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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Plenary Session of the Board of Governors
Tel Aviv University
May 21, 2000

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Presidium, Governors of the University and, of course, President Rabinowich: Let me begin by thanking President Rabinowich for his kind words of introduction. Itamar Rabinowich is greatly respected, not only in his country, but also in ours, as a scholar and a statesman, whose knowledge of his region, whose agile diplomacy -- not to mention his skill as a raconteur -- have given enduring momentum to the cause of peace in the Middle East. During his three years in Washington as Israel's Ambassador to the United States, President Clinton and I benefited from his wisdom and advice. I would like to thank Itamar for his extraordinary service to Israel, to the United States, and to our unique partnership.

Peace seldom speaks for itself. One of the most common mistakes is to assume that the argument for peace is self-evident. It is not. For those who enjoy it, its benefits are taken for granted. For those who do not, its benefits are viewed as distant and illusory, not worth the hard compromises it necessarily entails. My goal today is to talk about the imperative of a comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors and particularly between Israelis and Palestinians, how I believe it can be achieved, and what the United States is prepared to do to help you reach that goal.

But before I discuss the path ahead, I would like to describe the journey already taken, for it is in itself a remarkable story of peacemaking, and an instructive one.

Rarely is one offered the privilege to witness -- let alone to participate in -- the resolution of one of history's great human conflicts. For the resolution takes far longer than the onset, and there is a momentum to conflict that the desire for peace alone often fails to overcome. And yet, make no mistake: while it is uneven, and often difficult, the historic process of peacemaking is precisely what we are experiencing. From the era of great wars -- 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 -- the region has turned to the era of engagement and peace-building -- Camp David, Madrid, and then Oslo. It is far from complete, but it is producing profound changes in the regional landscape long considered unthinkable.

It is worth taking a step back to contemplate these changes, for distance can sharpen what proximity blurs. Israel and Egypt are at peace. Israel and Jordan are at peace. Israelis and Palestinians, step by difficult step, have been constructing an edifice of peace. And, what once was beyond the realm of the conceivable -- peace between Israel and Syria and between Israel and Lebanon -- is now thinkable. Consider this simple fact: with the exception of Iraq, Libya, and Sudan, every single Arab state has maintained or is maintaining some form of contact with the state of Israel -- whether through the international donor effort for the Palestinians, regional anti-terrorism efforts, the multilateral track, the Middle East and North Africa summits, or direct negotiations.

I say this neither to claim that these changes are irreversible nor to assert that the peace is satisfactory -- they are not, and it is not. The goal must be a genuine reconciliation that triggers a change in attitudes, and behavior, and personal relations -- all of which a large distance separates from a signed agreement. And there still remains far too much violence and bloodshed to justify either self-satisfaction or complacency. But I say this as a useful and necessary reminder of the path already traveled and of the fact that those on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict who have struggled for peace have established a foundation upon which we can build.

The challenge today is to secure, deepen and broaden the gains of the past several decades by achieving a comprehensive peace. The last six months have seen intensive efforts to reach an agreement between Israel and Syria, and that door remains open. Neither Israel, nor Syria, nor the United States can afford to give up. But today, and in the months ahead, we also have a historic opportunity that we must not allow to slip away -- a chance to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian problem, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is on that endeavor that I wish to focus my remarks.

Some may question the relevance of the Palestinian track. They will argue that the Palestinians present no genuine military threat. That they can be contained. That the familiar cost of today's cease-fire is preferable to the uncertain cost of tomorrow's peace.

I profoundly disagree. The Palestinian issue still resonates deeply from one end of the Arab world to the other. It feeds and will continue to feed the passions and the emotions of

millions of Arabs. It embodies questions of identity, existence and security whose resolution is vital to broadening the orbit of regional peace. An Israeli-Palestinian peace would help to dry up the emotional and ideological well-spring of the Arab-Israeli conflict, thereby significantly de-legitimizing Arab hostility against Israel. In short, the Arab-Israeli conflict - - which grew out of the struggle between Israelis and Palestinians -- can only be resolved once that struggle is fairly, and permanently, put to rest.

But there is more. For those who believe that the situation can endure as it is, I will say this: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict knows no status quo. It cannot find a stable equilibrium. The alternative to a peaceful compromise is not the status quo, it is something very different and, I am convinced, far worse. For the condition that produced hostility in the past remains current to this day. It is what I call the problem of proximity, the physical interconnection between Israelis and Palestinians that, in the absence of a fundamental resolution of their conflict, is bound to create further friction and further violence. If nothing else, the events of this past week were the most recent tragic reminder of this reality.

Paradoxically, however, this is both the curse and blessing of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For the tragedy that awaits in the event of inaction also constitutes the greatest incentive for immediate action.

All of which brings me to this conclusion: a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians is a necessity; it must be a lasting, comprehensive agreement, not a partial or interim one; it must finalize all claims, from both sides; it must, in short, signify in words and in deeds the end of a one-hundred-year conflict; and it must happen soon.

So, where do the parties go from here? How can this necessary peace be achieved? This is, of course, no simple question for what makes resolution of the conflict so urgent also is what makes it so difficult: the weight of history, which has left us with two people living together, inextricably linked yet separated by distinct versions of history, different faiths, and the clash of conflicting yet equally intense claims to territory.

The challenge, in other words, is to find a way to honor each side's historical, religious and territorial claims -- for there

can be no solution that ignores or belittles them -- while overcoming the obstacles they place on the path to peace. Based on our experience over the past years, I would like to touch briefly upon a few guiding principles.

First, while there certainly is no easy answer, the only good answer will come from Israelis and Palestinians themselves. The decisions they face are the most fateful of all, and any outside party, however well-intentioned, cannot make them in their place.

Second, solutions must be found around a negotiating table, through dialogue -- not on the streets, through violence. Peace cannot be made through intimidation and it will not result from fear.

Third, reaching an agreement will require creative thinking. Where two parties living in such proximity must disentangle their conflicting claims yet continue to live and to work side by side, conventional approaches based only on rigid notions of territory and sovereignty and security may not be adequate. And indeed, there is no shortage of unconventional tools, for the world in which we are living is experiencing a sea change. Old notions of boundaries have little currency in an era of globalization and growing interdependence where goods and services and people move freely and where the internet is becoming our most familiar mode of communication. So too, traditional concepts of security are fast becoming outmoded in an age where the greatest threats transcend borders and include long-range missiles, terrorism, narcotics, disease, or environmental disasters. In short, by using creative approaches, a zero-sum strategy based on an *imbalance* of power can give way to a win-win strategy based on a *balance* of interests in which both sides' needs are met.

Fourth, reaching an agreement will require visionary and courageous leadership . . . leadership capable of breaking the current consensus in order to create a new one . . . leadership capable of building a powerful constituency for peace by making the argument for peace. As I said at the outset, peace does not speak for itself. It must be given voice by people who can describe the end they are pursuing as well as the alternative they are striving to avoid. Israelis and Palestinians are blessed with such leaders, as Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have shown time and again.

And they are blessed with one other critical asset: President Clinton's tireless commitment to the cause of peace in the Middle East. Which brings me to the role of the United States.

I will start from the very simple, but very real proposition that the United States has a crucial interest in regional stability, for what happens in the Middle East has a direct bearing on our security and our prosperity.

Our interest is also based on our special relationship with Israel -- rooted in history; founded on common interests; sustained by shared values. To strengthen Israel's security is to protect our own -- which is why our commitment is iron-clad and everlasting. At the same time, we have learned from history that a key to peacemaking is the strong relationship between our two countries. For the strength of our relationship has both demonstrated to Israel's adversaries the futility of war and helped give the Israeli people the self-confidence to make peace.

Each time that it has reached agreements with its Arab neighbors, Israel has been strengthened and so too has our relationship. Rest assured that this will be the case once more. As Israel brings to an end its conflict with the Palestinians, our partnership will be cemented in ways that reflect the magnitude and the boldness of this step. So the fact is this: we will always stand by Israel as it takes risks for peace and we will do so with renewed vigor in an era when it faces new threats.

For all these reasons, Israelis and Palestinians should feel secure in the knowledge that there is no greater priority for this Administration and there is no greater priority for this President than to bring about a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

In seeking today to make the case for peace, I harbor no illusion about the difficulties it will entail. To solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is to address the most profound and wrenching existential questions -- about beliefs, about self-identity and about security. Nor can one ignore a past that is fraught with pain and suffering.

But I would like to venture the following thought. For the past several months, but particularly for the past several weeks, the United States has been talking to both sides, listening attentively to their needs and aspirations. Based on what we

have heard, based on what we know, I believe there is not a single issue -- not the most complex, not the most sensitive -- that cannot be resolved. It will take imagination. It will take vision. It will take strength. And it will take leaders, like Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat, with a keen sense of what it will mean for the two sides to reach peace, and what it will mean if they do not.

Let me close today by reading the last lines of a letter from the President of the United States to President Weizmann of Israel:

"I trust that the present uncertainty, with its terribly burdensome consequences, will soon be eliminated. We will do all we can to help by encouraging direct negotiations between the parties looking toward a prompt peace settlement."

This was a letter from President Harry Truman to President Chaim Weizman. It was written over 50 years ago.

We have worked so long for peace. We have never been closer. Let us seize this chance. Thank you.

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PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 22, 1978

Camp David Meeting on the Middle East

Remarks of the President, President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt, and Prime Minister Menahem Begin of Israel at the Conclusion of the Meeting. September 17, 1978

PRESIDENT CARTER. When we first arrived at Camp David, the first thing upon which we agreed was to ask the people of the world to pray that our negotiations would be successful. Those prayers have been answered far beyond any expectations. We are privileged to witness tonight a significant achievement in the cause of peace, an achievement none thought possible a year ago, or even a month ago, an achievement that reflects the courage and wisdom of these two leaders.

Through 13 long days at Camp David, we have seen them display determination and vision and flexibility which was needed to make this agreement come to pass. All of us owe them our gratitude and respect. They know that they will always have my personal admiration.

There are still great difficulties that remain and many hard issues to be settled. The questions that have brought warfare and bitterness to the Middle East for the last 30 years will not be settled overnight. But we should all recognize the substantial achievements that have been made.

One of the agreements that President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin are signing tonight is entitled, "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East."

This framework concerns the principles and some specifics, in the most substantive way, which will govern a comprehensive peace settlement. It deals specifically with the future of the West Bank and Gaza and the need to resolve the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The framework document proposes a 5-year transitional period in the West Bank and Gaza during which the Israeli military government will be withdrawn and a self-governing authority will be elected with full autonomy. It also provides for Israeli forces to remain in specified locations during this period to protect Israel's security.

The Palestinians will have the right to participate in the determination of their own future, in negotiations which will resolve the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and then to produce an Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty.

These negotiations will be based on all the provisions and all the principles of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. And it provides that Israel may live in peace, within secure and recognized borders. And this great aspiration of Israel has been certified without constraint, with the greatest degree of en-

thusiasm, by President Sadat, the leader of one of the greatest nations on Earth.

The other document is entitled, "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel."

It provides for the full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai. It calls for the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai and, after an interim withdrawal which will be accomplished very quickly, the establishment of normal, peaceful relations between the two countries, including diplomatic relations.

Together with accompanying letters, which we will make public tomorrow, these two Camp David agreements provide the basis for progress and peace throughout the Middle East.

There is one issue on which agreement has not been reached. Egypt states that the agreement to remove Israeli settlements from Egyptian territory is a prerequisite to a peace treaty. Israel states that the issue of the Israeli settlements should be resolved during the peace negotiations. That's a substantial difference. Within the next 2 weeks, the Knesset will decide on the issue of these settlements.

Tomorrow night, I will go before the Congress to explain these agreements more fully and to talk about their implications for the United States and for the world. For the moment, and in closing, I want to speak more personally about my admiration for all of those who have taken part in this process and my hope that the promise of this moment will be fulfilled.

During the last 2 weeks, the members of all three delegations have spent endless hours, day and night, talking, negotiating, grappling with problems that have divided their people for 30 years. Whenever there was a danger that human energy would fail, or patience would be exhausted or good will would run out—and there were many such moments—these

two leaders and the able advisers in all delegations found the resources within them to keep the chances for peace alive.

Well, the long days at Camp David are over. But many months of difficult negotiations still lie ahead. I hope that the foresight and the wisdom that have made this session a success will guide these leaders and the leaders of all nations as they continue the progress toward peace.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT SADAT. Dear President Carter, in this historic moment, I would like to express to you my heartfelt congratulations and appreciation. For long days and nights, you devoted your time and energy to the pursuit of peace. You have been most courageous when you took the gigantic step of convening this meeting. The challenge was great and the risks were high, but so was your determination. You made a commitment to be a full partner in the peace process. I'm happy to say that you have honored your commitment.

The signing of the framework for the comprehensive peace settlement has a significance far beyond the event. It signals the emergence of a new peace initiative, with the American nation in the heart of the entire process.

In the weeks ahead, important decisions have to be made if we are to proceed on the road to peace. We have to reaffirm the faith of the Palestinian people in the ideal of peace.

The continuation of your active role is indispensable. We need your help and the support of the American people. Let me seize this opportunity to thank each and every American for his genuine interest in the cause of people in the Middle East.

Dear friend, we came to Camp David with all the good will and faith we possessed, and we left Camp David a few minutes ago with a renewed sense of hope and inspiration. We are looking forward

to the days ahead with an added determination to pursue the noble goal of peace.

Your able assistants spared no effort to bring out this happy conclusion. We appreciate their spirit and dedication. Our hosts at Camp David and the State of Maryland were most generous and hospitable. To each one of them and to all those who are watching this great event, I say thank you.

Let us join in a prayer to God Almighty to guide our path. Let us pledge to make the spirit of Camp David a new chapter in the history of our nations.

Thank you, Mr. President.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. *Mr. President of the United States, Mr. President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, ladies and gentlemen:*

The Camp David conference should be renamed. It was the Jimmy Carter conference. *[Laughter]*

The President undertook an initiative most imaginative in our time and brought President Sadat and myself and our colleagues and friends and advisers together under one roof. In itself, it was a great achievement. But the President took a great risk for himself and did it with great civil courage. And it was a famous French field commander who said that it is much more difficult to show civil courage than military courage.

And the President worked. As far as my historic experience is concerned, I think that he worked harder than our forefathers did in Egypt building the pyramids. *[Laughter]*

Yes, indeed, he worked day and night, and so did we—*[laughter]*—

PRESIDENT CARTER. Amen.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. Day and night. We used to go to bed at Camp David between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning, arise, as we are used to since our boyhood,

between 5 and 6, and continue working.

The President showed interest in every section, every paragraph, every sentence, every word, every letter—*[laughter]*—of the framework agreements.

We had some difficult moments—as usually there are some crises in negotiations, as usually somebody gives a hint that perhaps he would like to pick up and go home. *[Laughter]* It's all usual. But ultimately, ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States won the day. And peace now celebrates a great victory for the nations of Egypt and Israel and for all mankind.

Mr. President, we, the Israelis, thank you from the bottom of our hearts for all you have done for the sake of peace, for which we prayed and yearned more than 30 years. The Jewish people suffered much, too much. And, therefore, peace to us is a striving, coming innermost from our heart and soul.

Now, when I came here to the Camp David conference, I said, perhaps as a result of our work, one day people will, in every corner of the world, be able to say, *Habemus pacem*, in the spirit of these days. Can we say so tonight? Not yet. We still have to go a road until my friend President Sadat and I sign the peace treaties.

We promised each other that we shall do so within 3 months. Mr. President *[referring to President Sadat]*, tonight, at this celebration of the great historic event, let us promise each other that we shall do it earlier than within 3 months.

Mr. President, you inscribed your name forever in the history of two ancient civilized peoples, the people of Egypt and the people of Israel. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT CARTER. Thank you very much.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. Oh, no, no, no. I would like to say a few words about my friend, President Sadat. We met for the first time in our lives last November in Jerusalem. He came to us as a guest, a former enemy, and during our first meeting we became friends.

In the Jewish teachings, there is a tradition that the greatest achievement of a human being is to turn his enemy into a friend, and this we do in reciprocity. Since then, we had some difficult days. [Laughter] I'm not going now to tell you the saga of those days. Everything belongs to the past. Today, I visited President Sadat in his cabin, because in Camp David you don't have houses, you only have cabins. [Laughter] And he then came to visit me. We shook hands. And, thank God, we again could have said to each other, "You are my friend."

And, indeed, we shall go on working in understanding, and in friendship, and with good will. We will still have problems to solve. Camp David proved that any problem can be solved if there is good will and understanding and some, some wisdom.

May I thank my own colleagues and friends, the Foreign Minister, the Defense Minister, Professor Barak, who was the Attorney General—and now he is going to be His Honor, the Justice of the Supreme Court, the Israeli Brandeis—and Dr. Rosenne, and our wonderful Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Simcha Dinitz, and all our friends, because without them that achievement wouldn't have been possible.

I express my thanks to all the members of the American delegation, headed by the Secretary of State, a man whom we love and respect. And so, I express my thanks to all the members of the Egyptian delegation who worked so hard together with us, headed by Deputy Prime Min-

ister, Mr. Touhamy, for all they have done to achieve this moment. It is a great moment in the history of our nations and, indeed, of mankind.

I looked for a precedent; I didn't find it. It was a unique conference, perhaps one of the most important since the Vienna Conference in the 19th century, perhaps.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to turn to my own people from the White House in my own native tongue.

[At this point, the Prime Minister spoke briefly in Hebrew.]

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

PRESIDENT CARTER. The first document that we will sign is entitled, "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David," and the texts of these two documents will be released tomorrow. The documents will be signed by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin, and it will be witnessed by me. We have to exchange three documents, so we'll all sign three times for this one.

[At this point, President Sadat, Prime Minister Begin, and President Carter signed the first document.]

I might say that the first document is quite comprehensive in nature, encompassing a framework by which Israel can later negotiate peace treaties between herself and Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, as well as the outline of this document that we will now sign.

And as you will later see, in studying the documents, it also provides for the realization of the hopes and dreams of the people who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and will assure Israel peace in the generations ahead.

This second document is the one relating to a framework for a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. This is the document that calls for the completion of the

peace treaty negotiations within 3 months. And I have noticed the challenge extended by these two gentlemen to each other. They will complete within 3 months—I might say that this document encompasses almost all of the issues between the two countries and resolves those issues. A few lines remain to be drawn on maps, and the question of the settlements is to be resolved. Other than that, most of the major issues are resolved already in this document.

We will now sign this document as well.

[At this point, President Sadat, Prime Minister Begin, and President Carter signed the second document.]

PRESIDENT CARTER. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Members of the U.S., Egyptian, and Israeli delegations to the summit meeting and Members of the Congress, the Cabinet, and White House staff attended the document signing ceremony, which was broadcast live on radio and television.

Camp David Meeting on the Middle East

*Documents Agreed to at Camp David.
September 17, 1978*

A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AGREED AT CAMP DAVID

Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, met with Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, at Camp David from September 5 to September 17, 1978, and have agreed on the following framework for peace in the Middle East. They invite other parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to adhere to it.

PREAMBLE

The search for peace in the Middle East must be guided by the following:

—The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts.*

—After four wars during thirty years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not yet enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.

—The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded to him by the Parliament, government and people of Israel, and the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.

—The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states.

—To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it, are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the

*The texts of Resolutions 242 and 338 are annexed to this document.

FOCUS - 36 OF 72 STORIES

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SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 3339 words

HEADLINE: Hideaway Summit

BYLINE: ANGUS DEMING with THOMAS M. DeFRANK, MILAN J. KUBIC and WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT at Camp David and SCOTT SULLIVAN, LARS-ERIK NELSON and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

BODY:

When Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin scheduled a Sabbath supper at Camp David, he invited two senior Israeli officials to come out from Washington for the occasion. The two men were quickly disinvited by the White House; President Carter, they were told, wanted to keep Camp David closed to outsiders.

At the White House, one of Carter's top advisers canceled all press interviews on any subject. If a news leak occurred at the Middle East peace negotiations, he explained, "I want to be able to say that I haven't talked with any reporters this week."

Over at the State Department, another high-ranking official confessed that he hadn't the faintest idea what was going on at Camp David. "Our people are being very careful," said the mystified diplomat. "They haven't even told us anything."

Against long odds in an age of onmi-present news media, Jimmy Carter successfully conducted a hideaway summit conference at Camp David last week. Sealed up at his retreat in the Maryland mountains, Carter led Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat through day after day of shirt-sleeve diplomacy in one last effort to break the stalemate in the Mideast peace talks. Camp David was a comfortable prison. The three delegations ate well, played tennis and other games on the rustic grounds and socialized with each other determinedly. They took three days of rest during a multi-Sabbath weekend-Muslim on Friday, Jewish on Saturday and Christian on Sunday-and even scheduled a sightseers' outing to the battlefield at Gettysburg. The summit was expected to end sometime this week, but after the first few days the outcome was no more certain-or promising-than it had been at the cautions beginning.

The first on-the-record characterization of the talks came at the weekend from White House press secretary Jody Powell, the sole official spokesman for all three sides. "Progress does seem to have been made in some areas," Powell said carefully. "However, substantial differences still remain on other important issues." Soon some U.S. officials were worrying that even that guarded statement had been too bullish. Referring to the "substantial differences" part of Powell's remarks, one insider stressed: "That is not a subordinate clause." All the signs were that the first few days of the talks had been devoted



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inconclusively to spelling out basic Egyptian and Israeli positions. According to some sources, the hard bargaining on issues like Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab land and the future of the Palestinians had not yet begun, and U.S. officials were still hammering together the "bridging proposals" that they hoped would narrow the gaps.

One omen seized upon by many outside the Camp David fence was that toward the end of the week Carter spent more time in head-to-head talks with Begin than with Sadat, suggesting that, as expected, the U.S. was having more trouble with Israel. "The atmosphere is really relaxed and nice," confirmed an Israeli source, "but when it comes to ideas and positions, that's another story." It was clear, however, that all three sides wanted the summit to end with at least the appearance of success-and that neither Israeli nor Egypt wanted to be blamed for a failure. Thus, although no one expected a definitive Mideast peace settlement, there was still hope for a limited success. Its most likely shape: some carefully worded statement of principles to end the stalemate and prepare the way for further negotiations.

The actual issues in the Egyptian-Israeli dispute would be much harder to settle, but all sides were committed to the attempt. Sadat, one source said, submitted his peace plan in the form of three documents, one a declaration of principles, the second a plan for implementing them and the third a plan for working out fine-point details. By all signs, the Sadat documents-and equally voluminous paperwork brought along by Begin-offered no major concessions at the outset.

Egypt demands Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories (although by one account Sadat's latest formula does not specify "all" Arab land). It calls for the creation of a Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, linked to Jordan. It maintains that all Israeli settlements on Arab land are illegal and seeks Israeli withdrawal from East Jerusalem. Israel is offering limited self-rule for the West Bank and Gaza, with a final decision on the area's status after five years. Israel opposes a Palestinian state and offers only to return Muslim holy places in Jerusalem to Arab control. And it insists that Jews have a right to settle in the West Bank and should remain in Sinai desert settlements, though under Egyptian sovereignty. As of late last week, there had been no final resolution on any of the major sticking points.

'WE WILL BE ISOLATED'

Carter appeared somewhat somber as his rendezvous with Begin and Sadat drew near. On the eve of the summit, at the conclusion of a Sunday-school lesson at Washington's First Baptist Church, the President prayed for divine guidance and help, "particularly this week." Then, leaving Vice President Walter Mondale in charge of routine Administration business for the duration of the summit meeting, Carter boarded his helicopter on the South Lawn of the White House for the 35-minute hop to Camp David. "We will be almost uniquely isolated from the press and from the outside world," he said before departing. "My hope is that this degree of personal interchange, without the necessity for political posturing or defense of a transient stand or belief, will be constructive." But Carter also cautioned against expecting too much. "The prospects for complete success," he said, "are very remote."

Outwardly, Begin and Sadat were relaxed and confident as they flew toward



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Camp David. During the twelve-hour flight from Tel Aviv to New York-his first stop on the way to the summit-Begin secluded himself in the first-class compartment along with his wife, Aliza, and four ranking Israeli officials, including Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Defense Minister Ezer Weizman. There, Begin spent much of the time browsing through **Sadat's** recently published autobiography, "In Search of Identity."

Once he was off the plane, Begin's spirits seemed to soar. On an early morning stroll down Park Avenue, he beamed at passing New Yorkers and eagerly pumped their hands. When asked by a television reporter to explain his buoyant mood, Begin replied: "And why shouldn't I be happy?" American Jewish leaders who called on the Prime Minister in his hotel suite also found him irrepressible. "He was exuberant, confident, glowing with vigor and relatively optimistic," reported one of them, Rabbi Alexander Schindler.

SADAT PEACE OF MIND

Sadat had pronounced the Camp David summit "a last chance for peace" in the Middle East. Yet the Egyptian President was anything but dispirited. "No, no, I'm not nervous at all," **Sadat** told NEWSWEEK's William E. Schmidt aboard his Egypt Air jetliner en route to the U.S. "I've had my rest and I'm very relaxed." Only once did he comment on the approaching summit. When Schmidt mentioned that Carter had promised to be a "full partner" in the summit talks, **Sadat** replied: "This is very good. Let me just say this to you: this trip is just as important a step as my trip to Jerusalem last year."

As members of **Sadat's** entourage saw it, it was primarily up to Carter and Begin to deliver at Camp David. "After nine months of talks, negotiations and stalemate," said one Egyptian editor on the plane, "**Sadat** knows he has come to a point where he will finally say yes or no. He has achieved a certain peace of mind, because he feels he has done all he can himself. The burden this time is not on Egypt, it is on the Americans."

Sadat's advisers saw virtually no chance that the summit would produce a real breakthrough, but reasoned that a failure at Camp David would only help to put Israel on the defensive. "It is an opportunity to expose Begin in front of Carter, and to deepen the wedge between Begin and the United States," said one **Sadat** adviser. "We still hope the summit will produce an agreement as a result of American efforts and Israeli compromise. But even if this fails, as seems likely, we are hopeful the impression will be left that it is Begin who is to blame."

At Andrews Air Force Base, **Sadat** was welcomed by Mondale and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance-and, as Chief of State, was accorded a 21-gun salute. "This is not a time for maneuvers and worn-out ideas; it is a time for magnanimity and reason," **Sadat** declared in an arrival statement that ended with a rousing, "We shall overcome!" Slightly more than two hours later, Begin was accorded an identical welcome-except that as head of government he rated only a nineteen-gun salute. An accomplished linguist-he speaks English, Hebrew, French, German and Polish-Begin could not resist a play on "Habemus Papem," the Latin words used recently to announce the election of a new Pope. Said Begin: "Let us all hope that out of this unique political conclave, the day will come when the nations of the world will say, 'Habemus Pacem' [we have peace]."



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Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter were on hand at the Camp David helicopter landing pad when **Sadat** and Begin arrived. The Egyptian President embraced Carter in an exuberant bear hug, then daintily kissed Mrs. Carter on both cheeks. When Begin arrived, the scene was repeated: a hug for the President, a decorous buss for Rosalynn-though the courtly Begin outdid **Sadat** by grasping both of Rosalynn's hands and kissing them, too.

The Camp David arrival scenes provided a last glimpse of the summit before the lid of official secrecy came down. From then on, the once-a-day briefings by Powell provided virtually the only information about what was going on inside the tightly guarded Presidential retreat. In the first 24 hours, newsmen were provided little more than bare-bone facts, such as that Carter had personally escorted his guests to their respective quarters and had spent roughly fifteen minutes with each, "explaining the lay out of the cabins." Powell also disclosed that Carter had met privately in his Aspen Lodge study Begin for about two hours the first night, and the following morning had held a similar one-on-one session with **Sadat** out on the sun-drenched flagstone patio behind the Presidential lodge.

CHANCE ENCOUNTER

A chance encounter between **Sadat** and Begin and an unheralded drive into the Maryland countryside by the Egyptian President enlivened the first full day of the summit. In the morning, while Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter were getting in a set of tennis, **Sadat** and Begin each set out to stroll through the camp's wooded grounds. Suddenly, the two leaders found themselves face-to-face. They shook hands cordially and, according to one eyewitness, exchanged compliments. "You look fine, Mr. President," said Begin. "You look very well, Mr. Prime Minister," **Sadat** replied.

Begin then shook hands with Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, and with Butros Ghali, another high-ranking Egyptian official. "He told me in Jerusalem that I can call him Butros," Begin remarked to **Sadat**. "Some of us call him 'Peter'," **Sadat** replied, referring to the fact that Ghali is a Coptic Christian. At that moment, Ezer Weizman-who had lost badly to Cyrus Vance in a morning game of billiards-rode by on one of the bicycles provided for Camp David guests. The Israeli Defense Minister braked to a halt and hugged **Sadat**, who responded by kissing him on both cheeks. The two groups finally parted, after more small talk, with the promise to see each other at 3 p.m. for their first joint meeting with President Carter.

INDULGING A HABIT

Late that afternoon, newsmen were as tonished to observe a limousine with Anwar **Sadat** in the front seat emerge from Camp David and disappear into the Maryland countryside. So speculation swept the press corps: Had **Sadat** decided to walk out of the summit? Was the voluble Egyptian leader rebelling against the seclusion of Camp David? Apparently, **Sadat** was merely indulging an old habit of going for a ride whenever the spirit moves him. "The President likes to drive around in a car and think," said an Egyptian. "He just wanted to have a look at the woods and hills."

The first "six-eyes" meeting-Carter, **Sadat** and Begin alone with each other at the summit-was held in warm sunshine on Carter's outdoor patio and lasted one



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hour and 40 minutes. No aides and present and no stenographic or recording equipment was in use, but the three scratched notes on paper as they talked. Carter was in an open-necked sports shirt; Sadat and Begin, favoring a formality both would quickly drop, wore coats and ties. What transpired at that first meeting remained a closely held secret, though Powell reported later that Sadat and Begin had agreed to "leave their wristwatches at home" when they reconvened the following day so that there would be "no time pressures on them."

That may have been a sensible precaution. The second full day of contacts at Camp David-during which Carter, Begin and Sadat met without aides in two separate sessions that consumed more than five hours-evidently produced a certain amount of heat. In fact, NEWSWEEK learned, when a Presidential aide interrupted the afternoon session to inform Carter that the House had just upheld his veto of the \$37 billion defense-authorization bill (page 28), the American President welcomed the momentary diversion at what apparently was a tense moment. "It couldn't have come at a more propitious time," one source commented later.

At his press briefing, Powell declined to shed any light on the substance of the Carter-Sadat-Begin talks, or on the discussion earlier in the day in which Mondale, national-security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Dayan and Weizman had also participated. But Powell did say he "wouldn't be surprised" if the sessions had come to grips with the key issues that had deadlocked the Israeli-Egyptian peace process: the future of the occupied West Bank, the Sinai desert and the Palestinians. "It would be rather difficult to talk about the Middle-East without talking about that," Powell said.

The summit may have produced moments of tension, but it also provided ample opportunity for informal, convivial contact among U.S., Egyptian and Israeli officials. The three leaders usually dined in their respective lodges, but their aides took their meals in a communal dining room at the Laurel Lodge conference center, where they were encouraged to sip cocktails together in the kind of easy social rapport that U.S. officials hoped would help keep the peace process alive. Tennis, bicycling, billiards and other diversions were available, as were movies. Some 60 films-Begin and Sadat are both avid Western fans-were on hand.

'IT WAS WONDERFUL'

By all odds the most spectacular public event of the summit last week-as well as one of the oddest-was a 45-minute, spit-and-polish display of precision marching, drum-and-bugling and tossing of rifles with fixed bayonets by a detachment from Washington's Marine Barracks. Some observers thought is a bit out of place to hold a military display at a peace conference, but the three leaders were enthusiastic. "You all made our country proud," Jimmy Carter wrote in the Marines' guest book. Beneath that, Sadat wrote: "It was wonderful." And in a small and careful handwriting, Begin penned: "It was a great performance of a great army. In deep appreciation for the famous Marines."

The Camp David summit produced strong repercussions in the Middle East itself. Prior to Begin's departure for the U.S., 100,000 Israeli demonstrators marched through the streets of Tel Aviv waving "Peace Now" banners and urging the Prime Minister to show greater flexibility and readiness to compromise. But



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the Israeli Government was more concerned that Palestinian guerrillas might try to torpedo the summit talks, and it ordered a full-scale alert against possible terrorist attacks. Police leaves were canceled throughout the country. Military units on the borders and in the occupied areas were strengthened, and Israeli naval patrols maintained a constant watch for seaborne infiltrators. Despite those precautions, one bomb exploded in Jerusalem with deadly effect. The blast mortally wounded Steve Hilmes, 31, an American-born Vietnam war veteran who had emigrated to Israeli and had become the top bomb-disposal expert on the Jerusalem police force.

BURNED IN EFFIGY

Arab hard-liners seethed over what they saw as further evidence of Sadat's readiness to betray his Arab brethren in the struggle, against Israeli. In Lebanon, where fighting among Christians, Muslims and Syrian peace-keeping forces remained a threat to peace in the Middle East. Sadat was burned in effigy. Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, predicted failure at Camp David. And Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul Halim Khaddam warned that the "steadfastness front" Arabs who reject peace talks with Israel (Syria, Algeria, Libya, South Yemen and the PLO) might be driven to sign "military pacts" with the Soviet Union.

None of that, however, seemed to trouble the spirit of good fellowship at Camp David. Friday night, on the eve of the Jewish Sabbath, Begin gave a dinner in Hickory Lodge that was attended by Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, Vance, Brzezinski and U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis, as well as the entire Israeli delegation. The Egyptians were not invited.

There were no speeches, but Begin gave a short talk thanking Carter for his hospitality, and Dayan presented Carter, Vance and Brzezinski with autographed copies of his new book, "Living With the Bible." The mood grew so gemütlich, according to one dinner guest, that the Israelis spontaneously began singing Israeli folk songs, including the perennially popular "Jerusalem the Golden," and kept it up for over an hour. Carter stayed for two hours and at one point, the President went table-hopping, shaking hands with every Israeli in the room.

With the advent of three consecutive Sabbaths, the delegations were able to pause for breath and to take stock of the progress so far. But the summit itself remained obscured by a near-total news blackout, which, coming from Carter, was something of an irony. During one of his televised debates with Gerald Ford during the 1976 Presidential campaign, Carter had promised that, if elected, he would "quit conducting the decision-making process in secret." In Carter's defense, his aides insisted last week that the precautions at Camp David were merely intended to promote the success of the summit, and that the secrecy was temporary. "We are only talking about a period of a few days here," said Powell. "We are not talking about no information forever and ever."

RUMORS AND SPECULATION

Even short-term secrecy promoted rumors and speculative reporting: outside the Camp David compound, for instance, some American newsmen exchanged gossip with Egyptian and Israeli correspondents and subsequently quoted them as "sources." Some senior Administration officials argued that no news is bad news and sought to persuade Vance that the veil of secrecy at Camp David should be



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lifted somewhat. But Vance overruled them, contending that even a badly distorted news story would cause far less damage than a total breakdown of the talks.

What Vance and Carter intended to avoid at all costs was a repetition of the 1973 Middle East Geneva peace conference, which had collapsed quickly after Arab and Israeli delegates exchanged recriminations in front of the TV cameras. For that reason, they decided to keep the lid on as tightly as they could. Whether substantial progress had been made in the search for a durable peace in the Middle East remained an open question. But in terms of secret diplomacy, Jimmy Carter's hideaway summit at Camp David was an undoubted success.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Carter plays host to Begin and **Sadat** at Camp David: One last effort to break the perilous stalemate in the Mideast; Picture 2, Chatting with Anwar **Sadat**: 'Not a time for maneuvers and worn-out ideas, Picture 3, Chatting with Menachem Begin: "And why shouldn't I be happy?' Photos by Karl Schumacher - The White House; Picture 4, Reviewing the marines: Enthusiasm for a spit-and-polish display of precision marching, drum-and-bugling and rifle tossing with fixed bayonets, Susan T. McElhinney - Newsweek; Picture 5, the marines, Owen Franken - Sygma; Picture 6, After you: A cordial exchange of compliments, Karl Schumacher - The White House; Illustrations 1, 2, Vaticanlike secrecy: But would the Mideast rivals say 'Habemus Pacem'? Mike Peters - Copyright (c) Dayton Daily News; Picture 7, Presidential break: An appearance of success? The White House

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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A Citing the Middle East's strategic location and resources, Carter said the U.S. and its friends "could not be indifferent if a hostile power were to establish dominance there." He warned of the risk of confrontation between the superpowers that could result from local conflicts in the area. For this reason, Carter pointed out, the U.S. had assumed the role of "full partner in the search for peace" in the Middle East.

B The President cautioned that the "magnitude of the obstacles that still remain" could not be overlooked. "The summit exceeded our highest expectation—but we know that it left many difficult issues which are still unresolved." Among those issues cited by Carter and not specifically mentioned in the document on the proposed Egyptian-Israeli treaty was the question of the removal of Israeli settlements in the Sinai. The removal of the settlements required approval of the Israeli Knesset (parliament).

C Carter said the Egyptians had insisted that removal of the settlements "is a prerequisite to a peace treaty." Israel, he said, held to the position that the issue "should be resolved during the peace negotiations."

Turning to the fighting in Lebanon, the President said, "We must join in an effort to end the conflict and terrible suffering" there.

D **Summit Faced Collapse**—President Carter had briefed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee on the Camp David summit earlier Sept. 18.

The President reportedly told the congressmen that his meetings with Sadat and Begin faced collapse at a number of points. He said he had deliberately kept the two men apart since their initial discussions Sept. 6-7, which the President described as bitter. Begin and Sadat never formally met together again as Carter arranged the details of the agreement with them separately.

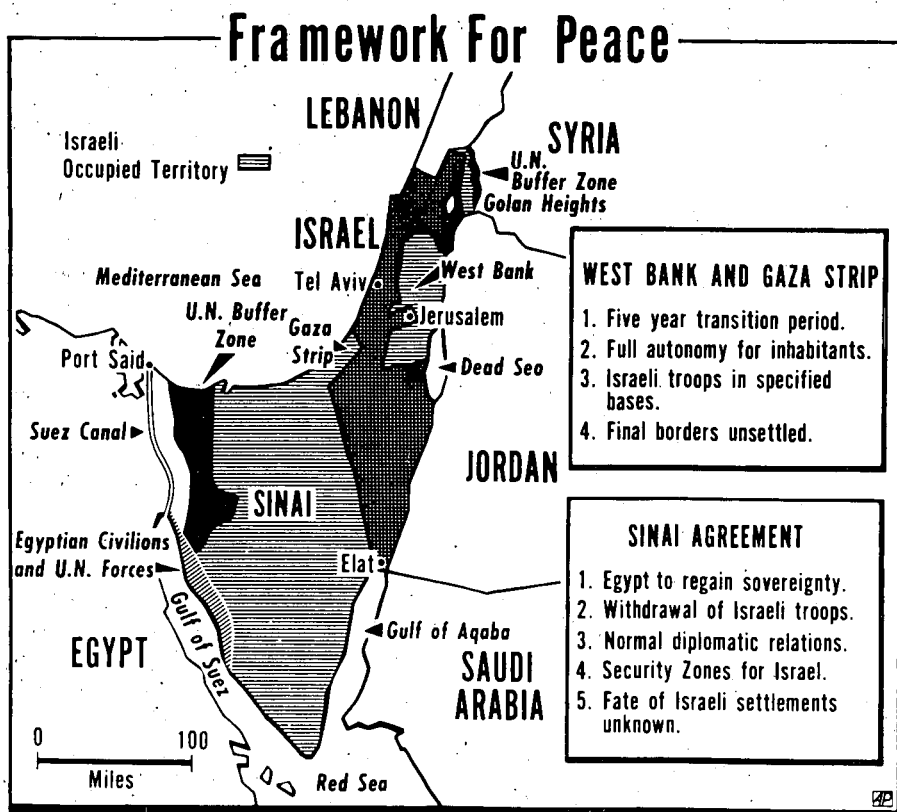
Sadat confirmed in a television interview Sept. 18 that he had threatened to walk out of the summit the previous week.

F The key element that broke the impasse was concession by Begin during a meeting with Carter Sept. 15, it was reported. Begin was said to have acceded to the provisions relating to the Palestinian role during a five-year transitional period in the West Bank and to have agreed to permit the Knesset to decide on the future of the Israeli settlements in the Sinai.

Begin, U.S. Dispute Settlements—Premier Begin conceded Sept. 20 that Israel and the U.S. held different interpretations about Israeli settlements on the West Bank, which were discussed at the summit.

G In an exclusive interview with the Wall Street Journal in New York, Begin said he had pledged to freeze Jewish settlements on the West Bank only for the period during which Israel and Egypt would negotiate their bilateral treaty, which was expected to last three months or less.

U.S. officials insisted that Begin had promised to bar new settlements during the period of negotiations on the disposi-



tion of the West Bank. They also said he had promised at the Camp David talks "that the issue of future Israeli settlements will be decided among the negotiating partners." This would mean that the Palestinians, as a party to the West Bank discussions, would have the right to reject any new settlements.

The question of the settlements was one of five highly controversial or technical subjects that had been omitted from the written accords. Begin, Carter and President Sadat had agreed instead to have them covered in an exchange of letters that would outline the details of these subjects. The issuance of the letters, however, was delayed because of the U.S.-Israeli disagreement over the settlements.

Among the other unresolved matters not contained in the text of the accords were the fate of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights and East Jerusalem. The Arabs wanted both returned to them. Begin told a Jewish group in New York Sept. 20 that he had gained concessions from Sadat and Carter on these two points by threatening to stalemate the summit unless they yielded.

Sadat and Carter wanted the agreements to include a phrase that could have implied that Israel might eventually give up the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem.

Begin also said that the agreement he signed did not require Israel to give up the West Bank during the five-year transitional period. Begin insisted that Israel would claim sovereignty over the West Bank after the five-year term. If the Palestinians or the Jordanians made the same claim, then the matter would remain unresolved and Israeli troops would stay and the Palestinians would continue to exercise self-rule, Begin said.

Sadat for Comprehensive Pact—President Sadat said Sept. 19 that he favored a comprehensive Middle East peace agreement but implied that he was prepared to pursue a peace initiative on his own if other Arab states refused to join.

Speaking to newsmen in Washington, Sadat said the proposed Egyptian-Israeli accord and the projected West Bank-Gaza pact were "a package deal. The two issues should go parallel. I am not after a separate deal with Israel but a comprehensive deal."

However, if Jordanian King Hussein refused to participate in a West Bank agreement, Sadat said he would negotiate the matter himself, "as I will with Sinai."

Sadat declared Sept. 20 that he would sign a peace treaty with Israel within two months despite opposition from Arab hardliners and reservations from such moderate states as Jordan and Saudi Arabia. [See below]

The Cairo newspaper Al Ahran also quoted Sadat as saying that he was ordering a shakeup of the Egyptian government and demobilizing some army units "because the battle of liberating [Israeli-occupied] lands is over."

Kamel Quits; Other Arab Reaction—The Camp David summit agreements drew immediate opposition from within President Sadat's own ranks. His foreign minister, who was involved in the talks, Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel, resigned Sept. 18 in protest against the conference results. Kamel had been named foreign minister in 1977. [See 1977, p. 993E1]

Ashraf Ghorbal, Egypt's ambassador to the U.S., also tendered his resignation for the same reason.

(Continued on p. 712C1)

Camp David Negotiations



Triumph!

Go to:	<u>Beginning of Triumph!</u>		
or by day:	September 1978		
	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>

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September 16, 1978

After attending President Sadat's walk around the compound, President Carter returned to Aspin Lodge in order to review their current situation. Briefly, the President also met with the Israeli Defense minister, Ezer Weizman. Reviewing the current American proposal with his staff, the President chose stronger language constraining Israeli West Bank expansion. They also discussed the possibilities for including the Palestinians in determining their own future and the Sinai settlements question.



A morning meeting with the Israelis hosted by Vance focused on the issue of the West Bank and the UN Resolution 242 language.

In a late morning to early afternoon meeting, Vance and Carter proposed a solution to the question of Palestinian autonomy which Sadat accepted as well as language on the treatment of Jerusalem, as long as the US would agree to an "exchange of letters" reaffirming the US position that Jerusalem is part of the West Bank.



In a protracted meeting between the Israeli and American principals, Carter went through the entire draft framework listing the common positions and detailing the remaining sticking points. He hoped the litany of agreements would make it clear to Begin how few were the issues remaining. Begin insisted on an agreement over Sinai in which the parties would continue negotiating for a final peace treaty and after three months, if they were successful then he would submit the question of withdrawing the settlements to the Knesset. Carter pointed out that Sadat has consistently opposed such a proposition. Begin finally agreed to a Knesset vote over removing the Sinai settlements contingent upon settling all other Sinai issues (e.g., the question of airfields). With that agreement, Begin removed the roadblock to successfully concluding an agreement.

September 17, 1978

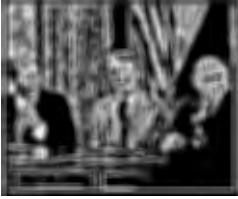


Sunday began with Carter reviewing with Sadat the agreement as worked out with the Israelis. Sadat disagreed over the treatment of Jerusalem, as had Begin. The American proposal was to drop the language on Jerusalem and Begin had agreed to an exchange of letters stating each party's position. The American proposal reaffirmed its longstanding position, including the contention that Israel's position in East Jerusalem was an illegitimate occupation. Begin refused to accept this letter and threatened that if the US did not change its letter, then the Israelis would not sign the accords.

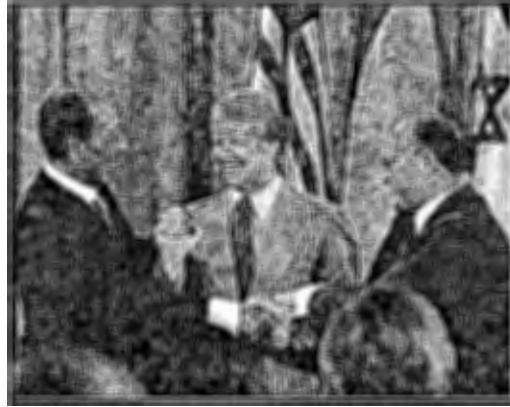
Meeting with Dayan, Weizman, and Barak. Mondale, Vance, and Brzezinski, Carter discussed the possible revisions of the American and Israeli letters on Jerusalem. The American position merely restated the positions of its three previous UN Ambassadors. Carter suggested restating the American letter by simply "reaffirming" its previous positions without stating them.



The final issue remaining arose over the language on the Knesset vote. Begin's letter restated the agreement to mean that the Knesset vote would result in commencement of the peace negotiations while the agreement had been that no peace negotiations would commence until the Knesset voted. Carter insisted on the original language and eventually devised letters preserving that position and to which the Israelis would agree. With this final agreement, the three parties had reached a final accord.

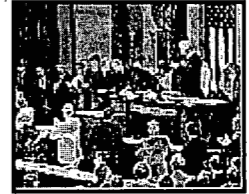


The Camp David delegations arrived at the White House at 10:15 PM and went immediately to the East Room where they signed the Accords.



September 18, 1978

On Monday evening, President Carter addressed the Congress, reporting on the Camp David negotiations and the Accords. Both Sadat and Begin were in the audience. In preparing the speech, Sadat advised the President, "Just do not aggravate the Israelis, some of whom are quite excitable and unpredictable people." On the way to the Capitol, President Carter decided to add "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."



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Go on with the Camp David Accords Exhibit -- [Legacy](#).

FOCUS - 24 OF 72 STORIES

Copyright 1978 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

September 21, 1978, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A10

LENGTH: 229 words

HEADLINE: **Sadat** Vows to Sign a Peace Treaty With Israel Despite Arab Opposition

BYLINE: From News Services

DATELINE: CARIO

BODY:

President Anwar **Sadat**, backed by a pledge of support from the army, announced yesterday that he will sign peace treaty with Isreal in two months despite protests from Ara radicals and strong reservations from moderates.

Sadat said he is ordering a shakeup of the Egyptian government and demobilizing some army units "because of the battle of liberating (the occupied lands) is over."

"This complete change is intended to answer to all needs of the population, end administrative routine, revolutionize the adminstration and stimulate the enthusiasm of the people in the next stage," **Sadat** was quoted as saying in the well informed Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram.

Although **Sadat** did not mention it, the move also seemed designed to assure him of support within his government by getting rid of any officials who oppose his peacemaking efforts. Foreign Minister Mohammed Kamal resigned after the Camp David accords over the weekend, apparently unwillingly to carry out **Sadat's** policies.

Sadat defended the peace accords as a triumph for Egypt and the Palestinians, and said he would go ahead with implementation despite the objections of Jordan and Saudi Arabian and the condemnation of hardline Arabs meeting in Damascus.

Sadat's remarks were made at separate meeting in Washington with American editors and Egyptian students enrolled in American universities.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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James B. Steinberg
Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Remarks to
The Center on the United States and France
Brookings Institution
May 24, 2000

Introduction

- Very pleased Phil Gordon invited me to give this talk. Understand he used to work at NSC. If someone could point him out to me, would appreciate it.
- Of course, most of you know vital role Phil did play at White House. Masterful job preparing for 50th anniversary NATO Summit, including toiling long and hard on NATO's new Strategic Concept. Also played central role in preparing President's trip to Turkey and Greece and helping to jump start Cyprus talks.
- My only hope is that he does not match his success at the White House, or before that at the ISS, with success here at the new Center on the United States and France. After all, if U.S.-French relations were to become devoid of all creative tension, those of us who work on transatlantic affairs may be out of a job, or at the very least bored.

The Worst of Times

- Recent New York Times article that received lots of attention was headlined: "Europe's Dim View of U.S. Evolving into Frank Hostility." It cited a litany of differences -- from arms control policy to trade disputes to the death penalty -- for proposition there is crisis in transatlantic relations.
- In preparing this talk, decided to dig a little deeper to see if this coverage reflected reality, or was just flash in pan.
- Must tell you I'm very troubled by what I found. Consider these headlines: "Allies Complain of Washington's Heavy Hand". "France to NATO: Non Merci". "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare on Allies." "Protesters Rally Against American Arms Plan."
- Sure you all recognize the references. "Allies Complain of Washington's Heavy Hand" is headline of story about... the

1956 Suez crisis. "France to NATO: Non Merci" is a story from... 1966, when France left NATO's military command. "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare on Europe" is of course about... the 1981 Siberian pipeline crisis. "Protestors Rally Against American Arms Plan" is circa... 1986, during the debate over the deployment of intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe.

- In short, bickering across the Atlantic is as old as the Alliance itself. And the colloquies and conferences we're seeing in the year 2000 about the crisis between the United States and Europe are simply an echo of the colloquies and conferences we saw in 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990.
- In fact, I would and will argue that relations across the Atlantic are deeper and stronger than ever, that our cooperation is broader than ever, and that prospects for the future are brighter than ever - provided we manage the relationship with wisdom and care.

The Big Picture - Thus Far

- Step back and consider our common successes thus far in the post cold War era. Just a decade ago, it was predicted that NATO would not endure, having lost its reason for being. Europe's new democracies would fail. Europe's project for a common currency and foreign policy would founder. US and the EU would go their own ways. Russia would turn inward and reactionary.
- The reality is quite the opposite. We not only preserved NATO, we strengthened it by adapting the alliance to new missions, and working with new members and partners, including Russia. Our common efforts have the new democracies of central Europe and the Baltics well on their way to joining the transatlantic mainstream. The EU - with our support - has brought monetary union into being and has made a remarkably fast start at a common foreign and security policy - a policy that this Administration strongly supports. The relationship between the United States and the EU is stronger than ever, as evidenced by the 14th US-EU summit of his presidency President Clinton is about to attend. And Russia, for all its difficulties, has just completed the first democratic transfer of power in its history.
- Some also predicted that a fundamental contradiction would emerge between our desire to sustain the TransAtlantic

partnership and Europe's determination to further its integration. Again, I think we have proved the opposite.

- From the outset of this administration, President Clinton has been a consistent and eloquent supporter of European integration. He believes in and supports a strong EU. He believes in and supports the EMU. He believes in and supports ESDP. The reason is simple, and it is based on the history of the 20th century. When Europe is divided, its people at war or subjugated to tyranny, that's not only bad for Europe, it's bad for America. When Europe is peaceful, undivided, and democratic, America benefits. And of course, such a Europe is a more effective partner for us in meeting the common challenges that have replaced the common existential threat as the glue of our relationship.
- This is not to say there have not been big picture problems. The wars in the former Yugoslavia were our common nightmare. But now that killing ground has become a proving ground for new structures of cooperation we have built - for a new NATO, the Partnership for Peace, NATO-Russia, the OSCE and, of course, a strong EU.
- It's also not to say that we have reached the end of history within the Euro-Atlantic area. The great construction project of our time -- a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe - will not be complete until southeast Europe and Russia are truly part of the foundation. I expect you will be hearing the President talk about - and act on - that proposition when he is in Europe next week.
- Here too, the United States and Europe share the same goals and the same approach. We're working together thru NATO and UNMIK to pick up the pieces in Kosovo. We're working together through the Stability Pact to bring southeast Europe into the 21st century. We're working together to encourage Russia's new leaders to deepen democracy and economic reform, and to find a political solution to the crisis in Chechnya.
- Even in the area of trade -- where seemingly innocuous words like "bananas", "beef" and "hushkits" can cause mature diplomats to cry out in frustration - by almost any measure the transatlantic relationship is strong and growing stronger. US investment in Europe grew by seven times between 1994 and 1998. European companies are the largest investors in 41 of our 50 states. The value of these ties dwarfs the money in question in our disputes. We exchange more than \$1 billion

per day in goods and investments - and the number is rising. News trans-Atlantic alliances - for example, between Daimler and Chrysler, Bertelsmann and Random House - are creating a whole new depth to our partnership.

Why All the Angst?

- Of course, something must explain the spate of "U.S.-Europe divorce" articles. Two basic explanations.
- First, Americans and Europeans alike must contend with phenomenon of globalization. Some Europeans think 'globalization' is "Americanization." Of course, the U.S. is especially well placed to thrive in a globalizing world. But so is Europe - a proposition its companies are proving every day. And millions of Americans too are concerned about globalization's implications for them, their families, their futures - witness the receptions they gave delegates to the WTO meeting in Seattle and the WB/IMF meetings in Washington. For Americans, too, the way we live, work and interact - amongst ourselves, with our government, and with people and countries around the world - is changing more rapidly and more profoundly than ever before.
- Convinced globalization is neither inherently good, nor bad - but it is inevitable. We can't will it away. What we can do is work together to better share its benefits and spread its burdens. And here, U.S. and Europe uniquely well placed to lead.
- Second, and more specific to the U.S.-European relationship, end of Cold War brought demise of European dependence on U.S. for existential security. Into void surged two phenomena that are largely complementary but sometimes in conflict. On the one hand, what a certain Foreign Minister has called the American hyperpower - a country dominant militarily, economically, politically and culturally. On the other hand, an emerging European identity, built around EU, EMU, ESDP.
- This new reality requires us to refine the relationship across Atlantic. Not surprising certain amount of tension results. Not surprising each partner is experiencing discomfort in changes it is being forced to consider. For Europe, the challenge is to assume more of the burden of leadership. For the U.S., the difficulty lies in ceding more of the say in the conduct of common policies.

- I'm convinced we can and will meet these challenges, because the common challenges we face will compel us to do so. America needs Europe, just as Europe needs America, as much as we needed each other during the Cold War and, I would argue, even more than we did then.
- We have built a partnership that is unique in this world - a partnership that is global, tackling problems not only within our common area, but beyond it. And as you all know, the new problems we face are, more and more, global in nature.
- Of course, we must continue to contend with classic conflicts of international relations - wars between nation states fought over territory, resources and power. These will not go away.
- But more and more, new kinds of threats demand our time, energy and resources - threats that the U.S.-European partnership is uniquely placed to meet. Conflict within societies based on ethnic, racial and religious animosity. The spread of weapons of mass destruction. The challenge of international crime and terrorism, drug trafficking and cyber criminality. Epidemics of disease and malnutrition. Environmental degradation. The truth is no less profound for being plain: no one nation can tackle these problems alone. Isolationism or unilateralism cannot answer the challenges of the 21st century.
- And so I'm convinced that as people who share the same basic values and same core interests, we are fated to work more closely and deeply together than ever. For all the storm and drung about transatlantic relations, I'm confident the relationship will endure and thrive. There is, simply put, no alternative.

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001. fax	Phone No.'s (Partial) (1 page)	05/19/2000	P6/b(6)
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May 19, 2000 3:17PM

No. 5274 P. 1/2

370 Lexington Avenue
Suite 1409
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-573-8040
Fax: 212-573-8047

Seeds of Peace

Fax Urgent

*see next page!***To: MR. ROBERT MALLEY****ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY****From: JOHN WALLACH****Fax: 202-456-9120****Pages: 2****Phone:****Date: May 19, 2000****Re:****CC:**

☐ Urgent ☐ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply ☐ Please Recycle

THE SEEDS OF PEACE AWARD IS PRESENTED ANNUALLY TO THE LEADER WHO HAS DEMONSTRATED COURAGE AND CONVICTION IN BRINGING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THE MOST IMPORTANT QUALITY FOR WHICH THE AWARD IS PRESENTED IS COMMITMENT TO THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF THE REGION BECAUSE IT IS THE BELIEF OF SEEDS OF PEACE THAT WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE PEOPLES IN THE REGION, TREATIES WILL REMAIN MERE PIECES OF PAPER. SEEDS OF PEACE STRIVES TO MAKE PEACE A REALITY IN THE HEARTS OF THE NEXT GENERATION AND TO HELP DEVELOP FRIENDSHIPS AMONG THIS GENERATION THAT WILL ENABLE THEM TO BECOME THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW.

THE AWARD IS PRESENTED BY THE CHILDREN (ISRAELI, PALESTINIAN, EGYPTIAN AND JORDANIAN) IN THE SEEDS OF PEACE PROGRAM. IT HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO A LEADER IN THE REGION FOR EVERY YEAR SINCE 1993.

PREVIOUS RECIPIENTS HAVE INCLUDED THEIR MAJESTIES KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR, H.E. UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN, PRIME MINISTERS YITZHAK RABIN AND SHIMON PERES, MRS. REUMA WEIZMAN (WIFE OF ISRAELI PRESIDENT EZER WEIZMAN), THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN ARCHITECTS OF THE OSLO ACCORDS AND SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE ALBRIGHT.

CALL ME OVER THE WEEKEND IF YOU NEED MORE INFORMATION: P6(b)(6) (HOME) OR P6(b)(6) (CELL)

[001]

*Mrs Rabin and
Queen Noor*

*honored
last night*

May 18, 2000 5:17PM

No. 5233 P. 1/5

370 Lexington Avenue
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Seeds of Peace

Fax Urgent

To: MR. ROB MALLEY**ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY****THE WHITE HOUSE****From: JOHN WALLACH****Fax: 202-456-9120****Pages: 4****Phone:****Date: May 18, 2000****Re:****CC:**

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DEAR ROB:

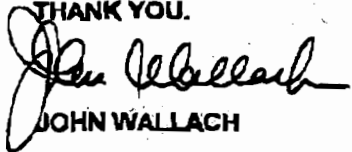
ATTACHED IS A DRAFT FOR A POSSIBLE MESSAGE FOR MONDAY NIGHT'S SALUTE AT CARNEGIE HALL. THERE WILL BE 3,000 PEOPLE ATTENDING TO HONOR MRS. RABIN, MRS. SADAT AND HM QUEEN NOOR (REPRESENTED BY HRH ZEID RAAD ZEID AL-HUSSEIN).

I ALSO ATTACHED SOME BACKGROUND ABOUT SEEDS OF PEACE AND A FACT SHEET.

IF ANYTHING PROVES POSSIBLE FOR TUESDAY, AT ANY TIME, FOR A BRIEF 10-MINUTE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT FOR MRS. RABIN, MRS. SADAT AND FIVE MEMBERS OF OUR BOARD, THAT WOULD BE WONDERFUL.

I HOPE THE ATTACHED IS HELPFUL.

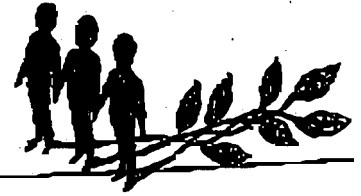
THANK YOU.


JOHN WALLACH

May, 18, 2000 5:18PM

No. 5233 P. 2/5

Seeds of Peace



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Lindsay Miller
Vice President
Barbara Zasloff
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Camp Director

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Amanda Torr
Adam Shapiro

It is a great pleasure to salute the three "pioneers of peace" – Anwar Sadat, Yitzhak Rabin and His Late Majesty King Hussein – and their courageous wives, the women who are carrying out their legacies and whom you are so appropriately honoring tonight. In saluting the "pioneers of peace" at this Carnegie Hall concert, with so many brilliant Broadway performers singing and dancing their hearts out to help provide scholarships for future generations of Arabs and Israelis, Seeds of Peace is making its own special contribution to the peace process.

It was my personal privilege and honor to know Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein and to have the opportunity to spend many hours working closely with them to fashion the foundation for the peace efforts that are bearing real fruit today. It has also been my great privilege to know Jehan Sadat, Lea Rabin and Her Majesty Queen Noor, three exceptional women in any era.

Without the many risks taken by Anwar Sadat and Yitzhak Rabin, for which they paid with their lives, we would not today have the opportunity to conclude a final Israeli-Palestinian peace accord. It was Sadat's commitment to peace that more than two decades ago paved the way for the Camp David Accords and for the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, his speech to the Knesset and his visit to Yad Vashem, showed Israelis a more compassionate Arab face. All of us will forever be in his debt. In honoring Jehan Sadat, you honor more than his legacy. You honor a woman of great stature and courage.

It was Yitzhak Rabin's deep belief in turning decades of hostility, war and terror into a new era of peace that paved the way for the Oslo Accords and for the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles signed here in September 1993. Well do I remember the palpable excitement of the historic moment when Yitzhak reached out and shook the hand of his lifelong adversary, Yasser Arafat. Yitzhak was a great leader, a noble leader, but he also was my good friend, a compatriot and a legendary leader of the Jewish people. In honoring Lea Rabin, you honor one of the most extraordinary women I have ever known. Yitzhak would be so proud tonight.

It was the wisdom and courage of King Hussein that made reconciliation with Israel a reality and that culminated in the remarkable peace treaty. It was Hussein's personal courage, getting up from a sick bed at the Mayo Clinic and piloting his own plane to Washington, that was the inspiration for the Wye Plantation Agreement. In honoring Her Majesty Queen Noor (the award will be accepted by HRH Zeid Raad Zeid al-Hussein), you honor a woman who like her late husband has made peace the highest priority in her life.

May 18, 2000

5:18PM

No. 5233

P. 3/5

Broadway

SALUTES SEEDS OF PEACE

AND THE PEACEMAKERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN NOOR AL-HUSSEIN
MRS. LEA RABIN
MRS. JEHAN SADAT

WITH

Christine Baranski Faith Prince
Bebe Neuwirth James Naughton
Andrea McArdle Lillias White
Charles Strouse

David Broza Kim Cattrall Judy Kaye Judy Kuhn
Dick Latessa Carole Shelley B.D. Wong "Fosse" Dancers

Skitch Henderson and members of The New York Pops

Produced and Directed by Barbara Siman

CARNEGIE HALL

MONDAY, MAY 22 • 8:00 PM



*Seeds of Peace empowers children of war
to break the cycles of violence*

Concert tickets: \$15, 25, 35, 50 • Gala tickets: \$250, 500, 1500, 2500, 5000 are available at (212) 573-8040.
Gala tickets include concert and post-concert dessert and reception with the artists.



Seeds of Peace is proud to sponsor the 2000 Seeds of Peace Prize

Gala tickets are tax-deductible to the full extent allowed by law.
Program and artists subject to change.

May. 18. 2000 5:19PM

No. 5233 P. 4/5

Seeds of Peace



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Samir Mashni
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Hani Masri
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Abd Lazaro

Fact Sheet on Seeds of Peace

Seeds of Peace is in its eighth year of bringing Israeli, Palestinian and other Arab teenagers together from eight nations in the Middle East, Cyprus and the Balkans to its summer program in Maine and to its year-round conflict resolution center in Jerusalem, the Seeds of Peace Center for Coexistence.

In its first year, Seeds of Peace had only 45 youngsters in its program: Israelis, Egyptians and Palestinians. They were honored guests at the historic September 1993 signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles on the South Lawn of the White House.

Today more than 400 teenagers from seven Arab nations and Israel attend the summer program. More than 1,500 youngsters have graduated from Seeds of Peace in the last seven years. The participating governments include Cyprus (north and south), Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Qatar, Tunisia and Yemen.

The principal focus is on the front-line nations that have contiguous borders and a common dispute. Thus, two-thirds of the youngsters are Israelis and Palestinians with Egyptians and Jordanians also represented in moderate numbers. Equal numbers of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot teenagers participate in the Cyprus program.

This summer delegations representing the Balkan nations of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (including Serbia and Montenegro), UN-administered Kosovo and Romania will also participate.

Our goal is to help develop a new generation of leaders who will have the experience, knowledge and deep personal commitment to break the cycles of violence that have plagued their regions for generations.

To accomplish this mission, Seeds of Peace sows the seeds for enduring friendships between youngsters who have been reared, in their homes and in their schools, on prejudice, propaganda and distorted myths and histories that often fuel dangerous stereotypes of the "other side."

To break the cycles of violence, Seeds of Peace tries to humanize conflicts that have been deliberately dehumanized by governments in their effort to rationalize policies that encourage hatred of the adversary.

This is accomplished, in the first instance, by providing a rich and diverse experience in bi-communal living for teenagers carefully chosen by their governments for their proven academic skills and leadership potential.

More than 4,000 youngsters now annually apply to their Ministries of Education for selection as one of the approximately 400 finalists.

May. 18. 2000 5:19PM

No. 5233 P. 5/5



Seeds of Peace

Empowering Children of War to Break the Cycles of Violence

SEEDS OF PEACE works to secure lasting peace in the Middle East by bringing together Arab and Israeli teenagers, aged 13 to 16, before their fear, mistrust and prejudices have permanently shaped their vision of their "enemy." *Seeds of Peace* begins where international agreements end: dispelling fear in the hearts and minds of the next generation and preparing them for the arduous task of peacemaking. By nurturing lasting friendships the program makes it possible for these youngsters to become the *Seeds* from which an enduring peace will grow.

THE SUMMER PROGRAM

Set in a neutral and supportive environment at a summer camp in Maine, *Seeds of Peace* creates an experience in which Arab and Israeli teenagers live, play, learn, eat and sleep together. This intensive, month-long program combines recreational sports and arts activities with daily conflict-resolution sessions led by professional American, Arab and Israeli facilitators. Through the coexistence workshops, participants develop listening/negotiation skills, empathy, respect, confidence and hope — the building blocks for peaceful coexistence.

BACKGROUND

Founded in 1993 by author and journalist John Wallach, *Seeds of Peace* has intensified its impact with each passing year — annually increasing the number of Middle East participants from 50 to over 400, and expanding the regional representation from two to nine nations. To date, over 1500 Israeli, Palestinian, Egyptian, Jordanian, Moroccan, Tunisian, Qatari, Yemeni and Cypriot teenagers have graduated from *Seeds of Peace* programs.

SEEDS OF PEACE: AN INTERNATIONAL MODEL

The program's proven impact has earned *Seeds of Peace* international recognition as an effective model for resolving conflicts worldwide. Since 1998 The Fulbright Foundation has supported a *Seeds of Peace* program for Greek and Turkish Cypriot youth and this summer *Seeds of Peace* will be launching a pilot for Balkan youth.

A DISTINCTIVE APPROACH

Seeds of Peace operates on two tracks — encouraging high-level government participation in the selection process of the most distinguished and representative young people from the nations represented while emphasizing the people-to-people relationships that are the foundation of real peace.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT

Seeds of Peace delegates first drew national attention as distinguished guests at the 1993 signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles at the White House. *Seeds of Peace* has received the enthusiastic endorsement of world leaders — including Prime Minister Ehud Barak, President Yasser Arafat, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, His Late Majesty King Hussein, King Abdullah of Jordan, Queen Noor al-Hussein of Jordan and former Israeli Prime Ministers Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin. Each year President Clinton, Vice President Gore and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright have met with the *Seeds of Peace* youngsters in Washington, DC.

SEEDS OF PEACE CENTER FOR COEXISTENCE

The new *Seeds of Peace Center for Coexistence* in Jerusalem offers year-round activities for *Seeds of Peace* alumni to sustain their friendships and commitment to coexistence. Weekly conflict resolution sessions, school presentations, cross-cultural exchanges and publication of *The Olive Branch* (a newspaper) are just a few of the activities that are organized through the Center. The Center broadens *Seeds of Peace's* reach in the region by exposing hundreds more Arab and Israeli youth to our "best methods" conflict resolution training workshops.

SEEDS OF PEACE YOUTH SUMMITS

In an effort to advance our graduates' leadership training, *Seeds of Peace* held the first-ever Middle East Youth Peace Summit in Switzerland. Sponsored by Novartis, this news-breaking summit brought together 100 Arab and Israeli graduates who drafted an Israeli-Palestinian peace accord and presented it to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. The second Middle East Youth Peace Summit will take place in Switzerland in October 2000.

5/22/00 4:30 p.m.
Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS IN RECEIPT OF
THE SEEDS OF PEACE AWARD
THE OVAL OFFICE
MAY 23, 2000**

I am deeply honored to receive this award today. The greatest reward for me will be a Middle East where these children grow up to live their dreams in peace.

When I was growing up, the only experience I had remotely like the ones that many of these students have experienced was the civil rights movement. When I was just about their age, during my senior year in college, Martin Luther King was assassinated. That night, riots broke out in every major American city, except one: Indianapolis. Many people think the reason the riots missed that city is because it was in Indianapolis that Robert Kennedy, upon learning the horrible news of MLK's death, went to a black neighborhood, stood on the top of a car, and spoke about peace. That night, he asked the people of Indianapolis to say a prayer for our country and a prayer for our people.

I was reminded of that night three years ago, when suicide bombers from Hamas took 13 Israeli lives and injured many more in a vegetable market in Jerusalem. Again, there were widespread threat of violence. As soon as the news reached the ~~But at a Seeds of Peace students on a retreat in Maine, the most remarkable thing happened.~~ Upon hearing the news, Arab and Israeli children instinctively pulled away from one another, and separated into groups – Arabs apart from Israelis. But ~~After~~ a time, they slowly began to talk to one another. One Israeli said to a Palestinian: "we do not hold a grudge against any of you." A Palestinian responded: "we are sorry for what happened." The young Israelis shed tears of grief; the young Palestinians shed tears of compassion. Together, they said a prayer for the Middle East and a prayer for all people.

The whole world needs their wisdom. ~~In~~ In all the peacemaking I have seen the past seven years, the greatest obstacles to peace is the pain of the past ~~are the searing memories of the past,~~ It is difficult to put aside the instinct to settle old scores, ~~for revenge,~~ because it can feel like disloyalty to those who have suffered. But the one thing that Anwar Sadat, Yitzhak Rabin, and His Late Majesty King Hussein understood is that making peace is not about forgetting past grievances; it is about trying to prevent fresh grief in the future. ~~from affecting the future.~~ That is the lesson that Seeds of Peace teach all of us.

For seven years, you have helped Arab and Israeli children understand that what we share in common – the hope for peace, the hope for a bright future – is much greater than what drives us apart. We now have a chance, but only a chance, to bring real and lasting peace in the Middle East. Let us be guided by the wisdom of the children here today – and seize this moment, to turn those prayers for peace into a reality.