The original documents are located in Box D27, folder "Jewish Community Center, Allentown, PA, May 18, 1969" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, ALLENTOWN, PA. 8 P.M. SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1969.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE FATE OF ISRAEL IS LINKED WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

CONCERN HAS BEEN EXPRESSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND FRANCE MAY "PREVAIL" AT THE CURRENT BIG FOUR TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PERMIT THIS TO HAPPEN.

ISRAEL MAY ENTER ITS 21s7 ANNIVERSARY
CONFIDENT OF ITS MANHOOD. ISRAEL'S RECORD
OF ACHIEVEMENT AND COURAGE MAKES THE STATE
WORTHY OF THAT STATUS. ISRAEL CAN FEEL
CERTAIN THAT AMERICANS ARE AWARE OF HER
DEDICATION TO FREEDOM AND OF THE BASIC
AFFINITY LINKING ISRAEL WITH THE UNITED
STATES.

I JOIN WITH THOSE WHO ARE CONCERNED

ABOUT OVERALL SOVIET DESIGNS ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND MEDITERRANEAN.

WE ARE AWARE OF THE UNPRECEDENTED
SOVIET NAVAL BUILD-UP IN THAT REGION. WE
KNOW THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE TRYING TO EXERT
PRESSURES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AT A TIME
WHEN WE ARE PREOCCUPIED IN THE FAR EAST.

YOUR GOVERNMENT IS NOT NAIVE. NOR ARE THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT SOVIET
POLICY AND THE ATTEMPTS BY THE KREMLIN TO
CREATE A SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST THAT WOULD UNDERMINE VITAL AMERICAN
SECURITY INTERESTS AND THREATEN THE ENTIRE
SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO. THE GAME BEING
PLAYED BY THE RUSSIANS, EXPLOITING ARAB
HOSTILITY AGAINST ISRAEL, IS TRANSPARENT.

IT IS MY STRONG CONVICTION THAT

AMERICAN POLICY WILL NOT SEEK TO "IMPOSE"

A SETTLEMENT AS A RESULT OF THE PRESENT BIG

FOUR CONFERENCE OR OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF SUCH TALKS.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PLEDGED THAT ALL INTERESTS WILL BE PRESERVED AND THAT WITHDRAWAL CAN OCCUR ONLY BY CONSENT OF THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED, BASED UPON A PEACE AGREEMENT THAT ESTABLISHES RECOGNIZED, DEFENSIBLE, AND JUST BOUNDARIES.

FOUR CONFERENCE IS CONSISTENT WITH EFFORTS
TO TEST THE SOVIET UNION'S PROFESSED DESIRE
TO PRESERVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND
TO AVOID A NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION WITH THE
U.S. BUT NO ACCORD WILL BE PURCHASED AT
THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL.

AS I HAVE SAID, WE ARE WELL AWARE
OF SOVIET AIMS AND ATTITUDES. WE ARE ALSO
MINDFUL OF THE CONTINUING BRUTAL SUPPRESSION
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DENOUNCED JUST RECENTLY
BY PRESIDENT NIXON.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS AWARE THAT
THE SOVIET-MADE MIG'S THAT TREACHEROUSLY
ATTACKED AN UNARMED U.S. RECONNAISSANCE
PLANE IN INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE OFF THE
KOREAN COAST WERE THE SAME KIND OF AIRCRAFT
THE SOVIETS HAVE SUPPLIED TO THE RADICAL
ARAB STATES.

OUR GOVERNMENT MUST THEREFORE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE MILITARY COMBAT DETERRENT CAPACITIES OF ISRAEL THROUGH THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE SUPPLY OF PHANTOM JETS AND OTHER MILITARY HARDWARE REQUIREMENTS. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT ISRAELI AIR AND GROUND CREWS TO MAN THE PHANTOMS ARE PRESENTLY RECEIVING SPECIAL TRAINING AT A U.S. AIR FORCE BASE IN CALIFORNIA. THE PHANTOMS WILL BE READY FOR SHIPMENT AT A TIME COINCIDING WITH THE COMPLETION OF TRAINING -- A MATTER OF MONTHS. MANY OF THE PHANTOMS WILL BE IN SERVICE IN ISRAEL

BEFORE THE END OF 1969.

WE RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S ISOLATED
GEOGRAPHIC POSITION, SURROUNDED AS SHE IS
BY ENEMIES. HEREVERY LIFE DEPENDS ON
AIRPOWER AND CIVILIAN AIR LINKS WITH THE
FREE WORLD.

WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE ATTACKS EARLIER
THIS YEAR ON ISRAELI AIRLINERS BY ARAB
TERRORISTS ARMED WITH RUSSIAN WEAPONS, AND
THEN THE CRIMINAL ATTACK BY COMMUNIST NORTH
KOREAN MIG-21% ON AN UNARMED AMERICAN
PLANE IN INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE, YOU ARE
COMPELLED TO ASK: ARE THE RUSSIANS
SINCERELY SEEKING A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS
OR ARE THEY SECRETLY GLEEFUL OVER ATTACKS
ON FREE WORLD NATIONS BY FANATICS AND
FOURTH-RATE DESPOTS?

WE HAVE HEARD THE KREMLIN PROFESS

GREAT CONCERN ABOUT MIDDLE EASTERN PEACE.

BUT WE HAVE WATCHED THEM POUR NAVAL FORCES

THEM DEMAND AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL. WE HAVE WATCHED THEM BUILD UP THE WAR POTENTIAL OF RADICAL AND IRRESPONSIBLE ARAB STATES THAT REFUSE TO ENTER INTO REAL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

MOSCOW IS ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE INDIRECTLY WHAT COMMUNIST AND ARAB PRESSURE HAS FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH BY MILITARY MEANS AND THREATS. THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO ROLL BACK THE ISRAELIS FROM THE CEASE-FIRE LINES OF JUNE, 1967, WITHOUT A MEANINGFUL PEACE SETTLEMENT. THUS THEY WOULD KEEP THE SORE OPEN, RESTORE THE INTOLERABLE SITUATION THAT EXISTED IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE SIX-DAY WAR, AND EXPLOIT ANY PULLBACK BY ISRAEL AS A DEFEAT FOR FREE WORLD INTERESTS.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT CLARIFIED
HER POLICY TO MY SATISFACTION. INDEED, THE

SOVIETS SEEM TO HAVE A VARIETY OF POLICIES, TO SUIT THEIR CONVENIENCE. THEY HAVE ONE POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ANOTHER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND YET ANOTHER IN NORTH KOREA. IN NORTH KOREA THEY HELP US ONE WEEK TO SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE SURVIVORS OF THE PLANE SHOT DOWN BY THE MIG'S THEY PROVIDED. THEN, THE VERY NEXT WEEK, THEY PROTEST BECAUSE WE SEND A NAVAL FORCE TO PROTECT OUR RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS AND OUR RIGHT TO USE INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND AIRSPACE.

AN ASSESSMENT MUST BE MADE AT AMERICANSOVIET BILATERAL TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST
AND AT THE BIG FOUR MEETINGS. IT IS WHETHER
MOSCOW IS SINCERE IN SEEKING A REDUCTION OF
TENSIONS, OR WHETHER RUSSIA IS TRYING TO
EXPLOIT THE FEAR OF WAR IN THE HOPE OF
TURNING A COMPLEX SITUATION TO HER ADVANTAGE.
NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION BUT ALSO

WATERS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. ARAB TERRORISTS
ARE BEING TRAINED IN PEKING. CHINESE
"BUTTON" MINES, MORTARS, ROCKETS, AND OTHER
WEAPONS USED AGAINST U.S. FORCES IN
VIET NAM HAVE EMERGED IN THE ARAB GUERRILLA
ASSAULTS AGAINST ISRAEL. ARAB GUERRILLA
LEADERS HAVE OPENLY PROCLAIMED THAT THEY
WILL REJECT ANY PEACE SETTLEMENT THAT MIGHT
BE REACHED BY THE BIG FOUR OR SIGNED BY
KING HUSSEIN OR PRESIDENT NASSER.

CITING CHAIRMAN MAO OF COMMUNIST
CHINA AS THEIR INSPIRATION, THE ARAB
TERRORISTS HAVE PROCLAIMED A SO-CALLED WAR
OF NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
THEIR AIM IS THE LIQUIDATION OF ISRAEL.

THE FATAH TERRORISTS CALL THEMSELVES
THE VIET CONG OF THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT THE
FATAH IS BASICALLY A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION/
AND NOT REALLY A GUERRILLA ARMY. THE SIZE

AND TERRAIN OF ISRAEL ARE SUCH THAT

10 HELICOPTERS CAN KEEP THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

UNDER SURVEILLANCE. ANOTHER WAY TO PUT IT

IS "THERE'S NO HIDING PLACE DOWN THERE."

THIS IS NOT SAID TO MINIMIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FATAH BUT SIMPLY TO PLACE IT IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE.

IS PEACE POSSIBLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

ARE THERE ANY AREAS OF POSSIBLE AGREEMENT?

I HAVE EXPLORED THESE QUESTIONS

DILIGENTLY. I HAVE REACHED SOME CONCLUSIONS.

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS -- THE UNITED

STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION -- DO NOT RUN

THE WORLD ANY LONGER.

THERE CAN BE NO IMPOSED SETTLEMENT
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, NO MATTER WHAT MIGHT BE
AGREED UPON IN THE BIG FOUR TALKS. I CAN
ASSURE YOU THERE WILL BE NO IMPOSED
SETTLEMENT.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THERE IS NO

ANSWER TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

THEY THROW UP THEIR HANDS AND SAY THERE WILL

NEVER BE PEACE THERE. I REFUSE TO DESCEND

WITH THEM INTO THAT VALE OF DESPAIR.

THE ISRAELIS ARE A WONDERFULLY BRAVE
AND DETERMINED PEOPLE. AND SO THE RUSSIANS
MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THEY ARE NOT ACHIEVING
WHAT THEY WANT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE
SOVIETS HAVE TO ASK THEMSELVES...HOW MANY
TIMES DO WE GO THROUGH ANOTHER SOVIET-ARAB
FIASCO LIKE THE SIX-DAY WAR? THEY ALSO HAVE
TO ASK THEMSELVES...DO WE WANT TO RISK A
NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION WITH THE UNITED STATES?

AND SO IT IS POSSIBLE THAT OUT OF
THE FOUR-POWER TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST WILL
COME A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE ARAB
STATES WILL BE WILLING TO OPERATE TO REACH
A PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL.

OF THIS I CAN ASSURE YOU -- ISRAEL
WILL NOT BE SOLD OUT BY THE NIXON

ADMINISTRATION. THERE WILL BE NO MUNICH IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ISRAEL WILL NOT BECOME ANOTHER CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

LET ME REITERATE THAT THE REPUBLICAN

LEADERSHIP OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

IDENTIFIES WITH YOUR CONCERNS. WE ARE

COMMITTED TO THE GROWTH OF ISRAEL-AMERICAN

FRIENDSHIP. WE SHARE YOUR ASPIRATIONS FOR

THE PRESERVATION OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR

ALL.

-- END --



Office Copy

A SPEECH BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
ALLENTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA
8 P.M. SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1969

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

I firmly believe that the fate of Israel is linked with the national security interests of the United States.

Concern has been expressed that the Soviet Union and France may "prevail" at the current Big Four talks on the Middle East. I can assure you that your government will not permit this to happen.

Israel may enter its 21st anniversary confident of its manhood. Israel's record of achievement and courage makes the state worthy of that status. Israel can feel certain that Americans are aware of her dedication to freedom and of the basic affinity linking Israel with the United States.

I join with those who are concerned about overall Soviet designs on the Middle East and Mediterranean.

We are aware of the unprecedented Soviet naval build-up in that region.

We know that the Russians are trying to exert pressures in the Mediterranean

at a time when we are preoccupied in the Far East.

Your government is not naive. Nor are the members of Congress.

We have no illusions about Soviet policy and the attempts by the Kremlin to create a sphere of influence in the Middle East that would undermine vital American security interests and threaten the entire southern flank of NATO. The game being played by the Russians, exploiting Arab hostility against Israel, is transparent.

It is my strong conviction that American policy will not seek to 'impose" a settlement as a result of the present Big Four Conference or outside the context of such talks.

President Nixon has pledged that Israel's vital interests will be preserved and that withdrawal can occur only by consent of the parties directly concerned, based upon a peace agreement that establishes recognized, defensible, and just boundaries.

American participation in the Big Four Conference is consistent with efforts to test the Soviet Union's professed desire to preserve peace in the

(more)

Middle East and to avoid a nuclear confrontation with the U.S. But no accord will be purchased at the expense of Israel.

As I have said, we are well aware of Soviet aims and attitudes. We are also mindful of the continuing brutal suppression of Czechoslovakia, denounced just recently by President Nixon.

The U.S. Government is aware that the Soviet-made MIG s that treacherously attacked an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane in international airspace off the Korean coast were the same kind of aircraft the Soviets have supplied to the radical Arab states.

Our Government must therefore continue to maintain the military combat and deterrent capacities of Israel through the earliest possible supply of Phantom jets and other military hardware requirements. I am pleased to note that Israeli air and ground crews to man the Phantoms are presently receiving special training at a U.S. Air Force Base in California. The Phantoms will be ready for shipment at a time coinciding with the completion of training -- a matter of months. Many of the Phantoms will be in service in Israel before the end of 1969.

We recognize Israel's isolated geographic position, surrounded as she is by enemies. Her very life depends on airpower and civilian air links with the free world.

When you consider the attacks earlier this year on Israeli airliners by Arab terrorists armed with Russian weapons, and then the criminal attack by Communist North Korean MIG-21's on an unarmed American plane in international airspace, you are compelled to ask: Are the Russians sincerely seeking a relaxation of tensions or are they secretly gleeful over attacks on Free World nations by fanatics and fourth-rate despots?

We have heard the Kremlin profess great concern about Middle Eastern peace. But we have watched them pour naval forces into the Mediterranean. We have heard them demand American withdrawal. We have watched them build up the war potential of radical and irresponsible Arab States that refuse to enter into real peace negotiations with Israel.

Moscow is attempting to achieve indirectly what Communist and Aarb pressure has failed to accomplish by military means and threats. They have sought to roll back the Israelis from the cease-fire lines of June, 1967, without a meaningful peace settlement. Thus they would keep the sore open, restore the intolerable situation that existed immediately before the outbreak of the Six-Day

War, and exploit any pullback by Israel as a defeat for Free World interests.

The Soviet Union has not clarified her policy to my satisfaction. Indeed, the Soviets seem to have a variety of policies, to suit their convenience. They have one policy in the Middle East, another in Czechoslovakia, and yet another in North Korea. In North Korea they help us one week to search for possible survivors of the plane shot down by the MIG's they provided. Then, the very next week, they protest because we send a Naval force to protect our reconnaissance flights and our right to use international waters and airspace.

An assessment must be made at American-Soviet bilateral talks on the Middle East and at the Big Four meetings. It is whether Moscow is sincere in seeking a reduction of tensions, or whether Russia is trying to exploit the fear of war in the hope of turning a complex situation to her advantage.

Not only the Soviet Union but also Communist China is fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East. Arab terrorists are being trained in Peking. Chinese "button" mines, mortars, rockets, and other weapons used against U.S. forces in Viet Nam have emerged in the Arab guerrilla assaults against Israel. Arab guerrilla leaders have openly proclaimed that they will reject any peace settlement that might be reached by the Big Four or signed by King Hussein or President Nasser.

Citing Chairman Mao of Communist China as their inspiration, the Arab terrorists have proclaimed a so-called war of national liberation in the Middle East. Their aim is the liquidation of Israel.

The Fatah terrorists call themselves the Viet Cong of the Middle East.

But the Fatah is basically a terrorist organization and not really a guerrilla army. The size and terrain of Israel are such that 10 helicopters can keep the entire country under surveillance. Another way to put it is "there's no hiding place down there."

This is not said to minimize the importance of the Fatah but simply to place it in proper perspective.

Is peace possible in the Middle East? Are there any areas of possible agreement?

I have explored these questions diligently. I have reached some conclusions.

The two superpowers -- the United States and the Soviet Union -- do not run the world any longer.

There can be <u>no imposed settlement</u> in the Middle East, no matter what (more)

might be agreed upon in the Big Four talks. I can assure you there will be no imposed settlement.

There are those who say there <u>is</u> no answer to the problems of the Middle East. They throw up their hands and say there will never be peace there. I refuse to descend with them into that vale of despair.

The Israelis are a wonderfully brave and determined people. And so the Russians must recognize that they are not achieving what they want in the Middle East. The Soviets have to ask themselves...how many times do we go through another Soviet-Arab fiasco like the six-day war? They also have to ask themselves...do we want to risk a nuclear confrontation with the United States?

And so it is possible that out of the Four-Power Talks on the Middle East will come a framework within which the Arab states will be willing to operate to reach a peace agreement with Israel.

Of this I can assure you -- Israel will not be sold out by the Nixon Administration. There will be no Munich in the Middle East. Israel will not become another Czechoslovakia.

Let me reiterate that the Republican leadership of the U.S. House of Representatives identifies with your concerns. We are committed to the growth of Israel-American friendship. We share your aspirations for the preservation of freedom and justice for all.

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