

(Mullins - Smith)

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
"AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST:
ACHIEVING A LASTING PEACE"
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1979

Paul Z. Loh

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IT IS A GENUINE HONOR FOR ME TO JOIN WITH YOU THIS EVENING, TO SHARE A MUTUAL CONCERN ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND PROPOSE SOME ALTERNATIVE DIRECTIONS OF MY OWN. OUR IMMEDIATE CONCERN IS, OF COURSE, FOR THE SANCTITY AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL. WE WORRY ABOUT THE CONFUSION AND WISHFUL THINKING THAT MARK THIS ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST. WE ARE DISMAYED AT THE BACKWARD RETREAT OF ISRAEL'S OLDEST AND STAUNCHEST FRIEND, AWAY FROM ALL THAT IS RIGHT AND HONORABLE AND DECENT. WE ARE APPALLED AT A POLICY THAT REWARDS FRIENDSHIP WITH ARROGANCE, AND LOYALTY WITH COLD-BLOODED CONTEMPT.

Bob Dole
Sept 1, 1979
New Orleans, LA

John
R. Dole
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BUT IT'S NOT JUST IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS CHOSEN TO PURSUE INTERNATIONAL DEAD ENDS. WE LIVE IN A TURBULENT WORLD, FULL OF FRUSTRATIONS AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS PURPORTING TO GIVE VOICE TO THE OPPRESSED OR EXPLOITED. SOME OF THESE MOVEMENTS ARE MARXIST, OTHERS PURELY NATIONALIST. SOME ARE PEACEFUL IN METHOD; MANY MORE USE THE ANCIENT WEAPONS OF TERRORISM TO WIN INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION TO THEIR DEMANDS.

SOME ARE LEGITIMATE, OTHERS ILLEGITIMATE. BUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SEEMS UNWILLING TO DRAW SUCH A DISTINCTION. OUR GOVERNMENT TODAY SEEMS OBSESSED WITH INGRATIATING ITSELF WITH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AROUND THE GLOBE, NO MATTER HOW DEEPLY ROOTED THEY MAY BE IN ANTI-AMERICAN OR AUTHORITARIAN PHILOSOPHY. WE APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT A MURDERER WILL BECOME A STATESMAN, IF ONLY WE CALL HIM ONE. WE, WHO EXHORT THE DIGNITY OF INDIVIDUAL MAN AND WOMAN, SEEM, IN PRACTICE, PERFECTLY COMFORTABLE TO ACCEPT FORCES WHOSE ONLY MORALITY IS ENFORCED THROUGH SUDDEN, VIOLENT DEATH, AND WHOSE POLITICAL PLATFORMS CALL FOR MINDLESS OBEDIENCE TO TOTALITARIAN RULE.

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THIS IS NOT A FOREIGN POLICY FOR AMERICA. IT IS AT BEST, HOPELESSLY UNREALISTIC. IT IS, AT WORST, A BETRAYAL OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE AND OUR HISTORIC ROLE AS FREEDOM'S ULTIMATE PROTECTOR.

AND IT POSES GRAVE QUESTIONS FOR ALL OF US WHO SEEK A JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A TIME OF DOUBT AND CONFUSION

TONIGHT, MY FRIENDS, WE STAND DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO A MIDDLE EAST POLICY THAT THREATENS THE VERY INTEGRITY OF ISRAEL. WE HAVE ALLOWED OUR COMPASSION FOR DISPLACED PALESTINIANS TO BLIND US AS TO WHO DISPLACED THOSE UNHAPPY PEOPLE IN THE FIRST PLACE.

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LET'S GET BACK TO BASICS. PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAS STATED REPEATEDLY THAT ISRAEL WISHES TO ABIDE BY ALL PROVISIONS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. PRESIDENT SADAT AGREES. HE VOICES NO DESIRE TO ALTER THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS. SO WHY DOES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION?

NO ONE - EVEN THE MOST OPTIMISTIC OBSERVER - CAN POSSIBLY EXPECT THE ANCIENT RIVALRIES THAT HAVE TORN THE MIDDLE EAST APART TO BE ELIMINATED IN A FEW WEEKS. ~~ON MERITS OF TALKS.~~ SADAT AND BEGIN KNOW THIS - SO DO YOU AND I. BUT, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SEEMS DETERMINED TO IMPOSE THEIR OWN DEADLINE ON THE PEACE PROCESS - LIKE NOVEMBER OF 1980. AND WITH THAT GOAL IN MIND, THIS GOVERNMENT SEEMS UNABLE TO DEVISE A COHERENT POLICY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

ITS ONE THING TO HAVE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES AMONG
NATURAL ANTAGONISTS LIKE ISRAEL, THE ARAB STATES AND
THE PLO. IT IS QUITE ANOTHER TO WAGE GUERILLA WARFARE
BETWEEN TWO MAJOR U.S. AMBASSADORS AND WITHIN THE
STATE DEPARTMENT AND WHITE HOUSE. IT'S EVEN WORSE TO
SEE THIS PUBLIC SQUABBLING SPILL OVER TO POISON THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO MINORITIES WHO, PERHAPS MORE
THAN ANY OTHER, SHOULD SHARE AN AWARENESS OF OPPRESSION
AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

I'M NOT SITTING IN THE OVAL OFFICE. BUT THAT
DOESN'T MEAN I LACK A MORE COHERENT APPROACH TO THE
PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST THAN PRESIDENT CARTER AND
HIS DIPLOMATIC KEYSTONE COPS. LET ME TELL YOU ABOUT IT.

BEDROCK PRINCIPLES FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

THE KEYSTONE OF AMERICA'S MIDDLE EAST ARCH HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THAT MEANS MORE THAN THE MERE PHYSICAL RIGHT TO EXIST. IT MEANS EXISTENCE WITHIN DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, IN A REGION THAT AT THE VERY LEAST, ACCEPTS ISRAEL AS A PERMANENT PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST SCENE.

ALL OTHER FOREIGN POLICY GOALS COME AFTER THIS BEDROCK PRINCIPLE. ALL OTHER GOALS SHOULD BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED TO FURTHER THE ATTAINMENT OF ISRAEL'S PERMANENT SECURITY.

THERE IS ANOTHER OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY ALMOST AS IMPORTANT AS THE FIRST. IT IS A JERUSALEM OPEN TO ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL, A HOLY CITY FREE OF BARRICADES AND BARRIERS. SINCE THE 1967 WAR, THIS JERUSALEM HAS LARGELY COME TO PASS - BECAUSE ISRAEL HAS ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING IT SO.

WHATEVER ELSE MAY BE NEGOTIABLE - AND I THINK MANY THINGS ARE - ONE SACRED OBJECTIVE CAN NEVER BE SACRIFICED. JERUSALEM MUST NEVER AGAIN BE SHUT OFF FROM ANY OF THE DEVOUT WHO WOULD RENEW THEIR FAITH IN HER HISTORIC STREETS. NEVER AGAIN. NEVER.

A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS

WITH THIS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD, WE CAN PROCEED TO CONSIDER THE ELEMENTS THAT MUST BE BLENDED IF THE BLOOD - SOAKED SANDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST ARE TO KNOW LASTING PEACE. AT HOME THIS MUST BE A PROCESS EMBRACING ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL - BLACK AND WHITE, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT OR JEW, REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT. WE SIMPLY MUST AGREE ON COMMON PRINCIPLES AND THEN GO ABOUT THE DELICATE AND OFTEN DISCOURAGING PROCESS OF PERSUADING ALL THE ACTORS IN THIS TENSE INTERNATIONAL DRAMA THAT WE AFFORD THEM A PEACE THAT IS FAIR AND HISTORICALLY SOUND.

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APOSTLES OF PEACE CAN HAVE NO REASON TO EMBRACE THE
WORLD'S MOST NOTORIOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. NOT AS
LONG AS THEY CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IN PEACEFUL METHODS OF
CHANGE.

PEACE AND A PRODUCTIVE ENERGY POLICY

BUT THE HOUR IS LATE, MY FRIENDS AND THE THREAT OF
INTERNATIONAL BLACKMAIL IS VERY REAL. AMERICA HAS
BECOME MORE DEPENDENT THAN EVER BEFORE ON ARAB OIL. THE
PLO WIELDS AN INORDINATE INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL
POLITICAL FRONT. YOU HAVE PERCEIVED THE CRITICAL LINE
BETWEEN ENERGY AT HOME AND JUSTICE ABROAD. I URGE EACH
OF YOU TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AN ENERGY POLICY THAT IS
MORE POSITIVE THAN MERE CONSERVATION; IT MUST STRESS
INCREASED PRODUCTION OF EXISTING AND POTENTIAL DOMESTIC
ENERGY SOURCES. WITHOUT SUCH A POLICY, AMERICA WILL CONTINUE
TO PUT HER HEAD ON AN ENERGY CHOPPING BLOCK, INVITING THE
KADDIFIS AND ARAFATS TO SEVER THE LINK CONNECTING US WITH
OUR OLDEST AND MOST RELIABLE MIDDLE EAST FRIEND, THE STATE
OF ISRAEL.

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TO CONTINUE OUR PRESENT DRIFT, TO PLAY THE OIL PRODUCER OFF AGAINST THE OIL CONSUMER, TO DIVIDE INSTEAD OF LEAD, TO SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN ULTIMATE ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY - ALL THIS DOES FAR MORE THAN WEAKEN THE DOLLAR, HURT THE POOR AND FRUSTRATE THE AMBITIONS OF THOSE WHO NEED A HEALTHY, PRODUCTION-BASED ECONOMY TO ESCAPE THE WELFARE OR UNEMPLOYMENT LINES. SUCH A NEGATIVE "SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL POLICY" UNDERMINES AMERICAN POLICY IN CONFRONTING THE DEADLY DEMANDS OF THE PLO. AS LONG AS AMERICA IS AT THE MERCY OF ARAB OIL PRODUCERS, THEN ISRAEL HERSELF IS AT DAGGER'S POINT.

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THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

NOW, LET'S CONSIDER THE SINGLE ISSUE EVERYONE CAN AGREE IS THE KEY TO A MIDDLE EAST PEACE. I SPEAK, OF COURSE, OF WHAT HAS COME TO BE KNOWN EUPHEMISTICALLY AS "THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM."

WELL, THERE IS A PALESTINIAN PROBLEM - BECAUSE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PERSONS WHO FLED ISRAEL WHEN THE ARABS ATTACKED IN 1947 HAVE BEEN LEFT IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIMBO. AND WHOSE FAULT IS THAT? NOT THE JEWS'. WHAT PEOPLE ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH ARE AS FAMILIAR AS YOU WITH HOMELESSNESS AND PERSECUTION? THAT IS AN AWARENESS THAT REMAINS AS REAL TODAY AS EVER - WITNESS PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S OFFER OF ASSISTANCE TO THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE. NO ONE CAME FORWARD QUICKER TO EXTEND A HELPING HAND TO THESE VICTIMS OF COMMUNIST AGRESSION - AND NO ONE HAS RECEIVED LESS IN THE WAY OF INTERNATIONAL APPRECIATION.

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IT WAS THE ARABS THEMSELVES WHO REFUSED TO ASSIMILATE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. AND IT WAS PALESTINIAN LEADERS WHO WERE UNWILLING TO LET THEIR PEOPLE BE ASSIMILATED. THEY KNEW THAT THE REFUGEE CAMPS WOULD BE A BREEDING GROUND FOR HATRED OF ISRAEL, AND A FERTILE RECRUITING STATION FOR TERRORISTS WHO SHARED THEIR IMPLACABLE HOSTILITY TO THE JEWISH HOMELAND.

NOW THOSE SAME PALESTINIAN LEADERS, SUPPORTED BY THOSE SAME ARAB SPOKESMEN WHO HELPED TO HOLD THE PALESTINIANS HOSTAGE FOR THIRTY YEARS AND MORE - NOW THEY COME BEFORE THE COURT OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND ATTEMPT TO CONVEY LEGITIMACY TO THE ILLEGITIMATE.

CYNICALLY, THEY BESTOW OFFICIAL STATUS ON THE PLO - AND INCREDIBLY, THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SEEMS WILLING TO GO ALONG. THE PRESIDENT EVEN COMPARES THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION TO THE DOMESTIC CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT - AS SHAMEFUL A MISSTATEMENT OF HISTORY AS ANY AMERICAN CHIEF EXECUTIVE HAS EVER BEEN GUILTY. THE NEXT THING YOU KNOW, WE'LL HEAR YASSIN ARAFAT LABELED THE GEORGE WASHINGTON OF HIS PEOPLE. ~~ARNOLD.~~

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NEVER TO THE PLO

NOW, WE CAN'T AFFORD TO BURY OUR HEADS IN THE SAND. THERE IS A PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, AND UNTIL IT IS SOLVED, THERE WILL BE NO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NO PERMANENT SECURITY FOR ISRAEL. BUT THERE IS A RIGHT WAY AND A WRONG WAY TO ADDRESS THE LEGITIMATE DESIRES OF THE PALESTINIANS. THE WRONG WAY IS TO ANNOUNCE THE PLO AS OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN, TO EXTEND ANY DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION TO THE PLO, OR TO ENCOURAGE THE ILLUSION OF THOSE WHO WOULD ESTABLISH A PLO - RUN STATE ON THE VERY DOORSTEP OF ISRAEL.

THE FIRST TENET OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION SHOULD BE TO REFUTE THE NOTION THAT THE PLO REPRESENTS THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. JUST AS ISRAEL SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO RIGHT THE HISTORIC WRONGS OF THE ARABS TOWARD THEIR PALESTINIAN BRETHREN, NEITHER SHOULD SHE NEGOTIATE WITH TERRORISTS WHO OPENLY PROCLAIM THEIR OBJECTIVE - THE DESTRUCTION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

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CONTRARY TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S BELIEF THERE ARE MODERATE PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS. ^{the only} THERE ARE ELECTED MAYORS ON THE WEST BANK - CHOSEN IN CLEARLY FREE ELECTIONS EVER HELD IN ARAB - POPULATED LANDS. THEY AND OTHER REASONABLE PALESTINIANS COULD YET COME FORWARD TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL - IF ONLY THEY WERE NOT ENCOURAGED BY AMERICAN POLICY TO REGARD THE PLO AS AN OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED BODY. WE SHOULD NOT BE INTRODUCING PRO-PLO RESOLUTIONS AT THE U.N. WE SHOULD NOT BE MEETING WITH THE PLO IN ANY CAPACITY. AND WE SHOULD NOT GIVE THE PLO INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY BY COMPARING ITS WANTON ACTS OF BRUTALITY WITH THE HUMANISTIC IDEALISM OF MARTIN LUTHER KING AND OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS.

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INSTEAD, LETS DIRECT OUR OVERTURE TO THE RESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIPS. ALREADY, A FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS EXISTS - IN THE FORM OF ONGOING TALKS BETWEEN ARAB MAYORS AND ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

RESETTLEMENT AND A MIDDLE EAST FEDERATION

IDEALLY, WE MIGHT RETURN TO THE BASIC POLICY ENUMERATED BY DAG HAMMARSKJOLD IN 1959 - TO ABSORB ARAB REFUGEES INTO ARAB LANDS, THE COSTS OF SUCH RESETTLEMENT TO BE PAID FOR WITH OIL REVENUES. SUCH RESETTLEMENT HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN PURSUED; GERMANY, GREECE, KOREA AND TURKEY ARE JUST FOUR EXAMPLES WHERE MILLIONS OF DISPLACED PERSONS FOUND NEW HOMES IN FRIENDLY NATIONS.

IN FACT, PALESTINIANS ALREADY CONSTITUTE A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION OF JORDAN - WHAT NEED EXISTS FOR ANOTHER PALESTINE WHERE ONE ALREADY FUNCTIONS IN FACT IF NOT IN NAME?

IF, ULTIMATELY, NO ALTERNATIVE CAN BE FOUND TO TERRITORIAL SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PALESTINIANS, I WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT ABBA EBAN'S CONCEPT OF A FEDERATION OF ISRAEL, JORDAN AND A QUALIFIED PALESTINIAN HOMELAND ON THE WEST BANK. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED - THE WEST BANK ALONE IS NOT AN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE TERRITORY. ABBA EBAN RECOGNIZED THIS FACT OF GEOGRAPHICAL LIFE IN PROPOSING THAT ISRAEL AND JORDAN ASSUME JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR AN AUTONOMOUS WEST BANK WITH OPEN BORDERS LIKE THOSE THAT NOW EXIST BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN.

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PRIME MINISTER BEGIN DOES NOT FAVOR THIS CONCEPT. BUT I WOULD RECOMMEND IT AGAIN TO HIS ATTENTION - IF AND ONLY IF THE UNITED STATES RENOUNCED ONCE AND FINALLY ANY CLAIM TO AUTHORITY BY THE PLO. IF SUCH A REGION COULD BE GOVERNED BY RESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN POPULATION, AND THE RIGHTS OF JEWISH SETTLERS WERE GUARANTEED AND THE WHOLE WEST BANK DESIGNED TO BE A DEMILITARIZED HAVEN FOR ARAB'S HOMELESS REFUGEES, THEN I THINK THE FEDERATION IDEA HAS POTENTIAL.

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WHAT MAKES THE ISRAELI-AMERICAN DRIFT SO DANGEROUS IS THE ENORMOUS STAKES INVOLVED. ISRAEL NEEDS AMERICA AS ITS GREATEST FRIEND AND SUPPORTER ABROAD. AMERICA NEEDS ISRAEL AS A STAUNCH, DEMOCRATIC ALLY IN A VOLATILE AND CRITICAL REGION. ALL OTHER U.S. TIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND PERSIAN GULF COULD BE UPSET BY THE REMOVAL OF A SINGLE DICTATORIAL OR AUTHORITARIAN LEADER. ISRAEL'S POLITICAL SYSTEM GUARANTEES FREEDOM AS IT GUARANTEES ITS OUTREACHED HAND IN FRIENDSHIP AND IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR OWN SECURITY INTERESTS.

IT IS A HAND TO BE GRASPED AND CLUNG TO -- OUT OF OUR HISTORIC COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS AND BECAUSE INTERNATIONAL MORALITY DEMANDS IT. THE DAY CAN NEVER ARRIVE WHEN AMERICA IS WILLING TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT TONIGHT, THE DISTURBING QUESTION REFUSES TO GO AWAY: HAVE WE ALREADY REACHED THAT DAY, OR ARE WE APPROACHING A STATE OF FROZEN INACTION?

IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE. WE CAN ONCE AGAIN SET THIS NATION ON ITS TRADITIONAL COURSE OF FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF A DISPLACED PALESTINIAN POPULATION. WE CAN DO SO BY INSISTING THAT OUR GOVERNMENT MEET ITS MORAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS AND REJECT THE DANGEROUS AND CYNICAL DEMANDS OF THOSE WHO NEGOTIATE THROUGH A GUN BARREL. WE CAN REACH OUT TO MODERATE PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS ~~WHICH ARE THE ONLY PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS~~ IN A SEARCH FOR SELF-DETERMINATION THAT LEADS TO PEACE, NOT WAR, AND AMITY, NOT TERRORIST THREATS.

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IT CAN BE DONE. IT WON'T BE EASY, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE -
IF WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT AND A PRESIDENT WILLING TO STOP
DICTATING TO ISRAEL AND START SEEKING IN EARNEST A WORKABLE
FORMULA FOR A MIDDLE EAST FINALLY DEFUSED OF THE AGE-OLD
TICKING BOMB OF RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL HATRED. MAY GOD
HELP US TO FIND SUCH A WAY-AND INSPIRE ALL MEN OF GOOD
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Young - Aug 19.

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