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Israel and the Middle East, 1955.

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The second of a series of three lectures
on
The "New Look" in World Affairs

October 23, 1955

As we sit here this morning, in worship, the people of the State of Israel are greatly disturbed about the mounting tensions on their borders. As they are disturbed, they are not frightened. Fear is not a component element of their national character. Courage is - and intrepidity. They are deeply concerned.

It is now seven years since the State is established. Not a single Arab State has recognized its existence, or has consented to negotiate a peace treaty to succeed the existing armistice. The boycott and the blockade of the Arab States against Israel continue in full force. Raids and pillage and sabotage and murder are common occurrences, especially on the Israeli Egyptian border. The heads of the Arab Governments miss no opportunity to make inflammatory speeches against Israel and to utter threats against it. They have rebuffed every effort which Israel has made to reach agreements. They rebuff these efforts for fear this would imply a legal recognition of the existence of the State of Israel.

Late last year the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, speaking for his government, Major Salah Salem, called together the visiting journalists of foreign countries and told them, "Egypt's policy has not ceased to rest on the principal of no peace with Israel in any form and at any time. Egypt will not make peace with Israel, even if Israel were to implement the United Nations' resolutions on Palestine." And in the following month, the same Major Salem, again speaking for the Egyptian Government, stated "Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war. Even if Israel should fulfill the United Nations' resolution, it will not sign a peace with her. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that".

The Egyptian Premier, ~~and~~ Prime Minister Nasser, some months ago, in a statement to the American press, demanded that Israel cede to it, that is to Egypt, the whole of the Negev region - over 50% of Israel's entire territory. Thereby, he said, one-third of Arab-Israel friction could be removed. And in March of this year, an official spokesman of the Nasser regime, repeated this demand in an interview with the United States Press. Now this determination to erase Israel is, of course, behind the recent move of Egypt to obtain arms from Czechoslovakia. Egypt could have obtained arms from the United States. But it could only obtain arms from the United States - and by the way, arms were offered to Egypt by our State Department - it could only obtain arms from the United States on a condition specified by the law of our country and applicable to all countries alike, that such arms would be used exclusively to maintain internal security and would not be used in active aggression against any other state. Egypt does not like this condition. Egypt refused the arms offered to it by the United States. Egypt wants arms unconditionally so that she would be able to use them any time she chooses in an attack on Israel. And so she decided to obtain arms from the Soviet Union or from one of the satellites of the Soviet Union. Egypt's flirtation with the Soviet, inclusive of Nasser's acceptance of an invitation to visit Moscow, is not only the latest development of its campaign against Israel, but is intended also as a resounding rebuke to the United States for having won Iraq over to an alliance with Turkey and Pakistan - an ~~and~~ alliance which Egypt violently opposed, for in its eyes this alliance lowered Egypt's position in the Arab world and its prestige as the spokesman of the Arab world. And this rapprochement with the Soviet Union is also Egypt's decisive answer to the recent important statement made by our Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles in which he proposed definite measures of bringing about a genuine peace in the Middle East. A genuine peace is precisely what Egypt does not want with Israel.

In order to avert this calamity of a peace, the interested Arab states under Egypt's prodding, have again refused to give their consent to the Eric Johnston Jordan Valley Authority Plan, for the utilization of the waters of the River Jordan and the adjacent rivers and streams for purposes of irrigating vast tracts of land upon which the Arab refugees may be settled. Time and again Mr. Johnston revised the Jordan Valley plan in order to meet the objections of the Arabs. Time and again the Arabs have refused to sanction it. They do not want the Arab refugees really resettled - these leaders of the Arab league - they want to keep them in a state of unrest, as refugees, on the borders of Israel - so that they could continue to exploit the fact of the refugees in their propaganda, against Israel. And here again they do not want to enter into any negotiations on the subject of a permanent solution of the refugee problem, for that would by implication, recognize the legal existence of the State of Israel and that they are resolved never to do.

And how does Israel feel about Egypt. In August of 1952, when Ben-Gurion was Prime Minister of the State of Israel, and when King Farouk, you may recall, was dismissed and forced to flee from Egypt, and General Naguib succeeded him - Prime Minister Ben-Gurion issued a public statement in the name of the Government of Israel in which he said, "Israel wishes to see Egypt free, independent, progressive. There were no grounds, nor are there now, for any quarrel between Egypt and Israel. There is no cause for territorial disputes, nor any reason for political or economic problems. We have no enmity against Egypt for what was done to us four years ago at the time of the war. We have never sought to exploit Egypt's political difficulties with a great power by attacking her or taking revenge upon her as she did upon the establishment of our State." Israel wants peace and Egypt is planning for war. Egypt today is feverishly buying arms, not alone in the Soviet zone, but elsewhere. It launched, last week, a popular drive, at home for a special arms fund, and dancers joined soldiers and veterans in the streets of Cairo, asking donations, for the purchase of arms. Premier Nasser has issued a declaration

to the nation, in which he said "if we can get arms from any source we are truly free" and the question is -- free for what? To fight Russia? Is that why Egypt is purchasing arms at this time, and is that why Czechoslovakia is selling arms to Egypt at this time? Is Nasser procuring arms in Russia, from a Russian satellite, so that Egypt may be adequately armed to fight the Soviet Union? Who is threatening Egypt? In a way, what has happened in recent weeks, the opening of the Middle East to Soviet penetration by Egypt, was inevitable and our own Government's mistaken Middle East policy is in a large measure responsible for it. We warned against it time and again, but our warnings were written off as coming from special pleaders who had their own interests to serve. We were told that we were not viewing the near East situation from the American point of view, but only from the Israeli point of view. Our country has tried to be helpful in the Near East, - sincerely helpful. I have never questioned the motives of the heads of our Government, nor that of the Secretary of the State, nor the President of the United States, with reference to the security of the State of Israel, but the approach of our State Department to the problem has not always been wise. In criticizing the policy of our government I have never accused it of unfriendliness. Fundamentally, our government reflects the attitude of the American people, and the American people has, as is well known, been consistently friendly and helpful in its attitude, first, towards the establishment of the State of Israel and later on towards its support. And while there have been fluctuations in American policy, with reference to Israel, nevertheless, in the decisive moments, when fundamental decisions had to be made, as was the case in November 1947 when the United Nations voted on the partition plan, favoring the establishment of an independent Jewish State in a part of Palestine, or again in May of the following year, when the question of recognizing the State of Israel came up -- in these decisive moments, despite much maneuvering and the play of oppositional forces, our government acted decisively in behalf of Israel.

But with all good will, mistakes in foreign policy are occasionally made, not only with reference to Israel, which is after all only a small piece in the vast international mosaic, but in other cases as well. In saying what I am saying, I do not wish to suggest that there are no powerful selfish forces at work against us in Washington, that there are no hostile influences brought to play from time to time upon our State Department, which on occasions deflected from the true and wise course. We have enemies - there is no doubt about it - and their number have increased rather than decreased in recent years. It was when our government set out to arm the near East, as a bulwark against Sovietism, without first assuring itself that peace actually exists among the countries in the Near East themselves -- without first assuring itself that these weapons would not be used to precipitate war in the near East -- without first making sure that these weapons would not be used against Israel -- without first making sure that Israel would be included in any military pact for the defense of that entire region, of which Israel is a vital part. It is there that our government, ^{has} in my judgment, blundered. And the degree of unrest which existed at present in the near East, and the general deterioration of the situation there is the measure of that great blunder. And Egypt's invitation to the Soviet, to come into the Eastern Mediterranean, is the very seal and testament of that blunder. The present administration, on coming into office, announced that it would make a new appraisal - a re-evaluation of the Near East policy of the preceding administration. This is quite proper. It announced a re-evaluation of the foreign policy of the previous administration in other parts of the world. Unfortunately, this announcement, that our government would re-evaluate its near East policy, was accompanied by an announcement that the reason for this appraisal was that the previous administration had been more or less partial to Israel and that now a new policy of impartiality would be sought. This of course was not the case. The previous administration was never partial to Israel -- it tried

to be just. The previous administration helped to establish the State of Israel as did some thirty-two other countries of the world. Not as a matter of partiality to Israel, I assure you, but a simple matter of justice - morality, realizing that the establishment of this State was made imperative by the situation of Jewry the world over and by the righteous claim of the people of Israel for a homeland of its own in its ancient homeland. But they realized also that the establishment of this state would in no way harm the ^{fundamental} political or economic interest of the Arabs, who were themselves helped to the establishment of five or six independent ^{political} states of their own in that part of the world, and given a territory of over a million square miles -- much of it crying for development and capable of vast development, while the whole territory assigned to the State of Israel by the United Nations was some ten thousand square miles. But this announcement that a new administration would strive to be impartial as against the partiality of the previous administration gave comfort to the Arab league politicians -- caused them to hope that the American government would now be with them in their efforts to strangle the new-born State of Israel -- encouraged them to believe that they can afford to persist in their refusal to make peace with Israel - to persist in continuing their boycotts and their blockades and their incitements - to refuse any and all reasonable adjustments of the Arab refugee problem - to refuse even to sit down with the representatives of the State of Israel to discuss any issue whatsoever of interest to both of them. That was a blunder -- a diplomatic blunder, of the first water, and from it much evil has since flown.

Then our government decided to win over the Arab States to a regional, military, defense system against possible aggression of the Soviet Union. To accomplish this end, which is a laudable and commendable end in itself, it courted the friendship of the Arab States. It courted, for example, the friendship of Egypt, by giving its support to Egypt on one of the most vital matters that Egypt

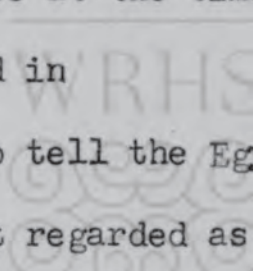
was interested in, namely, the evacuation of Great Britain from the Suez Canal area, which has been a foremost item on the agenda of Egyptian political demands for a long time now. And it was really under the pressure of our own government that the British withdrew their forces from the Suez Canal. So anxious was our government to win the favor of the Arabs that it was prepared to proceed with such a regional defense pact which would exclude the State of Israel and thereby isolate it in that part of the world. Mr. John D. Jurnigan, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Department, declared, ^{representative} at a large gathering of Jewish Organizations in Washington, not so long ago, that the United States was not yet ready to include Israel in any collective security arrangement in the Near East. Why? This plan for organizing all the Arab States into a security block, even on the promise to the Arab States that Israel would be excluded from such a pact, failed. The Arab league was unwilling formally and finally to identify itself with the West, because in so doing it might lose the advantage of the game which it had been playing, playing so successfully - of pitting the East against the West - of playing one against the other and resting concessions from both.

Failing at this attempt to organize the whole Near East in a military pact against the Soviet Union, exclusive of course of the State of Israel, our State Department then decided to get around this intransigent Arab league attitude by creating a security block along the northern frontier of the near East along the Soviet frontier, with only one member of the Arab league, namely with Iraq. And so the Turkish, Iraqi, Pakistan Pact was worked out and signed, in spite of the violent objections of the Arab league, especially of Egypt, and that pact was made possible with the clear understanding that Israel would never become a party to any security pact in that part of the world. And the United States then began to send arms to Iraq. The State of Israel, fearing that the arming of Iraq, would disturb the military balance in that part of the world to its disadvantage,

was reassured by our State Department that this was really not intended, that it would not happen, that in fact, the defection of Iraq from the league would ultimately weaken and disrupt the whole Arab league and so would benefit Israel in the long run. And anyhow, Israel had nothing to fear because Israel was strong enough to defend itself. But Israel was not reassured. Premier Moshe Sharett, of Israel, in voicing the opposition of his State to the Turkish-Iraqi Defense Pact, made it clear that Israel was basically not opposed to the American policy of organizing a defense region in that part of the world against the Soviet Union - Israel's sympathies are, and always have been, he said, with the West, but for the life of ^{it,} Israel, cannot see why it should be excluded deliberately, as a sine qua non, from a regional pact from that part of the world. The most Western - the most liberal - the most democratic - the country most friendly to the United States, was being deliberately excluded and isolated.

It had been the hope that corresponding military assistance would be given to Israel to redress the balance of power which had been disturbed by the arms sent to Iraq; and that the tri-partite declaration, which France and England and the United States made in 1950, guaranteeing the borders of Israel and the Arab States, would now be reaffirmed - and that peace would be given to this treaty. This did not take place. And now another Middle East State is being armed on a large scale, but this time by an anti-American government. And this fact, of course, increases Israel's concern with the mounting military strength of the Arab States, who have time and again, publicly announced their intention to destroy Israel. What has happened in Cairo points up how misguided and blundering has been our Near East policy in recent years,-- the policy to woo the Arabs and by-pass Israel in the fond hope of setting up a united front against Russia in that part of the world. Egypt, the key State in the Arab League, has now opened the gates of the Near East to Soviet penetration and influence,

because with Russian arms there will soon come Russian technicians, and Russian credits, and Russian propaganda in that part of the world -- one of the most critical and potentially one of the most dangerous areas in the world. And Syria and Saudi-Arabia have expressed recently their readiness to accept arms from the Soviet Union.

And so the carefully worked out policy, by the single-track minded bureaucrats has broken down completely. American interests were not served by that policy and the whole region is in danger of being thrown into flames. The question now is, will a new policy emerge in Washington. Now our government could have been really instrumental in pressing for peace in the Near East and might have succeeded in achieving it. It could have been very instrumental in bringing about peace at the time when Egypt was courting the United States and soliciting its aid in  of the Suez Canal. And it was urged upon our government to tell the Egyptian government that it is prepared to help it regain what it regarded as full sovereignty and its rights, if at the same time Egypt would make peace with Israel, lift the blockade of the Suez Canal, establish peace in that part of the world. It was a logical give and take, common among governments, which wise statesmanship siezes upon to solve many problems simultaneously. It was not done. Our government could have been helpful in bringing about peace in the Near East at the time it was negotiating for this military pact with Iraq. It could have been tremendously helpful -- it could have said to the interested Arab Governments -- unless you accept this Jordan Valley Authority Project, which is beneficial to you ^{and} beneficial to Israel ^{and} which would revive the whole vast area for irrigation and settlement of the refugees -- unless you agree to this reasonable plan, we will not only not penalize the State of Israel for proceeding with the development of its own water projects, but we will encourage Israel to move forward. This kind of reasonable, diplomatic pressure, which was urged upon

our Government was not resorted to. It could have been tremendously helpful if it turned to the Arab States and said, Unless you agree to a regional military pact, which the international situation calls for, which will include Israel -- unless you agree to that we will proceed to enter into an independent and separate mutual pact/^{arrangement} with the State of Israel. We will not tolerate this State which we helped to bring into existence to be endangered. This was not done. Our Government could have made it as a condition for the granting of the economic aid which it has been given in the hundreds of millions to the Arab States - some ninety millions of dollars given by our government to Egypt alone - it could have made that a condition that they agree on peace for the economic benefit of all the peoples concerned so that the nations of the Near East could proceed normally with the business of ~~leaving~~ living and working together instead of being dependent upon financial aid from the American Government. This was not done. It seems that the same blindness which affected the mandatory power of Great Britain over Palestine, which finally led to the expulsion of Great Britain from Palestine -- the same blindness has been affecting those people in our government who deal primarily and directly with the Middle East situation. And I am personally concerned with the problem, not only because it involves Israel, but out of the fear that that situation in the Near East, if it is not rectified speedily, may wreck the great new enterprise, the Geneva enterprise, upon which the hopes of the world are now so strongly centered -- that these new tensions between the East and the West which are developing in this part of the world, may undo all the good work of approachment and reconciliation which has set in between the East and West, following Geneva. Its always a little issue, like Sarajevo - like Danzig - like Sudatonland - which lead to the ~~global~~ global conflicts. A few weeks ago, John Foster Dulles made a very important statement to the world on the Israel Arab problem, in which

he indicated that the President of the United States is prepared to recommend a substantial contribution to the settlement of this problem and that this contribution of the American Government would include, first: subscription to an international loan to enable Israel to discharge its obligations to the refugees, which in turn will help them to get re-settled.

Secondly: ~~the~~ United States contribution to water projects which will develop more arable land which will aid in this resettlement.

Thirdly: the good offices of the United States, if desired, to assist in making the frontier adjustments needed to convert the present armistice lines into permanent boundary lines.

And finally: the participation of our country in an international treaty guarantee, preferably sponsored by the United Nations, of the resultant boundary lines.

This is a generous offer, a statesmanlike offer.

I was asked, by a very prominent friend in Washington, what I thought of this offer of the American Government and I wrote as follows:

"I am very happy indeed that this statement was issued. It not only makes clear the deep and continued interest of our government in helping to break the deadlock which has persisted over a period of years in Israel-Arab relations, and in easing the tensions which have unfortunately again this week erupted in those serious border incidents" (this was early in September) "but it also indicated that the American Government is prepared to make positive contributions towards reaching a settlement. I am quite sure, when it finally gets down to it and the two sides sit down to negotiate, the government of Israel will be prepared to discuss all the matters of outstanding issue to which the statement referred. But here's the rub! the representatives of the Arab Governments have constantly refused to sit down and engage in such negotiations, because they understand that by so doing they are tacitly

acknowledging the political existence and sovereignty of the State of Israel. This is the very thing which they are unwilling to acknowledge and this is the crux of the whole matter. Until we are prepared to acknowledge this fact, they must, under one excuse or another, postpone the day of a peace conference. They must maintain as long as they can the present status of, no peace-no war, on the borders of Israel. I know of only one political action which would finally bring the Arab States to their senses -- the clear statement on the part of our government that unless peace negotiations are undertaken forthwith, the American government will proceed to conclude a mutual security pact with Israel. Such a pact is, on its own merits, logical as an instrumentality for strengthening American interest in the Near East. It should therefore, not be made conditional on the willingness of Arab states to conclude simultaneous defense arrangements with our country. If it is the policy of the United States to seek defense arrangements in the Middle East, and if, as a spokesman of the State Department declared a while ago, a defense pact with Israel would be 'highly logical', then there is really no valid reason for delaying such an arrangement. But apart from its own merits, the very announcement of such a contemplated action on the part of our government would help to convince the Arabs that they have nothing to gain in persisting in their present attitude and that it would be more advantageous to all concerned, to accept those benefits which would flow from negotiated agreements on all outstanding issues." And I concluded by saying, "that, I would watch with keen interest the reaction of the Arab governments to this statement", because the reaction we know -- Egypt reached out to buy arms from the Soviet Union.

No wonder that the Israeli are anxious. The question remains - What is to be done? I am never one who favors an arms race. A race in armaments between two nations or between groups of nations almost inevitably leads to the catastrophe of war. But clearly, Egypt and perhaps other Arab states, are at the moment counting upon a progressive lessening of the self-defense powers

of the State of Israel in relation to their mounting and increasing armaments, and therefore, first of all, Israel must be helped to maintain its military strength at all costs.

The Jews of the world have not builded what they have builded there, with so much labor and such great sacrifice, -- the Jewish people have not waited as they have waited for nearly two thousand years, to re-establish their national homeland, to see it sacrificed ^{to} ~~with~~ an unreasonable, imperialistic ambition of a neighboring Arab State or states; in defiance of the United Nations and of the defense of the expressed wishes of the organized world in the United Nations. Increasing weakness would be an increasing invitation to the enemies of Israel. In the second place, I believe that the American government ought to make it possible for Israel to procure arms in its defense. Its an ally, in the real sense of the United Nations. The United States helped to bring it into existence. The United States was the first country in the world who recognized the legal existence of the State of Israel. And if Israel is now being threatened, I should think that it is part of justice and of political wisdom to make it possible for the one dependable free state in that part of the world, which would not barter with the enemies of freedom and democracy, to come to its help. And finally: if a collective security treaty, committing decisive power to the deterring of aggression of any one against any one in that part of the world, is not possible, then surely an individual mutual defense treaty with Israel is clearly indicated.

I hope that in its forthcoming negotiations with Molotov at Geneva, our Secretary of State, whose interests in Israel are deep and sincere - that he will have an opportunity to raise these questions with the spokesman of the Soviet Union. Do they really want peace? Do they really want easing of tensions? Then why are they provoking war in the Middle East by sending arms to the countries which do not really need them for their self defense?

And unless this issue, I repeat, is resolved, if it is permitted to go on and become more and more aggravated, there is danger. Danger, not alone for the State of Israel. I am of the belief that the people of Israel will be able to take care of themselves. But there will be danger for the peace of the world. I have seen this happen, and you have, twice in our own lifetime - where local issues in isolated corners of the world lead to the most lamentable and disastrous world conflicts.

There is a challenge here for statesmanship - for courageous diplomatic leadership - for forthright action!

I hope they will be forthcoming.



Free world engaged in prolonged -
will last decades

"Who will be the winner if Israel is weakened or (2)

- Who will defend - Will nations support Axis

- Faces, Forum & others - sabotaged an effort -
pro-Vichy "face could compel or money could buy?"

- Bulwark? When hour / decision

- Egypt - opened door - collapse - critical -

- Nations who constantly play off East vs. West in
a thousand game of hot & cold

- Can FW hold afford - undermine relations
defense potential - critical area 2

5. Another quarter - answered not in light / half

of history - large hint / perspective

Ring, Step - chief link - Arab State - (Bat)

not interested in an alliance of. for. etc.

(Barbados)

Sharp diff. / objection - under construction

made taken impossible -

Who is using whom?

It is clear that first disengagement - Egypt 13
Colombia's situation will go on - to the capital

Eg. is not a desert! Real contribution -
united - expansionist adventure

There are no circumstances of loyalty there

Many new disengagement - aware

6/ ~~Eden / Hughes - 'Peace in an hour of time'~~

~~Enoch does not have any territory - 1 1/2 us -
already twice problem~~

7/ ~~Embassy / France~~

8/ ~~Tanner / Alexander~~

9/ ~~Who do they think we are -~~

~~well we persist - to satisfy~~

~~- Did not default~~

In discussing the Near East situation a few facts should be kept clearly in mind:

(1) The Arab States are acquiring arms not to defend themselves against Russia but to prepare a war against Israel. Those who are hoping to hold the allegiance of the Arab States to the West, by providing them with arms, are helping to build up a threatening military front, not against Russia, but against Israel.

If Baghdad Port - Riots - subverted by Saudi - Arabs - where Clipping - Dim. Dollars to Egypt? Soviet countries West not to send Funds - Elders 2.4.48

(2) The Arab States know that Israel is not threatening them. Time and again Israel has offered to negotiate a peace settlement and to discuss all outstanding issues with them. These offers have been disregarded or contemptuously brushed aside.

① routes across her territory ② Free port facilities Haifa - ③ compensation for land left by refugees.

(3) The Arab States will not willingly recognize the existence of the State of Israel. Their leaders have time and again publicly announced their intention to wipe Israel off the map.

Even if Israel should consist of 2000 km. - Ben-Gurion Place - 27.5.

(4) Allied diplomacy has at no time since the establishment of the State of Israel, seven years ago, been of the kind as to persuade the Arab States that nothing is to be gained by them in prolonging the boycotts, the blockade and the cold war against Israel. The extensive economic and political aid which has been given to one or another of the Arab States by our Government and by other nations of the free world was never made conditional upon Arab agreement to peace negotiations with Israel and for a package settlement of outstanding issues.

① Suez Canal - blocked - ② conditions finally ③ Iraq - arms ④ Dofere Port - ⑤ Jordan Valley project - ⑥ Day

(5) The Tri-partite Agreement of 1950 which was to have insured tranquility on the Israel-Arab borders, pending a permanent peace settlement, has clearly failed of its objectives. It has achieved no tranquility and it has averted no arms race. An arms race is on! And the allied nations, no less than the Soviet bloc, have encouraged this armament race.

Great Britain, especially!

(6) The State of Israel has been compelled to arm itself, because immediately upon its establishment it was attacked by the armies of neighboring Arab States in a war which they declared against Israel in defiance of United Nations. In this war they were defeated, but they have not abandoned their intention to launch another war at the first opportunity to accomplish what they failed to accomplish in their first onslaught. This is their clearly avowed intention. Until these states ^{will} have made peace with Israel and have abandoned their intention of exterminating it, or until such time as the Western nations have given Israel the assurance of a military alliance, the young State must, as best as it can, look to its own defenses. Israel desires no arms race. ~~It wishes to devote~~ ^{It wishes to devote} every desperately needed dollar to the up-building of its economic life ^{irrigation etc} to the care of the tens of thousands who have come to it from all parts of the world, and in more recent years, mostly from Arab countries where their lives have become insecure. Israel has no expansionist ambitions; it covets nothing which its Arab neighbors possess. It needs peace and security. ~~When it is offered peace~~ ^{When it is offered peace}

(7) Israel will not purchase peace at the price of reducing its small territory of 8,000 square miles in order to augment the 1,700,000 square miles of the territories of its Arab neighbors. The Arab States require no additional territory for their well-being, but the development, irrigation and cultivation of what they have. The State of Israel, in its present boundaries, is already less than one-fourth of what was originally intended for the Jewish National home. ^{① Two Parties 1922 ② U.N. 1947. 4th part. Arab says who now they want it - Playing safe - If we win.}

(8) Great Britain's offer of mediation on the basis of territorial concessions by Israel is motivated, not by the economic needs of the Arab States or by any moral consideration, but by the desire of Great Britain to insure for itself a corridor through the Negev to Jordan and the Middle East. Egypt's desire for the Negev, to which it has absolutely no claim, is motivated by its wish to have a common land frontier with other Arab States, to deny Israel an outlet to the

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Mor. d - Peace in our
E. M. d - Spain

Red Sea, and to gain prestige for Egypt in the Arab world.

(9) Israel wants no war - and no preventive war. It has not employed its armed forces, which according to the testimony of the Arabs have ^{up to quite recently} been superior to theirs, in launching any war against any of them. The Arab States can have peace with Israel any time they want it. They need not spend, and they should not be encouraged to spend, their limited resources, which ought to be devoted to the problems of wide-spread poverty, disease and ignorance among their ^{own} peoples, ^{and} on ^{the} ^{ground}. The short-sighted policy of purchasing their loyalty to the democratic world by supplying them with arms has clearly ^{proved} bankrupt. An attempt ^{now} to compete with Russia in grants and sale of arms ^{to the Arabs} in that part of the world will also end in disaster. It will simply make the Arab leaders more intransigent, more ruthless and demanding. They will continue to play off the East against the West to the utter confusion of both.

Israel needs arms to defend itself - to insure its survival.

WRHS



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No government or people will approve more enthusiastically the recently expressed opposition of President Eisenhower to an arms race in the Middle East than the government and people of Israel. They want no arms race. They want to spend every precious dollar available to them on the upbuilding of their country, on agriculture, irrigation and colonization, on science, education and health and on caring for the broken in body and spirit who come to them from many lands, and most of them in recent years from Arab lands where their positions have become insecure and fraught with danger.

But the State of Israel wants to live! - wants to make sure of its survival as a free nation. On every border surrounding Israel are threatening governments which for seven years now have refused to make peace with Israel, to recognize its existence or to sit down with its representatives to negotiate a settlement for any outstanding issue between them. They have preferred the ways of boycotts and blockades and have encouraged raids upon Israeli territory, pillage and sabotage.

When Israel now appeals to the free world in an hour of danger, when its bitterest foe has succeeded in augmenting its considerable military arsenal with staggering purchases of weapons of all kinds, it is not of an arms race that Israel is thinking but of survival!

Does America believe that Israel is entitled to survival? America helped to establish the State of Israel. ~~As a matter of course~~ It was the first to give it official recognition. The American people, the major political Parties, the Congress of the United States have heartily approved these acts.

Has Israel done anything in the last seven years to justify its ~~abandonment~~ ^{being} ~~through defenselessness to avowed enemies who have threatened to erase it?~~ Has it betrayed any trust which had been confided to it? Has

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it launched any war upon its neighbors? Has it instituted any boycotts or blockades? Has it coveted any of its neighbors' territory? Has it declined to sit down with the Arabs to explore ways for an amicable adjustment of their differences? No, Israel has done none of these things. But the Arabs have done all of these things.

Has Israel built its new State competently, earnestly, with an eye to progress, education and freedom? The consensus of world opinion has been loud in praise of the amazing work of construction and rehabilitation which the young State has carried on.

Why, then, should Israel be penalized now by isolating it in a hostile world, or by impairing it through a denial of adequate means of self-defense?

This will be playing directly into the hands of the Soviet. When the Czechs first began to sell vast quantities of arms to Egypt at bargain rates, we wondered what desperate game they were up to. We were for a time mystified by the action. The Soviet had been proclaiming from the house-tops that it wanted peace more than anything else in the world, that it wanted the Cold War between the East and the West to come to an end, that it was straining every muscle to bring about disarmament. Its propaganda machine had gone in high gear extolling the new Geneva spirit of better understanding and cooperation between nations.

We failed to understand how all this tallied with shipments of large scale armaments to Egypt. Surely the Soviet leaders must have known that this could only lead to an all out armaments race in the Near East, to the increase of tensions which were fast reaching a point of explosion and conceivably also to the disaster of war. Was Russia encouraging war in the Eastern Mediterranean while urging peace in Geneva? Did Molotov hope to persuade the Allied statesmen that Russia's penetration into the Arab

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the logical thing to have asked for as part of the general pacification of that region. But it was not done and Egypt was given a full measure of support unconditionally. When we armed Iraq, it was part of statesmanship to arm also Israel so as not to create a military imbalance in that part of the world such as Russia is now doing in the arming of Egypt. Or when our government encouraged the original Defense Pact in the Middle East, Israel should have been included. This was not done. Had our government served notice on the Arab states that unless the vitally important Jordan ^{were} Valley project ~~is~~ approved of by them, it would not only not refrain Israel but would encourage Israel to proceed with water projects of its own, there would have ensued no political juggling with the plan such as has taken place.

The same blindness which formerly afflicted the Mandatory Power in its dealing with the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine has now come to afflict some of the people in our government who deal directly with the Middle East. Woo the Arabs -- by-pass Israel -- and you will save the Middle East from Communist penetration! The very opposite of course has happened.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles must know, I am sure, that Israel is no threat to the basic interest of American foreign policy in the Middle East. They must know that Israel is a democracy deeply rooted in the millennial democratic traditions of the Jewish people and of Judaism and that it will to the last defend its democratic way of life and institutions. They must know that there is a large reservoir of goodwill and gratitude to the government and people of the United States among the citizens of Israel for having helped so vitally in the establishment of their State and for the economic assistance which has been given to it to this day. They are too proud to put their friendship on the auction block or use it in any diplomatic game of blackmail. They know that Israel wants peace with all her Arab neighbors. They know that Israel is prepared to cooperate in the solution of all the outstanding issues between it and its neighbors in a spirit of goodwill.

Israel asks for the right to live and to defend itself.

Jews may then wish to continue to invest ~~their~~ private capital in Israel ^{which} ~~and this~~ form of useful and ^{we hope} profitable investment we hope will continue indefinitely.

And as to what we hope to accomplish by it all: ^{we} ~~Why~~ nothing more or less than the survival of our people in freedom, in security and in dignity in the world. We wish to remain on the stage of history as a great and significant people. What moves us today is the same vision which, like a pillar of fire, guided our forefathers through the wilderness to the Promised Land in the days of Moses and Joshua, and in the battle-days of the Judges and the wars of Saul and David - the vision which remained undimmed in exile and was redeemed with the return from captivity, the vision which was defended by the Maccabees and consecrated in the heroic deaths of those who defied the might of Rome, the vision which burnt athward the darkness of two thousand years of exile, and in our day, ^{show} ~~show~~ over the nameless graves of six million of our martyred dead only to blaze forth ^{finally} in full resplendant glory, and ~~finally~~ ^{come} to rest in Israel rebuilt.

We want to build in Israel ~~a land~~, a society, and a way of life which will match the grandeur of that vision and give meaning to our constancy and ^{point} ~~loyalty~~ to ^{our} ~~in~~ millennial ~~centuries~~.

The creation of the State of Israel has already accomplished much for us. It has given sanctuary to hundreds of thousands of our people for whom the great world, with its vast, empty spaces, crying for human settlement and development, could find no room. It has infused the ~~beaten~~ and sorely tried ^{and long wishing} spirit of our people with a new hope, a new dignity and a new zest for life. ~~We are rediscovering the essential Jew, the Jew of history who could hurl thunderbolts of revelation across the world, defy empires and mold the civilization of mankind.~~ Our children are growing up ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ a new atmosphere of respect for the Jew, and therefore, with a new sense of ^{in themselves} ~~self~~ respect. The psychic curse of the Galut is being exorcized.

Much else will yet come to be.

This is being accomplished. Much else will yet flow out of this historic act, but we are not qualified to prophesy. ~~But~~ ^{However} it would be strange ~~indeed~~ if the Jews in Israel, reacting to the impact of their historic surroundings and the example and promptings ^{all about them} of greatness/and excellence/of former generations of ancestors, challenged by their own good fortune in escaping from slavery to freedom and being reborn, as it were, into a new life, and eager to vindicate themselves and their people in the ^{eyes} ~~sight~~ of the whole world - ^{it will be strange, indeed, if they would} ~~will~~ not in time produce incomparable precious values which will again, as in the early days, enrich and bless mankind.

