solution can be reached. The ceasefire agreed upon on September 26 -- which launched the Geneva negotiation -- was achieved only because we and our friends were able to demonstrate that there were limits beyond which we could not be pushed.

America's support for Lebanon is not and cannot be separated from our broader peace objectives in the Middle East. If America's efforts for peaceful solutions were to be overwhelmed by brute force, our role as a force for peace would be that much weakened everywhere. Friends who rely on us would be disheartened and would be that much less secure. Moderates in the Arab world whom we are encouraging to take risks for peace would feel it far less safe to do so. The rejectionists would have scored a victory, confirming the value of reliance on the Soviet Union. Israel's security would be jeopardized.

That is what is at stake in Lebanon.

I must say a word here about the American forces in Lebanon, and offshore, whose commitment and courage have already helped bring about the Geneva Conference. As a former Marine myself, I have a very deep appreciation of what these fighting men can contribute -- and of our duty to see that they are not put at risk except where they are performing an essential role in our national interest. And in Lebanon they are. *applause*

Our Marines were sent to Lebanon to take part in a multinational force requested by the Lebanese government. The presence of that force was meant to further that government's efforts to assure the safety of innocent civilians in the Beirut area, in the wake of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. And it was meant to back up that government in its efforts to extend its authority and restore national unity.

It is truly and importantly a multinational effort. Our British, French, and Italian allies are there with us. Including the United Nations peacekeeping forces in southern Lebanon, there are over 11,000 international troops in the country -- of which ours are about a tenth of the total -- symbolizing that the world community, not just the United States, feels an important stake in the future of Lebanon.

The primary military responsibility rests, of course, on the Lebanese Army, which we have helped to turn into an effective fighting force, and which is getting stronger by the day. But the multinational force including our Marines is a further deterrent to challenges and a crucial weight in the scales. The bipartisan support in the Congress for our Marines was a valuable contribution to our objectives, dispelling doubts about our staying power and strengthening our hand. We need to be patient and we need to be steadfast. To remove those forces now would be a serious mistake, which we would regret: It would only upset the balance in Lebanon, undermine the chances for a political settlement, and precipitate new chaos. *applause*

For Israel, the sovereign independence and peace of Lebanon continue to be a major strategic interest, directly affecting its own security. Israel, too, has influence in Lebanon, and we are confident that Israel will be using this influence in support of the Lebanese government and its efforts of national reconciliation.

At stake, as I said earlier, is the fate of the second Arab country to negotiate directly an agreement with Israel. I need not elaborate on what it would mean for the overall peace process if Lebanon should be coerced into renouncing that agreement. It is the only existing formula that ensures both Israeli withdrawal and a solution to the security problem that created the Lebanese crisis in the first place. We will not accept its abrogation. *applause*

*ad lib - applause*

But the main issue now is national reconciliation. Especially in view of the sacrifices that have been made, the international community has a right to ask all the parties in Lebanon to redouble their efforts to settle their national problem. As the Bible tells us, to everything there is a season. There is a time to debate and there is a time to decide. Now *Mr. Rich* is the time to decide. *As* in every negotiation, there must be compromise. For every risk taken, there is a gain. And the risks of failure to act are far greater than any of the risks of a fair political solution.

### The Peace Process

As long as there is no solution to the basic issue of Middle East peace, *however* the region is bound to be subject to other crises, in other places, in other forms. Therefore, our efforts in Lebanon have not diverted us from the larger goal.

The issues at stake in Lebanon, as I said before, have wider significance: the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of small countries to live in peace and security with their neighbors. As Israelis and Jews have learned very clearly from bitter experience, we all live in a world in which many do not share these principles. Therefore these principles must be defended, sometimes at the price of great risk or sacrifice. If the free nations are to preserve their security and defend their ideals, they must have sufficient military power to deter or resist aggression. Whether in Central America, the Middle East, Western Europe, or Asia, history shows that diplomacy works only when aggressors conclude that no military option is available. *applause*

The United States has always understood that a strong Israel is not only a guarantor of security for the Jewish people but also a powerful force for freedom and a strategic partner to America and the West. *applause*

That's why we have ensured -- and will continue to ensure -- that Israel receives the help it needs to maintain a military advantage to deter its enemies. The Soviet military buildup in Syria underlines this necessity. *applause* The United States has furnished over \$20 billion in military and economic aid since 1949, most of it in the last 10 years. In Fiscal Year 1984, Israel will receive a total of \$2.6 billion in military and economic assistance. *applause* *ad lib - applause*

But military power is not enough. Israel's dream of becoming "a nation like all other nations" is yet to be realized. The Jewish State did not rescue the survivors of ghettos in Europe and the Middle East in order to become itself a new ghetto among the nations. And yet, 35 years after its founding, Israel remains rejected by most of its neighbors and isolated in international forums. I remember being in Israel just after Sadat's historic journey to Jerusalem and feeling personally what a tremendous emotional impact Sadat's visit had. It was clear to me how deeply all Israelis yearn for true peace.

The requirements of defense are still a heavy burden on Israel's economy. Military reserve duties disrupt family life and economic productivity. The prospect of living with perpetual hostility, and the long-term threat from advanced weapons technology in enemy hands, cannot help but be deeply troublesome to Israel's people. And the moral burden of the occupation can undermine the values on which Israel was founded and can divide its society.

Military might and control of territory have prevented defeat on the battlefield, but true security and peace of mind can come only when Israel has gained the acceptance and recognition of its neighbors. That is why, even as we assist Israel's capacity to defend itself militarily, the promotion of Arab-Israeli peace through negotiation is the number-one priority of our policy and our efforts in the Middle East.

Since the great achievement of the Camp David Accords, the peace process has encountered many problems. On the Israeli side, we remain deeply concerned about the ongoing construction and expansion of settlements, unilaterally changing the status of the occupied territories even while their future is subject to negotiation. On the Arab side, there is the intense and continuing struggle between those who want to secure a better future through negotiation and those who reject peaceful solutions *as a matter of ideology*. The outcome of this struggle will go a long way toward determining the chances for progress.



Once before when our focus was on Lebanon -- on September 1, 1982 -- President Reagan reminded us of the bigger picture and of our commitment to a broader peace. On the day the PLO completed its evacuation of Beirut, the President challenged the parties to make a "fresh start" in the Middle East. He spelled out the foundation of the American position -- in essence the principle of exchanging territory for peace, as called for in UN Security Council Resolution 242, which has been our policy ever since 1967. At the same time, the President added, "our view on the extent to which Israel should be asked to give up territory will be heavily affected by the extent of true peace and normalization and the security arrangements offered in return." He made clear the American view, among other things, that the security and legitimacy of Israel are crucial criteria that have to be recognized in any settlement; that neither a Palestinian state, nor permanent Israeli control of occupied territories, nor a return to the pre-1967 security situation is a viable solution; that Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable peace; that Jerusalem must be undivided; *applause* and most fundamentally, that the terms of a settlement can only be determined by the parties concerned, in direct negotiations. *applause*

The positions laid out in the President's initiative are fair, balanced, and realistic. They were meant as a stimulus to negotiation, not as the dictated outcome of a negotiation. The initiative was an opportunity for the seekers after justice in the Arab world to achieve their goal through negotiations leading to peace. Although it triggered a vigorous -- and, on the whole, constructive -- debate among Arab leaders, none of them has yet seized that opportunity. Likewise it was a challenge to Israel to achieve true and lasting security through peace, rather than relying on the short-term illusion of security through territory. The Israeli government, I regret to note, rejected the President's initiative. But I have little doubt that if an Arab leader comes forward with a mandate to negotiate on the basis of those principles, Israel will not let such a historic opportunity slip away. *applause*

We cannot be certain, however, that that opportunity will remain open indefinitely. Every passing month creates new facts on the ground which, I am convinced, are making the process for reaching a negotiated settlement ever more difficult and its prospects ever more uncertain. The peace treaty with Egypt -- and the return of the Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty -- prove that negotiations work. *ad lib. applause* Both sides must recognize -- and soon -- that negotiations are the only hope for a secure, just, and peaceful future. The absence of negotiation is a formula for endless conflict and mounting danger.

I have spoken a lot tonight about the human dimension of the Middle East conflict, and there is another aspect that must be mentioned. I am thinking of the Palestinian people. The Palestinians have been victimized above all by their self-appointed leaders and spokesmen who, for decades, have chased the illusion of military options and foolishly rejected the only possible path to a solution: direct negotiations. *applause* The utter failure of rejectionist policies ought to be obvious by now. But I am thinking in particular of the 1.3 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Their well-being, their desire for a greater voice in determining their own destiny, must be another issue of moral concern, even while we continue to pursue an agreed solution to the final status of the occupied territories. If their acceptance of a peaceful future with Israel is to be nurtured, they must be given some stake in that future by greater opportunities for economic development, by fairer administrative practices, and by greater concern for the quality of their lives.

I must add a word here about Jordan. It has been our view since the 1967 war that Jordan is the key to a negotiated solution in the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO has thus far excluded itself as a negotiating partner by its refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. Jordan, in contrast, under the leadership of King Hussein, has long sought a path toward moderation and conciliation. Jordan's participation in the peace process has been inhibited by many considerations, including the absence of the necessary support from other moderate Arabs, but most of all the fierce opposition by Arab radicals. Last spring King Hussein nearly achieved an agreement that would have permitted him to take a more active role in the peace process on behalf of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The effort failed because of radical Arab opposition. *applause* More recently, a bitter and violent struggle has broken out within the PLO and between the PLO and Syria. King Hussein has pointedly and courageously raised the question of whether the PLO, if dominated by Syria, can continue to claim legitimacy as spokesman for the Palestinian people. The outcome of this struggle is sure to have major implications for Jordan, the Palestinians, and the future of the peace process. For our part, the door will always be kept open for a negotiation in accordance with the President's September 1 initiative.

There may be some who have already written off the peace process for the next year. They think we will shy away from the sensitive issues of the Middle East during a presidential election year. Well, they are wrong. Ronald Reagan has no intention of letting the search for peace lapse. We cannot afford to. *applause* Let it never be said that the United States was too busy practicing politics to pursue peace. *applause*

*ad lib - applause*

## The Future

In the next two weeks, President Reagan will be receiving in Washington Israel's new leaders -- President Herzog, Prime Minister Shamir, and Defense Minister Arens. Our two governments have many things to talk about: Lebanon, the relationship with Egypt, the possibilities for progress toward peace, the threat of Soviet expansionism in the Middle East, the need for Israel to restore its economic vitality, the fate of threatened Jewish communities around the world, especially in the Soviet Union, and other important common concerns. *applause*

Our cooperation is an enduring reality, whichever party is in office in either country, because this relationship is deeply rooted in the sentiments of our peoples and in the values of our civilization. There is no stronger bond between countries. So we come back, in the end, to the human dimension. The fate of Anatoli Shcharansky and the fate of Lebanon and the fate of the villagers of Kiryat Sh'monah and the fate of the Palestinians -- indeed, the fate of all men and women of goodwill, who wish to live in peace -- this is the common agenda of Israel and the United States, as it is the common agenda of our civilization. *applause*