

Johnson's Statement 9.10.1968

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I understand it to be the sense of the Congress that the President should take such steps as may be necessary, as soon as practicable, after the date of enactment of this action, to negotiate an agreement with GOI providing for the sale by the U.S. of such number of supersonic planes as may be necessary to provide Israel with as adequate deterrent force as capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict.

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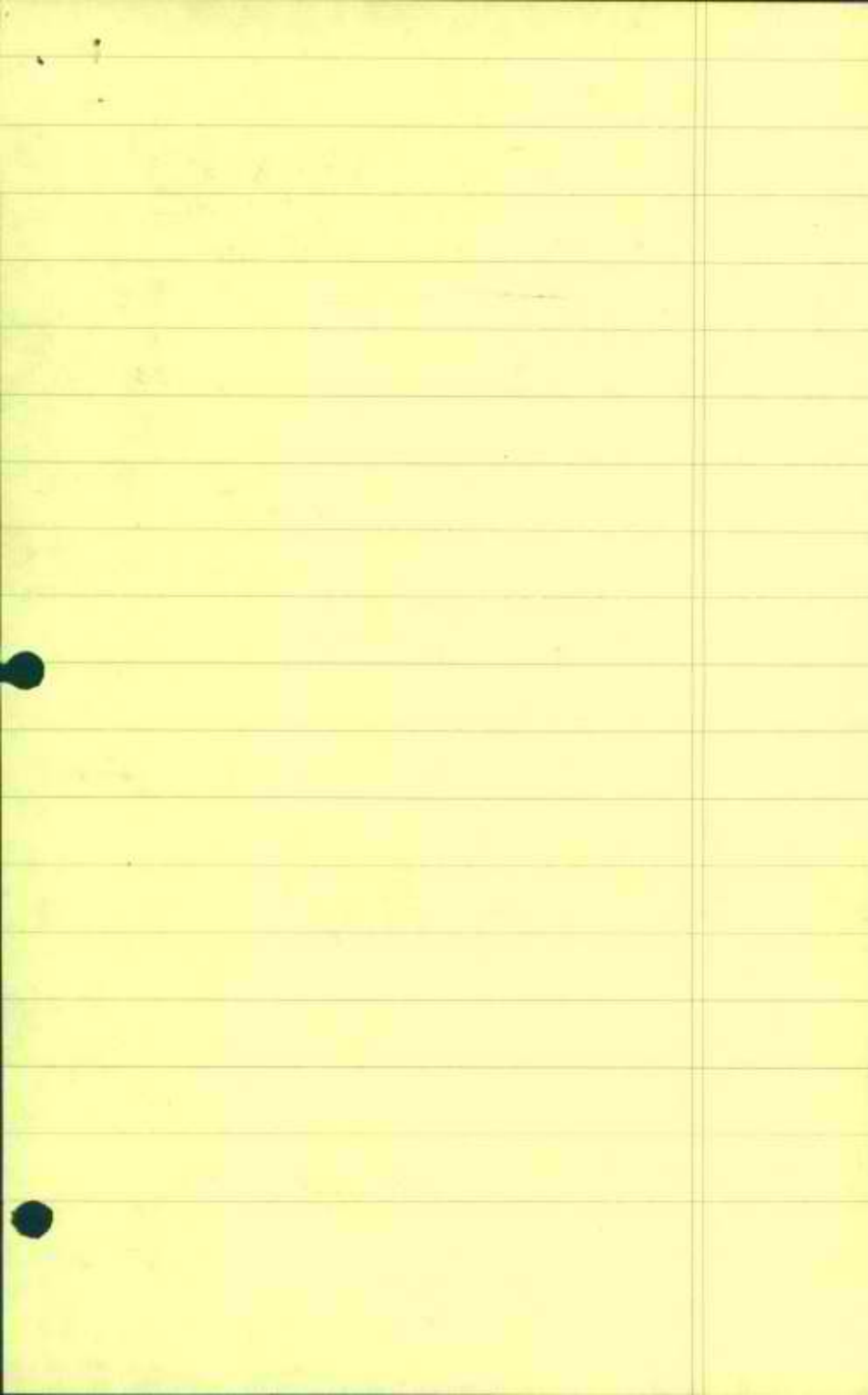
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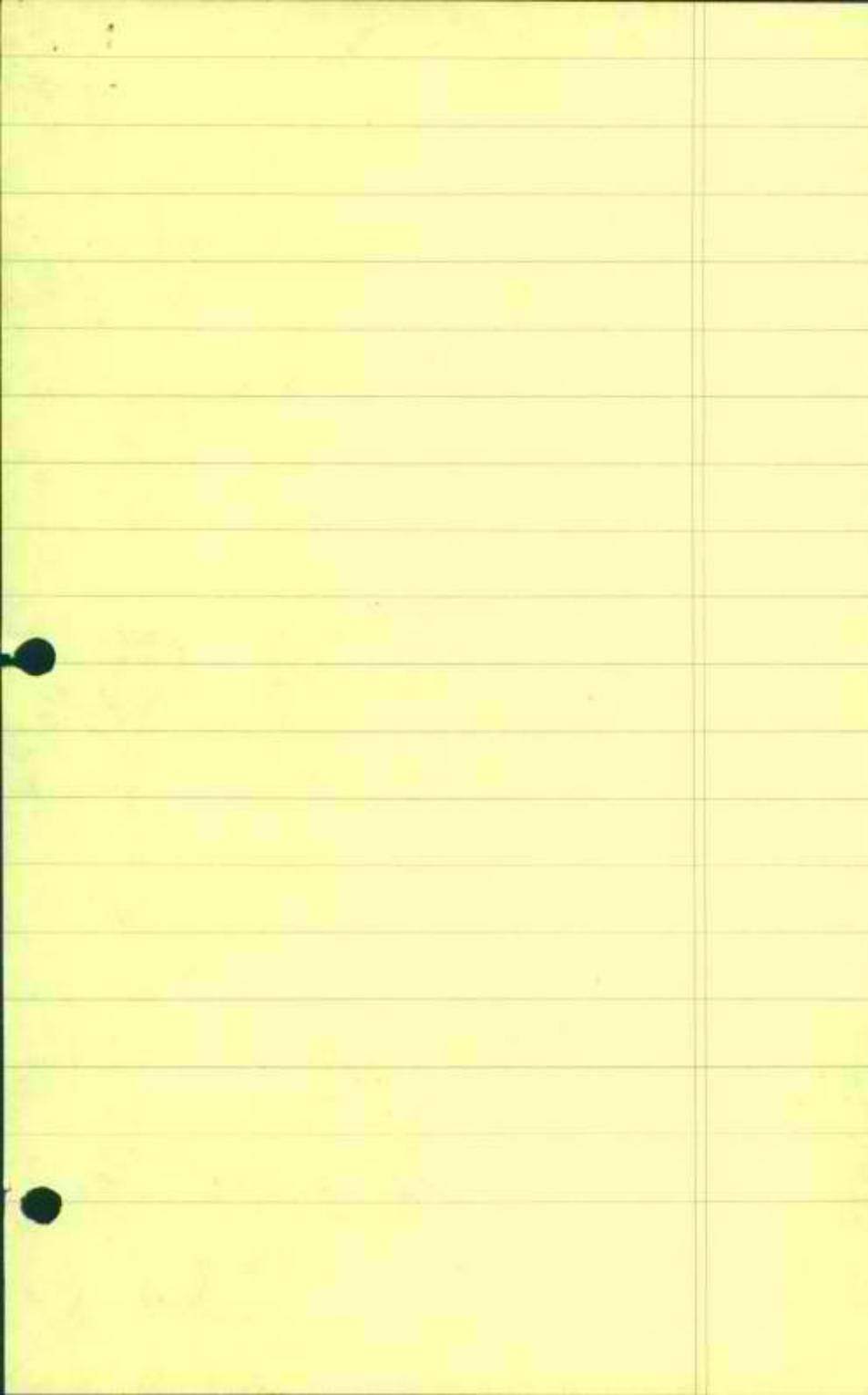
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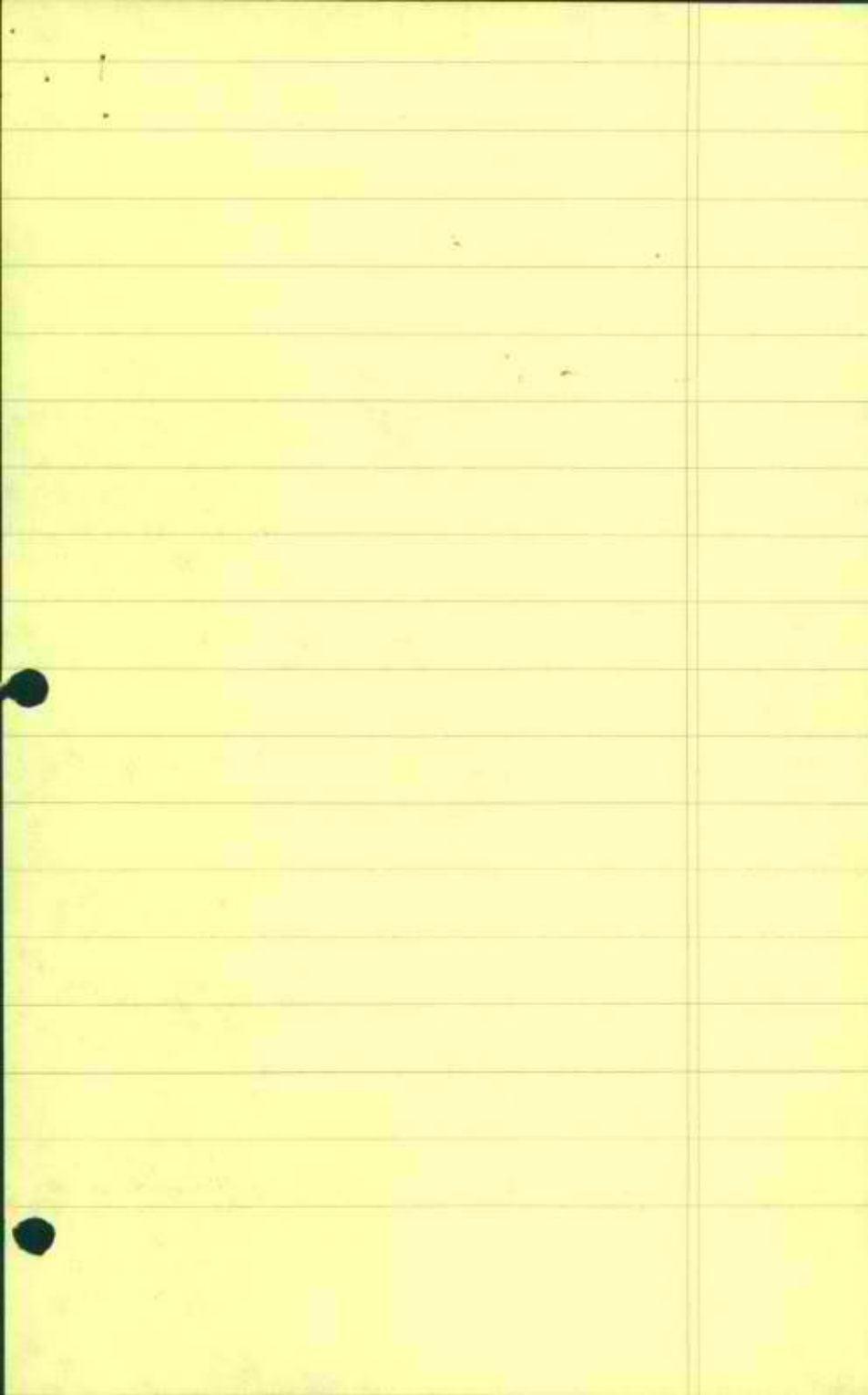
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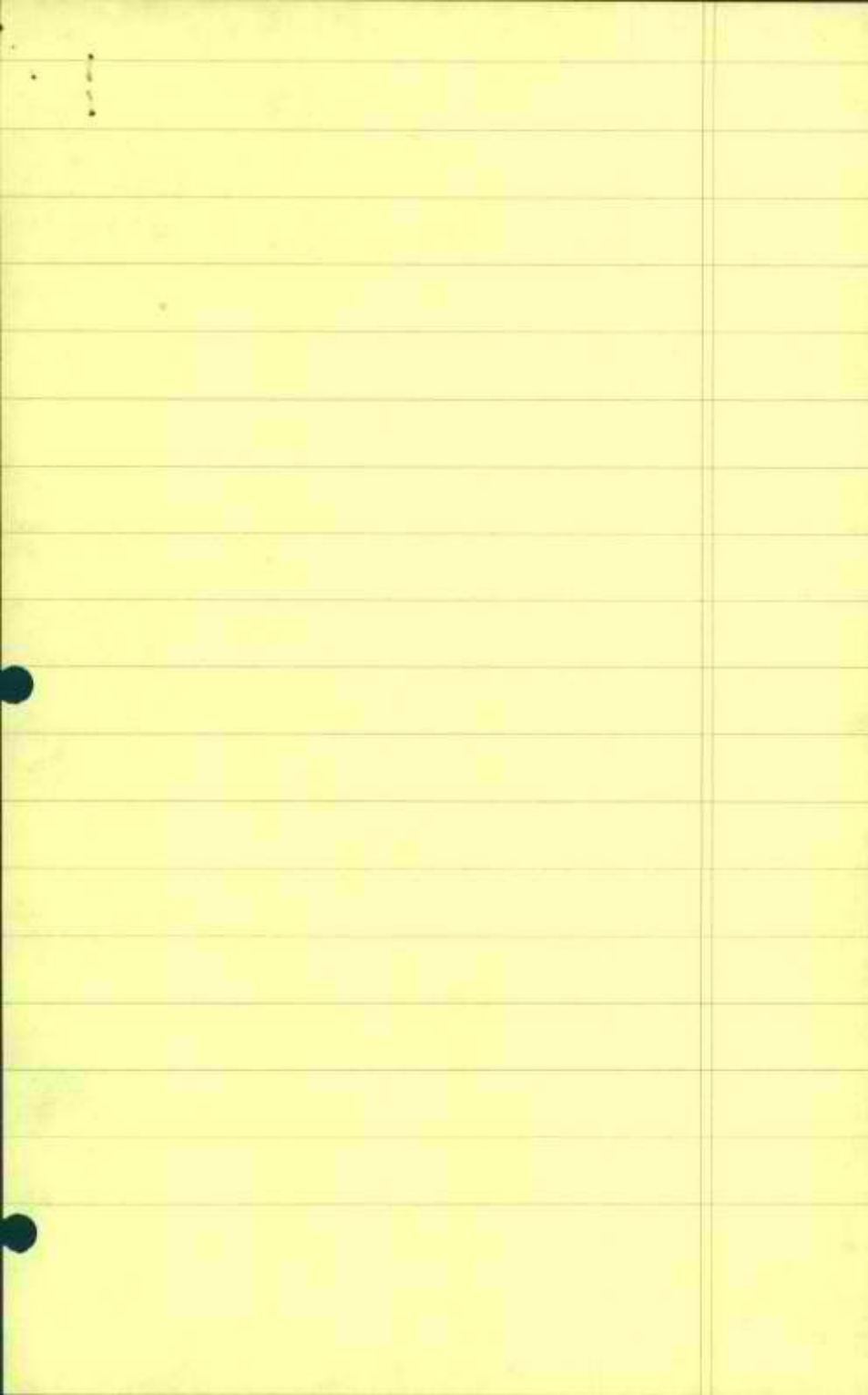


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ANTI-BOYCOTT-COMPLIANCE ACTIONS IN THE U.S.

A Statement by Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson, issued September 7, in response to a report by the House Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee on the Arab boycott, summarized as follows the actions taken by the Department during the last year:

1. On October 1, 1975, the reporting requirements of the Export Administration Act were amended to require reporting firms to indicate whether or not they had complied, or intended to comply, with the reported boycott-related requests.
2. On December 1, 1975, Department regulations were amended to prohibit compliance with any boycott request which would discriminate against U.S. citizens and firms on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.
3. On December 1, 1975, Department regulations were amended to extend reporting requirements to any person or firm other than the exporter handling any phase of the export transaction (such as banks, insurers, shipping companies, freight forwarders).
4. On December 1, 1975, the Department ceased dissemination of information on trade opportunities containing boycott requests.
5. As of April 29, 1976, all charging letters alleging violations of the Export Administration Regulations relating to the boycott will be made public.

The Department of Commerce has — on a continuing basis — referred and continues to refer reports of boycott requests that call for discriminatory action against U.S. citizens and firms or that call for action in violation of U.S. anti-trust laws to the Department of State and Justice for appropriate action.

These actions complement the existing Export Administration Regulations. The revised Export Administration Act was recently amended to include stronger anti-boycott and anti-boycott compliance clauses.

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שאלת ירושלים והשטחים המוחזקים בהתבטאויות
אמריקניות רשמיות 1967-76

להלן סכום העמדה האמריקנית הרשמית הפומבית בשאלות ירושלים והשטחים המוחזקים ובהמשכו ריכוז
התבטאויות בשני נושאים אלה. כן נציגה הצהרות אנליים סקרנטון.

1. ירושלים

- א. כעקרון מסרבת ארה"ב לדון באו"מ בשאלת ירושלים בנפרד ובנבדל מהאספקטים האחרים של הסכסוך ומכאן גם ההמנעות בעת ההצבעה בעצרת ובמועבי"ט כאשר מבקשים דיון או החלטה בנושא ירושלים (שינוי סטטוס וכ').
- ב. ירושלים נתפשת כעיר בעלת מעמד מיוחד בשל קדושתה לשל הדתות הגדולות והבעיות הרגשיות והנפשיות הכרוכות בהכרה בכל סוג של שלטון בה. לרוב מדובר על זמן מאוחר יותר בו "חייב העולם למצור פתרון" למעמדה המיוחד יש שבחים לשמירת ישראל את המקומות הקדושים (בוש וסקרנטון).
- ג. מאידך, בדבקות למשפט הבינלאומי ולאמנת ג'נבה 1948, גישת ארה"ב באו"מ היא שירושלים, כמו שאר השטחים שנכבשו ב-1967, כפופה לעקרונות והלכות של אמנת ג'נבה האוסרת הפרעה, שינויים במעמד (הסדרים אדמיניסטרטיביים) פגיעה באוכלוסיה (דת ומקום מושב וכדומה). מכאן ארה"ב אינה מכירה בירושלים כבירת ישראל ובאיחוד העיר ולא הכירה ואף הצטרפה לגינוי ישראל בפעולותיה שם אשר שינו את הסדרים המנהליים. ארה"ב תובעת שהמצב ישאר כפי שהיה לפני 1967.
- ד. בעתיד, חייבת העיר להשאר מאוחדת שבתוכה אין שום הגבלות תנועה וגישה חפשית לבני כל הדתות והלאומים. ההסדר המינהלי יתחשב באינטרסים של מוסלמים, יהודים ונוצרים ולישראל וירדן יהיה תפקיד בחיים האזרחיים - כלכליים דתיים של העיר (תכנית רוג'רס שהדים לה ראינו במסמך ברוקינגס ושאר פרסומים לא-רשמיים כבסיס שעליו עשוי הממשל לעבוד כאשר תגיע העת לדון בירושלים).

2. השטחים המוחזקים

- א. יש התיחסויות ישירות מעטות. תמיד כרוכה בעיתם בזו של אי-הכרת הערבים בישראל ובאי-הסכמתם הסכמתם לסיום מצב המלחמה. בדרך כלל מופיעים ככוונת ישראל (וארה"ב) להשיבם תמורת הסכם הפסקת מלחמה והכרה בזכות קיומה בגבולות בטוחים.
- ב. מדובר בהם כללית בהקשר לאמנת ג'נבה. והעקרון שאין לשנות את מעמד תושביהם (החלפת תושבים, הפקעות והחרמות וסידורים מנהליים לשינוי מעמד).
- ג. ארה"ב לא תכיר בשום פעולה חד-צדדית ואם תיעשה תראה אותה כך כסידור ארעי שלא תהיה לו חזקה (שיפוט-מוקדם) כעתיד בעת המו"מ הסופי.

קדושת העיר וייחודה הדתי-רגשי

סוף הנקודה החמישית בעקרונות שהציב הנשיא ג'ונסון (19/6/67):

... Further, there must be adequate recognition of the special interest of three great religions in the holy places of Jerusalem.

ציטוט הנשיא ג'ונסון מיום 28/6/67 בנאום גולדברג בעצרת (14/7/67):

...The President said on 19 June that in our view, there must be adequate recognition of the special interest of three great religions in the Holy Places of Jerusalem.'

גינוי מרומז לירדן שלא שמרה על העקרון (גולדברג, שם, שם):

...Jerusalem is holy to Christians, to Jews, and to Moslems. It is one of the great continuing tragedies of history that a city which is so much the centre of man's highest values has also been, over and over, a centre of conflict. Repeatedly the passionate beliefs of one element have led to exclusion or unfairness for others. It has been so, unfortunately, in the last twenty years.

נאום גולדברג במועבי"ט (1418) מיום 1/5/68:

...Indeed, Jerusalem occupies a very special place in all our minds and all our hearts as one of the holiest cities in the world. Jerusalem is a sacred shrine to three of the world's largest and oldest religious faiths: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. By virtue of that fact, the United States has always considered that Jerusalem enjoys a unique international standing and that no action should be taken there without full regard to Jerusalem's special history and special place in the world community.

נאום יוסט במועבי"ט (1483) 1/7/69:

...We understand the deep emotional concerns which move all parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute on the subject of Jerusalem.

נאום בוש במועבי"ט (1582) מיום 25/9/71:

...We have on a number of occasions discussed this matter with the Government of Israel, stressing the need to take more fully into account the sensitivities and concerns of others. Unfortunately, the response of the Government of Israel has been disappointing.

הערכה לשמירת ישראל על המקומות הקדושים, נאום בוש (שם):

...All of us understand, as I indicated earlier in these remarks, that Jerusalem has a very special place in the Judaic tradition, one which has a great meaning for Jews throughout the world. At the same time Jerusalem holds a special place in the hearts of many millions of Christians and Moslems throughout the world. In

this regard, I want to state clearly that we believe Israel's respect for the Holy Places has indeed been exemplary.

לכך מסכים גם סקרנטון מועבי"ט, 22/3/76.

...Israel's punctilious administration of the holy places in Jerusalem has greatly minimized the tensions.

פתיחה לתכנית שר החוץ רוג'רס (דצמבר 1969) :

...The question of the future status of Jerusalem, because it touches deep emotional, historical and religious well-springs, is particularly complicated.

הנשיא ניקסון (בפני הקונגרס) 18/2/70 :

...For both sides and for the international community, Jerusalem is a special problem involving not only the civil and political concerns of two States but the interests of three great world religions.

הצעה לערכות בינלאומית לשמירה על המקומות הקדושים
המעמל הסופי יוחלט בהתייעצות בין כל המעורבים
=====

נאום גולדברג בעצרת, 3/7/67 :

...the safeguarding of the Holy Places, and freedom of access to them for all, should be internationally guaranteed, and the status of Jerusalem in relation to them should be decided not unilaterally but in consultation with all concerned.

ציטוט עקרונות ג'ונסון (28/6/67) 'ע"י גולדברג בעצרת, 14/7/67 :

...On this principle, he assumes that before any unilateral action is taken on the status of Jerusalem, there will be appropriate consultation with religious leaders and others who are deeply concerned.

שם :

...Men of all religions will agree that we must now do better. The world must find an answer that is fair and recognized to be fair.

סקרנטון: 22/3/76

...that the future of Jerusalem will be determined only through the instruments and processes of negotiation agreement and accommodation. Unilateral attempts to predetermine that future have no standing.

ירושלים היא חלק מהסכסוך והפתרון לבעייתה ימצא
בתוך הסדר השלום (לכן נמנעים מלדון בה בנפרד)

נאום גולדברג בעצרת 14/7/67

...because we do not believe that the problem of Jerusalem can realistically be solved apart from the other related aspects of Jerusalem and of the Middle Eastern situation. Therefore, the United States abstained.

...Jerusalem as one of the elements involved in a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. שם:

...the future of Jerusalem lies in dealing with the entire problem as one aspect of the broader arrangements that must be made to restore a just and durable peace in the area.

נאום גולדברג במועבי"ט 1/5/68 (1418)

...My Government has repeatedly pointed out our concern about the status of Jerusalem, that Holy City sacred to Moslems, Christians and Jews, and we have likewise pointed out what is an obvious fact: that a just settlement of the status of Jerusalem is inseparably connected with other aspects of the problems which still defy solution. That is not just the observation and conclusion of my Government; that is the clear import of the unanimous resolution of 22 November 1967 (242-1967) adopted by the Security Council.

כשלוף האו"ם לפתור את הסכסוך בשל עיסוקו בנפרד בסימפטומים (נאום גולדברג, שם)

...peace will not and cannot be achieved by a patchwork of resolutions adopted in the Council dealing with one or another of the symptoms of tension and discord. Some of the resolutions have been adopted; some have been vetoed; some have been complied with and some ignored or disregarded by both Israel and the Arab countries. This piecemeal approach has been tried in the Council time and again, and the approach has failed time and again. It has failed partly because it sought to deal with the symptoms of trouble, not the source of trouble, and partly because the Council's appeals, decisions or resolutions have fallen upon ears made deaf, both Arab and Israeli ears, by years of conflict and hostility. We are afraid that we are on the verge of drifting into the same situation again.

נאום גולדברג במועבי"ט 9/5/68 (1426)

...Accordingly, the United States, while agreeing that Jerusalem is a most important issue, does not believe that the problem of Jerusalem can realistically be solved apart from other aspects of the situation in the Middle East dealt with in the 22 November resolution. Neither do we believe that Jerusalem can be excluded from the scope of the 22 November resolution. Rather, we consider it basic to a peaceful settlement in conformity with the 22 November resolution that the solution of all aspects of the Middle East problem, including Jerusalem, must be achieved by an agreed and accepted peaceful settlement.

נאום גולדברג מועבי"ט (1426) 9/5/68:

...Our own view had been and remains that the future of Jerusalem is a problem which falls within the purview of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and of Mr. Jarring's mission and mandate.

I wish to reaffirm the view of the United States Government that the United States, while agreeing that Jerusalem is a most important issue, does not believe that the problem of Jerusalem can be dealt with realistically apart from other aspects of the situation in the Middle East with which resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 is concerned; nor do we believe that Jerusalem can be excluded from the scope of the resolution of 22 November. Rather we consider it essential that a peaceful and accepted settlement...

נאום יוסט, מועבי"ט (1483) 1/7/69:

...the status of Jerusalem is not an isolated problem, but, rather, an integral part of the whole complex of issues in the current Middle Eastern conflict which must be resolved. This is not a novel conclusion.

שם:

...we cannot logically and intelligently consider the problem of Jerusalem without putting it in its proper perspective - the Middle East situation as a whole.

נאום בוש מועבי"ט (1582), 25/9/71:

...the ultimate status of Jerusalem should be determined through negotiation and agreement between the Governments of Israel and Jordan in the context of an over-all peace settlement, taking into account the interests of its inhabitants, of the international religious communities who hold it sacred and of other countries in the area.

תכנית רוג'רס (דצמבר 1969):

...we believe its status can be determined only through the agreement of the parties concerned, which in practical terms means primarily the Governments of Israel and Jordan, taking into account the interests of other countries in the area and the International Community. We do, however, support certain principles which we believe would provide an equitable framework for a Jerusalem settlement.

שם:

...It is our hope that agreement on the key issues of peace, security, withdrawal and territory will create a climate in which these questions of refugees and of Jerusalem, as well as other aspects of the conflict, can be resolved as part of the overall settlement.

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מכתב מרשל רייט (עוזר בפועל למזכיר המדינה לקשר עם הקונגרס) אל לי המילטון יו"ר תת-הועדה
על המזה"ת של ביהני"ב, 20/1/73:

...It is our belief that the ultimate status of Jerusalem can only be determined as a part of the entire complex of issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict. A solution to the problem, which in our view should be based on the principle of a unified city with guaranteed rights of free access, must be sought in the context of an overall settlement of the conflict and must be based upon agreement reached among the parties concerned. In practical terms this means primarily the governments of Israel and Jordan, taking into account the interests of other countries in the area and of the international community.

אי-הכרה בפעולות מנהליות של ישראל
לשינוי מעמד ירושלים
=====

נאום גולדברג בעצרת 3/7/67:

...The United States view on this subject has been stated at the highest levels of our Government in the past few days and is reflected in the ten points which I listed at the outset of this statement. In particular, the United States does not recognize the recent administrative action taken by Israel as determining the future of the Holy Places or the status of Jerusalem in relation to them. We do not recognize unilateral actions in this connection.

ציטוט הודעת מחמ"ד (28/6/67), גולדברג בעצרת 14/7/67:

...The hasty administrative action taken today cannot be regarded as determining the future of the Holy Places or the status of Jerusalem in relation to them.

The United States has never recognized such unilateral action by any State in the area as governing the international status of Jerusalem.

נאום גולדברג, שם:

...the United States does not accept or recognize these measures as altering the status of Jerusalem. My Government does not recognize that the administrative measures taken by the Government of Israel on 28 June can be regarded as the last word on the matter, and we regret that they were taken. We insist that the measures taken cannot be considered as other than interim and provisional, and not as prejudging the final and permanent status of Jerusalem.

Unfortunately, and regrettably, the statements of the Government of Israel on this matter have thus far, in our view, not adequately dealt with this situation.

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נאום גולדברג, מועבי"ט (1426) 9/5/68:

...The position of the United States regarding Jerusalem is well known and has been frequently expressed. The United States does not accept or recognize unilateral actions by any of the States in the area as altering the status of Jerusalem. My Government has publicly stated that such unilateral measures, including expropriation of land and legislative administrative action taken by the Government of Israel, cannot be considered as other than interim and provisional and cannot affect the present international status or the final and permanent status of Jerusalem.

שינויים מסכנים את השלום (שם)

...the parade would aggravate tensions in the area. We therefore joined in the Council's unanimous adoption of that resolution, calling on Israel to refrain from holding the parade. And we again joined in the unanimous resolution of 2 May (251-1968), deeply deploring what had occurred - as indeed we have deplored publicly and in this Council any action which tends to aggravate tension in the area.

נאום גולדברג מועבי"ט 21/5/68:

...unilateral actions and measures by Israel cannot be accepted and are not recognized as altering or prejudging the status of Jerusalem, and we have been ready to call upon Israel to refrain from such actions. At the same time, we have regarded it as essential that the Council should call upon all parties to avoid all acts that might prejudice efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the area and that it should express its support for Mr. Jarring's efforts under resolution 242 (1967).

נאום יוסט, מועבי"ט 1/7/69:

...Unfortunately, there have been acts of many kinds that have broken the peace in Jerusalem and that are of deep concern to my Government and to the international community... We do not believe, however, that any of those concerns are served by what is now taking place in East Jerusalem, whether it be actions by those now exercising authority there or by individuals considering themselves aggrieved and therefore justified in resorting to violence. The expropriation or confiscation of land, the construction of housing on such land, the demolition or confiscation of buildings, including those having historic or religious significance, and the application of Israeli law to occupied portions of the city are detrimental to our common interests in the city.

שם:

...I regret to say that the actions of Israel in the occupied portion of Jerusalem present a different picture, one which gives rise to understandable concern that the eventual disposition of East Jerusalem may be prejudiced, and that the private rights and activities of the population are already being affected and altered.

My Government regrets and deplores this pattern of activity, and it has so informed the Government of Israel on numerous occasions since June 1967. We have consistently refused to recognize those measures as having anything but a provisional character and do not accept them as affecting the ultimate status of Jerusalem.

שם:

...It will be found only through the instruments and processes of negotiation, accommodation and agreement. It will come only through the exercise by the parties of the utmost restraint - not just along the cease-fire lines or in public statements, but also on the ground, in Jerusalem itself.

...to desist from any action, in Jerusalem or elsewhere, that might be construed as prejudicing or prejudging a final, comprehensive settlement, a just and lasting peace. Thus, our consideration of the situation in Jerusalem.

צוטוט תכנית רוג'רס ע"י בוש, 25/9/71

...we have made clear repeatedly in the past two and one-half years that we cannot accept unilateral actions by any party to decide the final status of the City.

ירושלים היא חלק מהשטחים הכבושים: צוטוט יוסט ע"י בוש:

...But an Israeli occupation policy made up of unilaterally determined practices cannot help promote a just and lasting peace any more than that cause was served by the status quo in Jerusalem prior to June 1967 which, I want to make clear, we did not like and we do not advocate the re-establishing.

נאום בוש, מועבנייט 25/9/71

...as occupied territory and thereby subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying Power.

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מכתב מרשל רייט, 20/1/73:

...our policy is to call for strict observance of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, to which Israel is a party. Thus, we regard Israel's role in East Jerusalem to be that of a military occupier and Israel's responsibilities there, as well as in all of the territories which came under Israel control during the June 1967 war, to be governed by pertinent international law including the 1949 Geneva Conventions. ... The United States has never recognized unilateral actions by any of the states in the area as governing the international status of Jerusalem.... we have consistently maintained that there must be free access to the holy places under fair and effective arrangements.

שם:

...such a move, by giving the impression that we had prejudged an ultimate settlement, would have far-reaching policy implications which would inhibit our ability to play a constructive role in the search for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace.

דברי סקרנטון, מועבייט 22/3/76:

...there are proper principles and procedures under international law and practice which when applied and maintained will contribute to civil order and will over the longer run facilitate a just and lasting peace.

ירושלים חייבת להיות מאוחדת

תכנית רוג'רס (דצמבר 1969):

...Specifically, we believe Jerusalem should be a unified city within which there would no longer be restrictions on the movement of persons and goods. There should be open access to the unified city for persons of all faiths and nationalities. Arrangements for the administration of the unified city should take into account the interests of all its inhabitants and of the Jewish, Islamic and Christian Communities. And there should be roles for both Israel and Jordan in the civic, economic and religious life of the City.

השטחים המוחזקים

נגד שינויים (הפרת אמנת ג'נבה): נאום גולדברג בעצרת 3/7/67:

...All civilians in the area affected should be assured of their safety, welfare and security in the same locations in which they resided before hostilities began... the population of the West Bank of Jordan will be encouraged to remain in and return to their homes... we urge all concerned - particularly the Government of Israel - to give him the fullest co-operation.

שם:

...There must be a willingness to refrain from pressing temporary advantages and to take a long-range view.

שינויים מסכנים את השלום: נאום גולדברג במועבי"ט (1426) 9/5/68:

...our strong opposition to all unilateral measures which might prejudice a future settlement and to all acts of renewed violence in the area, ... all such measures and actions increase tension in the area.

נאום יוסט במועבי"ט (1483), 1/7/69:

...The United States considers that the part of Jerusalem that came under the control of Israel in the June 1967 war, like other areas occupied by Israel, is occupied territory and hence subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying Power. Among the provisions of international law which bind Israel, as they would bind any occupier, are the provisions that the occupier has no right to make changes in laws or in administration other than those which are temporarily necessitated by his security interests, and that an occupier may not confiscate or destroy private property. The pattern of behaviour authorized under the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and international law is clear: the occupier must maintain the occupied area as intact and unaltered as possible, without interfering with the customary life of the area, and any changes must be necessitated by the immediate needs of the occupation.

נגד תפיסת שטחים: נאום סקרנטון, מועבי"ט 22/3/76:

...The occupation of territories in the 1967 war has always been seen by the world community to be an abnormal state of affairs that would be brought to an end as part of a peace settlement segretion 242 (1967) adopted by this Council shortly after the end of the 1967 war.

השטחים הם קלף-מיקוח, סקרנטון,

...that led to the occupation established the basic bargain that would constitute a settlement.

ואולם סקרנטון מצא לנכון לחזור שוב על העובדה שהשטחים כפופים לתקנות אמנת-ג'נבה ולה בלבד

...Next I turn to the question of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. Again my government believes that international law sets the appropriate standards. An occupier must maintain the occupied areas as intact and unaltered as possible without interfering with the customary life of the area and any changes must be necessitated by the immediate needs of the occupation and be consistent with international law. The fourth Geneva Convention speaks directly to the issue of population transfer in article 249. The occupying into the territory it occupies.

הערות לנאום סקרנטון:

א. יש להבחין כהבלטה שבקדושת ירושלים למוסלמים והציון המיוחד של שמו של מסגד הסלע - השון מהסגנון הנמלץ והכלל-אנושי של תיאור ייחודה של ירושלים בקטעים שנמנו לעיל. (יתכן שזו "סמנטיקה" אבל בעיתוי ובמעמד המיוחד הזה יש בכך בכדי להצביע על קבלת טענות הערבים בכנוס המועצה...)

...with regard to the immediate problem before us a ruling by a lower Israeli court which would have the effect of altering the status of the area it is our view that Israel's responsibilities under article 27 to preserve religious practices as they were at the time occupation began cannot be changed by the ruling of an Israeli court.

ב. ציטוט השגריר יוסט, בהקשר הזה, בדבר היות ירושלים שטח כבוש, גם היא מכוונת להצביע לערבים כי ארה"ב לא הכירה באיחוד-ירושלים. חשוב במיוחד איזכור "מזרח ירושלים" לראשונה בהתבטאות רשמית פומבית כחלק מהשטחים המוחזקים.

...The United States position on the status of Jerusalem has been stated here on numerous occasions since the Arab portion of that city was occupied by Israel in 1967. Ambassador Yost said in 1969:

That the part of Jerusalem that came under the control of Israel in the June War like other areas occupied by Israel is occupied territory and hence subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying power. Ambassador Goldberg said in 1968 to this Council: The United States does not accept or recognize unilateral actions by any States in the area is altering the status of Jerusalem. I emphasize as did Mr. Goldberg that as far as the United States is concerned such unilateral measures including expropriation of land or other administrative action taken by the Government of Israel cannot be considered other than interim and provisional and cannot affect the present international status nor prejudge the final and permanent status of Jerusalem. The United States position could not be clearer. Since 1967 we have restated here in other forums and to the Government of Israel....

ג. יש שוני בעצם הזכרת ההתנחלויות. עד כה הופיעו ביטויים כלליים לאי-הכרה בשינויים מינהליים (הפרת אמנת ג'נבה) כאן מוסבר לראשונה כי הכוונה היא ליישוב ישראלים באיזור המוחזק (התנחלות) בעוד שבעבר דובר על הוצאת (ערבים) מהאיזור וכדומה.

..Clearly then substantial resettlement of the Israeli civilian population in occupied territories including East Jerusalem is illegal under the Convention and cannot be considered to have prejudged the outcome of future negotiations between the parties on the location of the borders of States of the Middle East.

ד. ההתנחלויות מעכבות את התקדמות שיחות השלום (במסיבת עיתונאים 24.3 אמר דובר מחמ"ד כי דברי סקרנטון היו תשובה לדיון בשאלת ירושלים ולא בשטחים בכלל וכי על הפרק לא עמדו כלל הגולן וסיני וכי דברים אלו תואמים את עמדת ארה"ב.

...Indeed the presence of these settlements is seen by my Government as an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final peace between Israel and its neighbours. The real issues of peace and stability in the Middle East are very difficult indeed and unilateral acts such as civilian population transfers have been taken which serve to influence emotions on both sides.

ה. ראוי לזכור כי סקרנטון ציטט את שלושת השגרירים של ארה"ב לאו"ם, אבל לא את השגריר סקאלי או את מויניהאן שהתייחסו ליהם לישראל היו שונות (אם כי בהקשרים שונים מאחר ובעיית ירושלים לא הועלתה בצורה כזאת בשנים האחרונות).

ו. האיתות הברור לערבים בכלל ולמלך חוסיין בפרט (העומד לבקר בארה"ב בסוף החודש) לא נמחה או נמחק גם לאחר הווטו על ההחלטה. ניתן לראות בדברים ובעיתוי שלהם "טיסת מבחן" לגבי תגובת ישראל בנדון. הווטו שבא כפיצוי, יוכיח.

ז. מלבד ההערכה הקצרה להקפדת ישראל על גישה חופשית למקומות הקדושים, לא היו שום ביטויי ידידות ותמיכה (מסורתית) של ארה"ב. הברכה היחידה - ורבת המשמעות - היתה להשתתפותה של ישראל בדיון (עם אש"ף) ומתכנה אפשר היה ללמוד כאילו ארה"ב הביאה את ישראל להחלטה נכונה זו...

ח. אין לשכוח את "ההודעה האישית" שפתחה את הגאום בהזמנה לכל מי שרוצה לבוא ולשוחח עם השגריר על השקפתו והשקפת ממשלתו. דבר זה היווה מוקד לשאלות העתונאים במסיבה עם דובר מחמ"ד והוא נאלץ לבאר כי הכוונה היתה לנציגי ממשלות ולא לאש"ף, אך לא כן נתפרשו הדברים.



ארכיון המדינה

משרד ראש הממשלה

טופס מראה מקום להוצאת תעודות יחידות*

חטיבה מס': _____
מיכל מס': 7032 -lc
תאריך התעודה: 28.3.76
שם מחבר התעודה: 3"NN
סוג התעודה (סמן ✓ במקום המתאים):

תיק מס': 9
שם הנמען: _____

- מכתב
- מברק
- תזכיר או מיזכר
- דין וחשבון או זכרון דברים משיחה או דיון
- פרוטוקול של שיחה, דיון או ישיבה

*הטופס ימולא בשני עותקים. העותק הירוק יוכנס לתיק במקום התעודה שהוצאה;
העותק הלבן יצורף לתעודה שהוצאה.

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SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY OF THE ATTITUDES OF AMERICANS
TOWARDS THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT AND TOWARDS JEWS IN
THE UNITED STATES. (by LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES' INC., Feb. 1976)

1. The interviewing took place between January 2 and 14, 1976. Two major groupings were interviewed - the general public and the leadership community (opinion moulders in business, government, religion, education, labour, communications). Separate interviews were conducted within the Jewish community.

2. The conclusion of the survey is that American support for Israel is almost identical with what it was a year ago: 52% in favour of Israel and 6% the Arabs. (In October 1975, support for Israel had declined to 35%.) Backing for Israel increases among the affluent, the well-educated and among those who live in the West. Support falls off among the blacks. (33-9%) and among non-Jews in New York city (30-15%).

Support for Israel is highest (57%) within the leadership group. Increased support for Israel may be explained in part by the UN anti-Zionist vote. The report shows that support for the Arabs seems to remain at a constantly low level (6%), but support for Israel can fluctuate greatly (57%-35%).

Support for the Israeli cause appears to be solid in times of imminent war, but wavers in times of possible peace. In general support for Israel is centered on sympathy for a state under pressure, striving to survive. People are generally not moved by the argument that Israel is strategically or ideologically important to the United States. Eight out of ten Americans agree with the opinion that "because Jews remember what happened to them during World War II, they are determined to defend their homeland at any cost and this is right."

57-18% (leaders: 77-13%) rejected the proposition that "there can be no peace in the Middle East until the Jews in Israel abandon Zionism".

3. US-Israel relations

One out of four Americans looks upon Israel as a "close ally" with another 49% calling her a "friendly" country. This is the same as December 1974. In 1974 only 26% saw Egypt as a close ally or friend, while 35% see her that way now. 44% declare that the United States has a special stake in seeing that Israel is not overtaken militarily. (the same percentage as a year ago).

4. Middle East Leadership

60% (57 a year ago) hold that the Israeli leadership is reasonable and will work for just peace settlement. 94% of the Jews believe in the Israeli leadership. 52% praise the Egyptian leadership and 21% the Syrian leadership.

A year ago, 45% saw Sadat's leadership as reasonable and now the figure has risen to 52%.

62% say they are familiar with Sadat (up 7 points in a year) and 51% with Yitzhak Rabin (up 9 points in a year).

75% gave Golda Meir a recognition factor. 35% express a "great deal" of confidence in Yitzhak Rabin and 27% in Sadat. (Among Jews 72% in Rabin).

Among the leadership community 52% have a "great deal" of confidence in Rabin and 43% in Sadat.

5. There is a prevailing pessimism about the chances of Israel and the Arabs working out a total peace settlement, with a 74-17% majority thinking that the chances are "only fair", or "poor". Jews are even more pessimistic - 82-15% - as is the American leadership community - 81-18%.

6. 37-18% of the people think that the Israelis will win another war. The New York city non-Jewish category believes by 31-22% that the Arabs will win.

7. Military Aid

By 65-23% public opinion thinks it would be right to send military aid to Israel if Russia arms Egypt and Syria. (same as a year ago). Republicans and Democrats take almost the same position. The leadership is even more categorical with a 75-18% majority agreeing that America would be right to send Israel military supplies to match the Soviet supplies. 64-25% Americans would favour sending military supplies to Israel if war were to break out again. This view includes the two political parties and includes all regions of the country.

Americans seem committed to send military supplies, but not troops, to help Israel.

8. The American Presence in Sinai

By 56-26% the public now approves the "strategic passes being occupied by 200 US technicians who are conducting electronic surveys". Leaders are 68-26% in approval. A 54-27% majority of the American people think that the presence of American technicians in the Sinai passes will discourage a sneak attack by either Israel or Egypt.

9. US Aid to Egypt

In August last year , 65-14% disapproved of giving Egypt 300 million dollars in economic aid. The figure is now 59-27% against. Jews disapprove by 55-37%. Jews in the leadership community heavily support aid to Egypt by 60-30%.

10. Economic Aid to Israel

The leadership community supports giving . 3 billion dollars in economic and military aid to Israel by 57-35%. Business leaders were less supportive - 49-45%. The public, however, disapproved of giving 3 billion dollars in aid to Israel by 49-37%. Two out of three Americans believe that a major factor in making the interim agreement possible was the fact that the "United States made both Egypt and Israel offers of aid they could not refuse."

11. PLO

On the question of an arrangement with the PLO, 81-7% majority would like to see it happen, with Jews 63-24% in favour. However, only 5% think it very likely that it is possible to work out a peace settlement between Israel and the PLO. Yet the public thinks that Israel wants such a peace settlement with the PLO by a 56-20% margin. (in the case of Jews 45-43%). 48% of the public have neither read or heard about the question of the Palestinian refugees. Support for Israel in its dispute with the Palestinians has increased in the past year. In answer to the direct question of where their sympathy lies in this dispute, the public familiar with the issue answers 43-15% in favour of the Israelis, up from 42-12% a year ago. Better than 2 out of 5, however, volunteer that they sympathise with neither or both or are simply not sure.

A 64-11% majority (leaders: 80-14% majority) agree that Israel cannot talk with the PLO unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist. Conversely, a 59-11% majority agree that "if the PLO says it will recognize the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state, then Israel should work out a settlement with the PLO." Leaders agree with this by 72-15% and Jews by a 56-25% majority.

12. Israel's Peace Image

Roughly, 1 out of 5 Americans is not sure whether Israel really wants to see a peace settlement. However, a 71-8% majority feel that Israel does want a peace settlement with Egypt and a similar majority feels it wants a settlement with Jordan. A 66-9% majority feels Israel wants peace with Syria. Most Americans believe that the major obstacle to peace is the PLO.

By 40-29% the public disagrees that Arafat now wants to work out a peace settlement in the Middle East.

A 65-10% majority believes that Arafat "is an extremist who conducts terrorist activities".

Black leaders deny this by 35-31%.

The report is of the view that the Israel-Palestinian confrontation is moving to central stage, and the public in the United States is forming a series of views on the subject. These views are often contradictory and reflect deep confusion and ambiguity.

13. Arab Intentions

There has been little change in the American public view "that the Arabs will press on until they have destroyed the State of Israel, and that is wrong." A 58-19% majority holds this opinion, the same as January 1975. Leaders feel this by 55-31%. A 73-12% majority of the public feel that "Arabs are determined to destroy Israel, so Israel is justified in building itself up militarily to defend itself". Almost 1 out of 2

Americans agree that "the Russians are determined to see Israel wiped out" (46-31%)

14. Imposed Settlement

In January 1975 there was a 71-33% feeling that "if the Russians and the Americans can agree on a settlement in the Middle East, they should impose it on both the Arabs and the Israelis." Now there is a 40-39% disagreement. Leaders disagree by 60-31%. Communications leaders express categorical opposition to an imposed settlement by 81-11%.

15. Jerusalem

By a strong majority of 61-12% Americans feel that "because Israel has built up Jerusalem, and recognized both Arab and Christian rights in the Holy City, it should keep control of Jerusalem in any final peace settlement in the Middle East."

16. Israel's influence in the Congress

No more than 13% of the public believes that Israel can control the US Senate. Among the leadership group 19% believe that Israel can control the Senate. Considering all that has been written about a "Jewish lobby" this low rating is considered by the survey as most encouraging.

17. The UN Anti-Zionist Resolution

By 53-12% the American public disapprove of the UN anti-Zionist resolution. 35% are not sure! Leaders disapprove overwhelmingly by 77-11%.

18. Oil

The report states that people seem to have suppressed memories of the oil embargo and have forgotten the political linkage between oil and help to Israel. In answer to the question "Should we support Israel less to get Arab oil?" 65-23% of the public disagree. (50-26% in October 73). In the leadership group, 78-14% disagree. Business leaders were a few points less adamant. The report states that there is no evidence at the moment that the American people are prepared to bend in the face of Arab oil pressure. However, there is no telling how American opinion would crystallize were there to be another oil embargo.

19. Antisemitism in America

A year ago when the last comprehensive study on Israel and the Jews was done, there was a great anxiety in the Jewish community that one of the outcome of the energy crisis would be a sharp growth in antisemitism. In general, however, the public's behaviour remains the same with 1 in 5 in the general public believing there is discrimination against the Jews. 50% of the Jews believe there is discrimination, roughly the same as last year.

14.6.76

יבוס, י



לדפ (המטה)

מטה וול. זמן בני קור ומחפ
(שדה. ADL. מחנה) ז"י קור, א
המחנה ומחנה ס. יבוס יבוס.

בטח.

לדפ

ADL
מחנה

CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

GOV. CARTER, JEWS AND ISRAEL

May, 1976

A Prefatory Note

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is a non-partisan, educational organization devoted to creating better understanding among all groups making up the American people. It fights bigotry and prejudice generally, and anti-Semitism in particular. The ADL takes no position whatever in political election campaigns but does report on questions of anti-Semitism that may arise in such campaigns.

The following summary of Mr. Carter's comments and opinions on questions touching on Jews, Israel and anti-Semitism is not intended as a statement for or against the candidate. Any seeming editorial view is inadvertent. The facts are intended to speak for themselves, and the reader is obligated to draw his own conclusions, whatever they may be.

This document has been prepared as an informational memorandum for our own leadership only.

GOV. CARTER, JEWS and ISRAEL

Summary

Israel: Gov. Carter is on the public record as firmly committed to the preservation of Israel as an independent and viable nation. He has stated that this should be the cornerstone of American policy and must be "unshakable" and "unmistakable."

He would continue adequate economic and military aid to Israel to enable her to defend herself but would not commit U.S. troops.

Gov. Carter is on record that the Arabs and the PLO must recognize Israel's right of existence and that this is a necessary first step in any settlement. He favors face-to-face negotiations between the Arabs and Israel. He would not deal with the PLO until the PLO recognizes Israel.

He would not force Israel to withdraw from all the 1967 territories and has, for example, specifically said that if he were Prime Minister of Israel he would not give up the Golan Heights.

With respect to Jerusalem, Gov. Carter has stated on several occasions that Israel should not be obliged to relinquish control of Jerusalem's Old City. However, he has also said that he favored granting Moslems "permanent access to their Holy Places in Old Jerusalem without crossing Israeli territory."

He believes that any eventual Middle East settlement will have to recognize the claims and the rights of the Palestinians, but that they must first recognize Israel's right of existence, and its status as a legitimate member of the community of nations. He has spoken of guarantees by NATO nations, the U.S.S.R. and the Arabs of any final settlement.

Arab Boycott: Gov. Carter has declared that Israel is "entitled to live in peace, free from threats and boycotts."

What he has said on the subject of Arab oil pressures against Israel or our own country is unassailable. And by implication in these statements is a proper criticism of the Arab use of oil as an economic weapon.

Soviet Jewry: Gov. Carter favors a stronger American posture in negotiations and dealings with the Soviet Union, but has stated his opposition to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which he termed "counter-productive."

Anti-Semitism and Israel: In a letter to the ADL, Gov. Carter criticized the "false, malicious, anti-Semitic remarks" made by former Vice President Spiro Agnew. He praised the "immeasurable contribution" of Jewish Americans to "every field of professional, educational and cultural endeavor" and urged the Anti-Defamation League to "continue to take strong steps . . . to root out the last vestiges of anti-Semitism and other discrimination." Gov. Carter also termed Israel "an oasis of democracy and freedom" in the Middle East and declared that "The preservation of a strong and viable State of Israel is not only in Israel's interests and in the interests of world Jewry, it is in the national interest of the United States as well."

May, 1976

GOV. CARTER, JEWS and ISRAEL

Moshe Gilboa on Carter

On March 18, 1976, the Jerusalem Post published a long feature article about Gov. Jimmy Carter by Moshe Gilboa, who served as Israeli Consul-General in Atlanta at the time Carter was elected Governor of Georgia in 1970.

"Jimmy Carter," Gilboa wrote, "has in the past shown himself to be pro-Israel and pro-Jewish in his views, demonstrably because of his strongly-held Baptist views and deep attachment to the Biblical heritage. He is a close friend of Dr. William Wechsler, of Georgia, a former chairman of the Presidents' Club and President of International B'nai B'rith, now settled in Israel. Carter," Gilboa continued, "became deeply impressed by the cultural, spiritual and national renaissance in the State of Israel following his visit here in the summer of 1973, and was even more impressed when an expert on ground-nut cultivation joined him as an adviser on his plantations."

Gilboa wrote that Carter had told him that he -- Carter -- had been prepared to take lessons from the Israelis about the Holy Land in which they live and the Bible they gave the world. But, Carter added, for a native of Georgia to be taught by the Israelis how to grow peanuts, a staple crop in Georgia, was quite beyond Carter's expectations.

Gilboa noted that before Carter was sworn in as Governor of Georgia in 1971, he asked for statistical material on the educational system in Israel, immigrant absorption (especially from backward countries), agricultural and industrial development, medicare and health insurance and books on the revival of the Hebrew language and Bible studies.

"When I reminded him," Gilboa continued, "that when George Washington was sworn in as first President of the United States, he invited a rabbi to deliver the invocation in Hebrew, Carter's eyes lit up: 'I'm prepared to take that over even from the Yankees', he said. And he did: a significant departure for Georgia, which for many years suffered from the shenanigans of the racist, anti-Semitic Ku Klux Klan. It was all the more remarkable a gesture," Gilboa wrote, "when one remembers that there are only 35,000 Jews among Georgia's six million citizens." Gilboa added:

"In his inaugural address as Governor, Jimmy declared that Israel could serve as a model for Georgia in its unflagging efforts to further education, culture, and economic development. His pro-Israel record is an impressive one, and he was the first Governor to address a protest to Washington, D.C. when it became known that the deliveries of Phantom aircraft were being held up. He was also prominent in the struggle for Jewish rights in the Soviet Union, and proclaimed 'Soviet Jewry Day' in Georgia to identify its citizens with their fight.

"In Jerusalem during the Book Fair in July, 1973, he was plainly excited at seeing the milling throngs close on midnight. 'It's a marvelous sight,' he told me. 'Never have I seen anywhere in the world so late at night so many people buying so many books on so many subjects.'

"He himself bought a Bible and the book, '1,000 Words in English-Hebrew.' I have no doubt, knowing Jimmy Carter, that he studied it thoroughly on his flight back home."

* * *

'Southern Israelite' - Jan. 23, 1976

An article in the January 23, 1976 edition of the Southern Israelite contained other information concerning Gov. Carter's attitudes and relationships concerning Jews and Israel during the period in which he served as Governor of Georgia. The article said in part:

"Governor Carter was one of two Georgians ever chosen to receive the Eleanor Roosevelt - Israel Humanities Award of the Israel Bonds Organization. He received the coveted medallion from Ambassador Simcha Dinitz in Atlanta in June of 1973." The article likewise noted his trip to Israel that year and the fact that Carter had been made an Honorary Fellow of the American College in Jerusalem.

"As Governor," the article continued, "Carter made a number of appointments of Jews to top policy-making posts. Judge Sol Clark of Savannah was named to the Appellate Court, the first Jew to serve on that bench in Georgia.

"Charles Harris, whom Carter appointed to the Board of Regents of the University System, was the first Jew to be chosen chairman of that body.

"Additionally, it was Carter who named Joel Fryer as Judge of the Fulton County Superior Court. Leah Chanin of Macon and Atlanta attorney Robert Lipshutz were among Carter's choices to serve on the Board of Human Resources. Lipshutz is presently vice chairman of the Board. He serves as Carter campaign treasurer."

* * *

Jews on the Carter Team

Robert Lipshutz, the national treasurer of the Carter campaign, is immediate past president of The Temple in Atlanta, a member of the board of the Atlanta Jewish Welfare Federation and a member of ADL's Southeastern Regional Board. He is senior partner in the law firm of Lipshutz, Zusmann and Sikes in Atlanta and has been an active supporter of Governor Carter's since Carter's first unsuccessful statewide campaign.

Lipshutz and several other Jews were part of a small group of men who provided some of the early financing that enabled Carter to travel around the country following his selection by Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss as head of a national effort to elect Democrats in the 1974 elections. Since the Democratic National Committee provided no budget for the project, it appeared that the Carter appointment was viewed as essentially honorary. Carter, however, took an activist view and in addition, apparently perceived the appointment as an opportunity to travel around the country and to establish contacts with party leaders which later aided him in forming his own campaign organization.

A small group of Georgians formed a Citizens Committee for Democrats in 1974 to provide the funding for Carter's travels. Lipshutz was the largest contributor (\$3,779.92). His law firm contributed \$2,050. Other Jewish contributors included Charles Harris (\$400), who had been appointed by Carter to the State Board of Regents, Alfred A. Davis (\$2,000), Dr. Larry Cooper (\$2,000) and William Orkin (\$2,000).

Other Jews on the Carter team include:

-- Stuart Eizenstat, 33, who serves as "issues coordinator" and research director heading up Carter's "think tank." Eizenstat was research director for Sen. Hubert

Humphrey's 1968 Presidential campaign and in 1970 was Carter's policy director in the successful Gubernatorial campaign. Eizenstat is a 1967 graduate of the Harvard Law School who has been active in the Atlanta Jewish community.

Gov. Carter also has received support of many leaders in Atlanta's Jewish community. In a Carter campaign release, these Atlanta Jewish community members characterized Carter as "a long-time friend and unwavering supporter of the State of Israel" and declared that he "has championed causes of concern to the Jewish community throughout the country."

The "think tank" of advisors on various subjects whose ideas are being tapped by Eizenstat include a number of experts who are Jewish.

On foreign affairs, they include Milton Katz, professor of international studies at Harvard and Assistant Secretary of Education in the Johnson Administration, Professors Abram Chayes of the Harvard Law School, Assistant Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration, and Jerome Cohen, also of the Harvard Law School, described as an expert on Far Eastern problems, plus Professor Ruth Morgenthau, head of the Political Science Department at Brandeis University.

On economic affairs, Carter's advisors include Lawrence Klein, Benjamin Franklin Professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania and president of the American Society of Economists, and Joe Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution.

On general political strategy, Carter receives input from Frank Mankiewicz (plus Theodore Sorenson), both identified with the Kennedys.

Gerald Rafshoon, who is Jewish, directs Carter's media campaign and some of Carter's fund-raisers are also said to be Jewish.

* * *

'The New York Times,' Dec. 26, 1975

A New York Times article of December 26, 1975 -- one of a series on 1976 Presidential candidates -- was datelined from Atlanta and was written by correspondent B. Drummond Ayres, Jr. Two paragraphs near the end of the dispatch about Carter read as follows:

"In the area of foreign affairs, he favors less United States military presence abroad but more economic allowances. He wants more disarmament, a smaller defense budget and denial of trade, including food sales, to countries that hit the United States with oil embargoes. (Emphasis added.)

"He thinks the United States should continue trying to find a solution to the Middle East crisis, with emphasis on establishing a permanent home for Palestinians. He feels Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger ought to be more accountable to Congress and the people about his negotiations with other governments."

* * *

'Meet the Press' -- Jan. 11, 1976

About two weeks after the Ayres article appeared in The New York Times, Carter was a guest on the NBC-TV program, "Meet the Press" along with Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, and Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania. The following exchange took place between a member of the panel of questioners and Gov. Carter:

"MR. HOGE: Governor Carter, The New York Times, on December 26th, purported that you are in favor of a Palestinian permanent home as a part of any Middle East settlement. Should we then support the efforts which are about to come under way in the United Nations to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the government in exile?

"MR. CARTER: That was an accurate statement, but it is just a partial statement. I think ultimately the responsibility of this country and its basic foreign policy has to be to support the nation of Israel, its right to exist, its right to exist in peace.

"I think when we get down to the last stages of solving the Middle Eastern question, which I hope we can do in the future, the recognition of the Palestinians as an entity, with a right to have their own nation, to choose their own government, to exist in a territory, possibly on the West Bank and possibly the East Bank of the Jordan is an integral part of that ultimate solution.

"I would not recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the PLO, nor their leaders, under any circumstances diplomatically, until they recognize the right of Israel to exist in peace in their present location in the Middle East. I think that ultimately Israel might have to withdraw from some of the boundaries toward their 1967 boundaries. There are some that I would not cede if I were the Premier of Israel. One would be control by the Syrians of the Golan Heights, and I would not relinquish control of the Jewish and Christian worship places in Jerusalem, but I think the recognition of the Palestinians as an entity and as a nation will be an integral part of the future Middle Eastern settlement, yes.

"MR. HOGE: If not the PLO, how does the United States proceed if tension proceeds in the area? Do you see the time coming in the foreseeable future when we will have to break with Israel on the question of a permanent home for the Palestinians?

"MR. CARTER: I don't believe so. I have been to Israel. I have met with some of the leaders there, including Mr. Rabin, and Mrs. Meir, Mr. Eban and others, and have discussed this question among others.

"I personally think -- I am not trying to speak for anyone else -- that at the time the Palestinians and their recognized leaders do accede to the fact that Israel must stay there and must stay there in peace, at that point I believe that the United States and Israel will be in harmony in therefore recognizing the Palestinians in their right to exist and to exist as a separate people.

"MR. HOGE: Would you continue the Kissinger step-by-step diplomacy, or do you think it is time to try something else?

"MR. CARTER: I personally felt that the step-by-step approach was proper in the Sinai region when an agreement was reached with Egypt and Israel. I thought that was a great step forward and lays the predication for future peace.

"I would try to continue the step-by-step approach for the time being. Hopefully Jordan, Saudi Arabia and at least Lebanon might come forward to a negotiation with Israel that would be fruitful. I think Syria would be quite unlikely to do that, but I would go as far as we could with the step-by-step proposal before we made a broad-based approach at this point, yes."

* * *

Carter Jan. 26, 1976 Release on Israel and the Middle East

Shortly after his January 11, 1976 appearance on "Meet the Press," the Carter campaign issued a release on the candidate's stand concerning Israel and the Middle East. (The document also contained a paragraph in which Carter was critical of Soviet repression directed against Jews.)

It set forth three basic positions supported by Carter "to resolve the conflict in the Middle East today":

1. "Preservation of a viable Israeli nation" as a "basic cornerstone of American foreign policy."
2. A negotiated peace with no territorial concessions without guarantees of Israel's "security and right to exist as a nation" by "NATO countries, the Soviet Union and other countries in the area."
3. No recognition of a Palestinian state by the U.S. or Israel "until the Palestinians affirm Israel's right to exist in peace."

With respect to the United Nations resolution branding Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, Carter said:

"I strongly condemn the action of the United Nations General Assembly. The history of the Jewish people over the past 2000 years has been a story of an often-persecuted people struggling to maintain their religious identity. One of the tragic events of our lifetime was the attempt to exterminate the Jewish people. To ignore these facts of history and to equate their struggle for survival with racism, is a ghastly and reprehensible mistake."

With respect to participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations Security Council during discussion of Middle East problems in January, 1976, the Carter statement said:

"It is unfortunate that just when the states and governments in the Middle East conflict were beginning to move from the battlefield to the talking table that the United Nations, whose purpose is the pursuit of peace, does the opposite by obstructing this momentum through forced inclusion in the discussion of the terrorist PLO."

The Carter statement added:

"Our commitment to the maintenance of a viable Israel state is unshakable and unmistakable. I reiterate my support for the leaders of Israel in their belief that such discussions concerning a state for the Palestinian people can only take place in the context of a firm commitment from the Arab states to recognize Israel's sovereignty and security."

* * *

A Few Extra Dimensions

A Feb. 11, 1976 New York Times dispatch from West Palm Beach, Fla., carrying the by-line of correspondent James Wooten, added several extra dimensions concerning Carter's views on Jewish issues.

It quoted the former Georgia governor to the effect that Secretary of State Kissinger is a "brilliant man and a superb negotiator" but that he could never be Secretary of State in a Carter cabinet because he -- Kissinger -- "does not trust the American people."

With respect to Israel itself, the Wooten dispatch, reiterating Carter's position of full support for Israel's right to exist and survive as an independent state, added that he would continue to provide Israel with economic and military aid. It said, however, that he would not commit American troops to Israel's defense.

* * *

Interview With N.Y. 'Times', Published April 2, 1976

One of the more recent statements of Carter's Middle East position was published as an interview in the New York Times on April 2, 1976. The text included the following:

"Q. In what ways would your policy in the Middle East differ from the policy of the last few years, in regard to support of and aid to Israel and in pursuit of an Arab-Israeli settlement?

"CARTER: My prime commitment as President would be to the preservation of the nation of Israel.

"I would provide whatever economic and military aid is necessary to permit Israel to defend themselves against any foreseeable attack. I would not not send troops.

"I would not recognize the Palestinians as a political entity; nor their leaders, until after those leaders had first recognized Israel's right to exist.

"I would continue the effort to encourage the surrounding nations to deal directly with Israel.

"Israel must withdraw from some of the territories occupied. I would not try to force the Israelis to relinquish control of the Golan Heights or Old Jerusalem.

"Ultimately, I believe that we will see the legitimate interests of the Palestinians met. My preference would be that, if they are granted territory by Israel, that it be on the West Bank of the Jordan, administered by the nation of Jordan."

* * *

'Near East Report' - Special Campaign Supplement

On April 21, 1976, Near East Report, published by the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), carried a special supplement reviewing and summarizing available public statements of position by various Democratic candidates, including Carter, concerning the Middle East and Jewish issues. The statements were not specially solicited by Near East Report, which merely sought to condense previously-stated positions.

Noting Carter's "prime commitment...to the preservation of Israel" and the provision to her of adequate economic and military aid, Near East Report also had this to say:

"In his statements on the Middle East, Carter usually mentions the need for the United States to win the confidence of all the parties involved in the conflict. While the countries of the Middle East carry the major responsibility for achieving peace, 'the United States must help secure the peace by maintaining the trust of all sides.' The best way the United States can help secure peace in the area is to have the trust of all nations in the Middle East. We must strive to maintain good relations with the Arab countries and to recognize their needs and aspirations so long as they recognize that the major element of a solution must be the guaranteed right of Israel to exist as a viable and peaceful nation."

Near East Report also noted that at an earlier Jewish-sponsored forum of Presidential candidates, Carter had declared that "as a Christian," he believes that the establishment of Israel was the carrying out of "God's purpose" and added a quotation from another statement made by Carter in New York:

"I have an absolute total commitment as a human being, as an American, as a religious person to Israel...Israel is the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy."

Near East Report also noted Carter's views on an overall Arab-Israeli settlement. It said that Carter had discussed his views on that problem "only in general terms" and quoted him on the subject as follows:

"The elements of a final and lasting settlement in the Mideast will emerge only from long and difficult negotiations among the parties concerned. Any major territorial concessions by Israel should be predicated on a guarantee by the NATO countries, the Soviet Union, and the countries in the area of Israel's security and right to exist as a nation with all the privileges and responsibilities of a member of the family of nations." (Emphasis added.)

Near East Report said that Carter's Middle East position stipulated that a final peace settlement would probably involve "the recognition of the Palestinian people as a nation" and that "the rights of the Palestinians must also be recognized as part of any final solution."

* * *

A Carter Speech on the Middle East

On April 1, 1976, Gov. Carter delivered a major speech on Middle East policy before a Jewish leadership group at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. The text of the speech is attached as Appendix A.

* * *

Other Matters

A reading of the record of the public positions taken by Gov. Carter on Israel and Middle Eastern questions discloses the following items of interest.

1. Jerusalem: Gov. Carter has stated on several occasions that Israel should not be obliged to relinquish control of Jerusalem's Old City. On another occasion, however, he said in a prepared statement issued from his headquarters that he favored granting Moslems "permanent access to their Holy Places in Old Jerusalem without crossing Israeli territory."

2. Economic and military aid to Israel: In the Spring of 1975, Gov. Carter was attending the Trilateral Conference in Kyoto, Japan, shortly after 76 members of the U.S. Senate sent a letter to President Ford urging the President to meet Israel's full economic and military needs. The letter was sent to the White House at the time the Administration was in the midst of a "reassessment" of U.S. Middle Eastern policy following the suspension of Secretary Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy efforts to negotiate a second interim disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt. Carter was quoted as stating, in Kyoto, that he would not have signed the letter had he been in the Senate. When asked to comment on the report of his statement, Carter said he had been misunderstood and that what he had said was that "with strong executive leadership, we would not have needed Congress to get involved."

3. Carter Advisors on the UNA-USA Arms Control Panel: In April, 1976, a distinguished panel of businessmen, scholars and former government officials assembled by the United Nations Association of the United States (UNA-USA) issued a report on arms control policy that included proposals for unilateral restrictions by the U.S. on the supply of sophisticated weapons to other countries, including Israel. Special emphasis was placed on opposition to the supply of U.S. Pershing surface-to-surface missiles to Israel. The proposed ban on the Pershings was one of 18 arms control proposals set forth by the panel; 11 of the 18 proposals would have an impact on Israel were they implemented and would significantly alter the arms supply relationship between the U.S. and Israel, although the proposals themselves were, for the most part, couched in general terms.

The New York Post of April 13 noted that among the members of the UNA-USA panel were former Deputy Defense Secretary (and former Army Secretary) Cyrus Vance and Richard Gardner, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. These three men are reported to be close advisors to Mr. Carter on foreign affairs, although there is no evidence that he agrees with the views of the panel on which they sat.

4. Other Carter Advisors on Foreign Affairs: In addition to the Jewish experts on foreign affairs and economic matters named earlier, plus Vance and Gardner, Gov. Carter has received policy input from several other distinguished experts. The most important of these are Zbigniew Brzezinski, professor of public law and government at Columbia University and director of Columbia's Research Institute on Communist Affairs, former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Paul Nitze, former Navy Secretary and, like Vance, former Deputy Defense Secretary, and Adm. Hyman Rickover.

The weight given by Carter to the input of these -- and other advisors, individually and collectively, is not known. But because he has had little direct experience in foreign affairs, it has generally been assumed that such input is important to him.

None of the foreign policy advisors mentioned has a record as an outspoken friend of Israel -- a record built up over the years by public statement or other activity. The same is true of the other Carter "think-tank" members on foreign affairs, including the Jewish think-tank members mentioned earlier, as well as Messrs. Vance and Gardner. Yet none can fairly be regarded as an enemy of Israel.

According to Newsweek (April 14, 1975), former Secretary Rusk was not particularly friendly to Israel during his tenure at the State Department; in fact, Newsweek indicated that the Israelis regarded Rusk as "a bit unfriendly." The article appeared at the time Rusk was named as one of a number of "senior advisors" called to a conference by Secretary Kissinger following the breakdown of Kissinger's shuttle-diplomacy efforts between Israel and Egypt.

Brzezinski's approach to the Middle East problem, expressed in 1975 public documents, calls for an American initiative to end the Arab-Israeli stalemate by publicly outlining the terms of a Middle Eastern settlement and then to indicate its readiness to guarantee it. This was the approach Brzezinski outlined in a speech to the Council on Foreign Affairs early in 1975.

He said that spelling out the terms of a settlement "would generate pressure on behalf of such a settlement." And, Brzezinski added, "there is worldwide consensus today on the essential elements of what the settlement ought to be like." In a footnote that appeared in the March 26, 1975 Congressional Record, where the Brzezinski speech was inserted by Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois, (pp. S5183-5187), Brzezinski outlined "the principal components" of his proposed settlement plan:

"...recognition by all parties, especially Arab neighbors, of Israel's sovereignty and peace treaties establishing normal relations; the creation of a demilitarized Palestinian state; the reinforcement of frontiers based largely on those existing in 1967 by security zones; the retention of a united Jerusalem but with two capitals in it; and a U.S. guarantee for the above. The above could make peace possible for it denies the use of territory for aggression but without making Israeli security dependent on the acquisition of territory which would be bound to perpetuate the Arab-Israeli conflict."

On May 6, the Washington Post reported that W. Averell Harriman had recently joined the Carter advisory task force and included Paul Warnke, now a law partner of former Presidential advisor Clark Clifford, as part of the Carter think-tank, although Warnke's name has also appeared in the press as an advisor to Rep. Morris Udall.

The May 6 Post article also noted that "Carter also tapped the generation of young Vietnam seasoned former Foreign Service officers who left government early in the Nixon years." Named in this group were Richard Holbrooke, Managing Editor of Foreign Policy magazine, and Anthony Lake, director of International Volunteers in Service (IVS), both of whom were described as having risen "quickly to important State Department and White House staff positions and then became opposed to the prolonging of the Indo-China war under the Nixon-Kissinger policies of the early 1970's."

(The Washington Post article had other observations about Carter's "brain trust" and is attached as Appendix B.)

* * *

The Shrum Episode

Shortly after the April 27 Pennsylvania primary, in which Carter scored a major victory, Robert Shrum, a young and liberal speechwriter who had worked for Sen. McGovern in 1972, quit the Carter staff after barely two weeks aboard. He wrote a long letter of resignation to Gov. Carter stating the reasons for his withdrawal. Essentially, Shrum was displeased with what he felt was Carter's reluctance to take specific positions on important issues.

In his letter, Shrum quoted Carter in part as follows:

"We have to be cautious. We don't want to offend anybody. . . I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon. Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go. I don't get over 4% of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians."

The May 3 Washington Post, in a long article on the Shrum resignation, said that Shrum "added that he did not believe Carter intended this latter remark as anti-Semitic, but rather as a comment of political pragmatism."

Gov. Carter responded to Shrum's criticism by stating that Shrum had never formally been placed on the Carter payroll, and he asserted that "we did not use his speeches."

According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin of May 7, 1976, Carter's chief media spokesman, Jody Powell, said that Carter "has expressed concern at the lack of support from Jewish voters" but "in a completely different context" from that stated by Shrum. Carter's national issues coordinator, Stuart Eizenstat, meanwhile, described the accusation as a "total fabrication."

* * *

'U.S. News and World Report' Interview

In its issue dated May 24, 1976, U.S. News and World Report published an "Interview on the Issues - WHAT CARTER BELIEVES" in which the following exchange appeared:

"Q. How would you work for peace in the Middle East?

"A. I don't believe anybody has the instant solution to the Middle Eastern crisis. I would make it clear that our nation's commitment is to the preservation of Israel, its right to exist in peace. This ought to be unequivocal.

"Also, we ought to constantly probe for ways to find mutual agreements to implement United Nations Resolution 242, including bilateral discussions between Israel and its neighbors. [U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 called for a cease-fire, troop withdrawals and peace negotiations.]

"Q. Would you recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization - the PLO?

"A. The legitimate interests of the Palestinians have to be recognized. But I would not personally favor recognition of the PLO or other government entities representing the Palestinians until after they have convinced me that they recognize Israel's right to exist in peace."

* * *

Carter Letter to the ADL

On May 28, 1976, the Anti-Defamation League made public a letter dated May 26 from Jimmy Carter criticizing the "false malicious, anti-Semitic remarks" made by former Vice President Spiro Agnew. The letter, addressed to Seymour Graubard, national chairman of the League, and Benjamin R. Epstein, national director, praised the "immeasurable contribution" of Jewish Americans to "every field of professional, educational and cultural endeavor" and urged the Anti-Defamation League to "continue to take strong steps...to root out the last vestiges of anti-Semitism and other discrimination."

The full text of the Carter letter is as follows:

"I am taking this opportunity to write to you, as representatives of one of the most respected and foremost human rights organizations in the United States, and a group particularly concerned with anti-Semitism.

"I want to share my concern with you about the false, malicious, anti-Semitic remarks which have come to my attention, recently made by former Vice President Spiro Agnew, in a Newsweek interview and on the NBC Today Show.

"Mr. Agnew, who once occupied the second highest elected position in this nation, stated on national television that 'I do feel the Zionist influences in the United States are dragging the U.S. into a rather disorganized approach to the Middle East problem.' Mr. Agnew also attacked what he described as 'Israeli imperialism' and accused the American news media of pandering to the 'Zionist cause.'

"His statements could not be further from the truth.

"Jewish Americans have added immeasurable contributions to this country in every field of professional, educational and cultural endeavor. They are as loyal to America as any other group of people in the United States.

"The dedication of many American Jews to the preservation of a Jewish homeland is not only understandable, but commendable, in the light of centuries of discrimination and persecution.

"As I said in my address on the Middle East in New York City on April 1, 1976: 'For 2,000 years, the Jewish people in century after century, in country after country, had to withstand propaganda, attempts at forced conversion, discrimination, pogroms, and death, until the ultimate horror of the holocaust. Surely the Jewish people are entitled to one place on this earth where they can have their own state, one given to them from time immemorial.'

"The preservation of a strong and viable State of Israel is not only in Israel's interests and in the interests of world Jewry, it is in the national interest of the United States as well. Israel is an oasis of democracy and freedom in the Middle East. To accuse Israel of 'imperialism' is a terrible distortion and smacks more of an accusation we are used to hearing from the Soviet Union than a statement from a prominent American.

"It is indeed fortunate for this country that Spiro Agnew is simply writing novels and not still a heartbeat away from the Presidency. In fact, but for his own resignation, Mr. Agnew would now be President of the United States.

"By stating on the Today show that Jews have too much influence over the press, he is not only poisoning the political atmosphere in this country with an accusation that is demonstrably false, he is shifting attention for the cause of his own personal downfall from where it should be focused -- not the American press, but the American system of justice. Mr. Agnew should not take out his frustration on the religious group which all too often in the past has been the scapegoat.

"I hope that the Anti-Defamation League will continue to take strong steps to correct misconceptions and to root out the last vestiges of anti-Semitism and other discrimination.

Very truly yours,

Jimmy Carter"

* * *

Carter on the Arab Boycott

With respect to the Arab Boycott, Near East Report's special supplement of April 21 carried a statement by Gov. Carter.

Carter was quoted as stating, in response to a question about the Arab Boycott affecting American Jews, that he pledged he would do everything possible to make it illegal "to have any Arab country or government boycott Jews in American corporations." He was quoted as warning that "if the Arabs ever again boycott the United States, we should declare economic war on them."

Also, in an April, 1976, speech on Middle East policy, Gov. Carter declared that the people of Israel "are entitled to live in peace, free from threats and boycotts . . ."

* * *

Carter on Soviet Jewry and Jackson-Vanik

According to Near East Report, Carter has stated that as President he would negotiate strongly with the Soviets.

He has, however, criticized the Jackson-Vanik amendment as "counter-productive." Carter was quoted as stating:

"I don't think we'll ever affect Soviet internal policy by public laws passed by the American Congress."

* * *

Carter on his Religion and Jews and Israel

On June 6, 1976 Carter addressed 2,000 people at the Jewish Educational Institute, Elizabeth, New Jersey. According to the New York Times (June 7) Carter said he believes in the "absolute and total" separation of church and state in a pluralistic society and opposes prayers in public schools and financial aid for religious instruction. He restated his earlier positions on Israel and the Middle East.

(The New York Times article is attached as Appendix C.)

APPENDIX A



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER'S SPEECH ON MIDDLE EAST POLICY

I AM HAPPY TO BE HERE THIS AFTERNOON AND FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK ON A SUBJECT OF INTENSE PERSONAL CONCERN TO ME, AND OF IMPORTANCE TO ALL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE.

THE LAND OF ISRAEL HAS ALWAYS MEANT A GREAT DEAL TO ME, PERSONALLY AND SPIRITUALLY. AS A BOY, I READ OF ITS PROPHETS AND MARTYRS IN THE BIBLE. AS THE OWNER OF A FARM, I WATCHED WITH ADMIRATION AS ITS BARREN DESERTS WERE RENEWED WITH PRODUCTIVE AGRICULTURE. AS AN AMERICAN, I APPRECIATED HOW THE STATE OF ISRAEL, LIKE THE UNITED STATES, OPENED ITS DOORS TO THE HOMELESS AND THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION.

I HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF TRAVELLING IN ISRAEL, STOPPING IN JERUSALEM AND TEL AVIV AND HAIFA, VISITING THE HOLY PLACES, MEETING WITH MRS. MEIR AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND OTHER LEADERS AND TALKING TO ITS PEOPLE. I FOUND - AS I AM SURE MANY OF YOU FOUND - ISRAEL TO BE A LAND OF CONTRASTS AND INSPIRATION. SO MUCH DANGER AND SO MUCH OPTIMISM. SO MUCH JOY AND SO MUCH SUFFERING. THE RUINS OF MANY CIVILIZATIONS LIE BENEATH THE SOIL OF ISRAEL. THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAVE JUSTLY DETERMINED THAT THEIRS, AT LAST, WILL BE THE ONE THAT SURVIVES, SOME 2,000 YEARS AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE LEFT THE JEWISH PEOPLE SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE WORLD

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

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WHEN I ANNOUNCED FOR THE PRESIDENCY, ALMOST 16 MONTHS AGO, I SAID THAT THE TIME FOR AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD IS OVER. BUT, I SAID THAT WE CANNOT RETREAT INTO ISOLATIONISM, THE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS MUST BE STRENGTHENED. I STRESSED THAT THE INTEGRITY OF ISRAEL HAD TO BE PRESERVED.

TWO WEEKS AGO, IN CHICAGO, IN A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH, I SAID THAT BALANCE OF POWER POLITICS SHOULD BE REPLACED BY A NEW EFFORT TO JOIN WITH OTHER NATIONS TO BUILD A JUST AND STABLE WORLD ORDER. I CRITICIZED THE FACT THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS BEING MADE AND EXECUTED BY JUST ONE MAN, THE SECRETARY OF STATE. I SAID THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE CONSULTED IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY, BECAUSE THAT POLICY OUGHT TO BE AS OPEN AND HONEST AND DECENT AND COMPASSIONATE AS OUR OWN PEOPLE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE WROTE TO JOHN ADAMS THAT "THE FLAMES KINDLED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1776, HAVE SPREAD OVER TOO MUCH OF THE GLOBE TO BE EXTINGUISHED BY THE FEEBLE ENERGIES OF DESPOTISM." THE GREAT MOMENTS OF OUR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY--PRESIDENT WILSON'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FOUR FREEDOMS, PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MARSHALL PLAN, PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S PEACE CORPS--HAVE REAFFIRMED THAT FAITH. ONCE WE AMERICANS LOSE THIS IDEALISM--ONCE WE COME TO ACCEPT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, OR INTERNATIONAL BRIBERY, OR THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OR THE SQUEEZING OF SMALL NATIONS BY LARGE NEIGHBORS--WE LOSE A PRECIOUS PART OF OUR INHERITANCE. UNLESS WE STAND BY OUR IDEALS, UNLESS WE ARE AS WILLING TO WORK FOR THEM IN PEACE AS TO FIGHT FOR THEM IN WAR, WE SHALL NOT BE TRUE - EITHER TO THE GOALS OF THE FOUNDERS, OR TO OUR CHARACTER AS A NATION.

I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT HOW SOME OF THESE PRINCIPLES APPLY TO THE SITUATION TODAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS REGION HAS EXPERIENCED A SUSTAINED RESURGENCE OF THE TENSION AND CONFLICT WHICH HAVE BEEN ITS UNHAPPY LOT FOR DECADES AND, INDEED, CENTURIES. SINCE 1948, FOUR WARS HAVE BEEN FOUGHT. COUNTLESS DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED, YET PEACE SEEMS NO CLOSER TODAY THAN IT WAS IN 1948, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST TOUCHING OFF A GLOBAL WAR IS STILL WITH US.

THE BURDEN OF ARMS AND ECONOMIC SACRIFICE HANGS OVER EVERY NATION IN THE REGION. THE EXPLOSION OF TERRORIST BOMBS HAS SPREAD FROM ZION SQUARE IN JERUSALEM TO ROME AND TO OTHER CITIES. IN THE FALLOUT OF HATRED, THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE HAVE BEEN NEEDLESSLY KILLED-- SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS, FARMERS AND CHILDREN, YOUNG OLYMPIC ATHLETES AT MUNICH AND BUSINESSMEN IN LONDON.

IT IS LONG PAST TIME FOR PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BASED ON GENUINE RECONCILIATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT BETWEEN THOSE WHO LIVE AS NEIGHBORS. AND IN THIS EFFORT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THOSE OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB LANDS, LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO LEAD THE WAY.

WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF THIS CONFLICT IF WE CAN MAINTAIN THE TRUST OF ALL SIDES. BUT AMERICA CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ONLY THROUGH A POLICY WHICH IS MORAL, DECENT, FAIR, AND CONSISTENT - AND WHICH REFLECTS THE BASIC IDEALS OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR NATION.

MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, THE SECRETARY OF STATE OUTLINED WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE AMERICA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THEY WERE:

---THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

---THE MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH 140 MILLION ARABS.

---THE STEADY SUPPLY OF CRUDE OIL TO OURSELVES AND OUR ALLIES.

---THE AVOIDANCE OF ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAEL WAR

AND

---THE AVOIDANCE OF A MAJOR POWER CONFRONTATION OVER THE AREA.

THE SECRETARY SAID ALL THESE CONCERNS WERE OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE. HE EVEN UNDERLINED THE WORD "ALL" IN HIS SPEECH TO MAKE HIS MEANING CLEAR.

BUT CAN WE REALLY ACCOMPLISH ALL THESE THINGS AT THE SAME TIME? SHOULD WE RATE THEM AS EQUAL IN IMPORTANCE? IS THE SURVIVAL OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ONLY EQUAL TO THE SUPPLY OF OIL? SHOULD MAINTENANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS BE AT THE RISK OF SACRIFICING A PROGRESSIVE, ADVANCED, DEMOCRATIC NATION WHICH IS OUR FRIEND? OBVIOUSLY NOT. EACH OF THE SECRETARY'S GOALS ARE IMPORTANT. BUT TO EQUATE ALL OF THEM IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE AMORAL ARITHMETIC OF BALANCE OF POWER POLITICS.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE PLACE FOR THE UNITED STATES, OR ANY GREAT POWER, TO ENGAGE IN THIS KIND OF POLITICS. AS LONG AS NATIONS ARE PLAYED OFF AGAINST ONE ANOTHER, THERE WILL BE NO PEACE. THERE WILL ONLY BE PERIODS OF UNEASY TRUCE, PUNCTUATED BY BORDER RAIDS AND TERRORISM, WHILE EACH SIDE BUILDS UP FORCES FOR ANOTHER CONFLICT. IN OCTOBER OF 1973, WHILE ISRAELIS WERE PRAYING IN THEIR SYNAGOGUES ON THE HOLIEST DAY OF THE JEWISH RELIGION, HOSTILE FORCES WERE MOVING IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT THEIR NATION'S DESTRUCTION. THE ARAB FORCES ATTEMPTED TO TURN THE DAY OF ATONEMENT INTO A DAY OF INFAMY AND ANNIHILATION. THE ISRAELIS WITHSTOOD THE ATTACK BUT NOT WITHOUT FEARFUL LOSS OF LIFE. THIS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN AGAIN.

A LASTING PEACE MUST BE BASED ON THE ABSOLUTE ASSURANCE OF ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL AND SECURITY. I WOULD NEVER YIELD ON THAT POINT, AND IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR US TO MAKE THIS CLEAR TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL IS A SIGNIFICANT MORAL PRINCIPLE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. WE SHARE DEMOCRACY IN A TIME WHEN FEW NATIONS ARE FREE. WE BOTH ENJOY A FREE PRESS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. WE ARE BOTH NATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS. WE SHARE CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC VALUES. WE ARE FRIENDS WHO ADMIRE AND RESPECT EACH OTHER. THIS COUNTRY WAS THE FIRST NATION TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AS A COUNTRY AND WE MUST REMAIN THE FIRST COUNTRY TO WHICH ISRAEL CAN TURN WITH ASSURANCE.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NEVER SACRIFICE THE SECURITY OR SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL FOR BARRELS OF OIL. EVEN IF EVERY OTHER NATION WERE FORCED BY THIRST FOR OIL TO DESERT ISRAEL, WE IN THIS COUNTRY, WITH OUR RESOURCES, OUR POWER, AND OUR SENSE OF DECENCY CAN AND WILL STAND FAST.

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAVE SACRIFICED HEAVILY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. THEY HAVE SOUGHT PEACE WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS FROM THE MOMENT OF THEIR NATION'S BIRTH. THEY, LIKE ALL PEOPLES, ARE ENTITLED TO LIVE IN PEACE, FREE FROM THREATS AND BOYCOTTS AND THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF DEFENSE SPENDING--ALMOST HALF THEIR NATIONAL INCOME. THEY HAVE MUCH MORE TO OFFER THE WORLD THAN MILITARY MIGHT AND A NATION BEARING ARMS--AND SO DO THEIR ARAB NEIGHBORS.

IF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY IS CLEAR ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PRESERVATION OF ISRAEL, IT SHOULD ALSO BE CLEAR ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO GENUINE ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. ONLY FACE-TO-FACE COMMUNICATION CAN BUILD THE TRUST AND NURTURE THE ACCOMODATIONS THAT WILL BE NEEDED.

BY INSISTING ON THESE KINDS OF TALKS, BY DEMONSTRATING THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR COMMITMENT TO REAL PEACE, WE CAN USE OUR INFLUENCE TO PREPARE ALL SIDES FOR THE BEST WAY OUT OF THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT PEACE WILL COME ONLY AS ISRAEL FALLS BACK FROM ALL OF THE TERRITORIES WHICH IT GAINED IN THE 1967 CONFLICT. BUT THOSE SAME PEOPLE NEVER ASK WHAT ISRAEL IS TO RECEIVE IN RETURN. PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST DEPENDS FAR MORE UPON A CHANGE IN ATTITUDES THAN ON ANY TRANSFER OF REAL ESTATE. IT IS NOT THE DETAILS OF LINE-DRAWING ON A MAP WHICH IS THE CRITICAL QUESTION; ARAB RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST IS THE KEY INGREDIENT TO PEACE.

WHILE WE WORK TOWARD A FUTURE PEACE, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE LESSONS OF PAST WARS. PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE REQUIRES THAT ISRAEL REMAIN STRONG ENOUGH THAT IT CAN NEITHER BE OVERRUN MILITARILY NOR ISOLATED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ISRAEL HAS NEVER SOUGHT AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND NEVER WILL. IT ASKS US ONLY FOR THE TOOLS TO ASSURE ITS OWN DEFENSE. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPLY THEM. AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO AID HER ECONOMY, WHICH HAS BEEN STRAINED TO THE UTMOST BY THE BURDENS OF DEFENSE.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A FIRM COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL OF THIS NATURE WILL INTERFERE EITHER WITH OUR ABILITY TO RETAIN THE TRUST OF ARAB STATES, OR TO HELP MEDIATE THE CONFLICT. WE CAN DO MUCH TO ENCOURAGE MODERATION AND PRAGMATISM IN BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD. THERE ARE STRONG LINKS OF TRADE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN US AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES. THESE LINKS HAVE DEVELOPED OVER MANY YEARS. THE PROCESS OF PEACE WILL BE BEST SERVED IF THESE RELATIONS DEEPEN--BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL, AND NOT AS THE RESULT OF OIL BLACKMAIL.

WE HAVE DEVELOPED CLOSE TIES OF INVESTMENT AND ECONOMIC AID WITH MANY ARAB COUNTRIES. THIS SHOWS THAT ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE CAN ALSO BE A FOUNDATION OF PEACE. I WOULD HOPE THE ARAB PEOPLES ARE NO LESS TIRED OF WAR THAN ISRAEL, NO LESS WEARY OF ITS BURDENS AND WASTE, NO LESS MOURNFUL OF THEIR DEAD. SOME ARAB STATES HAVE SET GOALS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION WHICH ARE WORTHY OF GREAT RESPECT, AS WELL AS OUR AID AND PARTICIPATION. BUT THEIR DREAMS, LIKE THE DREAMS OF ISRAEL, WILL COME TRUE ONLY IF THERE IS A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS IS WHY IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ENCOURAGE BOTH ARAB MODERATION AND ARAB MILITARISM AT THE SAME TIME. I DO NOT BELIEVE ARMS SALES BUY LASTING FRIENDS. I AM CONCERNED WITH THE WAY IN WHICH OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION, BRITAIN AND FRANCE, HAVE Poured ARMS INTO CERTAIN ARAB COUNTRIES FAR BEYOND THEIR LEGITIMATE NEEDS FOR DEFENSE-- 5 or 6 TIMES MORE THAN ISRAEL RECEIVES. THIS HEADLONG RUSH FOR WEAPONS INCREASES THE CHANCE OF WAR. IT POSTPONES PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. IT DEFERS DEVELOPMENT. IT ERODES SECURITY.

THAT IS WHY IT WOULD NOT BE WISE AT THIS TIME TO SUPPLY STRIKE WEAPONS TO EGYPT, DESPITE THAT NATION'S RECENT SIGNS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR THE UNITED STATES. WITH ITS VAST POPULATION AND DEEP POVERTY, EGYPT NEEDS HOUSING AND JOBS AND HEALTH CARE FAR MORE THAN OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SUCH AS TANKS AND PLANES AND MISSILES. INVESTMENT IN EGYPT'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE--AND THIS COUNTRY SHOULD WILLINGLY MAKE IT. THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS IS FULL OF RISK AND PERIL. WE SHOULD SHOW OTHER ARAB NATIONS THE BENEFITS THAT COME FROM FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. BUT THERE ARE FAR BETTER WAYS TO DO THAT THAN BY LOADING EGYPT WITH INSTRUMENTS OF DEATH.

IN FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD BE MOST DESIRABLE TO FOCUS ON ELEMENTS OF AN EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT INSTEAD OF MORE IMMEDIATE ISSUES. BY RAISING OUR SIGHTS, WE CAN FOCUS THE DISCUSSION ON WHAT PEACE WOULD REALLY BE LIKE. WE COULD THEN WORK THROUGH STAGES TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

UNLESS THERE IS PEACE IN THE AREA, IT IS ALMOST INEVITABLE THAT THE ARAB NATIONS WILL BECOME MORE RADICALIZED, MORE MILITANT, AND MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOVIET RE-ENTRY, BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY. THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT WOULD BE THAT ISRAEL WOULD EVENTUALLY BE CONFRONTED WITH EVEN A GRAVER THREAT.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST INVOLVES DIFFICULT AND EMOTIONAL ISSUES. IN FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS, WITH A MAXIMUM DESIRE FOR FAIRNESS, AND A MODICUM OF GOOD WILL, QUESTIONS OF BOUNDARY LINES AND THE STATUS OF THE PALESTINIANS CAN BE RESOLVED.

WITHIN THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, THERE IS A HUMANITARIAN CORE WHICH HAS BEEN NEGLECTED FAR TOO LONG. TOO MANY HUMAN BEINGS, DENIED A SENSE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE, LIVE IN MAKESHIFT AND CROWDED CAMPS WHERE GUNSLINGING DEMAGOGUES FEED ON IGNORANCE AND DESPAIR. BUT WE MUST NOT PERMIT OUR SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT TO LEAD US TO RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF BRUTAL TERRORISTS WHO MASQUERADE AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE WORLD FORUM. THOSE ARAB STATES THAT ALLOW WOULD-BE PALESTINIAN LEADERS TO WAGE WAR ON ISRAEL, AND WHO PERMIT THE VERY CONCEPT OF ISRAEL'S NATIONHOOD TO BE ATTACKED, UNDERMINE THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS AND DELAY THE DAY OF PEACE.

WHATEVER THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS AND WHATEVER MAY BE THEIR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE, THEY CANNOT DICTATE THEIR AGENDA BY TERRORISM OR WAR.

WE ALL WANT TO SEE A MIDDLE EAST, DEDICATED TO HUMAN PROGRESS RATHER THAN STERILE HATE. WE WANT TO SEE THE DESERT BLOOM ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER JORDAN, AND ALONG THE NILE, AND EVERYWHERE THAT HUMAN BEINGS HOPE FOR BETTER LIVES FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN.

WE MUST WORK TOWARD THESE GOALS THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS A DIFFICULT TIME FOR ISRAEL IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OIL TO THE WORLD'S DEVELOPING NATIONS. I DEPLORE THE ACTIONS TAKEN RECENTLY IN THE UNITED NATIONS. I REJECT UTTERLY THE CHARGE THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM. INDEED, ZIONISM WAS A RESPONSE TO RACISM AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE CONCEPT OF A STATE OF ISRAEL WAS BORN OUT OF CENTURIES OF PERSECUTION OF HUMAN BEINGS BECAUSE THEY PRACTICED A DIFFERENT RELIGION.

FOR THOSE 2000 YEARS, THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN CENTURY AFTER CENTURY, IN COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY, HAD TO WITHSTAND PROPAGANDA, ATTEMPT AT FORCED CONVERSION, DISCRIMINATION, POGROMS, AND DEATH, UNTIL THE ULTIMATE HORROR OF THE HOLOCAUST. SURELY THE JEWISH PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO ONE PLACE ON THIS EARTH WHERE THEY CAN HAVE THEIR OWN STATE, ONE GIVEN TO THEM FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL.

FOR YEARS, A VISION OF ISRAEL HAS EMBODIED THE DREAM THAT THERE COULD BE AT LEAST ONE PLACE ON THIS EARTH WHERE RACISM COULD NEVER EXIST. NOW THAT DREAM HAS COME TRUE. AS A COUNTRY FOUNDED UPON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND DEDICATED TO BROTHERHOOD, AMERICA HAS A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY, NOT ONLY TO OPPOSE THIS BASELESS CHARGE WHEREVER IT APPEARS, BUT TO KEEP THAT DREAM ALIVE.

FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN FAR TOO MANY SECRET UNDERTAKINGS, COVERT ASSURANCES, CONTRADICTORY PROMISES, AND DIPLOMATIC SLEIGHTS OF HAND. MANEUVERS OF THIS TYPE ARE BOUND TO PRODUCE--AS THEY HAVE PRODUCED--BOTH FAILURE IN NEGOTIATION AND SUSPICION AMONG ITS PARTICIPANTS. THE RECENT DISCLOSURE BY PRESIDENT SADAT OF PREVIOUSLY UNDISCLOSED ASSURANCES BY OUR SECRETARY OF STATE EXEMPLIFIES ALL THAT IS WRONG WITH THE PRESENTATION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST--AND TOWARD EVERY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD--SHOULD BE SHAPED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONGRESS, FROM THE OUTSET, ON A BIPARTISAN BASIS. IT SHOULD EMERGE FROM BROAD AND WELL-INFORMED PUBLIC DEBATE. INDEED, THIS IS A NECESSITY. IN EVERY FOREIGN VENTURE THAT HAS FAILED--WHETHER IT WAS VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, CHILE, ANGOLA OR IN THE EXCESSES OF THE CIA, OUR GOVERNMENT OPERATED SECRETLY, AND FORGED AHEAD WITHOUT CONSULTING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT DID THINGS THAT WERE CONTRARY TO OUR BASIC CHARACTER.

PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT TODAY ARE AS VITAL TO SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICIES AS THEY ARE TO ANY DOMESTIC PROGRAM. NO ONE CAN MAKE OUR FOREIGN POLICY FOR US AS WELL AS WE CAN MAKE IT FOR OURSELVES. IT SHOULD BE BASED NOT JUST ON MILITARY MIGHT OR ECONOMIC POWER OR POLITICAL PRESSURE, BUT ALSO ON TRUTH, JUSTICE, EQUALITY, AND A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF THE MORAL CHARACTER AND COMPASSION OF OUR PEOPLE. A POLICY OF THAT KIND WILL REFLECT THE BEST IN ALL OF US. AND IT CAN SUCCEED.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM. IT CAN BE A CONCRETE POSSIBILITY.

I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE YOU BY QUOTING A PORTION OF A MODERN JEWISH PRAYER, WHICH REFLECTS, I BELIEVE, THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

"WE CANNOT MERELY PRAY TO YOU, O LORD, TO END WAR;
FOR YOU HAVE MADE THE WORLD IN SUCH A WAY
THAT MAN MUST FIND HIS OWN PATH TO PEACE
WITHIN HIMSELF AND WITH HIS NEIGHBOR.
WE CANNOT MERELY PRAY TO YOU, O LORD,
TO ROOT OUT PREJUDICE,
FOR YOU HAVE ALREADY GIVEN US EYES
WITH WHICH TO SEE THE GOOD IN ALL MEN
IF WE WOULD ONLY USE THEM WISELY.
THEREFORE, WE PRAY TO YOU INSTEAD, O LORD,
FOR STRENGTH, DETERMINATION AND WILL-POWER,
TO DO INSTEAD OF JUST TO PRAY,
TO BECOME INSTEAD OF MERELY TO WEIGH,
FOR YOUR SAKE AND FOR OURS,
SPEEDILY AND SOON,
THAT OUR LAND MAY BE SAFE,
AND THAT OUR LIVES MAY BE BLESSED."

AS YOUR PRESIDENT, I SHALL WORK HARD WITH YOU TO MAKE AMERICA
AN AGENT OF THAT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE--IN KEEPING
WITH THE TEACHING OF THE SCRIPTURES, IN OUR OWN BEST TRADITION, AND
IN FULFILLMENT OF THE HIGHEST HOPES OF ALL MANKIND.

APPENDIX B

TO: JHM MK

Carter Taps Establishment for Bruin Trust

THE WASHINGTON POST

MAY 8 1976

By Laurence Stern
Washington Post Staff Writer

"Some of us don't believe that Washington is the repository of all national wisdom," Jimmy Carter announced in Madison, Wis., on March 15.

This political leitmotif — the theme of distrust of the conventional wisdom of the Eastern Establishment — has been sounded by the candidate from Plains, Ga., as his presidential primary crusade travels across the nation.

In North Carolina he jibed at the "non-elected professional politicians of Washington" who, he said, feared him because they could not control him.

Yet on April 22, as Carter campaigned in Pennsylvania, he announced the formation of an advisory task force that made up a biographical register of the New York-Washington foreign policy axis.

Its members are drawn from the Wall Street law firms, the Ivy League academies and the great foundation think tanks as well as from the ranks of the Council on Foreign Relations, which has served as the headwaters of American foreign policy consensus for decades.

W. Averell Harriman, whose name is boldly imprinted on more than three decades of American diplomatic history, joined the Carter advisory task force this week — the latest in the succession of luminaries.

There is Cyrus Vance, who served as Robert S. McNamara's deputy secretary of defense, now of the New York law firm Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Columbia University Russian affairs expert and director of the influential Trilateral Commission; Paul Warnke, the Washington law partner of Clark Clifford who also served in the Johnson administration Pentagon; Paul Nitze who succeeded Vance as deputy secretary and holds a far more hawkish

position on U.S. nuclear weapons policy than most of his advisory associates.

Theodore Sorensen, who helped to draft John F. Kennedy's early speeches of commitment to the struggle in Vietnam, is also on the task force, and reportedly drafted Carter's speech to the Gridiron Club dinner, an evening that is one of the tribal rites of Washington journalists.

Carter also tapped the generation of young Vietnam war-seasoned former Foreign Service officers who left government early in the Nixon years.

He chose as advisers Richard Holbrooke, managing editor of Foreign Policy magazine, and Anthony Lake, director of International Volunteers in Service (IVS). Both rose quickly to important State Department and White House staff positions and then became opposed to the prolonging of the Indochina war under the Nixon-Kissinger policies of the early 1970s.

Ideologically, the advisers to Carter could be described as moderates-in-exile whose credentials as experts were punched during the last three presidential administrations.

But the choices provide no definitive clues as to Carter's foreign policy beliefs or objectives. Even some of the candidate's advisers confess privately that on some of the biggest issues of national security policy — the size of the defense budget, strategic arms policy, relations with the Soviet Union — Carter remains an enigma.

"Each of us may be looking at Jimmy through the prism of our own views," said one of his Washington voluntary advisers, a former high-ranking government policymaker. "I've often wondered about that. But it would not be wise at this point — in fairness to Jimmy — to come out with fixed positions."

One senior member of the foreign policy brain trust and Carter admirer privately describes the task force as a "political ploy — the names were put together to get a good collection of names, an attempt to show that he could collect people."

A top campaign official explained that the inclusion of advisers so diverse in views as Warnke and Nitze was intended to show a broad pattern of representation rather than indicate the candidate's thinking on issues. Nitze acknowledges himself to be closer to the hard-line defense views of Sen. Henry M. Jackson (S-Wash.). Warnke acknowledges that he could just as well give advice to Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), who is in comparative terms a "dove" on defense spending issues.

"It is possible that Jimmy could come out against the B-1 bomber and strongly for the Trident submarine," said another prominent supporter. "We don't know yet."

Until 1973, Carter's credentials in foreign policy matters were limited, except for the overseas trade missions he had organized to sell Georgia products abroad.

Late in the fall of 1973 he was invited to dine in London with David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank during one of his promotion trade visits. Rockefeller, with the help of Brzezinski, was then establishing the Trilateral Commission, which has become a prestigious forum that has included in its membership the leading businessmen, political leaders and foreign policy intellectuals of North America, Western Europe and Japan.

"David Rockefeller and Zbig [Brzezinski] felt he would be the ideal person to join the Trilateral Commission," related Carter's long-standing supporter, Dr. Peter Bourne of Washington. "His trade missions abroad showed him to be internationally minded, and that was an important consideration."

Also, Carter was a politically successful southern moderate already aspiring to higher office than the governorship of Georgia.

When Rockefeller, Brzezinski and other recruiters were looking for a southerner to round out the ranks of the commission in 1973 they were also considering Florida Gov. Reubin Askew. But they settled on Carter. An important factor, said Brzezinski, was the governor's interest in foreign trade promotion.

Brzezinski has played a foreign policy advisory role within the Democratic Party since before 1968, and his ambitions for a high State Department or White House policymaking role in a Democratic administration have become a subject of wide public speculation.

Unlike the presidency, however, no one campaigns publicly for the job of Secretary of State or national security adviser to the President.

"The comparison is almost unavoidable," observed one member of the advisory council under ground rules of anonymity, "that Henry Kissinger had Nelson Rockefeller and the Rockefeller brother panels as a political base while Brzezinski has David Rockefeller and the Trilateral Commission."

Brzezinski and his colleague, Columbia University law professor Richard G. Gardner, gave close attention to Carter in the course of their Trilateral Commission dealings. "They spent a great deal of time with Jimmy which others were not prepared to give at that point," Bourne said.

Brzezinski recalls an incident, during a Trilateral Commission meeting in Tokyo last year, during which he was impressed with the candidate's political acumen.

policy establishment. In July of last year he also forged an association with the Brookings Institution, a factory of expertise on foreign and domestic policy issues central to a presidential campaign.

His friend and adviser, Atlanta attorney Stuart Eizenstadt, contacted Henry Owen, director of foreign policy studies at Brookings and a former head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff.

Owen agreed to set up a series of briefings at Brookings, and Carter was squinted from expert to expert in the building that serves as one of the nation's leading public policy idea centers: Barry Blechman, a former Center for Naval Analysis associate on defense policy; C. Fred Bergsten, who worked on Kissinger's National Security Council staff on international economic affairs; Ed Fried in international energy questions.

"He absorbed information quickly and his questions were high caliber," Owen remembers.

From that point, Carter's Atlanta headquarters were in frequent, at times daily, touch with the cadre of experts at Brookings. Owen joined Carter's foreign policy task force, as did Blechman and Bergsten.

"You must remember," Owen stressed, "that if Ronald Reagan walked through our door and asked our advice, we would provide it." He hasn't.

Inevitably, speculation has flowered over who would play what role in the top foreign policy ranks of a Carter administration, a guessing game which has grown in pertinence since Carter's Pennsylvania and Texas primary victories.

Carter's closest advisers in Atlanta discourage any such guessing games. "Things just haven't reached that stage yet," Eizenstadt insists.

But there is already a competitive scramble under way for position and for access to the candidate with an eye toward the next administration.

"Almost everybody sees himself playing some role," Brzezinski acknowledged. "But there are no clear pre-dispositions on his part. He is talking to many people."

One of Carter's chief foreign policy advisers in the

New York-Washington axis speaks half-jokingly of the three different status badges in the candidate's entourage of idea men—the Chosen, the Anointed and the Converted.

The first group includes the handful of friends who have supported his candidacy since 1972, such men as Bourne and some of his personal staff.

The second two categories divide roughly between those who rallied to his candidacy last year, such as Milton Katz, Harvard Law School director of international studies, Gardner and Brzezinski and the surge of supporters who got aboard after the New Hampshire primary.

Inside speculation for the top prize—Secretary of State—centers on Vance, the most senior of Carter's foreign policy advisers, in rank and experience, and on Brzezinski.

Beyond that the range of coveted positions thins out to fewer than 10—beyond which lurks the obscurity of the bureaucracy.

They are: national security adviser to the President, the job Kissinger turned into the pre-eminent position of influence in Nixon administration foreign policy; director of central intelligence; under secretary of state for political affairs, ambassador to the United Nations, and a small handful of top policy-making jobs in the Defense and the Treasury Departments.

Those in the Carter campaign who counsel against speculation on the candidate's choices point out that the campaign is young, the convention is still ahead, the Republican opponent is still uncertain.

And on many crucial issues of national policy the candidate's mind is still open.

"He was discussing his presidential candidacy with a group of American newsmen. There were hostile and sardonic questions. It struck me that here was an intelligent guy and a cool guy who could not be provoked. He also had a clear scheme for how he would proceed to the nomination," Brzezinski said.

Through the medium of the Trilateral Commission Carter extended his range of contacts in the foreign

APPENDIX C

Carter Gets an Ovation After Assuring Jews in Jersey on His Religious Views

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N. J., June 6—

Jimmy Carter was interrogated before an audience of Jews today about his evangelical Christian beliefs and expressed his belief in the "absolute and total" separation of church and state in a pluralistic society.

Whether his words will quell the disquiet expressed by some American Jews about his "born again" Southern Baptist religion remains to be seen, but the audience that heard him today greeted his words with loud applause and with a standing ovation when he left the hall.

The occasion was reminiscent of, although not nearly so heralded and formal as, the appearance by John F. Kennedy at Dallas in 1960 to calm fears about the prospect of a Roman Catholic President.

The former Georgia Governor, who holds a wide lead in the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination, appeared this morning before about 2,000 people at the Jewish Educational Institute in Elizabeth to give a formal and carefully prepared speech outlining his views on United States policy toward Israel and the Middle East.

Supports Israel

In that speech he expressed "unswerving" support for Israel's right to exist as a Jewish national state and called for "early movement" toward a full and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and a shift away from the step-by-step diplomacy practiced since 1973 by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

In a question period after the speech, a man in the audience said that journalists had written that "Jimmy Carter is identified with many members of his church who have a long history of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism." He then asked, "Do you think this applies to you and how do your beliefs and how do your feelings relate to many members of your church?"

Mr. Carter, who was wearing a blue velvet yarmulke, said: "One of the major problems that I have faced in this elec-

tion is because of my own religious beliefs. I am a Baptist. I am a deeply religious person, and particularly among Jewish voters this has been a cause of some concern. I think it is the kind of issue that should be addressed frankly."

The short, slender former Governor said that Baptists viewed their religion as "a very personal relationship between a person and God"—subject to no authority, even of the church itself.

'Worship Same God'

"I worship the same God you do," Mr. Carter said in his characteristically muted tone. "We study the same Bible you do."

"There are good Baptists and bad Baptists," he continued. "There are good Jews and bad Jews. There are good Catholics and bad Catholics. But the judgment of who's bad is one that is best left to God. I learned from my early years that you should not judge other people because while you look at the mote in your brother's eye, you should be more concerned about the beam that is in your own eye."

"I also believe that this is a country where anyone's own religious beliefs should not be a matter of prejudice or concern, and, of all the people in the world who should have the least prejudice because of another's religious faith, it should certainly be you."

He said that "another important tenet of my own Baptist faith is an absolute and total separation of church and state," which he said he believed in "very deeply."

Mr. Carter's closing words were punctuated with applause when he remarked that, when the United States offered early recognition to Israel in 1948, "the President of the United States in those days was Harry Truman, and Harry Truman was a Baptist."

In answers to other questions, Mr. Carter said he did not favor public financial support for religious instruction or for parochial schools, and he said that he supported the Supreme Court's decision on prayer in public schools. He said that, while he favored a major reform of income tax laws, he would "certainly not do any-

thing" to reduce tax deductions for charitable purposes, an issue important to many Jews.

On his formal speech, Mr. Carter said that "there is no doubt in my mind" that it would be carefully studied by the Soviet Union and Arab states because of "my present stature as a candidate for President of the United States."

He accused the Republican Administration of "an inconstant, vacillating position" on the Middle East.

"I favor early movement to a discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement," Mr. Carter said, adding that he believed that limited settlements "leave unresolved the underlying threat to Israel." He digressed from his written text at this point to say that he had discussed this "particular subject" last week with Golda Meir, the former Israeli Prime Minister.

Settlement in Stages

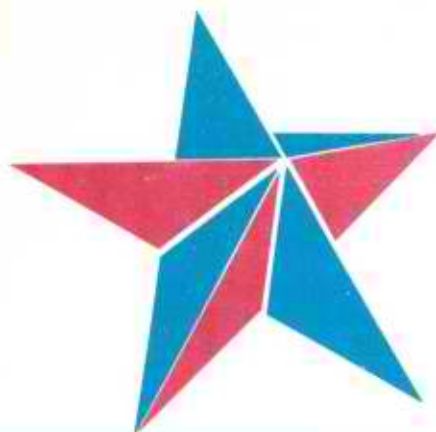
Mr. Carter called for major concessions by Arab states as part of a settlement, including face-to-face negotiations, diplomatic recognition and relations with Israel, a peace treaty, open frontiers in the Middle East and an end to embargoes directed against Israel.

Mr. Carter said that the "general" settlement would "probably have to be executed," or implemented, in stages over a period of time.

He said that the Palestinian refugees "have rights which must be recognized in any settlement," but added, "There can be no reward for terrorism."

He said he could not "accept the intervention" of combat forces of the Soviet Union into any future Arab-Israeli conflict.

The candidate later spoke at a black church, participated in broadcast interviews and flew this afternoon to Ohio, where he will end 16½ months of campaigning for delegates in a race that has seen him enter 30 of 31 primary elections, far more than any other politician in American history. Ohio, New Jersey and California vote on Tuesday, and Mr. Carter hopes to win in the first two states and gather a substantial number of delegates in the latter.



news release

SEPTEMBER 24, 1976

TRANSCRIPT

FORD - CARTER DEBATE

Attached is the transcript of the first of the "presidential" debates. This debate was telecast in the United States Thursday evening, September 23.

In an attempt to hurry this transcript to you on the eve of Rosh Hashana, we are reproducing the pages exactly as received via radio wireless receiver.

In a few days we hope to have video tapes of the debate. If you are interested in seeing the video tape of this first debate and the others to follow, please call the phone number listed below.

And may we wish you a happy, prosperous, and peaceful New Year.

Shana Tova !

UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE

Tel Aviv 71, Hayarkon Street, Tel. 54338 ext. 204 / 218

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(TEXT) THE FIRST FORD-CARTER TELEVISED DEBATE

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 24--THE FIRST TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN DEBATE BETWEEN REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT FORD AND DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE JIMMY CARTER TOOK PLACE SEPTEMBER 23 IN THE WALNUT STREET THEATER IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA. THE DURATION OF THE 90-MINUTE DEBATE WAS EXTENDED TO TWO HOURS OF BROADCAST TIME WHEN THE LOSS OF THE AUDIO SIGNAL FROM THE THEATER TEMPORARILY HELD UP THE PROGRAM.

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE DEBATE.

(BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

EDWIN NEWMAN: GOOD EVENING. I'M EDWIN NEWMAN, MODERATOR OF THIS FIRST DEBATE OF THE 1976 CAMPAIGN BETWEEN GERALD R. FORD OF MICHIGAN, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, AND JIMMY CARTER OF GEORGIA, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

WE THANK YOU, PRESIDENT FORD, AND WE THANK YOU, GOVERNOR CARTER, FOR BEING WITHONIGHT.

THERE ARE TO BE THREE DEBATES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND ONE BETWEEN THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. ALL ARE BEING ARRANGED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND. TONIGHT'S DEBATE, THE FIRST BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN 16 YEARS AND THE FIRST EVER IN WHICH AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT HAS PARTICIPATED, IS TAKING PLACE BEFORE AN AUDIENCE IN THE WALNUT STREET THEATER IN PHILADELPHIA, JUST THREE BLOCKS FROM INDEPENDENCE HALL. THE TELEVISION AUDIENCE MAY REACH 100 MILLION IN THE UNITED STATES, AND MANY MILLIONS OVERSEAS.

TONIGHT'S DEBATE FOCUSES ON DOMESTIC ISSUES AND ECONOMIC POLICY. QUESTIONS WILL BE PUT BY FRANK REYNOLDS OF ABC NEWS, JAMES GANNON OF THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, AND ELIZABETH DREW OF THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE.

(MORE)

UNDER THE AGREED RULES, THE FIRST QUESTION WILL GO TO GOVERNOR CARTER. THAT WAS DECIDED BY THE TOSS OF A COIN. HE WILL HAVE UP TO THREE MINUTES TO ANSWER. ONE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION WILL BE PERMITTED, WITH UP TO TWO MINUTES TO REPLY. PRESIDENT FORD WILL THEN HAVE TWO MINUTES TO RESPOND. THE NEXT QUESTION WILL GO TO PRESIDENT FORD, WITH THE SAME TIME ARRANGEMENTS, AND QUESTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE ALTERNATED BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES. EACH MAN WILL MAKE A THREE-MINUTE STATEMENT AT THE END, GOVERNOR CARTER TO GO FIRST. PRESIDENT FORD AND GOVERNOR CARTER DO NOT HAVE ANY NOTES OR PREPARED REMARKS WITH THEM THIS EVENING.

MR. REYNOLDS, YOUR QUESTION FOR GOVERNOR CARTER.

FRANK REYNOLDS: MR. PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ASSOCIATED PRESS LAST WEEK, YOU SAID YOU BELIEVED THESE DEBATES WOULD ALLEVIATE A LOT OF CONCERN THAT SOME VOTERS HAVE ABOUT YOU. WELL, ONE OF THOSE CONCERNS, NOT AN UNCOMMON ONE ABOUT THE CANDIDATES IN ANY YEAR, IS THAT MANY VOTERS SAY THEY DON'T REALLY KNOW WHERE YOU STAND.

NOW, YOU HAVE MADE JOBS YOUR NUMBER ONE PRIORITY, AND YOU HAVE SAID YOU ARE COMMITTED TO A DRASTIC REDUCTION IN UNEMPLOYMENT. CAN YOU SAY NOW, GOVERNOR, IN SPECIFIC TERMS, WHAT YOUR FIRST STEP WOULD BE NEXT JANUARY, IF YOU ARE ELECTED, TO ACHIEVE THAT?

GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER: YES. FIRST OF ALL IS TO RECOGNIZE THE TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THIS COUNTRY AND TO SET THE PUTTING BACK TO WORK OF OUR PEOPLE AS A TOP PRIORITY. THIS IS AN EFFORT THAT OUGHT TO BE DONE PRIMARILY BY STRONG

LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE INSPIRATION OF OUR PEOPLE, THE TAPPING OF BUSINESS, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS TO WORK ON THIS PROJECT.

WE'LL NEVER HAVE AN END TO THE INFLATIONARY SPIRAL AND WE'LL NEVER HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET UNTIL WE GET OUR PEOPLE BACK TO WORK.

THERE ARE SEVERAL THINGS THAT CAN BE DONE SPECIFICALLY THAT ARE NOT NOW BEING DONE.

FIRST OF ALL, TO CHANNEL RESEARCH-AND-DEVELOPMENT FUNDS INTO AREAS THAT WILL PROVIDE LARGE NUMBERS OF JOBS.

SECONDLY, WE NEED TO HAVE A COMMITMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO COOPERATE WITH GOVERNMENT IN MATTERS LIKE HOUSING. HERE A VERY SMALL INVESTMENT OF TAXPAYERS' MONEY IN THE HOUSING FIELD CAN BRING LARGE NUMBERS OF EXTRA JOBS -- IN THE GUARANTEE OF MORTGAGE LOANS, IN THE PUTTING FORWARD OF 202 PROGRAMS FOR HOUSING FOR OLDER PEOPLE AND SO FORTH -- TO CUT DOWN THE ROUGHLY 20 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT THAT NOW EXISTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY.

ANOTHER THING IS TO DEAL WITH OUR NEEDS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES, WHERE THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS EXTREMELY HIGH. SOMETIMES AMONG MINORITY GROUPS -- THOSE WHO DON'T SPEAK ENGLISH OR WHO ARE BLACK OR YOUNG PEOPLE -- 40 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT. HERE A CCC-TYPE PROGRAM WOULD BE APPROPRIATE, TO CHANNEL MONEY INTO THE -- INTO THE SHARING WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND ALSO LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS TO EMPLOY YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE OUT OF WORK.

ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR ECONOMY WOULD BE TO INCREASE PRODUCTION IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE, TO HOLD DOWN TAXES ON INDIVIDUALS AND TO SHIFT THE TAX BURDENS ONTO THOSE WHO HAVE AVOIDED PAYING TAXES IN THE PAST.

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THESE KINDS OF SPECIFIC THINGS, NONE OF WHICH ARE BEING DOWN NOW, WOULD BE A GREAT HELP IN REDUCING OUR UNEMPLOYMENT.

THERE'S AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE, AND COVERED VERY SUCCINCTLY, AND THAT IS TO MAKE SURE THAT WE HAVE A GOOD RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANAGEMENT, BUSINESS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND LABOR ON THE OTHER. IN A LOT OF PLACES WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT IS VERY HIGH, WE MIGHT CHANNEL SPECIFIC, TARGETED JOB OPPORTUNITIES BY PAYING PART OF THE SALARY OF UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE AND ALSO SHARING WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THE PAYMENT OF SALRIES, WHICH WOULD LET US CUT DOWN THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE MUCH LOWER BEFORE WE HIT THE INFLATIONARY LEVEL.

BUT I BELIEVE THAT BY THE END OF THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE NEXT TERM WE COULD HAVE THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DOWN TO THREE PERCENT ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT, WHICH IS ABOUT FOUR TO FOUR-AND-A-HALF PERCENT OVERALL, A CONTROLLED INFLATION RATE, AND HAVE A BALANCE OF GROWTH OF ABOUT FOUR TO SIX PERCENT, AROUND FIVE PERCENT, WHICH WOULD GIVE US A BALANCED BUDGET.

REYNOLDS: GOVERNOR, IN THE EVENT YOU ARE SUCCESSFUL AND YOU DO ACHIEVE A DRASTIC DROP IN UNEMPLOYMENT, THAT IS LIKELY TO CREATE ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON PRICES. HOW WILLING ARE YOU TO CONSIDER AN INCOMES POLICY? IN OTHER WORDS, WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, WE NOW HAVE SUCH A LOW UTILIZATION OF OUR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY -- ABOUT 73 PERCENT, I THINK IT'S ABOUT THE LOWEST SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION YEARS -- AND SUCH A HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE NOW -- 7.9 PERCENT -- THAT WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN GETTING PEOPLE TO WORK BEFORE WE HAVE THE INFLATIONARY PRESSURES. AND I THINK THIS WOULD BE EASY TO ACCOMPLISH, TO GET JOBS NOW,

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WITHOUT HAVING THE STRONG INFLATIONARY PRESSURES THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY.

I WOULD NOT FAVOR THE PAYMENT OF A GIVEN FIXED INCOME TO PEOPLE UNLESS THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO WORK. BUT WITH TAX INCENTIVES FOR THE LOW-INCOME GROUPS, WE COULD BUILD UP THEIR INCOME LEVELS ABOVE THE POVERTY LEVEL AND NOT MAKE WELFARE MORE PROFITABLE THAN WORK.

NEWMAN: MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR RESPONSE.

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT MR. CARTER'S BEEN ANY MORE SPECIFIC IN THIS CASE THAN HE HAS BEEN ON MANY OTHER INSTANCES. I NOTICED PARTICULARLY THAT HE DIDN'T ENDORSE THE HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL, WHICH HE HAS ON OCCASIONS, AND WHICH IS INCLUDED AS A PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM. THAT LEGISLATION ALLEGEDLY WOULD HELP OUR UNEMPLOYMENT, BUT WE ALL KNOW THAT IT WOULD HAVE CONTROLLED OUR ECONOMY, IT WOULD HAVE ADDED 10 TO 30 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS EACH YEAR IN ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURES BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD HAVE CALLED FOR EXPORT CONTROLS ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THE BEST WAY TO GET JOBS IS TO EXPAND THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHERE FIVE OUT OF SIX JOBS TODAY EXIST IN OUR ECONOMY. WE CAN DO THAT BY REDUCING FEDERAL TAXES, AS I PROPOSED ABOUT A YEAR AGO WHEN I CALLED FOR A TAX REDUCTION OF 28 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS, THREE-QUARTERS OF IT TO GO TO PRIVATE TAXPAYERS AND ONE-QUARTER TO THE BUSINESS SECTOR.

WE COULD ADD TO JOBS IN THE MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS BY A PROPOSAL THAT I RECOMMENDED THAT WOULD GIVE TAX INCENTIVES TO BUSINESS TO MOVE INTO THE INNER CITY TO EXPAND OR TO BUILD NEW PLANTS, SO THAT THEY WOULD TAKE A PLANT OR EXPAND A PLANT WHERE PEOPLE ARE AND PEOPLE ARE CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED.

WE COULD ALSO HELP OUR YOUTH WITH SOME OF THE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD GIVE TO YOUNG PEOPLE AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AND LEARN AT THE SAME TIME, JUST LIKE WE GIVE MONEY TO YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE GOING TO COLLEGE.

THOSE ARE THE KIND OF SPECIFICS THAT I THINK WE HAVE TO DISCUSS ON THESE DEBATES, AND THESE ARE THE KIND OF PROGRAMS THAT I'LL TALK ABOUT ON MY TIME.

NEWMAN: MR. GANNON, YOUR QUESTION TO PRESIDENT FORD.

JAMES GANNON: MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE FOR A MOMENT ON THIS QUESTION OF TAXES WHICH YOU HAVE JUST RAISED. YOU HAVE SAID THAT YOU FAVOR MORE TAX CUTS FOR MIDDLE-INCOME AMERICANS, EVEN THOSE EARNING UP TO 30,000 DOLLARS A YEAR. THAT, PRESUMABLY, WOULD COST THE TREASURY QUITE A BIT OF MONEY IN LOST REVENUE.

IN VIEW OF THE VERY LARGE BUDGET DEFICITS THAT YOU HAVE ACCUMULATED AND THAT ARE STILL IN PROSPECT, HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO PROMISE FURTHER TAX CUTS AND TO REACH YOUR GOAL OF BALANCING THE BUDGET?

PRESIDENT FORD: AT THE TIME, MR. GANNON, THAT I MADE THE RECOMMENDATION FOR A 28,000 MILLION DOLLAR TAX CUT, THREE-QUARTERS OF IT TO GO TO INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS AND 25 PERCENT TO AMERICAN BUSINESS, I SAID, AT THE SAME TIME, THAT WE HAD TO HOLD THE LID ON FEDERAL SPENDING, THAT FOR EVERY DOLLAR OF A TAX REDUCTION, WE HAD TO HAVE AN EQUAL REDUCTION IN FEDERAL EXPENDITURES, A ONE-FOR-ONE PROPOSITION. AND I RECOMMENDED THAT TO THE CONGRESS WITH A BUDGET CEILING OF 395,000 MILLION DOLLARS, AND THAT WOULD HAVE PERMITTED US TO HAVE A 28,000 MILLION DOLLAR TAX REDUCTION.

IN MY TAX REDUCTION PROGRAM FOR MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYERS, I RECOMMENDED THAT THE CONGRESS INCREASE PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS FROM 750 DOLLARS PER PERSON TO 1000 DOLLARS PER PERSON. THAT WOULD MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR, THAT THAT

FAMILY WOULD HAVE A THOUSAND DOLLARS MORE PERSONAL EXEMPTION, MONEY THAT THEY COULD SPEND FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES, MONEY THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULDN'T HAVE TO SPEND.

BUT IF WE KEEP THE LID ON FEDERAL SPENDING, WHICH I THINK WE CAN, WITH THE HELP OF THE CONGRESS, WE CAN JUSTIFY FULLY A 28,000 MILLION DOLLAR TAX REDUCTION.

IN THE BUDGET THAT I SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR, I RECOMMENDED A 50 PERCENT CUTBACK IN THE RATE OF GROWTH OF FEDERAL SPENDING.

FOR THE LAST 10 YEARS, THE BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES HAS GROWN FROM -- ABOUT 11 PERCENT PER YEAR. WE CAN'T AFFORD THAT KIND OF GROWTH IN FEDERAL SPENDING. AND IN THE BUDGET THAT I RECOMMENDED, WE CUT IT IN HALF, A GROWTH RATE OF 5 TO 5 1/2 PERCENT.

WITH THAT KIND OF LIMITATION ON FEDERAL SPENDING, WE CAN FULLY JUSTIFY THE TAX REDUCTIONS THAT I HAVE PROPOSED. AND IT SEEMS TO ME, WITH THE STIMULANT OF MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF THE TAXPAYER AND WITH MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF BUSINESS TO EXPAND, TO MODERNIZE, TO PROVIDE MORE JOBS, OUR ECONOMY WILL BE STIMULATED, SO THAT WE'LL GET MORE REVENUE AND WE'LL HAVE A MORE PROSPEROUS ECONOMY.

GANNON: MR. PRESIDENT, TO FOLLOW UP A MOMENT: THE CONGRESS HAS PASSED A TAX BILL, WHICH IS BEFORE YOU NOW, WHICH DID NOT MEET, EXACTLY, THE SORT OF OUTLINE THAT YOU REQUESTED. WHAT IS YOUR INTENTION ON THAT BILL, SINCE IT DOESN'T MEET YOUR REQUIREMENTS? DO YOU PLAN TO SIGN THAT BILL?

PRESIDENT FORD: THAT TAX BILL DOES NOT ENTIRELY MEET THE CRITERIA THAT I ESTABLISHED. I THINK THE CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE ADDED ANOTHER 10,000 MILLION DOLLARS REDUCTION IN PER-

SONAL INCOME TAXES, INCLUDING THE INCREASE OF PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS FROM 750 TO 1000 DOLLARS. AND CONGRESS COULD HAVE DONE THAT IF THE BUDGET COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS AND THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE HAD NOT INCREASED THE SPENDING THAT I RECOMMENDED IN THE BUDGET.

I'M SURE YOU KNOW THAT IN THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS THEY HAVE ADDED ABOUT 17,000 MILLION DOLLARS IN MORE SPENDING BY THE CONGRESS OVER THE BUDGET THAT I RECOMMENDED.

SO, I WOULD PREFER, IN THAT TAX BILL, TO HAVE AN ADDITIONAL TAX CUT AND A FURTHER LIMITATION ON FEDERAL SPENDING.

NOW, THIS TAX BILL HASN'T REACHED THE WHITE HOUSE YET, BUT IT IS EXPECTED IN A DAY OR TWO. IT IS ABOUT 1,500 HUNDRED PAGES IT HAS SOME GOOD PROVISIONS. IT HAS LEFT OUT SOME THAT I HAVE RECOMMENDED, UNFORTUNATELY. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN YOU HAVE A BILL OF THAT MAGNITUDE, WITH THOSE MANY PROVISIONS, A PRESIDENT HAS TO SIT AND DECIDE IF THERE'S MORE GOOD THAN BAD. AND FROM THE ANALYSIS THAT I'VE MADE SO FAR, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THAT TAX BILL DOES JUSTIFY MY SIGNATURE AND MY APPROVAL.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER, YOUR RESPONSE.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, MR. FORD IS CHANGING CONSIDERABLY HIS PREVIOUS PHILOSOPHY. THE PRESENT TAX STRUCTURE IS A DISGRACE TO THIS COUNTRY; IT'S JUST A WELFARE PROGRAM FOR THE RICH. AS A MATTER OF FACT, 25 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL TAX DEDUCTIONS GO FOR ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THE RICHEST PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. AND OVER 50 PERCENT OF THE TAX CREDITS GO FOR THE 14 PERCENT OF THE RICHEST PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY.

WHEN MR. FORD FIRST BECAME PRESIDENT, IN AUGUST OF 1974, THE FIRST THING HE DID, IN OCTOBER, WAS TO ASK FOR A 4,700 MILLION DOLLAR INCREASE IN TAXES ON OUR PEOPLE, IN THE MIDST OF THE HEAVIEST RECESSION SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE 1930'S.

IN JANUARY OF 1975, HE ASKED FOR A TAX CHANGE, A 5,600 MILLION DOLLAR INCREASE ON LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME PRIVATE

INDIVIDUALS, A 6,500 MILLION DOLLAR DECREASE ON THE CORPORATIONS AND THE SPECIAL INTERESTS.

IN DECEMBER OF 1975, HE VETOED THE ROUGHLY 18-TO-20,000 MILLION-DOLLAR TAX REDUCTION BILL THAT HAD BEEN PASSED BY THE CONGRESS. AND THEN HE CAME BACK LATER ON, IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR, AND HE DID ADVOCATE A 10,000 MILLION DOLLAR TAX REDUCTION, BUT IT WOULD BE OFFSET BY A 6,000 MILLION DOLLAR INCREASE THIS COMING JANUARY IN DEDUCTIONS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS AND FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.

THE WHOLE PHILOSOPHY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, INCLUDING MY OPPONENT, HAS BEEN TO PILE ON TAXES ON LOW-INCOME PEOPLE, TO TAKE THEM OFF ON THE CORPORATIONS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, SINCE THE LATE '60S, WHEN MR. NIXON TOOK OFFICE, WE'VE HAD A REDUCTION IN THE PERCENTAGE OF TAXES PAID BY CORPORATIONS FROM 30 PERCENT DOWN TO ABOUT 20 PERCENT. WE'VE HAD AN INCREASE IN TAXES PAID BY INDIVIDUALS, PAYROLL TAXES, FROM 14 PERCENT UP TO 20 PERCENT. AND THIS IS WHAT THE REPUBLICANS HAVE DONE TO US, AND THIS IS WHY TAX REFORM IS SO IMPORTANT.

NEWMAN: MRS. DREW, YOUR QUESTION TO GOVERNOR CARTER.

ELIZABETH DREW: GOVERNOR CARTER, YOU'VE PROPOSED A NUMBER OF NEW OR ENLARGED PROGRAMS, INCLUDING JOBS AND HEALTH, WELFARE REFORM, CHILD CARE, AID TO EDUCATION, AID TO CITIES, CHANGES IN SOCIAL SECURITY, AND HOUSING SUBSIDIES. YOU'VE ALSO SAID THAT YOU WANT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET BY THE END OF YOUR FIRST TERM.

NOW, YOU HAVEN'T PUT A PRICE TAG ON THOSE PROGRAMS, BUT EVEN IF WE PRICED THEM CONSERVATIVELY AND WE COUNT FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT BY THE END OF YOUR FIRST TERM, AND WE COUNT FOR THE ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT WOULD OCCUR DURING THAT PERIOD, THERE STILL ISN'T ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY FOR THOSE PROGRAMS AND BALANCE THE BUDGET, BY

ANY ESTIMATES THAT I'VE BEEN ABLE TO SEE.

SO, IN THAT CASE, WHAT WOULD GIVE?

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, AS A MATTER OF FACT, THERE IS. IF WE ASSUME THE -- A RATE OF GROWTH OF OUR ECONOMY EQUIVALENT TO WHAT IT WAS DURING PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY, EVEN BEFORE THE VIETNAMESE WAR, AND IF WE ASSUME THAT AT THE END OF THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD WE CAN CUT OUR UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DOWN TO FOUR TO FOUR-AND-A-HALF PERCENT; UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN ASSUMING NO ELIMINATION OF UNNECESSARY PROGRAMS AND ASSUMING AN INCREASE IN THE ALLOTMENT OF MONEY TO FINANCE PROGRAMS INCREASING AS THE INFLATION RATE DOES, MY ECONOMIC PROJECTIONS, I THINK CONFIRMED BY THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE COMMITTEES, HAVE BEEN WITH A 60,000 MILLION DOLLAR EXTRA AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT CAN BE SPENT IN FISCAL YEAR-'81, WHICH WILL BE THE LAST YEAR OF THIS NEXT TERM. AND WITHIN THAT 60,000 DOLLAR INCREASE THERE WOULD BE FIT THE PROGRAMS THAT I PROMISED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I MIGHT SAY, TOO, THAT IF WE SEE THAT THESE GOALS CAN NOT BE REACHED -- AND I BELIEVE THEY'RE REASONABLE GOALS -- THAT I WOULD CUT BACK ON THE RATE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE A BALANCED BUDGET BY FISCAL YEAR-'81, WHICH IS THE LAST YEAR OF THE NEXT TERM.

I BELIEVE THAT WE OUGHT TO HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET DURING NORMAL ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THESE PROJECTIONS HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFULLY MADE. I STAND BEHIND THEM. AND IF THEY SHOULD BE IN ERROR, SLIGHTLY ON THE DOWNSIDE, THEN I'LL PHASE IN THE PROGRAMS THAT WE'VE ADVOCATED MORE SLOWLY.

DREW: GOVERNOR, ACCORDING TO THE BUDGET COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS, THAT YOU REFERRED TO, IF WE GET TO FULL EMPLOYMENT, WHAT THEY PROJECT AT A 4 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND, AS

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YOU SAY, EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE INFLATION IN THE PROGRAMS, THERE WOULD NOT BE ANYTHING MORE THAN A SURPLUS OF 5,000 MILLION DOLLARS BY THE END OF -- BY 1981. AND CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATES OF YOUR PROGRAMS WOULD BE THAT THEY'D BE ABOUT 85,000 TO 100,000 MILLION DOLLARS.

SO, HOW DO YOU SEE THAT YOU'RE GOING TO BE ABLE TO DO THESE THINGS AND BALANCE THE BUDGET?

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, THE ASSUMPTION THAT YOU HAVE DESCRIBED AS DIFFERENT IS IN THE RATE OF GROWTH OF OUR ECONOMY.

DREW: NO, THEY TOOK THAT INTO ACCOUNT IN THOSE FIGURES.

GOVERNOR CARTER: I BELIEVE THAT IT'S ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THE COMMITTEES TO WHOM YOU REFER, WITH THE EMPLOYMENT RATE THAT YOU STATE AND WITH THE FIVE TO FIVE-AND-A-HALF PERCENT GROWTH RATE IN OUR ECONOMY, THAT THE PROJECTIONS WOULD BE A 60,000 MILLION DOLLARS INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT WE HAVE TO SPEND IN 1981, COMPARED TO NOW. AND WITH THAT--IN THAT FRAMEWORK WOULD BE FIT ANY IMPROVEMENTS IN THE PROGRAMS.

NOW, THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE ANY EXTRA CONTROL OVER UNNECESSARY SPENDING, THE WEEDING OUT OF OBSOLETE OR OBSOLESCENT PROGRAMS. WE'LL HAVE A SAFETY VERSION BUILT IN, WITH COMPLETE REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH I AM PLEDGED TO DO. THE PRESENT BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS A MESS. AND IF I'M ELECTED PRESIDENT, THAT'S GOING TO BE A TOP PRIORITY OF MINE, TO COMPLETELY REVISE THE STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MAKE IT ECONOMICAL, EFFICIENT, PURPOSEFUL, AND MANAGEABLE FOR A CHANGE

AND ALSO, I'M GOING TO INSTITUTE ZERO-BASE BUDGETING, WHICH I USED FOUR YEARS IN GEORGIA, WHICH ASSESSES EVERY PROGRAM EVERY YEAR AND ELIMINATES THOSE PROGRAMS THAT ARE OBSOLETE OR OBSOLESCENT.

BUT WITH THESE PROJECTIONS, WE WILL HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET BY FISCAL YEAR-1981, IF I'M ELECTED PRESIDENT, KEEP MY PROMISES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THIS IS PREDICTATED ON VERY MODEST BUT, I THINK, ACCURATE PROJECTIONS OF EMPLOYMENT INCREASES AND A GROWTH IN OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY EQUAL TO WHAT WAS EXPERIENCED UNDER KENNEDY, JOHNSON BEFORE THE VIETNAM WAR.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD.

PRESIDENT FORD: IF IT IS TRUE THAT THERE WILL BE A 60,000 MILLION DOLLAR SURPLUS BY FISCAL YEAR-1981, RATHER THAN SPEND THAT MONEY FOR ALL THE NEW PROGRAMS THAT GOVERNOR CARTER RECOMMENDS AND ENDORSES AND WHICH ARE INCLUDED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, I THINK THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER OUGHT TO GET AN ADDITIONAL TAX BREAK, A TAX REDUCTION OF THAT MAGNITUDE. I FEEL THAT THE TAXPAYERS ARE THE ONES THAT NEED THE RELIEF. I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD ADD ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE MAGNITUDE THAT GOVERNOR CARTER TALKS ABOUT.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT OUR TAX STRUCTURE TODAY HAS RATES THAT ARE TOO HIGH. BUT I AM VERY GLAD TO POINT OUT THAT SINCE 1969, DURING A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION, WE HAVE HAD 10 MILLION PEOPLE TAKEN OFF OF THE TAX ROLLS AT THE LOWER END OF THE TAXPAYER AREA. AND AT THE SAME TIME, ASSUMING THAT I SIGN THE TAX BILL THAT WAS MENTIONED BY MR. GANNON, WE WILL, IN THE LAST TWO TAX BILLS, HAVE INCREASED THE MINIMUM TAX ON ALL WEALTHY TAXPAYERS. AND I BELIEVE THAT BY ELIMINATING 10 MILLION TAXPAYERS IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS AND BY PUTTING A HEAVIER TAX BURDEN ON THOSE IN THE HIGHER TAX BRACKETS, PLUS THE OTHER ACTIONS THAT

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HAVE BEEN TAKEN, WE CAN GIVE TAXPAYERS ADEQUATE TAX RELIEF.

- NOW, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT AS WE LOOK AT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEES AND OUR OWN PROJECTIONS, THERE ISN'T GOING TO BE ANY 60,000 MILLION DOLLAR DIVIDEND. I HAVE HEARD OF THOSE DIVIDENDS IN THE PAST. IT ALWAYS HAPPENS. WE EXPECTED ONE AT THE TIME OF THE VIETNAM WAR. BUT IT WAS USED UP BEFORE WE EVER ENDED THE WAR, AND THE TAXPAYERS NEVER GOT THE ADEQUATE RELIEF THEY DESERVED.

NEWMAN: MR. REYNOLDS.

REYNOLDS: MR. PRESIDENT, WHEN YOU CAME INTO OFFICE, YOU SPOKE VERY ELOQUENTLY OF THE NEED FOR A TIME FOR HEALING. AND VERY EARLY IN YOUR ADMINISTRATION, YOU WENT OUT TO CHICAGO AND YOU ANNOUNCED, OR YOU PROPOSED, A PROGRAM OF CASE-BY-CASE PARDONS FOR DRAFT RESISTERS TO RESTORE THEM TO FULL CITIZENSHIP. SOME 14,000 YOUNG MEN TOOK ADVANTAGE OF YOUR OFFER, BUT ANOTHER 90,000 DID NOT.

IN GRANTING THE PARDON TO FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, SIR, PART OF YOUR RATIONALE WAS TO PUT WATERGATE BEHIND US, TO -- IF I MAY QUOTE YOU AGAIN -- TRULY END OUR LONG NATIONAL NIGHTMARE.

WHY DOES NOT THE SAME RATIONALE APPLY NOW, TODAY, IN OUR BICENTENNIAL YEAR, TO THE YOUNG MEN WHO RESISTED IN VIETNAM, AND MANY OF THEM STILL IN EXILE ABROAD?

PRESIDENT FORD: THE AMNESTY PROGRAM THAT I RECOMMENDED IN CHICAGO IN SEPTEMBER OF 1974 WOULD GIVE TO ALL DRAFT EVADERS AND MILITARY DESERTERS THE OPPORTUNITY TO EARN THEIR GOOD RECORD BACK. ABOUT 14 TO 15 THOUSAND DID TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THAT PROGRAM. WE GAVE THEM AMPLE TIME.

I AM AGAINST AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD PARDON OF DRAFT EVADERS OR MILITARY DESERTERS.

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NOW, IN THE CASE OF MR. NIXON, THE REASON THAT THE PARDON WAS GIVEN WAS THAT WHEN I TOOK OFFICE, THIS COUNTRY WAS IN A VERY, VERY DIVIDED CONDITION. THERE WAS HATRED, THERE WAS DIVISIVENESS; PEOPLE HAD LOST FAITH IN THEIR GOVERNMENT IN MANY, MANY RESPECTS. MR. NIXON RESIGNED, AND I BECAME PRESIDENT.

IT SEEMED TO ME THAT IF I WAS TO ADEQUATELY AND EFFECTIVELY HANDLE THE PROBLEMS OF HIGH INFLATION, A GROWING RECESSION, THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, STILL, IN VIETNAM, THAT I HAD TO GIVE A HUNDRED PERCENT OF MY TIME TO THOSE TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS.

MR. NIXON RESIGNED. THAT IS DISGRACE, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OUT OF 38 THAT EVER RESIGNED FROM PUBLIC OFFICE UNDER PRESSURE.

SO, WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE PENALTY THAT HE PAID AND WHEN YOU ANALYZE THE REQUIREMENTS THAT I HAD, TO SPEND ALL OF MY TIME WORKING ON THE ECONOMY, WHICH WAS IN TROUBLE, THAT I INHERITED, WORKING ON OUR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, WHICH WERE STILL PLAGUING US, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT MR. NIXON HAD BEEN PENALIZED ENOUGH BY HIS RESIGNATION IN DISGRACE, AND THE NEED AND NECESSITY FOR ME TO CONCENTRATE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY FULLY JUSTIFIED THE ACTION THAT I TOOK.

REYNOLDS: I TAKE IT, THEN, SIR, THAT YOU DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS--THAT YOU ARE GOING TO RECONSIDER AND THINK ABOUT THOSE 90,000 WHO ARE STILL ABROAD.

HAVE THEY NOT BEEN PENALIZED ENOUGH? MANY OF THEM HAVE BEEN THERE FOR YEARS.

PRESIDENT FORD: WELL, MR. CARTER HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD GIVE A BLANKET PARDON TO ALL DRAFT EVADERS. I DO NOT AGREE WITH THAT POINT OF VIEW.

I GAVE, IN SEPTEMBER OF 1974, AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL DRAFT EVADERS, ALL DESERTERS, TO COME IN VOLUNTARILY, CLEAR
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THEIR RECORDS BY EARNING AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESTORE THEIR GOOD CITIZENSHIP. I THINK WE GAVE THEM A GOOD OPPORTUNITY. I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD GO ANY FURTHER.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, I THINK IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR PRESIDENT FORD TO EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARDON OF PRESIDENT NIXON AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE WHO VIOLATED THE DRAFT LAWS.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, I DON'T ADVOCATE AMNESTY. I ADVOCATE PARDON. THERE'S A DIFFERENCE, IN MY OPINION, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULING OF THE SUPREME COURT AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEFINITION IN THE DICTIONARY.

AMNESTY MEANS THAT YOU--THAT WHAT YOU DID WAS RIGHT. PARDON MEANS THAT WHAT YOU DID, WHETHER IT'S RIGHT OR WRONG, YOU'RE FORGIVEN FOR IT. AND I DO ADVOCATE A PARDON FOR DRAFT EVADERS.

I THINK IT'S ACCURATE TO SAY THAT TWO YEARS AGO, WHEN MR. NIXON--MR. FORD PUT IN THIS AMNESTY, THAT THREE TIMES AS MANY DESERTERS WERE EXCUSED AS WERE THE ONES WHO EVADED THE DRAFT.

BUT I THINK THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO HEAL OUR COUNTRY, AFTER THE VIETNAM WAR. AND I THINK THAT WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IS NOT THE PARDON OR THE AMNESTY FOR THOSE WHO EVADED THE DRAFT, BUT WHETHER OR NOT OUR CRIME SYSTEM IS FAIR.

WE'VE GOT A SHARP DISTINCTION DRAWN BETWEEN WHITE-COLLAR CRIME. THE BIG SHOTS WHO ARE RICH, WHO ARE INFLUENTIAL VERY SELDOM GO TO JAIL. THOSE WHO ARE POOR AND WHO HAVE NO INFLUENCE QUITE OFTEN ARE THE ONES WHO ARE PUNISHED. AND THE WHOLE SUBJECT OF CRIME IS ONE THAT CONCERNS OUR PEOPLE VERY MUCH.

(MORE)

AND I BELIEVE THAT THE FAIRNESS OF IT IS WHAT -- IS A MAJOR PROBLEM THAT ADDRESSES OUR LEADER, AND THIS IS SOMETHING THAT HASN'T BEEN ADDRESSED ADEQUATELY BY THIS ADMINISTRATION.

BUT I HOPE TO HAVE A COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY ON MY SHOULDERS TO HELP BRING ABOUT A FAIR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AND ALSO TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE DIVISIVENESS THAT HAS OCCURRED IN OUR COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF THE VIETNAM WAR.

NEWMAN: MR. GANNON.

GANNON: GOVERNOR CARTER, YOU HAVE PROMISED A SWEEPING OVERHAUL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES; YOU SAY IT WOULD GO DOWN TO ABOUT 200 FROM SOME 1900. THAT SOUNDS, INDEED, LIKE A VERY DEEP CUT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BUT ISN'T IT A FACT THAT YOU'RE NOT REALLY TALKING ABOUT FEWER FEDERAL EMPLOYEES OR LESS GOVERNMENT SPENDING, BUT RATHER THAT YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT RESHAPING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, NOT MAKING IT SMALLER?

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, I'VE BEEN THROUGH THIS BEFORE, MR. GANNON, AS THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA. WHEN I TOOK OVER, WE HAD A BUREAUCRATIC MESS, LIKE WE HAVE IN WASHINGTON NOW. AND WE HAD 300 AGENCIES, DEPARTMENTS, BUREAUS, COMMISSIONS, SOME FULLY BUDGETED, SOME NOT, BUT ALL HAVING A RESPONSIBILITY TO CARRY OUT THAT WAS IN CONFLICT. AND WE CUT THOSE 300 AGENCIES AND SO FORTH DOWN SUBSTANTIALLY. WE ELIMINATED 278 OF THEM. WE SET UP A SIMPLE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT THAT COULD BE ADMINISTERED FAIRLY, AND IT WAS A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS. IT HASN'T BEEN UNDONE SINCE I WAS THERE. IT RESULTED, ALSO, IN AN ABILITY TO RESHAPE OUR COURT SYSTEM, OUR PRISON SYSTEM, OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM, OUR MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM, AND A CLEAR ASSIGNMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY, AND ALSO TO HAVE OUR PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN UNDERSTAND AND CONTROL OUR GOVERNMENT.

I INTEND TO DO THE SAME THING IF I'M ELECTED PRESIDENT. WHEN I GET TO WASHINGTON, COMING IN AS AN OUTSIDER, ONE OF THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES THAT I WILL HAVE ON MY SHOULDERS

(MORE)

IS A COMPLETE REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT.

WE NOW HAVE A GREATLY EXPANDED WHITE HOUSE STAFF. WHEN MR. NIXON WENT IN OFFICE, FOR INSTANCE, WE HAD THREE AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS SPENT ON THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS STAFF; THAT HAS ESCALATED NOW TO 16.5 MILLION DOLLARS, IN THE LAST REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. THIS NEEDS TO BE CHANGED. WE NEED TO PUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES BACK ON THE CABINET MEMBERS.

WE ALSO NEED TO HAVE A GREAT REDUCTION IN AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS. FOR INSTANCE, WE NOW HAVE IN THE HEALTH AREA 302 DIFFERENT PROGRAMS ADMINISTERED BY 11 MAJOR DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES, 60 OTHER ADVISORY COMMISSIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS. MEDICAID'S IN ONE AGENCY; MEDICARE'S IN A DIFFERENT ONE; THE CHECK ON THE QUALITY OF HEALTH CARE IS IN A DIFFERENT ONE. NONE OF THEM ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR HEALTH CARE ITSELF. THIS MAKES IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO HAVE A GOOD HEALTH PROGRAM.

WE HAVE JUST ADVOCATED THIS PAST WEEK A CONSOLIDATION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ENERGY. OUR COUNTRY NOW HAS NO COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAM--OR, POLICY. WE HAVE 20 DIFFERENT AGENCIES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRODUCTION, THE REGULATION, THE INFORMATION ABOUT ENERGY, THE CONSERVATION OF ENERGY SPREAD ALL OVER GOVERNMENT. THIS IS A GROSS WASTE OF MONEY.

SO, THOUGH, COMPETENT MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT, GIVING US A SIMPLE, EFFICIENT, PURPOSEFUL AND MANAGEABLE GOVERNMENT, WILL BE A GREAT STEP FORWARD. AND IF I'M ELECTED--AND I INTEND TO BE--THEN IT'S GOING TO BE DONE.

GANNON: WELL, I'D LIKE TO PRESS MY QUESTION ON THE NUMBER OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, WHETHER YOU WOULD REALLY PLAN TO REDUCE THE OVERALL NUMBER OR MERELY PUT THEM IN DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS AND RELABEL THEM. IN YOUR ENERGY

PLAN, YOU CONSOLIDATE A NUMBER OF AGENCIES INTO ONE, OR YOU WOULD; BUT DOES THAT REALLY CHANGE THE OVERALL...

GOVERNOR CARTER: I CAN'T SAY FOR SURE THAT WE WOULD HAVE FEWER FEDERAL EMPLOYEES WHEN I GO OUT OF OFFICE THAN WHEN I COME IN. IT TOOK ME ABOUT THREE YEARS TO COMPLETELY REORGANIZE THE GEORGIA GOVERNMENT. THE LAST YEAR I WAS IN OFFICE, OUR BUDGET WAS ACTUALLY LESS THAN IT WAS THE YEAR I WAS IN OFFICE, OUR BUDGET WAS ACTUALLY LESS THAN IT WAS THE YEAR BEFORE, WHICH SHOWED A GREAT IMPROVEMENT. ALSO, WE HAD A TWO PERCENT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER EMPLOYEES THE LAST YEAR. BUT IT WAS A TREMENDOUS SHIFT FROM ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS INTO THE DELIVERY OF SERVICES.

FOR INSTANCE, WE COMPLETELY REVISED OUR PRISON SYSTEM. WE ESTABLISHED 84 NEW MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT CENTERS, AND WE SHIFTED PEOPLE OUT OF ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS INTO THE FIELD TO DELIVER BETTER SERVICES. THE SAME THING WILL BE DONE AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL.

I ACCOMPLISHED THIS WITH SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN EMPLOYEES IN SOME DEPARTMENTS. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT, WE HAD--WE CUT BACK ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES. IN GIVING OUR PEOPLE BETTER MENTAL HEALTH CARE, WE INCREASED THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES. BUT THE EFFICIENCY OF IT, THE SIMPLICITY OF IT, THE ABILITY OF PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND CONTROL IT WAS A SUBSTANTIAL DERIVED FROM COMPLETE REORGANIZATION.

WE HAVE GOT TO DO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL. IF WE DON'T, THE BUREAUCRATIC MESS IS GOING TO CONTINUE. THERE'S NO WAY FOR OUR PEOPLE NOW TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS. THERE'S NO WAY TO GET THE ANSWER TO A QUESTION. WHEN YOU COME TO WASHINGTON TO TRY TO--AS A GOVERNOR,

(MORE)

TO TRY TO BEGIN A NEW PROGRAM FOR YOUR PEOPLE, LIKE THE TREATMENT OF DRUG ADDICTS, I FOUND THERE WERE 13 DIFFERENT FEDERAL AGENCIES THAT I HAD TO GO TO TO MANAGE THE DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAM. IN THE GEORGIA GOVERNMENT, WE ONLY HAD ONE AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR DRUG TREATMENT.

THIS IS THE KIND OF CHANGE THAT WOULD BE MADE, AND IT WOULD BE OF TREMENDOUS BENEFIT IN LONG-RANGE PLANNING, IN TIGHT BUDGETING, SAVING THE TAXPAYERS MONEY, MAKING THE GOVERNMENT MORE EFFICIENT, CUTTING DOWN ON BUREAUCRATIC WASTE, HAVING A CLEAR DELINEATION OF AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYEES, AND GIVING OUR PEOPLE A BETTER CHANCE TO UNDERSTAND AND CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD.

PRESIDENT FORD: I THINK THE RECORD SHOULD SHOW, MR. NEWMAN, THAT THE BUREAU OF CENSUS--AND WE CHECKED IT JUST YESTERDAY--INDICATES THAT IN THE FOUR YEARS THAT GOVERNOR CARTER WAS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA, EXPENDITURES BY THE GOVERNMENT WENT UP OVER 50 PERCENT. EMPLOYEES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN GEORGIA,

DURING HIS TERM OF OFFICE, WENT UP OVER 25 PERCENT. AND THE FIGURES ALSO SHOW THAT THE BONDED INDEBTEDNESS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA, DURING HIS GOVERNORSHIP, WENT UP OVER 20 PERCENT.

AND THERE WAS SOME VERY INTERESTING TESTIMONY GIVEN BY GOVERNOR CARTER'S SUCCESSOR, GOVERNOR BUSBEE, BEFORE A SENATE COMMITTEE A FEW MONTHS AGO ON HOW HE FOUND THE MEDICAID PROGRAM WHEN HE CAME INTO OFFICE, FOLLOWING GOVERNOR CARTER. HE TESTIFIED, AND THESE ARE HIS WORDS, THE PRESENT GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA: HE SAYS HE FOUND THE MEDICAID PROGRAM IN GEORGIA IN SHAMBLES.

NOW, LET ME TALK ABOUT WHAT WE'VE DONE IN THE WHITE HOUSE AS FAR AS FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ARE CONCERNED. THE FIRST ORDER THAT I ISSUED AFTER I BECAME PRESIDENT WAS TO CUT -- OR, ELIMINATE THE PROSPECTIVE 40,000 INCREASE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYEES THAT HAD BEEN SCHEDULED BY MY PREDECESSOR. AND IN THE TERM THAT I HAVE BEEN PRESIDENT, SOME TWO YEARS, WE HAVE REDUCED FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT BY 11,000.

IN THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF ITSELF, WHEN I BECAME PRESIDENT, WE HAD ROUGHLY 540 EMPLOYEES. WE NOW HAVE ABOUT 485 EMPLOYEES. SO WE MADE A RATHER SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES ON THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF WORKING FOR THE PRESIDENT.

SO, I THINK OUR RECORD OF CUTTING BACK EMPLOYEES, PLUS THE FAILURE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNOR'S PROGRAM TO ACTUALLY SAVE EMPLOYMENT IN GEORGIA, SHOWS WHICH IS THE BETTER PLAN.

NEWMAN: MRS. DREW.

DREW: MR. PRESIDENT, AT VAIL, AFTER THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, YOU ANNOUNCED THAT YOU WOULD NOW EMPHASIZE FIVE NEW AREAS, AND AMONG THOSE WERE JOBS AND HOUSING AND HEALTH AND IMPROVED RECREATIONAL FACILITIES FOR AMERICANS, AND YOU ALSO ADDED CRIME. YOU ALSO MENTIONED EDUCATION.

FOR TWO YEARS YOU'VE BEEN TELLING US THAT WE COULDN'T DO VERY MUCH IN THESE AREAS BECAUSE WE COULDN'T AFFORD IT, AND, IN FACT, WE DO HAVE A 50,000 MILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT NOW. IN REBUTTAL TO GOVERNOR CARTER A LITTLE BIT EARLIER YOU SAID THAT IF THERE WERE TO BE ANY SURPLUS IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS, YOU THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE TURNED BACK TO THE PEOPLE IN THE FORM OF TAX RELIEF.

SO, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO PAY FOR ANY NEW INITIATIVES IN THESE AREAS YOU ANNOUNCED AT VAIL YOU WERE GOING TO NOW STRESS?

PRESIDENT FORD: WELL, IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, AS I INDICATED BEFORE, WE HAD A VERY TOUGH TIME. WE WERE FACED

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WITH HEAVY INFLATION, OVER 12 PERCENT; WE WERE FACED WITH SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT. BUT IN THE LAST 24 MONTHS, WE HAVE TURNED THE ECONOMY AROUND AND WE'VE BROUGHT INFLATION DOWN TO UNDER 6 PERCENT, AND WE HAVE REDUCED THE -- WELL, WE HAVE EMPLOYMENT OF ABOUT FOUR MILLION IN THE LAST 17 MONTHS, TO THE POINT WHERE WE HAVE 88 MILLION PEOPLE WORKING IN AMERICA TODAY, THE MOST IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

THE NET RESULT IS WE ARE GOING TO HAVE SOME IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RECEIPTS, AND I THINK WE'LL HAVE SOME DECREASE IN OUR DISBURSEMENTS. WE EXPECT TO HAVE A LOWER DEFICIT IN FISCAL YEAR-1978.

WE FEEL THAT WITH THIS IMPROVEMENT IN THE ECONOMY, WE FEEL, WITH MORE RECEIPTS AND FEWER DISBURSEMENTS, WE CAN, IN A MODERATE WAY INCREASE, AS I RECOMMENDED, OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS A NEW PARKS PROGRAM THAT WOULD COST A BILLION-AND-A-HALF DOLLARS, DOUBLING OUR NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM.

WE HAVE RECOMMENDED THAT IN THE HOUSING PROGRAM WE CAN REDUCE DOWN PAYMENTS AND MODERATE MONTHLY PAYMENTS. BUT THAT DOESN'T COST ANY MORE AS FAR AS THE FEDERAL TREASURY IS CONCERNED.

WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN DO A BETTER JOB IN THE AREA OF CRIME, BUT THAT REQUIRES A TOUGHER SENTENCING: MANDATORY, CERTAIN PRISON SENTENCE FOR THOSE WHO VIOLATE OUR CRIMINAL LAWS. WE BELIEVE THAT YOU CAN REVISE THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL CODE, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN REVISED IN A GOOD MANY YEARS. THAT DOESN'T COST ANY MORE MONEY.

WE BELIEVE THAT YOU CAN DO SOMETHING MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH A MODERATE INCREASE IN MONEY IN THE DRUG ABUSE PROGRAM.

WE FEEL THAT IN EDUCATION WE CAN HAVE A SLIGHT INCREASE, NOT A MAJOR INCREASE. IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING THAT GOVERNOR CARTER HAS INDICATED THAT HE APPROVES OF A 30,000 MILLION DOLLAR EXPENDITURE BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS FAR AS EDUCATION IS CONCERNED. AT THE PRESENT TIME, WE'RE SPENDING
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ROUGHLY THREE BILLION, FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. I DON'T KNOW WHERE THAT MONEY WOULD COME FROM.

BUT AS WE LOOK AT THE QUALITY-OF-LIFE PROGRAMS -- JOBS, HEALTH, EDUCATION, CRIME, RECREATION -- WE FEEL THAT AS WE MOVE FORWARD WITH A HEALTHIER ECONOMY, WE CAN ABSORB THE SMALL NECESSARY COSTS THAT WILL BE REQUIRED.

DREW: BUT, SIR, IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS WOULD YOU TRY TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT, WOULD YOU SPEND MONEY FOR THESE PROGRAMS THAT YOU HAVE JUST OUTLINED, OR WOULD YOU, AS YOU SAID EARLIER, RETURN WHATEVER SURPLUS YOU GOT TO THE PEOPLE IN THE FORM OF TAX RELIEF?

PRESIDENT FORD: WE FEEL THAT WITH THE PROGRAMS THAT I HAVE RECOMMENDED, THE ADDITIONAL 10,000 MILLION DOLLAR TAX CUT, WITH THE MODERATE INCREASES IN THE QUALITY-OF-LIFE AREA, WE CAN STILL HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET, WHICH I WILL SUBMIT TO THE CONGRESS IN JANUARY OF 1978.

WE WON'T WAIT ONE YEAR OR TWO YEARS LONGER, AS GOVERNOR CARTER INDICATES. AS THE ECONOMY IMPROVES, AND IT IS IMPROVING -- OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT THIS YEAR WILL AVERAGE ABOUT A 6 PERCENT INCREASE OVER LAST YEAR; WE WILL HAVE A LOWER RATE OF INFLATION FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR THIS YEAR OF SOMETHING SLIGHTLY UNDER 6 PERCENT; WE HAVE A LITTLE EXTRA MONEY TO SPEND FOR THOSE QUALITY-OF-LIFE PROGRAMS, WHICH I THINK ARE NEEDED AND NECESSARY.

NOW, I CANNOT AND WOULD NOT ENDORSE THE KIND OF PROGRAM THAT GOVERNOR CARTER RECOMMENDS. HE ENDORSES THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, WHICH, AS I READ IT, CALLS FOR APPROXIMATELY 60 ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS. WE ESTIMATE THAT THOSE PROGRAMS WOULD ADD 100,000 MILLION DOLLARS MINIMUM, AND PROBABLY 200,000 MILLION DOLLAR MAXIMUM, EACH YEAR TO THE FEDERAL BUDGET. THOSE PROGRAMS YOU CANNOT AFFORD AND GIVE TAX RELIEF.

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WE FEEL THAT YOU CAN HOLD THE LINE AND RESTRAIN FEDERAL SPENDING, GIVE A TAX REDUCTION, AND STILL HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET BY 1978.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, MR. FORD TAKES THE SAME ATTITUDE THAT THE REPUBLICANS ALWAYS TAKE. IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS BEFORE AN ELECTION, THEY'RE ALWAYS FOR THE PROGRAMS THAT THEY FIGHT THE OTHER THREE-AND-A-HALF YEARS.

I REMEMBER WHEN HERBERT HOOVER WAS AGAINST JOBS FOR PEOPLE. I REMEMBER WHEN ALF LANDON WAS AGAINST SOCIAL SECURITY. AND LATER PRESIDENT NIXON, 16 YEARS AGO, WAS TELLING THE PUBLIC THAT JOHN KENNEDY'S PROPOSALS WOULD BANKRUPT THE COUNTRY AND WOULD DOUBLE THE COST.

THE BEST THING TO DO IS TO LOOK AT THE RECORD OF MR. FORD'S ADMINISTRATION, AND MR. NIXON'S BEFORE HIS. WE HAD LAST YEAR A 65,000 MILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT, THE LARGEST DEFICIT IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, MORE OF A DEFICIT SPENDING THAN WE HAD IN THE ENTIRE EIGHT-YEAR PERIOD UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY. WE'VE GOT 500,000 MORE AMERICANS OUT OF JOBS TODAY THAN WERE OUT OF WORK THREE MONTHS AGO. AND SINCE MR. FORD'S BEEN IN OFFICE, IN TWO YEARS, WE'VE HAD A 50 PERCENT INCREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT, FROM FIVE MILLION PEOPLE OUT OF WORK TO TWO-AND-A-HALF MILLION MORE PEOPLE OUT OF WORK, TOTAL OF SEVEN-AND-A-HALF MILLION.

WE'VE ALSO GOT A COMPARISON BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MR. NIXON. HE'S GOT FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF THE DEFICITS THAT MR. NIXON EVEN HAD HIMSELF.

THIS TALKING ABOUT MORE PEOPLE AT WORK IS DISTORTED, BECAUSE WITH A 14 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE COST OF LIVING IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, IT MEANS THAT WOMEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE HAD TO GO TO WORK, WHEN THEY DIDN'T WANT TO, BECAUSE THEIR

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FATHERS COULDN'T MAKE ENOUGH TO PAY THE INCREASED COST OF FOOD AND HOUSING AND CLOTHING.

WE HAVE IN THIS LAST TWO YEARS ALONE 120,000 MILLION DOLLARS TOTAL DEFICITS UNDER PRESIDENT FORD. AND AT THE SAME TIME, WE'VE HAD, IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS, A DOUBLING OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES FOR SMALL BUSINESS, WE'VE HAD A NEGATIVE GROWTH IN OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY, MEASURED IN REAL DOLLARS; THE TAKE-HOME PAY OF A WORKER IN THIS COUNTRY IS ACTUALLY LESS NOW THAN IT WAS IN 1968, MEASURED IN REAL DOLLARS.

THIS IS A KIND OF RECORD THAT'S THERE. AND TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE AND A DRASTIC CHANGE OR CONVERSION ON THE PART OF MR. FORD AT THE LAST MINUTE IS ONE THAT JUST DOESN'T GO.

NEWMAN: MR. REYNOLDS.

REYNOLDS: GOVERNOR CARTER, I'D LIKE TO TURN TO WHAT WE USED TO CALL THE ENERGY CRISIS.

YESTERDAY A BRITISH GOVERNMENT COMMISSION ON AIR POLLUTION, BUT ONE HEADED BY A NUCLEAR PHYSICIST, RECOMMENDED THAT ANY FURTHER EXPANSION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY BE DELAYED IN BRITAIN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

NOW, THIS IS A SUBJECT THAT IS QUITE CONTROVERSIAL AMONG OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND THERE SEEMS TO BE A CLEAR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YOU AND THE PRESIDENT ON THE USE OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS, WHICH YOU SAY YOU WOULD USE AS A LAST PRIORITY,

WHY, SIR? ARE THEY UNSAFE?

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, AMONG MY OTHER EXPERIENCES IN THE PAST, I'VE BEEN A NUCLEAR ENGINEER AND DID GRADUATE WORK IN THIS FIELD. I THINK I KNOW THE CAPABILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF ATOMIC POWER.

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BUT THE ENERGY POLICY OF OUR NATION IS ONE THAT HAS NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED, UNDER THIS ADMINISTRATION. I THINK ALMOST EVERY OTHER DEVELOPED NATION IN THE WORLD HAS AN ENERGY POLICY, EXCEPT US. WE HAVE SEEN THE FEDERAL ENERGY AGENCY ESTABLISHED,

FOR INSTANCE, IN THE CRISIS OF 1973. IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A TEMPORARY AGENCY; NOW IT'S PERMANENT, IT'S ENORMOUS, IT'S GROWING EVERY DAY. AND I THINK THE WALL STREET JOURNAL REPORTED NOT TOO LONG AGO THEY HAVE 112 PUBLIC INSTANCES, IN THE CRISIS OF (LINE GARBLED) RELATIONS EXPERTS WORKING FOR THE FEDERAL ENERGY AGENCY TO TRY TO JUSTIFY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ITS OWN EXISTENCE.

(GARBLED) TO HAVE A FIRM WAY TO HANDLE THE ENERGY QUESTION. THE REORGANIZATION PROPOSAL THAT I PUT FORWARD IS ONE FIRST STEP.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, WE NEED TO HAVE A REALIZATION THAT WE'VE GOT ABOUT (GARBLED) WORTH OF OIL LEFT IN THE WHOLE WORLD. WE'RE GOING TO RUN OUT OF OIL. WHEN MR. NIXON MADE HIS FAMOUS SPEECH ON OPERATION INDEPENDENCE, WE WERE IMPORTING ABOUT 35 PERCENT OF OUR OIL. NOW WE'VE INCREASED THAT AMOUNT 25 PERCENT. WE NOW IMPORT ABOUT 44 PERCENT OF OUR OIL.

WE NEED TO SHIFT FROM OIL TO COAL. WE NEED TO CONCENTRATE OUR RESEARCH-AND-DEVELOPMENT EFFORT ON COAL BURNING AND EXTRACTION THAT'S SAFE FOR MINERS, BUT ALSO IS CLEAN-BURNING.

WE NEED TO SHIFT VERY STRONGLY TOWARD SOLAR ENERGY AND HAVE STRICT CONSERVATION MEASURES.

AND THEN, AS A LAST RESORT ONLY, CONTINUE TO USE ATOMIC POWER. I WOULD CERTAINLY NOT CUT OUT ATOMIC POWER ALTOGETHER. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO GIVE UP THAT OPPORTUNITY UNTIL LATER. BUT TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CONTINUE TO USE ATOMIC POWER, I WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE, AS PRESIDENT, TO MAKE SURE THAT THE SAFETY PRECAUTIONS WERE INITIATED AND MAINTAINED. FOR INSTANCE, SOME

THAT HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN. WE NEED TO HAVE THE REACTOR CORE BELOW GROUND LEVEL, THE ENTIRE POWER PLANT THAT USES ATOMIC POWER TIGHTLY SEALED AND A HEAVY VACUUM MAINTAINED. THERE OUGHT TO BE A STANDARDIZED DESIGN. THERE OUGHT TO BE A FULLTIME ATOMIC ENERGY SPECIALIST, INDEPENDENT OF THE POWER COMPANY, IN THE CONTROL ROOM FULLTIME, 24 HOURS A DAY, TO SHUT DOWN THE PLANT IF AN ABNORMALITY DEVELOPS. THESE KINDS OF PROCEDURES, ALONG WITH EVACUATION PROCEDURES, ADEQUATE INSURANCE, OUGHT TO BE INITIATED.

SO, SHIFT FROM OIL TO COAL, EMPHASIZE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ON COAL USE, AND ALSO ON SOLAR POWER, STRICT CONSERVATION MEASURES, NOT YIELD EVERY TIME THAT A SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP PUTS PRESSURE ON THE PRESIDENT, LIKE THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE, AND USE ATOMIC ENERGY ONLY AS A LAST RESORT, WITH THE STRICTEST POSSIBLE SAFETY PRECAUTIONS.

THAT'S THE BEST OVERALL ENERGY POLICY, IN THE BRIEF TIME WE HAVE TO DISCUSS IT.

REYNOLDS: WELL, GOVERNOR, ON THAT SAME SUBJECT, WOULD YOU REQUIRE MANDATORY CONSERVATION EFFORTS TO TRY TO CONSERVE FUEL?

GOVERNOR CARTER: YES, I WOULD. SOME OF THE THINGS THAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT THIS IS A CHANGE IN THE RATE STRUCTURE OF ELECTRIC POWER COMPANIES. WE NOW ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO WASTE ELECTRICITY BY GIVING THE LOWEST RATE TO THE BIGGEST USERS. WE DON'T DO ANYTHING TO CUT DOWN ON PEAK-LOAD REQUIREMENTS. WE DON'T HAVE AN ADEQUATE REQUIREMENT FOR THE INSULATION OF HOMES, FOR THE EFFICIENCY OF AUTOMOBILES. AND WHENEVER THE AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS COME FORWARD AND SAY THEY CAN'T MEET THE LIMITS THAT THE CONGRESS HAS PUT FORWARD, THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS DELAYED THE IMPLEMENTATION DATES.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, WE OUGHT TO HAVE A SHIFT TO THE

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USE COAL IS, PARTICULARLY IN THE APPALACHIAN REGIONS, WHERE THE COAL IS LOCATED -- A LOT OF VERY HIGH QUALITY LOW-CARBON COAL -- I MEAN LOW-SULFUR COAL -- IS THERE. IT'S WHERE OUR EMPLOYMENT IS NEEDED. THIS WOULD HELP A GREAT DEAL.

SO, MANDATORY CONSERVATION MEASURES, YES. ENCOURAGEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT FOR PEOPLE TO VOLUNTARILY CONSERVE, YES. AND ALSO THE PRIVATE SECTOR OUGHT TO BE ENCOURAGED TO BRING FORWARD TO THE PUBLIC THE BENEFITS FROM EFFICIENCY. ONE BANK IN WASHINGTON, FOR INSTANCE, GIVES LOWER-INTEREST LOANS FOR PEOPLE WHO ADEQUATELY INSULATE THEIR HOMES OR WHO BUY EFFICIENT AUTOMOBILES. AND SOME MAJOR MANUFACTURING COMPANIES, LIKE DOW CHEMICAL, HAVE, THROUGH VERY EFFECTIVE EFFICIENCY MECHANISMS, CUT DOWN THE USE OF ENERGY BY AS MUCH AS 40 PERCENT WITH THE SAME OUT-PRODUCT.

THESE KINDS OF THINGS OUGHT TO BE DONE, THEY OUGHT TO BE ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED, AND EVEN REQUIRED, BY THE GOVERNMENT, YES.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD.

PRESIDENT FORD: GOVERNOR CARTER SKIMS OVER A VERY SERIOUS AND A VERY BROAD SUBJECT. IN JANUARY OF 1975, I SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAM RECOMMENDED BY ANY PRESIDENT. IT CALLED FOR AN INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTION OF ENERGY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT CALLED FOR CONSERVATION MEASURES SO THAT WE WOULD SAVE THE ENERGY THAT WE HAVE.

IF YOU'RE GOING TO INCREASE DOMESTIC OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION -- AND WE HAVE TO -- YOU HAVE TO GIVE TO THOSE PRODUCERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP THEIR LAND OR THEIR WELLS.

I RECOMMENDED TO THE CONGRESS THAT WE SHOULD INCREASE COAL PRODUCTION IN THIS COUNTRY FROM 600 MILLION TONS A YEAR TO 1,000 MILLION, 200 MILLION TONS BY 1985. IN ORDER TO DO THAT,

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WE HAVE TO IMPROVE OUR EXTRACTION OF COAL FROM THE GROUND, WE HAVE TO IMPROVE OUR UTILIZATION OF COAL, MAKE IT MORE EFFICIENT, MAKE IT CLEANER. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE TO EXPAND OUR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

IN MY PROGRAM FOR ENERGY INDEPENDENCE, WE HAVE INCREASED, FOR EXAMPLE, SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH FROM ABOUT 84 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR TO ABOUT 120 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. WE'RE GOING AS FAST AS THE EXPERTS SAY WE SHOULD.

IN NUCLEAR POWER, WE HAVE INCREASED THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, UNDER THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY, VERY SUBSTANTIALLY TO INSURE THAT OUR NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS ARE SAFER, THAT THEY ARE MORE EFFICIENT, AND THAT WE HAVE ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS.

I THINK YOU HAVE TO HAVE GREATER OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION, MORE COAL PRODUCTION, MORE NUCLEAR PRODUCTION. AND IN ADDITION, YOU HAVE TO HAVE ENERGY CONSERVATION.

NEWMAN: MR. GANNON.

GANNON: MR. PRESIDENT, I'D LIKE TO RETURN FOR A MOMENT TO THIS PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT. YOU HAVE VETOED OR THREATENED TO VETO A NUMBER OF JOBS BILLS PASSED OR IN THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED CONGRESS. YET, AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOVERNMENT IS PAYING OUT -- I THINK IT IS 17,000 MILLION PERHAPS 20,000 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION CAUSED BY THE HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT.

WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS BETTER TO PAY OUT UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION TO IDLE PEOPLE THAN TO PUT THEM TO WORK IN PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS?

PRESIDENT FORD: THE BILLS THAT I'VE VETOED -- THE ONE FOR AN ADDITIONAL 6,000 MILLION DOLLARS, WAS NOT A BILL THAT WOULD HAVE SOLVED OUR UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS. EVEN THE PROPONENTS OF IT ADMITTED THAT NO MORE THAN 400,000 JOBS

(MORE)

WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE. OUR ANALYSIS INDICATES THAT SOMETHING IN THE MAGNITUDE OF ABOUT 150 TO 200 THOUSAND JOBS WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE. EACH ONE OF THOSE JOBS WOULD HAVE COST THE TAXPAYER 25,000 DOLLARS. IN ADDITION, THE JOBS WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE RIGHT NOW; THEY WOULD NOT HAVE MATERIALIZED FOR ABOUT 9 TO 18 MONTHS.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WE HAVE IS TO STIMULATE OUR ECONOMY NOW, SO THAT WE CAN GET RID OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS TO HOLD THE LID ON SPENDING, IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE THE RATE OF INFLATION. AND WE HAVE PROVEN, I THINK VERY CONCLUSIVELY, THAT YOU CAN REDUCE THE RATE OF INFLATION AND INCREASE JOBS. FOR EXAMPLE, AS I HAVE SAID, WE HAVE ADDED SOME FOUR MILLION JOBS IN THE LAST 17 MONTHS. WE HAVE NOW EMPLOYED 88 MILLION PEOPLE IN AMERICA, THE LARGEST NUMBER IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE'VE ADDED 500,000 JOBS IN THE LAST TWO MONTHS.

INFLATION IS THE QUICKEST WAY TO DESTROY JOBS. AND BY HOLDING THE LID ON FEDERAL SPENDING, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO A GOOD JOB, AN AFFIRMATIVE JOB IN INFLATION; AND AS A RESULT, HAVE ADDED TO THE JOBS IN THIS COUNTRY.

I THINK IT'S ALSO APPROPRIATE TO POINT OUT THAT THROUGH OUR TAX POLICIES WE HAVE STIMULATED ADDED EMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY: THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT, THE TAX INCENTIVES FOR EXPANSION AND MODERNIZATION OF OUR INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY.

IT'S MY OPINION THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHERE FIVE OUT OF THE SIX JOBS ARE, WHERE YOU HAVE PERMANENT JOBS WITH THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ADVANCEMENT, IS A BETTER PLACE THAN MAKE-WORK JOBS UNDER THE PROGRAM RECOMMENDED BY THE CONGRESS.

GANNON: JUST TO FOLLOW UP, MR. PRESIDENT: THE CONGRESS HAS JUST PASSED A 3,700 MILLION DOLLAR APPROPRIATION BILL

WHICH WOULD PROVIDE MONEY FOR THE PUBLIC WORKS JOBS PROGRAM THAT YOU EARLIER TRIED TO KILL BY YOUR VETO OF THE AUTHORIZATION LEGISLATION.

IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT UNEMPLOYMENT AGAIN IS RISING, OR HAS IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS, I WONDER IF YOU HAVE RETHOUGHT THAT QUESTION AT ALL, WHETHER YOU WOULD CONSIDER ALLOWING THIS PROGRAM TO BE FUNDED; OR WILL YOU VETO THAT MONEY BILL?

PRESIDENT FORD: WELL, THAT BILL HAS NOT YET COME DOWN TO THE OVAL OFFICE, SO I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE ANY JUDGMENT ON IT TONIGHT. BUT THAT IS AN EXTRA 4,000 MILLION DOLLARS THAT WOULD ADD TO THE DEFICIT, WHICH WOULD ADD TO THE INFLATIONARY PRESSURE, WHICH WOULD HELP TO DESTROY JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, NOT MAKE JOBS WHERE THE JOBS REALLY ARE.

THESE MAKE-WORK TEMPORARY JOBS, DEAD-END AS THEY ARE, ARE NOT THE KIND OF JOBS THAT WE WANT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

I THINK IT'S INTERESTING TO POINT OUT THAT IN THE TWO YEARS THAT I'VE BEEN PRESIDENT, I'VE VETOED 56 BILLS. CONGRESS HAS SUSTAINED 42 VETOES. AS A RESULT, WE HAVE SAVED OVER 9,000 MILLION DOLLARS IN FEDERAL EXPENDITURES. AND THE CONGRESS, BY OVERRIDING THE BILLS THAT I DID VETO, THE CONGRESS HAS ADDED SOME 13,000 MILLION DOLLARS TO THE FEDERAL EXPENDITURES AND TO THE FEDERAL DEFICIT.

NOW, GOVERNOR CARTER COMPLAINS ABOUT THE DEFICITS THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS HAD, AND YET HE CONDEMNS THE VETOES THAT I HAVE MADE THAT HAVE SAVED THE TAXPAYER 9,000 MILLION DOLLARS AND COULD HAVE SAVED AN ADDITIONAL 13,000 MILLION DOLLARS. NOW, HE CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS. AND THEREFORE IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE SHOULD HOLD THE LID, AS WE HAVE TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY, SO WE CAN STIMULATE THE PRIVATE ECONOMY AND GET THE JOBS WHERE THE JOBS ARE, FIVE OUT OF SIX, IN THIS ECONOMY.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, MR. FORD DOESN'T SEEM TO PUT INTO PERSPECTIVE THE FACT THAT WHEN 500,000 MORE PEOPLE ARE OUT OF WORK THAN THERE WERE THREE MONTHS AGO, WHERE WE HAVE 2 1/2 MILLION MORE PEOPLE OUT OF WORK THAN THERE WERE WHEN HE TOOK OFFICE, THAT THIS TOUCHES HUMAN BEINGS.

I WAS IN A CITY IN PENNSYLVANIA NOT TOO LONG AGO, NEAR HERE, AND THERE WERE ABOUT FOUR OR FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE IN THE AUDIENCE. IT WAS ON THE TRAIN TRIP. AND I SAID, "HOW MANY ADULTS HERE ARE OUT OF WORK?" ABOUT A THOUSAND RAISED THEIR HANDS.

MR. FORD ACTUALLY HAS FEWER PEOPLE NOW IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN NON-FARM JOBS THAN WHEN HE TOOK OFFICE, AND STILL HE TALKS ABOUT A SUCCESS. SEVEN POINT NINE PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT IS A TERRIBLE TRAGEDY IN THIS COUNTRY.

HE SAYS HE'S LEARNED HOW TO MATCH UNEMPLOYMENT WITH INFLATION. THAT'S RIGHT. WE'VE GOT THE HIGHEST INFLATION WE'VE HAD IN 25 YEARS RIGHT NOW, EXCEPT -- UNDER THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT WAS 50 YEARS AGO. AND WE'VE GOT THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT WE'VE HAD, UNDER MR. FORD'S ADMINISTRATION, SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

THIS AFFECTS HUMAN BEINGS. AND HIS INSENSITIVITY IN PROVIDING THOSE PEOPLE A CHANCE TO WORK HAS MADE THIS A WELFARE ADMINISTRATION, AND NOT A WORK ADMINISTRATION. HE HASN'T SAVED 9,000 MILLION DOLLARS WITH HIS VETOES. THERE'S ONLY BEEN A NET SAVING OF 4,000 MILLION DOLLARS. AND THE COST IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION, WELFARE COMPENSATION, AND LOST REVENUES HAS LOST 23,000 MILLION DOLLARS IN THE LAST TWO YEARS.

THIS IS A TYPICAL ATTITUDE THAT REALLY CAUSES HAVOC IN PEOPLE'S LIVES, AND THEN IT'S COVERED OVER BY SAYING THAT OUR

COUNTRY HAS NATURALLY GOT A 6 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, OR A 7 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AND A 6 PERCENT INFLATION. IT'S A TRAVESTY THAT SHOWS A LACK OF LEADERSHIP.

AND WE'VE NEVER HAD A PRESIDENT SINCE THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES THAT VETOED MORE BILLS. MR. FORD HAS VETOED FOUR TIMES AS MANY BILLS AS MR. NIXON, PER YEAR; AND 11 OF THEM HAVE BEEN OVERRIDDEN. ONE OF HIS BILLS THAT WAS OVERRIDDEN, HE ONLY GOT ONE VOTE IN THE SENATE AND SEVEN VOTES IN THE HOUSE FROM REPUBLICANS.

SO THIS SHOWS A BREAKDOWN IN LEADERSHIP.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER, UNDER THE RULES, I MUST STOP YOU THERE.

MRS. DREW.

DREW: GOVERNOR CARTER, I'D LIKE TO COME BACK TO THE SUBJECT OF TAXES. YOU HAVE SAID THAT YOU WANTED TO CUT TAXES FOR THE MIDDLE- AND LOWER-INCOME GROUPS. BUT UNLESS YOU'RE WILLING TO DO SUCH THINGS AS REDUCE THE ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS FOR CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS, OR HOME MORTGAGE PAYMENTS, OR INTEREST OR TAXES OR CAPITAL GAINS, YOU CAN'T REALLY RAISE SUFFICIENT REVENUE TO PROVIDE AN OVERALL TAX CUT OF ANY SIZE.

SO, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO PROVIDE THAT TAX RELIEF THAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT?

GOVERNOR CARTER: NOW WE HAVE SUCH A GROSSLY UNBALANCED TAX SYSTEM, AS I SAID EARLIER, THAT IT IS A DISGRACE. OF ALL THE TAX BENEFITS NOW, 25 PERCENT OF THEM GO TO THE ONE PERCENT OF THE RICHEST PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. OVER 50 PERCENT -- 53, TO BE EXACT, PERCENT OF THE TAX BENEFITS GO TO THE 14 PERCENT RICHEST PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. AND WE'VE HAD A 50 PERCENT INCREASE IN PAYROLL DEDUCTIONS SINCE

(MORE)

MR. NIXON WENT INTO OFFICE EIGHT YEARS AGO.

MR. FORD HAS ADVOCATED, SINCE HE'S BEEN IN OFFICE, OVER 5,000 MILLION DOLLARS IN REDUCTIONS FOR CORPORATIONS, SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS, AND THE VERY, VERY WEALTHY WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME NOT FROM LABOR, BUT FROM INVESTMENTS. THAT'S GOT TO BE CHANGED.

A FEW THINGS THAT CAN BE DONE: WE HAVE NOW A DEFERRAL SYSTEM SO THAT THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, WHO INVEST OVERSEAS, IF THEY MAKE A MILLION DOLLARS IN PROFITS OVERSEAS, THEY DON'T HAVE TO PAY ANY OF THEIR TAXES UNLESS THEY BRING THE MONEY BACK INTO THIS COUNTRY. WHEN THEY DON'T PAY THEIR TAXES, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN PAYS THEIR TAXES FOR THEM. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT IT ROBS THIS COUNTRY OF JOBS; BECAUSE INSTEAD OF COMING BACK WITH THAT MILLION DOLLARS AND CREATING A SHOE FACTORY, SAY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE OR VERMONT, IF THE COMPANY TAKES THE MONEY DOWN TO ITALY AND BUILDS A SHOE FACTORY, THEY DON'T HAVE TO PAY ANY TAXES ON THE MONEY.

ANOTHER THING IS A SYSTEM CALLED DISC, WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED, AND PROPOSED BY MR. NIXON, TO ENCOURAGE EXPORTS. THIS PERMITS A COMPANY TO CREATE A DUMMY CORPORATION TO EXPORT THEIR PRODUCTS, AND THEN NOT TO PAY THE FULL AMOUNT OF TAXES ON THEM. THIS COSTS OUR GOVERNMENT ABOUT 1,400 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. AND WHEN THOSE RICH CORPORATIONS DON'T PAY THAT TAX, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TAXPAYER PAYS IT FOR THEM.

ANOTHER ONE THAT'S VERY IMPORTANT IS THE BUSINESS DEDUCTIONS: JET AIRPLANES, FIRST CLASS TRAVEL, THE 50 DOLLAR MARTINI LUNCH. THE AVERAGE WORKING PERSON CAN'T -- CAN'T TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THAT, BUT THE WEALTHIER PEOPLE CAN.

ANOTHER SYSTEM IS WHERE A DENTIST CAN INVEST MONEY IN, SAY, RAISING CATTLE AND CAN PUT IN 100,000 DOLLARS OF HIS OWN MONEY, BORROW 900,000 DOLLARS -- 900,000 DOLLARS -- THAT MAKES A MILLION, AND MARK OFF A GREAT AMOUNT OF LOSS THROUGH THAT PROCEDURE. THERE WAS ONE EXAMPLE, FOR INSTANCE,

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WHERE SOMEBODY PRODUCED PORNOGRAPHIC MOVIES; THEY PUT IN 30,000 DOLLARS OF THEIR OWN MONEY AND GOT 120,000 DOLLARS IN TAX SAVINGS.

WELL, THESE SPECIAL KINDS OF PROGRAMS HAVE ROBBED THE AVERAGE TAXPAYER AND HAVE BENEFITED THOSE WHO ARE POWERFUL AND WHO CAN EMPLOY LOBBYISTS AND WHO CAN HAVE THE CPA'S AND THE LAWYERS TO HELP THEM BENEFIT FROM THE ROUGHLY 8,000 PAGES OF THE TAX CODE. THE AVERAGE AMERICAN PERSON CAN'T DO IT. YOU CAN'T HIRE A LOBBYIST OUT OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION CHECKS.

DREW: GOVERNOR, TO FOLLOW UP ON YOUR ANSWER: IN ORDER FOR ANY KIND OF TAX RELIEF TO REALLY BE FELT BY THE MIDDLE- AND LOWER-INCOME PEOPLE, YOU NEED ABOUT, ACCORDING TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON THIS, YOU NEED ABOUT 10,000 MILLION DOLLARS.

NOW, YOU LISTED SOME THINGS. THE DEFERRAL ON FOREIGN INCOME, IT'S ESTIMATED, THAT WOULD SAVE ABOUT 500 MILLION DOLLARS. DISC, YOU SAID, WAS 1,400 MILLION DOLLARS. THE ESTIMATE, AT THE OUTSIDE, IF YOU ELIMINATED ALL TAX SHELTERS IS 5,000 MILLION.

SO WHERE ELSE WOULD YOU RAISE THE REVENUE TO PROVIDE THIS TAX RELIEF? WOULD YOU IN FACT DO AWAY WITH ALL BUSINESS DEDUCTIONS? AND WHAT OTHER KINDS OF PREFERENCES WOULD YOU DO AWAY WITH?

GOVERNOR CARTER: NO, I WOULDN'T DO AWAY WITH ALL BUSINESS DEDUCTIONS. I THINK THAT WOULD BE A VERY SERIOUS MISTAKE. BUT IF YOU COULD JUST DO AWAY WITH THE ONES THAT ARE UNFAIR, YOU COULD LOWER TAXES FOR EVERYONE.

I WOULD NEVER DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD INCREASE THE TAXES FOR THOSE WHO WORK FOR A LIVING OR WHO ARE PRESENTLY REQUIRED TO LIST ALL THEIR INCOME. WHAT I WANT TO DO IS NOT TO RAISE TAXES, BUT TO ELIMINATE LOOPHOLES. AND THIS IS THE POINT

(MORE)

OF MY FIRST STATISTICS THAT I GAVE YOU: THAT THE PRESENT TAX BENEFITS, THAT HAVE BEEN CARVED OUT OVER A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS, 50 YEARS, BY SHARP TAX LAWYERS AND BY LOBBYISTS, HAVE BENEFITED JUST THE RICH.

THESE PROGRAMS THAT I DESCRIBED TO YOU EARLIER -- THE TAX DEFERRALS FOR OVERSEAS, THE DISC, AND THE TAX SHELTERS -- THEY ONLY APPLY TO PEOPLE IN THE 50,000 DOLLARS-A-YEAR BRACKET OR UP. AND I THINK THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO APPROACH IT, IS TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYBODY PAYS TAXES ON THE INCOME THAT THEY EARN, AND MAKE SURE THAT YOU TAKE WHATEVER SAVINGS THERE IS FROM THE HIGHER INCOME LEVELS AND GIVE IT TO THE LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME FAMILIES.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD.

PRESIDENT FORD: GOVERNOR CARTER'S ANSWER TONIGHT DOES NOT COINCIDE WITH THE ANSWER THAT HE GAVE IN AN INTERVIEW TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS A WEEK OR SO AGO. IN THAT INTERVIEW, GOVERNOR CARTER INDICATED THAT HE WOULD RAISE THE TAXES ON THOSE IN THE MEDIAN- OR MIDDLE-INCOME BRACKETS OR HIGHER.

NOW, IF YOU TAKE THE MEDIAN- OR MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYER, THAT'S ABOUT 14,000 DOLLARS PER PERSON. GOVERNOR CARTER HAS INDICATED PUBLICLY IN AN INTERVIEW THAT HE WOULD INCREASE THE TAXES ON ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY.

I THINK THE WAY TO GET TAX EQUITY IN THIS COUNTRY IS TO GIVE TAX RELIEF TO THE MIDDLE-INCOME PEOPLE, WHO HAVE AN INCOME FROM, ROUGHLY, 8,000 UP TO 25 OR 30 THOUSAND DOLLARS. THEY HAVE BEEN SHORT-CHANGED, AS WE HAVE TAKEN 10 MILLION TAXPAYERS OFF THE TAX ROLLS IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS AND WE HAVE ADDED TO THE MINIMUM TAX PROVISION TO MAKE ALL PEOPLE PAY MORE TAXES.

I BELIEVE IN TAX EQUITY FOR THE MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYER, INCREASING THE PERSONAL EXEMPTION. MR. CARTER WANTS TO

INCREASE TAXES FOR ROUGHLY HALF OF THE TAXPAYERS OF THIS COUNTRY.

NOW, THE GOVERNOR HAS ALSO PLAYED A LITTLE FAST AND LOOSE WITH THE FACTS ABOUT VETOES. THE RECORDS SHOW THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT VETOED ON AN AVERAGE OF 55 BILLS A YEAR. PRESIDENT TRUMAN VETOED, ON THE AVERAGE, WHILE HE WAS PRESIDENT, ABOUT 38 BILLS A YEAR. I UNDERSTAND THAT GOVERNOR CATER, WHEN HE WAS GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA, VETOED BETWEEN 35 AND 40 BILLS A YEAR. MY AVERAGE IN TWO YEARS IS 26. BUT IN THE PROCESS OF THAT, WE HAVE SAVED 9,000 MILLION DOLLARS.

AND ONE FINAL COMMENT. GOVERNOR CARTER TALKS ABOUT THE TAX BILLS AND ALL OF THE INEQUITIES THAT EXIST IN THE PRESENT LAW. I MUST REMIND HIM THAT DEMOCRATS HAVE CONTROLLED THE CONGRESS FOR THE LAST 22 YEARS, AND THEY WROTE ALL THE TAX BILLS.

NEWMAN: MR. REYNOLDS.

REYNOLDS: I SUSPECT THAT WE COULD CONTINUE ON THIS TAX ARGUMENT FOR SOME TIME, BUT I'D LIKE TO MOVE ON TO ANOTHER AREA.

MR. PRESIDENT, EVERYBODY SEEMS TO BE RUNNING AGAINST WASHINGTON THIS YEAR, AND I'D LIKE TO RAISE TWO COINCIDENTAL EVENTS AND ASK YOU WHETHER YOU THINK PERHAPS THIS MAY HAVE A BEARING ON THE ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

THE HOUSE ETHICS COMMITTEE HAS JUST NOW ENDED ITS INVESTIGATION OF DANIEL SCHORR, AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS AND MANY THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS TRYING TO FIND OUT HOW HE OBTAINED AND CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED A REPORT OF THE CONGRESS THAT PROBABLY IS THE PROPERTY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS AND CONDUCT HAS VOTED NOT REALLY TO BEGIN AN INVESTIGATION

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OF A UNITED STATES SENATOR BECAUSE OF ALLEGATIONS AGAINST HIM THAT HE MAY HAVE BEEN RECEIVING CORPORATE FUNDS ILLEGALLY OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS.

DO YOU SUPPOSE, SIR, THAT EVENTS LIKE THIS CONTRIBUTE TO THE FEELING IN THE COUNTRY THAT MAYBE THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG IN WASHINGTON? AND I DON'T MEAN JUST IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, BUT THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT.

PRESIDENT FORD: THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE ANTI-WASHINGTON FEELING THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. BUT I THINK THE FEELING IS MISPLACED. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE RESTORED INTEGRITY IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND WE'VE SET HIGH STANDARDS IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE ANTI-WASHINGTON FEELING, IN MY OPINION, OUGHT TO BE FOCUSED ON THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS CONGRESS VERY SHORTLY WILL SPEND A THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR ITS HOUSEKEEPING, ITS SALARIES, ITS EXPENSES, AND THE LIKE. THE NEXT CONGRESS WILL PROBABLY BE THE FIRST THOUSAND MILLION-DOLLAR CONGRESS IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GETTING THEIR MONEY'S WORTH FROM THE MAJORITY PARTY THAT RUN

WE, IN ADDITION, SEE THAT IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS, THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES HIRED BY THE CONGRESS HAS GONE UP SUBSTANTIALLY, MUCH MORE THAN THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, MUCH MORE THAN ANY OTHER INCREASE THROUGHOUT OUR SOCIETY. CONGRESS IS HIRING PEOPLE BY THE DROVES, AND THE COST, AS A RESULT, HAS GONE UP. AND I DON'T SEE ANY IMPROVEMENT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CONGRESS UNDER THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP.

SO, IT SEEMS TO ME, INSTEAD OF THE ANTI-WASHINGTON FEELING BEING AIMED AT EVERYBODY IN WASHINGTON, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE FOCUS SHOULD BE WHERE THE PROBLEM IS, WHICH IS THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND PARTICULARLY THE MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. THEY SPEND TOO MUCH MONEY ON THEMSELVES, THEY HAVE TOO MANY EMPLOYEES; THERE'S SOME QUESTION ABOUT THEIR MORALITY.

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IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IN THIS ELECTION THE FOCUS SHOULD NOT BE ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, BUT THE CORRECTIONS SHOULD COME AS THE VOTERS VOTE FOR THEIR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OR FOR THEIR UNITED STATES SENATOR. THAT'S WHERE THE PROBLEM IS, AND I HOPE THERE'LL BE SOME CORRECTIVE ACTION TAKEN, SO THAT WE CAN GET SOME NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

REYNOLDS: MR. PRESIDENT, IF I MAY FOLLOW UP: I THINK YOU'VE MADE IT PLAIN THAT YOU TAKE A DIM VIEW OF THE MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. ISN'T IT QUITE LIKELY, SIR, THAT YOU WILL HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS IN THE NEXT SESSION, IF YOU ARE ELECTED PRESIDENT? AND HASN'T THE COUNTRY A RIGHT TO ASK WHETHER YOU CAN GET ALONG WITH THAT CONGRESS, OR WHETHER WE'LL HAVE CONTINUED CONFRONTATION?

PRESIDENT FORD: WELL, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE HAVE A CHANCE, THE REPUBLICANS, TO GET A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; WE WILL MAKE SOME GAINS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, SO THERE WILL BE DIFFERENT RATIOS IN THE HOUSE, AS WELL AS IN THE SENATE; AND AS PRESIDENT, I WILL BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THAT CONGRESS.

BUT LET ME TAKE THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, IF I MIGHT. SUPPOSING WE HAD HAD A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS AND WE HAD HAD GOVERNOR CARTER AS PRESIDENT. HE HAS, IN EFFECT, SAID THAT HE WOULD AGREE WITH ALL OF THE -- HE WOULD DISAPPROVE OF THE VETOES THAT I HAVE MADE AND WOULD HAVE ADDED SIGNIFICANTLY TO EXPENDITURES AND THE DEFICIT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

I THINK IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO ONE OF THE BASIC CONCEPTS IN OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES.

WE HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS TODAY, AND, FORTUNATELY, WE'VE HAD A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT TO CHECK THEIR EXCESSES, WITH MY VETOES. IF WE HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS NEXT YEAR AND A PRESIDENT WHO WANTS TO SPEND AN ADDITIONAL 100,000

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MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR, OR MAYBE 200,000 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR, WITH MORE PROGRAMS, WE WILL HAVE, IN MY JUDGMENT, GREATER DEFICITS, WITH MORE SPENDING, MORE DANGERS OF INFLATION.

I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT TO CHECK ON ANY EXCESSES THAT COME OUT OF THE NEXT CONGRESS, IF IT IS A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, IT'S NOT A MATTER OF REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT; IT'S A MATTER OF LEADERSHIP OR NO LEADERSHIP. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER WORKED WITH A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS VERY WELL. EVEN PRESIDENT NIXON, BECAUSE HE WAS A STRONG LEADER, AT LEAST, WORKED WITH A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS VERY WELL.

MR. FORD HAS VETOED, AS I SAID EARLIER, FOUR TIMES AS MANY BILLS PER YEAR AS MR. NIXON.

MR. FORD QUITE OFTEN PUTS FORWARD A PROGRAM JUST AS A PUBLIC RELATIONS STUNT AND NEVER TRIES TO PUT IT THROUGH THE CONGRESS BY WORKING WITH THE CONGRESS. I THINK UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON AND EISENHOWER, THEY PASSED ABOUT 60 TO 75 PERCENT OF THEIR LEGISLATION. THIS YEAR MR. FORD WILL NOT PASS MORE THAN 26 PERCENT OF ALL THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS HE PUTS FORWARD. THIS IS GOVERNMENT BY STALEMATE, AND WE'VE SEEN ALMOST A COMPLETE BREAKDOWN IN THE PROPER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT, WHO REPRESENTS THIS COUNTRY, AND THE CONGRESS, WHO COLLECTIVELY ALSO REPRESENT THIS COUNTRY.

WE'VE HAD REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS BEFORE WHO'VE TRIED TO RUN AGAINST A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. AND I DON'T THINK THE CONGRESS IS MR. FORD'S OPPONENT. BUT IF HE INSISTS THAT I BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, OF WHICH I HAVE NOT BEEN A PART, THEN I THINK IT'S ONLY FAIR THAT HE BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN ITS ENTIRETY, OF WHICH HE WAS A PART. THAT, I THINK, IS A GOOD BALANCE.

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BUT THE POINT IS THAT A PRESIDENT OUGHT TO LEAD THIS COUNTRY. MR. FORD, SO FAR AS I KNOW, EXCEPT FOR AVOIDING ANOTHER WATERGATE, HAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED ONE SINGLE MAJOR PROGRAM FOR THIS COUNTRY, AND THERE'S BEEN A CONSTANT SQUABBLING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS; AND THAT'S NOT THE WAY THIS COUNTRY OUGHT TO BE RUN.

I MIGHT GO BACK TO ONE OTHER THING. MR. FORD HAS MISQUOTED AN AP NEWS STORY THAT WAS IN ERROR TO BEGIN WITH. THAT STORY REPORTED SEVERAL TIMES THAT I WOULD LOWER TAXES FOR LOWER- AND MIDDLE-INCOME FAMILIES. AND THAT CORRECTION WAS DELIVERED TO THE WHITE HOUSE. AND I'M SURE THAT THE PRESIDENT KNOWS ABOUT THIS CORRECTION, BUT HE STILL INSISTS IN REPEATING AN ERRONEOUS STATEMENT.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD, GOVERNOR CARTER, WE NO LONGER HAVE ENOUGH TIME FOR TWO COMPLETE SEQUENCES OF QUESTIONS. WE HAVE ONLY ABOUT SIX MINUTES LEFT FOR QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. FOR THAT REASON, WE WILL DROP THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS AT THIS POINT, BUT EACH CANDIDATE WILL STILL BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO THE OTHER'S ANSWERS.

TO THE EXTENT THAT YOU CAN, GENTLEMEN, PLEASE KEEP YOUR REMARKS BRIEF.

MR. GANNON.

GANNON: GOVERNOR CARTER, ONE IMPORTANT PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY APPARATUS WE HAVEN'T TALKED ABOUT IS THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD. I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT YOU'VE SAID, AND THAT IS THAT YOU BELIEVE THAT A PRESIDENT OUGHT TO HAVE A CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD WHOSE VIEWS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH HIS OWN.

BASED ON THE RECORD OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR VIEWS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THOSE OF CHAIRMAN ARTHUR BURNS? AND IF NOT, WOULD YOU SEEK HIS RESIGNATION IF YOU ARE ELECTED?

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GOVERNOR CARTER: WHAT I HAVE SAID IS THAT THE PRESIDENT OUGHT TO HAVE A CHANCE TO APPOINT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD TO HAVE A COTERMINOUS TERM -- IN OTHER WORDS, BOTH OF THEM SERVE THE SAME FOUR YEARS. THE CONGRESS CAN MODIFY THE SUPPLY OF MONEY BY MODIFYING THE INCOME TAX LAWS. THE PRESIDENT CAN MODIFY ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF OUR COUNTRY BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND GENERAL ATTITUDES AND THE BUDGET THAT HE PROPOSES. THE FEDERAL RESERVE HAS AN INDEPENDENT STATUS THAT OUGHT TO BE PRESERVED.

I THINK THAT MR. BURNS DID TAKE A TYPICAL ERRONEOUS REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE IN THE 1973 YEAR, WHEN INFLATION WAS SO HIGH, BY ASSUMING THAT THE INFLATION RATE WAS BECAUSE OF EXCESSIVE DEMAND, AND THEREFORE PUT INTO EFFECT TIGHT CONSTRAINT ON THE ECONOMY, VERY HIGH INTEREST RATES, WHICH IS TYPICAL, ALSO, OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS, TRIED TO INCREASE THE TAX PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUALS, CUT THE TAX PAYMENTS BY CORPORATIONS.

I WOULD HAVE DONE THE OPPOSITE. I THINK THE PROBLEM SHOULD HAVE BEEN ADDRESSED BY INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY, BY HAVING PUT PEOPLE BACK TO WORK SO THEY COULD PURCHASE MORE GOODS, LOWER INCOME TAXES ON INDIVIDUALS, PERHAPS RAISE THEM, IF NECESSARY, ON CORPORATIONS IN COMPARISON.

BUT MR. BURNS, IN THAT RESPECT, MADE A VERY SERIOUS MISTAKE.

I WOULD NOT WANT TO DESTROY THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, BUT I DO THINK WE OUGHT TO HAVE A COHESIVE ECONOMIC POLICY, WITH AT LEAST THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD'S AND THE PRESIDENT'S TERMS BEING THE SAME, AND LETTING THE CONGRESS, OF COURSE, BE THE THIRD ENTITY WITH INDEPENDENCE, SUBJECT ONLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S VETO.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD, YOUR RESPONSE.

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PRESIDENT FORD: THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT. FORTUNATELY, HE HAS BEEN DURING DEMOCRATIC AS WELL AS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS. AS A RESULT, IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE HAD A RESPONSIBLE MONETARY POLICY. THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD INDICATED THAT THE SUPPLY OF MONEY WOULD BE HELD BETWEEN FOUR TO FOUR-AND-A-HALF AND SEVEN AND SEVEN-AND-A-HALF.

ONE A GOOD JOB IN INTEGRATING THE MONEY SUPPLY WITH THE FISCAL POLICY OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD BE CATASTROPHIC IF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD BECAME THE TOOL OF THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT WAS IN POWER. IT'S IMPORTANT FOR OUR FUTURE, OUR ECONOMIC SECURITY THAT THAT JOB BE NONPOLITICAL AND SEPARATE FROM THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

NEWMAN: MRS. DREW.

DREW: MR. PRESIDENT, THE REAL PROBLEM WITH THE FBI, AND, IN FACT, ALL OF THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, IS THERE ARE NO REAL LAWS GOVERNING THEM. SUCH LAWS AS THERE ARE TEND TO BE VAGUE AND OPEN-ENDED.

NOW, YOU HAVE ISSUED SOME EXECUTIVE ORDERS, BUT WE'VE LEARNED THAT LEAVING THESE AGENCIES TO EXECUTIVE DISCRETION AND DIRECTION CAN GET THEM AND, IN FACT, THE COUNTRY IN A GREAT DEAL OF (TROUBLE). ONE PRESIDENT MAY BE A DECENT MAN; THE NEXT ONE MIGHT NOT BE. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT TRYING TO WRITE IN SOME MORE PROTECTION BY GETTING SOME LAWS GOVERNING THESE AGENCIES?

PRESIDENT FORD: YOU ARE FAMILIAR, OF COURSE, WITH THE FACT THAT I AM THE FIRST PRESIDENT IN 30 YEARS WHO HAS REORGANIZED THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- THE CIA, THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY, AND THE OTHERS. WE'VE DONE THAT BY EXECUTIVE ORDER, AND I THINK WE'VE TIGHTENED IT UP, WE'VE STRAIGHTENED OUT THEIR PROBLEMS THAT DEVELOPED OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS.

(MORE)

IT DOESN'T SEEM TO ME THAT IT'S NEEDED OR NECESSARY TO HAVE LEGISLATION IN THIS PARTICULAR REGARD. I HAVE RECOMMENDED TO THE CONGRESS, HOWEVER -- I'M SURE YOU'RE FAMILIAR WITH THIS -- LEGISLATION THAT WOULD MAKE IT VERY PROPER AND IN THE RIGHT WAY THAT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL COULD GO IN AND GET THE RIGHT FOR WIRETAPPING UNDER SECURITY CASES. THIS WAS AN EFFORT THAT WAS MADE BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND MYSELF, WORKING WITH THE CONGRESS. BUT EVEN IN THIS AREA, WHERE I THINK NEW LEGISLATION WOULD BE JUSTIFIED, THE CONGRESS HAS NOT RESPONDED.

SO, I FEEL, IN THAT CASE AS WELL AS IN THE REORGANIZATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, AS I'VE DONE, WE HAVE TO DO IT BY EXECUTIVE ORDER. AND I'M GLAD THAT WE HAVE A GOOD DIRECTOR IN GEORGE BUSH, WE HAVE GOOD EXECUTIVE ORDERS; AND THE CIA AND THE DIA AND NASA -- OR, NSA ARE NOW DOING A GOOD JOB UNDER PROPER SUPERVISION.

NEWMAN: GOVERNOR CARTER.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, ONE OF THE VERY SERIOUS THINGS THAT'S HAPPENED IN OUR GOVERNMENT IN RECENT YEARS, AND IT'S CONTINUED UP UNTIL NOW, IS A BREAKDOWN IN THE TRUST AMONG OUR PEOPLE AND A . . .

(AT THIS POINT THE BROADCAST SOUND FAILED. THE TRANSCRIPT RESUMES WHEN TRANSMISSION WAS RESTORED AFTER A TWENTY-EIGHT MINUTE LAPSE.)

NEWMAN: DURING GOVERNOR CARTER'S RESPONSE TO WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN, AND WHAT WAS, THE LAST QUESTION PUT TO THE CANDIDATES -- THAT QUESTION WENT TO PRESIDENT FORD; IT DEALT WITH THE CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES -- GOVERNOR CARTER WAS MAKING HIS RESPONSE AND HAD VERY NEARLY FINISHED IT. HE WILL CONCLUDE THAT RESPONSE NOW, AFTER WHICH PRESIDENT FORD AND GOVERNOR CARTER WILL MAKE THEIR CLOSING STATEMENTS.

GOVERNOR?

GOVERNOR CARTER: THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT SECRECY AND NOT ENOUGH RESPECT FOR THE PERSONAL PRIVACY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

NEWMAN: IT IS NOW TIME FOR THE CLOSING STATEMENTS, WHICH ARE TO BE UP TO FOUR MINUTES LONG.

GOVERNOR CARTER, BY THE SAME TOSS OF THE COIN THAT DIRECTED THE FIRST QUESTION TO YOU, YOU ARE TO GO FIRST NOW.

GOVERNOR CARTER: WELL, TONIGHT WE'VE HAD A CHANCE TO TALK A LOT ABOUT THE PAST, BUT I THINK IT'S TIME TO TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE. OUR NATION IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS HAS BEEN DIVIDED AS NEVER BEFORE. IT'S A TIME FOR UNITY. IT'S A TIME TO DRAW OURSELVES TOGETHER, TO HAVE A PRESIDENT AND A CONGRESS THAT CAN WORK TOGETHER WITH MUTUAL RESPECT, FOR A CHANGE; COOPERATING, FOR A CHANGE; AND OPEN, FOR A CHANGE, SO THAT PEOPLE CAN UNDERSTAND THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

IT'S TIME FOR GOVERNMENT, INDUSTRY AND LABOR, MANUFACTURING, AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, OTHER ENTITIES IN OUR SOCIETY TO COOPERATE. AND IT'S A TIME FOR GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND AND TO COOPERATE WITH OUR PEOPLE.

FOR A LONG TIME OUR AMERICAN CITIZENS HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED, SOMETIMES MISLED, SOMETIMES HAVE BEEN LIED TO. THIS IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE PURPOSE OF OUR NATION. I BELIEVE IN OUR COUNTRY. IT NEEDS TO BE COMPETENT, THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO BE WELL MANAGED, EFFICIENT, ECONOMICAL. WE NEED TO HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT'S SENSITIVE TO OUR PEOPLE'S NEEDS, TO THOSE WHO ARE POOR, WHO DON'T HAVE ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, WHO HAVE BEEN CHEATED TOO LONG WITH OUR TAX PROGRAMS, WHO'VE BEEN OUT OF JOBS, WHOSE FAMILIES HAVE BEEN TORN APART. WE NEED TO RESTORE THE FAITH AND THE TRUST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, WE'VE SUFFERED BECAUSE WE HAVEN'T HAD LEADERSHIP IN THIS ADMINISTRATION. WE'VE GOT A

(MORE)

GOVERNMENT OF STALEMATE, AND WE'VE LOST THE VISION OF WHAT OUR COUNTRY CAN AND OUGHT TO BE. THIS IS NOT THE AMERICA THAT WE'VE KNOWN IN THE PAST. IT'S NOT THE AMERICA THAT WE HAVE TO HAVE IN THE FUTURE.

I DON'T CLAIM TO KNOW ALL THE ANSWERS. BUT I'VE GOT CONFIDENCE IN MY COUNTRY. OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH IS STILL THERE. OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, IN SPITE OF VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, CIA, WATERGATE, IS STILL THE BEST SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT ON EARTH. AND THE GREATEST RESOURCE OF ALL ARE THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICANS WHO STILL HAVE WITHIN US THE STRENGTH, THE CHARACTER, THE INTELLIGENCE, THE EXPERIENCE, THE PATRIOTISM, THE IDEALISM, THE COMPASSION, THE SENSE OF BROTHERHOOD FOR WHICH WE CAN RELY IN THE FUTURE TO RESTORE THE GREATNESS TO OUR COUNTRY.

WE OUGHT NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM OUR GOVERNMENT ANY MORE. WE NEED A PRESIDENT WHO CAN GO IN, WHO DERIVES HIS STRENGTH FROM THE PEOPLE. I OWE THE SPECIAL INTERESTS NOTHING. I OWE EVERYTHING TO YOU, THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. AND I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN BIND OUR WOUNDS. I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER. AND I BELIEVE THAT IF WE CAN TAP THE TREMENDOUS UNTAPPED RESERVOIR OF INNATE STRENGTH IN THIS COUNTRY, THAT WE CAN ONCE AGAIN HAVE A GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AS OUR PEOPLE AND LET THE WORLD KNOW WHAT WE STILL KNOW AND HOPE FOR: THAT WE STILL LIVE IN THE GREATEST AND THE STRONGEST AND THE BEST COUNTRY ON EARTH.

NEWMAN: PRESIDENT FORD?

PRESIDENT FORD: ON NOVEMBER 2ND, ALL OF YOU WILL MAKE A VERY, VERY IMPORTANT DECISION. ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THIS CAMPAIGN IS TRUST. A PRESIDENT SHOULD NEVER PROMISE MORE THAN HE CAN DELIVER, AND A PRESIDENT SHOULD ALWAYS DELIVER EVERYTHING THAT HE'S PROMISED. A PRESIDENT CAN'T BE ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE. A PRESIDENT SHOULD BE THE SAME THING TO ALL PEOPLE.

ANOTHER ISSUE IN THIS CAMPAIGN -- GOVERNOR CARTER HAS ENDORSED THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, WHICH CALLS FOR MORE SPENDING, BIGGER DEFICITS, MORE INFLATION OR MORE TAXES. GOVERNOR CARTER HAS EMBRACED THE RECORD OF THE PRESENT CONGRESS, DOMINATED BY HIS POLITICAL PARTY. IT CALLS FOR MORE OF THE SAME.

GOVERNOR CARTER IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH CALLED FOR MORE AND MORE PROGRAMS, WHICH MEANS MORE AND MORE GOVERNMENT. I THINK THE REAL ISSUE IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND THAT WHICH YOU MUST DECIDE ON NOVEMBER 2ND IS WHETHER YOU SHOULD VOTE FOR HIS PROMISES OR MY PERFORMANCE IN TWO YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, WE HAD A WONDERFUL 200TH BIRTHDAY FOR OUR GREAT COUNTRY. IT WAS A SUPERB OCCASION. IT WAS A GLORIOUS DAY. IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF OUR NATION'S HISTORY, OUR FOREFATHERS GAVE US THE FINEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF OUR NATION'S HISTORY, OUR FOREFATHERS DEVELOPED THE MOST PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIAL NATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE GLOBE. OUR THIRD CENTURY SHOULD BE THE CENTURY OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM FOR ALL OUR TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICANS TODAY AND ALL THAT JOIN US.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, GOVERNMENT HAS GOTTEN BIGGER AND BIGGER, INDUSTRY HAS GOTTEN LARGER AND LARGER, LABOR UNIONS HAVE GOTTEN BIGGER AND BIGGER, AND OUR CHILDREN HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF MASS EDUCATION. WE MUST MAKE THIS NEXT CENTURY THE CENTURY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. WE SHOULD NEVER FORGET THAT A GOVERNMENT BIG ENOUGH TO GIVE US EVERYTHING WE WANT IS A GOVERNMENT BIG ENOUGH TO TAKE FROM US EVERYTHING WE HAVE.

THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER IN THE PLANTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT BE A SMALL COG IN A BIG MACHINE. THE MEMBER OF THE LABOR UNION MUST HAVE HIS RIGHTS STRENGTHENED AND BROADENED. AND OUR CHILDREN IN THEIR

EDUCATION SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THEMSELVES, BASED ON THEIR TALENTS AND THEIR ABILITY.

MY MOTHER AND FATHER DURING THE DEPRESSION WORKED VERY HARD TO GIVE ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO BETTER IN OUR GREAT COUNTRY. YOUR MOTHERS AND FATHERS DID THE SAME THING FOR YOU AND OTHERS. BETTY AND I HAVE WORKED VERY HARD TO GIVE OUR CHILDREN A BRIGHTER FUTURE IN THE UNITED STATES, OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. YOU AND OTHERS IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY HAVE WORKED HARD AND HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TO GIVE YOUR CHILDREN AND YOUR GRANDCHILDREN THE BLESSINGS OF A BETTER AMERICA.

I BELIEVE WE CAN ALL WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE THE INDIVIDUALS IN THE FUTURE HAVE MORE, AND ALL OF US WORKING TOGETHER CAN BUILD A BETTER AMERICA.

NEWMAN: THANK YOU, PRESIDENT FORD. THANK YOU, GOVERNOR CARTER. OUR THANKS ALSO TO THE QUESTIONERS AND TO THE AUDIENCE IN THIS THEATER. WE MUCH REGRET THE TECHNICAL FAILURE THAT CAUSED A TWENTY-EIGHT MINUTE DELAY IN THE BROADCAST OF THE DEBATE. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT EVERYONE WILL AGREE THAT IT DID NOT DETRACT FROM THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE DEBATE OR FROM ITS FAIRNESS.

THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE IS TO TAKE PLACE ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6TH IN SAN FRANCISCO AT 9:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME. THE TOPICS ARE TO BE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE ISSUES. AS WITH ALL THREE DEBATES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THE ONE BETWEEN THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, IT IS BEING ARRANGED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS' EDUCATION FUND IN THE HOPE OF PROMOTING A WIDER AND BETTER INFORMED PARTICIPATION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER.

NOW FROM THE WALNUT STREET THEATER IN PHILADELPHIA, GOOD NIGHT. (END TEXT)

22.3.76(Mr. Allaf, Syrian Arab Republic)

In concluding, I should like to quote from my statement a week ago before the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I said:

"The Syrian Arab Republic is committed to a just settlement which takes into consideration first and above all the attainment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the total liberation of the occupied Arab territories. President Assad reaffirmed last October that Syria will not accept any movement on the Syrian front unless it is coupled with an identical movement on the Palestinian front. The Syrian Arab Republic stands by this commitment."

(A/AC.183/L.8, p. 13)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Israel, on whom I now call.

Mr. HERZOG (Israel): I have a vague suspicion that in the course of this discussion I shall not be in total agreement in my remarks with a number of the members of this Council, and above all with my Arab colleagues. All the more reason, therefore, to open them in a spirit of agreement with my Arab colleagues, to my regret an all too infrequent phenomenon, and to join in the good wishes and congratulations which have been expressed to you, Sir, on your position as President of the Council.

I should like to add a word of welcome to the representative of the United States of America, whose rich and outstanding background will stand him in good stead in representing the greatest democracy in the world and in being the main defender of the institutions of democracy in this world Organization.

I am invariably intrigued by the Syrian Ambassador's propensity for so frequently attributing to others the wrongs which his régime represents. This came to mind when I read a very intriguing story in a current magazine. It stated:

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

"A West African assigned to the French Foreign Service for training before his country was given independence in 1960 encountered an Arab diplomat at a dinner party. The Arab was from the northern region of what was then the United Arab Republic, specifically from Damascus. He told the West African that his country should beware of the Jews. The West African said that he had never met any Jews and asked what they were like. 'They are the people who come into your country, get a stranglehold on your commerce, move up into finance, share nothing with the natives and send their profits back home,' the Arab explained. 'Ah, you must excuse me', the West African replied, 'in my country we call them Syrians.'"

I am moved by the Ambassador's concern for the holy places. Where was he in 1969 when, according to the El Hayat Daily in Beirut:

"No one in the whole Moslem world can ever forget 24 January 1965, the day when for the first time in history tanks penetrated into the great Ummayyad Mosque in Damascus, shelling the prayers. Two hundred prayers were killed on that day. The great Mosque was closed for several days in order to enable the cleaning of its walls, fences and roofs, and the Mihrab, which were soiled by the blood of the slain."

Words fail me as I contemplate this barren and futile discussion based on falsities and taking place with such an obvious lack of enthusiasm on the part of the participating members. The late Sir Winston Churchill when in opposition on one occasion accused the then incumbent Prime Minister of turning the Mother of Parliaments into a public convenience. I cannot escape the impression that the PLO has succeeded, if in nothing else, in converting this Organization into such a public convenience for its own purposes. The world is on fire, war threatens in a number of areas, the issues in Africa are momentous and vital and yet, when the PLO so willed it as a function of inter-Arab rivalry, this entire Organization is called to order by it and is obliged to cease the discussion of issues affecting the peace of the world in order to accommodate its political requirements. When it wills it, a meeting takes place; if it does not desire a meeting, it does not take place.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I have not had the opportunity to comment till now on this new and bizarre departure of seating an organization which is not a State and does not even claim to be a State, with rights equal to those accorded to Member States. This act is in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations which specifically allows only for the seating of States, whether Members or not, or of individuals, at this Council table. Nowhere in the Charter is there provision for the seating of an organization, certainly not with rights equal to those of Member States. The decision of the Security Council in this matter has been decried by many international jurists, such as Professor Gross of Tufts University, as a flagrant breach of the Charter of the United Nations. Mr. Harlan Cleveland, a former United States Assistant Secretary of State and Director of the Aspen Institute programme in international affairs wrote on this issue but a few weeks ago: "For the Security Council to decide that a non-governmental organization can be seated at the Council table is hardly a 'procedural matter'; it's more like an unorthodox way of amending the Charter." You have opened a Pandora's box, and I look forward with great interest to viewing the legalistic acrobatics in which many of the representatives will indulge when dissident and dissatisfied movements challenge their authority, urged on by those who can invariably be counted upon to indulge in a little innocent and not so innocent international mischief. Yes, a Pandora's box has been opened and the price for this example of moral weakness and of the triumph of expediency will regrettably be paid by this Organization. There are seated here these representatives of the only so-called liberation movement in the world whose leadership does not trust the people it is purporting to liberate sufficiently to live amongst them.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The President of Egypt is on record in the past weeks stating exactly what he thinks of them. In the Saudi Arabian newspaper Ukaz, he expressed the hope that "I only wish the Palestinians would give up their appearances and speak the truth for once...". Indeed, they cannot appear in any public forum in Egypt today. They are seated here, and yet it would be more than their life is worth to enter Jordan, let alone speak or be active there. The Syrian Government very rightly maintains the tightest control over them and is in the active process of turning the PLO into a Syrian-controlled organization. President Sadat, in the interview I have referred to, says that they propose to replace Mr. Arafat with their own candidate, Zuheir Muhsein, whom President Sadat characterized as a common car thief. They were free to operate in Lebanon, with what calamitous and catastrophic results we all know. This further to the callous indifference of this body to the tragedy of Lebanon.

Yes, how utterly incongruous this situation is. Here we are seated solemnly in a forum, which includes some of the great nations of the world, discussing an allegation based on malicious falsehoods, wasting our time, while next door to us in Lebanon a tragedy of horrifying proportions is unravelling, as a State Member of the United Nations disintegrates, as a million Christians live in dire peril of their lives. Here we are facing a tragedy of immense proportions in human suffering, in religious repression and in political significance, while for almost a year this Security Council has not seen fit to address itself to this calamitous disaster.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization has raised a point of order. I call on him.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The Council is meeting this afternoon to discuss items shown in document S/Agenda/1894 of 22 March 1976, and on that agenda we read:

"Request by the Libyan Arab Republic and Pakistan for consideration of the serious situation arising from recent developments in the occupied Arab territories."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

What I am hearing now is a statement about what is happening in Lebanon, and this is not on the agenda. So may I please ask you, Mr. President, to see to it that the speakers confine themselves to the points mentioned on the agenda.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We have listened so far in this debate to five speeches which on any view of the matter could hardly be characterized as pro-Israeli. With great respect, I think that the Israeli delegation is entitled to have its say in its own way and in its own words.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on a point of order.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): I have not asked that the representative of the Zionist entity should not be able to make a statement. All I have asked you, Mr. President, is that the statement should be confined to the item on the agenda. In this meeting we are not discussing Northern Ireland, we are not discussing the situation in Lebanon; we are discussing the serious situation arising from the practices of the Zionist authorities against our people in occupied Palestine.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We shall now continue our discussion. I would request the representative of Israel to continue his statement.

Mr. HERZOG (Israel): Is there no limit to the baseness of international cynical hypocrisy as reflected in this situation? According to the figures issued by the High Commissioner for Refugees on 18 February 1976, some 12,000 people have been killed in Lebanon -- more, incidentally, than the total casualties of Israel in five wars -- some 40,000 have been wounded and maimed, some 40,000 people have been directly affected by the events; between

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

10 and 20 per cent of the homes in Beirut and the surroundings have been destroyed or damaged. These were comparatively low estimates.

Whatever the figures, we are seeing -- and we in Israel see it only too clearly as the Christian refugees seek shelter in our country -- a terrifying development which threatens to escalate into a human holocaust. And what has this Security Council done? Nothing. Your silence is as shattering as that of the Christian Church which, gagged by expediency, contemplates in silence as their flock is threatened with extinction. Instead you have the time in which to debate an allegation based on a malicious falsehood, which is apparent to all, and demonstrations, to which I shall refer, primarily of incited teenagers in which there was one killed and two wounded and in connexion with which an Israeli soldier was arrested by the Israeli authorities on the charge of opening fire without orders and was charged in court last Friday. Surely, even in the one-sided orgy of hate against Israel which is beginning to exercise the United Nations almost to the exclusion of everything else in the world, even common expediency would dictate a measure of proportion, if for no other reason at least for the sake of appearances.

The matter which we are discussing here is a matter sub judice in the courts of Israel. The very fact of raising the issue, therefore, at this stage focuses on a most serious development which has taken place and which must rapidly erode what little standing is left in the world to this Organization. The principle of the separation of powers whereby the executive does not control the judiciary applies in all democratic countries and is in fact also part of the United Nations system. One of the forms which it takes, or is supposed to take, in the United Nations is that when the conduct of a State is challenged two things follow. One is the notion of the impartiality of the United Nations; the other is that of giving the party which is charged a fair hearing in an atmosphere of impartiality.

Over the years, but in particular over the past five years, both these concepts have been forgotten in United Nations practice. The idea of an impartial hearing has been replaced by the idea that the United Nations organs are both prosecutor and judge.

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(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

In this very debate the charge was framed and judgement was formulated even before I had the opportunity to present my case. The assumption was simply made that whatever I might have to say would be totally irrelevant.

Nothing could better illustrate this point which I am trying to make than this meeting. An allegation has been preferred against the State of Israel.

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(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Under the principles of natural justice it is to be assumed that the representative of the State of Israel will appear at this table and will explain his Government's side of the case. In other words, it would be logical to assume that this body would hear the accusations, would listen to Israel's reply, would deliberate and then decide. But no, these principles have been forgotten. On Friday, three days ago, members of this body had before them a draft of a resolution, a judgement, which they were already discussing amongst themselves. On Friday, three days ago, the representative of Pakistan and his Libyan colleague who called this meeting urgently and who submitted the complaint against Israel, drafted a resolution prejudging the issue and discussed this draft resolution, this judgement, with many of my colleagues at this table. Unbelievable, but true. In the type of society which I represent, this procedure is abhorrent and would be rejected out of hand. To prepare a draft resolution, a judgement, before you have heard the sides, especially when you are aware -- or most of you are aware -- that the allegation made was nothing but a damnable lie, is a travesty of all the principles that this Organization is today betraying and a form of procedure which we can only condemn. This is a truly "Alice in Wonderland" situation. "'Let the jury consider their verdict', the King said... 'No, No', said the Queen of Hearts, 'sentence first, verdict afterwards'".

Had Lewis Carroll lived today, he would not have been obliged to have recourse to the creation of a wonderland to house the incongruous. He need not have done more than let Alice loose in this building. All she would have to do would be to wear a Star of David in order to hear the imperious "Off with her head" at every turn.

The failure of the United Nations to understand the operation of these fundamental principles of natural law in the international scene is mirrored by its failure to understand the operation of the same principles in the domestic scene of true democracies.

Let me address myself to the letter of complaint addressed to you, Sir, by the representatives of Pakistan and Libya. This letter also refers to the letter dated 12 March 1976 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

That letter states that "the ruling of the Magistrate Court [was] to the effect that Jews have the right to pray in Al-Aqsa Mosque". (S/12012, Annex, p. 1) I repeat: "in Al-Aqsa Mosque". This allegation is a lie, a damnable lie, in a mischievous and sinister attempt to incite religious feeling for political purposes. No such ruling was made by Judge Ruth Orr in the Magistrate's Court in Jerusalem. And it is utterly unbelievable to note that this Council, with all the reserves which it has at its disposal in order to clarify facts, should agree to be summoned docilely to consider a ruling in a magistrate's court in Jerusalem which was never made. I repeat, was never made.

Let me clarify the facts; they are, after all, relevant.

Mr. President, with your permission I should like to distribute to members of the Council a map of the area of the Temple Mount.

The Temple Mount -- the location of the First and Second Jewish Temples -- in Jerusalem is the most sacred site in the Jewish religion. In Islam, the Temple Mount is called Haram El Sharif with the Al-Aqsa Mosque which ranks third in importance as a Moslem holy site after the mosques of Mecca and Medina.

This area is composed of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock -- the Mosque of Omar -- housing, as it does, the rock on which Abraham is reputed by Jewish tradition to have prepared his son Isaac for sacrifice, and a large open courtyard. The section of the western supporting wall of the Temple Mount which has remained intact since the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70 A.D. is the so-called Western or Wailing Wall, which is the most hallowed spot in Jewish religious and national consciousness and tradition by virtue of its proximity to the Western Wall of the Holy of Holies in the Temple from which, according to Jewish Tradition, the Divine Presence never departed.

During the period of Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967, Jews were not allowed access to the Wailing Wall for prayer, this in violation of the terms of the Armistice Agreement signed by Israel and Jordan in 1949.

On 5 June 1967, Jordanian forces launched an attack on Israel in Jerusalem, which was then a divided city, and the results of the ensuing Six-Day War brought about, inter alia, the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The Government of Israel, in the same month on 28 June 1967, enacted the Protection of Holy Places Law 5272-1967, whereby unrestricted access to the respective Holy Places is guaranteed to members of all faiths. The relevant sections of the law read as follows:

"1. The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything liable to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places.

"2.(A) Whosoever desecrates or otherwise violates a holy place shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of seven years.

(B) Whosoever does anything likely to violate the freedom of access to the members of different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of five years.

"3. This law shall add to, and not derogate from, any other law.

"4. The Minister of Religious Affairs is charged with the implementation of this law, and he may, after consultation with, or upon the proposal of, representatives of the religions concerned and with the consent of the Minister of Justice make regulations as to any matter relating to such implementation.

"5. This law shall come into force on the date of its adoption by the Knesset".

The Government of Israel has to this day refrained from issuing regulations for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount in order not to offend the susceptibilities of the Moslem population and to prevent disturbances between the religious communities.

Israel is therefore confronted with a paradoxical situation in which not only have Jews refrained from exercising their inherent right, but the Government of Israel has even brought to justice those who have attempted to pray on the Temple Mount.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Since the unification of Jerusalem in 1967, certain Israeli groups have mounted a public and legal campaign in order to permit Jewish prayers on the Temple Mount. In 1968, an application for such permission was rejected by the Supreme Court of Israel. Supreme Court Justice Witkon in giving judgement stated that:

"the situation is a unique one and I doubt whether there is one like it in the history of our people, or anywhere else in the world. The situation concerning the Temple Mount is most sensitive and could greatly endanger intercommunal relationships. It would be the height of folly not to take full account of the implications of acceding to the plaintiffs' applications. Indeed, at this point we have reached the limits of our legal jurisdiction. A full account of the matter before us cannot be made without considering the general political and security situation. It is in the interest of the Government to act according to these considerations. The true extent of the issue goes far beyond the narrow boundaries which the applicants have drawn. The relevant considerations are far wider than any that could be submitted to this court. I therefore believe that there are no grounds for judicial interference".

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Last year several Jews attempted to pray in the open courtyard of the Temple Mount -- I emphasize: in the open courtyard -- and were expelled by the Moslem police, guards appointed by the Islamic Waqf Bureau, who are charged with the protection of the holy places. Charges were brought against them. You can see on the map exactly where the incident took place. On 28 January 1976 a Jerusalem magistrate, Judge Ruth Orr, having heard the case, including the testimony, reached the conclusion that no Moslems had been present during the incident and that the prayer had taken place in an open area in the courtyard some 50 metres from the Gate of Pity and far removed from any mosque. She therefore acquitted the accused on the grounds that this did not constitute a case of public disorder within the meaning of the Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936, under which the charges were preferred.

On 9 February 1976 the Jerusalem District Attorney appealed -- Appeal 5/70 -- on a number of grounds, including the ground that the action by the respondents was consciously calculated by them to disturb the peace and they were therefore criminally liable for their actions, and the ground that the Magistrate's Court had been influenced by irrelevant considerations.

At no point in the case was the Al-Aqsa Mosque involved. At no point in her judgement did the Magistrate mention Al-Aqsa or any other mosque.

The Minister of Police, Shlomo Hillel, announced on 29 February 1976 that the police will abide by the Supreme Court decision and will arrest any Jew attempting to pray on the Temple Mount. The Minister for Religious Affairs, Yitzhak Raphael, stated on Israel Radio but three days ago that Jews will not be allowed to pray on the Temple Mount.

Yesterday, 21 March 1976, Supreme Court Justice Berenson, in a decision in the case of Rudolf Cohen versus the Minister of Police -- High Court Case No. 99/76 -- rejected an application for an order nisi brought by the applicant to show cause why the Israel police should not allow him to pray on the Temple Mount. On behalf of the Court, Justice Berenson ruled that the Court will not interfere with the discretion of the police, when the police considers that there is a danger of disrupting public order.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The Supreme Court on that occasion confirmed its own decision in High Court Case No. 222/68 of 1968, to which I referred previously.

That, therefore, is the situation today.

In the meantime, no change has occurred in the status quo, which has been maintained by the Government of Israel since 1967, whereby the Government of Israel does not permit Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount, and the Israeli police, Jews, Moslems and Christians, in addition to the Moslem police responsible for the Temple Mount area, prevent such prayer from taking place.

I can readily appreciate that the representatives of Pakistan, Libya and Saudi Arabia are perhaps incapable of comprehending a situation whereby courts of law are independent of the executive. I can understand that a situation is incomprehensible to them whereby a court of law in Israel will not be dictated to by any outside body, including the Government of Israel -- let alone this body. I do not expect them to know better. From where should they know better? But here you have a clear situation whereby the interests of the Moslems in this case are being protected by the Government of Israel. Why then seek to attack the Government of Israel for protecting Moslem interests? The reason is that this false allegation has been preferred against Israel, for political reasons, in an attempt to disrupt the harmony and successful coexistence of Jew and Arab in Jerusalem, which has become a model for the world. This is being done by certain Arab Moslem countries in an atmosphere of blackmail and pressure which is irreconcilable with the faith and beliefs of tens of millions of Moslems throughout the world.

On this occasion might I, as the representative of a country 10 per cent of whose citizens are Moslems, appeal to the Moslem nations on behalf of our Moslem citizens to turn their attention to Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which over the years have persistently prevented Israeli Moslems from carrying out the precept of the Haj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five basic precepts of Islam. Indeed, it is relevant to recall that for 19 years -- between 1948 and 1967 -- the gates of the mosques on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem were closed to Israeli Moslems by Jordanian order. These gates were opened to Israeli Moslems only in 1967, when the city was reunified. I reiterate that I am taking this opportunity to appeal to the Moslem nations of the world to influence their Arab brethren in favour of the Moslem citizens of Israel.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The letter dated 12 March 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia addressed to the Secretary-General constitutes nothing but a mass of fabrications no less inaccurate and untrue than the fairy tale about prayers in the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

In that document reference is made, for example, to an article in the Israeli daily newspaper Ma'ariv on 22 July 1969, in which the late Chief Rabbi of Israel is quoted as talking about reconstructing the Temple in the court yard of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. I have here a photostatic copy of the article referred to in Ma'ariv. Here it is. I consider myself a fairly respectable scholar of the Hebrew language. If anybody here can find such a statement in this article, I should be most grateful; I just cannot find it.

Now this would be comic, as would the entire proceedings here based on a false charge about a decision in an Israeli court that was never made, if it were not so tragic, pointing as it does to a calculated attempt by means of falsehoods to incite Moslem feeling throughout the world and to invoke racial, religious and human hatred of the basest kind.

Since I am dealing with a Saudi Arabian document, I have here yet another example of Saudi Arabian literature, which is most revealing in this context. I am referring to a document issued by the Royal Consulate General of Saudi Arabia in New York containing this map in which the State of Israel does not exist -- wishful thinking, I suppose -- and in which the Persian Gulf has become the Arabian Gulf -- again, perhaps, wishful thinking.

Israel is accused of the attempted alienation of the indigenous Arab population from their history, civilization and culture by "Israelization of educational programmes and curricula". That is a lie. The reverse is true. All Arab schools in Jerusalem teach only the curriculum laid down by the Jordanian Department of Education, apart from the Church schools, which, as opposed to the situation obtaining during Jordanian rule from 1948 to 1967, are free to set their own curriculum.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I should add, as a point of interest, that approximately 5,000 Arab teachers in the West Bank teach only the Jordanian curriculum and are considered by the Jordanian Government to be Jordanian civil servants, and their salaries are in fact paid not only by the Government of Israel but also by the Government of Jordan.

The allegation about measures designed to compel the Arab population of Jerusalem to leave their homes and property is utterly false. The only Arabs removed in the Old City of Jerusalem were those who had occupied Jewish homes in the Jewish quarter after the fighting in 1948. They were obliged to return the property to their rightful owners and were indeed compensated in order to assist them in finding new accommodations.

The same letter of 12 March 1976 refers to mass arrests in the West Bank, and we have heard moving words in this regard from representatives who have preceded me in speaking here. Let me put the entire picture into its correct perspective. We are talking of a total of arrests in the West Bank in the past month of 48 persons.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Finally, we come to the utterly preposterous accusations concerning "suppression of Islamic and Christian heritage and institutions". This is just malicious nonsense, as anybody who will take the trouble to visit Jerusalem can find out for himself. There has never been such an impressive expansion and development of religious life in the city for all faiths as has occurred over the past few years.

Perhaps nothing could more readily illustrate the utter baselessness of this debate than the remarks of the Jordanian representative on the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, which is an utter travesty not only of facts but of history. We are referring to the Tomb of the Patriarchs in the City of Hebron, known to the Jewish people as the Cave of Machpellah. The Cave of Macpellah is a Jewish holy place, housing as it does the Tombs of the Jewish patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their respective wives, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah -- a fact conveniently ignored by the Jordanian representative.

For the benefit of any representatives who may not be particularly familiar with the Bible, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were Jewish and were the early Jewish patriarchs. The story of the acquisition of the land and the tomb by Abraham is told in chapter 23 of the Book of Genesis.

The Jordanian Government's record in respect of holy places under its control surely denies it any moral standing in such issues. Jewish access to the Cave of Macpellah or the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron was forbidden by the Jordanian authorities. The overriding principles guiding Israel's policy regarding all the holy places have been, and are, to guarantee free access to members of all faiths, and to ensure orderly conditions of worship to members of every religion. This principle applies also to the Cave of Machpellah, and the sanctity of that holy shrine is strictly observed. Nothing has been done to minimize in any way the responsibility exercised by the Moslem Waqf over the Cave: the Waqf -- the Moslem custodian -- holds the keys to the Cave, and its personnel continues to be responsible for the daily opening and closing of the Cave, as well as for its maintenance.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The orderly conduct of Moslem prayers has in no way been interfered with, nor has the public call to prayer been tampered with in any way. It is untrue that, as was alleged here, prayers for the Moslem dead have been forbidden or restricted in any manner, and funeral services continue to be officiated in the large Hall of Isaac and Rebecca. The only change made has been one requiring Moslem funeral processions to leave the Cave by the south-western gate in order to spare the feelings of Jewish worshippers praying in the Abraham and Sarah Hall.

Moslem religious teachers and personnel of the Cave have in no way been molested. On the contrary, they have been, and continue to be, accorded the respect due to them, and all the assistance necessary to carry out their duties has been made available to them.

Israel is proud of its record in respect of the holy places of all faiths. Israel policy will continue to adhere strictly to the fundamental principle of free access for prayer and worship by all believers of all faiths to all holy places.

This allegation about a shrine which is visited daily by hundreds and sometimes thousands of visitors from all over the world is patently untrue. It is so obviously a repetition of the tactic of the big lie, and yet is so sinister in all its horrible implications, designed as it is to incite millions of people who are ignorant of the facts. It is but another example of the level to which we have been dragged down in this Organization by those who are rapidly taking control and turning it into a centre of uncontrollable hate and irreconcilable division.

So much for the baseless allegations in the documents referred to. I will not engage in a time-consuming refutation of everything that has been said. I leave it to the members of the Council to draw their own inference from what has already proved to be false as to the remainder of the allegations.

We have listened to the representatives of Jordan and Egypt. For 19 years the Jordanians controlled the West Bank, and the Egyptians controlled the Gaza Strip. For 19 years they had it in their power to do everything that they want Israel to do today. Why did they not do it? Were there no Palestinian Arabs between 1948 and 1967 in the West Bank or Gaza? I ask those who were discussing this problem.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

For 19 years two Arab States had it in their power to do exactly that. Why did they not do it? Why in the course of 19 years was not even a local central administration set up in the West Bank by the Jordanians, or in Gaza by the Egyptians? Why in the 19 years before 1967 did not the Palestinian Arabs in the territories administered by Israel today achieve what they have achieved under Israel as far as the control of their domestic affairs is concerned?

Let us look at the situation in the West Bank under Jordan. I quote from a document from that period:

"In January 1966 the Jordanian authorities arrested 200 persons. In April they arrested 2,000 persons in the West Bank. In May, mass demonstrations took place in East Jerusalem, Hebron and Ramallah. The police used force, closed down schools, arrested hundreds of persons. In July, disturbances and mass demonstrations broke out in Nablus. The Jordanian police used tear gas, 12 persons were wounded, and 250 arrested. November saw a series of stormy disturbances and clashes between civilians and police and army forces, with numerous casualties. On 21 November shop and business strikes broke out in the Ramallah area. The army was called in to intervene, and employed tanks. The Jordanian authorities imposed a curfew and closed all the schools. Similar events occurred through November and December in most other towns. On 24 November the Jordanian army again employed tanks and tear gas. Twenty demonstrators were killed and many more wounded. On 8 December 1966 a general business strike was put down by force by the police and the Jordanian army. On 13 January 1967 the population of Nablus rose up. Barricades were put up in the streets. The Jordanian army had to surround the city and suppress resistance by force."

If you are interested in more, then I recommend, Mr. President and members of the Council, that you read the chapter, "Hussein Versus the Palestinians, 1964-1972", in this biography of King Hussein.

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(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Why is it that the major pitched battles carried out by the PLO have been waged against Arab Governments and Arab authority -- in 1970, in the so-called Black September, against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and this year as a major element in the destruction of the Lebanese State?

And now to the disturbances in the West Bank. The incidents in the West Bank are a result of demonstrations by youngsters who have been incited on the basis of false propaganda, such as the fairy tale about prayer in Al-Aqsa, to throw stones and riot. The bulk of the population in the West Bank is not involved in these events; and even today, as I sit here, some 70,000 Arabs from the territories administered by Israel came over to Israel, as they do every day, to work.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Today Israel is administering the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Some representatives will doubtless have noted that the situation in the Gaza Strip is marked by complete calm and an absence of any form of disturbance, while the incidents that are taking place are happening in the West Bank. The reason is that, in the pursuance of the enlightened and liberal policy which Israel has applied in the territories administered by the Government of Israel, free and secret elections are scheduled to be held in the West Bank on 12 April.

The nature of the situation in the West Bank being what it is, those elections could well prove to be a tour de force for the first time amongst Arabs on the Palestinian issue. The PLO by its very nature -- a grouping of terrorist organizations which rules by the muzzle of the kalachnikoff rifle and the assassin's bullet -- cannot possibly entertain free and secret elections. That is not how its leaders attained their present positions. Accordingly, they are endeavouring as they did four years ago, immediately before the previous elections, to arouse opinion, to incite, to inflame passions in order to head off the elections, the results of which might be somewhat embarrassing for them and which might well bring to the fore a new Palestinian Arab leadership of a responsible nature. They have not succeeded in disrupting elections in the past. They will not succeed this time.

At this Council table on 12 January the representative of the PLO already launched an attack on these elections. This is what is behind these disturbances and that is why they are taking place in the West Bank and not in Gaza.

There is a blatant attempt by that organization to disrupt orderly elections and to prevent the creation of any alternative grouping amongst the Palestinian Arabs which might give hope for a movement in the direction of peace. The Government of Israel will not be deterred from its policy of preventing that disruptive organization from attempting to bring chaos to the West Bank. They will not succeed, I assure the Council, in trying to do in the West Bank what they attempted to do in Jordan in the bloody days of the so-called "Black September" in September 1970 or what they have succeeded in doing in the tragedy of Lebanon.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

These disruptive elements about which the President of Egypt said only a few weeks ago that he does not know what they want, which, despite the fact that the representative of Jordan supports them with such moving fervour in this building, are not allowed to show their faces in Jordan and which are in the process of becoming an instrument of Syrian policy, will not be allowed by the Government of Israel to perpetrate their nefarious design against the constructive approach to the problem of the Middle East and of the Palestinian Arabs and will not be permitted by us in any manner to try to move towards the achievement of their aim of destroying the State of Israel. Let that be clear beyond all measure of doubt.

I think that it is time that the world awoke to the inherent destructiveness of the Arab purpose in the world today. The Lebanese crisis highlighted this situation. An Arab nation has been torn apart, and yet the Arab world with its Arab League and Arab summits was entirely incapable of doing anything, because it was torn and disunited and working at cross-purposes at all times. What has happened in Lebanon today should be an object lesson to the world about the so-called unity of the Arabs. Is it not time that the world, instead of looking at propaganda, looked at the facts in the face? Look at the Arab world today: Arabs slaughtering Arabs in Lebanon, Arabs slaughtering Arabs in Oman, and Arabs facing Arabs in battle array in the Sahara, on the Algerian-Moroccan border. For five long years in recent times Arabs waged a bloody war against Arabs in Yemen. Arabs struggled in mortal combat in the streets of Amman in a PLO endeavour to destroy the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan but a few years ago. Tens of thousands of Egyptian Arabs are being expelled these very days from Libya by Arabs. But that is not the only negative aspect of their inherent make-up. In addition to destroying each other, they are incapable of tolerating the presence of any other element in their area.

One cannot ignore the attitude of the Moslem Arabs to various cultural entities in the Middle East. Look at the fate of the Syrian Christians in Iraq and of the Copts in Egypt. One has but to contemplate the sombre and grim fate of the Kurds in Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of blacks were slaughtered

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

and oppressed in southern Sudan. And then we saw and in fact are witnessing a major move to eliminate the Christian community from Lebanon and thus to realize Yasser Arafat's avowed aim -- to quote from a speech of his in Libya last year -- that "there will be no presence but the Arab presence in the area". Add to all this the fate of over 800,000 Jews who lived in Arab countries and have had to leave them in the last 25 years.

In 1947 when the Jewish community accepted the United Nations decision dividing what was then Palestine into two States, one Jewish and the other Arab, the Arab States rejected it and chose instead to try to destroy the infant State of Israel by force of arms. In the subsequent fighting, the Jordanian Army seized the eastern half of Jerusalem and the historic walled Old City, which contains religious shrines sacred to Christians, Jews and Moslems.

For the next 19 years until 1967 Jerusalem remained a city divided, cut in half by barbed wire and ugly walls. For 19 years the Jordanian rule in the eastern half of the city constituted a record of deliberate desecration of Holy Places and complete disregard for an international agreement to provide free access to religious shrines.

It is a record of hundreds of holy scrolls and books reverently preserved for generations plundered and burnt to ashes; of synagogues razed to the ground or converted into hen-houses and stables filled with dung-heaps, garbage and carcasses. It is a record of tens of thousands of tombstones torn up and used as building materials for public latrines and army barracks; of graves gripped open and bones scattered to the four winds and an asphalt road cut through the pitiful remains to provide a short-cut to a new hotel built incongruously on top of the sacred Mount of Olives.

In 1949 Jordan signed an Armistice Agreement with Israel. Article 8 prescribed "free access to the Holy Places and to cultural institutions and use of the Jewish Cemetery on the Mount of Olives". The Jordanian Government never honoured its undertaking. For the first time in centuries Jews were completely barred from the Old City of Jerusalem and its Holy Places. They had no access to the cemetery on the Mount of Olives or any free

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

access to their cultural institutions on Mount Scopus. The functioning of those institutions stopped until June 1967. Moslem residents of Israel were prevented by Jordan from visiting Islam's Holy Places in East Jerusalem.

The Jordanian Government was not content to divide the city in two and ban all and any movement of Israelis -- Jews and Moslems -- to the part which it had annexed by force. It began systematically to eliminate every trace of the city's Jewish past. The Jewish Quarter was laid waste. Fifty-eight synagogues, some of great antiquity, were destroyed or desecrated.

Synagogues that were not destroyed were used by the Jordanians as toilets, stables and hen-coops. In the cemetery on the Mount of Olives, hallowed to Jews for thousands of years, 38,000 of the 50,000 tombstones were torn up to pave roads, build fences and install latrines. I myself found the graves of my grandparents and my great-grandmother on the Mount of Olives in June 1967 desecrated, their tombstones destroyed.

For 19 years Jerusalem was bisected by barbed wire and concrete barriers. In May 1967 the Temple Mount which we are discussing today became a military camp for the Jordanian National Guard.

During its occupation of East Jerusalem, the Jordan Government forbade Jewish entry and set out to Arabize the city and erase its Jewish identity; it took action against the Christian inhabitants as well.

In 1958, the Amman Parliament passed a law requiring all members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre to adopt Jordanian citizenship. Since the fifth century members of that Brotherhood had invariably been Greek.

In 1965 Jordanian legislation was passed restricting the development of Christian institutions by cancelling their right to acquire land in or near Jerusalem.

In 1966 Christian schools were compelled to close on Fridays, the Moslem day of rest; Christian education was restricted, and privileges previously enjoyed by Christian religious institutions were abolished.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

During the entire period, as these foul acts of desecration were being perpetrated against places holy to the Jewish people, the world remained silent. There was no Security Council meeting when Jewish synagogues were burnt and Jewish graves were defiled, when Jewish shrines were closed off. Indeed, small wonder, when one considers the one-sided pattern of discrimination against our people which characterizes the deliberations in this Organization. I can only repeat the words of a distinguished predecessor of mine in this body:

"I heard not one expression of dismay across the entire human scene when Jordan destroyed ancient synagogues in the Old City in an orgy of hate," Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, told the General Assembly on 12 July 1967. He went on:

"No United Nations organ expressed any dismay when Jordan, for twenty years, refused any access to the oldest and most revered of all Holy Places: the Western Wall. Nor was there any expression of dismay when tombstones on the Mount of Olives were uprooted to build walls in secular buildings ...".
(A/PV.1550, para. 100)

The city of Jerusalem is a city of unique character. It is a Holy City sacred to millions of members of the three great religions, and its holy shrines and traditions are the heritage of mankind. It is this unique character of Jerusalem that makes all the considerations affecting it so difficult to limit and delineate -- the demographic and the urban, the cultural and the legal, the historical and the religious, the aesthetic and the economic, the parochial and the international are all inextricably associated in the City of Jerusalem.

In the course of history Jerusalem has known many rulers. But only for Jews has it been the capital of the nation living in our land. At all other times Jerusalem was ruled by foreigners who treated it as a provincial town. The Jews of Jerusalem today are the inhabitants with the longest unbroken historical association with it. The story of Jewish attachment to Jerusalem under alien domination is that of an unremitting struggle to preserve a Jewish presence in it, never allowing the link to be broken.

While the Jordanian Government destroyed the ancient Jewish Quarter in the Old City and barred Jews from entry even as tourists, thus preventing them from worshipping at what I have described as Judaism's holiest place,

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Jerusalem today is an open city -- open to all its citizens, Jews, Moslems and Christians, and to members of all faiths from all nations. It is open even to those who claim to be Israel's enemies. To date, millions of tourists from all over the world, including hostile Arab States, have visited Jerusalem and have enjoyed freedom of access to and worship at their respective holy places.

But Jerusalem is more than a conglomeration of holy places. It is a city, a living and breathing entity, a human community engaged in all the traffic and commerce of everyday life. It is a home for over 215,500 Jews, 61,600 Moslems and 11,500 Christians of all denominations -- Armenians, Copts, Orthodox, Latins, Roman Catholics and Protestants. To all these people Jerusalem is a city in which they work and live, raise families and acquire their education. The unique and the common are deeply mingled in the life of the people of Jerusalem, and it is the first time in history that Jerusalem has reached such a level of harmony and peaceful coexistence among its various communities.

In view of Jerusalem's special universal significance, it was only natural that many distinguished personalities from all over the world should volunteer or be sought out to give advice on the city's future character. Seven years ago, Mayor Teddy Kollek decided to give form and organization to this idea, and he invited some 70 outstanding international personalities -- mainly non-Jews -- to join, as members of the Jerusalem Committee, a world advisory council concerned with the beautification and restoration of the city. The committee's first meeting took place in 1969, and its second session was held in June 1973. Let me quote from the last report of that committee:

"In a world of distressing frictions and intolerance, Jerusalem observes and encourages religious and communal freedom, full access to its Holy Places and shrines of worship, a deep respect for the cultural and historical heritage of all its citizens, and beyond that, for all mankind. Attempts to break the peace through acts of terror or civil disturbance that have recently occurred or may recur should not deflect or deter the responsible guardians of this universal city from the continued policy and practice of ever-increasing inter-communal co-operation.

"The Committee would like to acknowledge the successful efforts made in the field of education. Everywhere we observed the building of new schools, appropriately located, serving all ethnic and religious groups.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Especially does the Committee applaud the action within the educational system of Jerusalem, permitting schools, Christian and Moslem alike, to allow their students to choose a curriculum that gives them the opportunity of choice to continue their education in Israeli universities as well as universities in Arab countries.

"The Committee finds it necessary to express its conviction that Jerusalem is and should remain a united City, humane and universal. In the views of the Committee, those at present responsible for administering the City have proved themselves conscious of the trust to serve the best interests not only of its inhabitants but of all mankind.

"Finally, the Committee calls upon the peoples of the world and on all international organizations to recognize their responsibility to assist those engaged in planning and executing the restoration and development of this universal City, Jerusalem, by intensifying their interest and concern and providing support for this important work."

Finally, in the past 2,000 years the city of Jerusalem has not known a more enlightened administration than today's, dedicated to the principles of human tolerance and peaceful coexistence between the various communities which comprise the human mosaic of that unique, immortal and beautiful city. Our Jewish sages said, "Ten measures of beauty were given to the world; nine of them belong to Jerusalem".

Under Mayor Kollek's dynamic and imaginative leadership -- and here I should mention in parentheses that he received more votes in the Arab section, in East Jerusalem than any Arab mayor before him had received in that part of the town -- the city has become a place of beauty in which the cultural, religious and aesthetic mingle together to give Jerusalem its peculiar and unique character. Since the days of King David, when the city was established as the capital of our nation, it has continued to be the centre of Jewish life, hope and yearning. Three times a day for thousands of years Jews have prayed, "To Jerusalem thy city shall we return in joy". For thousands of years, Jews have re-echoed the Psalmists' oath, "If I forget thee O' Jerusalem may my right hand forget its cunning".

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I offer no excuse for our presence in Jerusalem. I owe no apology. We are there as of right -- a right that has been hallowed by our Bible; a right which has been sanctified by our history, by our sacrifice, by our prayers and by our yearnings; a right which has been strengthened and vindicated by virtue of our creating the only liberal administration giving complete freedom of worship to all faiths which the city has known for the first time without any restraint whatsoever in 2,000 years.

Before the capital cities of the countries represented here -- with the possible exception of China -- existed, Jerusalem was the capital city of the Jewish Commonwealth. While wild herds roamed on the sites of what are today the great capital cities of the world, the prophets of Israel were walking in the streets of Jerusalem and proclaiming in their immortal words the great principles of humanity to mankind for the first time. When many of the great civilizations of today were but primitive societies, the judges of Israel were dispensing justice in Jerusalem on the basis of one of the most advanced and enlightened codes of law in history.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

We are proud of Jerusalem and all that it stands for. We are proud of the trust we hold in respect of the two other great religions in our capital city. We are proud of the manner in which we carry out this trust before history. It is all there in the open for everyone to see.

Let us not allow the purveyors of hate and discrimination whose diatribes have become the common parlance of this Organization to deflect us from continuing on the road towards peace in the Middle East, with the inspiring model of Jerusalem as it is today as our example. May the prayers of Jews, the call of the muezzin and the pealing of the church bells resound above the majestic mountains of Jerusalem and combine in a prayer for peace in the City of Peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker on the list is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. PETRIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I am gratified to have this opportunity to greet you in your capacity as President of the Security Council for the month of March as well as representative of Benin, a friendly African and non-aligned country which, like my own, is lending assistance and support to peoples and liberation movements that are fighting for freedom and independence.

We also welcome the arrival of Mr. Scranton in his new capacity as the United States Permanent Representative and we hope to have fruitful co-operation with him.

The most recent aggressive and repressive acts of the occupation forces of Israel in the West Bank, in Jerusalem and in other occupied territories are directed against the Palestinian population living in those territories, with the aim of drastically altering their demographic structure. The changes that the Israeli occupier is trying to introduce into those territories, concerning their demography and administration, in the domain of the economy and in the field of religion, constitute a short-sighted and hopeless

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Mr. HERZOG (Israel): As I listened to the vicious diatribe from most of the speakers until now, it occurred to me that never has the injunction requiring those people who live in glass houses not to throw stones been so applicable. Here one has a group of nations practising everything that they have attributed to Israel, violating every human and natural law in the conduct of their own affairs, engaged in racism as an integral part of their legal system, guilty of massacres, of mass arrests and characterized one by the other as a mass prison.

This is the characterization of Syria in a semi-official Egyptian newspaper, Al-Gumhuriya, in an article only a few months ago on 9 November 1975, headlined "Syria is one big prison". These are countries which deny any elementary human rights, countries such as Jordan and Egypt which did not do in the West Bank or Gaza what they had in their power to do and what they ask Israel to do today, countries which are actively engaged in all forms of mediaeval, Byzantine types of suppression, torture and oppression and international intrigue which defy description; countries which carry out a continuous and persistent policy of the prosecution of minorities, countries whose conduct in respect of the basic principles of natural law and humanity is a disgrace to mankind, countries such as Yugoslavia, in which we learned the other day that a lawyer was sent to gaol for defending his client.

Indeed, if I mention Yugoslavia, it is because the internal problems in that country must truly be grave if the Ambassador of Yugoslavia feels obliged to divert attention from them by prodding himself to the forefront on every occasion when an anti-Semitic or anti-Israel free-for-all is taking place.

I could go on, but this whole cynical exercise is so disgusting that it hardly merits the time we are taking.

Let me give you a bit of advice, Mr. President. If you want to know the true character of these countries, read what each one of them says about the other. There is a saying in Arabic to the effect that no one knows your secrets except your God and your neighbours. The Arab neighbours know each other so well that I do not have to elaborate in any way on what they say about each other for you to understand their nature.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I was very moved by the concern of the representative of the Soviet Union for the religious rights of the Moslem community in Jerusalem. At least he might have limited himself to the falsehoods in the Arab accusations levelled against us. But he goes even further and talks of the use of Israeli forces in Al Aqsa Mosque. May I express the hope here -- which, I am sure, is reflected by millions of Moslems throughout the world -- that his intervention indicates a major departure in Soviet Government policy in regard to the practice of religion.

The representative of the Soviet Union talked about the "anti-human" act involved in attempting to influence school curricula in Jerusalem. I pointed out that these curricula are Jordanian and not Israeli or Christian in accordance with the desire of each Church. I am deeply moved by the solicitude of the representative of the Soviet Union for freedom of education, which, I would like to believe, indicates a new development in the Soviet Union's approach to this freedom.

These two departures prompt me to express the hope that the Soviet Union will now change its attitude and its behaviour towards the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and towards its discriminatory behaviour in respect of Jewish freedom of religion and that it will, since he considers attempting to impose school curricula an anti-human act, remove all disabilities from Jewish education in the Soviet Union and will allow our people to maintain their own curriculum and their links to our ancient heritage. The Soviet Government's attitude to its Jewish population should exercise it before it begins to meddle in other affairs. Indeed, were the Soviet Union to cease meddling in the Middle East, we might achieve peace. Let me quote President Sadat of Egypt, only a few weeks ago, on the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East, as reported in an Egyptian newspaper:

"The USSR communicates things to certain Arab sides in order to turn us one against each other. It is resorting to the policy of turning the régimes against each other as usual. It is turning Syria against Egypt and Egypt against Syria; Syria against Iraq and Iraq against Syria; Egypt against Lybia and Lybia against Egypt -- and the process is going on."

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The representative of Egypt asked why the United Nations Commission on the territories is not allowed to visit the territories. He knows as well as I do. He knows that the Government of Israel at the time that that Commission was appointed said that it would only co-operate with that Commission if, in addition to examining Israeli practices in the territories, it would examine Arab practices against Jewish populations in Arab countries. This was refused, and that is the reason why we refused to have anything to do with that Commission.

I was deeply moved by the moving concern of the Egyptian representative for the Palestinian Arabs, but frankly I am perplexed. I have been reading his President's interviews and speeches of late. I read them all, and I detect a certain dissonance between his remarks and those of his President with respect to this issue. I am quite convinced that many of the representatives here will join me in envying him his freedom of action.

He talks about Gaza. Let me quote from a Saudi Arabian newspaper published in 1966, from a resident of Gaza quoted in this newspaper at a time that the Egyptian occupation was in force.

"Gaza is the only remnant of our seized country. I wish it had also been taken so that we could at least know that the one who profanes our honour, hurts us and tortures us is the foreign Zionist oppressor, Ben Gurion, and not an Arab brother named Abdel Nasser. Consider the attitude of Nasser's administration to us and you will find that the Jews under Hitler did not suffer as we do under Nasser. First of all, in order to leave our camps and go to Cairo or to Alexandria or other cities, we have to go through a long drawn-out process. Anyone who requests a travel permit must undergo an inspection and suspicion is cast on his loyalty. The scheming and unscrupulous investigators are liable to land in prison anyone who asks for a travel permit".

Or, let me quote Jidda Radio in Saudi Arabia, again during the period of Egyptian occupation:

"Let us now examine the Cairo rulers' attitude to the Palestinians. Saudi Arabia opened its doors wide to the people of Palestine at a time when Egypt shut its door in their faces. We are aware of the laws which

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

prohibit all Palestinians from working in Egypt with or without pay, a condition which is stamped on the passport of every Arab who enters Cairo. On this occasion, we would like to ask Cairo what is this Iron Curtain which Abdel Nasser and his cohorts have lowered around Gaza and the refugees there? The Military Governor in Gaza has prohibited any Arab from travelling to Cairo by air without a military permit, which is valid for 24 hours. Imagine, Arabs, how Nasser, who claims to be the pioneer of Arab nationalism, treats the Arab people of Gaza, Gaza and its miserable people who starve while the Egyptian Governor of Gaza and his officers and soldiers bask in the wealth of the Strip.

The representative of Jordan represents the country which was the first country in history to bombard the Holy City of Jerusalem. The second time they did it was in 1967, and if you just want to get a measure of the veracity of his remarks, he has talked about Mamillah cemetery being destroyed. Now, I know that quite a number of people seated in this hall have been to Jerusalem and are very familiar with the Mamillah cemetery, which is part of the national park in Jerusalem. They pass it every day when they are at the King David Hotel, and each one of you who has been in Jerusalem of late will know that this is a complete and utter falsehood.

Now he talks about the events of 1948. Let me quote from the book published by Colonel Abdullah Al Tal, who commanded part of the Jordanian forces at that time. In his memoirs, published in 1959 in Arabic at Cairo, because in the meantime as part of the normal procedures that we are aware of in the Arab world he had been obliged to leave Jordan, he says:

"The operations of calculated destruction were set in motion. I knew that the Jewish quarter was densely populated with Jews who caused their fighters a good deal of interference and difficulty. I embarked, therefore, on the shelling of the quarter with mortars, creating harassment and destruction. Only four days after our entry into Jerusalem the Jewish quarter had become a graveyard. Death and destruction reigned over it".

The French consul in Jerusalem, the late Mr. Neuville whom I knew very well at the time, sent a cable to the President of the Security Council which was read by the President at the 301st meeting of the Security Council on 22 May 1948:

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

"The Arab Legion has heavily shelled the New City and the Jewish quarter in the Old City during the night. The shelling, which started again this morning, has been going on for about two hours. The destruction of the city is proceeding at an ever-increasing rate". (301st meeting, p.28)
So much for what happened in 1948 and for the tales told by my Jordanian colleague.

I must say that it is very moving indeed to hear the solicitude of the Jordanian representative for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The fact is that the PLO dare not show their noses in Jordan today. Let me quote from two statements recently made. One was made by Mr. Farouk Khaddoumi, a member of the PLO Executive Committee, only a few weeks ago. He said:

"The PLO demands a political and military presence in Jordan, an objective which" -- in his opinion -- "will necessitate a change of the régime in Jordan".

Or Yasser Arafat, who, on 10 November 1974 in a letter addressed to the Congress of Jordanian Students in Baghdad, wrote:

"Jordan is ours. Palestine is ours, and we shall build our national entity on the whole of this land after having freed it both from the Zionist presence and the reactionary traitor presence".

How completely unreal this whole situation really is. Let me ask the representative of Jordan: When the Syrians stabbed you in the back on 9 September 1970 as your forces fought against the PLO in Amman, from whom did you ask for air support against the advancing Syrian tanks? If you have forgotten, please refresh your memory by reading the Kalb book entitled, Kissinger.

If the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is still independent, it is thanks in no small measure to Israel.

And as we are already talking about occupation let me quote from an interview given by Arab inhabitants of the West Bank who came to Lebanon in 1971, an interview in the Beirut daily, al-Hawadith, written on 23 April 1971. It was a form of public opinion poll about Israeli rule carried out among the West Bankers visiting Lebanon.

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(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

"Those arriving from the West Bank define the situation thus: We have not forgotten nor will we ever forget the type of rule which degraded our honour and trampled the human feelings within us, a rule which they built by their inquisition and the boots of their desert men. We have lived a long period under the humiliation of Arab nationalism, and it pains us to say that we had to wait for the Israeli conquest in order to become aware of human relationships with citizens".

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Finally, we were asked by the Syrian representative why we were so concerned with Lebanon. Have you ever heard such a cynical question? How revealing it is. Lebanon is bleeding, Lebanon is being torn apart, and we are sitting here engaged in a useless diatribe which can bring no good either to the Israel-Arab problem or to the Middle East or to the peace of the world.

From the time of our meeting yesterday morning to our meeting this morning, 150 people have been killed in Lebanon. And yet this world body is cynically ignoring all that is going on there.

I wish to make just one remark in conclusion. In the process of solving international problems by means of producing facile slogans -- and what is happening in the Middle East is a classic example -- the magic formula of the 1967 borders is produced; indeed, it has been produced again this morning. Everybody pulls this solution out of the hat -- including my Western friends: "If only we would pull back to the 1967 borders, all would be solved".

But for 19 years we sat along the 1967 borders, until the Arabs attacked in 1967. They talk today of aggression in 1967. They talk of occupied territories. But they very conveniently forget the reasons for the occupation of the territories, the historical facts of 1967. For 19 years we sat along those borders. Did they make peace? Did they negotiate for peace?

This is not the problem. If it were the problem, why was it not solved long ago? Why should there have been an Arab attack in 1967? The answer is that, I repeat, this is not the problem. It is not a question of territory; it is not a question of Palestinians -- although both issues are very important. It is a question of a change of heart in respect of Israel on the part of the Arab countries. Until that change is achieved, no meaningful advance can really be made. I repeat that at the heart of the conflict lies the Arab refusal to recognize the right of the Jewish nation to self-determination and national sovereignty. That is the crux of the problem. That is what we should be dealing with if we really wish to tackle the problem, rather than engaging in this facile and useless diatribe now going on here.

מס. 709

נשלח 25/3/76

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אל; מ קירון. מאומ ב

לחץ המסך המהלך של זכרי הרצוג בישיבת אחר הצהריים
העמק ורשינגטון (הועבר)

MR. HERZOG: IN MY INITIAL REMARKS TO THIS COUNCIL I DWELT ON THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL LAW IN THE UNITED NATIONS PRACTICE. I POINTED OUT THAT THE CONCEPTS OF IMPARTIALITY IN SUCH A HEARING AS THIS ONE HAD BEEN REPLACED BY THE IDEA THAT UNITED NATIONS ORGANS ARE BOTH PROSECUTOR AND JUDGE.

AN ALLEGATION WAS PREFERRED IN CONNEXION WITH CERTAIN ALLEGED EVENTS IN JERUSALEM CONNECTED WITH AL AQSA JOSQUE. AS I POINTED OUT, THE ALLEGATION WAS NOTHING MORE THAN ALIE AND UTTERED IN A MISCHIEVOUS AND SINISTER ATTEMPT TO INCITE RELIGIOUS FEELINGS FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES. I TRUST THAT I CONVINCED AT LEAST SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVE THAT INDEED WE WERE DEALING

WITH A FRIVOLOUS ARGUMENT WHICH WAS COMPLETELY UNSUSTAINED BY THE EVIDENCE AND WAS IN FACT A FACETIOUS USE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES' TIME WHAT IS SO SERIOUS, OF COURSE, (IN THIS WHOLE DEBATE IS THE DANGEROUS AND SINISTER PURPOSE BEHIND IT ALL, NAMELY AN ATTEMPT TO INFLAME RELIGIOUS OPINION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ON THE BASIS OF A FOUL UNTRUTH.

AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO CONDEMN ISRAEL, WHOSE GOVERNMENT IS IN FACT PROTECTING THE MOSLEMS' RIGHTS AND WHOSE SUPREME COURT HAS TWICE UPHELD THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION. I BELIEVE THAT I CONVINCED SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES HERE ON THIS POINT. IN FACT, YOU MAY HAVE NOTICED THAT ALLEGATIONS IN THIS RESPECT HAVE QUIETLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE SPEECHES MADE BEFORE THIS BODY. INSTEAD, WE SUDDENTLY FIND OURSELVES SEIZED OF ALL SORTS OF MATTERS IRRELEVANT TO THE ACCUSATION PREFERRED WHICH DO NOT RELATE WHATSOEVER TO THE ORIGINAL CHARGES IN RESPECT OF

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IN RESPECT OF WHICH THIS BODY WAS HASTILY SUMMONED. THIS IS IN THE ORWELLIAN TRADITION OF THIS ORGANIZATION; TO DEBATE SOMETHING THAT NEVER WAS IN THE LANGUAGE WHICH ORWELL COINED "NEWSPEAK" IN WHICH PEACE IS WAR LOVE IS HATE AND TRUTH IS FALSHOOD. YES, IT MAY BE 1976 OUTSIDE THIS BUILDING BUT THE YEAR INSIDE THIS BUILDING IS 1984.

AND NOW WHAT DO WE DO? THIS ALLEGATION HAVING BEEN PROVED FALSE, ALL FORMS OF SIDE ISSUES WERE INTRODUCED, WHICH ONLY GOES TO PROVE WHAT I EXPLAINED TO THIS COUNCIL AS TO THE REAL PURPOSE OF THE FRIVOLOUS DOCUMENT ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED IN ORDER TO SUMMON THIS BODY.

WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED OF THIS BODY IF IT HAD BEEN ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL LAW—WHICH SHOULD OF COURSE GUIDE IT? IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, THOSE WHO HAD PREFERRED THIS FALSE CHARGE WOULD HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED NOT ONLY FOR BRINGING IT BEFORE THIS BODY AND WASTING EVERYBODY'S TIME BUT ALSO FOR A FLAGRANT ACT OF RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT CALCULATED TO LEAD TO A DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE AND TO INFLAME PASSIONS IN A SITUATION FRAUGHT WITH DANGER. AN IMPARTIAL BODY SEATED AS A JUDICIARY, INDEPENDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE, UNIMPEDED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPEDIENCY WOULD FIRST OF ALL HAVE CONDEMNED THIS DISGRACEFUL ATTEMPT TO FALSIFY THE FACTS, CREATE MISCHIEF, ENCOURAGE RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT AND DO HARM IN A CHARGED ATMOSPHERE TODAY IN A MANNER WHICH IS BEST CALCULATED TO BRING DETERIORATION AND TRAGEDY. THIS BODY WOULD THEN HAVE PROCEEDED, IF INDEED IT WERE AN IMPARTIAL JUDICIARY AND UNIMPEDED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPEDIENCY, TO INVITE THE STATES PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO MEET IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973) FACE TO FACE AND COME TO TERMS WITH THE ISSUES AT STAKE INSTEAD OF WASTING THE TIME OF THIS COUNCIL.

INSTEAD, WHAT ARE YOU DOING? AS I POINTED OUT, SINCE THREE DAYS BEFORE I WAS EVEN GIVEN A CHANCE TO PRESENT OUR CASE YOU HAVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INCONGRUOUS PRACTICE WHICH HAS BEGUN TO BE ACCEPTED AS A NORM HERE, EVEN BY THOSE WHO KNOW BETTER BEEN SITTING IN JUDGMENT AND IN FACT WRITING THE JUDGMENT, FOR THAT IS WHAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION IS, EVEN BEFORE YOU HEARD THE SIDES TO THE CASE. I PROTEST AGAINST THIS DISGRACEFUL BEHAVIOUR WHICH VIOLATES NORMS OF NATURAL LAW AND WHICH IS DESTROYING THE UNITED NATIONS. IN RAISING MY VOICE AGAINST IT MAY I EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE ENLIGHTENED WORLD COMMUNITY WILL AWAKEN TO THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THIS ABHORENT DEVELOPMENT. TO RETURN TO THE

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QUEEN OF HEARTS. "SENTENCE FIRST, JUDGMENT AFTERWARDS".
HERE YOU ARE DOING IT AGAIN.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN DEALING WITH THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IS A TRAGEDY OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROPORTIONS. ITS IMPLICATIONS ARE TERRIFYING AND SINISTER. IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN ACTING AS A FORUM THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATION, TO STRIVE FOR CONSENSUS AND COMPROMISE, FOR THAT IS THE ONLY MANNER IN WHICH THE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST WILL BE RESOLVED. INSTEAD THE UNITED NATIONS BY ALLOWING ITSELF TO BE DOMINATED BY A GROUP OF INTRANSIGENT EXTREMISTS WHOSE DECLARED PURPOSE IS TO FIGHT AGAINST ANY MOVE TOWARDS PEACE, IS ENCOURAGING DISSENT INSTEAD OF ACCORD INTRANSIGENCE INSTEAD OF COMPROMISE FANATICISM INSTEAD OF ACCOMMODATION AND CONFLICT INSTEAD OF PEACE. BY TAKING A SUBJECT WHICH CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY COMPROMISE AND BRINGING IT TO THE TYPE OF DISCUSSION WHICH WE ARE OBLIGED TO LISTEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN MANOEUVRED INTO THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE ELEMENTS THAT WOULD SABOTAGE EVERY EFFORT IN THE MIDDLE EAST TOWARDS PEACE. BY ALLOWING SMALL GROUPS OF IRRESPONSIBLE EXTREMISTS TO DICTATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, THE TRAGEDY OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS BEING PROLONGED.

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE MANNER THAT THERE IS NO POINT WHATSOEVER IN DISCUSSING OUT OF CONTEXT THE TERRITORIES ADMINISTERED BY ISRAEL. - ANYONE WHO DOES SO IS CONSCIOUSLY DISTORTING THE PICTURE. TWICE BEFORE IN 1949 AND 1957, WE WITHDREW FROM TERRITORIES IN THE HOPE THAT THIS WOULD ENCOURAGE OUR ARAB NEIGHBOURS TO MOVE TOWARDS PEACE. WE WERE GIVEN UNDERTAKINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL NATURE AT THAT TIME. YET WHEN THE ARABS DECIDED TO ATTACK US IN 1967 ALL THE UNDERTAKINGS WERE FORGOTTEN. THE SANCTITY OF THE 1967 BORDERS WHICH IS CONSTANTLY INVOKED WAS IGNORED.

OUR EXPERIENCE LED US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WITHDRAWAL ACCOMMODATION AND CONCESSION COULD COME ONLY IN RETURN FOR A STATE OF PEACE. WE DID NOT WANT WAR IN 1967. WE DID NOT SEEK HOSTILITIES WE WERE LIVING BEHIND THE 1967 BORDERS. WE WERE ATTACKED AND PROMISED ANNIHILATION. WE WILL NOT AGREE TO THE CREATION AGAIN OF THE SITUATION WHICH BROUGHT ON THE PREVIOUS WARS OF INDEED TO ANY COMPROMISE UNLESS IT IS IN RETURN FOR

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A MOVE TOWARDS PEACE, THAT WE ARE PREPARED FOR THIS TYPE OF ADVANCE HAS BEEN ADEQUATELY DEMONSTRATED IN THE ISRAEL EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT IN THE SINAI.

FURTHERMORE FOR 19 YEARS AS I POINTED OUT WE SAT ALONG THE 1967 BORDERS WHICH HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME SACROSANCT IN THE EYES OF ALL AND THE SOLUTION FOR ALL EVILS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, DID THE ARAB STATES MAKE PEACE, OR EVEN TALK PEACE? NO, THEY MADE WAR IN 1967, THAT WAR WHICH THEY MADE FOR THE AVOWED PURPOSE - IT IS ALL ON THE RECORD OF THROWING US INTO THE SEA AND DESTROYING US ALL MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO QUOTE THEM AT THE TIME, IS WHAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION WHEREBY WE ADMINISTER THESE TERRITORIES, DESPITE THE PROBLEMS WE ARE PROUD OF OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THESE TERRITORIES, WE ARE PROUD OF THE FACT THAT DESPITE ALL THE PROVOCATION NOT ONCE HAS THE DEATH SENTENCE BEEN CARRIED OUT, WE ARE PROUD OF THE FACT WE HAVE GIVEN A LARGE PALESTINIAN ARAB POPULATION MORE FREEDOM IN RELATION TO THE GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE THAN ANY OTHER ARAB IN THE MIDDLE EAST ENJOYS NOWHERE IN THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD TODAY NOW THAT THE LEBANON HAS BEEN - I REGRET - ELIPSED TO A GREAT DEGREE IS AN ARAB FREEP

TO SPEAK WRITE AND VOTE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH HE LIVES, ONLY IN ISRAEL IS THIS POSSIBLE FOR AN ARAB, WE ARE PROUD BECAUSE IN THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA WHERE WE ARE ENGAGED IN A DAILY DIALOGUE WITH A LARGE PALESTINIAN ARAB POPULATION WE HAVE CONSCIOUSLY CREATED A BRIDGE TO THE ARAB WORLD WHICH HAS IN THESE WEEKS STOOD THE TEST OF THE DISTURBANCES BROUGHT ABOUT BY IRRESPONSIBLE INCITEMENT IN WHICH THIS COUNCIL MEETING HAS REGRETABLY PLAYED A PART, LOOK AT THE EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY CONTEMPLATE ALL THAT IS HAPPENING DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY AND GIVE EVENTS THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS, IN THE DISTURBANCE WHICH OCCURRED IN PARTS OF THE WEST BANK AND WHICH WERE AROUSED BY RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT SPARKED OFF BY THE STORY OF AL AQSA WHICH HAS NO BASIS IN FACT AND IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WAS PROTECTING MOSLEM INTERESTS INDEED NOBODY WAS MORE VOCIFEROUS AND ACTIVE IN PACIFYING THE CROUDS THAN THEKADIS AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS AT THE AL AQSA MOSQUE, THANKS TO THEM THE DEVELOPMENTS DID NOT GET OUT OF HAND A NUMBER OF SALIENT FACTS ARE WORTHY OF NOTE, DURING THESE EVENTS THE BRIDGES ACROSS THE JORDAN REMAINED OPEN TO THE MOVEMENT OF THOUSANDS OF ARABS AND OTHERS IN BOTH DIRECTION AND TO TWO WAY TRADE, SEVENTY THOUSAND ARAB WORKERS CROSSED DAILY INTO ISRAEL AS THEY DO EVERY DAY TO COME TO WORK, IN NO CASE WAS THE USE OF FIREARMS AUTOHRISED, FOR THE UNFORTUNATE SHOOTING OF A CHILD

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HAS BENN ARRESTED AND ARRAIGNED. AS I MENTIONED TWO DAYS AGO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN THE WEST BANK DURING THIS PERIOD DID NOT EXCEED 48.

LET US LOOK AT THE PICTURE IN PERSPECTIVE. DESPITE THE DISTURBANCES NO ARAB VOICE WAS RAISED IN THE WEST BANK CALLING FOR CANCELLATION OF THE ELECTIONS. IF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS WANT ELECTIONS THEY WILL BE HELD. IF THEY DO NOT WANT THEM IT IS UP TO THEM. CANDIDATES WILL FILE ON THE 28TH OF THIS MONTH NAMELY NEXT MONDAY AND ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR 12 APRIL. SO LET US RETURN TO THE PICTURE WHICH HAS BEEN DISTORTED BY ARAB RHETORIC TO ITS TRUE PROPORTIONS. REMEMBER THAT WHILE WE HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO THIS PURPOSELESS DEBATE A CASUALTY LIST OF OVER 200 KILLED WAS RECORDED LAST NIGHT IN THE LEBANON FOR A TOTAL OF APPROXIMATELY 480 SINCE OUR DEBATE BEGAN. AND STILL SILENCE FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHILE TRAGEDY STALKS THE LEBANON THIS COUNCIL CONTINUES TO FIDDLE WHILE THE LEBANON BURNS. NOT RO A MOMENT AS I SUGGESTING NOR HAVE I EVERY SUGGESTED IN THE MEETINGS OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS NOT FOR A MOMENT ARE WE TRYING TO AVOID THE ISSUES FACING US. THEY ARE THERE FOR US ALL TO SEE AND OUR GOVERNMENTS POLICY AS TO THEIR SOLUTION HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR TIME AND TIME AGAIN BUT CAN MEMBERS OF THE COJNCIL ENVISAGE THE SOLUTION BETWEEN PARTIES TO A PROBLEM WITHOUT NEGOTIATION ONSE? CAN THEY ENVISAGE ANY HUMAN PROBLEMS BEING DECIDED WITHOUT THE INVOLVED PARTIES NEGOTIATING? CAN THEY ENVISAGE ANY FRUITFUL DEVELOPMENT THAT COULD POSSIBLY EMERGE FROM THE TYPE OF DEBATE WHICH WE HAVE HEARD IN THIS CHAMBER OR IN ANY OTHER CHAMBER IN THIS BUILDING? DO THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT ANY SELF RESPECTING INDIVIDUAL LET ALONE ANY SELF RESPECTING COUNTRY WOULD AGREE TO BE BROWBEATEN LIKE THIS AND THEN BE EXPECTED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AND PUT ITS GOOD FAITH IN THOSE WHO MAKE THESE STATEMENTS?

TWO ARAB REPRESENTATIVES SPODE IN THIS COUNCIL CHAMBER YESTERDAY IN TERMS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AN ORGAN WHICH IS ENTRUSTED WITH THE -- PRIMAY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY-- CALLED IN THIS CHAMBER YESTERDAY FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATED. THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER STATES IN ARTICLE 23 THE FOLLOWING: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHALL ELECT TEN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED

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NATIONS TO BE NON PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
DUE REGARD BEING SPECIALLY PAID IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO THE CONTRIB⁴¹⁰⁴
OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO THE MAINTENANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO THE OTHER PURPOSES OF
THE ORGANIZATION.

WHAT MORAL STANDING CAN THIS COUNCIL HAVE WHEN ON IT SITE A
MEMBER WHO CAN COME BEFORE IT AND CALL FOR THE DESTRUCITON OF A
STATE MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LIBYA STATEFYESTERJY BEFORE THIS COUNCIL
- THIS RACIST ENTITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE DESTROED AND IT
WLL BE DESTROYED ONE DAY-

YET LET IT BE RECORDED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINED SILENT
CAN THIS REALLY BE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS?
THAKE THE LIST OF THE ARAB STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SPOKEN
HERE LOOK AT THEIR RECORD NOT TOWARD ISRAEL, BUT ONE TOWARD THE
OTHER, CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT THEIR RECORD OF LOYALTY TO THEIR
FRIENDS TO THEIR FELLOW ARABS TO THE COUNTRIES THAT HELPED THEM
IN THEIR HOURS OF STRESS AND NEED, BOTH MILITARILY AND ACONOMICALLY
CONSIDER THEIR INTER ARAB RELATIONS, IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN THERE
IN NOT ONE TREATY THAT HAS BENN SIGNED BETWEEN ARAB COUNTRIES
AMONST THEMSELVES THAT HAS NOT BEEN BRODEN ON ONE OR MORE OCCASION
CONSIDER ALL THIS AND THEN LET THE CONCIL ASK ITSELF IN ITS HEART
OF HEARTS WHETHER IT WOULD RECOMMEND TO ISRAEL RECOMMEND INDEED
TO ANY COUNTRY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WNDER SUCH CONDITIONS.

I KNOW THAT IT WILL NOT EXPRESS IT SELF BUT AL LEAST LET ITS
TRUE FEELINGS IF NOT ITS STATEMENTS AND VOTES BE TEMPERED BY
A DEGREE OF INTELLECTUAL HOMESTY WHEN EVALUATING THIS SITUATION
IS IT NOT TIMETHAT THE RECORD WHICH IS PALYED TO US DAY IN AND DAY
OUT AN EVIL RECORD OF UNCOMPROMISING HATE AND INTRANSIGENT
HOSITILITY A RECORD SO

CRACKED AND WORN OUT BY LONG AND CONSANT USAGE BE REPLACED BY ONE
MITTING SOUNDS OF HOPEAND EVEN A SMALL MEASURE OF GOOD WILL
IN IT NOT INTELLECUALLY DEGRADING TO HAVE TO SIT AND LISTEN TO
THIS CEASELEUS OUTPERING OF NEGATION AND BARREN AND PURPOSELESS
VITUPERATION UTTERED DAY IN AND DAY OUT YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT
AT TIMES WITHOUT REFERENCE TO EVEN THE COMMON COURTESIEDS
APPLICABLE IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY? WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF
THIS UNCOUTH INSULTING EXGHIBITION TO WHICH WE ARE SUJECTED TO
CRITE GOOD WILL AND A MOR E CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN US AND OUR
NEIGHBORUS

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF ALL THIS? IS IT NOT TIME THAT SOMEBODY
POSED THAT QUESTION? I CAN ALREADY HEAR THE STREAM OF RHETORIC
ANSWERNG ME. LET ME MAKE ONE POINT QUITE CLEAR, IT DOES NOT

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DISTURB ME, FOR NOTHING COULD EXPLAIN OR JUSTIFY OUR ATTITUDES BETTER THAN THE WORDS OF MY ARAB COLLEAGUES. INDEED EVERY SPEECH HERE MADE BY AN ARAB REPRESENTATIVE VINDICATES OUR STAND. BUT I JUST FAIL TO COMPREHEND THIS BIZARRE PHENOMENON.

I ASK YOU MR PRESIDENT DOES IT MAKE SENSE IF ONE REALLY WANTS PEACE TO SIT AND LISTEN TO WHAT WE HAVE HAD TO LISTEN TO DAY IN AND DAY OUT IN THIS BUILDING? IS THIS THE METHOD ESTABLISHED TO INFLUENCE US TOWARDS ACCOMMODATION AND COMPROMISE? WHAT PURPOSE IS THERE IN ALL THIS HATEFUL EXHIBITION TO WHICH WE HAVE BEEN WITNESS? HAS NOT THE TIME BEEN REACHED WHEN THE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL SHOULD DEMAND, ONCE AND FOR ALL AN END TO THIS CONTINUOUS BARREN DIATRIBE AND OUTPOURING OF VITRIOL WHICH IS GETTING US NOWHERE AND IS ONLY STRENGTHENING INTRANSIGENCE EVERYWHERE, AND SHOULD INSIST THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS AND NEGOTIATE IN A CIVILIZED MANNER? WITHOUT THIS WE SHALL NEVER ACHIEVE ANYTHING. WHY SHOULD NOT THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES INSTEAD OF VYING WITH EACH OTHER IN LEVELS OF HOSTILITY EACH ONE STRAINING TO OUTDO THE TONES OF HATRED AND BITTERNESS OF HIS NEIGHBOUR IN A FUTILE EXERCISE OF ONE UPMANSHIP SIT DOWN WITH ME TO TALK OVER MANNERS AS CIVILIZED HUMAN BEINGS—HOWEVER HOSTILE ONE TO THE OTHER—SHOULD DO?

WILL RESOLUTIONS HELP? HAVE THEY EVER HELPED? HAS ANY INTERNATIONAL ACCORD BEEN ACHIEVED BY MEANS OF A ONE SIDED RESOLUTION WITH THE DRAFTING OF WHICH ONE OF THE SIDES DID NOT EVEN PARTICIPATE LET ALONG BEING CONSULTED?

NOBODY HAS BETTER SUMMED UP THIS ISSUE THAN A FORMER REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THIS ORGANIZATION DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI VYSHINSKY WHO ON 29 MARCH 1954 ADDRESSED THE COUNCIL AS FOLLOWS:

"YOU CAN SUBMIT WHATEVER RESOLUTIONS YOU LIKE, BUT LIFE DOES NOT CALL FOR RESOLUTIONS IT CALLS FOR DECISIONS WHICH CAN PROMOTE THE SETTLEMENT OF IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH ARE STILL OUTSTANDING.

"WHAT IS THE PROPER METHOD FOR THIS? THE METHOD IS THAT OF DIRECT NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE INTEREST PARTIES. ON ONE SIDE WE HAVE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL AND ON THE OTHER THE REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT THEY ARE SITTING OPPOSITE ONE ANOTHER. LET THEM SIT DOWN TOGETHER AT ONE TABLE AND TRY TO SETTLE THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL CANNOT SETTLE NOW. I AM DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN FIND A BETTER SOLUTION. THAT IS WHY CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVES AND STATES SHOW A STUBBORN

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DISINCLINATION TO PERMIT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE INTERESTED PARTIES AND ARE TRYING TO INTERFERE IN AND UNFORTUNATELY TO HINDER THOSE NEGOTIATIONS". (664TH MEETING, PARAS. 95 AND 96)

I DECLARE HERE AND NOW THAT I AM PREPARED TO SIT DOWN WITH EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO THIS ORGANIZATION, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT. LET THE REPEAT LAST LINE

ORGANIZATION, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT. LET THEM OVERCOME THEIR DIFFICULTIES IN TALKING TO ME. LET THIS COUNCIL, INSTEAD OF ENCOURAGING HATRED, INTRANSIGENCE AND INCITEMENT BY ITS VERY DELIBERATIONS, MAKE A SIMPLE MOVE FORWARD BY RECOMMENDING THAT AT LEAST HERE WE THE ARAB REPRESENTATIVES AND I, SHOULD SIT DOWN AND TALK. I AM PREPARED TO DO SO AT ANY MOMENT.

I REJECT THE THESIS THAT ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORIES IS OBSTRUCTING THE PROCESS OF PEACE AS A THESIS BASED ON AN ERRONEOUS PREMISE. THAT IS NOT THE MAIN ISSUE. IF IT WAS, WHY WAS PEACE NOT ACHIEVED BEFORE THE TERRITORIES FELL INTO OUR HANDS IN 1967?

AGAIN I REPEAT THE QUESTION I HAVE ASKED TIME AND AGAIN WITHOUT RECEIVING AN ANSWER. FOR 19 YEARS FROM 1949 TO 1967 THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WERE RULED BY TWO ARAB COUNTRIES. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS IN THOSE YEARS? WHY DID THOSE ARAB COUNTRIES NOT DO WHAT THEY ARE ASKING ISRAEL TO DO TODAY? WHY DID THEY NOT ACCORD THE DEGREE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION TO THE ARABS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH THOSE ARABS ENJOY TODAY UNDER ISRAEL? FOR 19 YEARS YOU RULED THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. WHAT DID YOU DO FOR THEM? THE ANSWER IS: NOTHING. SO MUCH FOR YOUR CONCERN.

THE ISSUE IS NOT A QUESTION OF TERRITORY, IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN ARABS ALTHOUGH THOSE ARE BOTH IMPORTANT. IT IS A QUESTION OF A CHANGE OF HEART IN RESPECT OF ISRAEL ON THE PART OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. UNTIL THAT CHANGE OF HEART IS ACHIEVED, NO MEANINGFUL ADVANCE CAN REALLY BE MADE.

I REPEAT: AT THE HEART OF THE CONFLICT LIES THE ARAB REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE JEWISH NATION TO SELF DETERMINATION AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. I CANNOT EXPRESS THIS PROBLEM IN A MORE SUCCINCT AND INSIVE MANNER THAN IN THE WORDS OF A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MR CHARLES MALIK OF LEBANON WHO SAID IN AN INTERVIEW LAST YEAR AS REPORTED IN THE SATURDAY EVENING THAT IN HIS OPINION

"THE MAIN ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE — INDEED THE QUINTESSENTIAL —

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IS THE NEED FOR THE ARAB ORLD TO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. (MALIK) FELT THAT THIS IS THE LTIMATE ISSUE. UNLESS AND UNTIL THE ARAB POEPLS HAVE A GENUINE CHANGE OF HEART THE MIDDLE EAST WILL VIBRATE FROM ONE CRISIS TO THE NEXT. REPEATED CHANGE OF HEART IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE HIS BELIF THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED IS NOT JUST A TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION OR AN EXPEDIENT POLITICAL MANEUVER BUT A GENUINE ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL AS A STATE.

IN OUR REGION THE ARAB NATION HAS REALIZED ITS SOVEREIGNTY IN 20 STATES COMPRISING 100 MILLION PEPLS IN FOUR AND A HALF MILLION SQUARE MILES, WITH VAST RESOURCES. THE ISSUE THEREFORE IS NOT WHETHER THE WORLD WILL COME TO TERMS WITH ARAB NATIONALISM TH QUESTION IS TW HWT POINT ARAB NATIONALISM, WITH ITS PRODIGIOUS GLUT OF ADVANTAGE, WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITY, WILL COME QTO TERMS WITH THE MOST BUT EQUAL RIGHTS OF ANOTHER MIDDLE EASTERN NATION TO PURSUE ITS LIFE IN SECURITY AND PEACE.

THUS, IN CONCLUSION, LET ME REEMPHASIZE ONCE AND FOR ALL, IF THE ARAB STATES WANT PEACE THEY CAN HAVE IT. WE ARE READY HERE AND NOW AND HAVE ALWAYS BEEN READY TO NEGOTIATE PEACE. BUT THE OPERATIVE WORD IS "NEGOTIATE". IN THE COURSE OF THE PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOTHING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED WITHOUT NEGOTIATION. ON THE OTHER HAND NO NEGOTIATION HAS EVER TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT SOMETHING POSITIVE BEING ACHIEVED. WHY NOT THEREFORE ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION WHICH HAS ACHIEVED RESULTS? WE ARE NOT READY TO BE DICTATED TO AND WE WILL NOT ACCEPT A DICTATE. WE WANT PEACE WE HAVE STRETCHED OUT OUR HAND IN AN OFFER OF PEACE WE ARE PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARDS PEACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK LAID DOWN BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 (1967) AND 338 (1973). WE ARE PREPARED, I REPEAT, TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES AT ANY MOMENT WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS WHATSOEVER. AND, IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, ALL STATES WILL BE FREE TO MAKE WHATEVER PROPOSALS THEY WISH TO MAKE.

WE WILL NEGOTIATE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF A RECGNITION OF ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGN RIHTS. WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE OUR OWNSUICIDE. FOR THAT IS WHAT WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT CONCFETE MOVES TOWARDS PEACE MEANS. IF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE SERIOUS ABOUT THIS LET THEM STOP THIS HORRIBLE STREAM OF HATE AND INVECTIVE THAT WE HEAR DAY IN AND DAY OUT IN THIS BUILDING AND LET THEM BEGIN TO EHAVE LIKE MATURE NATIONS. I REITERATE ONCE AGAIN ISRAELSS WILLNGNESS TO EGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES AT ANY MOMENT DESIGNED TO EAD TO PEACE. FULLY AWARE OF THE FACT THAT Y THEIR VERY NATURE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE BASED ON MUTUAL

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RESPECT AND COMPROMISE. LET THE SECURITY COUNCIL STOP ENCOURAGING THE TYPE OF USELESS DEBATE WHICH WE HAVE HEARD, MOVE AWAY FROM THE MEANINGLESS RESOLUTIONS WHICH ONLY SERVE THE CAUSE OF INTRANSIGENTS EVERYWHERE, AND ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH IT EXISTS, TO THE PURPOSE OF ACHIEVING PEACE.

LEHAL AN HANUSACH HAMALEA SHEL HANETZIG HAMERIKAI

MR SCRANTON: I WANT ONCE MORE TO RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE COMMENTS THAT THREE OR FOUR OF THE REPRESENTATIVES MADE THIS MORNING IN GIVING ME A WARM WELCOME TO THIS COUNCIL AND I AM INDEED GRATEFUL FOR THEIR VERY KIND REMARKS. THIS REMINDS ME INCIDENTALLY THAT THEIR COMMENTS WERE IN SOME CONTRAST TO THE WELCOME I HAD OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL TODAY I DARE SAY I HAVE NOW WRITTEN A NEW RECORD FOR REPRESENTATIVES TO THIS COUNCIL, ONE THAT I THINK NOBODY ELSE CAN MATCH, BY HAVING A DEMONSTRATION REQUESTING MY OUSTER HARSHLY BEFORE I HAVE SAT DOWN.

SECONDLY I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE THE COMMENTS HE HAS MADE TO ME IN A VERY QUIET A DELIBERATE WAY A FEW MOMENTS AGO, QUOTING SOME OF THE COMMENTS I MADE ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT ON TUESDAY. I SHALL TRY TO RESPOND AND EXPLAIN OUR VOTE IN THE SAME QUIET AND DELIBERATE WAY, BRIEFLY.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN HAS QUOTED TO YOU THAT THREE TESTS I LAID OUT IN THAT INTERVENTION ON TUESDAY, AND I SHALL NOT REPEAT THEM, BUT THEY ARE THE TESTS THAT HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY MEASURED BY MY GOVERNMENT AND WHEN I SAY CAREFULLY I MEAN JUST THAT. WE HAVE CAREFULLY MEASURED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT IS NOW BEFORE ALL OF YOU AGAINST THESE CRITERIA AND HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT FAILS TO MEET THEM, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE IT REFLECTS OR IMPLIES JUDGEMENT WHICH ON BALANCE DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN THE AREA. PARTS OF THE DRAFT FOR EXAMPLE ARE BASED ON THE JUDGEMENT THAT ISRAEL IS PERSISTING IN A POLICY AIMED AT CHANGING THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM WE BELIEVE MY GOVERNMENT AND I THAT THIS CONCLUSION IS INCORRECT. QUITE THE CONTRARY: WE THINK THAT ISRAEL'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM HAS LITERALLY AND ACTIVELY MINIMIZED TENSIONS.

SECONDLY, AND I THINK THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT ONE OF THE TESTS WAS WHETHER THE COUNCIL'S ACTION WOULD HELP OR HINDER THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PROCESS. ON TUESDAY I TOLD

MM...../11

24.3.76

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MR. AYE EL HASSEN (MAURITANIA) SAID THAT FOR SEVERAL DAYS, THE WORLD HAD WITNESSED THE BLOODY CLASHES BETWEEN THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE ISRAELI FORCES. THESE EVENTS HAD BEEN WITNESSED ON UNITED STATES TELEVISION, WHICH WAS HARDLY ANTI-ISRAELI OR PRO-PALESTINIAN, HE STATED.

THE TRUE COLOURS OF "THE ONLY DEMOCRACY IN THE AREA" HAD BEEN SHOWN, HE WENT ON. THE METHODS WERE REMINISCENT OF THOSE USED AT SHARPEVILLE BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

CONTINUING, THE REPRESENTATIVE MAURITANIA SAID THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES HAD BEEN PHYSICALLY CHANGED, WITH DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES THROUGH ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS AND RELIGIOUS SACRILEGE.

"THE LOWEST FORM OF COLONIALISM WAS SAID TO BE APARTHEID", MR. EL HASSEN WENT ON. ISRAELI COLONIALISM, HOWEVER, HAD DISGRACED A WHOLE PEOPLE. EVEN THE APARTHEID REGIME HAD HESITATED TO DO THAT.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE EVENTS OF THE WEST BANK H'D EXPOSED ISRAELI METHODS AND HAD SHOWN THE DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE TO FIGHT AGAINST THE OCCUPATION UNTIL VICTORY WAS ACHIEVED.

THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM WOULD ONLY BE RESOLVED WHEN THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS WERE RESTORED AND ISRAEL HAD WITHDRAWN FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HE STATED. THE WORLD WAS BEGINNING TO REALIZE THIS.

HE SAID THAT ISRAEL ONLY DELUDED ITSELF BY VARIOUS CONFLICTS AMONG THE ARAB FAMILY. "BUT WHENEVER A FOREIGN ELEMENT COMES IN, SOLIDARITY REASSERTS ITSELF AND THE REJECTION PROCESS TAKES PLACE".

THE COUNCIL HAD TO MAKE ISRAEL UNDERSTAND THE TRUTH REGARDING THE NEED TO RESTORE THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND TO END ITS OCCUPATION, HE DECLARED.

MR. HERZOG (ISRAEL) : I BROKE YESTERDAY ABOUT THE EXHIBITION OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN GLASS HOUSES THROWING STONES. I DO NOT THINK IT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER ILLUSTRATED THAN BY THE LAST FIVE SPEAKERS WHO HAVE REGALED US. THE REPRESENTATIVES WILL HAVE NOTED A CONFIRMATION OF WHAT I STATED

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EARLIER ON IN THE DEBATE THAT THIS FORUM IS BEING TURNED INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF AN ARAB DESIGN TO DRAG OUT THIS SESSION FOR POLITICAL REASONS CERTAINLY NOT CONNECTED WITH THE ISSUE IN QUESTION. WE HAVE LONG FORGOTTEN THE COMPLAINT ORIGINALLY MADE AND WHICH WAS FALSE. THIS INTERMINABLE RECITATION OF ANTI-ISRAEL DIATRIBE WILL CONTINUE IF YOU WILL ALLOW IT. MR. PRESIDENT I ASSURE YOU SIR THAT IS HAS NO EFFECT ON US.

BUT WHAT A WASTE OF VALUABLE TIME AND HOW INCONGRUOUS IS THIS EXHIBITION. SINCE OUR MEETING YESTERDAY, OVER 130 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON, FOR A TOTAL OF APPROXIMATELY 280 SINCE WE EMBARKED ON THIS FUTILE DEBATE, AND THIS COUNCIL CONTINUES TO DISREGARD IN THE MOST CALLOUS MANNER WHAT IS HAPPENING IN LEBANON AS A NATION IS TORN APART AND CONTINUES TO HIGHLIGHT A COMPLETE AND TRAGIC LACK OF RELEVANCE OF THIS BODY TO EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAS ASKED TO SPEAK ON A POINT OF ORDER. I CALL ON HIM.

MR. TERZI: I AM SORRY THAT I HAD TO INTERRUPT AGAIN, BUT THE ITEM WE ARE DISCUSSING IS THE SITUATION ARISING FROM THE HITLERITE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE ZIONISTS AGAINST MY PEOPLE IN PALESTINE. WE SHOULD NOT DIVERT THE DISCUSSION TO LEBANON OR ANY OTHER PLACE. WITH YOUR PERMISSION, MR. PRESIDENT I SHOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE SPEAKER TO CONFINE HIMSELF TO THAT.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): THANK YOU FOR THIS CLARIFICATION. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED TO SPEAK ON A POINT OF ORDER. I CALL ON HIM.

MR. SCRANTON (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA): IT HAS BEEN QUITE CLEAR AS WE HAVE ALL SAT HERE AND LISTENED TO ALL OF THE INTERVENTIONS BY ALL OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES REPRESENTED, THAT THIS HAS BEEN AN EXTREMELY WIDE RANGING COMMENTARY ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND I FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO COMMENT THEREON. THIS IS WITHOUT BRINGING TO YOUR ATTENTION WHETHER OR NOT THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS INTERVENED HAS A RIGHT TO MAKE A POINT OF ORDER.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): I CALL ON THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. OVINNIKOV (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS) (INTERPRETATION FROM RUSSIAN): MR. PRESIDENT, I SHOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL IS

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RESORTING TO COMPLETELY INTOLERABLE METHODS IN HIS STATEMENT. HE PREFERS TO TALK ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AND THIS IS NOT A MATTER WHICH IS BEING DISCUSSED. WE ARE DISCUSSING THE SITUATION WHICH HAS ARISEN IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY THE ISRAELI AGGRESSOR, AND IT IS ONLY ON THIS SUBJECT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL MAY SPEAK.

AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED — ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS, SHALL WE SAY, ITS OWN VIEWS ABOUT THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL — IN OUR STATEMENT WE DID NOT INTERFERE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE ONLY CORRECT IF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL REFRAINED FROM INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY OTHER COUNTRIES.

^D THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): I CALL ON THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL AND I WOULD ASK HIM TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS THAT HAVE JUST BEEN MADE.

^K MR. ERZOG: I CAN UNDERSTAND THE DELICACY OF THE SITUATION AND THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE BEING RAISED BY THE FACT THAT ONE MENTIONS POINTS WHICH ARE SO INCONVENIENT. HOWEVER, THE MERE INTERVENTIONS THEMSELVES SERVE A GOOD PURPOSE. INCIDENTALLY, I WAS VERY GRATIFIED TO LEARN THAT THERE IS NO REFERENCE BEING MADE WHATSOEVER TO THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL IN THIS DEBATE, AND I SHOULD HOPE THAT THIS SITUATION WILL CONTINUE. MIND YOU, I HAD NOT NOTICED IT, BUT I AM WILLING TO TAKE THE WORD OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THERE ARE GRADATIONS IN THE LACK OF CREDENTIALS TO INTERVENE IN THIS DEBATE, AND I BELIEVE THAT THE IRAQI CREDENTIALS ARE OF THE LOWEST. HOW DARE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY FROM WHICH AN ANCIENT JEWISH COMMUNITY OF 160,000 HAD TO DEPART AFTER THOUSANDS OF YEARS INTERVENE IN THIS DEBATE? IT LIES NOT IN HIS MOUTH TO TALK ABOUT HUMAN VALUES, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY WHICH ENGAGED IN THE PUBLIC HANGING OF INNOCENT JEWS IN THE MAIN SQUARE IN BAGHDAD FOR THE EDIFICATION AND AMUSEMENT OF THE ASSEMBLED THROG. I KNOW WHAT THE ANSWER WILL BE, IT WILL BE THAT NOT ONLY JEWS WERE HANGED THEN, THAT CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS WERE AMONG THE VICTIMS THERE — THE IRAQI VERSION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ON THE GALLOWS.

I MIGHT REMARK THAT ONE OF THOSE HANGED AT THAT TIME IN IRAQ WAS THE COUSIN OF A MEMBER OF MY DELEGATION AND THAT HIS YOUNG PREGNANT WIFE WAS FORCED TO WATCH THE EXECUTION.

AND NOW WE HAVE LARNED OF THE EXECUTION OF ALEXANDER AARONSEN, A MALE NURSE, A DUTCH JEW, WHO DEVOTED HIS LIVE TO HELPING THE SICK AND THE INJURED IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF AFRICA AND ASIA--WHICH INCLUDED TH ALBERT SCHWEITZER HOSPITAL IN GABON. WHILE ON A MISSION OF MERCY TO THE KURDS IN NORTHERN IRAQ, HE WAS SEIZED BY IRAQI SOLDIERS ON 24 MARCH 1975 A YEAR AGO TODAY. IT IS NOW APPARENT THAT AARONSEN WAS EXECUTED LAST DECEMBER, AFTER A SECRET TRIAL--

A CUSTOMARY PHENOMENON IN IRAQ. MR. JAN BEEKMAN, A MEMBER OF THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT WHO VISITED IRAQ LAST JANUARY WAS TOLD BY HIGH IRAQI OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS THAT AARONSEN WAS STILL ALIVE THEN. THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF IRAQ AT THE HAGUE INFORMED AARONSEN'S MOTHER BY A SIMPLY TELEPHONE CALL THE OTHER DAY THAT HER SON WAS DEAD.

THIS WAS THE REACTION OF THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY:

"WE ARE DISMAYED, HORRIFIED AND DEEPLY OUTRAGED, ESPECIALLY BY THE INCREDIBLE WAY THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES HAVE ACTED. THEY HAVE FOOLED US SYSTEMATICALLY FOR AYEAR. WE ARE SIMPLY PERPLEXED."

I HAVE HERE THE LEADING ARTICLES FROM ALL THE DUTCH NEWSPAERS ON THIS BARBARIC ACT. I DO NOT WANT TO WASTE THE TIME OF THIS BODY ON THIS BUT MERELY TO SAY THAT IT LIES NOT IN THE MOUTH OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SUCH A REGIME TO TALK ABOUT HUMAN VALUES IN THIS OR ANY OTHER FORUM.

FURTHERMORE, I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT BANGLADESH IS IN A POSITION TO LECTURE US ABOUT CIVIL LIBERTIES, INTERNAL STABILITY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING RESPECT FOR THE LIVES OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA, I WOULD SAY THAT I WISH THE OPPOSITION IN INDIA THE DEGREE OF POLITICAL LPERTY ENJOYED TODAY BY THE PALESTINIAN ARABS IN THE WEST BANK, WHO ENJOY TODAY THE GREATEST DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND WRITING DESPITE ALL THE PROBLEMS--AND THERE ARE PROBLEMS-- IN THE ENTIRE WORLD. ARAB WORLD. HOW MANY ARABS ARE THERE OUTSIDE ISRAEL WHO ARE FREE TO SPEAK, WRITE AND VOTE OPENLY GAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY LIVE?

I WAS VERY MOVED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA EVINCING SUCH CONCERN FOR THE PALETINIAN ARABS. I HAD NOT NOTICED A SIMILAR CONCERN FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF SPANISH SAHARA. THIS SITUATION WOULD REALLY BE COMIC IF IT WERE NOT SO TRAGIC.

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WAITED THE REMARKS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA WHO
GREAT INTEREST. I WAS CONVINCED THAT WE WOULD BE REGALED WITH
DETAILS OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS DESCRIBED IN GREAT
GREAT DETAIL BY THE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE
TUNISIAN CHIEF OF POLICE. I REFER TO THE ALLEGED LIBYAN PLOT TO
KIDNAP OR KILL THE TUNISIAN PREMIER, TO THE REVELATION THAT, AT
12:00 PM HERE FROM REUTERS OF TODAY:

"... OTHER LIBYAN SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE GROUPS HAVE BEEN WORKING
IN EGYPT, SYRIA, LEBANON, SOMALIA AND ITALY AND THAT MORE THAN
1000 TUNISIAN WORKERS HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM LIBYA
IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS".
REALLY, WAS THE TUNISIAN REPRESENTATIVE NOTHING BETTER TO
OCCUPY HIMSELF WITH?

I DO NOT WISH TO GO ON. I MERELY WISH TO ASK AGAIN, AS I DID
YESTERDAY AND AS I WILL EVERY DAY, WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS
DEBATE IF IT IS TO ACHIEVE ANY FORM OF ACCOMMODATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, DO YOU REALLY THINK THAT THIS IS THE WAY,
THAT THIS IS THE MANNER? DO YOU EXPECT ANY SELF RESPECTING COUNTRY
TO AGREE TO THIS FORM OF DIALOGUE OR DIATRIBE? IS THIS THE WAY
WE ARE GOING TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?
MR. SHAME (IRAQ) SPEAKING UNDER THE RIGHT OF REPLY, SAID THAT HE
HAD NOT USED DEROGATORY EPITHETS REGARDING THE ZIONISTS. HE SAID
GENERAL HERZOG WAS STUNNED. "TRUTH MUST HAVE HURT HIM",
HE SAID.

IT WAS GENERAL HERZOG WHO HAD INJECTED IRAQ INTO THE DEBATE, HE
SAID.

"IRAQ WILL NOT BE THE FIRST OR THE LAST TO SPEAK TO ISRAEL."
HE DECLARED. IF ISRAEL WANTED TO SEND MORE SPEECHES, THEY WOULD BE
EXERCISED.

HE ADDRESSES JEWS IN IRAQ. HE SAID THE TRUTH WAS THAT THE IRAQI
HAD NEVER CARED FOR ANCIENT JEWISH COMMUNITIES. ALL THE IRAQI
HAD WANTED WAS THAT THEY BE UPROOTED TO SERVE THE ENDS OF
ZIONISM.

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