

AIPAC

American Israel Public Affairs Committee



BRIEFING BOOK

KEY POINTS ON U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS

SUMMARY KEY POINTS

1. As a nation of immigrants, committed to freedom and democracy, and imbued with a pioneering spirit, Israel embodies the values which the American people hold dear.
2. In its thirty-eight years of existence, Israel has faced the constant hostility of the Arab world and has been forced to fight five full-scale wars in defense of its very right to exist.
3. Every President since Truman, every Congress since the creation of the Jewish state, and a consistently strong majority of the American people, have all viewed the survival, security and well-being of Israel as a moral imperative.
4. Beyond this moral commitment, American support is also a function of Israel's strategic value to the United States. Israel is our only permanent democratic ally in the Middle East. It possesses the strength, stability, and strategic position to promote Western interests in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean. Its people want to be allied to the United States.
5. Israel's security and its value as America's strategic ally depend to a large extent upon its ability to maintain a favorable military balance in the face of intense Arab hostility. The United States is committed to helping Israel maintain its qualitative edge in the military balance because this promotes Israel's security, regional stability, and the peace process.
6. American economic and military assistance to Israel represents an enduring, cost-effective investment in democracy, defense and peace. Israel needs assistance because of the enormous cost of maintaining the military balance. This aid also enables Israel to promote American interests.
7. Providing sophisticated weapons to Arab states^o which refuse to make peace with Israel undermines American interests. It erodes the military balance and Israel's security. It reduces the incentives to negotiate with Israel and increases the risk of war.
8. Jerusalem is the heart and soul of the Jewish people - the eternal capital of Israel. In recognition of this reality, the United States should move its Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem.
9. The core of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the Arab refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. America can best serve the interests of peace and stability in the Middle East by encouraging Arab states to recognize Israel and enter direct negotiations with it on the basis of the Camp David Accords.

ISRAEL: A FELLOW DEMOCRACY

1. Like the United States, Israel is a vibrant democracy. Israel's democratic institutions guarantee meaningful free elections, a robust free press, freedom of religious expression, checks and balances to prevent and correct abuses of authority, basic equality for women, and protection of the rights of individuals and minorities.
2. Since the birth of the Jewish state in 1948, Israel has maintained and strengthened these democratic institutions despite the constant hostility of its Arab neighbors. In the process, Israel has absorbed over one million Jewish immigrants and refugees (one-third of its population) from all corners of the earth, extending the same civil rights to all.
3. Israel's 800,000 Arab citizens enjoy the same democratic rights, guaranteed by law, as its Jewish citizens.
4. Israel's democracy stands in sharp contrast to the other countries in the Middle East where the press is tightly controlled by the state, and where governments keep constant watch on the individual and often resort to violent repression.
5. Israel's parliament, the Knesset, is a 120-member legislative body elected by universal franchise on the basis of proportional representation. A general election is required every four years. While fifteen parties are represented in the present Knesset, most are organized into two alignments: Labor, headed by Shimon Peres, and Likud, headed by Yitzhak Shamir. Following the election of July, 1984, the two alignments formed a national unity government, agreeing to share power and to alternate control of the position of Prime Minister, currently held by Labor.
6. Israel's judicial system, primarily based on British and Turkish legal traditions, protects the rights of the individual. The Supreme Court of Israel functions with independence similar to the U.S. Supreme Court. While the Government is responsible to the Knesset, the Supreme Court has the power to review all its administrative actions. Matters of personal status (marriage, divorce, adoption, burial, etc.) are decided by religious courts appointed by each of the recognized religious communities.
7. Israel, like the United States, does have some unsolved social problems. But Israel's democratic institutions guarantee basic civil liberties and ensure a standard of human rights far superior to its Arab neighbors. In the territories administered by Israel since the 1967 War (the "West Bank," Gaza and the Golan Heights), Arab residents enjoy greater freedoms than the citizens of most Arab countries. Although some rights are qualified by concern for national security and public order, residents generally enjoy freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and free elections.

8. As a nation of immigrants, committed to freedom and democracy, and imbued with a pioneering spirit, Israel embodies the very values which the American people hold dear. These common values provide a permanent bond between the peoples of both countries. They underpin the relationship between the United States and Israel and explain why every President since Truman and every Congress since the creation of the Jewish state have supported the security and well-being of Israel.

AMERICA'S STRATEGIC ALLY

1. Israel's strategic value to the United States derives from three fundamental factors:

- *Stability and Reliability* - Israel's democratic institutions ensure a stable government, unmatched elsewhere in the volatile Middle East. Israel's people share our values and *want* a close strategic relationship with the United States. In contrast, most of the people of Arab countries hold anti-Western sentiments. Israel is an "organic" ally of the United States - a reliable partner in the effort to promote Western interests in the Middle East and elsewhere.

- *Strength* - Israel, with American assistance, has developed a formidable capability to defend Western interests. Its armed forces are well-trained, well-equipped and combat-proven - the most powerful in the Middle East today.

- *Strategic Position* - Israel is located midway between Europe and the Persian Gulf, and at the crossroads of three continents. Its facilities and its forces can contribute to Western defenses in the Eastern Mediterranean, on NATO's southern flank, in the Middle East heartland, and in the Persian Gulf. Compared to the continental United States, Israel is one-seventh the distance to the Gulf and one-half the distance to Germany.

2. President Reagan's announcement of the establishment of the Joint Political Military Group on November 29, 1983, initiated a program of true strategic cooperation between the two states. So far the two nations have held joint naval and medical exercises, and are examining other areas of cooperation.

3. The continued development of strategic cooperation could bring the U.S. significant gains in the following areas:

- *Deterrence* - Visible cooperation with Israel will enhance America's ability to deter Soviet and Soviet-allied aggression in the Eastern Mediterranean because Israel's military capability will have to be factored into the Soviet calculus.

- *Force Projection* - Because of the vast distances involved, the United States faces considerable difficulties in deploying its forces in the Middle East. Israel's Air Force and Navy could help protect the vulnerable lines of communication in the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the approaches to eastern Turkey. Israel's Navy, working with American P-3C aircraft operating out of Israel, could considerably enhance the Sixth Fleet's anti-submarine warfare capability.

* Stocks of fuel, ammunition and equipment prepositioned in Israel could provide a "swing" capability for American use in the Persian Gulf or Europe.

- * Israeli bases and facilities could be utilized for staging American forces and aircraft, for maintenance and overhaul of ships and planes, and for trans-shipment of supplies.
- * Israeli medical facilities and prepositioned "folding" hospitals and medical supplies could eliminate the current shortfall in medical support for U.S. armed forces should they become involved in large-scale conflict in the Middle East.

- *Containment* - America's friends in the Arab world are threatened by Soviet-backed Arab radicalism and Islamic fundamentalism. Strategic cooperation with Israel could help contain these threats by signaling that aggression and subversion will be resisted. In 1970, Israel helped the United States halt a Syrian-backed PLO effort to overthrow King Hussein of Jordan. Working with Israel now, the United States could again deter Syrian aggression against Jordan.

- *Peace Process* - Strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel will advance the peace process by deterring aggression, by containing radicalism, by stabilizing the balance of power, and by demonstrating Israel's permanence in the region. This may convince Israel's adversaries - as it convinced Sadat - that they will not achieve their objectives on the battlefield and can only settle their differences at the negotiating table.

Free Trade Area Agreement

4. The U.S. and Israel have signed a Free Trade Area agreement to create an economic alliance alongside their strategic alliance. It will provide significant economic benefits for both the U.S. and Israel and strengthen relations between the two countries. It will strengthen the economy of Israel and increase its ability to function as the foremost strategic ally of the United States in the Middle East. For the U.S., the F.T.A. will

- * ensure greater commercial ties with Israel which in turn will generate more jobs for Americans and could lower the U.S. trade deficit;
- * benefit the service, industrial, and agricultural sectors of the American economy by allowing them to gain greater access to these Israeli markets without the burden of tariffs and other trade barriers;
- * allow the U.S. to compete on an equal basis with its European competitors who already have a free trade agreement with Israel;
- * strengthen the economy of Israel and increase its ability to function as the foremost strategic ally of the United States in the Middle East.

United Nations

5. According to the State Department, Israel has had the highest level of voting coincidence the United States in United Nations fora (88% in 1984) even higher than our NATO allies. On the other hand, the State Department, in its required report to the Congress, reported that the lowest level was registered by the Arab bloc at 10%, even lower than the Warsaw Pact countries.

WHY FOREIGN AID

1. The United States has a moral and strategic interest in Israel. American aid to Israel represents an enduring investment in democracy, defense, and peace.

2. Aid to Israel strengthens our only permanent democratic ally in the Middle East. Aid enables Israel to promote American interests by:

- * Providing a model for democratic development in new states;
- * Deterring Soviet-backed radicalism in the Middle East;
- * Combatting international terrorism;
- * Enhancing America's deterrent strength (by demonstrating the superiority of American weapons and by offering its own capabilities for the common defense);
- * Improving America's intelligence capability (through intelligence sharing and the provision of combat data);
- * Strengthening pro-Western Third World governments (by assisting their economic development and improving their defense capability);
- * Advancing the peace process (for example, American aid allowed Israel to relinquish the Sinai albeit at great economic cost and military risk).

3. Compared to other U.S. expenditures on international security, aid to Israel is one of the least expensive and most cost-effective:

- * Current aid to Israel is equal to 1% of the U.S. defense budget;
- * Current aid to Israel is equivalent to less than 3% of the U.S. expenditure on NATO and a fraction of the amount America spends to defend East Asia;
- * Most American aid to Israel is actually spent in the U.S., thereby creating thousands of jobs for Americans;
- * Israel's use of aid for R&D saves American defense dollars by funding developments later adopted by the Pentagon (e.g., conformal fuel tanks for the F-15).

4. Through heavy taxation and other stringent measures, Israel's citizens bear the major burden of their own defense. However, the defense budget currently consumes 18% of Israel's GNP while debt repayments on earlier American aid are about equal to current levels of economic assistance (about \$1.2 billion in FY 1985).

5. Israel has faithfully met its repayments schedule to the United States. Yet the debt service burden has continued to grow while net U.S. aid to Israel has declined over the past nine years and is now approximately 75% of its level in 1977.

6. Israel's primary need for U.S. assistance is generated by the enormous cost of maintaining the military balance. The long-term trends in this balance are deeply disturbing as the Arabs step up their acquisition of sophisticated weapons (see ARMS TO THE ARABS section). The people of Israel are determined to be responsible for their own defense -- they only seek help in acquiring the means to defend themselves. And in return Israel helps defend American interests.

ARMS TO THE ARABS

1. Since its birth in 1948, Israel has been forced to defend itself against the intense hostility of its Arab neighbors. Their commitment to Israel's destruction has generated five full-scale wars in thirty-seven years, and an unending and evermore expensive arms race in the Mideast.

2. The possibility of yet another war continues. To survive, Israel must maintain an *adequate* margin of military superiority over its combined Arab neighbors. This includes Egypt, although it is currently at peace with Israel, because Israel's military planners must consider the worst-case scenario over a ten year planning horizon.

3. In the past decade, the Arabs have been able to spend well over \$100 billion to buy the best weapons available in Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In recent years, the United States has contributed to the arms race by assuming the role of principal arms supplier to four of the five Arab states nearest Israel. Saudi Arabia has purchased over \$15 billion in weapons and other military goods from the United States since 1981, including sophisticated AWACS aircraft. Egypt has received F-4 and F-16 fighter jets.

4. These arms sales cannot be taken in isolation:

- * Military action against Israel has historically taken the shape of Arab states acting in concert (in 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israel faced the forces of seven Arab states);
- * In past confrontations Arab states have used American arms against Israel despite assurances from the U.S. that they would not do so; Israel must plan that they may be used in future conflicts;
- * Although Administrations justify such arms sales in terms of "Soviet" or "regional" threats, the Arabs themselves freely admit that Israel, not the Soviet Union nor any other country is their principal enemy;
- * The more militarily capable an Arab state becomes, the greater the pressure from its Arab brothers to join the confrontation with Israel.

In short, while some arms are required for self-defense, sales of sophisticated offensive weapon systems to Arab countries have a cumulative effect on the military balance -- they erode Israel's security and undermine Middle East stability.

5. The Syrians have acquired front-line Soviet equipment (some of it not even entrusted to Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies). Since 1982 alone deliveries have amounted to well over \$2.5 billion. This equipment includes SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles, and SS-21 medium-range surface-to-surface rockets capable of striking Israel's population centers and vital military bases.

6. A comparison of Israeli and Arab military forces shows that:

- * Israel's standing army is one-seventh the size of the regular forces of the Arabs;
- * The Arabs now possess more tanks and aircraft than NATO can deploy on its northern and central fronts (14,900 tanks to NATO's 11,857; 2,631 aircraft to NATO's 2,157);
- * In tanks and aircraft the Arabs outnumber Israel by an average of 4:1 (14,900 tanks to Israel's 3,560, 2,631 aircraft to Israel's 559);
- * Syria alone now possesses 740 more tanks than Israel and is receiving full Soviet backing for its effort to achieve military parity with Israel.

7. In addition to the security threat, this massive arms buildup requires Israel to spend 18% of its GNP on defense, generating balance of payments problems and diverting resources from important sectors of the economy.

8. Arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Jordan have not encouraged moderation. Instead, the arms sales have worked contrary to U.S. interests:

- * Jordan has in the past violated its arms agreements with the United States. Promises not to employ American weapons against Israel have been broken. This policy has been confirmed by Jordan's foreign minister, Taher al Masri, who said that "arms will come to Jordan and upon arrival they will become Jordanian Arab arms to which no conditions or other commitments are attached."
- * Jordan has armed the PLO's army (PLA) and talks have focused on a "unified base" to pursue armed struggle against Israel.
- * Jordan continues to spurn direct negotiations with Israel. As its Deputy Premier Sulaiman Arar declared, "Direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel are out of the question." Yet Hussein still blames the U.S. for lack of progress and threatens Washington by saying, "American credibility is nearing its final test."
- * The Saudis have opposed American peace initiatives such as the Reagan plan, the Lebanon-Israel accord of May 17, 1983, and the Camp David process. They have also pressured Hussein to stay out of negotiations with Israel and have continued to fund Syria's military buildup against Israel.

9. Arms sales to Arab nations at war with Israel, particularly confrontation states like Jordan and Saudi Arabia, encourage intransigence, reduce their incentive to negotiate, enhance their military capacity, and increase the risk of their involvement in a conflict with Israel.

10. The simple principle which best serves American interests is: "no peace, no arms."

A SEARCH FOR PEACE

1. The core of the Arab-Israeli conflict remains the Arab refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. In no other contemporary conflict is a nation's very existence questioned and its people threatened with destruction.

2. The conflict can only be resolved when Arab states become reconciled to Israel's right to exist and agree to enter direct negotiations with Israel leading to peace treaties. Israel has repeatedly called for peace with its neighbors, only to continually be rejected.

3. When offered true peace and recognition by Arab states, Israel has always been prepared to reciprocate. Israel responded to President Sadat's initiative by relinquishing all of the Sinai, including valuable oil fields, important strategic positions, crucial bases, and settlements.

4. Israel has not been offered true peace and recognition by any other Arab state. Instead, the rest of the Arab world has maintained the policy formulated at the 1967 Khartoum Summit: "No peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel, and no recognition of Israel."

- * Egypt continues to be ostracized by the Arab League for making peace;
- * Upon the insistence of Syria and Saudi Arabia, the Lebanese government scrapped its accord with Israel;
- * Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Lebanon's Bashir Gemayel, and a handful of genuinely moderate Palestinians have all been assassinated because of their willingness to negotiate with Israel;
- * The "confrontation" states (Syria and Jordan) and the PLO have been promised annual subsidies of \$3.3 billion from Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil states to continue the conflict;
- * The Fez "peace" plan of 1982 does not say a single word about negotiation, recognition, or peace with Israel. Nor did the Arab summit in Casablanca in August 1985 provide any different stance.

6. American peace proposals which aim at a "comprehensive" settlement (such as the 1969 Rogers Plan, the 1977 Carter/Brookings Plan, and the 1982 Reagan Plan) sought to define and impose a settlement acceptable to *all* parties. Such initiatives provided veto power to the most radical Arab elements (Nasser vetoed the Rogers Plan, Syria's Assad vetoed the Carter Plan, and Arafat vetoed the Reagan Plan). By defining the outcome in advance, such plans prevent negotiations on basic and complex issues.

7. The Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11, 1985 does not explicitly acknowledge Israel's right to exist nor even recognize U.N. Resolutions 242

and 338 as a basis for negotiations. These resolutions on which the Camp David accords are based have been and should remain the cornerstone of American policy in the Middle East. Resolution 242 affirms the right of all states in the area to secure and defensible borders. What the Hussein-Arafat agreement does do is to propose putting the Soviet Union and the PLO in a position to control the peace process.

8. The U.S. position of refusing to negotiate with the P.L.O. until it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 and renounces terrorism, strengthens U.S. interests. This policy was signed by the President and codified into law in 1985.

9. Jordan and the P.L.O. have called for "pre-negotiations" with the U.S., which are designed, by their own admission, to achieve U.S. recognition of the organization. Any negotiations which include the PLO will weaken King yHussein, undermine the peace process and not lead to direct negotiations with Israel.

10. The U.S. should press Saudi Arabia to support Jordanian efforts to engage in direct talks with Israel which Saudi Arabia has sought to prevent. Advanced aircraft to Saudi Arabia should be linked to its role in the peace process. The President agreed that before AWACS were delivered to the Saudis, they must prove to have substantially assisted in the peace process. The Fahd monarchy continues to obstruct the peace process and should not be rewarded with advanced weapons.

11. The Camp David Accords --signed by Israel, Egypt, and the United States--and the Egyptian and Syrian disengagement agreements which preceded them--recognized that peace is a process in which the elements of a final settlement must evolve "step-by-step."

12. Israeli settlements are not an obstacle to negotiations:

- * When there were no settlements the Arabs still refused to negotiate;
- * When Israel halted settlement activity in 1977, Jordan still refused to negotiate; In 1978, Israel froze settlement activity in the specific hope to draw other Arabs to the peace table, but none would join Egypt;
- * King Hussein refused to negotiate on the basis of the Reagan Plan in April 1983 because of lack of Arab support, not because of Israeli settlements;
- * Settlement activity has effectively been frozen sOctober 1984, but one year later there are still no negotiations.

13. The key to progress in the Arab-Israeli conflict lies in encouraging negotiations not in attempting to impose a "quick fix" on an intractable and complex conflict.

TERRORISM AND THE PLO

1. The Palestine Liberation Organization is a grouping of terrorist factions formed in 1964 by the Arab states as a weapon in their war with Israel. The PLO's National Covenant, reaffirmed most recently at the 1984 meeting of the Palestine National Council, commits the PLO to "armed struggle" against the "Zionist entity" until "complete liberation of Palestine."
2. Despite Yasir Arafat's Feb. 11, 1985 agreement with King Hussein to pursue a Middle East settlement, neither he nor any of the policy-making councils of the PLO have amended the PLO's Charter, renounced terrorism, abandoned the PLO's phased strategy for the destruction of Israel, or accepted U.N. Resolution 242.
3. Arafat's "peace initiative" brought no "moderation" in terrorist activity. In fact, terrorist activity by the PLO has increased dramatically. As one example, Arafat's deputy and military commander, Abu Jihad, proudly claimed responsibility for an attack that might have been the largest terrorist mission against Israel ever. On April 22, 1985, Israel intercepted 28 pro-Arafat terrorists armed with bombs, grenades and machine guns, off Israel's coast. Their announced aim was "to carry out suicide operations in the heart of Tel Aviv" on Israel's Independence Day.
4. Since 1975, official U.S. policy has been not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts UN Resolution 242. This is not a position dictated by Israel; it has been adhered to by successive Administrations because it serves American interests. In 1985, this policy was signed by the President and codified into law
5. By Arafat's own admission the PLO has received howitzers, rocket launchers, armored vehicles and other weapons from Iraq and is creating a 5,000 man brigade armed "up to the level of a mechanized Iraqi brigade." Arafat made the purpose of these weapons clear by saying, "Our fighters are now training in the use of these sophisticated weapons donated by the Iraqi Army with which we will march one day to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation." This, just days before his "peace plan" with King Hussein, in February, 1985.
6. The PLO is the most important member of an international terrorist network. Financed by the Arabs, and armed and trained by the Soviet Union, the PLO in turn provides training, arms, money and intelligence to terrorist movements in Ireland, Germany, Italy, Africa, and Latin America. Its attacks are directed not just at Israel but at the liberal democracies of Europe and North America. For example, the PLO is said to have trained the Pope's would-be assassin.

7. The PLO's terrorist campaign is directed primarily at innocent civilians. The PLO lists among its most successful attacks the 1972 Munich massacre of Olympic athletes and the 1974 massacre of Israeli children at Ma'alot. Similarly, when attacked, the PLO hides behind civilians, as it did in Beirut in 1982 and Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1983.

8. The PLO is constitutionally incapable of "moderation":

- * Its mandate is the liberation of all of Palestine through the destruction of Israel;
- * Its decision to accept a "West Bank" state is publicly avowed as but a first step towards that ultimate objective;
- * Any member who suggests moderation -- such as Said Hammami or Issam Sartawi -- is murdered;
- * Its operatives in the "West Bank" and Gaza have assassinated over a dozen Palestinian leaders there because of their willingness to negotiate with Israel;
- * Despite the manifest futility of "armed struggle" and the obvious propaganda benefits of claiming to renounce terrorism and recognize Israel, the PLO has consistently refused to even mouth these words.

9. A PLO state in the "West Bank" would increase instability in the region because:

- * The PLO, backed by the Soviet Union and Arab radicals, would be in a much better position to continue its irredentist struggle against Israel;
- * The PLO would be in an ideal position to destabilize Jordan and overthrow King Hussein as it attempted in 1970 (Jordan's population is approximately 70% Palestinian);
- * The PLO would have an independent base of operations as it enjoyed in its terrorist heyday in southern Lebanon before Israel rooted it out.

10. The present disunity of the PLO provides an opportunity, over time, for a more moderate indigenous Palestinian leadership in the "West Bank" to step forward and negotiate a political settlement. If Arafat is resuscitated this opportunity will be lost and the misery that the PLO has visited upon its own people will be prolonged.

11. The PLO pursues a pro-Soviet and anti-American policy by its own admission. As Arafat said at the close of the 1984 Palestinian National Convention, "My objective is to defy the Americans and resist their policy. Similarly, Arafat advisor Salah Khalaf said, "It is definite that the USSR is our friend and we must not forget it..."

12. President Reagan was right when he articulated his viewpoint on an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank: "It is clear to me that peace cannot be achieved by the formation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza."

THE "WEST BANK"

1. Because of the reality of Arab hostility towards the Jewish state, there is a national consensus in Israel -- shared in the United States -- that the state must have secure and defensible borders.

2. This concern for security stems from understanding that the last line of Israeli withdrawal could become the first line for the next Arab attack and from the certain knowledge that the first war Israel lost would be its last.

3. The "West Bank" territories pose a complex security problem for Israel in two areas: defense against conventional military threats; and prevention of terrorist operations. Israel's control over the "West Bank" since the 1967 Six Day War has substantially enhanced its security on both counts.

4. The line which existed before June 1967 had five deficiencies with regard to defense against *military* attacks:

- * It lacked strategic depth, pinching Israel to a narrow waist only nine miles from Jordanian positions to the sea;
- * It left Israel's heartland exposed to Arab artillery, which was in easy range of two-thirds of Israel's population and industry;
- * It left all the topographical advantages in Arab hands, with Arab forces on the hills and Israeli targets in the flatlands below;
- * It consisted of long, difficult-to-defend boundaries, twice the length of those which exist today;
- * It provided no terrain obstacles to separate Israel from hostile Arab states because the Jordan Rift Valley and the "West Bank" spine of hills were in Jordanian hands.

5. In addition, the old line had five deficiencies with regard to defense against terrorism:

- * Infiltrators had easy access to Israeli targets, because the terrorist base areas were close to Jewish population centers.
- * The line was difficult to patrol, because of its extreme length and character.
- * The line offered infiltrators easy passage and good cover, with vegetation and hideouts to conceal clandestine movement.
- * Arab villages near the line offered potential sanctuary to infiltrators.
- * The Arab side of the line offered an ideal launching platform for rocket strikes, making the entire country a frontier.

6. Israel is significantly stronger and more secure today than it was before 1967. There has been a drastic reduction of terrorist incidents inside Israel's borders since it came into possession of the territories, and Israel's eastern shield against Arab conventional forces is now a formidable barrier.

7. As President Reagan said in his televised address of September 1, 1982, Israel has a right to exist in peace behind secure and defensible borders, and it has a right to demand of its neighbors that they recognize those facts.

8. A peace treaty between Israel and Jordan would not reduce the need for defensible borders. Five wars and thirty-seven years of Arab hostility provide Israel with little reason to trust paper commitments.

9. Borders are important to war avoidance as well as defense. The more conducive Israel's borders are to deterring conventional attacks and terrorist operations, the greater the incentive for the Arabs to keep the peace. Defensible borders not only make Israel more secure, they also enhance stability in the Middle East heartland.

JERUSALEM

"This beautiful city is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. You can't live without a heart and soul. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history, that would be Jerusalem."

Teddy Kollek
Mayor of Jerusalem

1. Jerusalem is and will always be the capital of Israel. World Jewry shares with Israelis a strong commitment to a united Jerusalem (east and west) under Israeli sovereignty. Israeli control of the city has guaranteed free access to all religious sites, unlike during the pre-1967 Jordanian control of the eastern portion which denied Jews access to the Western Wall.
2. Though Jerusalem has known many foreign rulers, it has been a capital only for the Jews. Both historically, (since 1050 B.C.E), and since the rebirth of the state in 1948, Jerusalem has been the capital of the Jewish nation. Today it houses the residences of the President and Prime Minister, the Knesset (Parliament), and the various government ministries. Jerusalem is also Israel's diplomatic center; all ambassadors to Israel present their credentials there.
3. Jerusalem is also the heart and soul of the Jewish people's faith. The refrain "next year in Jerusalem" marks the end of Passover, the festival of national redemption, and closes the Yom Kippur service, the festival of personal redemption.
4. Current U.S. policy does not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, locates our embassy in Tel-Aviv, and maintains only consulate offices in Jerusalem. This denies Israel's right as a sovereign nation to designate its own capital. Israel is the only country where the U.S. Embassy is not located in the capital. Even the U.S. Embassy to East Germany is located in East Berlin. Indeed, according to U.S. policy, Israel has no capital.
5. Refusal to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital stems from the belief that to do otherwise would offend the Arabs by appearing too pro-Israel. Ironically, not to recognize any part of Jerusalem as Israel's capital appeases the most rejectionist in the Arab camp.
6. The five-nation Arab invasion of the nascent state of Israel in 1948, left the eastern portion of "old" Jerusalem in the hands of Jordan. Jordanian control of that portion of Jerusalem was *never* recognized by the United States. Whose administration is the United States willing to accept?

7. The concept of an undivided Jerusalem has received bipartisan support. The Republican platforms of 1980 and 1984 call for Jerusalem to "remain an undivided city with continued free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths." And the Democratic Party has declared, in its 1976, 1980 and 1984 Platforms, that it recognizes and supports the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths." Ronald Reagan has voiced his preference for keeping Jerusalem "undivided under Israeli rule" with a "Vatican-like solution."

8. A strong majority of Americans favor Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem.

9. The United States Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

1. American dependence on foreign energy sources, despite the current oil glut, continues to threaten the security of our nation and that of our allies.
2. The 1973 Arab oil embargo and the resulting boost in world oil prices created an urgency to minimize U.S. vulnerability to the threat of another embargo.
3. While the U.S. has reduced dependency on OPEC imports in recent years, it has not solved America's energy vulnerability. The Middle East still accounts for almost half of the oil traded on the world market.
4. It must be recognized that the oil producing countries of the Middle East use the leverage of oil production and pricing as political tools, not as responses to free market conditions. There is no certainty that supplies will not be disrupted again.
5. Much of OPEC's power is concentrated in the hands of a few Persian Gulf countries. Iran and Iraq, two of OPEC's most important members, are engaged in a war that has already caused a major drop in the region's oil production.
6. The United States and its allies have other alternatives which should be implemented by:
 - * Continuing incentives for conservation;
 - * Rapidly accumulating our Strategic Petroleum Reserves, as mandated by Congress;
 - * Maximizing our nation's energy base and research and development of existing natural energy resources.
7. An effective national commitment to energy independence will strengthen the U.S. in its negotiations with oil producing countries.

IMPERILED JEWRY

Soviet Jews

1. Soviet Jews number between 1.8 and 2.5 million, making them the third largest Jewish community in the world. To Jews, who have only recently suffered the loss of one-third of their people in the Holocaust, the thought of the disappearance of another 18% is intolerable.

2. The plight of Soviet Jews -- barred from emigration and increasingly harassed by Soviet authorities -- is not just a "Jewish," "American," or "Western" issue. Freedom of emigration is a matter of *human rights* which the signatories of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act reaffirmed in 1985.

3. Soviet Jewish emigration has fallen to the lowest level since emigration efforts began in 1971. In 1984 less than 900 Jews were allowed to leave as compared to a high of 51,320 in 1979, and 20,628 in 1974.

4. Soviet anti-Semitism is now worse than at any time since the final years of Stalin's regime as evidenced by: the creation of the Anti-Zionist committee; the level and extent of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda; and the discrimination in university admissions and in the job market.

5. While restrictions are placed on all religions in the Soviet Union, those applied to Jews are most severe:

- * No rabbinical seminaries are permitted;
- * Most synagogues have been closed; those remaining lack trained clergy;
- * Jewish schools are forbidden;
- * Teaching Hebrew is illegal;
- * Regular contact with co-religionists abroad is forbidden.

6. Soviet policy has allowed Jewish emigration only under the framework of "family reunification." An invitation letter from a relative in Israel is necessary to apply for a visa. Yet, Soviet authorities frequently confiscate such mail. Further, through its new Anti-Zionist Committee, the Soviets have declared that Jews no longer want to leave and "family reunification" has been completed.

7. 400,00 Soviet Jews have asked for and received invitations from Israel. 20,000 of those who applied for exit visas have been refused (the "refuseniks"). Some Soviet Jews have already waited fifteen years for permission to leave.

8. Jews who wish to leave face immediate pariah status and possible imprisonment on trumped-up charges designed to discourage other Jews from applying.

9. Members of Congress can help Soviet Jews by:

- * Supporting Congressional resolutions and letters on behalf of Soviet Jews; the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which links most-favored nation status to emigration policies, must be upheld;
- * Raising the issue at all contact points between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as fundamental to the relationship between the two powers;
- * Meeting with "refuseniks" in their homes as they travel in the Soviet Union;
- * "Adopting" Soviet Jews and putting their letters in the Congressional Record.

Ethiopian Jewry

10. The U.S. and Israel cooperated in the heroic airlift of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel. The U.S. played a praiseworthy role in the airlift and absorption in Israel of the new immigrants.

11. Despite the tremendous success of Operation Moses, approximately 2,000 Ethiopian Jews perished from disease and hunger before they could be rescued, and perhaps 6,000 Ethiopian Jews are still trapped in Ethiopia. The Marxist government of Colonel Mengistu has refused to allow any further emigration, even in order to reunite parents with children who are in Israel. The Jews continue to suffer from the hostility of the populace and the authorities, as well as the famine, drought, and civil disruption affecting the entire country.

12. The U.S. can best remain engaged in this historic process by continuing its assistance to Israel to help with the absorption of these new immigrants.

Syrian Jewry

13. The 5,000 Jews remaining in Syria are the only group in Syria that is totally forbidden to emigrate. With minor exceptions President Assad has refused to implement the promise he made to President Carter in 1977 to permit Jewish emigration. Those few who are allowed to travel outside the country must post a bond worth about \$6,000 and leave close family members behind to guarantee their return.

14. Members of the Syrian armed forces have terrorized the Jewish community on occasion. The community has repeatedly been subject to violent attacks by others as well. On December 28, 1984, a pregnant Jewish mother and her two children were murdered and mutilated.

15. Members of Congress can help Syrian Jews by making the issue central in the development of U.S.-Syrian relations and in international human rights forums.

ANTI-ISRAEL CAMPAIGN

1. The United States has become an increasingly important target for anti-Israel propaganda and political action in recent years as many in the Arab camp have concluded that "the road to liberation is through Washington."

2. Most anti-Israel organizations in this country are strong supporters of the PLO. Members of the PLO sit on the executive and advisory boards of many of these groups.

3. The anti-Israel campaign lacks a broad-based natural constituency and has achieved partial success by building an artificial constituency comprised primarily of corporations motivated by self interest, aided and abetted by foreign agents, the Arab league and its member states and a minority of Arab-Americans.

4. The anti-Israel effort has failed to mobilize a large grassroots constituency. Why is this?

- * Of the nearly 3 million Americans of Arab descent, 80% are Christian Lebanese or Christians from other Arab countries. These people have often been victims of Syrian/PLO violence in the past and therefore are not interested in joining PLO support groups.
- * Only an estimated 2% of Arab-Americans have joined anti-Israel organizations.

5. The anti-Israel campaign relies heavily on American corporations with business interests in the Arab world. These companies provide anti-Israel groups with strong financial backing and employ their own sophisticated approach to turn policymakers against Israel.

6. Rather than advocating pro-Arab issues, most Arab American organizations concentrate their efforts on discrediting Israel and weakening the U.S.-Israel relationship.

7. A major new focus for anti-Israel activity is media out-reach. Anti-Israel groups have recently launched a national media campaign which vilifies the state of Israel and denounces U.S. foreign policy towards Israel.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

1. For three decades, the American people have strongly and consistently supported Israel, according to poll data. They remain firm in their sympathy for the Jewish state today.

2. In the most recent authoritative poll (Roper, Jan. 1983), sympathy with Israel exceeded sympathy for the Arab nations by a margin of more than 4-to-1 (44-8%). This margin is actually greater than at the time of the Camp David breakthrough (40%-14%, Gallup) but is consistent with every credible poll finding over the past seventeen years.

3. Majority support for Israel over the Arabs is found in every region of the country, among every religious and age group, in both major political parties, and among black Americans as well as whites.

4. Support for Israel is greatest amongst the more highly educated. Young people are even more supportive than their elders. In the most recent Gallup poll (1983), for example, 18-24 year old respondents supported Israel over the Arab by a margin of almost 10-to-1 (64-7%).

5. The American people recognize that Israel is the only true democracy in the Middle East, and they consider Israel our most reliable ally in the region:

- * By margins of almost 2-to-1 Americans regard Israel as a more reliable ally than either Saudi Arabia, Egypt, or Jordan.
- * Americans believe that if our interests were attacked in the Middle East, Israel would be more likely to fight on our side than Saudi Arabia, Egypt, or Jordan. (Penn and Schoen, 1982).

6. Americans strongly side with Israel on specific Middle East issues:

- * Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem is favored by a strong majority of Americans. (e.g. 63-17%, Harris Poll, 1980). By almost 3-to-1 respondents agree that Israel has the right to make Jerusalem its capital (Yankelovich Poll, 1981)
- * The American people view the PLO as terrorists (86%) militaristic (92%) unreasonable (76%), undemocratic (87%), anti-U.S. (92%), and pro-communist (61%). They believe the PLO should not be given any official recognition by the United States or the rest of the world.

7. Majorities support providing Israel with military aid necessary for its defense. They also believe the sale of arms to Jordan should be based on whether Jordan agrees to make peace with Israel. (Penn and Schoen, 1982). By a margin of 3-to-1 Americans oppose selling arms to Saudi Arabia (Roper, 1983)

8. The United States has been confronted with acts of Arab terrorism against its citizens. Polls conducted after the 1985 TWA hijacking in Lebanon show that a majority of Americans believe the United States should not negotiate with terrorists nor should they give in to their demands.

9. Americans support aid to Israel. A majority of Americans support current or increased levels of aid to Israel and said they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who is a strong supporter of aid to Israel. (Penn and Schoen, 1982).

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