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parably better than it is coming off in the excited indictments being flung about inside and outside the United Nations.

First of all, Israel's commandos at any rate took the greatest care in Lebanon to take no man's life. But the essential points are vastly deeper. Here is a nation dug out of the hard, arid earth that for all its life has been tirelessly menaced by extremist Arabs from every side. Week after week, month after month, year after year the Israelis have been drenched by the poisonous hatred of Cairo Radio. Eternally threatened, they have lived in a stockade state, much as did the American pioneers. Endlessly attacked along their frontiers, they have responded with a courage and an élan rarely seen in contemporary times.

Explicitly and repeatedly told by the Arabs that they are going to be destroyed by the Arabs, it is perhaps not too surprising that after two decades it is growing difficult for them to see that "big picture" which statesmen far from the scene are pleased to paint for them.

Is it very surprising, then, that finally they react with undue violence, considering the further point that never once have they been granted elementary justice by a U.N. presently headed by the openly prejudiced Secretary U Thant?

The simple, historic reality is that the Israelis have never stood a chance in the U.N. where the Russians and their tin-pot and sometimes crypto-Communist allies among the African and Asian states have used this tough and tiny Western outpost as a kind of badminton puck in the Cold War.

But there is an even more fundamental truth, and it is this: It is no longer liberally chic to be pro-Israel, where once it was too liberally chic altogether. Twenty years ago "elite" American opinion sentimentalized Israel out of all reason. Today, "elite" American opinion can hardly find anything good about the Israelis. It would require a book fully to explore this turnaround; this columnist's opinion is that Israel has fallen out of grace not because of its considerable faults but rather because of its old-fashioned virtues.

For the Israelis oddly cling to certain outmoded concepts which in a shorthand way are more conservative than otherwise, to wit:

They do not happily embrace any and all "revolutions," such as Col. Nasser's exported "revolutions" in places like Yemen. They feel no shame in being patriots. They love their country; they will unhesitatingly fight for it. And they will not be talked out of their right—and duty—of self-defense. They do not accept the new isolationism, the new peacenikism, of the New Left, now so popular in quarters here and abroad. Having been told several thousand times that pro-Communist Arabs intend the literal destruction of their way of life, they have come to believe it.

That Lebanon is not really a part of this conspiracy is true enough. That Lebanon's airport has been attacked is in every way regrettable. But that the world can hardly expect a people so long brutalized by hostile neighbors to respond in every instance with all prudence and restraint is surely also true. When a man is fighting for his life it is a little hard to expect him to proceed with all the solemn care that might be exercised by some fellow who never felt a wound.

#### SIXTEEN SENATORS SEEK PERSPECTIVE ON ISRAEL

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a bipartisan group of 16 Senators emphasized the importance of examining the total context of the current crisis in the Middle East in a statement released Monday afternoon.

This statement, I believe, helps a great deal to clarify and balance this discussion in this country of this dangerous situation. In preparing and circulating it, the senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) and I sought to respond in a balanced way to the recent censure of Israel by the United Nations. However unfortunate that situation may be, we believe it requires a look at all the elements involved in the dispute.

The statement points out that Israel is continually subject to attacks from hostile groups in Arab nations. It declares that a realistic approach to the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors requires implementation of an equitable policy of permanent peace along the lines of the U.N. resolution of last November 22, efforts to maintain a strategic arms balance, settlement of the refugee question, and establishment of an organization for economic cooperation and development.

It was a privilege to be able to work with Senator JAVITS on this statement, and both of us are grateful to the 14 other Senators who joined in signing the statement. We hope it will contribute to the continuing Senatorial discussion of the difficult and dangerous problems which characterize the troubled Middle East.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the statement, followed by a list of the signers of the statement, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1969

We express our deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation respecting peace in the Middle East—the area in the world where the danger of new war is greatest.

We have noted the adoption by the United Nations Security Council, with the concurrence of the United States, of the resolution on December 31st in connection with this unfortunate situation. This resolution "condemns Israel for its premeditated military action" and "issues a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were to be repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions."

We are particularly concerned about the effectiveness of the Security Council resolution in view of the fact that it makes no reference to the direct threat to Israel's survival posed by the continuing raids into Israel—with their mounting toll in lives and property—by Arab guerrillas operating from the Arab states; states that have maintained a state of war with Israel for twenty years and which harbor and officially encourage the guerrillas.

The Israelis are fighting for their very lives as their Arab neighbors, bolstered by Soviet military and diplomatic support, again openly threaten to obliterate them.

The Jarring Mission, intended to implement the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, should, of course, continue its efforts to avert the speedily deteriorating situation.

We believe the situation must be examined in its total context and that Americans are entitled to view it in proper perspective. Accordingly, under these conditions, we believe the policy of the United States should be:

1. To establish a policy of permanent peace in the Middle East. This will require an implementation of the UN resolution of No-

vember 22, 1967. This resolution carries out all its terms in as parallel and equitable a manner as possible, with each provision being related to the other rather than being based upon Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories in return only for paper promises from the Arab states. A key point in this UN resolution is "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

2. To make every effort toward helping to maintain the strategic arms balance between the radical Arab states and Israel, lest these Arab states be tempted into renewing full-scale warfare. The United States has already demonstrated its policy in this respect by signing a contract to sell 50 supersonic jets to Israel, an action which we support and approve. The American people do not want to see a situation where Israel will be so threatened that outside participation is called or to assure its very survival. It would be helpful to this effort for the USSR to join in limiting its supply of strategic military weapons to the radical Arab nations, and to accept the right of an independent and free Israel to exist along side its Arab neighbors within secure and recognized boundaries.

3. To call for the most urgent consideration of the settlement of the Arab refugees, a problem which continues to be critical. Conditions have completely changed since the establishment of UNWRA. About half of the refugees holding ration cards are now within the de facto jurisdiction of Israel itself making them much more available to settlement.

4. To encourage establishment of an organization for economic cooperation in the Middle East to bring about mutual economic development, better trade relations, technological research and administration of aid and technical assistance programs in the area.

#### SIGNERS OF THE STATEMENT

Clifford P. Case (Republican, of New Jersey).

Peter H. Dominick (Republican, of Colorado).

Charles E. Goodell (Republican, of New York).

Fred R. Harris (Democrat, of Oklahoma).

Philip A. Hart (Democrat, of Michigan).

Jacob K. Javits (Republican, of New York).

Walter F. Mondale (Democrat, of Minnesota).

George Murphy (Republican, of California).

William Proxmire (Democrat, of Wisconsin).

Abraham Ribicoff (Democrat, of Connecticut).

William B. Saxbe (Republican, of Ohio).

Richard S. Schweiker (Republican, of Pennsylvania).

Hugh Scott (Republican, of Pennsylvania).

Joseph D. Tydings (Democrat, of Maryland).

Harrison A. Williams (Democrat, of New Jersey).

Stephen M. Young (Democrat, of Ohio).

#### BOB BARTLETT WILL BE REMEMBERED

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the Senate is much poorer because of the passing of Bob Bartlett of Alaska. No nation ever produces too many men of his caliber. He wore himself thin in this Chamber in the service of his State and Nation.

Rarely has it been my privilege to see a finer example of a public servant dedicated to the well-being and advancement