



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
185

Box
69

Folder
931

Zionist Organization of America, 1956.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
at the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
WALDORF ASTORIA,
New York City
DECEMBER 17, 1956

My dear friends:

I am happy to be here tonight and grateful for the many lovely things which you have said about me. I shall cherish them. I am proud to have been associated with the Zionist Organization of America for more than half a century. I recall that I attended my first Zionist convention as a lad of eleven, an accredited delegate from the first junior society in the United States - the Dr. Herzl Zion Club.

Through these many years, which witnessed such revolutionary upheavals in Jewish life, so much tragic destruction and desolation in two world wars, and so much of heroic and rewarding struggle for the establishment, recognition, up-building and defense of the State of Israel, the Zionist Organization of America has stood always in the vanguard of leadership and service. It pioneered in political action; it mobilized world opinion; it took on the brunt of every attack. Tonight I am heartened by the thought that in the uncertain years which lie ahead, when so much work will yet have to be done to make the State of Israel strong and still secure, the Zionist Organization of America will stand in the forefront, alerted, devoted and unswerving as ever. Your present distinguished leadership under my dear friend Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who has given a lifetime of outstanding service to our beloved cause, and his associates, is a welcome assurance both of competence and courage.

I referred a moment ago to the junior Zionist club which I joined more than fifty years ago, and which was named after the immortal leader of our movement, Dr. Theodor Herzl. Dr. Herzl grew old and tired and died spent and exhausted at the age of 44 in the service of his people. And he was fond of quoting to his friends a remark which he heard from an old fisherman: "The most remarkable of all things is when a man never gives up." To you and to our fellow Jews all

over the world and to our brave brothers in Israel I could at this time give no more appropriate and profound rallying word and slogan. The State of Israel was not founded by men who easily gave up: this requires no elaboration before an audience such as this, which knows the history of the tense battle days of our movement. The State of Israel was not defended in the war of liberation eight years ago and again in the war for survival a short time ago by men who easily gave up. And you will agree with me that the State of Israel, which is so gravely beset today, will not be firmly established upon its foundations by fainthearted men, but by those whose courage exceeds their fears, who know how to underwrite strong convictions by lifelong sacrificial loyalties. I am proud, my dear friends, of the way our people everywhere reacted to the ominous events of the past few weeks and months. As always, their resistance grew, like a coiled spring, in the proportion to the pressure which was put upon it. Our people closed rank and demonstrated even greater resolution, solidarity and generosity. I was especially gratified by the political maturity which our people displayed, in that they refused to be taken in by all the synthetic international cant, by Sir Galahad riding the Arab steed in quest of the holy grail of oil, and by Ivan the Red, hot from the shambles of Hungary shedding crocodile tears over aggression and colonialism. For the time being at least, the State of Israel has passed from the zone of military danger, to the zone of what might be called diplomatic danger. A small nation can lose more on the diplomatic checkerboard than it can win on the battlefield. It behooves us, therefore, to watch closely the maneuvers which are currently going on at home and abroad.

We should turn again to our friends as we did in the past, and we have many of them in all parts of the world, in many of the delegations to the United Nations and among free people everywhere, and keep them fully informed, and solicit their continued help in safeguarding the life and the independence of this valorous little republic, which they helped to establish and which, we believe, has faithfully justified their early hopes. Above all, we must keep Israel economically

strong; its enemies, unable to destroy it militarily, hope to undermine it economically, by means of blockades and boycotts and by forcing it to support a costly military budget. Therefore every new industry which is established in Israel, every new mine or mill or factory, every new ship or harbor, or road or railway track, every new settlement or irrigation-project is so much red blood poured into the lifestream of the nation.

I'm thinking, dear friends, this evening of the United Nations. There are those who believe that this world organization has come out stronger as a result of the role which it has played in the recent Egyptian affair. Everyone wishes the United Nations to be strong and effective. But I am of the opinion that the real testing of the United Nations is yet to come. And it will come soon, in the near east. And on its outcome will depend the very survival of that international organization, which was called into being to preserve the peace of the world. The cease-fire which was achieved is an occasion, not necessarily the prelude to permanent peace. The United Nations force, now gathering in the middle east, if intelligently employed, may prove to be an important step toward a final solution of those issues which have kept that part of the world in needless turmoil and tension for years. Or it may lead only to a restoration of the status quo ante, from which all evils flowed, and for a carte blanche to the dictator Nasser to resume all his former and dangerous plottings and adventures.

Nothing has so far happened as a result of the intervention of the United Nations to discourage Nasser from believing that the United Nations force will restore him to his former position and prestige, his commandoes free to range again across the borders of Israel, his blockade of Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and in the Gulf of Aqaba to remain in force, and he himself free to acquire again new stores of weapons and munitions for an attack upon Israel, now that the Israeli forces forestalled his contemplated attack so calamitously a few weeks ago.

Our government has evidently concluded that the best hope for peace in the middle east lies in the United Nations, and has resolved to channel through

it all future considerations of the problems of that area. This is a procedure which it did not follow heretofore, choosing rather to find solutions outside the framework of the United Nations. It therefore becomes increasingly urgent that our government, whose authority and prestige in that area seems to have been augmented by recent events, should proceed to exercise forthright leadership in the United Nations in order to achieve the desired solutions. Without such leadership, nothing constructive will come to pass and the situation will rapidly deteriorate. Unless the United States and the other free nations of the world take strong initiative in the United Nations for a just settlement it is quite possible that the Asian-African bloc which has been uniformly hostile to Israel, coupled with the support of the Soviet bloc, which as part of its strategy to penetrate the middle east can be counted upon to vote consistently against Israel, will succeed in imposing a kind of settlement which Israel as a matter of survival would be forced

(portion missing) —

It is clearly to the best interest of the free world to make secure and viable the one dependable free democratic state in the near east. The traditional position of our country as regards Israel has been expressed time and again by the leaders of our government and by both major political parties. It was recently restated in the platform of the Republican party at its national convention: "We regard the preservation of Israel as an important tenet of American foreign policy. We shall support the independence of Israel against armed aggression". Our government should not wait until there is armed aggression, and until that innocent victim of aggression, the little Hitler of the Nile, has had time to rebuild his shattered military establishment, or until Syria, bent on Israel's "disintegration", to use the recent phrase of the Syrian ambassador to the United States, has had time to accumulate a vast arsenal of tanks and planes and guns which will be eagerly supplied to it by the Soviet Union. Playing for time in this area of the globe is playing with disaster.

A new excuse for procrastination and a new formula for inaction is beginning to emerge. The Arab states want time to grow stronger militarily, to

regroup and reorganize so that at the proper time they will be able to confront Israel with ultimatums and dictate a peace settlement on their own terms. This is the meaning of the inspired talk one hears today, that this is not the time for direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors; tempers are too hot; perhaps in two years such a step might be undertaken. Dr. Fawzi, Egyptian foreign minister, speaking last Thursday before the national press club in Washington, was asked to answer the statement made to the press club by Israel's foreign minister, Golde Meir, in which she said that Israel was ready to negotiate peace with Egypt directly, immediately and without any preconditions, he replied, "These things have their time in history". Dr. Fawzi further said that Egypt was not willing to discuss the passage of Israel's ships as part of the Suez settlement. This is part and parcel of the Israeli question, he said, which we are willing to discuss at the proper time; it is not a proper part of the Suez question. But why not? To most right thinking people the blockade against Israeli shipping is the very proof, the very evidence of Egypt's illegal usurpation and of the insincerity of its pledge to keep the Canal open to the shipping of the whole world. It glaringly reveals Egypt's intentions not to insulate the operation of the Canal from national politics, but to close it whenever it chooses, whenever it serves its own political ends, regardless of international treaties and commitments.

May one ask, when will be the proper time when Egypt will be pleased to discuss the passage of Israel's ships through the Canal? And when will be the proper time for final peace negotiations? The eight years which have elapsed since the armistice was fixed have not been sufficient to cool off the hot tempers in the near east. On the contrary, the passage of time has served only to ascerbate the situation to a point of explosion. Will another two years or five years or ten years under identical armistice conditions help to cool off these tempers? How plausible, but how specious is this formula which is now being paddled about, a formula which is patently designed to cover up a maneuver for a complete return to the pre-invasion status in order to satisfy Nasser and his allies.

The foreign minister of yet another Arab state, Iraq, is not satisfied even with a return to this status. Nothing will satisfy him and his government but the complete obliteration of the State of Israel. Israel, he declared last week, should no longer be a state. It is simple as all that. And since Iraq is unable to accomplish this feat singlehanded, or even in collaboration with its Arab neighbors (where collaboration appears to be so singularly difficult to attain - quite recently Iraq was calling for help not against Israel but against Syria, her Arab neighbor, which with the aid of Russian arms and volunteers was threatening to attack her) Iraq now hopes that the United Nations will perform this little service of political assassination, to please it and to achieve peace and unity in the Arab world. In this connection it should be borne in mind that Iraq is a member of the Bagdad pact group of nations which our government called into existence, which it is now being urged again to join officially. Our government has been supplying arms to Iraq, and at this very moment Iraq is soliciting a substantial increase in the volume of American military aid.

It should also be recalled that American military aid was denied the State of Israel on the convenient but not consistently applied formula that our country does not wish to become involved in an arms race. And the State of Israel was also excluded from the regional security arrangements of this Bagdad pact and was denied any other security treaty such as our country has with many other nations. It is now suggested that the United Nations should not exploit to the fullest its dramatic and energetic ingress into that long disturbed area of the middle east, but it should quickly withdraw, and leave the fate of that part of the world to the will and the whim of these governments who have consistently proclaimed their unwillingness to make peace.

In our judgement, the United States should press forward most energetically in the council of the United Nations for immediate action which would bring the representatives of the governments of the near east together around a conference table for the urgent settlement of all the outstanding issues. (Applause)

And it has been Israel's contention that there is not a single issue, whether it be territory or refugees or compensation, which cannot be settled with good will and a desire for peace. It is not enough to clear the Suez Canal, so that oil may flow freely again to the western world. It is all important for the peace of the world that the major obstacles which have for years impeded free communications, trade and cooperation between the peoples of the near east, and fostered bitterness and acrimony and led to periodic and bloody outbreaks and successive crises - that these should be removed without delay. And here is the challenge to true statesmanship - to denounce your friends when they have been driven to acts of desperation, partly due to your own blunders, may give you a momentary feeling of self-righteousness as well as ^{of} expiation. To help them achieve just and lasting political settlements, in which you yourself assume full responsibility, is the only true way to political wisdom, friendship and leadership. (Applause)

Furthermore, you will never serve the best interests of the free world if your primary consideration is to compete for prestige in the Arab world and to appear as its special friend and defender. Governments which are bent on intrigue play that sort of game. Governments which are sincerely concerned with undergirding the threatened structure of the whole free world will help those nations, large or small, whose traditions are the traditions of freedom, whose way of life, whose hopes and ideals are bound up with the future of a free society. (Applause) It should be remembered that even before the United Nations ordered a ceasefire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai peninsula, the Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben Gurion, let it be known that he was prepared to propose to his government the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces if Nasser would sign a clear undertaking to abstain from further hostile acts against Israel, including undertaking for liquidating the fedayeen, abolishing the blockade in the Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba, and abstaining from military alliances directed against Israel. These conditions were not met then and they have not yet been met. It would be a colossal blunder for the United Nations to have done all this tremendous diplomatic activity in recent months and the dispensing of a police force, to withdraw

and leave the situation in the same perilous condition in which it was prior to October. It would be unwise to permit Egypt to return to the Gaza area from which she used to mount her fedayeen raids on Israel. Gaza is not Egyptian territory. It would also be an act of great prudence to demilitarize all or part of the Sinai peninsula so that it could serve as a welcome buffer between Egypt and Israel.

(Applause)

My dear friends, Israel does not want war. Israel was provoked to attack as its only way of survival. It could not wait until Nasser's mountain of tanks and guns and bombers, part of which following his defeat the world was able to examine with amazement, until that mountain came crashing down upon it. For eight years Israel has appealed to the United Nations and the free world for help against constant harassment and menace, but nothing was done. No sanctions were invoked against Egypt when it flouted the order of the United Nations to end the blockade against Israeli shipping. Nothing was done to end the economic boycott against Israel. Nothing was done to check the unprecedented flow of armaments to the near east, all aimed at the destruction of Israel. Nothing was done to counteract the military alliances which were being forged like a ring of steel around Israel. What did the world expect Israel to do? Did the world expect Israel to sit there like a clay pigeon and hopelessly and resignedly await destruction and extinction? Thank God Israel did not! (Applause) And if I know the people of Israel they never will at any time in the future! (Applause)

If you live in a neighborhood where your neighbors are determined to make your life miserable; they smash your windows, they tear up your garden, they beat up your children; you reason and argue with them to no avail; you appeal to the police, but they are unwilling or unable to protect you; you become aware of a concerted plan afoot on the part of your neighbors to tear your house down completely, over your head; if then an opportunity presents itself, and you are able to lay hold of the biggest bully of the lot, and the ringleader, and beat daylight out of him, so that he can no longer molest you, would any fairminded man call this aggression? (Applause)

Israel does not want war. Israel does not want war. Many of the citizens of Israel are themselves refugees from war. They know what war is; they experienced all its horrors. Many of them left their sons and daughters and husbands and parents in the horror hells of Nazi, Fascist and Communist wars in Europe. All that these people, who have found a haven in Israel, want is peace and a chance to work and build a new life. They want to create something fine for themselves, their country and mankind. They covet nobody's territory. But they are resolved to defend their own. Their tradition which is Judaism hates war and the shedding of blood. There is no glorification of war in Judaism. There was never any call in Israel to become a great military power or to build a great empire. That Jews could fight when necessary, and with extraordinary valor and heroism, the legions of Rome, the armies of Antiochus, the hosts which faced Joshua, and quite recently the routed and scattered divisions of Nasser could well testify. But Israel never emphasized its military achievements; its hope for the future was bound up with a hope for universal disarmament, with an international society banded in brotherhood and united by the law of justice and unity and freedom. And the modern State of Israel is the heir of this noble tradition. It seeks peace and friendly cooperation with all its neighbors. It has sympathized with the national aspirations of all the Arab peoples. It has welcomed the inexorable march of the colonial peoples to freedom and independence. It claims that same freedom for itself, and that same national independence. Israel therefore hopes that the present providential moment will be seized by all nations of good will to bring about a condition of peace and stability in this region of continued violence. Israel fervently hopes that before very long some real statesmen, some socially-minded statesmen, deeply interested in the wellbeing of their people, will arise in the Arab world, who will see the picture as it is, not as the eyes of predatory politically immature demagogues see it. The severe social and economic problems of the exploited, impoverished and illiterate Arab masses cannot be solved either by the obliteration of the State of Israel or by the expropriation...

(record ends here)

Abstract address 56-7
20A convention Oct 4-7

1952

Wash DC

We earnestly hope that the defeat which the West has suffered in connection with the Suez Canal fiasco in recent months has brought home to its political leaders a few elementary ~~political~~ truths which ~~even those who run may read~~ ^{they should have learned a long} ~~except those who deliberately choose to run away from them.~~ ^{whole ago}

In the Middle East the West is dealing ^{now} not with a legitimate, nascent Arab Nationalism. The national ambitions of these Arab countries have been fully

realized. They are ^{recognized as} ~~now~~ independent and sovereign states and are in complete

control of their ~~own~~ domestic ~~as well as~~ foreign affairs. What the West finds ^{and}

today is the unbridled ambition of an Egyptian ~~would-be~~ dictator who seeks to

augment his power and his prestige ^{and} in order to establish his hegemony over the

Arab world ^{Some Arab countries have come to realize it and to resent it.} a dictator whose sympathies are clearly with the ~~dictators of~~ Moscow

and Peiping and whose techniques are exactly those which Hitler ^{found useful} used in his rise

to power. Nasser, like Hitler has been helped by the West to rise to his present

position of ^{bold and} arrogance and intractability. The West has ^{assisted} ~~substituted~~ Nasser in

the same way as it assisted Hitler and for the same reason — in the fond hope ^{of using}

^{him to} of checking the spread of communism. Communism, of course, has not been checked,

and Nasser ^{has actually} ~~has~~ proved to be the ~~very~~ key which opened the Middle East to communist

infiltration and to ^{the a realization of the aims} Russian historic expansionist ~~ambitions~~ in that part of the

~~world.~~

Another elementary truth which should by now be clear to the statesmen of

the free world is that the problems of the Middle East cannot be solved without

reference to the State of Israel. Such attempts have unfortunately been made

time and again, ^{this} as was the case with the Baghdad pact ^{and} with the arming of Arab

^{incoherent} countries while ^{impoverish} a virtual arms embargo was imposed upon Israel, and, more recently, ^{some} ~~inter-~~

^{in cooperation with the government, the Suez Canal where} in the calling of conferences and setting up of Suez Canal Associations ^{was set up} which

^{pointedly exclude Israel.} Such attempts have failed and will fail in the future. ^{to}

Israel must be regarded as a focal point in any peace strategy in the Middle East, ^{which it lost}

and the Western world will recover ^{the} diplomatic initiative in that part of the

world as soon as it comes to acknowledge this simple fact.

^{the statesman of our} It should also be clear to ^{are} own country that any ~~real~~ ^{real} ~~not~~ of leadership

are opposed to further.

which it intends to play in that troubled area will not succeed unless our country is prepared to assume definite and specific commitments. ^{and calculated involvement} A major foreign policy which does not carry with it definite ^{is foredoomed to failure.} ~~our~~ ^{we} ~~country~~ will not be able to lead the world by proxy. If ^{our government} ~~it~~ is persuaded that the vast armaments which the Soviet Government has poured into Egypt and the Near ^{other Arab States in} ~~the~~ ^{the United States} East have seriously endangered the young and democratic State of Israel which ~~it~~ helped to establish and was the first to recognize, and that ^{the} ~~that~~ situation calls for ^{urgent} rectification, then it should not pass the buck to other ~~states~~ ^{government} to correct the imbalance. Such a position ^{possession the victor} ~~has the character~~ neither of rightness nor of forthrightness.

^{And this is another} ~~And this is another~~ elementary truth which should be acknowledged. The ^{on the one hand,} free world cannot/undertake to sell or to give arms to ~~many~~ countries in all parts of the world as part of an over-all policy to strengthen ~~free nations~~ ^{them} against possible aggression — realizing that an arms race of vast proportions is on between the East and the West — and on the other hand ~~to~~ deny the right ^{to the young} to Israel to acquire ~~arms~~ ^{defensive weapons} to defend itself against aggression on the ground that this would encourage an arms race!

It should also be frankly acknowledged that the agreements to observe the truce on the borders of Israel and her Arab neighbors which were negotiated through the commendable efforts of the Secretary of United Nations have not ~~and~~ ^{ed} ~~cannot~~ yield that peace which it was hoped would result from them. They are unrealistic in the extreme. ^{They cannot take the place of a} These agreements are neither a substitute for a ^{Nations which do not want peace, will not long} fundamental peace settlement nor a palliative. Actually they are provocative ^{obscure a truce.} of incidents which may lead to war. ^{Neither} The United Nations nor the Western powers have ever used their full ^{power and} authority to induce the Arab states to negotiate a ^{peace} possible settlement with Israel any more than they used their full authority to ^{and the sanctions in described in} ~~to~~ ^{the Charter} compel Egypt to lift ~~the~~ ^{the} blockade against Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal. ^{the United Nations} ~~-- a clear violation of the terms under the~~ which the Canal has been operated and one which has now come to plague the entire free world.

Israel has never been the aggressor against any of its Arab neighbors, ~~without~~
~~provocation and~~ it serves no purpose at all to brand every act of self-defense
on the part of the ~~State of Israel~~ ^{Israeli} an act of ~~retaliation~~ ^{retribution}. Just what is expected

of the people of Israel? Is it expected of them that they sit there as clay
~~at will by Arab terrorists~~ pigeons to be shot at and then to have the families of the ~~killed~~ ^{should} ~~or~~ ^{slain and} wounded

comforted by the fact that a representative of the United Nations has rebuked the
nation ~~to~~ ^{from} which the assailant belonged? ~~belonged?~~ ^{belonged?} ~~Is this~~ ^{And is this} to

~~continue indefinitely?~~
Clearly the events of the past few years on the borders of Israel have shown
that these acts of ~~indiscriminate~~ ^{premeditated} murder are ~~in~~ ^{not} the result of any isolated ~~instance~~

~~of an Arab soldier going berserk~~, but of Arab ~~nations~~ ^{governments} ~~who have~~ gone berserk ~~who~~ ^{permanently}

day by day incite ~~and~~ their populations with inflammatory propaganda against

Israel, who refuse to negotiate a peace settlement and who never grow tired of

proclaiming that ~~they~~ their firm resolve is to wipe Israel off the face of the
earth. ~~and~~

~~And finally~~ ^{governments} ~~to help the Arab to regain their political sanity and to check~~
the unbridled ambitions and adventures of Arab dictators who are playing Moscow's ^{same}
~~role~~ in the Middle East, the State of Israel should not only be ~~permitted and~~ helped

to arm itself to a point where its ~~military~~ preparedness will act as a deterrent

to would-be aggressors, but should be given the security of a ^{binding} military pact with

the free world. This is far more important ^{than any} for the ~~cause~~ ^{cost} of military preparedness

for a small state like Israel is an ~~almost unbearable~~ economic burden. ~~But~~ ^{it is almost}

too difficult to bear.

MISSING PAGE (S)



world by way of tanks, jet planes and submarines was intended to demonstrate her sincere and pacific intentions?

It is clear now that the Geneva peace effort, which was so nobly advanced by the President of the United States, was abortive and we were no longer left in any doubt as to what were the original intentions. The game of power politics has not been abandoned. What may follow now is an intensification of the Cold War, and increased activities on the part of the Soviet Union to provide arms in vast quantities to other Arab states.

What alternatives are there for Israel? It must either acquire from the free world adequate arms for self-defense, or alternatively, it must be invited by the free nations of the world into a Security Alliance which would make the further acquisition of arms both on the part of Israel and the Arabs quite pointless.

Both the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain have urged upon Israel and the Arabs to sit down and negotiate their differences. Israel has repeatedly expressed its desire to do so. The Arabs have consistently refused. The President and Mr. Dulles have both indicated that the United States is prepared to guarantee the boundaries which will be agreed upon in such negotiations. But here's the rub! The Arab Government will not engage in any negotiations with the representatives of the State of Israel. Israel has in the past indicated that it would be prepared to grant the Arab states rights across her territory, free port facilities at Haifa, and compensation for lands left by the Arabs when they fled in 1948. These have been brushed aside as of no moment. It is now suggested in a roundabout way by Prime Minister Eden of Great Britain that Israel should surrender territory to placate the Arabs. The formula of whittling down the territory of Israel to placate the Arabs has been a favorite one with the British since 1922 when they withdrew Transjordan from the terms of the Balfour Declaration and thus reduced the size of the Jewish National Homeland by two-thirds. Every

subsequent White Paper of Great Britain, and there were many, proceeded along this line of curtailing the size of the Jewish Homeland and simultaneously insuring for Great Britain a corridor from Jordan to the sea.

The Arabs however have consistently maintained, as did the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance last year, that "even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that." The Arabs even rejected the ill-considered, unrealistic Bernadotte Plan, which would have given the whole of the Negev to the Arab state of Jordan.

Israel will not sacrifice any of its sharply reduced territory of 8000 square miles in order to augment the 2,700,000 square miles of its Arab neighbors. The need of the Arab states is not for additional territory in the desert wastes of the Negev, which can only be reclaimed by irrigation and tremendous application of human resources as the Israelis are doing today. If the Arabs are so inclined, they have vast deserts of their own which can be made fruitful and productive. If they are so inclined, they can hasten to approve of the Jordan Valley pxx project which the American Government has been fostering and which would provide water for the irrigation of vast tracts of land upon which Arab refugees can be settled.

Egypt certainly has no claim upon any territory in Israel. What Nasser wants is not more territory but more prestige to bolster up his dictatorship by victories over Israel.

The basic intentions of the heads of our government towards Israel have always been friendly, and on decisive issues affecting the fate of Israel they were greatly helpful. But mistakes have been made in certain areas of diplomatic action which have led to a serious deterioration in that part of the world. Our government could have pressed for peace and the lifting of the blockade against Israel when Egypt courted our support in her efforts to free the Suez Canal Zone from British troops. It was

MISSING PAGE (S)



procrastination and a new formula for inaction are beginning to emerge, sponsored by Arab States and their abettors elsewhere. The Arab States want time to grow stronger militarily, to regroup and to reorganize so that at the proper time they will be able to confront Israel with ultimatums and dictate a peace settlement on their own terms. This is the explanation of the inspired talk one hears today among ~~major~~ the Arab delegations, as well as elsewhere in the corridors of the United Nations and in certain quarters in Washington. This is not the time ~~one~~ hears for direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Tempers are too hot. Perhaps in two years this step might be undertaken. Dr. Fawzi, Egyptian Foreign Minister, speaking last Thursday before the National Press Club in Washington was asked to answer the statement which was made to the Press Club by Israel's Foreign Minister two days before "that Israel was willing to negotiate peace with Egypt directly, immediately and without any pre-conditions." He replied, "These things have their time in history." Dr. Fawzi further said that Egypt was not willing to discuss the passage of Israel's ships as part of a Suez Canal settlement. "This is part and parcel of the Israeli question which we are willing to discuss at the proper time", he said. It is not a proper part of the Suez question."

But why not? To ~~many~~ most right-thinking people the blockade of the Suez Canal against Israeli shipping is the very proof and symbol of Egypt's illegal usurpation and of the insincerity of its pledge to keep it open to the shipping of the whole world. It glaringly reveals Egypt's intentions not to insulate the operation of the Canal from national politics, but to close it whenever it wishes to serve its own political ends regardless of international treaties and commitments.

May one ask what will be the proper time when it will please Egypt to discuss the passage of Israel's ships through the Canal and in the North of and when will be the time for peace negotiations. The eight years which have elapsed since the armistice was fixed have not been sufficient to cool off the hot tempers in the Near East. On the contrary, the passage of time has served only to exacerbate the situation to a point of explosion. Will another two years or five, under identical armistice conditions help to cool them off? How plausible, but how specious is this formula which is now being peddled about as a means of covering up a maneuver for a complete return to the pre-invasion status to satisfy Nasser and his lies.

The Foreign Minister of another Arab State, Iraq, is not satisfied even with a return to this status. Nothing will satisfy him and his government but the complete obliteration of the State of Israel. "Israel," he declared last week, "should no longer be a State." It is as simple as all that. Since Iraq clearly is unable to accomplish this feat single-handed or in collaboration with its Arab neighbors, where collaboration appears to be so singularly difficult to attain, -- quite recently Iraq was loudly calling for ^{not} help/again Israel, but against Syria, her Arab neighbor, which with the aid of Russian arms and "volunteers" was threatening to attack her. Iraq now hopes that the United Nations will perform this little service of assassination for it and for the peace and unity of the Arab world.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact group of nations, which our government called into existence and which it is now being urged to join. Our government has been supplying arms to Iraq and at this moment Iraq is soliciting a sharp increase in the volume of American military aid.