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WHAT IS THE U.S. COMMITMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

REMARKS BY

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ISAIAH SAID, "BEHOLD, I WILL DO A NEW
THING; NOW IT SHALL SPRING FORTH; SHALL YE
NOT KNOW IT? I WILL EVEN MAKE A WAY IN THE
WILDERNESS, AND RIVERS IN THE DESERT."

*Israel
JNF-
70th
anniversary*

AND THE LORD GOD HAS CREATED A "NEW THING" --
A NEW ISRAEL. AND IT IS HIS WILL THAT IT SHALL
CONTINUE TO EXIST -- TO PROSPER AND TO BE FREE.

IT IS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR OWN COMMITMENT
TO THIS NEW ISRAEL THAT I SPEAK TO THE SUBJECT
OF U.S.-SOVIET POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WHEN I AM ASKED WHAT I CONSIDER THE SOLUTION
TO THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, I AM REMINDED OF THE
STORY TOLD OF THE BRITISH STATESMAN CASTELREAGH AT
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. ⁽¹⁸¹⁵⁾ WHEN ASKED WHAT HE
THOUGHT TO BE THE PERFECT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM

OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY EQUIVALENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST,

HE WOULD REPLY: "WELL THERE ARE ONLY THREE PEOPLE IN THE WHOLE WORLD WHO KNOW THE SOLUTION TO THIS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE FIRST ONE DIED.

THE SECOND WENT MAD AFTER WORKING OUT THE SOLUTION. AND I'M AWFULLY SORRY, BUT I'VE FORGOTTEN IT."

HOW BOTH JEWS AND ARABS SOLVE THIS CONFLICT HOPEFULLY WILL SET THE STAGE FOR A DRAMATIC FLOW OF OVERWHELMING GOOD - ~~A BROTHERHOOD THAT REJECTS THE HORRORS AND FEARS OF A CONFLICT NOT SO LONG PAST~~

~~# U.S. Commitment~~

BUT DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE A TRUE AND BINDING COMMITMENT TO HELP PRESERVE ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE?

~~BEFORE ANSWERING THAT QUESTION, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT IS THE NORMAL REACTION WHEN THAT WORD "COMMITMENT" IS BROUGHT UP?~~

WELL, IN MY EXPERIENCE, AT LEAST SINCE VIETNAM, THE REACTION IS NEGATIVE, TO PUT IT MILDLY.

-- FRIENDSHIPS OF LONG-STANDING ARE

DESTROYED;

-- DINNER PARTIES DIVIDE INTO ARMED CAMPS
OF VERBAL ESCALATION;

-- SENATORS RENEW LONG AND BITTER
ARGUMENTS OVER THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND CONGRESS;

-- OUR ALLIES SCRAMBLE TO THEIR LATEST
REVISED DICTIONARY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY JARGON;

-- AND, IF POSSIBLE, EVERYONE TRIES TO
CHANGE THE SUBJECT.

THE REASON FOR THIS FRANTIC EFFORT TO ESCAPE
A DISCUSSION OF ANY "COMMITMENT" IS BECAUSE NO
ONE ANY LONGER KNOWS WHAT THE WORD REALLY MEANS.
THE SENATE, IN HEARINGS BEFORE THE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE, TRIED TO DETERMINE WHAT A
COMMITMENT IS.

THE ADMINISTRATION DISAGREED WITH WHAT THE
SENATE VOTED TO BE A COMMITMENT.

THE CONGRESS CAME BACK THEN AND SAID THAT
WHATEVER THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT WAS A
COMMITMENT, IT WAS NOT TO AGREE TO ANY COMMITMENT
WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS.

SO THE BALL HAS BOUNCED FROM ONE END OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE TO THE OTHER.

I DON'T REALLY BLAME ANYONE FOR WONDERING WHAT IS GOING ON IN WASHINGTON WITH REGARDS TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO BE WORKING AT THREE DISTINCT INFORMATIONAL LEVELS.

1) THE TOP ^{levels} ~~ECHELONS~~ OF HEADS OF STATE, PRIME MINISTERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS SEEM TO GET DIRECT ASSURANCES DURING VISITS TO WASHINGTON THAT ALL WILL BE WELL AS LONG AS THE OTHER SIDE LISTENS TO REASON.

2) THE MIDDLE LEVELS OR WORKING DIPLOMATS AND CHIEFS OF STAFF APPARENTLY GET ANOTHER STORY.

THEY TRUDGE IN AND OUT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE MISSIONS AND "PENTAGONS" WITH DOUBTFUL FACES MAKING GLOOMY PREDICTIONS OF EVENTS TO COME.

3) THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED, LISTENING TO BOTH THE OFFICIALS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND OURS, BECOME CONFUSED.

SO THEY TOO TRY TO FORGET THE WORD "COMMITMENT."

I MAY NOT BE ABLE TO DISPEL ALL THE CONFUSION OVER THE DEFINITION OF COMMITMENT, BUT JUST A LITTLE

STRAIGHT TALK MIGHT HELP.

FIRST OF ALL, WE DEFINITELY DO HAVE A
CLEAR-CUT COMMITMENT TO ASSIST ISRAEL, ECONOMICALLY,
DIPLOMATICALLY AND WITH THE ARMS NECESSARY FOR
THE ISRAELIS TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN DEFENSE AND
PROTECT THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

THIS COMMITMENT IS NOT ONE OF TREATY STATUS.
IT IS NOT ONE THAT DIPLOMATS SKILLFULLY CONSTRUCTED --
WITH ELABORATELY DESIGNED LOOPHOLES.

IT IS NOT ONE EXTRACTED FROM THE U.S. THROUGH
ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST.

IT IS NOT A COMMITMENT ENTERED INTO BECAUSE
OUR NATIONAL PRIDE DEMANDS IT.

IT ISN'T EVEN ONE THAT PERMITS OUR MILITARY
TO "SHOW THE FLAG" WITH ANY MARTIAL BRAVADO.

THE COMMITMENT I SPEAK OF -- THE SPECIAL
BOND YOU, AND I, AND MOST AMERICANS FEEL, IS
A BOND FORGED BY THE PEOPLES OF BOTH NATIONS.

IT IS A COMMITMENT OF ^{the} MINDS AND HEARTS ^{of}

~~THIS COMMITMENT IS TRULY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.~~

IT IS A COMMITMENT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA HAVE

MADE AND DECLARED TO OUR PRESIDENTS, OUR CONGRESS,
AND OUR FRIENDS IN ISRAEL.

~~IT IS ALSO A COMMITMENT WE HAVE DECLARED TO
THOSE WHO WOULD SEE THE MIDDLE EAST PLUNGED AGAIN
INTO WAR WHO WOULD SEE ISRAEL DRIVEN TO THE
BRINK TO THE USE OF WEAPONS OF LAST RESORT.~~

~~BUT THIS COMMITMENT MUST AGAIN BE DECLARED
CLEARLY BY THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION,~~

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES
HAVE DECLARED THIS COMMITMENT. THESE CULTURAL,
RELIGIOUS, ~~FAMILY~~ AND INDEED, EMOTIONAL TIES
ARE JUST AS REAL -- PERHAPS ~~LESS~~ MORE SO --
THAN BONDS OF ALLIANCE OR HIGH LEVEL DIPLOMACY

(X) I CALL FOR THIS RE-DECLARATION ON THE PART
OF ~~THE ADMINISTRATION~~ *our government* NOT TO IRRITATE THE ARAB
WORLD.

~~I URGE A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF OUR NATIONAL
COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL NOT TO FREEZE THE ARAB
NEGOTIATORS INTO AN INTRANSIGENCE THAT WOULD
STIELE THE TALKS~~ ON THE CONTRARY, I SAY ~~TO~~
TO THE LEADERS OF THE ARAB NATIONS AND THEIR
PEOPLES THAT THIS RESTATEMENT OF AMERICAN
COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THE SOVEREIGNTY AND

SECURITY OF ISRAEL IS IN THEIR OWN BEST, LONG-TERM INTEREST.

THE ARAB WORLD HAS ALREADY TRAVELED FAR ON THE ROAD OF TECHNOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL MATURITY. THEY ARE A PEOPLE OF RICH INTELLECTUAL, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL GIFTS. THEY WISH TO DEVELOP THESE ATTRIBUTES FURTHER.

THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL WISH FOR THEM THE FULLEST SUCCESS ON THIS HIGH ROAD OF NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT.

AGAIN, I SAY, THAT THIS COMMITMENT IS IN THE BEST LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE ARAB WORLD.

ITS STRONG REAFFIRMATION WOULD MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GONE AS FAR AS IT CAN IN PROVIDING FOR THE CONVENING AND SUCCESS OF THE JARRING PEACE TALKS, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN SHORTLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

NO
Enforced
Peace

ISRAEL HAS BEEN VERY PATIENT WITH RECENT U.S. VACILLATION. THE ISRAELIS HAVE LOST EFFECTIVE AIR CONTROL OF THE SUEZ. THE COMBINATION OF SA-2 AND SA-3 MISSILES AND RADAR-CONTROLLED CANNON HAVE EFFECTIVELY INTERDICTED LOW-LEVEL PENETRATION

~~BY ISRAELI AIRCRAFT.~~

~~AMERICA'S FAILURE TO INSIST ON REMOVAL OF THE NEW SOVIET MISSILE INSTALLATIONS, ADJACENT TO THE CANAL, PLACED U. S. "GUARANTEES" OF THE CEASE-FIRE IN A MOST EQUIVOCAL POSITION.~~

~~BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE, IN THE PAST, INDULGED IN THEIR OWN BINGES OF PARANOIA. HOWEVER, IT HAD BEEN HOPED THAT ONCE THE SOVIET UNION HAD REACHED APPROXIMATE NUCLEAR PARITY, THERE WOULD BE REASON TO SIT DOWN AND TALK. IT WAS FELT THAT THIS SEMI-SECURITY WOULD PERMIT THE NUCLEAR SUPER-POWERS TO DISCUSS DÉTENTÉ NOT THREATEN DÉMARCHE. CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM SURROUNDING THE SALT TALKS WOULD SEEM TO GIVE SOME BASIS FOR THIS HOPE.~~

HOWEVER, FOR THE SAKE OF FOOLISH NATIONAL PRIDE, OUTDATED COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM AND GEOPOLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OVER ARAB AREAS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED TO FOSTER AND EXPLOIT THIS ARAB-ISRAELI INSTABILITY.

BY SO DOING, THE SOVIET UNION HOPES TO SEE ARAB NATIONS DRAWN GRADUALLY AND FIRMLY INTO THE COMMUNIST ORBIT. THEY PLAN THE SACRIFICE OF

LEGITIMATE ARAB NATIONALISM TO FURTHER THEIR OWN IMPERIALISM.

WHERE CATHERINE THE GREAT LEFT OFF, BREZHNEV NOW RESUMES.

AND UNFORTUNATELY, PRESENT-DAY RUSSIAN LEADERS LEARNED SOME LESSONS FROM THE ADVISERS OF THEIR CZARIST PREDECESSORS.

THEY CREATED POTEMKIN VILLAGES FOR THE LEADERS OF EGYPT.

THEY CREATED VISIONS OF VICTORIES THAT WOULD BE THE **6** GLORY OF EGYPT AND THE ARAB WORLD.

THEY URGED AND ENCOURAGED.

THEY SUPPLIED AND TRAINED.

THEY SUCCEEDED IN DECEIVING EGYPT.

AND, IF IT MAKES THE SMASHING DEFEAT OF THE 6 DAY WAR ANY EASIER TO TAKE, MAYBE THEY SUCCEEDED IN DECEIVING THEMSELVES.

↳ THAT DEBACLE FOR THE ARAB COUNTRIES WAS *their* REWARD FOR LISTENING TO THE COUNSEL OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THIS TANGLE IS FOR THE ARAB NATIONS TO REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES --

ITS LEADERS AND ITS PEOPLE -- HAVE A FIRM, LASTING
AND INFORMED COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL. ~~THIS~~
~~REALIZATION MUST BE ACHIEVED FOR THE SAKE OF ALL~~
~~INTERESTED IN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE~~
~~EAST.~~

ONCE THE ARAB WORLD REALIZES THE U.S. WILL
NEVER PERMIT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL, THEY ALSO
WILL REALIZE THEY DO NOT NEED THE SOVIETS TELLING
THEM HOW TO RUN THEIR COUNTRIES -- HOW TO FIGHT
THEIR WARS -- HOW TO IDENTIFY THEIR NATIONAL
GOALS AND PLAN FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENT.

~~YOU WHO HAVE FRIENDS AND FAMILY FIGHTING RIGHT~~
~~NOW FOR ISRAEL, YOU WHO WISH THE DESTRUCTION OF~~
~~NO NATION OR PEOPLE BUT DESIRE ONLY THAT ISRAELI~~
~~AND ARAB WORK TOGETHER TO RE-CREATE THE "FERTILE~~
~~CRESCENT" --~~

-- I TELL YOU THAT THE MEASURE OF OUR
COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL IS ALSO THE MEASURE OF THE
CHANCE FOR ARAB WORLD FREEDOM.

-- FREEDOM FROM OUTSIDE DOMINATION -- POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC;

-- FREEDOM TO BUILD THEIR OWN NATIONS AND
NATIONAL CHARACTER;

-- FREEDOM TO ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF LIFE

FOR ALL ARABS;

-- FREEDOM TO WELCOME THEIR JEWISH BROTHERS
TO THE JOINT TASK OF REGIONAL GROWTH AND
PROSPERITY;

-- FREEDOM TO BE THEMSELVES AND SET THEIR
OWN PACE.

NOW, WHAT WOULD SOVIET DOMINATION OF THE
MIDDLE EAST MEAN TO THE REST OF THE WORLD? WHAT
WOULD BE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RESULTS OF
A STRONG CONTROLLING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN POLICY
DECISIONS OF THE ARAB NATIONS?

I AM NOT, NOR EVER WILL BE AN ALARMIST.
HOWEVER, I FEEL WE MUST BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE
PROBABLE RESULTS OF SUCH A SUCCESS OF SOVIET
IMPERIALISM.

DOMINANCE OF ARAB NATIONS BY THE SOVIETS
WOULD PRESENT THEM WITH A RE-OPENED SUEZ --
A SUEZ THAT COULD BE USED TO PERMIT SWIFT
MOVEMENT OF SOVIET AND ARAB WARSHIPS TO DENY
ISRAEL AND OTHERS FREE ACCESS TO THE GULF OF
AQABA.

-- A SUEZ ROUTE SHORTENING THE DISTANCE FROM

RUSSIAN PORTS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN BY APPROXIMATELY 8,000 MILES -- THUS PLACING INDIA AND PAKISTAN WITHIN THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF RUSSIAN SEAPOWER;

-- A SUEZ PERMITTING RUSSIA TO INTIMIDATE FURTHER THE OIL-RICH ARAB STATES ON THE PERSIAN GULF -- THIS IN TURN WOULD COMPLETE THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA AND DIRECTLY THREATEN NEUTRALIST IRAN.

-- A SUEZ ROUTE PERMITTING THE SOVIETS TO USE EITHER OR BOTH THEIR ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC FLEETS IN THE EVENT OF A MILITARY OR POLITICAL CRISIS.

DOMINANCE OF ARAB NATIONS BY THE SOVIETS WOULD PERMIT THEM TO CUT OFF, AT WILL, THE FLOW OF OIL TO EUROPE, JAPAN AND OTHERS OF OUR ^{friends} ~~ALLIES~~. IT IS TRUE THAT THE MAJORITY OF OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE WELL-DISPOSED TO THE U.S. AND OUR FRIENDS. THEY REALIZE THEIR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED THROUGH FRIENDLY RELATIONS, BOTH DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL WITH US.

THEY DISTRUST THE SOVIET UNION -- HAVING SEEN THEM PLAY ONE ARAB NATION AGAINST ANOTHER SINCE

THE END OF WORLD WAR II.

THESE OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS HAVE A LONG-TERM VITAL INTEREST IN THE STEADFASTNESS OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

HOWEVER, SHOULD THAT POLICY WAVER AND BECOME UNCLEAR -- SHOULD AN UNCERTAIN OR EQUIVOCAL AMERICAN POLICY RESULT IN THE DEFEAT *no weakening* OF ISRAEL -- THESE NATIONS WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO SEEK AN ACCOMODATION WITH RUSSIA AND ITS ARAB CLIENT-STATES -- AND ON RUSSIA'S TERMS; NOT THEIR OWN.

I TRUST YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, IF I SEEM TO HAVE SPOKEN SHARPLY HERE. BUT I FEEL THAT STRONG, THOUGH CAREFULLY CHOSEN LANGUAGE, IS NECESSARY WHEN TALKING TO THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT POWER POLITICS AND ITS DANGERS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

THE SOVIETS HAVE KNOWN ME FOR QUITE A WHILE. I'VE VISITED WITH THEIR LEADERS ON MANY OCCASIONS. THEY KNOW I'LL TELL THEM THE TRUTH, AS I SEE IT.

HOWEVER, THEY ALSO KNOW I AM A PERSON WHO CAN DISCUSS THE ISSUE AND TRY TO ARRIVE AT A FAIR SOLUTION.

A SOLUTION -- FINDING A SOLUTION, I'M AFRAID, HAS PROVEN AS DIFFICULT AS DEFINING "COMMITMENT." ~~WE KNOW THERE IS A SOLUTION BUT HOW TO CONSTRUCT A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST SEEMS TO HAVE ELUDED US FOR THE LAST 20 YEARS.~~

THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE SUPPORT OF BOTH THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION CREATED ISRAEL OUT OF THE PALESTINE LANDS UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE. WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED ~~THEIR~~ ^{Soviet} HELP IN ESTABLISHING THE PEACE IN THE AREA.

IT WOULD ^{now} SEEM, BASED ON A ~~VERY~~ RECENT INTERVIEW OF PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT, THE SOVIETS HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY PEACE-KEEPING FORCE ESTABLISHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WELL, WE SHOULD TAKE THEM UP ON THIS OFFER. THE U.S. HAS ALSO STATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A FORCE UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES. UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH FORCES OF THE BIG FOUR SAFEGUARDING THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS AGREED TO BY ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS, THERE COULD EMERGE A PEACE OF AN ENDURING NATURE.

CREATION OF AN EFFECTIVE PEACE FORCE, DRAWING ON THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AS PARTICIPANTS AND GUARANTORS, WOULD NOT ONLY KEEP THE PEACE, IT WOULD PROVIDE A MECHANISM AND A PRECEDENT FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THAT COULD GO FAR TOWARDS EASING WORLD TENSIONS.

AS TO THE SPECIFICS OF ANY SETTLEMENT THAT HOPEFULLY WILL EMERGE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF TALKS THROUGH AMBASSADOR JARRING, I CAN ONLY SAY THEY MUST PROVIDE THE ESSENTIALS OF A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I DO NOT CALL FOR ANY PRE-DECLARATIONS BY THE PARTICIPANTS, BUT OUTLINE WHAT I SEE ARE SOME OF THE ESSENTIALS TO A LASTING SETTLEMENT:

1) ISRAEL'S RECOGNIZED AND GUARANTEED BORDERS MUST BE SUCH THAT POPULATION CENTERS WILL NOT BE EXPOSED TO THE VIOLENT WHIMS OF DISSIDENT GUERILLAS. I ALSO APPLAUD ASSURANCES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF ISRAEL THAT ONCE NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN, WITH A FIRM PEACE IN MIND, ISRAEL WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON FINAL BORDERS. HOWEVER, ISRAEL'S BORDERS MUST BE REASONABLE AND DEFENSIBLE. TO BE OTHERWISE WOULD PROVIDE INVITATION TO INVASION AND A RESUMPTION OF

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

(Refugees)? 2) THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES MUST BE GIVEN THE CHOICE OF REPATRIATION OR COMPENSATION. REPATRIATION OF ALL REFUGEES IS PROBABLY NEITHER DESIRABLE NOR PRACTICAL. HOWEVER, A CERTAIN NUMBER SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO ISRAEL, AND THEY SHOULD ENJOY ALL THE RIGHTS OF ISRAELI CITIZENS.

OFFERS OF COMPENSATION BY ISRAEL TO THE REMAINING REFUGEES MUST BE ACCOMPANIED WITH OFFERS OF IMMIGRATION BY ARAB NATIONS.

3) WITH RESPECT TO JERUSALEM, ITS IMPORTANCE TO THREE MAJOR FAITHS -- ITS HISTORIC AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE -- THE RELIGIOUS AND EMOTIONAL BONDS TIEING THE CITY TO SO MANY INDIVIDUALS AND PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD -- ALL THESE REASONS WOULD INDICATE THAT JERUSALEM DOES INDEED BELONG TO ALL PEOPLE.

YET IT MUST BE GOVERNED; IT MUST BE ONE CITY, NOT TWO; THERE MUST BE GUARANTEES OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND ACCESS TO ALL RELIGIOUS SHRINES. THERE MUST BE EQUALITY OF TREATMENT FOR JEW AND ARAB, AND A GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE, UNDER ISRAEL, THAT

RECOGNIZES THE UNIQUELY HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CITY.

30) THE SHIPS OF ALL FLAGS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHTS OF PEACEFUL ACCESS TO AND PASSAGE THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL, THE STRAIT OF TIRAN AND THE GULF OF AQABA.

40) FINALLY, ALL THE ABOVE POINTS AND THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE PEACE TALKS MUST BE GUARANTEED BY A SIGNED AND DEFINITIVE INSTRUMENT THAT FORMALLY DECLARES THE PEACE.

EARLIER IN MY REMARKS, I DISCUSSED WHAT THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS TO ISRAEL. I THINK I MADE CLEAR THAT I BELIEVE OUR COMMITMENT MEANS DOING EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO SEE THAT ISRAEL SURVIVES AND PROSPERS. HOWEVER, IN WHAT WAY DO WE DECLARE THE CONTINUATION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST? WHAT CAN WE, AND, HOPEFULLY, THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCE DO TO INSURE THAT THIS PEACE WILL ENDURE?

I PROPOSE THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RETURN FOR PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL, IN THE FORM OF A TREATY, THE FORMAL INSTRUMENT OF PEACE.

THIS IS, INDEED, A JOINT COMMITMENT. I

BELIEVE THAT THE SENATE WOULD OVERWHELMINGLY ADVISE AND CONSENT TO SUCH A TREATY. I KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD SUPPORT SUCH A TREATY AND THE MEN WHO GAVE IT OUR GOVERNMENT'S SANCTION.

I HAVE INDULGED IN SOME STRAIGHT TALK. NOT EVERYONE MAY AGREE WITH WHAT I HAVE SAID HERE THIS EVENING.

I HAVE SCOLDED WITH THE TRUTH BUT HOPE I HAVE ALSO PROVIDED THE MEANS FOR MUTUAL COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING THAT CAN BRING THESE PEOPLES TOGETHER.

WE MUST NOT LET THE HOPES OF THE PEOPLES OF ISRAEL AND ARABIA ALSO LIE BURIED ON THE SLOPES OF MOUNT HERZL.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE ISRAELI YOUTH NOW SLEEPING THERE IN ABRAHAM'S ARMS, LET EACH ONE OF US MAKE OUR OWN COMMITMENT -- A COMMITMENT TO PEACE -- PEACE FOR ISRAEL, FOR ARAB NATIONS, FOR THE WORLD -- FOR EACH OF US WITHIN OUR OWN HEARTS.

SHALOM.



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