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THE ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FORTHUNATELY, OUR INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TO BE CANDID, I HAVE THOUGHT THAT ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS IMPEDIMENTS TO NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE THE EXTREME AND HOLLOW RESOLUTIONS THAT ISSUE FORTH WITH MONOTONOUS REGULARITY FROM THE U.N., A FORUM WHICH IS LOSING MUCH OF ITS AUTHORITY AND CREDIBILITY. EVEN LESS HELPFUL ARE POMPOUS U.N. RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH JERUSALEM, THE HOLIEST CITY OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY, THE SECOND HOLIEST CITY OF ISLAM, AND A CITY WHICH NOBODY SERIOUSLY DIVIDED AGAIN.

THE UNRELENTING ATTACK OF THE U.N. CONTINUED IN THE MOST RECENT SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHEN ISRAEL WAS CALLED ON TO WITHDRAW FROM ALL TERRITORIES IT HAS OCCUPIED SINCE THE 1967 WAR. WHAT WAS THERE TO BE IN EXCHANGE? NOTHING -- NO RECOGNITION, NO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, NO AGREED-UPON BORDERS, NO SECURITY, NOT EVEN THE RIGHT TO EXIST. THAT RESOLUTION WAS A MOCKERY OF THE VERY PURPOSES FOR WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS CREATED, A DISREPUTABLE PERFORMANCE. SADLY, THE CURRENT UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO HAVE NO ABILITY TO LEAD THE U.N. ON A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE -- AND SOMETIMES EVEN NINKS AT ITS WORST RESOLUTIONS, AS IT DID SO SHAMELESSLY ONLY TWO WEEKS AGO.

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

WHAT WILL A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION DO?

FIRST, IT WILL BUILD ON THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS, BUT IT WILL NOT MAKE ITSELF THE PRISONER OF ANY ONE PARTICULAR PROCESS. THE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THANK YOU.