

ID# 221085

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 15, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE EDWARD I. KOCH

SUBJECT: FORWARDS A COPY OF HIS SPEECH TO THE JEWISH
FEDERATION OF GREATER SAN JOSE ON THE CHANCES
OF PEACE AMONG ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS

Jan - short note
C0001-07

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D YY/MM/DD
SHIRLEY GREEN		ORG	91/03/15	CP2	A9/10/04
REFERRAL NOTE:	<i>Sal: ED</i>				
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COMMENTS: SEE ID 217142 FYI

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 2401 4640

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*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	* OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	* CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		* OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75,OEOb) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

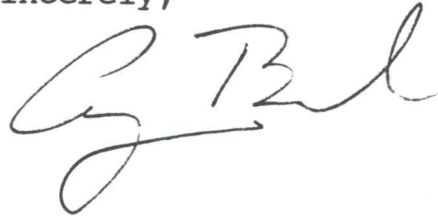
April 4, 1991

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending additional words of support concerning Operation Desert Storm and for sharing your thoughts regarding current Arab-Israeli relations. I enjoyed looking over your speech, and I particularly appreciated and agree with your comment about the need for politicians to keep their personal integrity intact during campaigns, even if it means going down to defeat -- well said.

Barbara joins me in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", with a stylized, cursive script.

The Honorable Edward I. Koch
Robinson Silverman Pearce
Aronsohn & Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

910404

APR - 4 1991

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending additional words of support concerning Operation Desert Storm and for sharing your thoughts regarding current Arab-Israeli relations. I enjoyed looking over your speech, and I particularly appreciated and agree with your comment about the need for politicians to keep their personal integrity intact during campaigns, even if it means going down to defeat -- well said.

Barbara joins me in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

The Honorable Edward I. Koch
Robinson Silverman Pearce
Aronsohn & Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

GB/WJB/TL/CH/pw (3PRESk)
Koch2.1tr

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending additional words of support concerning Operation Desert Storm and for sharing your thoughts regarding current Arab-Israeli relations. I enjoyed looking over your speech, and I particularly appreciated and agree with your comment about the need ~~of~~ politicians to keep their personal integrity intact during campaigns, even if it means going down to defeat -- well said.

Barbara joins ^{me} in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Edward I. Koch
Robinson Silverman Pearce
Aronsohn & Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

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aw

Dear Ed:

FYI: Ltr. sent to
MR. KOCH JUST A FEW
WEEKS AGO.
-BILL.

Many thanks for your message of support and friendship, and for your enclosing a number of your recent articles.

Like you, I'm very pleased that the ground war ended in 100 hours, and that there were relatively few casualties in the process. I'm also very proud of our troops, our coalition partners and our whole team.

As you know, the Administration must now turn its primary focus to a wide array of domestic concerns. I hope I can count on your support as we move ahead on that front.

Barbara joins me in sending warm regards.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3-14

TO: *Shirley Green*

*Please see attached
blue sheets FYI.*

Thank you

FROM: KATHY BAKER ^{K/B}
Presidential Correspondence,
Mail Analysis
Room 58, Extension 6600

DRAFT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

DRAFT DATE: 3/26/91	COMPUTER DRAFT DOCUMENT TITLE:
INITIALS: GB/ C. Palm	CC:
CLEAR WITH:	WHCC:
ENCLOSURES, SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: GB sig NOTECARD	

Dear Ed,

Thanks for sharing a copy of your speech with me.
I am grateful for your words of support, and am
extremely proud of our troops, our coalition
partners and our whole team.

Many thanks for your input.

Hastily, but with warm regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Edward I. Koch
1290 Avenue of the Stars
New York, NY 10104

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending additional words of support concerning
Operation Desert Storm and for sharing your ^{thoughts regarding current Arab-Israeli} ~~speech~~ with me. I ^{relations.}
enjoyed ^{reading} ~~looking over~~ your ^{statement} ~~speech~~, and I ~~particularly~~ appreciated ^{and}
your comment about the need for politicians to keep their ^{agree}
personal integrity intact during campaigns, even if it means ^{with}
going down to defeat -- well said.

Barbara join in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

GB

MAR 28 1994

DRAFT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

DRAFT DATE: 27 March 91.	COMPUTER DRAFT DOCUMENT TITLE: KOCH.
INITIALS: GB/ WPB. / 3.27.28	CC: BILL BUTTERFIELD.
CLEAR WITH:	WHCC:
ENCLOSURES, SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: (ex) Mayor Koch wrote to POTUS just a few weeks ago w/ support for ODS. - Bill Attached response.	

8
Shirley Green

221085

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PRINCIPAL ATTORNEY
STEVEN MONTEFORTE

WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

March 8, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I thought you would be interested in my thoughts on the chances of peace among Israel and its Arab neighbors. The enclosed speech sets forth, in detail, the measures that I believe are required.

All the best.

Sincerely,



Edward I. Koch

enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ORM OPTICAL DISK NETWORK

ID# 221085

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_____ Photo(s) not scanned.

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Comments:

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER SAN JOSE

THE FAIRMONT HOTEL

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1991, 8:00 P.M.

THE "MOTHER OF ALL BATTLES" HAS ENDED WITH AN IRAQI ROUT. AND MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, PARTICULARLY DEMOCRATS, WHO VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION REQUESTED BY PRESIDENT BUSH WHICH AUTHORIZED USING MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ, NOW HAVE EGG ON THEIR FACES. THEY ARE NOW FRIGHTENED BECAUSE PRESIDENT BUSH WAS RIGHT TO PURSUE THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST A TYRANT, SUDDAM HUSSEIN, AND WAS ABLE TO WIN THE WAR WITH 120 AMERICANS KILLED IN ACTION, RATHER THAN THE THOUSANDS THAT SO MANY DEMOCRATS WERE PREDICTING.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVE OF THE WAY PRESIDENT BUSH CONDUCTED HIMSELF THROUGHOUT THE CRISIS. IN A RECENT POLL CONDUCTED BY "U.S.A. TODAY" THE PRESIDENT HAD AN OVERALL APPROVAL RATE OF 91%. INDEED, AFTER WATCHING AND READING ALL OF THE SELF-PROCLAIMED INSIDE STORIES AND CRITIQUES IN THE MEDIA, WE NOW KNOW THAT THE ONE PERSON WHO STOOD LIKE AN OAK TREE WHEN OTHERS WERE MORE LIKE WILLOW TREES WAS GEORGE BUSH. HE NEVER WAVERED IN HIS DECISION THAT IF SADDAM HUSSEIN REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH ALL 12 U.N. RESOLUTIONS, A JUST WAR WOULD BE WARRANTED, AND HE WOULD SEND OUR TROOPS INTO BATTLE.

SECRETARY BAKER, FAR MORE LACONIC THAN PRESIDENT BUSH AND FAR MORE WILLING TO MAKE A DEAL, WAS NOT AS STRONG. BUT, TO HIS CREDIT, DESPITE WHATEVER MISGIVINGS HE MAY HAVE HAD, HE FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS THAT HE RECEIVED FROM

THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, HIS EMPLOYER, PRESIDENT BUSH.

WE NOW ALSO KNOW THAT THE PERSON WHO HELPED THWART THE SOVIET UNION'S ATTEMPTS TO FASHION A VICTORY FOR ITSELF OUT OF THE THEN PENDING DEFEAT OF ITS CLIENT STATE, IRAQ, WAS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, GENERAL COLIN POWELL. IT WAS HE WHO ADVISED THE PRESIDENT TO SET THE NOON SATURDAY DEADLINE FOR TOTAL COMPLIANCE WHEN SO MANY WERE URGING ON THE PRESIDENT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE -- WITHOUT CONDITION. POWELL URGED THAT IRAQ'S UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE U.N. RESOLUTIONS BE A PRECONDITION TO ANY CEASE-FIRE.

FROM THAT MOMENT ON, THE SOVIET UNION WAS OUT OF IT. THEY CONCEDED AS MUCH, AND BECAME A MORE CONTRITE, WILLING PARTNER WITH THE UNITED STATES AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL, COMPELLING IRAQ TO TOTALLY GIVE IN. IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT PRESIDENT

GORBACHEV, FACED WITH A RISING TIDE OF NATIONALISM IN THE 15 SOVIET STATES, IS IN DIRE NEED OF ECONOMIC SHORING UP BY THE UNITED STATES AND HE CANNOT AFFORD TO CUT HIS LIFELINE -- A VERY PERSONAL LIFELINE -- TO GEORGE BUSH. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO IS APPARENTLY SO WARM AND RESPECTFUL THAT I SUSPECT GORBACHEV HAS LEARNED TO PLAY TENNIS TO MAKE HIMSELF EVEN MORE ACCEPTABLE TO OUR "OLD SCHOOL TIE PRESIDENT" GEORGE BUSH. IF ONLY PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR WOULD TAKE UP TENNIS: HOW MUCH BETTER IT WOULD BE FOR THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THAT COUNTRY AND ITS LEADERS TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN -- NOT GEORGE BUSH -- AS A RESULT OF A RISING TIDE OF ISOLATIONISM THAT HAS TAKEN HOLD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERSHIP, ALMOST WON THE VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON THE RESOLUTION

AUTHORIZING U.S. MILITARY ACTION AGAINST IRAQ. THE VOTE SUPPORTING PRESIDENT BUSH'S RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE USE OF FORCE WAS 52 TO 47. IF JUST 3 SENATORS HAD VOTED NO INSTEAD OF YES, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO AUTHORIZATION FOR PRESIDENT BUSH TO USE MILITARY FORCE. AND SADDAM HUSSEIN WOULD STILL BE SACKING KUWAIT.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, LED BY THOSE NEO-ISOLATIONISTS -- CITING JUST A FEW: KENNEDY, NUNN, BENTSEN, GEPHARDT AND MOYNIHAN -- IS NOW TRYING TO FIGURE OUT HOW IT CAN WIN BACK ENOUGH PUBLIC SUPPORT SO AS TO ALLOW THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO RUN, IF NOT A WINNING RACE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1992, AT LEAST A CREDIBLE ONE. OF COURSE, THE ONLY WAY THEY CAN DO THAT IS TO BACK PEDDLE ON THEIR PUBLICLY EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO OUR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST IRAQ -- HOPING AND PRAYING THE PUBLIC WILL FORGET THEIR DEROGATORY STATEMENTS

CONCERNING PRESIDENT BUSH, THE USE OF FORCE RESOLUTION AND OUR MILITARY ACTION IN THE GULF, BUT ONLY REMEMBER THEIR POSITIVE STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE TROOPS, AS IF THE LATTER CANCELS OUT ALL THAT CAME BEFORE.

I'M A DEMOCRAT AND PROUD OF IT. I DEFINE MYSELF AS A LIBERAL WITH SANITY. THOSE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHO ARE HOSTILE TO ME WOULD SEEK TO LABEL ME AS A NEO-CONSERVATIVE. HOW WRONG THEY ARE.

WHEN I FIRST RAN FOR THE NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY IN 1962, NEARLY 30 YEARS AGO, NEW YORK STATE LAW WAS RIDICULOUS AS IT PERTAINED TO THREE ISSUES OF PERSONAL CONCERN TO MANY NEW YORKERS, ISSUES CONSIDERED SO POTENT THAT BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE WERE AFRAID TO DEAL WITH THEM. I TOOK ON THESE THREE ISSUES WHICH WERE UNFAIRLY IMPACTING ON THE LIVES OF HUNDREDS OF

THOUSANDS OF NEW YORKERS. THEY WERE: THE REMOVAL OF THE SODOMY LAWS WHICH MADE HOMOSEXUAL PRACTICES PUNISHABLE WITH JAIL TERMS; REMOVAL OF THE LAWS PROHIBITING ABORTION; AND REMOVAL OF THE LAWS GOVERNING DIVORCE WHICH WAS ALLOWED ONLY FOR ADULTERY. BECAUSE OF THOSE THREE ISSUES, MY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE BECAME KNOWN AS THE S.A.D. COMMITTEE -- SODOMY, ABORTION, DIVORCE.

SUFFICE IT TO SAY I WAS AHEAD OF MY TIME, AND I LOST IN A DEVASTATING DEFEAT. BUT I BELIEVE THAT WHEN SOMEONE SEEKING PUBLIC OFFICE OR IN PUBLIC OFFICE IS FACED WITH MATTERS OF CONSCIENCE, HE OR SHE SHOULD NEVER WAVER. IT IS BETTER TO GO DOWN TO DEFEAT THAN TO WIN WHILE LOSING YOUR PERSONAL INTEGRITY BY RETREATING ON ISSUES YOU BELIEVE TO BE MATTERS OF MORALITY AND PRINCIPLE, BUT WHICH ARE UNPOPULAR WITH THE ELECTORATE. I HAVE NEVER REGRETTED THAT DECISION AND ALL THREE CHANGES IN

THE LAW HAVE SINCE OCCURRED. I SERVED IN PUBLIC OFFICE, THE NOBLEST OF PROFESSIONS IF DONE HONESTLY AND DONE WELL, FOR NEARLY 25 YEARS: 2 YEARS AS A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL; 9 YEARS AS A CONGRESSMAN; AND 12 YEARS AS MAYOR.

NOW THAT THE UNITED STATE HAS DECISIVELY WON THE WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF, WHAT SHOULD WE BE DOING? I BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT BUSH, AT LEAST AS FAR AS I CAN DETERMINE FROM PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY HIM AND SECRETARY BAKER, IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK, EVEN IF WHEN HE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN HIS SPEECH ON WEDNESDAY BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS HE FAILED TO GIVE CREDIT TO ISRAEL FOR STAYING OUT OF THE GULF WAR WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS FIRING SCUDS AT THEM. MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT IF THE PRESIDENT HAD SO PRAISED ISRAEL, THE CONGRESS WOULD HAVE STOOD UP AND CHEERED WHICH THE PRESIDENT

WANTED TO AVOID WHILE THROWING KISSES TO SAUDI ARABIA.

THERE IS A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO BRING PEACE NOT ONLY TO THE PERSIAN GULF AREA WITH REGIONAL SECURITY PACTS, BUT ALSO TO THAT PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE ISRAEL SITS SURROUNDED BY LEBANON, JORDAN, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT, ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN OR CURRENTLY ARE HOSTILE TO ITS VERY EXISTENCE.

TO THE GREAT CREDIT OF EGYPT, IT ENTERED INTO A PEACE TREATY UNDER PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT WHICH HAS WEATHERED MANY STORMS. EVEN IF IT HAS NOT CREATED THE WARMEST OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THOSE TWO STATES, EACH TRUSTS THE OTHER INSOFAR AS ITS BORDERS AND SECURITY ARE CONCERNED.

LEBANON IS NO LONGER A COUNTRY, BUT RATHER A LAND DIVIDED AMONG LOCAL WARLORDS AND THE SYRIANS. THERE IS AN ONGOING EFFORT IN LEBANON, WHICH HAS

THE WORLD'S ONLY CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM PARTNERSHIP GOVERNMENT, TO EXTEND ITS CONTROL TO LARGE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY CLEARLY NOT NOW UNDER ITS JURISDICTION. THIS EFFORT SHOULD BE SUPPORTED. WHILE THERE HAVE MANY PREVIOUS FAILED EFFORTS ALONG THESE LINES, SOME OF WHICH WERE SUPPORTED BY THE SYRIANS, OTHERS WHICH WERE NOT, ONE SHOULD HOPE FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE CURRENT EFFORT TO RESTORE LEBANON TO SOME SEMBLANCE OF NATIONAL UNITY.

JORDAN IS A COUNTRY THAT HOPED FOR THE SUCCESS OF SADDAM HUSSEIN AND VIOLATED THE U.N. EMBARGO BY SECRETLY PROVIDING ARMS TO IRAQ. IN ADDITION, MORE THAN 60% PERCENT OF ITS POPULATION IS MADE UP OF PALESTINIANS WHO OPPOSED KING HUSSEIN UNTIL HE JOINED WITH THEM, NOT ONLY IN SUPPORTING SADDAM HUSSEIN, BUT ALSO IN THREATENING ISRAEL AND ALLOWING ITS BORDERS, WHICH PREVIOUSLY WERE PATROLLED SO AS TO PREVENT TERRORISM AGAINST

ISRAEL, TO ONCE AGAIN BECOME POROUS, ALLOWING
TERRORIST INFILTRATORS TO ENTER ISRAEL. THOSE
TERRORISTS HAVE HAD SOME LIMITED SUCCESS AND HAVE
BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS OF ISRAELI
CIVILIANS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL.

KING HUSSEIN IS A WEAK REED AND WILL BEND WITH
THE WIND. HE IS NOW SEEKING TO RESTORE HIS PRE-WAR
RELATIONSHIP WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT WHO HAVE
CUT OFF POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO HIM AND
THE PLO BECAUSE OF THEIR SUPPORT OF IRAQ. BASED ON
ARAB HISTORY, WHERE ONE DAY YOU KILL YOUR FELLOW
ARAB AND THE NEXT DAY YOU KISS HIM ON BOTH CHEEKS,
IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME,
SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, THAT RELATIONSHIP WILL BE
RESTORED.

THEN THERE IS SYRIA WHICH JOINED THE COALITION
AGAINST IRAQ BECAUSE ITS HATRED FOR SADDAM HUSSEIN
WAS GREATER THAN ITS HATRED FOR THE UNITED STATES.

WHAT SHOULD OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SYRIA BE? I BELIEVE IT WAS PROPER TO ALLOW SYRIA TO JOIN THE COALITION AGAINST IRAQ IN THE SAME WAY THAT IT WAS PROPER FOR THE ALLIES TO JOIN WITH STALIN AND THE U.S.S.R. IN A COMMON FRONT AGAINST HITLER AND NAZI GERMANY.

NOW THAT THE BATTLE AGAINST IRAQ IS OVER, WE SHOULD USE DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES AGAINST THE SYRIANS JUST AS WE DID DURING THE COLD WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH ENDED IN A HUGE SUCCESS FOR US AS WE SAW THE SOVIET SYSTEM COLLAPSE BEFORE OUR EYES. HOPEFULLY, USING THESE PRESSURES AGAINST THE SYRIANS WILL RESULT IN MAJOR POLITICAL CHANGES IN THAT COUNTRY AND GET THE SYRIANS TO UNDERSTAND THEY WILL NOT WIN ANY WAR THEY WAGE AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBORS AND, THEREFORE, SHOULD GIVE UP THEIR VIOLENT PROPENSITIES.

SAUDI ARABIA HAS COME OUT OF THIS BATTLE AGAINST IRAQ WITH A GREAT APPRECIATION OF ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES. KING FAHD AND HIS AMBASSADOR PRINCE BANDAR BIN SULTAN IN WASHINGTON HAVE CONDUCTED THEMSELVES EXTRAORDINARILY WELL. INDEED, WHEN THE QUESTION WAS ASKED OF THE MAJOR MEMBERS OF THE COALITION, SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, KUWAIT AND SYRIA, THEY ALL AGREED THAT IF ISRAEL RETALIATED AGAINST IRAQ BECAUSE OF THE SCUDS THE IRAQIS LAUNCHED INTO ISRAEL, IT WOULD NOT SPLINTER THE COALITION.

IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THE UNITED STATES SUCCEEDED IN PREVENTING ISRAEL FROM DEFENDING ITSELF BY CONVINCING THE ISRAELIS TO ALLOW THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY MILITARY ACTIONS IN ISRAEL'S DEFENSE PARTICULARLY AGAINST THE SCUD MISSILES. IF ISRAEL HAD ENTERED THE WAR, IN ADDITION TO THE DAMAGE ITS SOLDIERS COULD HAVE

DONE TO IRAQ'S MILITARY, IT MAY ALSO HAVE BENEFITTED ON A FRATERNAL LEVEL THROUGH ITS SHARED COMMITMENT WITH COALITION FORCES IN SEEING IRAQ DEFEATED. BUT THAT PERIOD IS OVER AND THAT OPPORTUNITY LOST.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE NOW? I BELIEVE WITHOUT QUESTION THAT THERE ULTIMATELY MUST BE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE ON THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND GOLAN HEIGHTS. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT IF THE CONDITIONS THAT MUST PRECEDE SUCH TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE OCCURRED, LAND FOR PEACE WOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF AN OVERWHELMINGLY NUMBER OF ISRAELIS.

THERE ARE 22 ARAB STATES. ONLY EGYPT HAS ENTERED INTO A PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL. THE OTHER 21 STATES STILL MAINTAIN A FORMAL STATE OF BELLIGERENCY AND A BLACK LIST AGAINST THOSE WHO TRADE WITH ISRAEL. WE NOW KNOW THAT THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE WEST BANK IS REAL. IT PROVIDES A

GEOGRAPHICAL BUFFER WHICH, IF ISRAEL WAS THREATENED BY OUTSIDE FORCES, WOULD GIVE ISRAELI FORCES TIME TO MOBILIZE BEFORE THE ENEMY APPEARED AT ITS EARLIER BORDERS. WHILE THE ADDED DISTANCE DID NOT STOP THE SCUDS FROM ENTERING ISRAEL, IT DID MAKE THEM LESS ACCURATE. BEFORE 1967 THE WEST BANK REACHED WITHIN ONLY NINE MILES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA FROM WHICH 80% OF ISRAEL'S POPULATION WERE VULNERABLE TO ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT. AS THINGS NOW STAND, TO RETURN TO SUCH A STATE OF VULNERABILITY IS SIMPLY NOT ACCEPTABLE.

BUT IF THE 21 ARAB STATES, PARTICULARLY THE CONFRONTATION STATES, WERE TO FORSWEAR THE OPTION OF WAR AGAINST ISRAEL, REQUIRE THE ELIMINATION OF ALL TERRORIST BASES WITHIN THEIR BORDERS, AND OPEN THEIR BORDERS FOR PEACEFUL COMMERCIAL TRADE WITH ISRAEL, THEN I BELIEVE THAT THE NECESSARY SENSE OF SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES COULD BE

ESTABLISHED THAT WOULD ALLOW FOR TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE.

HOW CAN THIS BE DONE? IT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY PRESSURING ISRAEL TO FIRST SIT DOWN WITH THE PALESTINIANS WHO CHEERED FROM THEIR ROOFTOPS AS SCUD MISSILES FELL ON ISRAEL AND VOICED THE HOPE THAT THE SCUDS HAD POISON GAS OR BIOLOGICAL WARHEADS. OBVIOUSLY, THEY HAVE TO BE A PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT THEIR VILLAINY IS ETCHED INTO THE MINDS OF EVERY JEW IN OR OUT OF ISRAEL WHO SAW IN THE HATRED THEY DISPLAYED, WHAT ISRAELI AND JEWS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD COULD EXPECT IF THEY WERE EVER SUBJECT TO THEIR POWER.

YET THEY CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO LIVE UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION FOREVER. SELF-DETERMINATION IS A PRINCIPLE WHICH CANNOT BE DENIED OR FOREVER PREVENTED FROM ESTABLISHING ITSELF. THE ONLY WAY TO GIVE ISRAEL SECURITY AND HAVE THE PALESTINIANS,

WHO ARE CAUGHT UP IN HATE, RESTRAINED WITHOUT THE USE OF ISRAELI MILITARY FORCES, IS TO HAVE THE CONFRONTATION ARAB STATES SITTING AT THE PEACE TABLE AT THE SAME TIME AND AGREEING TO THE PRIOR PEACEFUL CONDITIONS WHICH I OUTLINED ABOVE. TO SEEK AT THE U.N. OR ELSEWHERE TO IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT ON ISRAEL THAT WOULD REQUIRE ISRAEL TO VACATE WITHOUT A PRIOR REAL PEACE WITH ITS ARAB NEIGHBOR STATES, ALONG WITH ALL THE IMPLICATIONS SUCH AN ACTION WOULD HAVE, WILL NEVER HAPPEN. ISRAEL AND ITS CITIZENS WILL NOT GO QUIETLY INTO THE NIGHT.

I DON'T BELIEVE IT IS UNREASONABLE OR IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THE ARAB STATES TO SEE THIS COMPROMISE AS REASONABLE AND RATIONAL. TO ACHIEVE IT OBVIOUSLY WILL REQUIRE THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO USE ALL THEIR POWERS OF PERSUASION, BECAUSE IT CANNOT BE IMPOSED UPON THEM

EITHER. IT HAS TO BE UNDERSTOOD THAT U.N. RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 DO NOT REQUIRE ISRAEL TO GIVE UP ITS TOTAL OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS.

FIRST IT IS SUBJECT TO A PEACE AGREEMENT (SECURE BORDERS) BY THE STATES IN THE AREA WHO ARE IN A STATE OF WAR AGAINST ISRAEL. ALSO THERE IS NOT A UNILATERAL REQUIREMENT ON THE PART OF ISRAEL TO VACATE THE ENTIRE OCCUPIED AREA. THE RESOLUTION WAS CAREFULLY DRAWN TO ALLOW FOR NEGOTIATION AND TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. REMEMBER THE ARTICLE "THE" WAS PURPOSELY OMITTED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO ALLOW FOR PERMANENT CHANGES IN THE BORDERS.

ISRAEL IS NOT WITHOUT BLAME HERE. IT HAS, THROUGH ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, CREATED MAJOR PARTIES THAT ARE DEPENDENT ON SMALL AND, IN MANY CASES, ZEALOT RELIGIOUS PARTIES FOR ASSEMBLING AN

ELECTORAL MAJORITY AND IT HAS AS ITS PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, A ZEALOT HIMSELF, WHO IT WOULD APPEAR CANNOT UTTER THE PHRASE "TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE" WITHOUT CHOKING. BUT LAST WEEK IN AN UNEXPECTED, MODEST BREAKTHROUGH, SHAMIR SAID IN AN INTERVIEW, AFTER STATING HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THAT THE ISSUE OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS NOT UP FOR NEGOTIATION, THAT HE IS WILLING TO CONDUCT TALKS WITH THE ARABS WITHOUT A FORMAL RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL BY THE ARABS.

HOWEVER, I BELIEVE IF HE CANNOT AGREE TO TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE, MEANING A SEPARATE ENTITY INDEPENDENT OR PART OF JORDAN, SUBJECT TO REASONABLE PRIOR CONDITIONS AS I HAVE OUTLINED THEM, AND RECOGNIZING THAT JEWS WOULD CONTINUE TO LIVE IN PARTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WITH ISRAEL EXERCISING SOVEREIGNTY OVER THOSE AREAS, THEN THE ONLY HOPE WOULD BE HIS ELECTORAL REMOVAL

WITH SOMEONE NEW IN THE LIKUD OR A REJUVENATED
LABOR PARTY TAKING CONTROL. THAT APPARENTLY CAN
ONLY HAPPEN IF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IS REFORMED AND
THERE IS DIRECT ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET,
RATHER THAN PARTY LISTS AS IS CURRENTLY THE CASE.

PEACE CAN BREAK OUT. IT WILL BREAK OUT.

THANK YOU.