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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

APRIL 30, 1975

BRENT SCOWCROFT

You might be interested in this piece by Rabbi Hertzberg. It was given to me by Max Fisher.

Dictated by the President on attached dictabelt.

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THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

Dictabelt enclosed

This is a moment of great difficulty and, to be open about it, considerable confusion.

It is not quite clear what the situation of Israel is either in the Middle East or in the American public mind. The United States government has announced that this is a time of "reassessment", and there are substantial fears in the Tewish community that this may mean serious pressure on Israel against its own interests. Indeed, there is a rising tide of emotion within parts of the American Jewish community directed against the Administration for supposedly leaning on Israel in favor of the Arabs.

I have no doubt that in the immediate aftermath of the failure of the Kissinger mission in the Middle East, both he and the President felt that Israel, which is much closer to them than Egypt, should have been more giving, and said so, in part in public. As a matter of fact, we always feel that our friends should do more for us than our acquaintances, and we get annoyed with them when they do not. I am no defender of the pique of the Administration. Nonetheless, it seems very clear to me that a Jewish policy which casts the Administration in the role of the villain both practically and as a matter of fact, is wrong and self-defeating.

The government of the United States is the major friend of Israel in the world. It is not the enemy. It is possible to disagree with it on occasion without rancor, and to increase rancor is to do harm.

To be utterly candid, I suspect that some of those who are annoyed with the President and the Secretary of State have deeper reasons for their annoyance than reaction to a few unfortunate leaks and some moments of irritation on the part of officials in the American government. These are people in the Jewish community both in the United States and Israel who really do not want "step-by-step" diplomatic endeavors. They would prefer

an American government which is dedicated to confrontation with the Soviet Union and with the Arabs, and they believe that such a posture would keep Israel from having to give much territory back. Outcries against President Ford and Secretary Kissinger are thus not reactions of the moment, but a continuation of a Jewish hard line policy.

The trouble with this is that it is a form of being "holier than the Pope." The government of Israel is committed to a policy of accommodation and negotiation. Nay, more, there has supposedly been a long-standing principle of not fighting Israeli policies here, but letting Israel decide what to do. At the moment, the Israeli position is cooperation with the United States and negotiation. To act to break the relationship with the United States government, to move into an adversary position, is in effect to try to achieve in the United States, by antagonizing the American government, what hardliners did not have the votes to achieve in Israel. Such an action has to be called by its right name -- meddling in the political processes of Israel through undercutting the majority policy of moderation here in the United States.

This is a time for strong nerves and for reasoned judgment, not for slogans and hysterics. Let those who would ventilate at Ford and Kissinger ask themselves just one simple question: After you have made them into adversaries, what follows next? Will Israel be more secure as a result of such an "achievement"?

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

JERRY H.

The attached was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

-- You might be interested in this piece by Rabbi Hertzberg. It was given to me by Max Fisher.

cc: Don Rumsfeld