



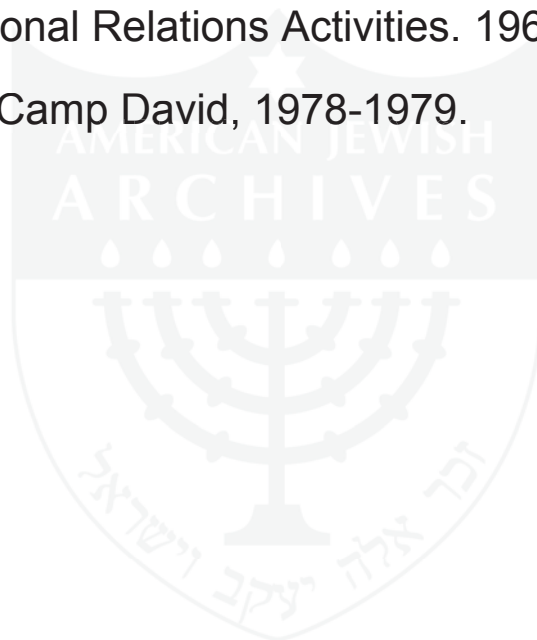
THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 56, Folder 9, Camp David, 1978-1979.



Morris Fine

The attached report is
still timely in spite of
its title.





REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

Can Begin Make his Own Decision at Camp David? (From the Coalition Point of View)

The DMC

The DMC has split, and while no great changes will take place before the Camp David meeting, it seems, as things now stand, that Yadin and his new party, the Democratic Movement, will have only seven members of Knesset out of the 15 the DMC presently has. The Shinui Movement, with five members of Knesset headed by Amon Rubinstein, is planning to leave the government after Camp David, and the Amit group, headed by Minister of Transport Meir Amit, which has three members of Knesset, has not yet decided what to do, although it seems that its direction is away from Yadin and perhaps even to leave the government altogether.* The DMC did not have much impact on government decisions when it was a complete party with 15 M.K.s and four ministers, and it is unlikely that with less than half its members, Yadin will have much to say in the government.

The Likud

The Likud is completely united behind Begin for all intents and purposes. While here and there one hears criticism from moderate members of Knesset of the Liberal section of the Likud, especially on Gush Emunim and their "ghost" settlements which cause more harm than good, the Liberals are well aware that they got a much better deal in terms of ministerial posts and other key positions than they could have had they gone separately to the elections. The La'am section of the Likud (Zalman Shoval and Minister Hurvitz), while having a great quarrel with Weizman (Herut) and Ehrlich (Liberals), are strong supporters of Dayan, and in Herut, Begin is unquestionably the leader. There is no doubt that Begin, together with Dayan, can swing the Likud in whichever direction he wants without much interference from Yadin's party.

The NRP

The NRP is in a very different position from that of the Likud and the DMC. The NRP is a strongly united party which is very stable in terms of public opinion, according to the polls. The NRP is in a very powerful position since without it the Likud cannot form a government. Recently, there have been many rumors in the Israeli press that a change has occurred in the NRP political line and that it is becoming more moderate, after being associated for several years with Gush Emunim and the very "hawkish" line. Lately, talks between the leaders of the Labor Party and the NRP, which was part of all the past Labor governments, have taken place regularly, and earlier in the year, when the issue of the election to the Israeli Rabbinate was in question, the Labor Party supported the NRP in their demand to postpone the elections. It was said that the Labor Party support was not so completely altruistic.

* Amit has since resigned.

I met with Yehuda Ben Meir and Dan Vermus to discuss where the NRP now stands on the eve of the Camp David meeting. Yehuda Ben Meir is the chairman of the NRP in the Knesset and Dan Vermus is the newly elected secretary-general of the NRP. Both belong to the "young" section of the NRP (together with Minister of Education Hammer), which is the most influential in determining the political line of the NRP, and is made up of known hawks and past supporters of Gush Emunim.

Ben Meir rejects any hints of becoming moderate and leaning towards the Labor Party. He calls himself a "pragmatic hawk" and explains that the NRP is basically and essentially a hawkish party since that is the nature of a national religious movement. But, as he pointed out, the NRP is not doctrinaire like Herut. The virtue of this government, according to Ben Meir, is that it has opened up Samaria to Jewish settlement, whereas the previous one treated Samaria as a "Judenrein" area. For Ben Meir, Eretz Israel belongs only to the People of Israel (and not the Arabs), but he is pragmatic in the sense that he would not try to get the Arabs out and disagrees with Gush Emunim in that, while he believes that Jews should settle in Judea and Samaria, he feels it does matter when and where. It seems that Gush Emunim is not in such a position of favor with the NRP as it used to be when the latter was afraid of losing votes if it did not support them strongly. According to Vermus, Gush Emunim is presently in great trouble and it seems that their two main sources of support - the Likud and the NRP - are not so enthusiastic about giving them their full support.

Where does the NRP stand with regard to Camp David? Ben Meir agrees with Peres that the Palestinian question and the issue of Judea and Samaria is too complicated to be solved now in detail. In other words, he thinks that the aim should be to reach a declaration of principles. He said that he does not understand what Dayan wants when he speaks about discussing the practical details of the Palestinian question and not dealing with a declaration of principles. As for a declaration of principles, Ben Meir claims that the NRP is very flexible in terms of a formulation. The NRP does not have any problem in accepting Resolution 242. He was very quick in responding to a question about the Vienna Declaration, stating that he would accept the Vienna Declaration as well, and pointing out that he feels free to interpret it as he wants. In his opinion, Begin will accept the Vienna Declaration* too, provided that he is promised, at Camp David, a full and complete peace with Egypt.

On the question of sovereignty, Ben Meir pointed out that while the NRP is not so keen on symbols, such as flags, etc., it does not believe that having Israeli forces stationed on the Jordan River can solve the problems of security since history has proven that maintaining foreign armies in camps without people actually living there, does not work. When asked if he would be ready to accept Arab sovereignty of Judea and Samaria, with Israel keeping the settlements and some army forces on the Jordan River, he said that he does not think such a situation could be stable and viable for long. However, it seems that the NRP would not oppose territorial compromise in a way which would enable Jews to settle in Judea and Samaria and take care of Israel's security needs. Vermus, when pushed to give the NRP's bottom line on concessions, was ready to state that they strongly opposed dismantling the West Bank settlements.

*) For summary of Vienna Declaration see p. 3.

When asked about the functioning of this government, Ben Meir pointed out that without Begin, it would have completely collapsed. That is why, on the issue of the answers to the American questions, the NRP, although it favored Weizman's line of response, did not push this but rather went along with Begin who, at the time, was ill and unable to cope with the situation in view of Dayan's threat to resign.

Both Ben Meir and Vermus expressed their absolute and complete reliance on Begin, and that while the NRP connection with the Likud is not a "Catholic marriage", they do not foresee going back to the Labor Party in the near future. Ben Meir said that with all this, the NRP would like to involve the Labor Party in the political decisions, since it is congruous with the religious philosophy of the unity of the People of Israel. Ben Meir made it very clear that whatever political decisions, promises or concessions Begin makes at Camp David, the NRP and the Likud will stand behind him.

Lea Spector
August 30, 1978

AMERICAN * * * JEWISH
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* Main Points of Vienna Declaration (N.Y. Times 7/11/78)

- * Negotiations should continue until peace treaties are concluded.
- * Peace must include a new system of regional relations based on close cooperation.
- * Secure boundaries should be established with Israel withdrawing to them in each sector. There should be provision for demilitarization and for Israeli security measures where necessary.
- * The Palestinian problem must be resolved in all its aspects, with recognition of the right of the Palestinians to participate in the determination of their own future through negotiations in which their elected representatives take part.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON

CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS

prepared by

Dr. George Gruen, American Jewish Committee
Phil Baum, American Jewish Congress
Ken Jacobson, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

- Q: What was agreed to at Camp David?
- A: There were two agreements. One provides the framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel by mid-December, 1978. The other sets out the basis for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, providing for bilateral peace treaties on the Egyptian-Israeli model with each of the neighboring Arab states, as well as special arrangements for the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza with the participation of the Palestinian Arabs in the process. Each agreement stands on its own; the bilateral Egyptian-Israel peace treaty does not depend on the comprehensive framework agreement.
- Q: How was the issue of sovereignty resolved in the Sinai?
- A: Israel recognizes Egyptian sovereignty over all of the Sinai up to the internationally recognized border that existed between Egypt and Palestine under the British Mandate.
- Q: How was the issue of sovereignty resolved on the West Bank?
- A: There is no reference to sovereignty on the West Bank. Negotiations between Israel and the other participants will take place during the five year transition period to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors.
- Q: What happens to the Israeli military presence in the Sinai?
- A: All of the Israeli armed forces must be withdrawn from the Sinai and the air fields will be turned over to Egypt for civilian purposes only. (Although not mentioned in the agreement, the United States will aid Israel to build two military bases in the Negev to replace those given up in Sinai.)

(more)

Q: What happens to the military presence in the West Bank?

A: The Israeli military government will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been elected by the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations determined by Israel. This will be the only military force in the West Bank/Gaza. The agreement does not limit such forces to the five year transitional period. Local Palestinian Arabs will be in charge of local police matters, with Israel concerned only with external security.

Q: What about other security measures in the Sinai?

A: The Sinai will be divided into zones in which limits on the nature and size of military units and armaments are stipulated. Early warning stations may exist to insure compliance.

A United Nations force will be stationed in the Rafiah salient (where the settlements are now located) and in the Sharm-El-Sheikh area. In contrast to the 1957 agreement, these forces can only be removed by a unanimous vote of the five permanent members of the Security Council, and thus the United States could veto such a removal.

Q: What happens to the settlements in the Sinai?

A: The Knesset will vote before the end of September on the principle of dismantling the settlements in the Sinai. Each member of the Knesset will be permitted to vote his own conscience rather than be subject to the rules of party discipline.

Q: What about the settlements on the West Bank?

A: No reference is made to them but presumably their disposition would be included in the decisions on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. There was agreement on a moratorium on constructing new settlements in the West Bank, but there is an ambiguity on the length of the moratorium. A U.S. official has said there will be a moratorium during the negotiations on the modalities to establish a self-rule council. Israel maintains that the moratorium is for a period of 90 days.

Q: What about navigation rights?

A: The Sinai agreement provides for free passage by Israeli ships through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal on the basis of the Constantinople Convention of 1888, and, for the first time, Egypt concedes that the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba are international waterways open to all nations.

Q: Will there be normal relations between Egypt and Israel?

A: Yes. When the Israeli interim withdrawal is completed, which will be no later than nine months after the treaty is signed, the process of normalizing relations will begin with implementation to be completed no later than

three years after the signing of the treaty. Normal relations will include full recognition, which would include diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, an end to economic boycotts and to barriers to the free movement of people and commerce and mutual protection of each other's citizens by due process of law.

The same normalization of relationships would take place between Israel and other Arab states who joined in signing peace treaties with her within the framework for peace in the Middle East -- the second agreement.

Q: What role would the Palestinians play?

A: The delegations of Egypt and Jordan charged with negotiating with Israel the modalities for establishing an elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza may include not only Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza but other Palestinians as mutually agreed by all the parties. (This in effect gives Israel a veto on PLO officials outside the West Bank.)

AMERICAN JEWISH

The Israel-Jordan negotiations on a treaty "must recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements" and "the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future." The agreement then spells out in detail what this means -- participating with Israel, Egypt and Jordan in negotiating the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues; permitting the elected representatives of the West Bank and Gaza inhabitants to vote on any agreement resulting from such negotiations, providing for elected representatives of the inhabitants of this area to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of such agreement, and joining in negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

Q: What about immigration of non-resident Palestinian Arabs?

A: During the transitional period, Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Arab self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons who left the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, and Egypt and Israel will work with each other and other interested parties on procedures to resolve "the refugee problem."

Q: What role would Jordan play?

A: Jordan, if it agrees to do so, would participate in negotiating the resolution of the Palestinian problem; the five-year transitional arrangements; the modalities establishing the self-governing authority; the final status of the West Bank; a peace treaty with Israel which would include the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. It would also maintain liaison together with Israeli and Egyptian officers, with a "strong" local police force; and participate with Israel in joint patrols and the joint manning of the control posts to assure the security of the borders between the West Bank and Jordan.

Q: What role would the United States play?

A: The framework for peace states that the United States will be invited to participate in the talks on matters related to the implementation of the agreements and the timetable for carrying out their obligations. As mentioned earlier, the United States also will build two air bases in the Negev. Secretary Vance's trip to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Syria is evidence that the United States will continue to play an active role in the negotiating process.

Q: What is the role of the United Nations?

A: As mentioned earlier, United Nations forces will be stationed in two zones in the Sinai.

The Security Council will be requested to endorse the peace treaties and ensure that their provisions shall not be violated. The permanent members of the Security Council would be asked to underwrite the peace treaties and ensure respect for their provisions. The peace treaties are not conditioned upon such actions.

Q: Who "won" and who "lost"?

A: While each side made concessions, it is unproductive, indeed, harmful, to attempt to score the agreements like a prize fight. The agreement is a victory for peace. If treaties are successfully concluded and implemented, all the parties and peoples of the Middle East will benefit. The agreements also mark a victory for the counsels of moderation and pragmatism against the voices of dogmatism and fanaticism.

Q: What's the effect on American interests?

A: This is a victory for the American policy objective of seeking to achieve a stable and peaceful Middle East that will be less vulnerable to extremist, especially Communist, "adventurism." It reinforces the unique role of the United States as the only major power trusted by states on both sides of the Arab-Israel conflict, and thus represents another setback for Soviet policy in the middle East.

September 20, 1978

zc

78-960-115

FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY
BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

In order to achieve peace between them, Israel and Egypt agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months of the signing of this framework a peace treaty between them.

It is agreed that:

The site of the negotiations will be under a United Nations flag at a location or locations to be mutually agreed.

All of the principles of U.N. Resolution 242 will apply in this resolution of the dispute between Israel and Egypt.

Unless otherwise mutually agreed, terms of the peace treaty will be implemented between two and three years after the peace treaty is signed.

The following matters are agreed between the parties:

- (a) the full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty up to the internationally recognized border between Egypt and mandated Palestine;
- (b) the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the Sinai;
- (c) the use of airfields left by the Israelis near El Arish, Rafah, Ras en Naqb, and Sharm el Sheikh for civilian purposes only, including possible commercial use by all nations;
- (d) the right of free passage by ships of Israel through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal on the basis of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 applying to all nations; the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba are international waterways to be open to all nations for unimpeded and nonsuspendable freedom of navigation and overflight;

(e) the construction of a highway between the Sinai and Jordan near Elat with guaranteed free and peaceful passage by Egypt and Jordan; and

(f) the stationing of military forces listed below.

Stationing of Forces

A. No more than one division (mechanized or infantry) of Egyptian armed forces will be stationed within an area lying approximately 50 kilometers (km) east of the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal.

B. Only United Nations forces and civil police equipped with light weapons to perform normal police functions will be stationed within an area lying west of the international border and the Gulf of Aqaba, varying in width from 20 km to 40 km.

C. In the area within 3 km east of the international border there will be Israeli limited military forces not to exceed four infantry battalions and United Nations observers.

D. Border patrol units, not to exceed three battalions, will supplement the civil police in maintaining order in the area not included above.

The exact demarcation of the above areas will be as decided during the peace negotiations.

Early warning stations may exist to insure compliance with the terms of the agreement.

United Nations forces will be stationed: (a) in part of the area in the Sinai lying within about 20 km of the Mediterranean Sea and adjacent to the international border, and (b) in the Sharm el Sheikh area to ensure freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran; and these forces will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations with a unanimous vote of the five permanent members.

After a peace treaty is signed, and after the interim withdrawal is complete, normal relations will be established between Egypt and Israel, including: full recognition, including diplomatic, economic and cultural relations; termination of economic boycotts and barriers

to the free movement of goods and people; and mutual protection of citizens by the due process of law.

Interim Withdrawal

Between three months and nine months after the signing of the peace treaty, all Israeli forces will withdraw east of a line extending from a point east of El Arish to Ras Muhammad, the exact location of this line to be determined by mutual agreement.

For the Government of the
Arab Republic of Egypt:

For the Government
of Israel:

Witnessed by:

Jimmy Carter, President
of the United States of America

September 17, 1978

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

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

Preamble

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

- The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts.*
- After four wars during thirty years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not yet enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.

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

- The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded to him by the Parliament, government and people of Israel, and the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.
- The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states.
- To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it, are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338.
- Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Progress toward that goal can accelerate movement toward a new era of reconciliation in the Middle East marked by cooperation in promoting economic development, in maintaining stability, and in assuring security.
- Security is enhanced by a relationship of peace and by cooperation between nations which enjoy normal relations. In addition, under the terms of peace treaties, the parties can, on the basis of reciprocity, agree to special security arrangements such as demilitarized zones, limited armaments areas, early warning stations, the presence of international forces, liaison,

agreed measures for monitoring, and other arrangements that they agree are useful.

Framework

Taking these factors into account, the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good neighborly relations. They recognize that, for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. They therefore agree that this framework as appropriate is intended by them to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and each of its other neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with Israel on this basis. With that objective in mind, they have agreed to proceed as follows:

A. West Bank and Gaza

1. Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

(a) Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, the Government of Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should

give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.

(b) Egypt, Israel, and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. The delegations of Egypt and Jordan may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed. The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force will be established, which may include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israeli and Jordanian forces will participate in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders.

(c) When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of the four parties which will negotiate and agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbors, and the second committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached on the final status of the West Bank and

Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The solution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:

- 1) The negotiations among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period.
- 2) Submitting their agreement to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.
- 3) Providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of their agreement.
- 4) Participating as stated above in the work of the committee negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

2. All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain continuing liaison on internal security matters with the designated

Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.

3. During the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern may also be dealt with by this committee.

4. Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem.

B. Egypt-Israel

1. Egypt and Israel undertake not to resort to the threat or the use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. In order to achieve peace between them, the parties agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months from the signing of this Framework a peace treaty between them, while inviting the other parties to the conflict to proceed simultaneously to negotiate and conclude similar peace treaties with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel will govern the peace negotiations between them. The parties will agree on the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of their obligations under the treaty.

C. Associated Principles

1. Egypt and Israel state that the principles and provisions described below should apply to peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbors-- Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

2. Signatories shall establish among themselves relationships normal to states at peace with one another. To this end, they should undertake to abide by all the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Steps to be taken in this respect include:

(a) full recognition;

(b) abolishing economic boycotts;

(c) guaranteeing that under their jurisdiction the citizens of the other parties shall enjoy the protection of the due process of law.

3. Signatories should explore possibilities for economic development in the context of final peace treaties, with the objective of contributing to the atmosphere of peace, cooperation and friendship which is their common goal.

4. Claims Commissions may be established for the mutual settlement of all financial claims.

5. The United States shall be invited to participate in the talks on matters related to the modalities of the implementation of the agreements and working out the timetable for the carrying out of the obligations of the parties.

6. The United Nations Security Council shall be requested to endorse the peace treaties and ensure that their provisions shall not be violated. The permanent members of the Security Council shall be requested to underwrite the peace treaties and ensure respect for their provisions. They shall also be requested to conform their policies and actions with the undertakings contained in this Framework.

For the Government of the
Arab Republic of Egypt:

For the Government
of Israel:

Witnessed by:

Jimmy Carter, President
of the United States of America

TEXT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242
OF NOVEMBER 22, 1967

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special

Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of this resolution.

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

TEXT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

RESOLUTION 338

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1747th meeting,
on 21/22 October 1973

The Security Council

1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. Decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

PREPARED AS POSSIBLE OP-ED
FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
July 24, 1979

CAMP DAVID AND AMERICAN RELIGION

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Religion in America seems to be getting a bum rap in the media.

The treatment - or lack of treatment - of the meeting between President Carter, Mrs. Rosalyn Carter, and the senior White House staff with a group of ten prominent Christian and Jewish religious leaders and scholars on Tuesday evening, July 10th, at Camp David, is a dramatic case in point. That quite remarkable "dialogue" was reported either with selective inattention, snickering caricatures, or condescension.

While the seminars that the President held with other representative groups of American leaders gripped the attention of the front pages of much of the American press and TV news - and in most cases deservedly so - the President's session with the religious spokesmen was virtually ignored. The few reporters and columnists who took notice of that meeting tended to dismiss our group sardonically as "the God squad." Talk about cynicism in America...

My pique over that media inattention has nothing to do with any interest in self-serving publicity. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups have their own newspapers and wire-services and manage quite effectively to reach most of their constituencies with their respective messages. My annoyance has ~~first~~ ^{with} to do/first, the distortion of the historic record of the unprecedented Camp David talks; and second, the inevitable minimizing of the major, indeed, ^{even} central role that religious groups could play in helping the majority of the American people to cope constructively with the moral and practical challenges which the present energy crisis poses.

As to the historic record of Camp David, ironies abound. Future historians who will rely on the front page story of the New York Times of July 22nd, or the News in Review of the same date - both excellent and presumably comprehensive accounts of the Camp David conversations - would nevertheless be justified in concluding that virtually every segment

MORE

of the American polity and the academic disciplines were deemed important enough and had something thoughtful to contribute in dealing with the urgent energy and economic crisis for the President to invite their counsel - except for the institutions of religion. And yet, on the morning following our July 10th meeting with President Carter, one of his top White House aides telephoned several of us to say, "The President and the White House staff felt that the meeting with the religious leaders was among the best and the most useful of all the Camp David meetings."

It was uniquely at the meeting with Christian and Jewish leaders that the President explored as a central theme and at great length the philosophical, ideological, and moral issues - "the malaise of America," and the moral vision which needs to be reconstituted as a precondition for mobilizing the moral will of the American people without which no energy programs, however boldly conceived, would take hold.

It was during this session that we discussed the fact that the Founding Fathers of our nation, however much they argued over points of constitutional structure, agreed unanimously that it would take "more than a perfect plan of government to keep up the spirit of good government." Something else was needed, they asserted, some moral principle diffused among the people to strengthen the urge to public virtues which are the essence of freedom. The cultivation of these great public virtues - moral action without compulsion, love of liberty, public spirit and patriotism (defined by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 as "a disinterested attachment to the public good, exclusive and independent of all private and selfish interest"), moral incorruptibility, industry and frugality, hard work and plain living - was considered the first duty of a free people.

One can only imagine our gratification that the President devoted twenty-two minutes of his July 15th address to precisely these "moral and spiritual issues" that we had the privilege of examining with him, and that, according to the Times/CBS poll, some 77 percent of the nearly 100 million Americans who listened to the President's talk agreed with his views about our nation's "moral and spiritual crisis." Indeed, Hedrick Smith and his colleagues

were led to characterize that talk as "the most successful speech of the Carter Presidency." (N.Y. Times, July 22nd.)

Let the ^{historic} record show, therefore, that the President of his own choosing had the benefit of clergy, for reasons of substance, we believe, far more than for public relations ritual.

No less important than the question of historic accuracy is that of media responsibility for portraying fairly the effective role of religion in public affairs. In that same July 22nd issue of the Sunday Times, there appeared a lead OP-ED article by a Catholic priest from Minneapolis, the Rev. Robert G. Howes, in which he denounced "America's churches (for being) thunderingly silent (on) immense national crises, inflation and energy, in particular."

His criticism is surprising but not unexpected. A director of pastoral planning should know better, but perhaps not if he relies solely on the dominant media for adequate information about the role of religion in our national life.

Memo to the media (and to Father Howes, with all due respect):

There are roughly 146 million Americans affiliated with the Churches and Synagogues of the United States. With all their diversity, the Christian and Jewish communities in aggregate represent the largest single network of organization and communication in our nation, larger by far than the constituents reached respectively by organized business, labor, or the universities. Only national television reaches as large an audience at one time, as was the special case with Roots and Holocaust. As one Protestant leader portrayed the religious scene to me, "Why, there are more Methodist churches in this country than there are post offices!" (We joshed about which institution is more effective in delivering its message.)

Three years ago, when famine raged in the Sahelian zone of West Africa, and in the Indian subcontinent, Congressional committees informed a group of religious leaders - a number of whom were at Camp David - that Congress would not vote to allocate four and a half million tons of food because "there was no constituency calling for such action." Led by Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, a group of us, Christians and Jews, brought that message to our constituents. Within weeks, Congress was bombarded with letters, telegrams and visits indicating that

Americans did not want our country to stand idly by while tens of thousands of human beings were dying before our eyes - especially when our silos were groaning with bumper crops of grain.

P.S. - Congress, learning once again dramatically that religious types had troops, lots of troops, reversed itself, and today there are hundreds of thousands of human beings alive because a group of Christian and Jewish leaders cared and acted out their Biblical and democratic heritages of compassion in the real world. Not incidentally, we found that there were no other leaders from any other segment of American life on the hill advocating to save the hungry and impoverished people of Africa and Asia. Only the "God squad"...

In July 1978, the eight billion dollar foreign aid bill was threatened by a fifteen percent cut that would have wrought havoc with our economic development program for 800 million poor and starving people. Steep cuts in foreign aid would also have undermined our support of the World Bank, Middle East peace, and our foreign policy generally. On 72 hours notice, we brought 26 Christian and Jewish leaders to the White House to meet with the President and his top foreign aid experts. The 26 religious leaders spontaneously prepared, on their own initiative, a joint statement articulating our moral responsibility for the poor of the world, and then gave copies to every member of Congress, with many of whom we discussed the moral issues at stake. The next morning the foreign aid bill passed intact.

At the following Thursday morning Cabinet meeting, the President reportedly declared that the foreign aid bill would not have passed in such good shape had it not been for the actions taken by the religious leadership of America.

And most recently, the Vietnamese boat people, the ethnic Chinese, and the Indochinese refugees. While a number of voluntary agencies, particularly the intersectorian International Rescue Committee under Leo Cherne's dedicated leadership, have been involved in helping to save the lives of these tragic human beings, the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish refugee and immigration agencies have sponsored, resettled, and rehabilitated (through jobs, housing, education, medical, and social welfare ~~agencies~~ services) more than

75 percent of the 210,000 Indochinese refugees already brought to this country since 1975. And two weeks ago, at a press conference in New York, the same religious leaders pledged that they would take care of whatever other refugees that are rescued from drowning in the South China Sea and brought to these shores for safe haven.

A similar track record exists for the role these religious leaders and their millions of followers have played over decades in advocating vigorously the causes of human rights, universal nuclear disarmament, arms control, as well as supporting effective measures to combat inflation, unemployment, social welfare reform, national health care, among other pressing domestic ~~issues~~ concerns.

My point in laying out this impressive track record - which is virtually unknown to many Americans (including, bewilderingly, some clergy) and quite obviously to many people in the media - is not to beat a publicity drum for the religious establishment. Despite some flagrant and well-known abuses by a number of clergymen, modesty, self-effacement, and altruistic service are still regarded as fundamental religious virtues. Rather it is to make the point that in the present critical moment facing our nation, the religious groups have a major, if not central role to play in helping Americans - especially the 146 million people affiliated with the Churches and Synagogues - cope creatively and constructively with the energy crisis and inflation, particularly with the issue of conservation of resources.

For at its heart, conservation is a matter of cultural lifestyle, and lifestyle ultimately rests on moral values - what is really important in your life; what is essential and what can be discarded as sheer ~~sheer~~ self-indulgence; how do you achieve personal happiness that does not depend on the endless accumulation of material goods; how do you meet personal and familial needs and at the same time remain responsive to the common welfare, especially that of the poor, the ill, and the ~~the~~ indigent elderly?

The President of the United States seems to have understood the distinctive role of religion as the historic custodian in our nation of moral and spiritual values, as well as its track record in translating those values into daily human realities. Hopefully, the

media will someday soon also reflect that important understanding.

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, was the Jewish spokesman among the ten religious leaders who met with President Carter at his invitation on July 10th at Camp David.)





THE WHITE HOUSE

July 30, 1979

to Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum

Jimmy Carter

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE NATION

THE OVAL OFFICE

Sunday, July 15, 1979

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Good evening.

This is a special night for me. Exactly three years ago on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States.

I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain and who shares your dreams and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you.

During the past three years I have spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the government, our Nation's economy and issues of war and especially peace. But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important.

Gradually you have heard more and more about what the government should be doing and less and less about our Nation's hopes, our dreams and our vision of the future.

Ten days ago I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject—energy. For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress. But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a Nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

It is clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help.

So I decided to reach out and to listen to the voices of America. I invited to Camp David people from almost every segment of our society—business and labor, teachers and preachers, Governors, Mayors and private citizens. And then I left Camp David to listen to other Americans, men and women like you. It has been an extraordinary ten days, and I want to share with you what I have heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let me quote a few of the typical comments that I wrote down.

This from a Southern Governor:

"Mr. President, you are not leading this nation—you are just managing the government."

"You don't see the people enough any more."

"Some of your Cabinet members don't seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples."

"Don't talk to us about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of our common good."

"Mr. President, we are in trouble. Talk to us about blood and sweat and tears."

"If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow."

Many people talked about themselves and about the condition of our Nation.

This from a young woman in Pennsylvania: "I feel so far from government. I feel like ordinary people are excluded from political power."

And this from a young Chicano: "Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives."

"Some people have wasted energy, but others haven't had anything to waste."

And this from a religious leader: "No material shortage can touch the important things like God's love for us or our love for one another."

And I like this one particularly from a black woman who happens to be the Mayor of a small Mississippi town: "The big shots are not the only ones who are important. Remember, you can't sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs it up somewhere else first."

This kind of summarized a lot of other statements: "Mr. President, we are confronted with a moral and a spiritual crisis."

Several of our discussions were on energy and I have a notebook full of comments and advice. I will read just a few.

"We can't go on consuming 40 percent more energy than we produce. When we import oil we are also importing inflation plus unemployment."

"We have got to use what we have. The Middle East has only five percent of the world's energy, but the United States has twenty-four percent."

And this is one of the most vivid statements: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has the knife."

"There will be other cartels and other shortages. American wisdom and courage right now can set a path to follow in the future."

This was a good one: "Be bold, Mr. President. We may make mistakes, but we are ready to experiment."

And this one from a labor leader got to the heart of it: "The real issue is freedom. We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing."

And the last that I will read: "When we enter the moral equivalent of war, Mr. President, don't issue us BB guns."

These ten days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my longstanding concerns about our Nation's underlying problems.

I know, of course, being President, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That is why I have worked hard to put my campaign promises into law—and I have to admit, with just mixed success.

But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what is wrong with America. So I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a Nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might.

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the 4th of July. It is the idea we founded our Nation on and it has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else—public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between

generations. We have always believed in something called progress. We have always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own.

Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself, but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. As a people we know our past and we are proud of it. Our progress has been part of the living history of America, even the world. We always believed that we were part of a great movement of humanity itself called democracy, involved in the search for freedom and that belief has always strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also beginning to close the door on our past.

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns.

But we have discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We have learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country the majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years.

Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western World.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning. These changes did not happen overnight. They have come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure that ours was a Nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam.

We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar," was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollars and our savings.

We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973 when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. Washington, D.C., has become an island. The gap between our citizens and our government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers, clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual.

What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the

country is a system of government that seems incapable of action. You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests.

You see every extreme position defended to the last vote, almost to the last breath by one unyielding group or another.

You often see a balanced and a fair approach that demands sacrifice, a little sacrifice from everyone, abandoned like an orphan without support and without friends.

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like it, and neither do I. What can we do?

First of all, we must face the truth and then we can change our course. We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves and faith in the future of this Nation.

Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. It is a true challenge of this generation of Americans.

One of the visitors to Camp David last week put it this way:

"We have got to stop crying and start sweating, stop talking and start walking, stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House but from every house in America."

We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than

those that challenge us now. Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression, who fought world wars and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

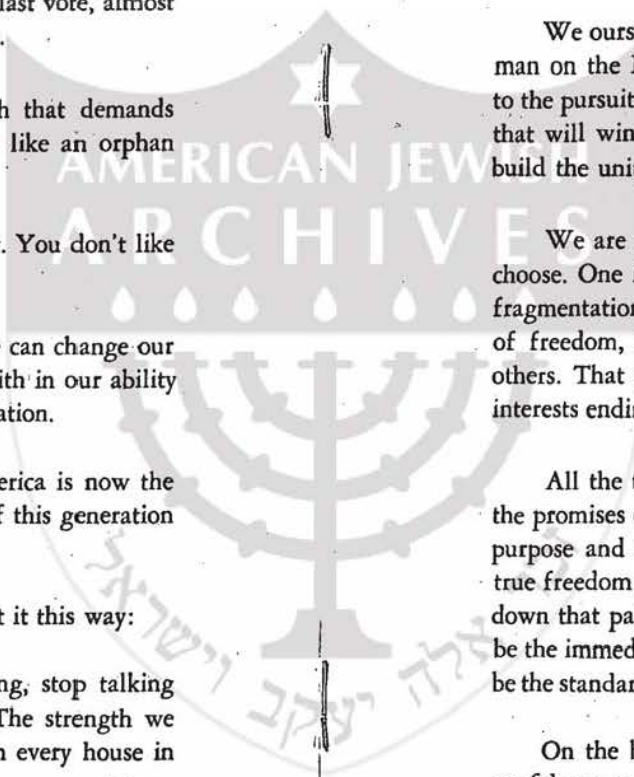
We ourselves are the same Americans who just 10 years ago put a man on the Moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves. We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our energy problem. Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this Nation and it can also be the standard around which we rally.

On the battlefield of energy we can win for our Nation a new confidence and we can seize control again of our common destiny.

In little more than two decades we have gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our



excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people.

This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It is a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our Nation.

The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger to our Nation. These are facts and we simply must face them.

What I have to say to you now about energy is simple and vitally important.

Point one: I am tonight setting a clear goal for the energy policy of the United States. Beginning this moment, this Nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977—never. From now on, every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation. The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks right now and then reversed as we move through the 1980's, for I am tonight setting the further goal of cutting our dependence on foreign oil by one-half by the end of the next decade—a saving of over four and a half million barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two: To ensure that we meet these targets, I will use my Presidential authority to set import quotas. I am announcing tonight that for 1979 and 1980, I will forbid the entry into this country of one drop of foreign oil more than these goals allow.

These quotas will ensure a reduction in imports even below the ambitious levels we set at the recent Tokyo Summit.

Point three: To give us energy security, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our Nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel—from coal, from oil shale, from plant products for gasohol, from unconventional gas, from the sun.

I propose the creation of an Energy Security Corporation to lead this effort to replace two and a half million barrels of imported oil per day by 1990. The corporation will issue up to \$5 billion in energy bonds, and I especially want them to be in small denominations so that average Americans can invest directly in America's energy security.

Just as a similar synthetic rubber corporation helped us win World War II, so will we mobilize American determination and ability to win the energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to Congress calling for the creation of this Nation's first solar bank which will help us achieve the crucial goal of 20 percent of our energy coming from solar power by the year 2000.

These efforts will cost money, a lot of money, and that is why Congress must enact the windfall profits tax without delay. It will be money well spent. Unlike the billions of dollars that we ship to foreign countries to pay for foreign oil, these funds will be paid by Americans to Americans. These funds will go to fight, not to increase, inflation and unemployment.

Point four: I am asking Congress to mandate, to require as a matter of law, that our Nation's utility companies cut their massive use of oil by 50 percent within the next decade and switch to other fuels, especially coal, our most abundant energy source.

Point five: To make absolutely certain that nothing stands in the way of achieving these goals, I will urge Congress to create an Energy Mobilization Board which, like the War Production Board in World War II, will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the red tape, the delays, and the endless roadblocks to completing key energy projects.

We will protect our environment. But when this Nation critically needs a refinery or a pipeline, we will build it.

Point six: I am proposing a bold conservation program to involve every State, county and city and every average American in our energy battle. This effort will permit you to build conservation into your homes and your lives at a cost you can afford.

I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation and for standby gasoline rationing. To further conserve energy, I am proposing tonight an extra \$10 billion over the next decade to strengthen our public transportation systems, and I am asking you for your good and for your Nation's security to take no unnecessary trips, to use car pools or public transportation whenever you can, to park your car one extra day per week, to obey the speed limit and to set your thermostats to save fuel. Every act of energy conservation like this is more than just common sense.—I tell you it is an act of patriotism.

Our Nation must be fair to the poorest among us, so we will increase aid to needy Americans to cope with rising energy prices. We often think of conservation only in terms of sacrifice. In fact, it is the most painless and immediate way of rebuilding our Nation's strength. Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production. It gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives.

So the solution of our energy crisis can also help us to conquer the crisis of the spirit in our country. It can rekindle our sense of unity, our confidence in the future and give our Nation and all of us individually a new sense of purpose.

You know we can do it. We have the natural resources. We have more oil in our shale alone than several Saudi Arabias. We have more coal than any Nation on earth. We have the world's highest level of technology. We have the most skilled work force with innovative genius and I firmly believe that we have the national will to win this war.

I do not promise you that this struggle for freedom will be easy. I do not promise a quick way out of our Nation's problems, then the truth is that the only way out is an all out effort.

What I do promise you is that I will lead our fight and I will enforce fairness in our struggle and I will ensure honesty. And above all, I will act.

We can manage the short-term shortages more effectively and we will, but there are no short-term solutions to our long-range problems. There is simply no way to avoid sacrifice.

Twelve hours from now I will speak again in Kansas City, to expand and to explain further our energy program. Just as the search for solutions to our energy shortages has now led us to a new awareness of our nation's deeper problems, so our willingness to work for those solutions in energy can strengthen us to attack those deeper problems.

I will continue to travel this country, to hear the people of America. You can help me to develop a national agenda for the 1980s.

I will listen and I will act. We will act together. These were the promises I made three years ago and I intend to keep them.

Little by little we can and we must rebuild our confidence. We can spend until we empty our treasuries and we may summon all the wonders of science, but we can succeed only if we tap our *greatest* resources—America's people, America's values, and America's confidence.

I have seen the strength of America in the inexhaustible resources of our people. In the days to come, let us renew that strength in the struggle for an energy-secure Nation.

In closing, let me say this: I will do my best, but I will not do it alone. Let your voice be heard. Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country. With God's help and for the sake of our Nation it is time for us to join hands in America. Let us commit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit. Working together with our common faith we cannot fail.

Thank you and good night.

