

000715

Tower Hall Series
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WHAT IS THE U.S. COMMITMENT, IN THE MIDDLE EAST? 47

Remarks by 00
the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey 32

Jewish Postcard Fund 2.

~~—TEMPLE EMANUEL~~

~~MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA~~

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Rabbi Lehrman, Pres. Harry Pearlman
Happy Levy Col Jack Arvey
Mrs Katzman Co-Chairman
C000718

ISAIAH SAID, "BEHOLD, I WILL DO A NEW
THING; NOW IT SHALL SPRING FORTH; SHALL YE
NOT KNOW IT? I WILL EVEN MAKE A WAY IN THE
WILDERNESS, AND RIVERS IN THE DESERT."

and THE LORD GOD HAS CREATED A "NEW THING" --
A NEW ISRAEL, AND IT IS HIS WILL THAT IT SHALL
CONTINUE TO EXIST -- TO PROSPER AND TO BE
FREE. It IS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR OWN
COMMITMENT TO THIS NEW ISRAEL, THAT I SPEAK TO
THE SUBJECT OF U.S.-SOVIET POLICY IN THE MIDDLE
EAST.

When, I AM ASKED WHAT I CONSIDER THE ~~CRISIS~~
SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, I AM
REMINDED OF THE STORY TOLD OF THE BRITISH
STATESMAN CASTELREAGH AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. 1815

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WHEN ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT TO BE THE PERFECT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY EQUIVALENT OF THE, MIDDLE EAST. HE WOULD REPLY: "WELL THERE ARE ONLY THREE PEOPLE IN THE WHOLE WORLD WHO KNOW THE SOLUTION TO THIS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE FIRST ONE DIED. THE SECOND WENT MAD AFTER WORKING OUT THE SOLUTION. AND I'M AWFULLY SORRY, BUT I'VE FORGOTTEN IT."

~~THIS PROBLEM IS CERTAINLY A MOST SERIOUS ONE BUT I BELIEVE THIS LITTLE STORY UNDERLINES THE DIFFICULTY OF ARRIVING AT A JUST SOLUTION. FOR WHAT WE ARE FACED WITH IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS A SCENARIO OF MOST ESSENTIAL DRAMA. WE ARE FACED WITH WHAT I.F. STONE CALLS "A STRUGGLE OF RIGHT AGAINST RIGHT."~~

HOW BOTH JEWS AND ARABS SOLVE THIS
CONFLICT HOPEFULLY WILL SET THE STAGE FOR A
DRAMATIC ~~flow~~ ^{flow} OF OVERWHELMING GOOD -- A
BROTHERHOOD THAT REJECTS THE HORRORS AND FEARS
OF A CONFLICT NOT SO LONG PAST.

Question BUT DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE A TRUE
AND BINDING COMMITMENT TO ^{help} PRESERVE ISRAEL'S
SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

BEFORE ANSWERING THAT QUESTION, I'D
LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT IS THE NORMAL REACTION ~~AT~~
~~THE NATION WHEN~~ ^{when} THAT WORD "COMMITMENT" IS BROUGHT
UP? WELL, IN MY EXPERIENCE, AT LEAST SINCE
VIETNAM, THE REACTION IS NEGATIVE, TO PUT
IT MILDLY.

--FRIENDSHIPS OF LONG-STANDING ARE DESTROYED;

--DINNER PARTIES DIVIDE INTO ARMED CAMPS OF VERBAL ESCALATION;

--SENATE ^{or renew long & bitter} LEADERSHIP REFLEXIVELY BEGINS ~~TO REVIEW THE HISTORY OF CLOTURE VOTES,~~ ^{arguments over the relations between} ~~the President + Congress.~~

--OUR ALLIES SCRAMBLE TO THEIR LATEST REVISED DICTIONARY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY JARGON;

--AND, IF POSSIBLE, EVERYONE TRIES TO CHANGE THE SUBJECT.

↳ THE REASON FOR THIS FRANTIC EFFORT TO ESCAPE A DISCUSSION OF ANY "COMMITMENT" IS BECAUSE NO ONE ANY LONGER KNOWS WHAT THE WORD REALLY MEANS.

THE SENATE, IN HEARINGS BEFORE THE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE ~~AND THE SEPARATION OF~~
~~POWERS SUBCOMMITTEE~~, TRIED TO DETERMINE WHAT
A COMMITMENT IS. \hookrightarrow THE ADMINISTRATION DISAGREED
WITH WHAT THE SENATE VOTED TO BE A COMMITMENT.

\hookrightarrow THE CONGRESS CAME BACK THEN AND SAID THAT
WHATEVER THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT WAS A
COMMITMENT, ~~THEY WERE~~ ^{It was} NOT TO AGREE TO ANY ~~commitment~~
WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS.

\hookrightarrow SO THE BALL HAS BOUNCED FROM ONE END OF
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE TO THE OTHER. \rightarrow ~~THE~~
~~RHETORIC HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY OBSCURE,~~
~~AS THE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT A COMMITMENT IS,~~
HAS BECOME OBSCURE.

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Confusion^F

~~MY FRIENDS~~, I DON'T REALLY BLAME

anyone

~~AMERICANS AND OTHER NATIONS~~ FOR WONDERING WHAT IS GOING ON IN WASHINGTON WITH REGARDS TO THE MIDDLE EAST. *L* THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO BE WORKING AT THREE DISTINCT INFORMATIONAL LEVELS.

1) THE TOP ESCHELONS OF HEADS OF STATE, PRIME MINISTERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS SEEM TO GET DIRECT ASSURANCES DURING VISITS TO WASHINGTON THAT ALL WILL BE WELL AS LONG AS THE OTHER SIDE LISTENS TO REASON.

2) THE MIDDLE *levels* ~~ESCHELONS~~ OF WORKING DIPLOMATS AND CHIEFS OF STAFF APPARENTLY GET ANOTHER STORY. *L* THEY TRUDGE IN AND OUT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE MISSIONS AND *"PENTAGONS"* ~~"PENTAGONS"~~ WITH DOOR FACES MAKING GLOOMY PREDICTIONS OF EVENTS *to come*

~~THE NEAR FUTURE~~

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3) THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED
 LISTENING TO BOTH OFFICIAL ^{the} ~~ESCHELONS~~ OF THEIR
 OWN COUNTRY, ^{+ ours} BECOME CONFUSED. ~~AND THEY TRY~~
 TO ~~UNRAVEL WHAT OFFICIAL WASHINGTON SAYS~~ SO
 THEY TOO TRY TO FORGET THE WORD "COMMITMENT."

~~WELL, IF YOU WILL PERMIT ME, I'LL INDULGE~~

IN ~~A LITTLE STRAIGHT TALK~~. I MAY NOT ^{be able}

^{to} DISPEL ^{all the} CONFUSION OVER THE DEFINITION
 OF COMMITMENT, BUT JUST ^{a little straight talk} ~~IN A BIT,~~
 MIGHT HELP US ~~GET THINGS STRAIGHT.~~

↳ FIRST OF ALL, WE DEFINITELY DO HAVE A
~~THE~~ CLEAR-CUT COMMITMENT TO ASSIST ISRAEL,
 -- ECONOMICALLY, DIPLOMATICALLY AND WITH THE
 ARMS NECESSARY FOR THE ISRAELIS TO ^{maintain} ~~CONDUCT~~
 THEIR OWN DEFENSE AND PROTECT THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

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THIS COMMITMENT IS NOT ONE OF TREATY STATUS. IT IS NOT ONE THAT DIPLOMATS

SKILLFULLY CONSTRUCTED -- WITH ELABORATELY ~~designed~~ ~~obscured~~ LOOPHOLES. IT IS NOT ONE ~~EXTRACTED~~ ~~EXTRACTED~~

FROM THE U.S. THROUGH ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST.

IT IS NOT A COMMITMENT ENTERED INTO BECAUSE OUR NATIONAL PRIDE DEMANDS IT, IT ISN'T EVEN

ONE THAT PERMITS OUR MILITARY TO "SHOW THE FLAG" WITH ANY MARTIAL BRAVADO. ~~AND IT~~

~~CERTAINLY ISN'T A COMMITMENT REQUIRED BY OUR OWN NATION'S ECONOMIC NEEDS; QUITE THE CONTRARY, IN FACT.~~

THE COMMITMENT I SPEAK OF -- THE SPECIAL BOND YOU, AND I, AND MOST AMERICANS FEEL, IS A BOND FORGED BY THE PEOPLES OF BOTH NATIONS.

IT IS A COMMITMENT OF ~~OUR~~ ^{and} MINDS, HEARTS, ~~AND~~
~~STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL.~~

THIS COMMITMENT IS TRULY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

IT IS A COMMITMENT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA HAVE
 MADE AND DECLARED TO OUR PRESIDENT OUR CONGRESS,
 AND OUR FRIENDS ~~AND OUR FRIENDS~~ IN ISRAEL.

IT IS ALSO A COMMITMENT WE HAVE DECLARED TO
 THOSE WHO WOULD SEE THE MIDDLE EAST PLUNGED
 AGAIN INTO WAR -- WHO WOULD SEE ISRAEL DRIVEN
 TO THE BRINK -- TO THE USE OF WEAPONS OF LAST
 RESORT.

~~BUT, AS OF LATE, ^{our} THIS PEOPLES COMMITMENT~~
~~AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT HAS BECOME~~
~~SOMEWHAT MUTED ^{clouded}~~

~~But~~ But-

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J.

THIS COMMITMENT ~~IS CLEAR~~ MUST AGAIN

BE DECLARED CLEARLY BY THE NATIONAL

ADMINISTRATION. ~~THE~~ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR

REPRESENTATIVES HAVE DECLARED THIS COMMITMENT.

THESE CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, FAMILIAL AND

INDEED, EMOTIONAL TIES ARE JUST AS REAL--

PERHAPS HOPEFULLY, MORE SO -- THAN BONDS OF

ALLIANCE OR HIGH LEVEL DIPLOMACY.

I CALL FOR THIS RE-DECLARATION ON THE PART

OF THE ADMINISTRATION NOT TO IRRITATE THE

ARAB WORLD. I URGE A STRONG REAFFIRMATION

OF OUR NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL NOT TO

FREEZE THE ARAB NEGOTIATORS INTO AN

INTRANSIGENCE THAT WOULD STIFLE THE TALKS.

no confusion
of text

on the contrary,

K

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~~INDEED~~, I SAY NOW TO THE LEADERS OF THE ARAB

NATIONS AND THEIR PEOPLES THAT THIS RESTATEMENT OF

AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THE SOVEREIGNTY

AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL IS IN THEIR OWN

BEST, LONG-TERM INTEREST.

~~I SAY TO THEM THAT THE DAYS OF KIPLING AND
VICEROYS; OF KHEDIVES AND THE THIRD EMPIRE ARE OVER.
COLONIES, PARTICULARLY FOR FATUOUS GEOPOLITICAL
REASONS, HAVE NO PLACE IN THE MODERN-DAY ARAB
WORLD.~~ THE ARAB WORLD HAS ALREADY TRAVELLED
far ON THE ROAD OF TECHNOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL
AND POLITICAL MATURITY. THEY ARE A PEOPLE OF
RICH INTELLECTUAL, CULTURAL AND PERSONAL GIFTS.

THEY WISH TO DEVELOP THESE ATTRIBUTES FURTHER.

~~AND I SAY HERE THAT~~ THE UNITED STATES AND ISREAL
WISH FOR THEM THE FULLEST SUCCESS ON THIS HIGH
ROAD OF NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT.

AGAIN, I SAY, THAT THIS COMMITMENT IS IN THE
BEST LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE ARAB WORLD. *LITS*
STRONG REAFFIRMATION WOULD MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR

TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GONE AS FAR AS IT CAN IN PROVIDING FOR THE CONVENING AND SUCCESS OF THE JARRING PEACE TALKS, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN SHORTLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

ISREAL HAS BEEN VERY PATIENT WITH RECENT U.S. VACILLATION. THE ISRAELIS HAVE LOST EFFECTIVE AIR CONTROL OF THE SUEZ. THE COMBINATION OF SA-2 AND SA-3 MISSILES AND RADAR-CONTROLLED CANNON HAVE EFFECTIVELY INTERDICTED LOW-LEVEL PENETRATION BY ISRAELI AIRCRAFT. AMERICA'S FAILURE TO INSIST ON REMOVAL OF THE NEW SOVIET MISSILE INSTALLATIONS, ADJACENT TO THE CANAL, PLACED U.S. 'GUARANTEES' OF THE CEASE-FIRE IN A MOST EQUIVOCAL POSITION.

BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE, IN THE PAST, INDULGED IN THEIR OWN BINGES OF PARANOIA. HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN HOPED THAT ONCE THE SOVIET UNION HAD REACHED APPROXIMATE NUCLEAR PARITY, THERE WOULD BE REASON TO SIT DOWN AND TALK. IT WAS FELT THAT THIS SEMI-SECURITY WOULD PERMIT THE NUCLEAR SUPER-POWERS TO DISCUSS DÉTENTÉ NOT THREATEN DÉMARCHE. CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM SURROUNDING THE SALT TALKS WOULD SEEM TO GIVE SOME BASIS FOR THIS HOPE.

HOWEVER, FOR THE SAKE OF FOOLISH NATIONAL PRIDE, OUTDATED COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM AND GEOPOLITICAL AND ECONOMIC influence arab areas, ~~HEGEMONY~~ OVER ~~ARABIA~~, THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED TO FOSTER AND EXPLOIT THIS ARAB-ISRAELI INSTABILITY.

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BY SO DOING, THE SOVIET UNION HOPES TO SEE
 ARAB NATIONS DRAWN GRADUALLY AND FIRMLY INTO THE
 COMMUNIST ORBIT. THEY PLAN THE SACRIFICE OF
LEGITIMATE ARAB NATIONALISM TO FURTHER THEIR OWN
IMPERIALISM WHERE CATHERINE THE GREAT LEFT OFF,
BREZHNEV NOW RESUMES.

AND UNFORTUNATELY, PRESENT-DAY RUSSIAN
 LEADERS LEARNED SOME LESSONS FROM THE ADVISERS OF
 THEIR CZARIST PREDECESSORS. THEY CREATED POTEMKIN
VILLAGES FOR THE LEADERS OF EGYPT. THEY CREATED
VISIONS OF VICTORIES THAT WOULD BE THE GLORY OF
EGYPT AND THE ARAB WORLD. THEY URGED AND ENCOURAGED.
 THEY SUPPLIED AND TRAINED. THEY SUCCEEDED IN
DECEIVING EGYPT. AND, IF IT MAKES THE SMASHING DEFEAT
 OF THE 6 DAY WAR ANY EASIER TO TAKE, MAYBE THEY SUCCEEDED
 IN DECEIVING THEMSELVES.

THAT DEBACLE

for the Arab countries
 THAT INTERNATIONAL DISGRACE

WAS THE REWARD FOR LISTENING TO THE COUNSEL OF
 THE SOVIET UNION ~~AND I'M NOT ALTOGETHER SURE THE~~
~~RUSSIANS WERE CONVINCED OF THE VICTORY THEY FORTOLD,~~
 FOR THE EGYPTIANS, SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS. ~~VICTORY~~
~~IN ONE FELL SWOOP WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE DESTRUC-~~
~~TION OF ISRAEL. IT WOULD HAVE PROVIDED AN ENORMOUS~~
~~BOOST TO THE CAUSE OF ARAB NATIONALISM BUT,~~
 BEFORE THE SOVIET UNION HAD COMPLETED ITS PENETRATION
 AND TIGHTENED ITS GRIP ON THE ARAB WORLD, APPARENTLY
 THE TIME WAS NOT YET RIGHT FOR SUCCESS. BUT THE
 SOVIET UNION FELT THAT THE NEXT TIME - AFTER A
 FEW MORE YEARS OF ARMS ESCALATION AND SOVIET POWER
 CONSOLIDATION-- ISRAEL COULD BE DESTROYED.

THE EVIDENCE CERTAINLY POINTS TO THESE
 CONCLUSIONS. THE SOVIET UNION CALLOUSLY SACRIFICED
 AND
 ARAB ARMIES' THE NATIONAL HONOR AND PRIDE OF

~~THE ARAB WORLD. THE TIME HAD NOT YET COME; THE SOVIET UNION STILL NEEDED ISRAEL AS A FOCUS OF THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE ARAB NATIONS. ISRAEL WAS STILL NEEDED TO CONTINUE THE INSTABILITY THAT FEEDS THE SOVIET'S AMBITION AND SUPPORTS CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR CONTROL OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IF ISRAEL DID NOT EXIST, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE SOVIETS TO INVENT HER. IT WOULD BE THE ONLY WAY FOR THEM TO BOTH COMBAT AND USE STRONG ARAB NATIONALISM.~~

AND, INDEED, THIS IS EXACTLY THE POINT OF THIS LITTLE HISTORY LESSON. AS LONG AS THE ARAB NATIONS BELIEVE THEY ARE DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET UNION FOR VICTORY IN A WAR WE ALL KNOW CANNOT BE WON--AS LONG AS THERE APPEARS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PRESS ON TO THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL--AS LONG AS THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO CONTINUED DOMINANCE OF ARAB NATIONAL

ASPIRATIONS BY THE SOVIETS--AS LONG AS THESE CONDITIONS PREVAIL, THERE IS NO HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Keep

~~THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THIS TANGLE IS FOR THE ARAB NATIONS TO REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES--ITS LEADERS AND ITS PEOPLE--HAVE A FIRM, LASTING AND INFORMED COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL. THIS REALIZATION MUST BE ACHIEVED FOR THE SAKE OF ALL INTERESTED IN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.~~

Keep!

ONCE THE ARAB WORLD REALIZES THE U.S. WILL NEVER PERMIT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL, THEY ALSO WILL REALIZE THEY DO NOT NEED THE SOVIETS TELLING THEM HOW TO RUN THEIR COUNTRIES--HOW TO FIGHT THEIR WARS---HOW TO IDENTIFY THEIR NATIONAL GOALS AND PLAN FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENT.

~~* TELL YOU, MY FRIENDS~~ YOU WHO HAVE

FRIENDS AND FAMILY FIGHTING RIGHT NOW FOR
ISRAEL, YOU WHO WISH THE DESTRUCTION OF NO
NATION OR PEOPLE BUT DESIRE ONLY THAT ISRAELI
AND ARAB WORK TOGETHER TO RE-CREATE THE

"FERTILE CRESCENT" -- I TELL YOU THAT THE
MEASURE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL IS ALSO
THE MEASURE OF THE CHANCE FOR ARAB WORLD FREEDOM.

--FREEDOM FROM OUTSIDE DOMINATION --
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC;

--FREEDOM TO BUILD THEIR OWN NATIONS
AND NATIONAL CHARACTER;

--FREEDOM TO ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF
LIFE FOR ALL ARABS;

--FREEDOM TO WELCOME THEIR JEWISH BROTHERS TO THE JOINT TASK OF REGIONAL GROWTH AND PROSPERITY;

--FREEDOM TO BE THEMSELVES AND SET THEIR OWN PACE.

~~WE ALL KNOW HOW ESSENTIAL PEACE IS TO ISRAEL. WE ALSO HAVE DISCUSSED HOW THE LACK OF THAT PEACE RESULTED IN DISGRACE TO THE ARAB PEOPLES AND A MORTGAGING OF THEIR BIRTHRIGHT TO THE SOVIETS.~~ *now,* ~~WHAT~~ WHAT WOULD SOVIET *domination* ~~NECESSARY~~ OF THE MIDDLE EAST MEAN TO THE REST OF THE WORLD? WHAT WOULD BE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RESULTS OF A STRONG CONTROLLING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN POLICY DECISIONS OF THE ARAB NATIONS?

~~W~~ AM NOT, NOR EVER WILL BE AN ALARMIST.
HOWEVER, I FEEL WE MUST BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE
PROBABLE RESULTS OF SUCH A SUCCESS OF SOVIET
IMPERIALISM.

DOMINANCE OF ARAB NATIONS BY THE SOVIETS
WOULD PRESENT THEM WITH A RE-OPENED SUEZ. --
-- A SUEZ THAT COULD BE USED TO PERMIT SWIFT
MOVEMENT OF SOVIET AND ARAB WARSHIPS TO DENY
ISRAEL AND OTHERS FREE ACCESS TO THE GULF OF
AQABA.

~~W~~
--A SUEZ ROUTE SHORTENING THE DISTANCE FROM
RUSSIAN PORTS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN BY APPROXIMATELY
8,000 MILES -- THUS PLACING INDIA AND PAKISTAN
WITHIN THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF RUSSIAN
SEAPOWER;

--A SUEZ PERMITTING RUSSIA TO INTIMIDATE FURTHER THE OIL-RICH ARAB STATES ON THE PERSIAN GULF -- THIS IN TURN WOULD COMPLETE THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF SAUDIA ARABIA AND DIRECTLY THREATEN NEUTRALIST IRAN.

-- A SUEZ ROUTE PERMITTING THE SOVIETS TO USE EITHER OR BOTH THEIR ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC FLEETS IN THE EVENT OF A MILITARY OR POLITICAL CRISIS.

L DOMINANCE OF ARAB NATIONS BY THE SOVIETS WOULD PERMIT THEM TO CUT OFF, AT WILL, THE FLOW ^{*of oil*} TO EUROPE, JAPAN AND OTHERS OF OUR ALLIES. IT IS TRUE THAT THE MAJORITY OF OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS IN THE MIDDLE-EAST ARE WELL-DISPOSED TO THE U. S. AND OUR FRIENDS.

THEY REALIZE THEIR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS ARE
 BEST SERVED THROUGH FRIENDLY RELATIONS, BOTH
 DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL WITH US. ⁰⁰⁰⁷³⁸ THEY
 DISTRUST THE SOVIET UNION -- HAVING SEEN THEM
 PLAY ONE ARAB NATION AGAINST ANOTHER SINCE THE
 END OF WORLD WAR II.

THESE OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS HAVE A VITAL ^{long term}
 INTEREST IN THE STEADFASTNESS OF AMERICAN POLICY
 IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ^{ok} HOWEVER, SHOULD THAT
 POLICY WAVER AND BECOME UNCLEAR -- SHOULD AN ^{uncertain}
^W EQUIVOCAL AMERICAN POLICY RESULT IN THE DEFEAT
 AND DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL -- THESE NATIONS WOULD
 HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO SEEK AN ACCOMODATION
 WITH RUSSIA AND ITS ARAB CLIENT-STATES—AND ON
RUSSIA'S TERMS; NOT THEIR OWN.

THUS ~~OUR~~ FAILURE TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL WOULD DRIVE THESE FRIENDLY ARAB NATIONS INTO THE CAMP OF THE SOVIETS. OUR FAILURE WOULD PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO CUT OFF THE FLOW OF OIL TO EUROPE AND JAPAN. IT WOULD PERMIT THEM TO THREATEN N.A.T.O. WITH AN OIL EMBARGO AND INVOLVE JAPAN IN THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE.

OUR FAILURE WOULD ALSO GIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY STRONG BARGAINING POSITIONS OF BOTH A PARLIAMENTARY AND AN EXTORTIONIST NATURE.

A FAILURE TO MAKE AND KEEP THIS COMMITMENT OF WHICH I SPEAK COULD RESULT IN THE CATALOGUE OF WOES I HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE.

~~IT WOULD ALSO WEAKEN THE CONFIDENCE OTHER
NATIONS MUST HAVE IN US IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE
PROVIDING THE LEADERSHIP EXPECTED OF US.~~

I TRUST YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, IF *I recently have*

SPOKEN SHARPLY HERE. BUT I FEEL THAT STRONG,
THOUGH CAREFULLY CHOSEN LANGUAGE, IS NECESSARY
WHEN TALKING TO THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT POWER
POLITICS AND ITS DANGERS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE,

— THE SOVIETS HAVE KNOWN ME FOR QUITE A WHILE.

I'VE VISITED WITH THEIR LEADERS ON MANY

OCCASIONS. THEY KNOW I'LL TELL THEM THE

TRUTH, AS I SEE IT. *↳* HOWEVER, THEY ALSO KNOW

I AM A PERSON WHO CAN DISCUSS THE ISSUE AND

TRY TO ARRIVE AT A FAIR SOLUTION.

A SOLUTION — FINDING A SOLUTION, I'M
AFRAID, HAS PROVEN AS DIFFICULT AS DEFINING
"COMMITMENT." WE KNOW THERE IS A SOLUTION BUT
HOW TO CONSTRUCT A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST SEEMS TO HAVE ELUDED US FOR THE LAST 20
YEARS. (THE UNITED NATIONS), WITH THE SUPPORT
OF BOTH THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION CREATED
ISRAEL OUT OF THE PALESTINE LANDS UNDER THE
BRITISH MANDATE. WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED THEIR
HELP IN ESTABLISHING THE PEACE IN THE AREA.
~~HOWEVER,~~ IT WOULD SEEM, BASED ON A VERY
RECENT INTERVIEW OF PRESIDENT SADAT OF
EGYPT, THE SOVIETS HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES
WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY PEACE-KEEPING FORCE
ESTABLISHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

— WELL, WE SHOULD TAKE THEM UP ON THIS OFFER.

THE U.S. HAS ALSO STATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A FORCE UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES. UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH FORCES OF THE BIG FOUR SAFEGUARDING THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS AGREED TO BY ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS, THERE COULD EMERGE A PEACE OF AN ENDURING NATURE.

~~I REALIZE THAT SOME HERE HAVE LITTLE FAITH IN THE UNITED NATIONS. REMOVAL OF THE U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE JUNE WAR GIVES ONE PAUSE BEFORE ENTRUSTING SUCH A FRAGILE PEACE TO THE U.N.~~

HOWEVER, IF THE SOVIET UNION, CONVINCED OF OUR FIRM PURPOSE BY A REAFFIRMATION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL, DOES INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE-KEEPING FUNCTION, THEN SUCH A FORCE, UNDER U.N. AUSPICES, DOES HAVE A CHANCE OF KEEPING THE PEACE.

DESPITE EVERYONES' DOUBTS CONCERNING THE U.N., ITS PEACE-KEEPING FUNCTIONS, UTILIZING THE GREAT POWERS IN CONCERT, WERE CREATED WITH JUST THIS SORT OF SITUATION IN MIND.

CREATION OF AN EFFECTIVE PEACE FORCE, DRAWING ON THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AS PARTICIPANTS AND GUARANTORS, WOULD NOT ONLY KEEP THE PEACE, IT WOULD PROVIDE A MECHANISM AND A PRECEDENT FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THAT COULD GO FAR TOWARDS EASING WORLD TENSIONS.

IT COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR U.S.-SOVIET
 COOPERATION IN PEACE-KEEPING. THE THOUGHT OF SUCH
 AN EVENT IS AS HEADY AS CONTEMPLATING THE
 PROGRESS POSSIBLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THROUGH
 COOPERATION OF THE ARAB NATIONS AND ISRAEL.

WE SHOULD GIVE THE UNITED NATIONS THIS
 OPPORTUNITY TO FUNCTION THROUGH THE U.S. AND
 THE SOVIET UNION. SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING -- SUCH
 A REALIZATION OF OUR JOINT LEADERSHIP [REDACTED]
 RESPONSIBILITIES, COULD RELEGATE COMPETITION
 TO WHERE IT SHOULD BE -- IN TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY;
 IN INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL EXCELLENCE, AND
 IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

AS TO THE SPECIFICS OF ANY SETTLEMENT THAT HOPEFULLY WILL EMERGE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF TALKS THROUGH AMBASSADOR JARRING, I CAN ONLY SAY THEY MUST PROVIDE THE ESSENTIALS OF A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I DO NOT CALL FOR ANY PRE-DECLARATIONS BY THE PARTICIPANTS, BUT OUTLINE WHAT I SEE ARE SOME OF THE ESSENTIALS TO A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

1.) ISRAEL'S RECOGNIZED AND GUARANTEED BORDERS MUST BE SUCH THAT POPULATION CENTERS WILL NOT BE EXPOSED TO THE VIOLENT WHIMS OF

DISSIDENT GUERILLAS. *I also applaud assurances of the Government of Israel that once negotiations begin, with a firm peace in mind, Israel will be flexible on final borders.* ~~THERE MUST NOT BE AN INSISTENCE BY ISRAEL ON RETAINING ALL THE FRUITS OF THE SIX DAY WAR.~~

HOWEVER, ISRAEL'S BORDERS MUST BE REASONABLE AND DEFENSIBLE. TO BE OTHERWISE WOULD PROVIDE INVITATION TO INVASION AND A RESUMPTION OF CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

2) THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES MUST BE GIVEN THE CHOICE OF REPATRIATION OR COMPENSATION. REPATRIATION OF ALL REFUGEES IS PROBABLY NEITHER DESIRABLE NOR PRACTICAL. ~~HOWEVER,~~ A CERTAIN NUMBER SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO ISRAEL, ~~THEIR PROPERTY SHOULD BE RESTORED~~ AND THEY SHOULD ENJOY ALL THE RIGHTS OF ISRAELI CITIZENS. OFFERS OF COMPENSATION BY ISRAEL TO THE REMAINING REFUGEES MUST BE ACCOMPANIED WITH OFFERS OF IMMIGRATION BY ARAB NATIONS.

3) WITH RESPECT TO JERUSALEM, ITS IMPORTANCE TO THREE MAJOR FAITHS -- ITS HISTORIC AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE -- THE RELIGIOUS AND ~~ONE~~ EMOTIONAL BONDS TIEING THE CITY TO SO MANY INDIVIDUALS AND PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD -- ALL THESE REASONS WOULD INDICATE THAT JERUSALEM DOES INDEED BELONG TO ALL PEOPLE.

YET IT MUST BE GOVERNED; IT MUST BE ONE CITY, NOT TWO; THERE MUST BE GUARANTEES OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND ACCESS TO ALL RELIGIOUS SHRINES. THERE MUST BE EQUALITY OF TREATMENT FOR JEW AND, ARAB AND A GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE, UNDER ISRAEL, THAT RECOGNIZES THE UNIQUELY HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CITY.

4) THE SHIPS OF ALL FLAGS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHTS OF PEACEFUL ACCESS TO AND PASSAGE THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL, THE STRAIT OF TIRAN AND THE GULF OF ~~ADEN~~ **AQABA.**

5) FINALLY, ALL THE ABOVE POINTS AND THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE PEACE TALKS MUST BE GUARANTEED BY A SIGNED AND DEFINITIVE INSTRUMENT THAT FORMALLY DECLARES THE PEACE.

EARLIER IN MY REMARKS, I DISCUSSED WHAT THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS TO ISRAEL. I THINK I MADE CLEAR THAT I BELIEVE OUR COMMITMENT MEANS DOING EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO SEE THAT ISRAEL SURVIVES AND PROSPERS.

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HOWEVER, IN WHAT WAY DO WE DECLARE THE
CONTINUATION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL
AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST? WHAT CAN WE,
AND, HOPEFULLY, THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PEACE-
KEEPING FORCE DO TO INSURE THAT THIS PEACE
WILL ENDURE?

∠ I PROPOSE THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL RETURN FOR PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL,
IN THE FORM OF A TREATY, THE FORMAL INSTRUMENT
OF PEACE. ∠ THIS IS, INDEED, A JOINT COMMITMENT.
I BELIEVE THAT THE SENATE WOULD OVERWHELMINGLY
ADVISE AND CONSENT TO SUCH A TREATY. I KNOW
THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD SUPPORT SUCH
A TREATY AND THE MEN WHO GAVE IT OUR GOVERNMENT'S
SANCTION.

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I HAVE INDULGED IN SOME STRAIGHT TALK.
NOT EVERYONE MAY AGREE WITH WHAT I HAVE SAID
HERE THIS EVENING.

I HAVE SCOLDED WITH THE TRUTH BUT HOPE
I HAVE ALSO PROVIDED THE MEANS FOR MUTUAL
COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING THAT CAN BRING
THESE PEOPLES TOGETHER.

WE MUST NOT LET THE HOPES OF THE PEOPLES
OF ISRAEL AND ARABIA ALSO LIE BURIED ON THE
SLOPES OF MT. HERZL. FOR THE SAKE OF THE
ISRAELI YOUTH NOW SLEEPING THERE IN ABRAHAM'S
ARMS, LET EACH ONE OF US MAKE OUR OWN COMMITMENT --
A COMMITMENT TO PEACE -- PEACE FOR ISRAEL, FOR
ARAB NATIONS, FOR THE WORLD -- FOR EACH OF US
WITHIN OUR OWN HEARTS. SHALOM.



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