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**Folder Title:**  
B'nai B'rith 9/8/92 [OA 7579] [2]

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# FACT CHECK COPY

Draft 3  
September 4, 1992  
9:00 p

22 SEP 4 FID: 21

[BNAI]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: B'NAI B'RITH  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
SEPTEMBER 8, 1992  
11:00 A.M.

It is a great honor to be here with you today.

[Acknowledgements.]

We've witnessed a world of change. Across Europe, across continents, from Panama City to Prague, millions of men and women now celebrate a new birth of freedom -- a new world of hope.

With change comes new challenges. For America, the end of the Cold War means the beginning of a new era -- a new era of economic competition that America simply must and will win. We must recognize the new reality about domestic, economic and foreign policies. In our world today, these three topics have become one issue. In order to prevail, the United States must be not only a military superpower, but an economic superpower -- an export superpower as well. //

Yet you and I both know that America is about more than the GNP. Our strength as a people cannot only be measured by per capita income. The state of our American union <sup>g#</sup> reflects not simply the productivity of our economy but the character of our society: How well we care for one another, in the wake of natural tragedies like Hurricane Andrew -- in the face of all-too-human tragedies of hate and unreason and violence. This is

what defines us. This is the true measure of what America means, to ourselves -- to the world.

This willingness to reach out, to help those in need -- to recognize across all the divides of color and culture and creed our shared human spirit -- this is what B'Nai B'rith is all about. For ~~150~~ <sup>150th</sup> years, the members of this organization have served as the nation's conscience. And part of America's conscience must always be to fight anti-semitism wherever and whenever it appears.

OK Entering 150th year

I wish that I could stand before you today and say that anti-semitism is history, but it is not. Not when there are hate crimes here and brown shirts abroad. And let's call the <sup>them</sup> thing by <sup>their</sup> its right name -- not neo-Nazis, but Nazis. That's a sorry commentary on human nature.

them - Nazis  
it - Nazism  
A thing is  
not a Nazi;  
a person is.

And let's all be clear: Neither Jew nor Gentiles is safe so long as anti-semitism <sup>lives.</sup> ~~fosters.~~ WC fosters: verb.

But we're not helpless. And we're doing something about it.

// In this country, we will <sup>continue to</sup> aggressively employ the Hate Crimes Act to bring to justice those who traffic in the gutter. And I give you this pledge: I will continue to do my utmost, here and abroad, so that this prejudice is finally / finally, finally, banished from the human heart! //

But we're not helpless. And we're ~~doing something about it.~~

~~// In this country, we will aggressively employ the Hate Crimes Act to bring to justice those who traffic in the gutter. And I give you this pledge: I will continue to do my utmost,~~

Yes!  
But put pause  
line here to  
get him  
to sit  
and let  
audience  
clap.  
Sometimes  
he goes on  
& reads the  
first few  
words of the  
next line  
before

~~here and abroad, so that this prejudice is finally, finally, finally, banished from the human heart!~~

In the end, anti-semitism and prejudice mock and threaten the basic principle upon which the United States is founded. They mock our belief in individual rights and in the human being, created as the Bible tells us, in the image of God. And because of that powerful belief in basic humanity, nothing is more sacred to Americans than the principle of religious liberty.

In the words of George Washington, ~~whose letter we~~ ~~rededicate today.~~ "...the government of the United States... gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution, no assistance.... While everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and figtree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." And here's the difference, the vital difference between this American creed and others. Because for us that freedom of religion is no gift of government -- no privilege to be granted or withheld -- it is a fundamental human right. //

Let's take heart that this American creed is spreading, that people in our time are demanding and getting those rights they have been denied so long. And changes in our world have come so fast that I say they are nothing short of Biblical -- and by that I mean just plain old-fashioned miraculous.

Just think about it. Just a few years ago, who would have thought we would no longer live under the threat of nuclear conflagration? Who would have thought the scarring symbol of an era -- the Berlin Wall -- would be found only in museums and

No rededication ceremony  
We said no to them  
3W letter to Hebrew Congregation Rhode Island Aug 1990

1 left

chipped into paperweights? Above all, who would have predicted the Soviet Union would be found only in the pages of history?

And know this: the miracles aren't only confined to Europe. Even in the Middle East, events have defied all the predictions. For today, direct, bilateral talks are taking place between Israel and her neighbors.

You may recall we were told we couldn't succeed -- we couldn't bring the parties together. But we did.

I want to dwell for a moment on this breakthrough, because I know it matters deeply to everyone in this hall. Let me take you back nearly a year ago to another hall, in Madrid. There, gathered around the table were representatives of Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, <sup>ok</sup> Egypt, Palestinians -- and Israel. [~~For nearly half a century they had not met outside the battlefield.~~] But for the first time they came together not to fight -- but to talk.

Then, as now, the goal is not just a ceasefire or a truce, but peace, real peace. Not simply the end of war -- but genuine reconciliation. A peace both broad and deep, a peace codified by treaties, and given life by trade and tourism, by open borders - - the fabric of peace knit together even more tightly by the simple human contact of peoples who've known each other far too long as enemies. A comprehensive peace, rooted in Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. A peace that at long last will allow the peoples of the Middle East to turn their energies,

Oct. 30  
Egypt had Camp David accord

their resources, their lives to creation rather than destruction  
 -- to great works rather than great wars.

Today, as we speak, the parties that met first at Madrid are mid-way through the sixth round of bilateral negotiations. There has been progress. Delegations are exchanging not only handshakes, but for the first time -- written proposals. Public posturing has decreased -- and meaningful private dialogue has increased.

Of course, major hurdles remain. It will take time and effort and courage and trust. But there is clearly a way -- and increasingly, a will.

The evidence is mounting: The many positive steps taken by Israel's new government that improve day-to-day life for Palestinians and signal its seriousness about peace -- Egypt's invitation that made it possible for Prime Minister Rabin to make his first trip outside Israel to an Arab country -- Syria's relaxation of travel restrictions affecting its Jewish citizens. Further gestures, such as an end to the Arab boycott, can only help in bringing about an environment conducive for negotiation and reconciliation.

I am proud of the role we've played in breaking the long-standing taboo against direct talks between Israel and her neighbors. Israel sought direct talks for 43 years -- and it was right to do so. If you do not talk -- you can have no hope of making peace. Now, there is such a hope.

336.  
5158.

x7126.

1 text

I'm also proud of what we have done to end Israel's diplomatic isolation internationally. Thanks to our efforts, we succeeded -- after 17 years -- in getting the UN General Assembly to repeal what should never have been enacted in the first place.

Zionism is not racism -- not before / not now / not ever. //

And thanks to our efforts, China and India and Turkey and many other nations -- countries representing 2 billion people -- now have full diplomatic relations with Israel. Already this has created not only greater contact for Israel worldwide, but new economic opportunities.

And I know this audience knows of our efforts to open the gates in the former Soviet Union and also rescue Ethiopian Jews. Now hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children who only a few years ago lived in fear or neglect in the Soviet Union or Ethiopia now live in Israel, free to live, work and worship as their heart tells them they must.

Persuading parties to talk peace / ending Israel's international isolation / assisting in the in-gathering of Jews into Israel: These are the three great aims that have guided Israel from its founding. And we didn't just talk about helping Israel in these areas -- we delivered. That's a fact of which every American can be proud.

And here's another fact. When the chips were down, when Israel and many other countries were threatened by the most brutal aggression, America was there. We stopped Saddam Hussein.

16

Sounds like your rescuing E. Jews from S. Union

step

Can't verify from what I know about other countries added to this

cliche

(1) left  
Exaggerating too much  
to equate Hussein  
w/ fear of Cold  
War?

And that terrible time when the world feared that the Cold War would be replaced by a new age of Saddam -- that's over, too. Let's recall some simple facts. Saddam Hussein's rise to power and aggression were not caused by the United States.

pre war  
5,500  
tanks

FACT  
CHECK??

We were not the reason Saddam Hussein was on the verge of acquiring nuclear weapons. We were not the reason Saddam Hussein had <sup>more than</sup> 5000 tanks -- or 5000 pieces of artillery -- or the 4th largest army in the world. This was his own doing.

And whatever differences I had with my critics -- and with some would-be revisionists who want to rewrite history -- cannot obscure this fact: After August 2, while my critics stood by and second guessed -- I acted to take care of that threat.

HAHA!!!  
About!  
About!

Ask yourself where the Middle East would be today -- where Israel's security would be today -- if we had followed the counsel of my critics. Ask yourself where we would be if we had someone in the Oval Office who would have <sup>waffle & faltered?</sup> mattered -- <sup>WC!!!</sup> who would have wavered and wanted to have it both ways. Where would we be? I'll tell you: We'd be facing a nuclear-armed Iraq, with a choke-hold on the world's oil supplies -- and threatening Israel's very existence. Israel's very survival would be at stake -- and we'd be talking about whether there was any chance to avoid nuclear Armageddon in the Middle East.

Well, Desert Storm swept away that nightmare and because of America's courage today, we see the dawn of peace.

There is still work to be done. The Middle East -- indeed, the world -- is still a dangerous place. Terrorists continue to

target the innocent. The proliferation of conventional arms as well as weapons of mass destruction casts a cloud over the region's future; Iraq's Saddam Hussein, however much weaker and defeated, still brutalizes his own people and resists the will of the international community. The need for Israel to remain strong is beyond question, and it clearly includes having a defensive capability against missile attack. The importance of that was demonstrated by the Gulf War. And that's the reason that I've proposed to Israel that it participate in our development of a global protection system! So, the need for US-Israeli strategic partnership and cooperation remains stronger than ever.

And we're also going to see that partnership at work this week. Because I am happy to tell you that I am sending to the Congress legislation requesting up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to aid Israel's government in the absorption of these newcomers. And I know I can count on the support of every one in this room to make sure that this proposal becomes law.

I am glad that Prime Minister Rabin and I were able to reach an understanding on loan guarantees when we met in Kennebunkport last month. He outlined for me the new Israeli government's new priorities, committed to investing in Israel itself, and determined to avoid steps that could hamper progress toward peace. I share that commitment. And, as a result, we will be able to promote peace and welcome new immigrants at one and the same time. Both are humanitarian undertakings; both deserve our

Baker  
conf

Issues  
Fact  
Bush promoting  
U.S./Israeli  
Partnership

"These newcomers" needs to refer back to immigrants. There's no mention close by.

Aug 10-11

immigrants  
stood

full support. It was important not to choose between them, and I am glad that we are now in a position to promote both objectives.

As for the future, I am confident that on most issues, on most occasions, we and Israel will find ourselves in agreement. I, for one, am committed to revitalizing the tradition of full consultations between the United States and Israel on the entire range of issues affecting stability in the Middle East. I know the Prime Minister shares this commitment. And let me emphasize this point: There will be no surprises.

Hels Delaguna "too much" sounds like a candidate delving out promises.

→

Let Me be clear:

~~I pledge to you that we will work hard to keep any divide to a minimum. Our support for Israel and its security is not simply a policy. It is a principle. As I said after Prime Minister Rabin and I met in Maine, "this is a relationship based on a shared commitment to democracy and common values, as well as a shared commitment to Israel's security, including its qualitative military edge. This is a special relationship, one specially built to endure.~~

OK per BQ Fact Sheet Issue: Israel

"It is one that is built to endure."

No doubt there will be times when we disagree. Even friends disagree. Even democratic governments like Israel and the United States disagree. But here's the point: These are disagreements between friends and I emphasize that word, friends.

There may even be issues where you and I will take opposing sides. And things may get hot and words, hurtful words, may be exchanged. // In the past, some remarks of mine were misinterpreted. I have gone on the record expressing my sorrow for any pain this may have caused and I'll go on the record again

Can't we rework this could be the "sounbite" "The President apologizes again" today.

-- right here and now again. But let me also express the hope that some of the critics who've been a little quick to use words like "anti-semitism" will also rethink what they've said.

Let's be clear about this: I support, I endorse, and I deeply believe in the God-given right of every American to promote what they believe. It is your right as an individual. It's more than a right. It's a duty as an American citizen. //

But let me also say that it is important that we learn how to disagree. ~~How~~ a debate ~~is~~ conducted in a democracy is not careless, it's a mark of civility and freedom. I hardly need to tell anyone in this room just what anti-semitism is. As my friend Abe Foxman pointed out, to accuse those who may come to different conclusions on one or another public issue of harboring anti-semitism is to cheapen the term. That is dangerous. That

OK  
This goes on too far. Also sounds patronizing!

"dilutes the value & the meaning of the word & the experience and its impact"

is deeply wrong. And when those words, without justice, have been aimed at me -- I can tell you: They cut to the heart. //

But let's put all of this aside now and look to the future.

I've talked to you here about my optimism for that future. We come <sup>together</sup> at a blessed time. The Cold War is over. And Israeli peace talks have begun. (H)

There is another reason to be optimistic. The American people will soon exercise their unbroken <sup>more than</sup> two hundred-year-old <sup>more than 200 years</sup> democratic right to elect a President. And I'm optimistic too about the identity of that new President ~~so there I go again~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~in the Harry Truman mode~~. But, let me leave you with this.

Yuk - will only get lukewarm chuckle at best

~~However it turns out, commitment to freedom and democracy, to~~

Don't want to say this or you negate differences you just spell out in speech. You make your point here in the next 2 graphs. Just delete this one.

~~tolerance and opportunity in America and around the world will not change.~~

You are members of a community that has long and great tradition of political participation. B'nai B'rith stands for opportunity, for tolerance, for opposing anti-semitism and the ugly face of hate in all its forms. You stand too for stalwart support for America's close friend and ally, Israel.

And, let me simply say that for all these issues, I am proud to stand with you. //

Thank you -- and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

*Quote from scripture would be useful here*

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

CONVERSATION WITH MARK NEWMAN MAX FISHER RE B'NAI BRITH

- This is the only time the President has addressed a largely Jewish American audience since his election in '88. This is seen as a very important opportunity for him -- and the audience is expecting to hear words of wisdom, leadership, vision, emotion and sincerity.
- There are three main themes to hit here:
  - First, Anti-Semitism. Mention the President's disgust for recent events in Germany. Mention same disgust for domestic hate crimes. The President's last State of the Union address was unprecedented because it was the only time a President has used that forum to speak out against anti-semitism. Specifically, he said: ". . . If you read the papers and watch TV, you know there's been a rise these days in a certain kind of ugliness: racist comments, anti-Semitism, an increased sense of division. Really, this is not us. This is not who we are. And this is not acceptable."
  - Second, Church-State issue. Pat Buchanan's affiliation with the President is seen as a quite a negative. Fisher suggests the President give a strong assertion of his belief in the separation of church and state. The President in 1988 asserted this with the words "Good fences, good neighbors," paraphrased from a Robert Frost poem, "The Mending Wall."
  - Also, the BB mission statement mentions "citizen advocacy" -- an opportunity for the President to assert his strong belief in this citizen advocacy -- "this is fundamental to America." Fisher suggested the President commend BB "for speaking out forcefully for what they believe in." Commend them for speaking boldly, pushing the debate, etc.
  - Third, follow by saying, "This is what I believe in. I believe in what you believe." The idea that hate and bigotry are but a weak enemy to American values. Language that asserts that the President will always speak out against hate crimes, against bigotry, because "this is what I believe. This is who I am."
- Other points to address. Soviet Jewry re accomplishments of the Bush Administration. Fisher will be addressing this somewhat in his introduction -- citing that George Bush has changed the world, opened doors for the Jewish people. Also will suggest that if GB had been President in 1930s, Hitler would have never enjoyed success, playing off of metaphor with GB's unprecedented gathering of coalition partners for Desert Storm.
  - In 1987, the President spoke to 250,000 Soviet Jews on the mall, saying that the Soviet Jews should be allowed to immigrate -- not just five or six. He said, "Let all those who want to leave go." At the time, it was seen as "pie in the sky" words, never to happen (much like the President's

call for the end of the Cold War). Since his Presidency, 350,000 Soviet Jews have immigrated to Israel; approximately 120,000 have immigrated to the U.S., with about another 45,000 expected by the end of this year.

- The Israel issue -- which Fisher and Newman don't want to step on the toes of Dennis Ross and Richard Haas, but will assist if we need further info.

~~Draft 4  
September 7, 1992  
1:00 p.m.  
[BNAI]~~

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: B'NAI B'RITH  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
SEPTEMBER 8, 1992  
11:00 A.M.

It is a great honor to be here with you today.

[Acknowledgements. And let me express my concerns for my good friend Max Fisher, who was to be with us today....]

We've witnessed a world of change. Across Europe, across continents, from Panama City to Prague, millions of men and women now celebrate a new birth of freedom -- a new world of hope.

With change comes new challenges. For America, the end of the Cold War means the beginning of a new era -- a new era of economic competition that America simply must and will win. We must recognize the new reality about domestic, economic and foreign policies. In our world today, these three topics have become one issue. In order to prevail, the United States must be not only a military superpower, but an economic superpower -- an export superpower as well. //

Yet you and I both know that America is about more than the GNP. Our strength as a people is not measured merely by per capita income. The state of our American union ~~reflects~~ reflects not simply the productivity of our economy but the character of our society: How well we care for one another, in the wake of natural tragedies like Hurricane Andrew -- in the face of all-too-human tragedies of hate and unreason and violence. This is

what defines us. This is the true measure of what America means, to ourselves -- to the world.

This willingness to reach out, to help those in need -- to recognize across all the divides of color and culture and creed our shared human spirit -- this is what B'Nai B'rith is all about. For 150 years, the members of this organization have served as the nation's conscience. And part of America's conscience must always be to fight anti-semitism and other forms of prejudice wherever and whenever they appear.

I wish that I could stand before you today and say that anti-semitism is history, but it is not. Not when there are hate crimes here at home and brown shirts abroad. That's a sorry commentary on human nature.

Let's all be clear: A world willing to allow Jews to be persecuted is a world certain to allow other tyrannies to emerge. Neither Jew nor Gentile is safe so long as anti-semitism festers.

But we're not helpless. And we're doing something about it.

// In this country, we are aggressively employing the Hate Crimes Act to bring to justice those who traffic in the gutter. And I give you this pledge: I will continue to do my utmost, here and abroad, so that prejudice is finally / finally / finally, banished from the human heart. //

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In the words of George Washington to the Hebrew congregation of Rhode Island, "...the government of the United States... gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.... While everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and figtree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." And here's the difference, the vital difference that sets apart our American creed. For us, freedom of religion is no gift of government -- no privilege to be granted or withheld -- it is a fundamental human right. //

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I want to dwell for a moment on this breakthrough, because I know it matters deeply to everyone in this hall. Let me take you back nearly a year ago to another hall, in Madrid. There, gathered around the table were representatives of Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Palestinians -- and Israel. For nearly half a century they had not met <sup>-- all together --</sup> outside the battlefield. But for the first time they came together not to fight -- but to talk.

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Today, as we speak, <sup>the</sup> parties that met first at Madrid are mid-way through the sixth round of bilateral negotiations. There has been progress. Delegations are exchanging not only handshakes, but for the first time -- written proposals. Public posturing has decreased -- and meaningful private dialogue has increased.

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I am proud of the role we've played in breaking the long-standing taboo against direct talks between Israel and her neighbors. Israel sought direct talks for 43 years -- and it was right to do so. If you do not talk -- you can have no hope of making peace. Now, there is such a hope.

I'm also proud of what we have done to end Israel's diplomatic isolation internationally. Thanks to our efforts, we succeeded -- after 16 years -- in getting the UN General Assembly to repeal what should never have been enacted in the first place.

Zionism is not racism -- not before / not now / not ever. //

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You know, four years ago when I spoke to you in Baltimore, I noticed a banner hung *on the wall of the room* ~~in the back of the room~~ that read: Where do Soviet Jews apply for glasnost?

As I prepared to come here today, I thought of that banner. I thought of the hopes we had then -- and I thought of the pledge I made: That in every single meeting with Soviet officials, I would raise the issue of Soviet Jews. //

My friends, I could not forget that banner -- I did not forget that pledge -- and today, together, we celebrate this miracle: *Nearly half a million* More than 400,000 Jews have come out of the Soviet Union -- to freedom. To Israel. //

Persuading parties to talk peace / ending Israel's international isolation / assisting in the in-gathering of Jews into Israel: These are the three great aims that have guided Israel from its founding. And we didn't just talk about helping Israel in these areas -- we delivered. That's a fact of which every American can be proud.

*True  
?]*

And here's another fact. When the chips were down, when many countries, including Israel, were threatened by the most brutal aggression, America was there. We stopped Saddam Hussein.

And that terrible time when the world feared that the Cold War would be replaced by a new age of Saddam -- that's over, too. Let's recall some simple facts -- facts that some would-be revisionists rewriting history would like to hide or distort.

Saddam Hussein's rise to power and aggression were not caused by the United States. // We were not the reason Saddam Hussein was on the verge of acquiring nuclear weapons. We were not the reason Saddam Hussein had more than 5000 tanks -- or 3500 pieces of artillery -- or the 4th largest army in the world.

And whatever differences I had with my critics cannot obscure this fact: After August 2, while some stood by and second-guessed -- I acted to take care of that threat. //

I knew when I took the oath of office, that every President faces difficult decisions -- and there is no decision more difficult than sending this country's young men and women in harm's way. In the end, it comes down to this: You cannot make that kind of decision -- unless you are certain you understand what is at stake.

I knew what was at stake.

And because of the bravery of America's sons and daughters in Desert Storm -- America today is safer. Israel today is safer. //

Ask yourself where the Middle East would be today -- where Israel's security would be today -- if we had followed the counsel of my critics.

Ask yourself where we would be if we had someone in the Oval Office who would have waffled -- who would have wavered and wanted to have it both ways.

Where would we be? I'll tell you: We'd be facing a nuclear-armed Iraq, dominant in the Middle East, with a chokehold on the world's oil supplies -- and threatening Israel's very existence. Israel's very survival would be at stake -- and we'd be talking about whether there was any chance to avoid nuclear Armageddon in the Middle East.

Well, Desert Storm swept away that nightmare and because of America's courage today, we now have the chance to see the dawn of peace in the Middle East.

There is still work to be done. The Middle East -- indeed, the world -- is still a dangerous place. Terrorists continue to target the innocent. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction casts a cloud over the region's future. Iraq's Saddam Hussein, however much weaker, defeated, and locked in the prison of his own country -- still brutalizes his own people and resists the will of the international community. The need for Israel to remain strong is beyond question, and it clearly includes having a defensive capability against missile attack. Scud attacks on Israel made that clear to everyone. For that

reason, I've proposed to Israel that it participate in our development of a global protection system.

Let me say to you: You ought to take a good, close look at anyone who claims to be a friend of Israel -- but opposes development of the defenses like GPALS that may be the only effective way to stop missile attacks on Israel. //

The <sup>0</sup>point is: The need for US-Israeli strategic partnership and cooperation remains as strong as ever.

And we're also going to see that partnership at work this week. Because I am happy to tell you that I am sending to the Congress legislation requesting up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to aid Israel's government in the absorption of <sup>immigrants.</sup> these newcomers. And I know I can count on the support of every one in this room to make sure that this proposal becomes law. / And don't let any Member of Congress tell you we can't afford to do this. We can -- and we must. //

And today, I ask you: Take that message to Capitol Hill.

And believe me, I know that you will. //

I am glad that Prime Minister Rabin and I were able to reach an understanding on loan guarantees when we met in Kennebunkport last month. He outlined for me the new Israeli government's new priorities, committed to investing in Israel itself, and <sup>stood</sup> determined to avoid steps that could hamper progress toward peace. I share that commitment. And, as a result, we will be able to promote peace and welcome new immigrants at one and the same time. Both are humanitarian undertakings; both deserve our

full support. It was important not to choose between them, and I am glad that we are now in a position to promote both objectives.

As for the future, I am confident that on most issues, on most occasions, we and Israel will find ourselves in agreement. I, for one, am committed to revitalizing the tradition of full consultations between the United States and Israel on the entire range of issues affecting stability in the Middle East. I know Prime Minister Rabin shares this commitment. And let me emphasize this point: There will be no surprises.

Our support for Israel and its security is not simply a policy. It is a principle. As I said after Prime Minister Rabin and I met in Maine, this is a relationship based on a shared commitment to democracy and common values, as well as a shared commitment to Israel's security, including its qualitative military edge. This is a special relationship, one specially built to endure.

This relationship is important -- especially now, as we enter a new era of uncertainty. Old empires are dying -- new nations are being born. This is a time when a nation needs to know who it can count on. Israel has a stability of purpose -- a strength of spirit that has seen it through dark days. We know: Israel will be there for us. Just as we will always be there for Israel. //

No doubt there will be times when we disagree. Even friends disagree. America will have disagreements with Israel -- just as we sometimes disagree with Canada and France and Germany and

OK -  
Paraphrase  
not  
exact  
quote

Solid

Britain. Those differences are signs of the durability of our relationship -- of the democratic bonds we share. The point is this: These are disagreements between friends and I emphasize that word, friends.

There may even be issues where you and I will take opposing sides. And things may get hot and words, hurtful words, may be exchanged. // In the past, some remarks of mine -- remarks made at a press conference -- were misinterpreted. I have gone on the record expressing my sorrow for any pain this may have caused -- but I know some have said that wasn't a sufficient response to the hurt that was created. So I'll go on the record again -- right here and now -- in front of these cameras, to all the American people.

I support, I endorse, and I deeply believe in the God-given right of every American to promote what they believe. It is your right as an individual. It's more than a right. It's a duty as an American citizen. //

But let me also say that it is important that we learn how to disagree. How a debate is conducted in a democracy is not careless, it's a mark of civility and freedom. I hardly need to tell anyone in this room just what anti-semitism is. As my friend Abe Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League has pointed out, to accuse those who may come to different conclusions on one or another public issue of harboring anti-semitism is to cheapen the term. That is dangerous. That is deeply wrong. And when those

*divides the value & the meaning of the word & the experience & its impact*

words, without justice, have been aimed at me -- I can tell you:  
They cut to the heart. //

But let's put all of this aside now and look to the future.  
I've talked to you here about my optimism for that future. We  
come <sup>together</sup> at a blessed time. The Cold War is over. And Arab-Israeli  
peace talks have begun.

There is another reason to be optimistic. The American  
people will soon exercise their unbroken two hundred year <sup>more than</sup>  
democratic right to elect a President. And I'm optimistic too  
about the identity of that new President -- there I go again  
sounding like Harry Truman. / But, let me leave you with this.  
However it turns out, commitment to freedom and democracy, to  
tolerance and opportunity in America and around the world will  
not change.

You are members of a community that has a long and great  
tradition of political participation. B'nai B'rith stands for  
opportunity, for tolerance, for opposition to anti-semitism and  
the ugly face of hate in all its forms. You stand too for  
stalwart support for America's close friend and ally, Israel.

And, let me simply say that on all these issues, I am proud  
to stand with you. //

Thank you -- and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

We  
come  
where?

R.

*Started  
this year  
Aug 29*

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 The Jerusalem Post  
The Jerusalem Post

August 11, 1991, Sunday

SECTION: News

LENGTH: 120 words

HEADLINE: Elul opens 40 days of reconciliation

BYLINE: SURIE ACKERMAN

KEYWORD: Judaism, Holiday, Time

HIGHLIGHT:

Today is the first day of the Jewish month of Elul, commencing the traditional 40 days of reconciliation between God and the Jewish people that culminate next month with Yom Kippur.

BODY:

Today is the first day of the Jewish month of Elul, commencing the traditional 40 days of reconciliation between God and the Jewish people that culminate next month with Yom Kippur.

This morning, congregations all over the world began blowing the shofar (ram's horn) during morning services, which they will continue to do daily, except Shabbat, throughout the month.

The month is also marked by special penitential prayers called selichot, which are said in the early hours of the morning.

QUOTES

"Separate reeds are weak and easily broken; when bound together, they are hard to tear apart."

MIDRASH: Tanhuma Nizavim, 1; suggest context of Bush building coalition, of working with former Soviet Union on arms reduction agreement, of all people standing together to fight against the ugliness of bigotry and hate (particularly of Bush and B'nai Brith working together to this end)

"When you draw near a city to fight, first offer it peace."

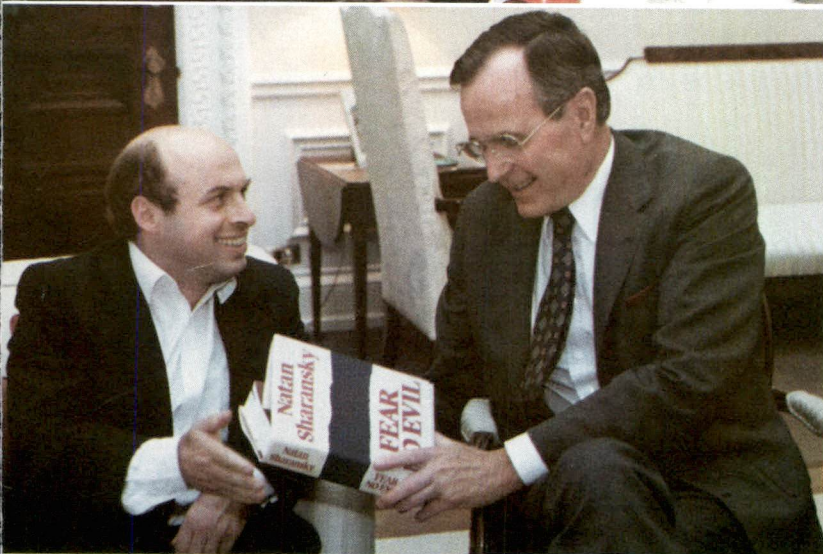
MIDRASH: Leviticus Rabbah, 9

"The whole value of a benevolent deed lies in the love that inspires it."

Talmud: Sukkah, 49b

40 days.  
Aug. 27.

Etul.)



# George Bush.

The one candidate who has proven his commitment to the Jewish people.



*The Vice President and Mrs. Bush meet with Mr. and Mrs. Teddy Kollek, in the Old City overlooking the Temple Mount, July 1986.*

## An ironclad commitment to Israel's security.

After eight years as Ronald Reagan's Vice President, George Bush has a proven track record of pro-Israel leadership. Eight years ago strategic partnership with Israel was merely a dream. Thanks to the Reagan-Bush Administration, Israel is now a full-fledged partner and major non-NATO ally of the United States. Two candidates this year ask for your trust. But only one has earned it.

*"This is my pledge: The American-Israeli strategic partnership is going to be even stronger tomorrow!"*

### **Maintaining Israel's military qualitative advantage.**

George Bush will continue to maintain Israel's qualitative and military advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries. George Bush will work to provide Israel with a defense against Arab ballistic missiles, which threaten her security.

### **Expanding the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship.**

George Bush believes that U.S.-Israel cooperation is fundamental to American strategic interests. He will continue expanding the strategic relationship with Israel by taking additional concrete steps to further institutionalize the partnership.

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*"No threat, no stone thrown, is strong enough to divide us. No wedge will be driven between America and Israel."*

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Vice President Bush joining with 250,000 demonstrators on Freedom Sunday for Soviet Jews in Washington, D.C. on Dec. 6, 1987.

## Soviet Jewry.

### **A record of leadership and accomplishment in the effort to free Soviet Jews.**

*"Let's see not five or six or 10 or 20 refuseniks released at a time, but thousands—all those who want to go."*

*"Mr. Gorbachev: Let these people go!"*  
remarks to Freedom Sunday rally  
December 6, 1987, Washington, D.C.

As Vice President, George Bush stood with 250,000 American Jews in demanding freedom for Soviet Jews on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's Washington summit. During that week, the Vice President personally raised the issue of Soviet Jews with the Soviet Leader.

Former refusenik Natan Sharansky paid tribute to George Bush's efforts to win freedom for Soviet Jews: "You met Avital in 1979 in Jerusalem and since then you never forgot my case. Having become Vice President you invited Avital to the White House and never stopped your attempts to secure my release. We are grateful for all you did for us and your contribution to freedom of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews."

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*"We are grateful for all you did for us and your contribution to freedom of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews."*

Natan Sharansky  
June 20, 1988

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The Vice President and Mrs. Bush visiting a resettlement center for Ethiopian Jews in Israel, August 1986.

## Rescue of Ethiopian Jews.

### **George Bush acted decisively to save Jewish lives.**

George Bush played the central role in initiating the historic rescue of Ethiopian Jews in 1985. Without the Vice President's intervention, these Jewish refugees would have almost certainly perished. Today, thanks to George Bush, hundreds of Ethiopian Jews have a new home in Israel, where they lead productive lives.

"Eight hundred Jews were stranded in Sudan, before the revolution. I went to see Vice President Bush at his home on a Saturday morning. He was planning to visit that area, and I mentioned the plight of the Jews, telling him of our deep belief that he

who saves one life is as if he saved the entire world. As a result of his action, 800 Jews were brought in one night by the U.S. directly to Israel. These were not Americans; the risks were enormous. But this was done by the United States. We will never forget it."

*Former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, Meir Rosenne quoted in The Jerusalem Post, June 5, 1987*

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*"...As a result of his action, 800 Jews were brought in one night by the U.S. directly to Israel."*

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*The Vice President and Shimon Peres meet in Jerusalem, August 1986.*

## The fundamentals of George Bush's commitment to Israel.

### **No Palestinian state.**

*"I oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state; its establishment is inimical to the security interests of Israel, Jordan, and the U.S."*

### **No imposed settlement—Only direct negotiations.**

*"...direct negotiations are the only viable means of securing peace between Israel and its neighbors. The U.S. cannot and will not impose a settlement, nor will we be a party to any effort to do so through a multilateral entity."*

### **U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism must be repealed.**

*"I will seek repeal of [the U.N.'s Zionism is racism] resolution. Failure to repeal that resolution will justify [reduction] of our support of the United Nations to reflect its diminished effectiveness in international affairs. Moreover, the U.S. will withdraw from the United Nations if Israel is ever denied membership."*

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*"I oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state; its establishment is inimical to the security interests of Israel, Jordan, and the U.S."*

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In 1984 George Bush was the first major American political figure to condemn Louis Farrakhan's message of racial and religious hatred.

George Bush is the highest ranking U.S. official to have seen firsthand the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz. He and his wife Barbara have also visited Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, on two occasions.

George Bush understands the lessons of the Holocaust and will fight dangerous hate groups in America.

*"There is no room in this country for racism or for anti-Semitism. Not in New York, not in Chicago, not anywhere in this great country. It's the duty of every American, especially those who aspire to leadership to condemn it wherever and whenever it appears. I condemn anti-Semitism now and I will always condemn it."*

*"The Reagan-Bush Administration supports OSI—the Nazi-hunting Office of Special Investigations, and I will support it as President."*

*"Six million innocents were killed in nations which had been regarded as great islands of civilization...By remembering, as we do now, we strengthen our conviction never to stand silent in the face of anti-Semitism."*

*"I embrace, respect, and support the wall that separates [church and state] and I would neither tear it down nor would I allow it to erode."*



*Vice President Bush and Mrs. Bush visiting Auschwitz, 1987.*

## **George Bush is unequivocal in condemning anti-Semitism and bigotry.**

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Monday

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- ② Kent Schiner - Pres
  - ① Gen. Rudy Boschwitz
  - ③ Ambassador Zalman Shoval
- intro.

B'nai B'rith Leadership



City/State: Washington, D.C.  
 Address: B'nai B'rith's (501)  
 Event: International Convention  
Sheraton Washington  
 Date: Tuesday, Sept. 8, 1992

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1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

October 29, 1991, Tuesday

LENGTH: 1006 words

HEADLINE: MIDDLE EAST GOALS SIMPLE, BUT PEACE MAY BE DIFFICULT

BYLINE: JOHN OMICINSKI; Gannett News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: MID-ADVANCE:WISHLIST

BODY:

Goals for the Middle East talks opening Wednesday in Madrid look simple on paper: Arabs want land, Israelis want peace, and President Bush wants a political dividend for U.S. leadership of the Persian Gulf War.

But the conference is the first in more than 40 years - since the Lausanne Conference of 1949 - that has the potential to offer answers to the three complex questions: How much land for peace? What kind of peace? When?

And that fact alone had led to a mood of quiet yet apprehensive optimism.

'It's a watershed,' said Joseph Sisco, a State Department Middle East veteran and President Carter's undersecretary for political affairs.

Pessimists contend that the modern Middle East always has been difficult; while optimists say that time has exhausted the Arabs and Israelis, and the differences between them may no longer be intractable.

Realists say that this may be peace's last chance for a long time, and that the United States, in the end, probably will have to arbitrate.

'If, heaven forbid, it were to fail,' said former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban in a television interview Tuesday, 'the position would be much worse than it was before.'

That echoed Jordan King Hussein's forebodings: 'This is the last opportunity, not in terms of just the reality on the ground, but in terms of the hope and the despair.'

Eban said that the United States will have to play go-between if there is to be success: 'Never have Israel and Arab states reached any signature of any agreement without an active role having been played by a third party.'

Madrid marks the first time since the Six-Day Middle East War of 1967 that all warring principals - Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Palestinian people-without-a-country - come together under a single roof.

Wednesday's opening at the Spanish Royal Palace, where delegates guarded by 12,000 police will be solemnly welcomed by Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain and addressed by Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev,

shapes up as an international TV festival of speech-making and posturing.

Fresh from its triumphs in the Cold War and Persian Gulf War, the United States will be 'at its zenith' in international geopolitics, Sisco said.

'Rightly or wrongly, the president and his advisors consider this the most important follow-up to the war the United States won in the gulf,' said Michael Mandelbaum, foreign policy director at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. 'This seems to be, in the mind of the president, the payoff from the gulf war.'

The United States has no firm position on the shape of eventual peace, except that it conform with the vague 'land for peace' language of U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 passed after the 1967 war. The United States also takes no position on establishment of a separate Palestinian state in the region.

U.S. diplomats will be playing the equivalent of a political pinball game, moving around players and positions while never directly touching them.

'It's going to be a very complicated sort of diplomacy,' Sisco explained, 'chipping away, finding out what the ideas are, finding out what the parameters are, and beginning to get these ideas interacting ...'

Following Wednesday's opening statements, talks will continue Thursday and Friday. Then, under a plan worked out by Secretary of State James Baker, each Middle East nation meets in head-to-head discussions.

Permanent peace has eluded the Middle East for most of the century. That has been especially true since 1948, when Israelis, many of them European Jews fleeing the World War II charnel house in Europe, declared a nation-state on the edge of the Arab heartland. The Israelis have fought a half-dozen wars and countless skirmishes to defend it.

WASHINGTON - Here is what the individual nations want at Madrid:

ISRAEL - Israelis wants to end economic and political isolation from the Arab world - recognition of a 'right to exist' - but not at the price of national security. Since the 1967 war, New Jersey-sized Israel has held as 'occupied territories' land claimed by Arabs: the Golan Heights, land on the West Bank of the Jordan River, East Jerusalem, a 'security zone' in southern Lebanon, the Gaza Strip. In all likelihood, only Jerusalem is non-negotiable.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, heading the Israeli delegation, has rejected concessions: 'We cannot accept preconditions to the opening of negotiations.'

SYRIA - Controlling Lebanon, well-armed and defiant Syria is Israel's major adversary at the talks. Unless Syria and Israel agree, little can happen in the region.

President Hafez Assad wants return of the strip of land called the Golan Heights, lost in the 1967 conflict, to his North Dakota-sized country, but has made no negotiable offer. It's also unclear whether Assad is willing to withdraw his 40,000 troops and 300 tanks from Lebanon, or how much support he will give to the Palestinians.

1991 GANNETT NEWS SERVICE, October 29, 1991

JORDAN-PALESTINIANS - Combined delegation has little to offer, but much to ask. Palestinians want an independent state, but may soften in exchange for Israeli agreement to freeze Jewish settlements gobbling up the territories.

If they fail to gain statehood, many Palestinians envision a semi-independent West Bank confederated with Indiana-sized Jordan.

LEBANON - Picked apart and exploded into cinders for 15 years, Maryland-sized Lebanon wants continued peace, economic revival, and renewed independence. With Syrians dictating its government policies, Iranian-sponsored kidnapers using it as a base for hostage-terrorism, and Israelis encamped in its south, President Elias Hrawi will welcome any kind of relief.

Egypt already has signed a separate peace, based on the 1978 accords worked out at Camp David among President Carter, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

The United Nations, European Community, and Arab Gulf Cooperation Council have sent observers to Madrid.

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS; MIDDLE EAST; PEACE; MIDDLE EAST PEACE: ARAB STATES  
ISRAEL RELATIONS: MADRID CONFERENCE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/4/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: MON. 9/7 10:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: B'NAI B'RITH  
SEPTEMBER 8 - 11:00 a.m.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MULLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PROVOST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m., MONDAY, SEPT. 7, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

30TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 16, 1991, Monday

SECTION: Lifestyle

DISTRIBUTION: TO NATIONAL AND FOREIGN EDITORS

LENGTH: 245 words

HEADLINE: B'NAI B'RITH HAILS REPEAL OF U.N. ZIONISM-RACISM RESOLUTION

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 16

KEYWORD: bc-Bnai-Brith-UN-resolve

BODY:

B'nai B'rith today welcomed the repeal of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379, which for 16 years falsely equated Zionism with racism and ethnic discrimination.

B'nai B'rith International President Kent E. Schiner praised those nations which co-sponsored and voted for the motion to repeal the odious resolution. "More than a decade and a half of libel has come to an end," said Schiner, who is also chairman of the United Nations Committee of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. "Perhaps the ideals of truth and justice -- and, dare we hope, peace -- are indeed becoming notions that are not beyond human aspiration."

"We at B'nai B'rith are especially proud," Schiner added, "that our full-time representation at the United Nations constantly and consistently kept this issue on the world agenda. The B'nai B'rith U.N. office, ably led by Dr. Harris Schoenberg, played no small role in the long, arduous -- and sometimes seemingly hopeless -- task that has led to this glorious vindication.

"The global Jewish community also deeply appreciates the efforts throughout the years of Ambassadors Jeane Kirkpatrick and Daniel Moynihan, as well as United States Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs John Bolton. This is truly a time for gratitude and celebration."

CONTACT: Buzzy Gordon, 202-857-6536, or Harris Schoenberg, 212-557-9008, both of B'nai B'rith

ORGANIZATION: B'nai B'rith International

GEOGRAPHIC: District of Columbia

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 The Jerusalem Post  
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December 23, 1991, Monday

SECTION: Opinion

LENGTH: 906 words

HEADLINE: Zionism, racism and peace

BYLINE: Meir Rosenne

KEYWORD: UN, Zionism, Racism, Israel, Perception, Diplomacy

HIGHLIGHT:

THERE is little cause for rejoicing at the United Nations General Assembly's vote to rescind its infamous 1975 resolution that equated Zionism and racism. The bitter irony, in fact, is that this decision, well-intentioned though it be, carries within it the seeds of potential dangers too.

BODY:

THERE is little cause for rejoicing at the United Nations General Assembly's vote to rescind its infamous 1975 resolution that equated Zionism and racism. The bitter irony, in fact, is that this decision, well-intentioned though it be, carries within it the seeds of potential dangers too.

The original resolution poised a dagger at the heart of the Jewish people, for it denied Israel - which is at the core of Jewish history and Jewish existence - the right to live - as President Bush rightly stated. Now the would-be assassin has withdrawn his dagger. Should he be praised for his civilized behavior?

The obscene 1975 declaration is now being disingenuously treated as a manifestation of the Cold War. Nonsense! It was an act of pure antisemitism, perpetrated by the Soviet Union, with the joyous collaboration of the Arab and Moslem world. Why not call it by its right name? And what has changed in that world?

This vote did nothing more than remove the mark of Cain from the UN's brow, though without even the elementary decency of an apology to the victim. And Israel was a victim, subjected at the UN to the contumely of the civilized world. Who had the courage to protest when scores of delegates walked out of the Assembly whenever an Israeli delegate rose to speak? This vote merely "revokes" an anonymous old resolution - numbered, in the Assembly's bureaucratic style - but unnamed and undescribed. What bravery!

Without a mea culpa, the criminal is morally unbound, free to act again. And, given the right circumstances in the future, who will dare predict that they won't do it again? We have had plenty of experience with such treachery.

Surely Israel and the Jewish people fully appreciate the leadership of the United States in achieving even this limited objective, and the constructive action of the 111 members who voted to repeal. But let's face it: Courage and

The Jerusalem Post, December 23, 1991

honesty were not exactly rife in the great hall.

Just consider the nature of the vote: Not one Moslem state voted to rescind.

It is fascinating and significant to realize who voted against:

Hardline communists like Cuba and Vietnam. Islamic fundamentalists like Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia. Criminal Arab/Moslem regimes like Iraq, Syria and Iran. "Moderate" Arabs like hapless Jordan, under Syria's thumb, and pathetic Lebanon, under Syria's heel. And that great exemplar and champion of democracy - Saudi Arabia.

And then there are the regimes that absented themselves, avoiding the necessity of committing themselves at all:

Kuwait, Morocco, Tunisia, and - most disappointing of all - Egypt, which persists in its cold peace with Israel.

THE GRAVE dangers are two:

One is that the UN will now consider itself, and be considered, an "even-handed" peace broker in the difficult and complex Arab-Israeli negotiations that lie ahead. It is, of course, nothing of the sort.

The security Council has never seen fit to seat Israel among its non-veto-holding regional members. In the General Assembly, a tyrannical majority can swing whichever way the passions of the day move it. And in the UN's specialized agencies, Israel's role has always been subject to threat and intimidation.

This is nothing less than special treatment for the Jews. Why should the UN be credited?

The second danger is that the revocation of this immoral act will be regarded as a "concession" to Israel in the negotiations, in return for which Israel is expected to make a major concession of its own.

This is neither reasonable nor realistic. For the 16 years of this abomination's existence, Israel has somehow managed to thrive, to create, to give new life to hundreds of thousands of new immigrants, and to remain the sole bulwark of democracy in the region. If Israel is to make concessions, it can only be as a consequence of honest, direct negotiations with its Arab adversaries by mutual accommodation. There can be no imposed solution either by the United Nations or any state.

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ABC NEWS

SHOW: THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

October 27, 1991

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BODY:

ANNOUNCER: From ABC News, This Week with David Brinkley. Now, from our Washington headquarters, here's David Brinkley.

DAVID BRINKLEY, ABC News: Hard as it is to believe, the Israeli government will have a formal official meeting this coming week with leaders of the Palestinians, a meeting of two groups that have hated, fought and killed each other for 40 years. They will meet and talk in Madrid and, oddly enough, under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union. It is indeed a new world. There are predictions the two Middle Eastern groups that still don't like each other will find it difficult or impossible to agree on anything serious, but it was a real achievement by the United States to get it organized at all. What might come out of it? [voice-over] We'll ask today's guests: the U.S. Secretary of State, James A. Baker; the Israeli Defense Minister, Moshe Arens; the leader of the Palestinian delegation, Haider Abdel-Shafi; and the original Middle Eastern shuttler, Henry Kissinger, our former Secretary of State. Our background report from Pierre Salinger in Madrid and our discussion here with George Will, Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts, here on our Sunday program. [on camera] First, a little news since the Sunday morning papers. Kiichi Miyazawa was elected President of Japan's conservative ruling party and he will be the new Prime Minister. Another Soviet republic, Turkmenia, declared itself independent. It's the 13th to go. The New York Times says federal investigators believe sources within the U.S. government tipped off drug dealers who then withdrew their money from the crooked bank, BCCI. The Washington Post says U.S. Intelligence Agency found Israel shipped missile parts to South Africa in violation of an agreement. President Bush, it says, has declined to sanction Israel so as not to undermine the peace conference. And the World Series goes to a 7th game tonight in Minneapolis. [voice-over] The Twins' center fielder, Kirby Puckett, hit a home run in the bottom of the 11th inning late last night, giving the Minnesota Twins a win over the Atlanta Braves. [on camera] Finally, Daylight Saving Time ended last night or this morning. We'll be back with all the rest of today's program in a moment.

[Commercial break]

Mr. BRINKLEY: If my count is correct, American officials have shuttled back and forth to the Middle East 32 times, trying to arrange a peace conference with the Israelis and the Palestinians. All failed. The last eight shuttle trips were by Secretary of State Baker and they are now paying off in the form of a peace conference next week. Beyond the fact that there will be a conference, nobody's sure of anything. While we await the results, ABC's Chief Foreign Correspondent, Pierre Salinger, fills in some background details from Madrid. Pierre?

PIERRE SALINGER, ABC News: [voice-over] In forging this peace process, President Bush has been able to take advantage of changing conditions in the

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Middle East and in the world.

Pres. GEORGE BUSH: We are trying to be a catalyst to bring people together and let them talk about the differences. We're not having a conference about U.S. policy. We're having a conference about bringing people together to settle age-old disputes.

SALINGER: [voice-over] Bush created a strong Arab coalition to back his war against Iraq, including Syria, a country the United States had accused of sponsoring terrorism. Syrian President Hafez Al-Assad understood he could no longer count on support from the crumbling Soviet Union and so he joined the U.S.-led alliance. And the Palestine Liberation Organization emerged from the Gulf War weakened and discredited after Arafat allied himself with Saddam Hussein. [on camera] But will this peace conference succeed? This is the third time that Arab nations and Israel have met for official peace talks. The first one took place in 1949 here in Lausanne, Switzerland when Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon met with the Jewish state, but that conference failed because the Arab nations refused to accept the existence of Israel and Israel refused to withdraw from land it had won in the 1948 war. [voice-over] That stalemate lasted for almost two decades, until 1967 when Israel, fearing an Arab attack, launched a pre-emptive war which dealt a massive defeat to its Arab enemies and left Israel in possession of Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territory. In October 1973, Egypt and Syria struck back, trying to regain their lands. Israel was caught by surprise, but recovered and destroyed much of the invading forces. In December of that year, Arabs and Jews met in Geneva. It was their second peace conference and their first face-to-face negotiations.

HENRY KISSINGER, Secretary of State: [December 1973] A problem that has defied solution for a generation does not yield to simple remedies.

SALINGER: [voice-over] Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who organized the 1973 conference, hoped it would end the Middle East conflict. Although the conference only lasted a day and a half, Kissinger began a shuttle diplomacy, traveling continuously between Israel, Egypt and Syria. The result was a successful disengagement of forces along Israel's borders.

ABBA EBAN, former Israeli Foreign Minister: It was one of the most dangerous moments in postwar international history and if it had failed, I shudder to think of what the consequences would have been.

SALINGER: [voice-over] Kissinger failed to produce a final settlement of the conflict, but Egyptian President Anwar Sadat emerged from the negotiations convinced that the only way to get Israel to return the Sinai Desert to Egypt was through diplomacy, not war.

JOSEPH SISCO, former Undersecretary of State: Egypt had never seen and Sadat certainly had never seen the disengagement agreements as an end in themselves, but rather creating situations that made addressing the fundamental problem of peace between Egypt and Israel possible.

SALINGER: [voice-over] That led to Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and to direct talks with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Jimmy Carter that resulted in the 1979 Camp David peace treaty. Diplomacy paid off for Egypt. It got back the Sinai. Now, Secretary of State James Baker has put Middle East diplomacy back on the table. ABC's National Security

correspondent, John McWethy.

JOHN McWETHY, ABC News: From the perspective of the U.S., this is a monumental achievement, just getting these parties to the table. It's the first time that the Syrians and Israelis will be sitting down ever, the first time that the Palestinians will enter real negotiations with the Israelis. This does not mean that peace is at hand, however. The negotiations promise to be long and extremely difficult. U.S. officials point to two aspects of the negotiations which would be worth watching. One of those is the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations and the Israel - Jordanian negotiations. If there's going to be progress at all, those two just might be where the progress is.

SALINGER: [voice-over] The opening of the conference next Wednesday will be more of a spectacle than a negotiating session. The real bargaining will go on four days later when a series of tough bilateral meetings begin. When Israel meets Syria, the key issues will be peace, security and the Golan Heights. Israel and Lebanon: the issues will be preventing guerrilla attacks against Israel from Lebanese soil and discussion on Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon. Israel and the Palestinians - the most complicated meeting. The subjects: the status of the Occupied Territories, Israel's settlement program and a possible offer of some form of local self-government for Palestinians. There are many pitfalls that could cause the conference to collapse at any moment.

MUHAMMED HEIKAL, Egyptian Journalist: Unfortunately, I do not see real reasons, objective reasons, logical reasons, rational reasons for really a breakthrough.

WILLIAM QUANDT, The Brookings Institution: I don't think people should panic if, within a week or so of this big event in Madrid, we discover that the parties are no longer talking to each other. It's perhaps even predictable that one or another of these tracks is simply not going to get off the ground.

SALINGER: They didn't talk long in Geneva in 1973, but Henry Kissinger understood that the only way for Arabs and Israelis to overcome their pessimism was for the United States to exert continuous pressure on both sides. When the meeting opens this week here in Madrid, it will be sign of how well the Bush Administration has done in launching the peace process and how far it still has to go. David?

Mr. BRINKLEY: Pierre, thank you, and John McWethy. The attempt to arrange a peace conference between the Israelis and their various enemies in the Middle East has a long and difficult history and not any great success. The back-and-forth Middle Eastern shuttle in search of peace originated with Henry Kissinger when he was Secretary of State. He is here with us today. Mr. Kissinger, seeing as we do all the changes that have taken place in the world, what would you hope or what would you expect to see out of next week's meeting?

HENRY KISSINGER, former Secretary of State: Well, first of all, I think it's a great achievement to assemble the conference and Secretary Baker deserves enormous credit for his dedication in bringing it about. I expect the first phase of the conference to present basically incompatible positions and I think it is very likely that a deadlock will develop, at least in some of the subgroups that are being formed. But that is when, in my view, the real negotiation will begin and then, the United States, playing the role of mediator, can try to bring the various parties together. I think we have to be open-minded to settle for something less than a complete agreement and to

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bring it along step by step.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well, if the Israeli position remains "no land for peace," there isn't much room for progress, is there?

Mr. KISSINGER: Well, the Israeli position is "no land for peace," and the Arab position is "peace," with nothing else, just the phrase of "peace," and if those remain the positions, then there is no hope for progress. But on the other hand, in the Middle East, the opening of negotiations is usually a terrific occasion for rhetoric and after that, one has to see whether anything more practical can be done. Israel has to give up some land. The Arabs have to give some content to peace. How much land, what the content for peace is and who is willing to settle for less than everything in the first place, that will be the subject of the subsequent negotiations after the formal positions are put down.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Kissinger, one of the Palestinian spokesmen said they would be happy to settle for-- would be willing to settle for some land adjoining Israel, but not in place of Israel. Does that offer some hope to you, do you think?

Mr. KISSINGER: Well, I don't know what they mean by adjoining--

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well, beside.

Mr. KISSINGER: It depends what they mean by adjoining Israel. I have always believed that Israel cannot stay in possession of all the Occupied Territories. I also don't believe they can go back to the '67 borders. I believe that it is a big step if the Arabs offer peace, but they have to give a content to the word peace. I think there is hope. They wouldn't all be coming if they weren't at least willing, after a lot of rhetoric, to let us mediate between them. They will not be able to do it by themselves and I don't think the direct talks, except for their symbolic quality, are going to get very far without American mediation.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Kissinger, the original Middle East shuttler, thank you very much for coming in today and giving us a bit of history on this. Thanks for coming. [voice-over] Coming next, Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi, leader of the Palestinian delegation to the peace conference; and shortly, Moshe Arens, Defense Minister of Israel; and our Secretary of State, James A. Baker, in a moment.

[Commercial break]

Mr. BRINKLEY: Dr. Abdel-Shafi, thank you very much for--

Dr. HAIDER ABDEL-SHAFI, Leader, Palestinian Delegation: Yes--

Mr. BRINKLEY: Thank you very for being with us today.

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Thank you.

Mr. BRINKLEY: We're happy to have you. Now--

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Thank you.

Mr. BRINKLEY: -here in the studio with us are George Will and Sam Donaldson, both of ABC News. We're all glad to have you. Now, Dr. Abdel-Shafi, the Israelis want recognition and they want a peace treaty with their Arab and Palestinian neighbors. What do you think the prospects are?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Well, as probably you know, the Palestinians have adopted a peace initiative in the meeting of the Palestine National Council in its 19th session- November 1988, where they have adopted the peace initiative based on the principle of the two-state solution as a basis for negotiations towards reaching a settlement. And I think the Palestinians are still committed to this peace initiative which, in essence, recognizes the right of Israel to exist, only it remains for Israel to respond in the same or express its acceptance of the principle of the two-state solution as a basis for negotiations.

GEORGE WILL, ABC News: Doctor, today there are two states in the territory of the old Palestinian mandate - there's Jordan and there's Israel - and it has been traditionally United States policy that there should not be a third state in the area of the old Palestine mandate. Are you saying that this traditional American policy is not compatible with the Palestinian position as they enter this peace negotiation?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Now, Palestine was always designated as the area west of the Jordan River and we have been struggling all through, since during the mandate and up till now, for recognition of our right of self-determination. So if the Americans deny us this, I think this is not fair. And Jordan is another state by itself, so our request, in my opinion, remains valid.

Mr. WILL: Doctor, Resolution 242, which is part of the basis of this peace conference, does not require that Israel withdraw from all territories or the territories taken in the '67 war, but just territories. Israel says that it has withdrawn now - and unquestionably has withdrawn now - from 90 percent of the territories it occupied in the '67 war. How much more withdrawal do you think is necessary and do you think Israel ever again will go back to borders in which it was only 10 miles wide?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Well, I don't have to respond to whether it was 10 miles wide or not, but I think Israel has occupied these territories in 1967 in a manner of aggression. And aside from the stipulation of the 242, - talking about withdrawal from occupied land - still, the first phrase which is it is inadmissible to acquire territory by force. Now, I presume that this withdrawal should be almost total from all the occupied territories and the argument that the withdrawal from Sinai would be enough or it is substantial, well, Sinai is one thing and Palestine is something else.

SAM DONALDSON, ABC News: Doctor-

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: However, if-

Mr. DONALDSON: Go ahead.

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: However, if Israel, I mean, sticks to this point, well, let us put it on the negotiating table.

Mr. DONALDSON: Dr. Shafi, you are quoted this weekend as saying that in the

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next few days, if the times comes when you think it appropriate to declare publicly your support for the principles of the PLO organization, Yasir Arafat's organization, you will do so. What did you mean by that and what is your association with the PLO?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Well, I can tell you that I am like any other Palestinian. We have- our allegiance is to our legitimate leadership, which is the PLO. We are not officials of the PLO, but certainly, as everybody knows, there is an overwhelming support for the PLO as a legitimate leadership by all the Palestinian people. Is there anything wrong with this?

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, I was going to ask you about a specific member of your delegation, Saeb Erakat. Israel has said that- Israel will not come to the table if he is still a member of the delegation because he has said publicly that the delegation was selected by and represents the PLO. Do you think Erakat should remain a member of your delegation? Do you expect him to be in Madrid?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Well, really, here I must discuss this a little bit. Now, Israel objects to dealing or to having anybody in the delegation from the PLO. What does this mean? Does it mean that Israel - I mean, Israel knows that there is an overwhelming support among the Palestinians for the PLO. Then, the request of Israel must be explained in this context. Are they refusing to talk to officials of the PLO or are they, on the other hand, refusing to talk to all Palestinian people in their state of allegiance to the PLO? I know that Mr. Erakat is not an official of the PLO. He is an ordinary Palestinian and so, I don't think that the Israeli argument holds on here. I mean, I can concede that probably he was a little provocative in what he said, but still, all the same, I think Israel must explain its position. Either she wants to talk to Palestinians or she does not want to talk to Palestinians.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well-

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, I suppose I'm asking whether you see this is as an ultimate obstacle to sitting down next Wednesday in Madrid. Do you believe that Erakat will be a member of your delegation and do you also believe that Israel will be present?

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Well, really, I don't think as long as Erakat is nominated to be a member of the delegation with the approval of the gentlemen, Mr. Hussein and Hanan Ashrawi who were talking so long with Mr. Baker- I don't think it is fair to exclude him just because he was a little provocative in what he said. But the way I explain it, I think, really leaves no reason why should Erakat be out. However, any Palestinian who can be nominated will represent the views of the Palestinians.

Mr. BRINKLEY: George, we have a few seconds.

Mr. WILL: Sir-

Mr. BRINKLEY: We don't. Sorry, satellite's gone. We're finished. Dr. Abdel-Shafi, if you can hear me, thank you very much. Pleased to have you with us-

Dr. ABDEL-SHAFI: Thank you.

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Mr. BRINKLEY: -giving us your views on this subject. Coming next, Moshe Arens, Defense Minister of Israel, from Tel Aviv; and shortly, our own Secretary of State, James A. Baker, in a moment.

[Commercial break]

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Arens, thank you very much for coming in today.

MOSHE ARENS, Israeli Defense Minister: It's nice to be with you, especially under these auspicious circumstances.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well, we certainly hope they turn out to be auspicious and again, we thank you. Now, Israel's - your country's position in relation to the Palestinians has been well known for quite a long time and I don't ask you to give away your bargaining position in advance, but as you go into these meetings, do you have anything new to offer, anything new that you can tell us about?

Mr. ARENS: Well, actually, David, I think that amongst the various rounds of negotiations that will be taking place, the negotiations with the Jordanian and Palestinian delegations probably have the greatest promise of bringing some agreement in the immediate future. And this is because it has been agreed that these negotiations will be based on two phases, the first phase being connected with the Camp David agreements, namely the establishment of a self-governing authority. That having already been agreed, I think there's a good chance that we will be able to flesh out that authority and not leave any specific problems that will disturb the relationship between Israel and Jordan.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well, you sound very hopeful and optimistic.

Mr. ARENS: Well, I think on that score yes. On that score, I think that's going to be relatively easy - not easy, relatively easy. According to the Camp David agreements, the negotiations on the permanent settlement will be held after three years of self-governing authority. That's going to be a great deal more difficult, but hopefully in three years, maybe many things will happen that will remove anxieties and differences of opinion.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Oh, good.

Mr. WILL: Mr. Arens, the preceding guest, representing the Palestinian position, spoke of the two-state solution. Is it your understanding that the two-state solution is incompatible with or compatible with traditional U.S. policy regarding the final solution here of the dispute in the old Palestine mandate?

Mr. ARENS: I think, to the best of my knowledge, that it is incompatible with the traditional U.S. position, but as I said, in the first round, when discussions will be held on the self-governing authority, I think the question won't come up or really shouldn't come up.

Mr. WILL: It is said repeatedly that Resolution 242 is the primary basis of this peace conference. It speaks of withdrawal from territories, not all territories, not the territories. As I asked in the previous segment, what does Israel think remains to be done for Israel to comply with Resolution 242, given the extent of withdrawals already from territories occupied in '67?

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Mr. ARENS: You know, the Resolution 242 talks about withdrawal from territories and not the territories - that was a subject that was discussed at the time - and the absence of the word "the" is quite deliberate and not accidental. And it also talks about secure and recognized boundaries for a State of Israel. I think that is something that needs to be understood by all the parties to the negotiation. Israel is surrounded by hostile states, has had to fight five wars in its defense in the past 43 years. There are neighbors or neighbors on the periphery like Iraq, Iran, Libya, who refuse to join the peace process, who threaten Israel. The Foreign Minister of Iran just the other day said that Israel must be destroyed. So I think, under the best of circumstances, it must be recognized that Israel will continue to have security problems and must have the kind of borders that can be defended.

Mr. DONALDSON: Mr. Arens, let me ask you the Israeli view of Saeb Erakat, this member of the Palestinian - Jordanian delegation. Is it your view that he must be excluded, otherwise you will not be in Madrid?

Mr. ARENS: I think there is a deliberate attempt here to scuttle the negotiations. Why make things difficult when, with a little effort, you can make them impossible? It was agreed that the Palestinian section of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation would not represent the PLO, would not be appointed by the PLO. And this particular gentleman, if we can call him that, of course, is trying to throw a monkey wrench into the works and we'll see how we'll handle that.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, our previous guest, who is the leader of the delegation, said that he thought Erakat may have spoken a little out of school or he may have been a little too outspoken. If Erakat simply withdraws his comments, will he then be acceptable to be a member of the delegation?

Mr. ARENS: I don't know that it would be appropriate for me to make that kind of a deal with you on television. It is a problem. I was glad to hear Dr. Abdel-Shafi say that it was a provocative statement - namely, he spoke out of turn - and so maybe the situation can be settled to everybody's satisfaction.

Mr. DONALDSON: Mr. Minister, you have said recently that you do not believe the United States has been absolutely even-handed in its approach to this problem. Did you mean that? What did you mean by that?

Mr. ARENS: Well, first of all, I have to tell you that I find it difficult to accept that the United States would take an even-handed position when negotiations are held between Israel, the only democracy in the area - the United States being the leader of the democratic community of nations - and countries run by totalitarian rulers that have time and again attacked Israel. I think it obviously should be a situation where the United States has more sympathy for this little democracy than for some of these other dictators.

Mr. DONALDSON: So your point is, I take it, that you don't expect - you do not want the United States to be even-handed and I take you think, then, the United States has not been.

Mr. ARENS: I would be disappointed if it was just even-handed, but I have to add immediately that the continuous pronouncements from Washington that the negotiations have to be based on territories for peace, that there must be an

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end to the occupation, that settlements are an obstacle to peace- they are interpreted in the Arab world as a U.S. position that all of the territories that the Arabs lost in the aggression against Israel will be retrieved and that the United States will help them retrieve them. And that, I think, is raising expectations that are not helpful for the negotiations that are coming up in Madrid.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Arens, thank you. Thank you very much for coming in to talk with us and needless to say, we hope the meeting goes well. Coming next, the U.S. Secretary of State, James A. Baker, in a moment.

[Commercial break]

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Secretary, thanks for coming.

JAMES BAKER, Secretary of State: Thank you, David.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Glad to have you with us.

Sec. BAKER: Glad to be here.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Now, you went to the Middle East, round trip, seven times and so far as we know, not a great deal happened. On the eighth time, you got this peace conference organized. What happened?

Sec. BAKER: Well, I think things were happening during the course of the first seven trips.

Mr. BRINKLEY: But you didn't tell us about them-

Sec. BAKER: Well, but there was, for instance, an announcement after one of those trips or a couple of those trips to the effect generally that some Arab countries said they would attend under certain circumstances, an announcement that I think represented a rather significant change in what had been their attitude toward- willingness to sit down with Israel and talk peace. So I think that's one of the first things that happened. Then we were able, during the course of those visits, to work out agreements with the government of Israel and others respecting the standards for representation of Palestinians, which has been something that had prevented the parties from getting together in the past. And so, I don't think it was only the last trip that made headway.

Mr. WILL: As I understand the ancient history of the argument about the settlements, the Carter Administration said, "Settlements are illegal." The Reagan Administration said, "They're not illegal, but they're an obstacle to peace."

Sec. BAKER: Yeah, that's right.

Mr. WILL: Answer me this- do Jews have less of a right to live in the West Bank than they do in Haifa and if so, why?

Sec. BAKER: I won't answer that question because that gets into the legalistics and philosophy of what our policy position is or should be toward settlements. I will say to you that it has been the consistent policy of this Administration

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that settlements are an obstacle to peace and we have declined to adopt the formulation, go back to the formulation that was expressed during the Carter Administration that they're illegal. It would not be helpful for me to hypothesize with you here this morning on this program 24 hours in advance of our leaving for the peace conference with respect to questions like that, so I hope you'll understand why I decline to answer it.

Mr. WILL: Well, we don't want you to be helpful. We want you to be newsworthy.

Sec. BAKER: I know you do.

Mr. WILL: That's why you're here. I know that it is the Administration's position that military technologies have changed and the situation in the Middle East changed because of Desert Storm and all the rest and therefore, territory and peace may not be linked as they traditionally have been thought to be linked. That said, can you imagine a settlement in which Israel is once again 11 miles wide or 10 miles wide at its narrowest point?

Sec. BAKER: Another thing I'm not going to do, George, is take a position with respect to borders or take a position with respect to exactly what 242 requires. Throughout this process, we have made it clear that the terms of reference for this conference and really for the bilateral negotiations that are going to follow, hopefully, are a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of 242. There are differing interpretations of 242. The parties will come to the table with those differing interpretations. They revolve around the questions that have been broached here in questions to prior guests on the program- all the territory, the territory. The position of the United States is simply 242 - territory for peace - and we're going to leave it right there. One of the agreements that we've made with all of the countries is we will not change U.S. policy in order to get people to the table-

Mr. WILL: Okay-

Sec. BAKER: -and throughout very long negotiations with the parties on letters of assurance, we have declined specific requests from almost every one of these parties to change U.S. policy positions.

Mr. WILL: Okay. It has been U.S. policy in the past that there are now two states in the basic Palestine mandate territory and that a third state is not required and not advisable. Is that still-

Sec. BAKER: It continues to be U.S. policy that we do not support an independent Palestinian state.

Mr. DONALDSON: It is reported by The Washington Post that the Bush Administration has declined to follow the law and impose sanctions on Israel because Israel, in the last year, shipped missile parts to South Africa. Is that correct?

Sec. BAKER: We obviously have not declined to follow the law. We have been very careful to follow the law and we have been working with Israel and other states on matters involving the export of missile technology. We're going to continue to work with them. I'm not going to get into here - Sam, I'm sorry to disappoint you - but I can't get into specific discussion of matters which are classified and these are classified issues.

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Mr. DONALDSON: Well, Mr. Secretary, I'm not talking about matters of the conference, I'm talking about U.S. law. If it is your position that that is not the law, the Defense Act does not say that, then I'll stand corrected and we'll take a look at it. But I want to know whether the Bush Administration is going to make any effort to sanction Israel because of this past sale of missile technology to South Africa.

Sec. BAKER: Well, I'm not going to comment on the story this morning in The Post because to do so would get me into making comments with respect to classified information that I'm simply not willing to do so. Let me assure you that we are following the law very, very specifically in this matter.

Mr. DONALDSON: Mr. Secretary, let me then ask you comment on this business about Saeb Erakat, a member of the Palestinian - Jordanian delegation, and as to whether you think he ought to remain a member of that delegation or whether you think he ought to withdraw because of Israel's objection.

Sec. BAKER: We were disturbed by the comment. I was glad to see the head of the Palestinian side of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation say on this program a few minutes ago that he thought it was provocative because we certainly thought it was provocative and we think that it goes outside the bounds of the standards that we have negotiated and agreed upon with the parties. So we're disappointed and I will leave it right there.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, may I just press one more?

Mr. BRINKLEY: Go ahead, Sam.

Mr. DONALDSON: You say it's provocative? Provocative enough, in your judgment-

Sec. BAKER: I didn't say it was provocative. I said that the head of the Palestinian delegation said it was provocative, which is a statement that we agree with, so we think-

Mr. DONALDSON: All right. You didn't say it was provocative, but you agree with the statement it was provocative, therefore, was it provocative enough for him to have to withdraw from this delegation or would the withdrawal of the statement, perhaps, would be enough?

Sec. BAKER: I just said I think we ought to leave it right there.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Secretary, you were instrumental, to say the least, in organizing, getting this conference together. What is your role? What is our country's role going to be once it starts?

Sec. BAKER: Our role, David, should be that of a catalyst for peace. We ought to do whatever we can to try and move these discussions forward, to promote progress. We ought to- we should serve as an honest broker, something, frankly, that the Prime Minister of Israel asked us to do and something that is incorporated in the documents that have been agreed to.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Are you going to join in the discussions and agree to-

Sec. BAKER: We will only participate in the bilateral discussions if we are

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asked by both parties, but we will be available if we are asked and we would, together with the other co-sponsor, serve as the driving force to keep- to try and move forward toward progress. Having said all that, I think we ought to- I noticed some of the commentators at the beginning of the program recognized the fact and I think we should recognize the fact that there are going to be interruptions. There are going to be glitches. There are going to be a lot of hitches here and we should not go into this conference thinking that this is going to- that this two and half to three days is going to produce peace in the Middle East. I was glad to see Moshe Arens say what he said about prospects for progress with respect to the talks between Israel and the joint Jordanian- Palestinian delegation on interim self-government arrangements, but I think we ought to make sure we understand this is the Middle East. It's been hard enough to get them to agree to talk. Now, we have to recognize we have a difficult path in front of us in order to see progress. But one final comment, George, and then I'll be glad to take another question from you, but I think that talks don't guarantee peace, but without talks, it's pretty certain that we're not going to make progress toward peace. So I hope here we're taking a necessary first step in order to at least make some progress toward peace.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Now, George.

Mr. WILL: Two questions about the larger frame of this. First of all, what has Gorbachev got to do with this? He doesn't even have a country anymore. Why is it important for him to be involved?

Sec. BAKER: Well, it's important, I think, because the invitation was initially issued by President Gorbachev and President Bush. I don't think it would have been productive for us, frankly, to take the position that having had that happen, we should somehow take the position the Soviets should be ejected from the process. And let me say further the Soviets have been very helpful. The change in the East-West confrontation has been one of the things, I think, that's enabled us to see the parties come together or be willing to come together. The Soviets have been helpful with some of the Arab states that used to be their client states. They've been helpful with Palestinians, so they've contributed.

Mr. WILL: The enormous investment of your time and the President's time in this settlement of basically the West Bank and the Israel-Palestinian dispute suggests, in a way that's peculiar to some people, that this is a vital American interest. There were two huge wars in the Middle East in the 1980's and neither had anything to do with Israel and the Palestinians. Few of the conflicts in the Middle East in the last 50 years have. Why is this so important that we have to put all this pressure on Israel to try and solve this? What great national interest is implicated here?

Sec. BAKER: I think that- I think with the end of the East-West confrontation, with the emergence of the United States as the preeminent power, if you will, it is incumbent upon us to at least continue what we've been trying to do for a long, long time and that is to promote peace in the Middle East.

Mr. WILL: Is this altruism or-

Sec. BAKER: Well, it is important for and to our strong ally, Israel. It is important in terms of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This is a tinderbox now of the world, if you will, in terms of the weapons that have

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been accumulated by the powers- by the states of the Middle East.

Mr. WILL: Syria has lots of those weapons-

Sec. BAKER: Yes, they do.

Mr. WILL: -chemical weapons, long-range missiles now from North Korea and elsewhere.

Sec. BAKER: Yes, they do.

Mr. WILL: Shouldn't Israel be petrified of our new friend, Syria?

Sec. BAKER: Well, I don't know that they should be any more petrified than they have been, but there's no change in our position with respect to Syria. We have not changed anything, but we have been willing to talk to Syria about getting a peace process going. And when people suggest to me that we should not even have had those discussions which have involved the peace process, I think that that's very short-sighted.

Mr. DONALDSON: Mr. Secretary-

Sec. BAKER: You're not going to get peace unless the parties are willing to talk and you're not going to get talks unless you get all the parties together.

Mr. DONALDSON: Mr. Secretary, you heard Defense Minister-

Mr. BRINKLEY: We have a few seconds, Sam.

Mr. DONALDSON: Thank you, David. Mr. Secretary, we heard Defense Minister Arens complaint that the United States should be even-handed and- or rather, should not be even-handed, should tilt toward Israel and complained about a whole series of things, including the U.S. position on the settlements that, he said, were not helpful. What's your response to that?

Sec. BAKER: Well, my response is that it was the Israeli government that asked us to assume the role of honest broker. It was their term, their suggestion and-

Mr. DONALDSON: Do you think we should be an honest broker? That is, do you think we should be even-handed?

Sec. BAKER: I think that we should be an honest broker in this process and do everything we can to promote peace and to help bring the parties together and to help bridge gaps where we can.

Mr. DONALDSON: Should we be even-handed, Mr. Secretary?

Sec. BAKER: We should not put our own proposal on the table and we haven't, but we ought to try and promote peace in-

Mr. DONALDSON: Why can't you answer the basic question as to whether we should be even-handed?

Mr. BRINKLEY: We've run out of time, Sam. We've run out of time.

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Sec. BAKER: Yes, we should.

Mr. DONALDSON: We should? Thank you for the answer.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Mr. Secretary, thank you. Thanks very much for coming.

Sec. BAKER: Thank you, David.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Pleasure to have you and good luck next week. Coming next, our discussion here and joining us will be Cokie Roberts of ABC News, in a moment.

[Commercial break]

Mr. BRINKLEY: The recession was said to be over some months ago, but clearly, it is not. It hangs on, hangs on and hangs on; and we are told that there is some concern at the White House about this and the thought that it might make it more difficult for Mr. Bush's reelection. What do you think, George?

Mr. WILL: Well, obviously, the economy is what people vote on - the bread-and-butter issue is the cost and availability of bread and butter - and there was a poll last week that showed the President's "reelect number," that is, the portion of the population inclined to vote to reelect the President, as against an unknown Democrat, was down to 47 percent. The trouble is once the Democrats name someone, their support usually goes down and a hypothetical Democrat's better than an actual Democrat these days. Still, they have grounds to be worried, not just because we're in a recession and not just because the recession has a weak recovery or might even go into a double-dip recovery, but because for 15, 18 years now, the economy has been performing well below historical norms and the country's beginning to feel the pressure.

Mr. DONALDSON: George, you're exactly right. We did not, unfortunately, grow our way out of the budget deficits. Supply side economics didn't do it and we're in a heck of a pickle. I think the President's in a heck of a pickle now because the recession is clearly going to linger on until next year and it shows, at the moment, no signs of recovery. People will vote against him on that ground. And I think Mario Cuomo will come forward, all the Democrats will come out of the woodwork. And even though you're correct, their mere presence will sort of even the field. George Bush is the one who doesn't have a policy that's going to take the country out of recession.

COKIE ROBERTS, ABC News: But Sam, what is the Democratic policy? The voters who are asked whether they approve of the President's handling of the economy, say no.

Mr. DONALDSON: What is the name of the Democratic President?

Ms. ROBERTS: But then they're asked about the Democratic Party and they don't have any confidence in the Democrats, either, or the Democrats in Congress or any of the rest of them-

Mr. DONALDSON: But Cokie, that's not right.

Ms. ROBERTS: -and part of what they are suggesting- that's what the polling shows.

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Mr. DONALDSON: The polls show that most voters think that the Democrats can do a better job on the economy than Republicans.

Ms. ROBERTS: No, that's not true. That's not true.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, we have a fundamental problem here.

Ms. ROBERTS: The other thing is that what- you talk about supply side economics. The big cure that is now being recommended by Democrats is tax cuts and they are saying middle income tax cuts, that kind of thing. It's just more of the same.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, the problem with that is that we have, at the moment, a policy that's simply monetary. We look to the Federal Reserve. Alan Greenspan, if you're out there, you've cut the rates four times, we want you to do it a fifth time, a sixth time-

Mr. BRINKLEY: He is out there.

Mr. DONALDSON: -that's not enough. He's the Fed Chairman. That's not enough and I don't see any effort on the part of either the President or - you're right - the Democrats on The Hill to come up with a comprehensive fiscal policy that breaks the old budget agreement and that puts some fiscal impetus behind the recovery.

Mr. WILL: Well-

Mr. BRINKLEY: George, you-

Mr. WILL: Go ahead.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Go ahead, George. You've said 15, 18 years, the economy has performed poorly, below normal. Why is that?

Mr. WILL: Well, a lot of reasons, but basically- I mean, we're being litigated to death by a plague of lawyers. We have schools that aren't producing people who can increase our productivity. Because of the deficit, we're sopping up, through public borrowing, an unconscionable portion of our savings-

Mr. DONALDSON: But whose deficit is that, George?

Ms. ROBERTS: And we've had companies that have overpaid its executives and not kept-

Mr. BRINKLEY: It's yours and mine, Sam.

Mr. WILL: Exactly. There are lots of reasons-

Mr. BRINKLEY: I mean, if it's ever paid off, it will be by the working people of this country.

Mr. DONALDSON: Because you and I got one heck of a tax cut beginning in '81 and then again in '86

Mr. WILL: Can I ask, Sam-

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Mr. DONALDSON: -and we' have prospered, but the deficit has not. It has grown.

Mr. BRINKLEY: We got a cut from a tax rate that was criminal to begin with- 70 percent.

Mr. DONALDSON: No, 50 percent.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Seventy percent, Sam.

Ms. ROBERTS: But this pre-dated that.

Mr. DONALDSON: Fifty percent of earned income, David.

Ms. ROBERTS: It pre-dated this tax cut, this problem in the economy and The fact is is that middle income Americans are barely keeping pace with what they were making 15, 20 years ago and the only reason they're keeping pace is because women went into the workforce in such numbers-

Mr. WILL: Sam-

Ms. ROBERTS: -that family income can be the same as it was 20 years ago with only one member of the family working.

Mr. DONALDSON: I'm for women in the workforce.

Ms. ROBERTS: Well, but-

Mr. WILL: Sam, the question is how much is enough? Today, the federal spending as a percentage of Gross National Product is about 25 percent. That's an all-time, peacetime record. How much is enough? The American people say, "Look, taxes, federal taxes as a share of GNP are higher under George Bush than under Jimmy Carter." How much is enough?

Mr. DONALDSON: What have we been spending it on, George?

Mr. WILL: Entitlements.

Ms. ROBERTS: Well, look, the politics of it are that people still want to cut taxes-

Mr. DONALDSON: Entitlements?

Ms. ROBERTS: -and people still want to spend money, so the politics are clear and both parties are having trouble figuring out the politics of this middle income question, which is why the whole civil rights question has become such a difficult question because that's also part of the whole middle class problem.

Mr. DONALDSON: We can't continue to do that. We can't build the B-2, we can't spend on Star Wars, we can't do all of this expenditure and at the same time ever get out of the budget deficit.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Well, I wouldn't say that Mario Cuomo is "in the woodwork," since that term has been used here, but if he comes from the Governor's office, New York Governor's office, to run for President, would you be surprised, George, and could he win?

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Mr. WILL: I don't think he- if you look at where he stands right now - and there are polls in various states - he's being trounced handily by George Bush in Wisconsin, California and elsewhere, but that's hypothetical. Let's see how well he wears and how much the country loathes and detests New York and how much they associate him with New York.

Mr. DONALDSON: I think he will run-

Mr. WILL: Lots, I think, is the answer.

Ms. ROBERTS: But also, he needs to make a decision one way or the other because he's frozen the process at the moment and-

Mr. WILL: Well, that's clearly what's happened, is that the calendar.

Ms. ROBERTS: -and the Democrats who are running can't really run with this specter of Cuomo. It's the way Kennedy used to be over all the Democratic candidates.

Mr. WILL: And then Kennedy got in and it turned out to be a mirage.

Ms. ROBERTS: And that's exactly what should happen with Cuomo.

Mr. BRINKLEY: We've got one more thing- one more thing before the time runs out and it's not long. President Bush attacked Congress day before yesterday in terms so angry that they're seldom heard out of any president. So what? He's going to run for reelection against the Congress, is that it? Sam?

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, Harry Truman ran against the do-nothing 80's Congress-

Mr. BRINKLEY: And he won.

Mr. DONALDSON: -and won, but this Congress is not in the same boat. I think Cuomo will get in the race. I think he'll do well, but only insofar as any Democrat does well next year against the George Bush who's either eaten by recession or recovery's under way. I think running against Congress is not going to get him the votes.

Ms. ROBERTS: Well, the problem is is that people either want change or they don't want change and if they want change, they want it all the way down the line and that's tough for a divided government because then they might want change in the White House and the Congress.

Mr. BRINKLEY: Maybe they want change and for everything to stay the same. George, you want the last word? We've got a few seconds.

Mr. WILL: Go, Twins.

Mr. BRINKLEY: What?

Mr. WILL: Go, Twins.

Mr. DONALDSON: Is that a football team?

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Mr. WILL: No, Sam.

Mr. BRINKLEY: We've got 30 seconds. Sam, you want to finish this off.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, I don't know anything about baseball.

Mr. BRINKLEY: No, it's not- we were talking about baseball.

Mr. DONALDSON: Well, the Twins are not the deficit-

Mr. BRINKLEY: George-

Mr. WILL: Well, let me go back to your question - it's a fair one - can you run against Congress? I think if you run against Congress, which the Democrats are identified with with good reason, and you run in favor term limits - 75 percent of the country or so wants term limits now - you've got a winning argument.

Mr. BRINKLEY: You've got 10 seconds.

Mr. DONALDSON: George Bush, the consummate insider, running against Congress?

Mr. BRINKLEY: Thank you all-

Ms. ROBERTS: That would be-

Mr. BRINKLEY: Thank you all. Until next week, thanks for being with us.

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The Xinhua General Overseas News Service

Xinhua General News Service

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APRIL 20, 1992, MONDAY

LENGTH: 246 words

HEADLINE: egyptian official, arab-israeli leaders discuss ties, peace process

DATELINE: cairo, april 20; ITEM NO: 0420007

a senior aide to egyptian president hosni mubarak held talks today with two visiting arab-israeli leaders on bilateral ties and the middle east peace process. osama el-baz, head of mubarak's political office and a foreign ministry undersecretary, met for an hour with ibrahim nimr hussein, mayor of a large arab village in northern galilee, and abdel wahab darausha, a member of the israeli parliament. during the meeting, the three men also discussed israel's national elections scheduled for june, according to official sources here. hussein, mayor of shefaram, is also leader of a council which represents arab local leaders in israel. darausha broke with the now opposition labor party before the 1988 elections after serving a four-year term as a parliament member representing the labor. he is now a parliament member representing his own one-man party. egypt has been the only arab country at peace with israel since the two countries signed a peace treaty in 1979. but bilateral relations have been cool, especially over the past few months as a result of the troubled middle east peace process. since the peace process was started in madrid last october, the arab parties -- syria, lebanon, jordan and the palestinians -- have held four rounds of bilateral talks with israel, without achieving any substantial results. egypt, drawing on its experience in dealing with the israelis, has largely been seen as playing a consultant role for the arab parties.

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The Christian Science Monitor

July 20, 1992, Monday

SECTION: THE WORLD; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 874 words

HEADLINE: On Eve of Baker's Visit, Israelis Give Ground Again on Settlements

BYLINE: Peter Ford, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: JERUSALEM

BODY:

AS US Secretary of State James Baker III arrives here, there are high hopes that a new constellation of personalities, events, and attitudes in Israel augurs well for the Middle East peace process.

"Expectations of this visit are very high," says one Israeli official. "I think that now we can get the peace talks moving again."

In the week since Yitzhak Rabin took office as Israel's new prime minister, promising to move fast to grant autonomy to Palestinians in the occupied territories, a number of changes that could herald progress in the stalled negotiations have transformed the atmosphere here:

\* The Israeli Cabinet yesterday morning ordered a review of all decisions made by previous governments on building Jewish settlements in the territories, broadening Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer's earlier announcement that no new building contracts would be signed. These moves constitute a first step toward the freeze on Jewish settlements that the United States has demanded.

\* Egyptian officials announced that Mr. Rabin will visit Cairo tomorrow for talks with President Hosni Mubarak, the first Israeli premier to be given such an invitation since 1986.

\* A four-day Israeli Army siege of An-Najah University in the West Bank town of Nablus ended peacefully Friday, in a demonstration of Palestinian and Israeli readiness to solve delicate problems informally.

Underpinning Israeli officials' optimism about Mr. Baker's visit is their confidence that the new government in Jerusalem can count on more US understanding than former premier Yitzhak Shamir enjoyed. "I very much hope that a different atmosphere will be created between us and the US which will help in making peace," Rabin said Saturday night.

But friendlier relations with Washington do not mean an end to potentially serious differences, analysts here point out. "Rabin will have the gift, I hope, to relate to US interests, to find the spaces where our interests and the Americans' meet, but that does not mean there won't be confrontation," says Mordechai Gazit, a former director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

Nowhere is that clearer than on the top item of Mr. Baker's agenda here - the nature of the settlement freeze that Washington has demanded in return for \$ 10 billion in loan guarantees to help Israel absorb immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Rabin's challenge is to persuade the Americans to accept his distinction between "political" settlements, which he has pledged not to build or greatly expand, and "security" settlements, which he says Israel must be free to develop to ensure its military safety.

Rabin has not clarified how many of the 132 Jewish settlements in the West Bank he sees in each category, and Washington has not yet commented on the distinction. Palestinian spokesmen insist that all settlements are illegal and must be frozen.

Officials here hope that in the new atmosphere of trust they expect with Washington, Baker will be flexible. "The reason the government moved so fast [to freeze new contracts] was to show that we are doing the review on our own account, and we do not want to hear any more about it" from Washington, the Israeli official says.

But the government has not yet decided what to do about the 14,000 houses in the occupied territories currently under construction.

"The US offer to countenance finishing houses under construction," made during negotiations last autumn, "was coupled with a total freeze when they are finished," points out one Western diplomat. "And Rabin is talking about something less than a total freeze."

Meanwhile, Israeli spokesmen are putting almost as much emphasis on Rabin's visit to Cairo as they are on Baker's arrival here. "The symbolism of Rabin making his first foreign trip to an Arab country, rather than to the US, is much better," says one official. Rabin is due to meet President Bush next month.

With Israel and the US both aiming at a Palestinian autonomy arrangement as laid down in the Camp David accords that Israel and Egypt signed in 1979, Rabin's first foreign trip also signals a new role for Cairo in the peace process that Mr. Shamir had been unwilling to grant. The trip might also provide an opportunity for a summit between Mr. Mubarak, Rabin, and Baker, who is due in Cairo Wednesday after visiting Jordan and Syria.

Israel's readiness to include Egypt in the peace talks is matched by the promising results of the contact between the Rabin government and the Palestinians during last week's crisis at An-Najah University. Some 2,000 Palestinian students refused to leave the campus for four days, after the Israeli Army surrounded it in a bid to arrest wanted gunmen the Israelis said were inside. The siege ended Friday night after Palestinian negotiators arranged for six of the wanted men to surrender and be deported for three years, rather than face trial.

"I think that this kind of solution might even symbolize the very specific and unique moment in which we live," said Mordechai Gur, who is expected to be named deputy defense minister. "It is a good sign that even a confrontation like this one, involving armed people or people believed to be armed, can be solved in a diplomatic way."

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The Associated Press

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September 1, 1992, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 208 words

HEADLINE: Rabbi: Nearly 1,000 Jews Leave Under Eased Travel Restrictions

DATELINE: DAMASCUS, Syria

KEYWORD: Syria-Jews

BODY:

Nearly 1,000 Syrian Jews have left the country since President Hafez Assad eased travel restrictions in April, Syria's chief rabbi said.

Rabbi Ibrahim Hamra told reporters Monday he believes most Syrian Jews will head for New York rather than Israel. He said 936 Jews, nearly one-fourth the 4,000-strong community, have left since the restrictions were lifted.

Officially, Syrian Jews cannot emigrate or travel to Israel. But they are permitted to purchase round-trip tickets, and most simply do not return.

There are costs: At least one family member must stay behind, and the emigrating Jews cannot sell their homes and must deposit \$ 600 bonds.

"The overwhelming majority expect to go to Brooklyn, where there is a large contingent of Syrian Jews. A few others are going to Paris or London," said Hamra, who also is president of the country's Jewish Community Council.

"Most of the Jews left either to get married or to seek better work opportunities," Hamra said. "But to live in the United States is a difficult proposal. It's a totally new life there."

The travel restraints were lifted in April after the government freed two brothers, Eli and Salim Swed, who were jailed in 1987 on charges of seeking to emigrate to Israel.

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June 1, 1992 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 57

LENGTH: 1639 words

HEADLINE: Whose Side Are You On

BYLINE: BY MARGARET G. WARNER

HIGHLIGHT:  
Tough times for Jewish policymakers

## BODY:

Dennis Ross, the State Department's chief Middle East strategist, sat quietly as his fellow panelist at a Jewish donors' conference, California Congressman Mel Levine, ripped into the administration. "President Bush and Secretary Baker appear determined to destroy the special relationship between Israel and the United States," Levine said. Charging that Bush and James Baker have close ties to "despotic leaders of the Middle East," Levine pounded the table as he called on American Jews to "fight back!" The moment was more than a little awkward for Ross, because he, too, is Jewish. As the audience gave Levine a standing ovation, Ross reached for his microphone. "I could start out by saying, 'I've got a tomato in my pocket, and I'm going to smash it on my forehead'," he said with a wry smile. "There, don't you feel better?"

Four of Bush and Baker's top six Mideast-policy advisers are Jewish, and this is a rough time for them. Despite -- or perhaps because of -- Baker's success in bringing Arabs and Israelis to the peace table, State policy-planning chief Ross, deputy assistant secretary Daniel Kurtzer, policy planning analyst Aaron Miller and National Security Council official Richard Haass find themselves attacked on three sides: by Arabs, Israelis and American Jews. A column in Saudi Arabia's Arab News warned darkly that the administration's peace-process team is "primarily composed of four ardent Zionists!" Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's inner circle derides them as "Baker's Jew boys," the Israeli newspaper Yedioth Aharonoth reported. An American Jewish magazine called them "Jewish Arabists."

Few Israelis or Arabs confront the men directly. But many American Jews, wondering how these aides can work for an administration that some Jews consider hostile to Israel, if not outright anti-Semitic, don't hesitate. When Miller spoke to one Jewish group in New York recently, he got 45 questions -- 44 of them hostile. The lone exception came from a woman who said she didn't agree with Miller either, but knew that he was trying hard to promote a policy he believed in. "Thank you," he told her. "My mother would love you." Haass has received scrawled letters that simply say "Shame!" and others enclosing pictures of Holocaust death-camp victims. When Ross spoke at San Francisco's Congregation Beth Shalom over the Passover holiday last April, he was asked about former New York mayor Ed Koch's column alleging that Baker had used a profanity in dismissing American Jews and their concerns. Ross replied that he had asked Baker directly about the report. "I didn't say that. You know me better than that," Ross quoted Baker as telling him. "I do know him better

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than that," Ross added. "If I thought that was what he thought, I'd be out of there in two minutes."

New talks: The paradox, as Baker's men see it, is that this administration has done more to improve Israel's security than any American administration in memory. Bush crippled Israel's most threatening neighbor, Iraq; won repeal of the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism; prodded the Soviets, Chinese and others to open diplomatic relations with Israel, and helped tens of thousands of Ethiopian and Soviet Jews immigrate to Israel. Most of all, the Baker-generated peace talks have brought Israel what it had sought for 43 years: face-to-face talks with all of its Arab neighbors. But Shamir is furious at Bush's refusal to support \$ 10 billion in loan guarantees to settle Soviet Jews without an Israeli settlement freeze in return. And American Jewish leaders are still seething over Bush's comments last September, when he seemed to question the loyalty of American Jews who dared to lobby Congress for the guarantees.

The attacks are especially frustrating for the four men because, while they concede that Bush and Baker feel no emotional commitment to Israel, they themselves do. "(They) came to this with a sense of mission -- on top of their commitment to America's interests -- about trying to achieve a secure peace for Israel," says a friend. "They believe it's the greatest thing they could do for the Jewish people." But, Miller points out, they also came to believe long ago "that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not a morality play, not a conflict between good and evil. It is a conflict between competing claims and competing justices." Their hardheaded, distinctly American approach to the Arab-Israeli blood feud raises suspicions in both camps. "I have probably engendered as much animosity on the Arab side as on the Israeli side because I don't work on the basis of sentiment -- theirs or mine," says Kurtzer. "What matters to me is, can you construct a process in which interests can be mediated?"

In pursuit of that process, the four aides are just as steely as Bush and Baker. They wrote the two administration statements that most angered Israel's Likud government and American Jews. Kurtzer, Ross and Haass composed the speech Baker gave in May 1989, calling on Israel to "lay aside the unrealistic vision of a Greater Israel." Haass wrote Bush's comments last September attacking Israel's congressional push for loan guarantees (but not Bush's remark about being "one lonely guy against 1,000" pro-Israel lobbyists). Ross also advised Baker on how to draw Israel into the peace process despite Shamir's opposition to trading land for peace. The secret, Ross said, was to design a process so tailored to Israel's needs that Shamir politically couldn't afford to refuse. "Those four guys helped Baker construct a political box from which Shamir couldn't escape," says an Israeli government adviser. "The Likud ideologues resent them for it."

Other, subtler concerns led Shamir and his Likud colleagues to distrust Baker's Jewish aides even before the battle over the loans. "Many Israeli officials, particularly of the older generation, prefer to do business with American Gentiles," says Shimon Shiffer, a noted Israeli columnist. "They suspect that Jewish U.S. officials, in their eagerness to prove their objectivity, may actually bend over backwards to work against Israel's interest."

The four men would never agree with that assessment. They come by their toughness naturally. Born after the birth of Israel, they were inspired as

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teenagers by Israel's stunning victory in the 1967 war. "Suddenly Jews weren't just victims; they could be victors, too," says a friend of one of the aides. But during a trip to Israel right after the Six Day War ended, Kurtzer saw the cost of war as well -- the burned-out tanks and bloated bodies strewn along the roadside in Sinai.

Today these men, in their early 40s, are part of a vanguard of Jewish-American policymakers. They were able to crack the Arabist monopoly on Washington's foreign-policy bureaucracy during the Reagan years after Camp David. It wasn't easy. Many in the foreign-policy establishment reacted with alarm to the birth of Israel, fearful that it would undermine America's relations with oil-rich Arab states. For decades, Arabists dominated the State Department, Pentagon and National Security Council. They resented -- and many still do -- the political influence that American Jews exerted through Congress, and they maintained that American Jews certainly couldn't be trusted to be impartial in Mideast policymaking jobs. Kurtzer, an Orthodox Jew, was told on joining the Foreign Service in 1976 that he could never serve in an Arab country, nor in Israel. He subsequently served in both.

Free from any dewy-eyed romanticism about Israel's prospects in its hostile neighborhood, these four men believe it's a dangerous delusion to think that military strength alone can guarantee Israel's security. They are convinced that the Jewish state will never be secure without a negotiated peace, and that such a peace cannot be achieved without American firmness toward both sides. They do concede that the Bush administration might have done a better job publicly stroking American Jews and reassuring Israel. "People have an uneasy feeling because of words," says Kurtzer. "But the bottom line is, you have to watch what Bush and Baker have done. What they've done has been good for Israel.

At odds: The last thing the aides want is to be seen as victims. Says one: "Don't portray us as guys who wanted to get into the kitchen and are now complaining about the heat." But the kitchen is very hot indeed, and their stoicism is tested often. At a Yom Kippur service last October, Haass was startled out of his seat by his rabbi's harangue against the administration. And when he spoke to a Miami Jewish group at the White House in April, one man challenged him angrily, "After just coming from a Seder, how can you justify a policy that inhibits even one Soviet Jew from coming to Israel?" The aides understand the passion. "The prospect of taking risks for peace naturally makes Israel anxious," said one, "and American Jews always feel anxious when the United States and Israel are at odds, and they feel under pressure to choose." Still, the distrust hurts and occasionally angers them. "There's a nasty edge to the criticism that's pretty hard to take," said another. Said a third, "You don't mind taking hits over policy, but when people question your integrity and commitment as a Jew, it's very tough."

The reaction isn't all abuse, of course. After Ross parried angry questions at the San Francisco synagogue, with his mother, wife and son looking on, the rabbi sent Ross's 11-year-old son, Gabe, a letter to reassure him. All those questions, the rabbi wrote, simply reflected the great respect our congregation has for the work your father is doing. Baker's men only hope that someday all their critics will see it that way.

GRAPHIC: Pictures 1 through 3, No dewy-eyed romantics: Baker with Ross, analyst Miller and NSC staffer Haass, DOWNING -- NEWSWEEK, BERNARD BISSON -- SYGMA,

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 23, 1991, Monday

SECTION: Opinion

LENGTH: 920 words

HEADLINE: Zionism, racism and peace

BYLINE: Susan Hattis Rolef

KEYWORD: UN, Perception, Zionism, Israel, Racism, Settlement, Territories

## HIGHLIGHT:

ISRAEL had several reasons to welcome last week's decision by the UN General Assembly repealing its 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism - one of them being the fact that 111 states were willing to raise a hand for the annulment of a cynical and hypocritical resolution that 72 states had been willing to approve and defend 16 years earlier.

## BODY:

ISRAEL had several reasons to welcome last week's decision by the UN General Assembly repealing its 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism - one of them being the fact that 111 states were willing to raise a hand for the annulment of a cynical and hypocritical resolution that 72 states had been willing to approve and defend 16 years earlier.

Israel has cause to feel pleased that the automatic anti-Israel voting majority in the UN which had existed from the early 1970s has manifestly ceased to exist. There are two reasons for this: a gradual realization amongst many Third World countries that automatic support of the Arab cause is not necessarily in their own interests; and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc which, for reasons of power politics, chose to support radical Arab regimes and terrorist organizations whose declared goal is Israel's destruction.

However, the collapse of the automatic anti-Israel voting majority in itself would not have brought about the repeal of the Zionism -equals- racism resolution. Another element was needed: the determination of the US to make a goodwill gesture toward Israel and use the full extent of its influence to get the UN General Assembly to act as it did. Israel may thus also feel pleased that the US now has the power to get its way with the UN, and that it is occasionally willing to use this power on Israel's behalf.

But what positive practical ramifications will the repeal of the resolution have on Israel's international status? Probably none. Many of the 111 states which voted in Israel's favor on December 16, especially Third World states and former members of the Communist bloc, blindly subscribe to the premises of the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, that the world is run by a Jewish conspiracy and that Zionism is a part of this framework. Most of these states didn't know what Zionism was all about when they voted in favor of the original resolution in 1975; they still don't know what it is all about today.

The Jerusalem Post, December 23, 1991

It is also no secret that the US Administration used more arm-twisting than logic to get the General Assembly to vote as it did.

While the US itself always viewed the Zionism-equals-racism formula as cynical, circumstantial nonsense, its decision to make a special effort to get the resolution repealed during the Washington talks was not the result of a sudden attack of abstract justice-seeking. It was a deliberate act designed to placate Israel, so that we might demonstrate greater flexibility in our talks with the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular. But it failed to achieve its purpose.

The December 16 General Assembly decision is thus unlikely to lead to a respite in the application of international pressure, including American pressure, on Israel. On the contrary, now that some of the worst nonsense is out of the way, that pressure is likely to increase.

It is no coincidence that on December 19, three days after repeal of the Zionism -equals- racism resolution, the UN General Assembly passed another resolution, supported by 135 states, condemning Israel's settlement activities in the occupied territories; these are viewed by all the states of the world except Israel itself (or rather its current government) as a real and unjustifiable obstacle to peace.

Careful examination would probably reveal that many of the 135 states which voted in favor of this resolution believe that Israel's settlement activities are based on a racist policy, since they are being carried out in total disregard of the rights and aspirations of the Palestinians in the territories, which are regarded as "inferior" to those of the Jews.

Thus, although the General Assembly has admitted at least formally that Zionism as such is not a form of racism and racial discrimination, it is doubtful whether it would be willing to say the same about the policy of Israel's government regarding the future of the territories and the implications of that policy. The problem is that this government speaks in the name of Zionism - a brand of Zionism which many of us do not accept.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 7, 1992, Tuesday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 215 words

HEADLINE: GULF WAR EXPOSED GAPS IN ALLIED INTELLIGENCE - BRITAIN

DATELINE: LONDON, July 7

KEYWORD:  
GULF-INTELLIGENCE

BODY:

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the allied effort to free the emirate exposed holes in Western intelligence gathering and sharing, Britain said on Tuesday.

British intelligence efforts were focused on the former Soviet Union while Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was massing the fourth-largest army in the world against Kuwait, ministry of defence strategists said in an assessment of the Gulf War.

Allies sometimes failed to share or interpret intelligence, were swamped with too much data and apparently made some poor damage assessments leading to unnecessary and dangerous missions to attack targets already destroyed.

'We will be reviewing our arrangements to ensure that in any future operations, weapons are best matched to targets and targets are not unnecessarily re-attacked,' the report said.

'The Iraqi invasion underlined that accurate intelligence on intentions is difficult to secure.'

But the report added that despite the problems the anti-Saddam forces quickly closed the intelligence gap and had far superior intelligence during the war -- including sophisticated disinformation.

Britain suffered heavier aircraft losses than any other member of the allied coalition, losing six Tornado GR1 aircraft -- four on low-level missions against Iraqi airfields.

TYPE:  
International news, analysis, profiles

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 1, 1991, Friday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1318 words

HEADLINE: Faulty assessments of Iraqi power raise intelligence doubts

BYLINE: By William Neikirk, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Before the war, Saddam Hussein's million-man army, with its heavy armor, long-range artillery and chemical weapons, was viewed as a fearsome modern force that would send thousands of American soldiers home in body bags.

This foreboding picture prevailed up to the moment the war started Jan. 17. It colored media coverage and dominated congressional debate. It frightened Americans and damaged the economy.

And it was wrong.

Did we underestimate ourselves? Did we overestimate Hussein? Or was our faulty estimate made deliberately?

In retrospect, it probably was a mixture of the three. But it proved a complex package of self-deceptions that raises questions about the quality of U.S. intelligence and whether future threats to international security should be, and will be, evaluated more accurately.

Hussein, after all, still has about 1,500 to 2,000 tanks that were never deployed in the war, out of his prewar total of 5,500 tanks, according to one estimate. A thousand pieces of artillery remain undamaged in Iraq, close to 200 of his best planes are parked in Iran, and a large portion of his million-man army remains intact within Iraq, said Natalie Goldering, a military analyst for the Defense Budget Project.

American forces unquestionably shattered Hussein's ability to command those forces and organize them into a sustained fighting machine. But he still remains a regional power, and whether he will be able to stage a military comeback a year from now remains a question that will be answered by America's ability to gather and analyze intelligence.

Assessing whether U.S. intelligence miscalculated Hussein's military power could help the Pentagon avoid a similiar intelligence gap in the future.

Some skeptics say the portrayal of Hussein's army as awesome last summer and fall was no accident. A view of Hussein as a military leader with muscle served the political and foreign-policy objectives of an administration seeking to create a new world order dominated by U.S. military power.

1991 Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1991

Michael Sherry, a professor of history at Northwestern University, said it was not so much a failure of raw intelligence gathered by agents as it was its interpretation. It was "intelligence combined with a political need to maximize the threat," he said.

But it was not all one-sided, he said. The threat of a powerful Hussein also activated the peace movement, and it caused some in Congress to shrink away from supporting the horror of a war that would bring home so many body bags.

One speculation making the rounds in Washington: Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) might have helped his presidential ambitions and voted for the war if he had realized, with more accurate information, that it would have been a low-casualty affair.

Before the war, experienced Washington journalists predicted on TV talk shows that a war would engulf and perhaps destroy Bush's presidency. The Washington press largely bought the story that defeating the Iraqi army would be militarily and politically difficult.

Israeli intelligence also brought this "powerful Iraq" story to the U.S. intelligence community before the Aug. 2 invasion, a source said, and told the administration that Hussein probably would invade Kuwait, while Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia said he was only bluffing. "The Israelis were certainly right," the source said.

Indeed, said John Collins of the Congressional Research Service, the Iraqi army looked terrific on paper, even though it had an air force that clearly was no match for the allies. And the conventional wisdom in Washington was that air power alone does not win wars.

Another reason cited for building up Hussein as such a military power is that it would give the long-suffering defense budget new life, and justify buying and building more high-tech weapons that would perform so well in the gulf.

Barry Bosworth, an economist at the Brookings Institution, believes the military cutback planned for the next five years could well be reversed because of the decisive victory. He compared the war to a conflict involving a country the size of Michigan going up against the full military power of the U.S.

"If Saddam Hussein had waited for the military cutbacks, he might have won," said economist David Hale of Kemper Financial Services in Chicago, a supporter of Bush's action.

Yet there is no firm evidence that Iraqi military prowess was deliberately blown out of proportion. There was never much question the U.S. would prevail. The only question was how long it would take, and how many Americans would be killed, and how much damage Hussein would do to the oil fields.

Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), who served on the House Intelligence Committee until last year, said the reports he saw gave him every reason to fear Hussein's military and what it could do.

"But good intelligence always includes human intelligence," Hyde said, indicating it was possible the U.S. might have overestimated Hussein. "You need to penetrate the minds of people. But we have been woefully deficient in human intelligence, particularly in the Middle East. You will recall how wrong we

1991 Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1991

were about Iran before the revolution. Human intelligence is one factor we need a lot more of."

With no advance evaluation of the morale of the Iraqi army, he said, it was difficult to predict the number who surrendered and the speed with which the war ultimately would be wrapped up. But he also said U.S. military power and strategy played a major role in this regard.

Hyde said he doesn't recall that Bush exaggerated the threat in the meetings he attended in the White House, but he added that it was in Bush's interest to overestimate it to some extent.

"Every football coach does that," he said, and it is not cynical, just good strategy.

Just how much of a fight the administration thought Hussein's army would put up in a ground war seemed to change frequently. There were speculations of short wars and longer wars. Only a few weeks ago, a senior administration official told reporters that when the ground war began, it would be "very violent, very quick."

But Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of Operation Desert Storm in Saudi Arabia, planned for a longer ground war. For instance, divisions that drove deep into Iraqi territory took 60 days of supplies and ammunition with them.

Seth Carus, a military-affairs fellow at the Institute for Middle East Policy, a Washington research organization, said that although 20-20 hindsight makes it clear that Hussein was overestimated, it wasn't so obvious in the beginning.

One factor is that the U.S. military performed brilliantly, adopting a careful plan that "exploited all of Iraq's weaknesses and all the strengths of U.S. forces," Carus said. "A lot had to do with what we did."

Many analysts long have been skeptical of the ability of air power to devastate ground troops and their bunkers, because of experience in the Vietnam War and Germany in World War II, Carus said. While the power and accuracy of new smart bombs indicated the ability was there, it still took a war to prove what they could do, he said.

Because the Iraqis fought a long war against Iran, Carus said, it was plausible to believe that they would put up a good fight against the allied forces, even though thousands of Iraqis surrendered in the Iranian conflict.

"On paper, the makeup of the Iraqi army indicated a very powerful armed force," added John Collins, a retired colonel and analyst for the Congressional Research Service. But he said that only combat can tell the truth. In 1939, he said, the French army generally was regarded as Europe's most powerful, only to be overwhelmed by the Germans.

"Look at the shah of Iran's army prior to the revolution," he said. "It looked terrific on paper, but they couldn't maintain it. They lacked technical expertise. They were not skilled at aerial tactics."

1991 Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1991

GRAPHIC: PHOTO (color): A Marine watches the U.S. Embassy Thursday in Kuwait City as a helicopter hovers near it. The embassy staff is expected to return Friday. Agence France-Press photo.

PHOTO (color): Remains of war clog the road to Baghdad  
The scorched remains of vehicles destroyed during allied bombing litter the main road that leads from Kuwait City to Iraq on Thursday. AP Laserphoto.

TERMS: UNITED STATES; RELATION; IRAQ; MILITARY; PROFILE; ANALYSIS; IMAGE;  
COMPARISON

Michale -

Dan Kenberg

Amb Salman Shorah  
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Draft 3  
September 4, 1992  
6:00 p

[BNAI]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: B'NAI B'RITH  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
SEPTEMBER 8, 1992  
11:00 A.M.

It is a great honor to be here with you today.

[Acknowledgements.]

We've witnessed a world of change. Across Europe, across continents, from Panama City to Prague, millions of men and women now celebrate a new birth of freedom -- a new world of hope.

With change comes new challenges. For America, the end of the Cold War means the beginning of a new era -- a new era of economic competition that America simply must and will win. We must recognize the new reality about domestic, economic and foreign policies. In our world today, these three topics have become one issue. In order to prevail, the United States must be not only a military superpower, but an economic superpower -- an export superpower as well. //

Yet you and I both know that America is about more than the GNP. Our strength as a people cannot only be measured by per capita income. The state of our American union reflects not simply the productivity of our economy but the character of our society: How well we care for one another, in the wake of natural tragedies like Hurricane Andrew -- in the face of all-too-human tragedies of hate and unreason and violence. This is

what defines us. This is the true measure of what America means, to ourselves -- to the world.

This willingness to reach out, to help those in need -- to recognize across all the divides of color and culture and creed our shared human spirit -- this is what B'Nai B'rith is all about. For 150 years, the members of this organization have served as the nation's conscience. And part of America's conscience must always be to fight anti-semitism wherever and whenever it appears.

I wish that I could stand before you today and say that anti-semitism is history, but it is not. Not when there are hate crimes here and brown shirts abroad. And let's call the thing by its right name -- not neo-Nazis, but Nazis. That's a sorry commentary on human nature, ~~and~~ *And let's all be clear: neither Jew nor Gentile is safe so long as anti-*

But we're not helpless. And we're doing something about it. *semitism festers.*

// In this country, we will aggressively employ the Hate Crimes Act to bring to justice those who traffic in the gutter. And I give you this pledge: I will continue to do my utmost, here and abroad, so that this prejudice is finally, finally, banished from the human heart!

In the end, anti-semitism and prejudice mock and threaten the basic principle upon which the United States is founded. They mock our belief in individual rights and in the human being, created as the Bible tells us, in the image of God. And because of that powerful belief in basic humanity, nothing is more sacred to Americans than the principle of religious liberty.

In the words of George Washington, whose letter we rededicate today: "...the government of the United States... gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution, no assistance.... While everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and figtree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." And here's the difference, the vital difference between this American creed and others. Because for us that freedom of religion is no gift of government -- no privilege to be granted or withheld -- it is a fundamental human right. //

Let's take heart that this American creed is spreading, that people in our time are demanding and getting those rights they have been denied so long. And changes in our world have come so fast that I say they are nothing short of Biblical -- and by that I mean just plain old fashioned miraculous.

Just think about it. Just a few years ago, who would have thought we would no longer live under the threat of nuclear conflagration? Who would have thought the scarring symbol of an era -- the Berlin Wall -- would be found only in museums and chipped into paperweights? Above all, who would have predicted the Soviet Union would be found only in the pages of history?

And know this: the miracles aren't only confined to Europe. Even in the Middle East, events have defied all the predictions. For today, direct, bilateral talks are taking place between Israel and her neighbors.

You may recall we were told we couldn't succeed -- we couldn't bring the parties together. But we did.

I want to dwell for a moment on this breakthrough, because I know it matters deeply to everyone in this hall. Let me take you back nearly a year ago to another hall, in Madrid. There, gathered around the table were representatives of Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Palestinians -- and Israel. For nearly half a century they had not met outside the battlefield. But for the first time they came together not to fight -- but to talk.

Then, as now, the goal is not just a ceasefire or a truce, but peace, real peace. Not simply the end of war -- but genuine reconciliation. A peace both broad and deep, a peace codified by treaties, and given life by trade and tourism, by open borders - - the fabric of peace knit together even more tightly by the simple human contact of peoples who've known each other far too long as enemies. A comprehensive peace, rooted in Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. A peace that at long last will allow the people<sup>s</sup> of the Middle East to turn their energies, their resources, their lives to creation rather than destruction -- to great works rather than great wars.

Today, as we speak, the parties that met first at Madrid are mid-way through the sixth round of bilateral negotiations. There has been progress. Delegations are exchanging not only handshakes, but for the first time -- written proposals. Public posturing has decreased -- and meaningful private dialogue has increased.

Of course, major hurdles remain. It will take time and effort and courage and trust. But there is clearly a way -- and increasingly, a will.

The evidence is mounting: The many positive steps taken by Israel's new government that improve day-to-day life for Palestinians and signal its seriousness about peace -- Egypt's invitation that made it possible for Prime Minister Rabin to make his first trip outside Israel to an Arab country -- Syria's relaxation of travel restrictions affecting its Jewish citizens. Further gestures, such as an end to the Arab boycott, can only help in bringing about an environment conducive for negotiation and reconciliation.

I am proud of the role we've played in breaking the long-standing taboo against direct talks between Israel and her neighbors. Israel sought direct talks for 43 years -- and it was right to do so. If you do not talk -- you can have no hope of making peace. Now, there is such a hope.

I'm also proud of what we have done to end Israel's diplomatic isolation internationally. Thanks to our efforts, we succeeded -- after 17 years -- in getting the UN General Assembly to repeal what should never have been enacted in the first place.

Zionism is not racism -- not before / not now / not ever. //

And thanks to our efforts, China and India and Turkey and many other nations -- countries representing 2 billion people -- now have full diplomatic relations with Israel. Already this has

created not only greater contact for Israel worldwide, but new economic opportunities.

And I know this audience knows of our efforts to open the gates in the former Soviet Union and rescue Ethiopian Jews. Now hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children who only a few years ago lived in fear or neglect in the Soviet Union or Ethiopia now live in Israel, free to live, work and worship as their heart tells them they must.

Persuading parties to talk peace / ending Israel's international isolation / assisting in the in-gathering of Jews into Israel: These are the three great aims that have guided Israel from its founding. And we didn't just talk about helping Israel in these areas -- we delivered. That's a fact of which every American can be proud.

And here's another fact. When the chips were down, when Israel and many other countries were threatened by the most brutal aggression, America was there. <sup>We stopped Hussein</sup> Saddam ~~was stopped~~ <sup>and</sup> that terrible time when the world feared that the Cold War would be replaced by a new age of Saddam -- that's over, too. Let's recall some simple facts. Saddam Hussein's rise to power and aggression were not caused by the United States. ✓

We were not the reason Saddam Hussein was on the verge of acquiring nuclear weapons. We were not the reason Saddam Hussein had 5000 tanks -- or 5000 pieces of artillery -- or the 4th largest army in the world. This was his own doing.

And whatever differences I had with my critics -- and with some would-be revisionists who want to rewrite history -- cannot obscure this fact: After August 2, while my critics stood by and second guessed -- I acted to take care of that threat.

Ask yourself ~~ask your self~~ where the Middle East would be today -- where Israel's security would be today -- if we had followed the counsel of my critics. Ask yourself where we would be if we had someone in the Oval Office who would have ~~equivocated~~ <sup>waffled</sup> -- who would have wavered and wanted to have it both ways. Where would we be? I'll tell you: We'd be facing a nuclear-armed Iraq, with a choke-hold on the world's oil supplies -- and threatening Israel's very existence. Israel's very survival would be at stake -- and we'd be talking <sup>about</sup> whether there was any chance to avoid nuclear Armageddon in the Middle East, ~~AA~~ not cultivating new hopes for peace.

On August 2, 1990, I was no longer concerned about our previous policy and mistakes had been made. For the issue was this. Would we act, or would we not act, to oppose this aggression?

And that my friends, is the decision a President must be able to make. Not to get lost in what if's, or recriminations or trying to lead on both sides, but to see that issues as they are, decide what's right and then move on it. Because, if we hadn't moved on it, just think where we would be.

Well, Desert Storm swept away that nightmare and because of America's courage today, we see the dawn of peace.

There is still work to be done. The Middle East -- indeed, the world -- is still a dangerous place. Terrorists continue to target the innocent. The proliferation of conventional arms as well as weapons of mass destruction casts a cloud over the region's future; Iraq's Saddam Hussein, however much weaker and defeated, still brutalizes his own people and resists the will of the international community. The need for Israel to remain strong is beyond question, and it clearly includes having a defensive capability against missile attack. The importance of that was demonstrated by the Gulf War. And that's the reason that I've proposed to Israel that it participate in our development of a global protection system! So, the need for US-Israeli strategic partnership and cooperation remains stronger than ever.

And we're also going to see that partnership at work this week. Because I am happy to tell you that I am sending to the Congress legislation requesting up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to aid Israel's government in the absorption of these newcomers. And I know I can count on the support of every one in this room to make sure that this proposal becomes law.

I am glad that Prime Minister Rabin and I were able to reach an understanding on loan guarantees when we met in Kennebunkport last month. He outlined for me the new Israeli government's new priorities, committed to investing in Israel itself, and

determined to avoid steps that could hamper progress toward peace. I share that commitment. And, as a result, we will be able to promote peace and welcome new immigrants at one and the same time. Both are humanitarian undertakings; both deserve our full support. It was important not to choose between them, and I am glad that we are now in a position to promote both objectives.

As for the future, I am confident that on most issues, on most occasions, we and Israel will find ourselves in agreement. I, for one, am committed to revitalizing the tradition of full consultations between the United States and Israel on the entire range of issues affecting stability in the Middle East. I know the Prime Minister shares this commitment. And let me emphasize this point: There will be no surprises.

~~No doubt~~ there will be times when we disagree. Even friends disagree. Even democratic governments like Israel and the United States disagree. But here's the point: These are disagreements between friends and I emphasize that word, friends.

I pledge to you that we will work hard to keep any divide to a minimum. Our support for Israel and its security is not simply a policy. It is a principle. As I said after Prime Minister Rabin and I met in Maine, this is a relationship based on a shared commitment to democracy and common values, as well as a shared commitment to Israel's security, including its qualitative military edge. This is a special relationship, one specially built to endure.

~~While we're talking about agreement and disagreement, let me~~  
~~say that there may even be issues where you and I will take~~  
~~opposing sides. ~~And we'll let it be each other.~~ And things may~~  
~~get hot and words, hurtful words, may be exchanged.~~ // In the  
 past, some remarks of mine were misinterpreted. I have gone on  
 the record expressing my sorrow for any pain this may have caused  
 and I'll go on the record <sup>again -- right</sup> here and now ~~again~~. But let me also  
 express the hope that some of the critics who've been a little  
 quick to use words like "anti-semitism" will also rethink what  
 they've said.

Let's be clear about this: I support, I endorse, and I  
 deeply believe in the God-given right of every American to  
 promote what they believe. It is your right as an individual.  
 It's more than a right. It's a duty as an American citizen. //

But let me also say that it is important that we learn how  
 to disagree. How a debate is conducted in a democracy is not  
 careless, it's a mark of civility and freedom. I hardly need to  
 tell anyone in this room just what anti-semitism is. As my  
 friend Abe Foxman pointed out, to accuse those who may come to  
 different conclusions on one or another public issue of harboring  
 anti-semitism is to cheapen the term. That is dangerous. That  
 is deeply wrong. And when those words, without justice, have  
 been aimed at me -- I can tell you: They cut to the heart. //

But let's put all of this aside now and look to the future.  
 I've talked to you here about my optimism for that future. We

come of at a blessed time. The Cold War is over. And Israeli peace talks have begun.

I know what happens. Very early on in public life I learned a lesson and now, don't be made, but I am going to quote Harry Truman: "If you don't like the heat, get out of the kitchen". I've been in the kitchen of public life and it's plenty hot and at one time or another, every one says something you wish later you hadn't said. There is so much good that can be done both in America and the world, if we will only lead the way.

There is another reason to be optimistic. The American people will soon exercise their unbroken two hundred year democratic right to elect a President. And I'm optimistic too about the identity of that new President -- so <sup>t</sup>here I go again in the Harry Truman mode. But, let me leave you with this. However it turns out, commitment to freedom and democracy, to tolerance and opportunity in America and around the world will not change. Your support of America's close friend and ally, will endure. And let me simply say that on all these issues -- I am proud to join your ranks.

Thank you -- and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

*Rephrased by [unclear]*

# FACT SHEET

Issues Office

August 17, 1992



## PRESIDENT BUSH: PROMOTING THE U.S.-ISRAELI PARTNERSHIP

UNDER PRESIDENT BUSH, AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL PARTNERSHIP WITH ISRAEL HAS REACHED A NEW STAGE OF DEEPER AND INTENSIFIED COLLABORATION DEMONSTRATED BY: PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN'S SUCCESSFUL TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE STRONGLY PRO-ISRAEL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, AND THE IMPRESSIVE FOUR-YEAR BUSH RECORD OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR OUR ISRAELI ALLY.

- o The Bush-Rabin summit in Kennebunkport on August 10-11 solidified the U.S.-Israeli strategic partnership: It produced an accord providing \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees to facilitate Israeli absorption of immigrants, and a joint commitment to work together closely in the historic Middle East peacemaking process that has begun.
  - President Bush declared: "This is a relationship based on a shared commitment to democracy and to common values, as well as the solid commitment to Israel's security, including its qualitative military edge. This is a special relationship. It is one that is built to endure."
  - Prime Minister Rabin responded: "Mr. President, we ... have supported since the beginning of the Gulf crisis the U.S. and your policy against Saddam Hussein's brutal aggression. The strong approach taken by the United States during the war greatly contributed to the regional sense of security and made a positive contribution to Israel's security as well."
  - President Bush said the two countries shared the goal of "real peace" between Israel and the Arabs, "codified by treaties, characterized by reconciliation and openness, including trade and tourism."
- o The 1992 Republican Platform is a powerful statement of American support for Israel as a key ally and strategic partner: The Platform praises Israel as the only true democracy in the Middle East and elaborates on its strategic importance to America's interests.
  - It calls for large-scale security assistance to Israel and renews the pledge to maintain Israel's qualitative military edge. The Democratic Platform does not.
  - It insists on Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders and supports Israel's goal of true

peace and reconciliation with its neighbors. It calls for an end to the Arab boycott of Israel. The Democratic platform does neither.

- It pledges that the U.S. will be an honest broker in the peacemaking process and will not impose solutions.
- It pledges that the U.S. will oppose an independent Palestinian state or any entity that will jeopardize Israel's security. It opposes any U.S. dialogue with the PLO until President Bush's stiff conditions are met. The Democratic platform does none of these things.
- It promises that Jerusalem must remain undivided and declares that no genuine peace would deny Jews the right to live anywhere in this "special city."
- It declares freedom of emigration to be a fundamental human right and affirms the right of Jews to resettle in Israel.
- It pledges that the U.S. will withdraw from any U.N. body that denies Israel's right to participate. The Democratic platform does not.

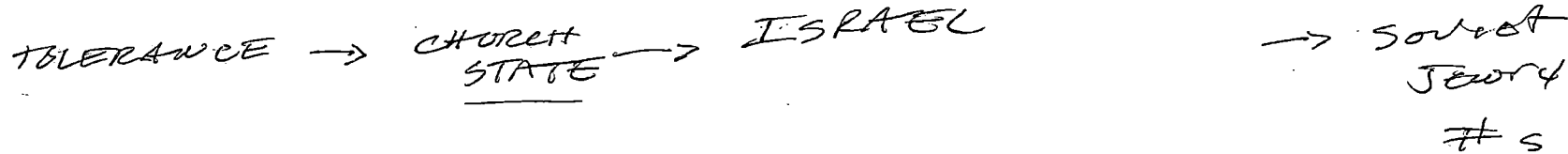
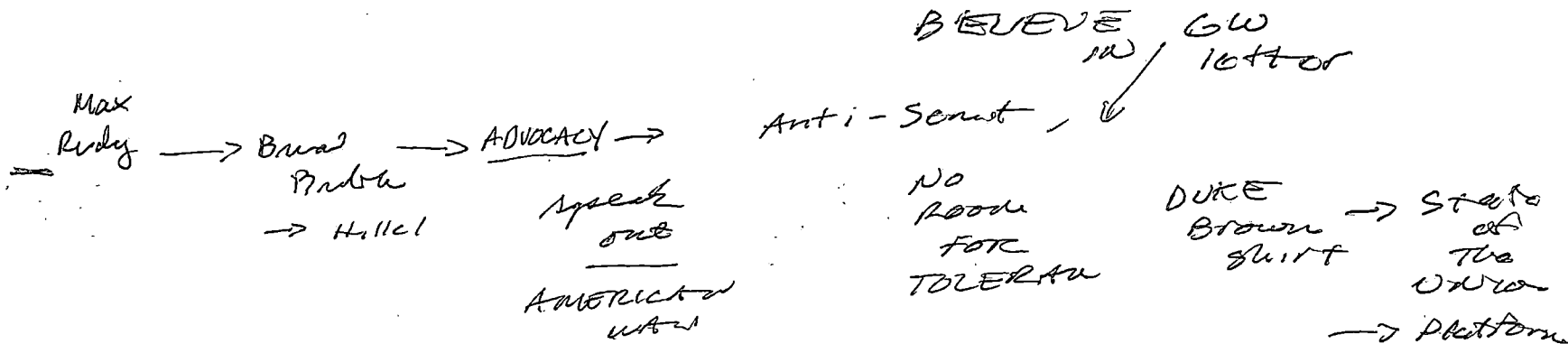
o The Bush record over four years has brought U.S.-Israeli relations to a new high: U.S. assistance to Israel has been crucial in the political, economic, and security dimensions.

- President Bush's courage and decisiveness in the defeat of Iraqi aggression ended the possibility that Saddam Hussein could use nuclear weapons against his enemies -- with Israel at the top of his target list.
- The President's diplomacy has produced an historic peacemaking process in which Israel is meeting, for the first time, in face-to-face, continuing negotiations with all its neighbors and multilaterally with all Arab nations (except Iraq and Libya).
- The President suspended the U.S. dialogue with the PLO because of its failure to disavow terrorism. The PLO's support for Saddam has reinforced the Administration's resolve.
- The Bush Administration has urged the Palestinians and other Arabs to negotiate seriously with Israel, to take account of Israel's security needs, and to respond in a forthcoming way to Israel's new positions.
- The President's leadership obtained the repeal in December 1991 of the notorious 1975 UN General Assembly resolution that equated Zionism with racism.

- After the historic May 1991 airlift of 14,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared that the rescue "could not have taken place without the full, devoted help of the United States."
- In April 1992, after repeated U.S. urging, Syria lifted travel restrictions on its 4,500-member Jewish community.
- In each of the past four years, the Bush Administration has furnished \$3 billion to Israel in economic and military assistance, as well as additional benefits such as early disbursement of assistance.
- Under the aegis of the U.S.-Israeli Joint Economic Development Group, cooperation is growing in fields such as science and technology, health, labor, agriculture, environmental protection, and the war against drugs.
- In March 1991, the U.S. agreed to an additional \$650 million in emergency assistance to help cover the military and civil defense costs to Israel resulting from the Gulf War.
- The President has proposed a new, modern, and global system of strategic missile defense, which would help protect the United States and its allies -- like Israel -- against missile attack. The Democrats have sought to cut its funding.
- The U.S. is funding 78% of Phase II of the joint U.S.-Israeli "Arrow" anti-tactical-ballistic-missile development project. In dollar terms, Israel has been the largest foreign participant in our Strategic Defense Initiative program.
- During the Gulf War, the President sent several batteries of "Patriot" anti-missile missiles and 12 F-15/A aircraft from Europe, and sent U.S. Army units to help operate the missiles.
- U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation now embraces over 300 joint programs in defense research and development, valued at over \$2.9 billion. The Pentagon purchased \$360 million in Israeli military goods in 1991 alone.
- The Pentagon has prepositioned approximately \$300 million worth of military equipment in Israel, and the U.S. and Israel continue to conduct joint exercises under the aegis of the Joint Political-Military Commission.

# # #

TRUST



HOPE

→ DOWE

THIS WHAT I WANT TO DO

REAL PEACE genuine

→ I want to and which VISION

means Real security

Washington Jewish Week, April 16, 1992

Co. Bush / r

NATIONAL

# Foxman: Bush is no anti-Semite

*Speaking before an Israeli audience,  
ADL head says White House merely 'flawed'*

**By Michele Chabin**  
Jewish Telegraphic Agency

**JERUSALEM** — An American Jewish leader visiting Israel has defended the Bush administration against accusations of anti-Semitism.

There is a "tendency here and in the United States by some leadership and non-leadership to cast policy disagreements in the context of anti-Semitism," Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, told a news conference here Monday after meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

The administration's recent disagreements with Israel "should not be viewed as anti-Semitism," Foxman said.

He was referring specifically to the clash between Shamir's Likud government and the Bush administration over the \$10 billion in U.S.-guaranteed loans Israel wants to help resettle new immigrants. The administration has refused to guarantee the loans unless Israel freezes Jewish settlement activity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"If you ask me specifically whether the debate and the differences between Israel and the United States on the issue of loan guarantees [constitute] anti-Semitism, I'd say no. It's a difference of opinion between two countries on an issue of foreign policy," Foxman said.

The ADL leader blasted

what he called "the almost perverse desire to believe" that members of the Bush administration are anti-Semites.

He cited widespread media reports that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker used an obscenity recently to dismiss American Jews, saying that "they don't vote for us anyway."

"I wasn't there when the

**'There is a desire to believe the worst.'**

secretary of state did or didn't say what he was accused of," Foxman said. "He personally denied it. So far to this day, those sources have not come forward. He's denied it five times, so where's that whispered source?"

"There is a desire to believe the worst," Foxman said.

While he believes that some of the Bush administration's policies toward Israel are "flawed and mistaken," the ADL leader stressed that America "should not be cast as an enemy."

"I hear the word 'anti-Semitism.' I hear the word 'Auschwitz.' I hear the U.S. Jewish community, in its anger and frustration on a difference of opinion and policy, resort to charges of anti-Semitism.

"I think that's dangerous, because it dilutes the value and the meaning of the word and the experience and its impact," Foxman said.

"I think we owe it to ourselves (to exercise) restraint and to put it in its proper context," he added.

While he called for perspective when viewing U.S.-Israeli relations, Foxman pointed out that true incidents of anti-Semitism have increased significantly during the past year.

A record 1,879 acts were reported in 1991, an 11 percent increase over 1990.

He attributed the rise to "a new tolerance for such acts within American society. It is politically correct to bash Jews and Israel," he said, adding that anti-Semitism is probably at its highest level since World War II.

"There is a new dimension of anti-Semitism in the United States," Foxman went on. "The incidents are more violent, more intense, and in this last 12-month period, we in the American Jewish community have experienced a murder based on anti-Semitism.

"That death represents a new level of hate, and it has left a scar," Foxman said.

He was referring to the killing of Yankel Rosenbaum, a Hasidic Jewish scholar, in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn last summer during a peak of racial tension after a car driven by a Hasid ran down and killed a black child.

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671 # of pages > 1

To	DAN McGroarty	From	HAKOHR
Co.		Co.	
Dept.		Phone #	
Fax #		Fax #	

DAN -- GW'S LETTER, A LITTLE EASIER TO READ

President Washington's letter to the Hebrew Congregation in  
Newport, Rhode Island.

1790 August

Gentlemen,

While, I receive, with much satisfaction, your address replete with expressions of affection and esteem; I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you, that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to Newport, from all classes of citizens.

The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet, from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good government, to become a great and a happy people.

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection, should discern themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration, and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants; while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and figtree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy.

Go. Washington

President Washington's "T

To the Hebrew Congregation

Yours truly

While I receive, with much satisfaction,  
 your address, signed with expressions of affection  
 and esteem; I regret in the opportunity of answering  
 you, that I shall always retain a grateful remem-  
 brance of the services which you have performed in  
 my name to Newport, from all classes of citizens.  
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 the liberal arts and sciences, and in the  
 profession of agriculture, or in any other  
 honest way of acquiring the art and  
 mystery of any trade, or profession,  
 should be encouraged by the laws of the  
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own due time and way everlastingly happy.

G. Washington

1790. August

Reply of Genl Washington  
to Address of the Hebrews  
of Newport Rhode Island  
with Autograph Signature  
of G<sup>o</sup> Washington

**PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU QUESTIONNAIRE**

**EVENT:** B'nai B'rith

**DATE:** Tuesday, September 8

**TIME:** 11:00 a.m. arrival

**LOCATION:**  
(GIVE DETAILS) Sheraton Washington

**EXPECTED AUDIENCE:**  
(NUMBER AND COMPOSITION) 1500: delegates 1000  
guests 500

**PRESS COVERAGE:** Open; Christian Television Network  
taped by B'nai B'rith

**DIAS PARTICIPANTS:** Max Fisher, Ken Schreiner,  
Rudy Boschowitz, George Klein

**EXPECTED PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF  
CABINET/CONGRESSIONAL/ADMINISTRATION:**

**POTUS INTRODUCTION:** Max Fisher

**PERTINENT SPEECH TOPICS:** Israel, anti-semitism, church-  
state, GB accomplishments, George Washington letter

**REASON FOR EVENT:**  
Every pres. candidate since 1964 has addressed  
this group.

**PLEASE ATTACH PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU CALL SHEET**

2-tiered  
approx  
40 people

# W

## WAR

☞ A small war may cause a large chaos.

If one soldier knew what the other [enemy] soldier thinks, there would be no war.

One word can start a war.

It is better to be a dog in peacetime than a soldier in war.

Don't consult a merchant about a bargain, or a coward about war.

☞ If you can't stand the smell of gunpowder, don't go to war.

☞ Even on the threshold of war, we [Jews] are bidden to begin in no other way than with peace, for it is written: "When you draw near a city to fight, first offer it peace."

MIDRASH: *Leviticus Rabbah*, 9

When men war, even God's anger does not frighten them.

*Zohar*

See also: ANGER, FIGHTING, PEACE, QUARRELING, VIOLENCE

## WEAKNESS

☞ Quarrels are the weapons of the weak.

☞ When a cow falls, everyone sharpens his knife.

Separate reeds are weak and easily broken; when bound together, they are hard to tear apart.

MIDRASH: *Tanhuma Nizavim*, 1

See also: COMPASSION, POWER, STRENGTH, WEAKNESS

"If a man can encourage others to give, his reward is even greater than that of the man who gives."

- Shulhan Arukh 249:5

"The whole value of a benevolent deed lies in the love that inspires it."

- Talmud:Sukkah, 49b

"He who is charitable and just fills the world with kindness."

- Talmud:Sukkah, 49b

Thank you very much for letting me pop in.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Bob Martinez, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.*

### **Memorandum on Export-Import Bank Services for Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia**

January 28, 1992

Presidential Determination No. 92-11

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Presidential Determination under Subsection 2(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as Amended—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia

Pursuant to subsection 2(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended (12 U.S.C. 635(b)(2)(D)(i)), I determine that it is in the national interest for the Export-Import Bank of the United States to guarantee, insure, extend credit, and participate in the extension of credit in connection with the purchase or lease of any product by, for use in, or for sale or lease to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

**George Bush**

### **Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union**

January 28, 1992

*Mr. Speaker and Mr. President, distinguished Members of Congress, honored guests, and fellow citizens:*

Thank you very much for that warm reception. You know, with the big buildup this address has had, I wanted to make sure it would be a big hit, but I couldn't convince Barbara to deliver it for me. [Laughter]

I see the Speaker and the Vice President are laughing. They saw what I did in Japan, and they're just happy they're sitting behind me. [Laughter]

I mean to speak tonight of big things, of big changes and the promises they hold, and of some big problems and how, together, we can solve them and move our country forward as the undisputed leader of the age.

We gather tonight at a dramatic and deeply promising time in our history and in the history of man on Earth. For in the past 12 months, the world has known changes of almost Biblical proportions. And even now, months after the failed coup that doomed a failed system, I'm not sure we've absorbed the full impact, the full import of, what happened. But communism died this year.

Even as President, with the most fascinating possible vantage point, there were times when I was so busy managing progress and helping to lead change that I didn't always show the joy that was in my heart. But the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the cold war.

I mean to speak this evening of the changes that can take place in our country, now that we can stop making the sacrifices we had to make when we had an avowed enemy that was a superpower. Now we can look homeward even more and move to set right what needs to be set right.

I will speak of those things. But let me tell you something I've been thinking these past few months. It's a kind of rollcall of honor. For the cold war didn't end; it was won. And I think of those who won it, in places like Korea and Vietnam. And some of them didn't come back. Back then they were heroes, but this year they were victors.

The long rollcall, all the G.I. Joes and Janes, all the ones who fought faithfully for freedom, who hit the ground and sucked the dust and knew their share of horror. This may seem frivolous, and I don't mean it so, but it's moving to me how the world saw them. The world saw not only their special valor but their special style: their rambunctious, optimistic bravery, their do-or-die unity unhampered by class or race or region. What a group we've put forth, for generations now from the ones who wrote "Kilroy was here"

on the walls of the German stalags to those who left signs in the Iraqi desert that said, "I saw Elvis." What a group of kids we've sent out into the world.

And there's another to be singled out, though it may seem inelegant, and I mean a mass of people called the American taxpayer. No one ever thinks to thank the people who pay a country's bill or an alliance's bill. But for half a century now, the American people have shouldered the burden and paid taxes that were higher than they would have been to support a defense that was bigger than it would have been if imperial communism had never existed. But it did; doesn't anymore. And here's a fact I wouldn't mind the world acknowledging: The American taxpayer bore the brunt of the burden and deserves a hunk of the glory.

And so now, for the first time in 35 years, our strategic bombers stand down. No longer are they on 'round-the-clock alert. Tomorrow our children will go to school and study history and how plants grow. And they won't have, as my children did, air raid drills in which they crawl under their desks and cover their heads in case of nuclear war. My grandchildren don't have to do that and won't have the bad dreams children had once, in decades past. There are still threats. But the long, drawn-out dread is over.

A year ago tonight, I spoke to you at a moment of high peril. American forces had just unleashed Operation Desert Storm. And after 40 days in the desert skies and 4 days on the ground, the men and women of America's Armed Forces and our allies accomplished the goals that I declared and that you endorsed: We liberated Kuwait. Soon after, the Arab world and Israel sat down to talk seriously and comprehensively about peace, an historic first. And soon after that, at Christmas, the last American hostages came home. Our policies were vindicated.

Much good can come from the prudent use of power. And much good can come of this: A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes one sole and pre-eminent power, the United States of America. And they regard this with no dread. For the world trusts us with power, and the world is right. They trust us to be fair and re-

strained. They trust us to be on the side of decency. They trust us to do what's right.

I use those words advisedly. A few days after the war began, I received a telegram from Joanne Speicher, the wife of the first pilot killed in the Gulf, Lieutenant Commander Scott Speicher. Even in her grief, she wanted me to know that some day when her children were old enough, she would tell them "that their father went away to war because it was the right thing to do." And she said it all: It was the right thing to do.

And we did it together. There were honest differences right here in this Chamber. But when the war began, you put partisanship aside, and we supported our troops. This is still a time for pride, but this is no time to boast. For problems face us, and we must stand together once again and solve them and not let our country down.

Two years ago, I began planning cuts in military spending that reflected the changes of the new era. But now, this year, with imperial communism gone, that process can be accelerated. Tonight I can tell you of dramatic changes in our strategic nuclear force. These are actions we are taking on our own because they are the right thing to do. After completing 20 planes for which we have begun procurement, we will shut down further production of the B-2 bombers. We will cancel the small ICBM program. We will cease production of new warheads for our sea-based ballistic missiles. We will stop all new production of the Peacekeeper missile. And we will not purchase any more advanced cruise missiles.

This weekend I will meet at Camp David with Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. I've informed President Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth, the former Soviet Union, will eliminate all land-based multiple-warhead ballistic missiles, I will do the following: We will eliminate all Peacekeeper missiles. We will reduce the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles to one and reduce the number of warheads on our sea-based missiles by about one-third. And we will convert a substantial portion of our strategic bombers to primarily conventional use. President Yeltsin's early response has been very positive, and I expect our talks at Camp David to be fruitful.

I want you to know that for half a century, American Presidents have longed to make such decisions and say such words. But even in the midst of celebration, we must keep caution as a friend. For the world is still a dangerous place. Only the dead have seen the end of conflict. And though yesterday's challenges are behind us, tomorrow's are being born.

The Secretary of Defense recommended these cuts after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And I make them with confidence. But do not misunderstand me: The reductions I have approved will save us an additional \$50 billion over the next 5 years. By 1997, we will have cut defense by 30 percent since I took office. These cuts are deep, and you must know my resolve: This deep, and no deeper. To do less would be insensible to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history. We must not go back to the days of "the hollow army." We cannot repeat the mistakes made twice in this century when armistice was followed by recklessness and defense was purged as if the world were permanently safe.

I remind you this evening that I have asked for your support in funding a program to protect our country from limited nuclear missile attack. We must have this protection because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear arms. And I urge you again to pass the Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI.

There are those who say that now we can turn away from the world, that we have no special role, no special place. But we are the United States of America, the leader of the West that has become the leader of the world. And as long as I am President, I will continue to lead in support of freedom everywhere, not out of arrogance, not out of altruism, but for the safety and security of our children. This is a fact: Strength in the pursuit of peace is no vice; isolationism in the pursuit of security is no virtue.

And now to our troubles at home. They're not all economic; the primary problem is our economy. There are some good signs. Inflation, that thief, is down. And interest rates are down. But unemployment is too high, some industries are in trouble, and growth is not what it should be. Let me tell you right from the start and right from the heart, I

know we're in hard times. But I know something else: This will not stand.

In this Chamber, in this Chamber we can bring the same courage and sense of common purpose to the economy that we brought to Desert Storm. And we can defeat hard times together. I believe you'll help. One reason is that you're patriots, and you want the best for your country. And I believe that in your hearts you want to put partisanship aside and get the job done because it's the right thing to do.

The power of America rests in a stirring but simple idea, that people will do great things if only you set them free. Well, we're going to set the economy free. For if this age of miracles and wonders has taught us anything, it's that if we can change the world we can change America. We must encourage investment. We must make it easier for people to invest money and create new products, new industries, and new jobs. We must clear away the obstacles to growth: High taxes, high regulation, redtape, and yes, wasteful Government spending.

None of this will happen with a snap of the fingers, but it will happen. And the test of a plan isn't whether it's called new or dazzling. The American people aren't impressed by gimmicks; they're smarter on this score than all of us in this room. The only test of a plan is: Is it sound, and will it work?

We must have a short-term plan to address our immediate needs and heat up the economy. And then we need a longer term plan to keep combustion going and to guarantee our place in the world economy. There are certain things that a President can do without Congress, and I'm going to do them.

I have, this evening, asked major Cabinet departments and Federal agencies to institute a 90-day moratorium on any new Federal regulations that could hinder growth. In those 90 days, major departments and agencies will carry out a top-to-bottom review of all regulations, old and new, to stop the ones that will hurt growth and speed up those that will help growth.

Further, for the untold number of hard-working, responsible American workers and business men and women who've been forced to go without needed bank loans, the banking credit crunch must end. I won't ne-

glect my responsibility for sound regulations that serve the public good, but regulatory overkill must be stopped. And I've instructed our Government regulators to stop it.

I have directed Cabinet departments and Federal agencies to speed up progrowth expenditures as quickly as possible. This should put an extra \$10 billion into the economy in the next 6 months. And our new transportation bill provides more than \$150 billion for construction and maintenance projects that are vital to our growth and well-being. And that means jobs building roads, jobs building bridges, and jobs building railways.

And I have, this evening, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to change the Federal tax withholding tables. With this change, millions of Americans from whom the Government withholds more than necessary can now choose to have the Government withhold less from their paychecks. Something tells me a number of taxpayers may take us up on this one. This initiative could return about \$25 billion back into our economy over the next 12 months, money people can use to help pay for clothing, college, or to get a new car. Finally, working with the Federal Reserve, we will continue to support monetary policy that keeps both interest rates and inflation down.

Now, these are the things I can do. And now, Members of Congress, let me tell you what you can do for your country. You must pass the other elements of my plan to meet our economic needs. Everyone knows that investment spurs recovery. I am proposing this evening a change in the alternative minimum tax and the creation of a new 15-percent investment tax allowance. This will encourage businesses to accelerate investment and bring people back to work.

Real estate has led our economy out of almost all the tough times we've ever had. Once building starts, carpenters and plumbers work; people buy homes and take out mortgages. My plan would modify the passive loss rule for active real estate developers. And it would make it easier for pension plans to purchase real estate. For those Americans who dream of buying a first home but who can't quite afford it, my plan would allow first-time homebuyers to withdraw savings from IRA's without penalty and provide a

\$5,000 tax credit for the first purchase of that home.

And finally, my immediate plan calls on Congress to give crucial help to people who own a home, to everyone who has a business or a farm or a single investment. This time, at this hour, I cannot take no for an answer. You must cut the capital gains tax on the people of our country. Never has an issue been more demagogued by its opponents. But the demagogues are wrong. They are wrong, and they know it. Sixty percent of the people who benefit from lower capital gains have incomes under \$50,000. A cut in the capital gains tax increases jobs and helps just about everyone in our country. And so, I'm asking you to cut the capital gains tax to a maximum of 15.4 percent.

And I'll tell you, those of you who say, "Oh, no, someone who's comfortable may benefit from that," you kind of remind me of the old definition of the Puritan who couldn't sleep at night, worrying that somehow, someone somewhere was out having a good time. [Laughter] The opponents of this measure and those who have authored various so-called soak-the-rich bills that are floating around this Chamber should be reminded of something: When they aim at the big guy, they usually hit the little guy. And maybe it's time that stopped.

This, then, is my short-term plan. Your part, Members of Congress, requires enactment of these commonsense proposals that will have a strong effect on the economy without breaking the budget agreement and without raising tax rates.

While my plan is being passed and kicking in, we've got to care for those in trouble today. I have provided for up to \$4.4 billion in my budget to extend Federal unemployment benefits. And I ask for congressional action right away. And I thank the committee. Well, at last.

And let's be frank. Let's be frank. Let me level with you. I know and you know that my plan is unveiled in a political season. [Laughter] I know and you know that everything I propose will be viewed by some in merely partisan terms. But I ask you to know what is in my heart. And my aim is to increase our Nation's good. I'm doing what I think

is right, and I am proposing what I know will help.

I pride myself that I'm a prudent man, and I believe that patience is a virtue. But I understand that politics is, for some, a game and that sometimes the game is to stop all progress and then decry the lack of improvement. [Laughter] But let me tell you: Far more important than my political future and far more important than yours is the well-being of our country. Members of this Chamber are practical people, and I know you won't resent some practical advice. When people put their party's fortunes, whatever the party, whatever side of this aisle, before the public good, they court defeat not only for their country but for themselves. And they will certainly deserve it.

I submit my plan tomorrow, and I'm asking you to pass it by March 20th. And I ask the American people to let you know they want this action by March 20th. From the day after that, if it must be, the battle is joined. And you know, when principle is at stake I relish a good, fair fight.

I said my plan has two parts, and it does. And it's the second part that is the heart of the matter. For it's not enough to get an immediate burst. We need long-term improvement in our economic position. We all know that the key to our economic future is to ensure that America continues as an economic leader of the world. We have that in our power. Here, then, is my long-term plan to guarantee our future.

First, trade: We will work to break down the walls that stop world trade. We will work to open markets everywhere. And in our major trade negotiations, I will continue pushing to eliminate tariffs and subsidies that damage America's farmers and workers. And we'll get more good American jobs within our own hemisphere through the North American free trade agreement and through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

But changes are here, and more are coming. The workplace of the future will demand more highly skilled workers than ever, more people who are computer-literate, highly educated. We must be the world's leader in education. And we must revolutionize America's schools. My America 2000 strategy will help us reach that goal. My plan will give

parents more choice, give teachers more flexibility, and help communities create new American schools. Thirty States across the Nation have established America 2000 programs. Hundreds of cities and towns have joined in. Now Congress must join this great movement: Pass my proposals for new American schools.

That was my second long-term proposal, and here's my third: We must make commonsense investments that will help us compete, long-term, in the marketplace. We must encourage research and development. My plan is to make the R&D tax credit permanent and to provide record levels of support, over \$76 billion this year alone, for people who will explore the promise of emerging technologies.

Fourth, we must do something about crime and drugs. It is time for a major, renewed investment in fighting violent street crime. It saps our strength and hurts our faith in our society and in our future together. Surely a tired woman on her way to work at 6 in the morning on a subway deserves the right to get there safely. And surely it's true that everyone who changes his or her life because of crime, from those afraid to go out at night to those afraid to walk in the parks they pay for, surely these people have been denied a basic civil right.

It is time to restore it. Congress, pass my comprehensive crime bill. It is tough on criminals and supportive of police, and it has been languishing in these hallowed halls for years now. Pass it. Help your country.

And fifth, I ask you tonight to fund our HOPE housing proposal and to pass my enterprise zone legislation which will get businesses into the inner city. We must empower the poor with the pride that comes from owning a home, getting a job, becoming a part of things. My plan would encourage real estate construction by extending tax incentives for mortgage revenue bonds and low-income housing. And I ask tonight for record expenditures for the program that helps children born into want move into excellence, Head Start.

Step six, we must reform our health care system. For this, too, bears on whether or not we can compete in the world. American health costs have been exploding. This year

America will spend over \$800 billion on health, and that is expected to grow to 1.6 trillion by the end of the decade. We simply cannot afford this. The cost of health care shows up not only in your family budget but in the price of everything we buy and everything we sell. When health coverage for a fellow on an assembly line costs thousands of dollars, the cost goes into the products he makes, and you pay the bill.

We must make a choice. Now, some pretend we can have it both ways. They call it "play or pay," but that expensive approach is unstable. It will mean higher taxes, fewer jobs, and eventually a system under complete Government control.

Really, there are only two options. And we can move toward a nationalized system, a system which will restrict patient choice in picking a doctor and force the Government to ration services arbitrarily. And what we'll get is patients in long lines, indifferent service, and a huge new tax burden. Or we can reform our own private health care system, which still gives us, for all its flaws, the best quality health care in the world.

Well, let's build on our strengths. My plan provides insurance security for all Americans while preserving and increasing the idea of choice. We make basic health insurance affordable for all low-income people not now covered, and we do it by providing a health insurance tax credit of up to \$3,750 for each low-income family. And the middle class gets help, too. And by reforming the health insurance market, my plan assures that Americans will have access to basic health insurance even if they change jobs or develop serious health problems. We must bring costs under control, preserve quality, preserve choice, and reduce the people's nagging daily worry about health insurance. My plan, the details of which I'll announce very shortly, does just that.

And seventh, we must get the Federal deficit under control. We now have, in law, enforceable spending caps and a requirement that we pay for the programs we create. There are those in Congress who would ease that discipline now. But I cannot let them do it, and I won't.

My plan would freeze all domestic discretionary budget authority, which means no

more next year than this year. I will not tamper with Social Security, but I would put real caps on the growth of uncontrolled spending. And I would also freeze Federal domestic Government employment. And with the help of Congress, my plan will get rid of 246 programs that don't deserve Federal funding. Some of them have noble titles, but none of them is indispensable. We can get rid of each and every one of them.

You know, it's time we rediscovered a home truth the American people have never forgotten: This Government is too big and spends too much. And I call upon Congress to adopt a measure that will help put an end to the annual ritual of filling the budget with pork-barrel appropriations. Every year, the press has a field day making fun of outrageous examples: A Lawrence Welk museum, research grants for Belgian endive. We all know how these things get into the budget, and maybe you need someone to help you say no. I know how to say it, and I know what I need to make it stick. Give me the same thing 43 Governors have, the line-item veto, and let me help you control spending.

We must put an end to unfinanced Federal Government mandates. These are the requirements Congress puts on our cities, counties, and States without supplying the money. If Congress passes a mandate, it should be forced to pay for it and balance the cost with savings elsewhere. After all, a mandate just increases someone else's burden, and that means higher taxes at the State and local level.

Step eight, Congress should enact the bold reform proposals that are still awaiting congressional action: Bank reform, civil justice reform, tort reform, and my national energy strategy.

And finally, we must strengthen the family because it is the family that has the greatest bearing on our future. When Barbara holds an AIDS baby in her arms and reads to children, she's saying to every person in this country: Family matters.

And I am announcing tonight a new Commission on America's Urban Families. I've asked Missouri's Governor John Ashcroft to be Chairman, former Dallas Mayor Annette Strauss to be Cochair. You know, I had mayors, the leading mayors from the League of

Cities, in the other day at the White House, and they told me something striking. They said that every one of them, Republican or Democrat, agreed on one thing, that the major cause of the problems of the cities is the dissolution of the family. They asked for this Commission, and they were right to ask because it's time to determine what we can do to keep families together, strong and sound.

There's one thing we can do right away: Ease the burden of rearing a child. I ask you tonight to raise the personal exemption by \$500 per child for every family. For a family with four kids, that's an increase of \$2,000. This is a good start in the right direction, and it's what we can afford.

It's time to allow families to deduct the interest they pay on student loans. I am asking you to do just that. And I'm asking you to allow people to use money from their IRA's to pay medical and education expenses, all without penalties.

And I'm asking for more. Ask American parents what they dislike about how things are going in our country, and chances are good that pretty soon they'll get to welfare. Americans are the most generous people on Earth. But we have to go back to the insight of Franklin Roosevelt who, when he spoke of what became the welfare program, warned that it must not become "a narcotic" and a "subtle destroyer" of the spirit. Welfare was never meant to be a lifestyle. It was never meant to be a habit. It was never supposed to be passed from generation to generation like a legacy. It's time to replace the assumptions of the welfare state and help reform the welfare system.

States throughout the country are beginning to operate with new assumptions that when able-bodied people receive Government assistance, they have responsibilities to the taxpayer: A responsibility to seek work, education, or job training; a responsibility to get their lives in order; a responsibility to hold their families together and refrain from having children out of wedlock; and a responsibility to obey the law. We are going to help this movement. Often, State reform requires waiving certain Federal regulations. I will act to make that process easier and quicker for every State that asks for our help.

And I want to add, as we make these changes, we work together to improve this system, that our intention is not scapegoating or finger-pointing. If you read the papers and watch TV, you know there's been a rise these days in a certain kind of ugliness: racist comments, anti-Semitism, an increased sense of division. Really, this is not us. This is not who we are. And this is not acceptable.

And so, you have my plan for America. And I'm asking for big things, but I believe in my heart you'll do what's right.

And you know, it's kind of an American tradition to show a certain skepticism toward our democratic institutions. I myself have sometimes thought the aging process could be delayed if it had to make its way through Congress. [Laughter] You will deliberate, and you will discuss, and that is fine. But, my friends, the people cannot wait. They need help now.

And there's a mood among us. People are worried. There's been talk of decline. Someone even said our workers are lazy and uninspired. And I thought: Really? You go tell Neil Armstrong standing on the moon. Tell the men and women who put him there. Tell the American farmer who feeds his country and the world. Tell the men and women of Desert Storm.

Moods come and go, but greatness endures. Ours does. And maybe for a moment it's good to remember what, in the dailiness of our lives, we forget: We are still and ever the freest nation on Earth, the kindest nation on Earth, the strongest nation on Earth. And we have always risen to the occasion. And we are going to lift this Nation out of hard times inch by inch and day by day, and those who would stop us had better step aside. Because I look at hard times, and I make this vow: This will not stand.

And so, we move on together, a rising nation, the once and future miracle that is still, this night, the hope of the world. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless our beloved country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:07 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.*