

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, B'NAI BRITH

NEW YORK, NEW YORK
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1978

I AM SURE YOU RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF DISCUSSING AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT CHANGES PERIODICALLY, IT IS RARELY WHAT IT SEEMS AND ALMOST NEVER IS IT WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION CLAIMS. NORMALLY, THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS MIGHT BE THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS AN APPARENT RELUCTANCE TO EXAMINE OUR POLICY, WHICH I ASSUME IS BASED ON THE FEAR THAT SUCH AN EXAMINATION MIGHT UPSET THE PRESENT PEACE TALKS.

I DON'T WANT TO DO ANYTHING OR SAY ANYTHING THAT MIGHT HAVE SUCH AN ADVERSE EFFECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, I WANT TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE PRESENT MIDDLE EAST POLICY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION IS ONE WHICH WILL LEAD TO A JUST AND WORKABLE-- WHICH IS TO SAY A PERMANENT--PEACE.

FAILING OF ADMINISTRATION

THE PRINCIPAL FAILING OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FROM THE OUTSET HAS BEEN ITS INSISTENCE UPON VIEWING THE ARAB NATIONS IN MONOLITHIC TERMS. THIS NOT ONLY IGNORES A HISTORY OF FRATRICIDAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES, BUT IT PUSHES ASIDE OPEN HOSTILITIES WHICH GO ON TODAY. WITHOUT RECITING A LONG LIST OF ARAB STATES IN OPEN OR COVERT WARFARE, WITHOUT TICKING OFF THE LIST OF ASSASSINATIONS OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS, AND WITHOUT GOING INTO THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF LEBANON OR THE EQUALLY TRAGIC HISTORY OF THE PALESTINIANS WHO HAVE BEEN USED FOR TWO GENERATIONS BY THEIR ARAB BROTHERS, I WOULD SIMPLY ASK ANYONE TO NAME FOR ME ANY TWO ARAB STATES WHICH COULD BE SHOWN TO BE PERMANENT ALLIES.

IN SPITE OF THIS HISTORY OF BLOODSHED, AND THE PROSPECT FOR EVEN GREATER BLOODSHED WITHOUT ISRAEL'S STABILIZING INFLUENCE, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST APPEARS TO ASSUME THAT IF ONLY THE PRICKLY ISSUE OF ISRAEL COULD BE SOLVED, THERE WOULD BE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THEN, PRESUMABLY, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NO LONGER FIND FERTILE SOIL IN WHICH TO PLANT THE SEEDS OF FURTHER CONFLICT.

MYOPIC PERSPECTIVE

THIS MYOPIC PERSPECTIVE--THIS INSISTENCE UPON BRINGING ALL OF ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES TOGETHER ON ONE SIDE AND PUTTING ISRAEL ON THE OTHER SIDE--EXPLAINS THE BASIC THRUST OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST MIDDLE EAST POLICY. THAT POLICY WAS TO DISCARD THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO A SETTLEMENT THERE, TO LUMP EVERYTHING TOGETHER AND TO SEEK A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. MR. CARTER INDICATED THAT INTENTION BEFORE HE WAS ELECTED, WHILE HE WAS STILL CAMPAIGNING.

COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT POLICY

THOSE OF YOU IN THIS ROOM REMEMBER THE COURSE OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT POLICY. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WENT STOMPING RIGHT THROUGH WHAT WAS A VERY DELICATE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL, TREATING HER LIKE A CLIENT STATE AND INSISTING SHE FALL INTO LINE. THAT KIND OF PRESSURE ON THE LABOR GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTED IN PART TO THE DECISION ON THE PART OF THE ISRAELIS TO GET THEMSELVES A NEW GOVERNMENT. MR. BRZEZINSKI ACTED AS THOUGH THE PLANETS HAD CHANGED COURSE WHEN PRIME MINISTER BEGIN WAS ELECTED. WHILE BEGIN HAS DONE BETTER THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED IN UNITING THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. HE HAS BROKEN ALL PRECEDENT BY UNITING THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT. SOME INSISTED HE WAS A DISASTER BEFORE HE'D EVEN HAD A CHANCE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT.

-5-

AND THE PRESSURE CONTINUED. I THINK YOU REMEMBER WHAT LAST SUMMER WAS LIKE, WITH EVERY POSSIBLE THREAT BEING USED TO FORCE ISRAEL TO GO TO GENEVA. ISRAEL AGREED TO GO, AND THE ARABS REFUSED TO GO WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT FROM ISRAEL TO RETURN TO THE 1967 BORDERS. RELYING RATHER HEAVILY ON COMMON SENSE, ISRAEL POINTED OUT THAT IF SHE WERE TO AGREE TO RETURN TO THE '67 BORDERS THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO GO TO GENEVA. SHE REJECTED THE PRE-CONDITIONS, AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN WAS ACCUSED OF BEING AN IMPEDIMENT TO PEACE. AFTER ALL THE OTHER THREATS HAD FAILED, THE PRESIDENT THREATENED TO BRING RUSSIA BACK INTO THE PICTURE. THAT FAILED TO IMPRESS ISRAEL, BUT IT GOT PRESIDENT SADAT'S ATTENTION IMMEDIATELY. THE RESULT WAS THE INITIATION OF BI-LATERAL TALKS, WITH THE U.S. IN THE EMBARRASSING POSITION OF BEING, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN.

THAT EFFORT GOT UNDERWAY IN A WARM FASHION LAST NOVEMBER AND WAS PROCEEDING HOPEFULLY UNTIL PRESIDENT CARTER MADE AN UNSCHEDULED VISIT TO EGYPT LAST JANUARY 4. SUDDENLY, SADAT'S ENTHUSIASM FOR A BI-LATERAL AGREEMENT COOLED DOWN AND HE SHARPLY CRITICIZED PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND INSISTED THAT ONLY HIS FRIEND JIMMY CARTER COULD SAVE THE DAY.

ARMS TO THE ARABS

FOR HIS PART THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZED THE URGENCY OF PROVIDING EGYPT WITH A LOT OF F-15'S. IT WAS A STRANGE PERIOD. THE PRESIDENT'S LIAISON WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY QUIT, SAYING HE'D BEEN MISLED ABOUT THE ARMS PACKAGE. THE WHITE HOUSE REPEATEDLY HAD OCCASION TO GLOAT THAT THEY HAD BROKEN THE BACK OF THE JEWISH LOBBY. BACKGROUND STORIES CONTINUED TO ROLL OUT OF THE ADMINISTRATION--ALL HOSTILE TO ISRAEL. THE SLAUGHTER IN LEBANON CONTINUED. PROVOCATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL CONTINUED. THE COST OF BRINGING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION BACK INTO THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WAS HIGH-- SADAT DIDN'T PAY IT, ISRAEL DID.

SO WE COME TO CAMP DAVID. SUDDENLY, IT APPEARED THAT THERE WAS A NEW U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WE HAD TWO PROPOSED "FRAMEWORKS" FOR PEACE--ONE A PEACE WITH EGYPT, THE OTHER A GENERAL PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS SEEMED TO REPLACE THE OLD POLICY OF A SO-CALLED COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT WITH SOMETHING THAT LOOKED SUSPICIOUSLY LIKE THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS WHICH GOVERNOR CARTER HAD CAMPAIGNED AGAINST. THE ENTIRE CAMP DAVID EFFORT WAS A SMASHING SUCCESS. ONLY A CYNIC WOULD THINK THE TIMING OF IT HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE ELECTIONS COMING UP. IF YOU BELIEVED THAT, YOU'D PROBABLY BELIEVE THAT THE TIMING OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIPS TO PEKING AND MOSCOW HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

SUDDENLY THE POLLS WENT UP, THE JEWISH VOTE WAS BACK IN HAND, AND ALL WAS FORGIVEN.

TURN BACK THE CLOCK

WHEN THE SHOUTING DIED DOWN, IT TURNED OUT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ABOUT WHAT THEY'D AGREED TO AT CAMP DAVID. SLOWLY, ALMOST IMPERCEPTIBLY, THE GROUNDWORK WAS RECONSTRUCTED FOR PORTRAYING BEGIN AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO PEACE. THE CLOCK WAS BEING TURNED BACK TO THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1977. THE DISPUTES, AS THEY ARISE, ARE AS THEY WERE BEFORE: NOT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL'S ENEMIES; BUT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL ON BEHALF OF HER ENEMIES. AGAIN, PRESIDENT SADAT JUST SITS BACK AND WATCHES, WHILE CARTER APPLIES PRESSURE AGAINST MENACHEM BEGIN.

BUT HIS IS NOT THE ONLY AREA IN WHICH THE CLOCK IS BEING TURNED BACK. YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE DISCUSSIONS AT CAMP DAVID AND THE FRAMEWORKS WHICH CAME OUT OF THEM CAREFULLY SKIRTED ISSUES THAT WOULD HAVE ELIMINATED ANY POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT. THE DISPOSITION OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS WAS IGNORED. THE FUTURE OF JERUSALEM WAS SET ASIDE.

-9-

LET ME READ YOU A PARAGRAPH FROM A NEWS STORY FILED BY THE WASHINGTON POST CORRESPONDENT IN CAIRO AND PRINTED IN LAST MONDAY'S EDITION OF THE POST. IT SPEAKS OF HOW HAPPY THE EGYPTIANS ARE ABOUT THE PRESSURE WHICH AMERICA IS PUTTING ON ISRAEL, AND SAYS, QUOTE, "SADAT'S OWN SPEECHWRITER MIGHT HAVE TURNED OUT CARTER'S STATEMENT THAT ONE OF THE PREMISES OF THE CAMP DAVID NEGOTIATIONS WAS A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND THAT INCLUDES NOT JUST AN ISOLATED PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT BUT INCLUDES A SOLUTION FOR THE WEST BANK, THE GAZA STRIP, AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS."

-10-

POLICY COMES FULL CIRCLE

NOTE THAT THE TERM "COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT" HAS COME BACK INTO USE. OUR POLICY HAS COME FULL CIRCLE. THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS IMPLIED IN THE TWO FRAMEWORKS IS PUT ASIDE AND WE ARE BACK TO THE OLD DISCREDITED EFFORT TO MAKE A PACKAGE DEAL. THE APPARENT FLEXIBILITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION FALTERS AND WE ARE BACK TO THE OLD RIGID INSISTENCE ON REDEEMING CONVICTIONS THE PRESIDENT ARRIVED AT BEFORE HE EVEN CAME INTO THE JOB.

NOTE ALSO THE REFERENCE TO THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. THE GOLAN WAS NOT A PART OF THE AGREEMENT, BUT THE PRESIDENT NOW INJECTS IT INTO THE SITUATION, ALWAYS MOVING ON BEHALF OF ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES BEYOND WHAT EVEN THEY ARE WILLING TO ASK FOR. THE FIRST EVIDENCE OF THAT INCLINATION CAME WHEN HE DECIDED EARLY LAST YEAR THAT THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA TALKS. NOT EVEN THE ARABS HAD DARED ASK FOR ANYTHING SO PREPOSTEROUS.

-11-

AND IN A SIMILAR FASHION, THE PRESIDENT HAS SATISFIED ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES BY MAKING IT CLEAR THAT HE CONSIDERS EVEN THE FUTURE OF THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL TO BE NEGOTIABLE.

I QUESTION THE PRESIDENT'S LACK OF SENSITIVITY TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTIONS WHICH CONFRONT AND CONFOUND THE EFFORT TO MAKE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHEN HE SAYS RECENTLY THAT "THESE LITTLE, TINY TECHNICALITIES, PHRASES, PHRASING OF IDEAS, LEGALISMS ... HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE." TIME MAY SHOW THAT THOSE WHO CONSIDER HISTORY INSIGNIFICANT MAY THEMSELVES BE FOUND INSIGNIFICANT BY HISTORY.

REFUSAL TO CONSIDER HISTORY

IT IS PRECISELY THE REFUSAL TO LOOK AT HISTORY WHICH HAS LED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT ISRAEL "OCCUPIES" LAND TO WHICH SHE HAS IN FACT EVERY POSSIBLE HISTORICAL AND LEGAL CLAIM.

IT IS A MISUNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY WHICH DICTATES THE CONCLUSION THAT A CITY BUILT BY A JEWISH KING IS TODAY IMPROPERLY OCCUPIED BY THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AND THAT THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO CLAIM IT AS THEIR CAPITAL BECAUSE A FEW SHORT HOURS AGO, AS THE CLOCK OF HISTORY RUNS, A PART OF THAT CITY CAME TO BE OF TERTIARY SIGNIFICANCE TO ANOTHER PEOPLE.

IT IS PRECISELY A LACK OF RESPECT FOR HISTORY WHICH FOCUSES SIGNIFICANCE ON A BRIEF NINETEEN YEAR SPAN IN WHICH THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN ASSERTED CONTROL OVER JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK BY FORCE AND SO, IN THE EYES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, ECLIPSED ANY JEWISH CLAIM TO THAT CITY AND THAT TERRITORY.

BANKRUPT AMERICAN POLICY

IT IS TIME TO ASK WHAT KIND OF PEACE IS IN STORE FOR ISRAEL. THE EFFORT TO RETURN TO THAT POLICY HAS PROVIDED EMBARRASSING EVIDENCE OF THE POSSIBLE BANKRUPTCY OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HAVE WE GONE RIGHT BACK TO WHERE WE WERE AT THE BEGINNING OF 1977, WITH THE ARAB STATES REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE AT ALL UNTIL ISRAEL IS FORCED TO CONCEDE SO MUCH AS TO MAKE ANY NEGOTIATION AT ALL UNNECESSARY? IF SO, THIS ISRAEL OBVIOUSLY WILL NOT DO, AND SO, AS USUAL, SHE WILL BE ACCUSED OF IMPEDING PEACE.

-14-

TO VALIDATE THE PRESIDENT'S MASTER PLAN, ISRAEL IS ASKED TO NEGOTIATE WITH PHANTOMS. JORDAN WILL NOT COME TO THE TABLE. WHY? WELL, FOR ONE REASON BECAUSE SHE HAS NO INTEREST IN THERE BEING A SELF-GOVERNING PALESTINIAN ENTITY ON THE WEST BANK. WHY? FIRST, BECAUSE SHE WANTS IT BACK FOR HERSELF, AND, SECOND, BECAUSE ANY ESTABLISHED PALESTINIAN ENTITY WILL BE A THREAT TO HUSSEIN. YOU DON'T HAVE TO KNOW MUCH HISTORY TO KNOW THAT. SMALL WONDER THAT HUSSEIN VIEWS THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS WITH CONTEMPT.

SAUDI ARABIA WILL NOT COME TO THE TABLE, IN SPITE OF THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE THE SAUDIS' SO-CALLED MODERATION BY SELLING THEM THE MOST SOPHISTICATED FIGHTER PLANES IN THE WORLD.

INSTEAD, THE MODERATES WENT OFF TO A MEETING IN BAGHDAD WITH THE HARD-LINERS--RUSSIA'S CLIENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST-- TO TRY TO FIGURE OUT NOT WHAT COULD BE DONE TO ADVANCE A GENERAL PEACE AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT COULD BE DONE TO DERAIL A PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

SO THERE YOU HAVE THE U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS I SEE IT, AND THERE YOU HAVE THE PRODUCT OF THAT POLICY WHICH IS THERE FOR EVERYBODY TO SEE. IT IS, TO SAY THE LEAST, CONFUSING.

AMERICAN SOVIET BALANCE

AS OUR PRAYERS AND HOPES ARE DIRECTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, WE SHOULD RECALL THAT ONLY FIVE YEARS AGO WE EXPERIENCED THE MOST DRAMATIC CRISIS WITH THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

DIRECT USE OF SOVIET FORCES AGAINST ISRAEL WAS PREVENTED ONLY BY THE COUNTERTHREAT AND ALERTING OF AMERICAN FORCES, INCLUDING STRATEGIC FORCES. ADMIRAL ZUMWALT, THEN COMMANDER OF OUR NAVY, HAS SINCE WRITTEN THAT HE BELIEVES THE BALANCE HAD SO SHIFTED IN FAVOR OF RUSSIA, THAT WE COULD NOT HAVE PREVAILED IF THE SOVIETS HAD FOLLOWED THROUGH ON THEIR THREAT.

NOW, FIVE YEARS LATER, THE BALANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN HAS WORSENER. WE ARE LESS ABLE TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS AND OUR ALLIES NOW, AND THE FUTURE IS EVEN BLEAKER. THE SLASH OF THE NAVY BUDGET AND THE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN NAVAL CAPABILITY BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AND THE EMERGENCE OF SOVIET STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY, GOES TO THE HEART AND SINEW OF OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF MIDDLE EAST HISTORY. SO LET US BE ALERT WHEN THE SALT II DEBATE STARTS IN THE SENATE NEXT YEAR.

ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT

WHEN THE BANDS STOP PLAYING, AND THE PUBLICITY HYPE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE IN THE WAKE OF CAMP DAVID GRINDS TO A HALT, I THINK WHAT WE CAN HOPE FOR IS THE KIND OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED EARLIER HAD THERE BEEN LESS INTERFERENCE.

-18-

IF THAT MUCH CAN BE ACHIEVED--AND, ADMITTEDLY, THAT MUCH WOULD BE A VERY GREAT DEAL--IF THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED, THEN I BELIEVE WE WILL HAVE THE BASIS FOR A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE INSISTENCE ON LINKAGE, WHICH IS BEING PRESSED AS MUCH BY AMERICA AS BY EGYPT, IS ONE OF THOSE ITEMS WHICH I WOULD CHARACTERIZE AS A "LITTLE, TINY TECHNICALITY". THE POINT IS A REAL PEACE WITH EGYPT WOULD LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR EVENTUAL PEACE ELSEWHERE, AND, IN THE MEANTIME, WOULD MAKE WAR IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SHORT AND MID-TERM. THAT WOULD REFLECT A PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO PEACE, AND A TURNING AWAY FROM THE DOGMA OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. I WOULD HOPE THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD FIND ITS WAY BACK TO THAT TRUTH AND TRY TO ENCOURAGE IT ALONG. IF THAT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE, THEN PERHAPS EGYPT AND ISRAEL OUGHT TO PROCEED BI-LATERALLY AS THEY SET OUT TO DO LAST NOVEMBER.

RESIST A BAD PEACE

IN EITHER EVENT, NOW IS NOT TIME FOR SILENCE ON THE
ISSUE. THERE IS, IN SPITE OF SOME VIEWS TO THE CONTRARY,
SUCH A THING AS A BAD PEACE. A BAD PEACE IS ONE WHICH
WILL LEAD TO WAR. AND ISRAEL SHOULD FIND SUPPORT IN
THIS COUNTRY FOR HER EFFORTS TO RESIST SUCH A PEACE.