The original documents are located in Box D32, folder "Cleveland Region, Zionist Organization of America, Cleveland, OH, March 19, 1972" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

## **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

AMERICA, CLEVELAND, OHIO, 4 P.M.
SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1972.

MARCH 19, 1972.

AS AN INDIVIDUAL, I AM DEEPLY HONORED TO BE SELECTED BY THE CLEVELAND REGION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA AS THE SECOND ANNUAL RECIPIENT OF THE RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AWARD. AS THE LEADER OF MY PARTY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, I WISH TO ACCEPT THIS AWARD NOT ONLY IN MY OWN NAME BUT ON BEHALF OF ALL THOSE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS WHO CHERISH THE MEMORY OF RABBI SILVER AND THE HISTORIC ROLE HE PLAYED IN BRINGING ABOUT A CONFLUENCE IN THE GREAT STREAMS OF ZIONISM AND AMERICANISM.

REPUBLICAN TO BE SELECTED FOR THIS AWARD.

Menters 2 The SENATE AND HOUSE REPUBLICANS NOW SHARE IN THIS HONOR IN VIEW OF THE PRESENTATION LAST YEAR TO THE DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM OHIO, BOB TAFT. MY PARTY REMEMBERS --WITH REVERENCE AND AFFECTION -- THE SACRED BLESSINGS INVOKED ON OUR NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS BY RABBI SILVER WHEN HE LED US IN PRAYER. HIS SPIRIT WILL CONTINUE TO GUIDE US.

I AM MOVED BY THE RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AWARD AND THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMEMORATING THE HISTORIC ROLE OF DR. SILVER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONS. IT WOULD BE FITTING TO CELEBRATE THIS COMING YEAR, THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL, WITH A GESTURE HONORING DR. SILVER.

THE UNIQUE CELEBRATION OF THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL THAT I PROPOSE WOULD GIVE NEW DIMENSION AND MEANING TO THE RELATIONSHIP LINKING OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IT WOULD BE IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

GOVERNMENT TAKE ACTION BY THE SILVER
ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL IN 1973 TO RECOGNIZE
JERUSALEM AS THE HISTORIC AND LAWFUL
CAPITAL OF ISRAEL BY MOVING THE UNITED
STATES EMBASSY FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM.
IT HAS BECOME ANACHRONISTIC AND EVEN AN
IMPEDIMENT TO A REGIONAL PEACE SETTLEMENT
FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE
MAINTAINING THE FICTION THAT JERUSALEM IS
NOT THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS LOCATED IN JERUSALEM. THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT, THE OFFICES OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT, AND THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTRY AND OTHER AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT ARE IN JERUSALEM. JERUSALEM IS THE HISTORIC, BIBLICAL, AND REVERED CAPITAL OF THE JEWISH NATION. THE RE-BORN STATE OF ISRAEL, APPROACHING ITS SILVER ANNIVERSARY, HAS ESTABLISHED ITS PERMANENCE TO THE EXTENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE CAPITAL CITY OF ISRAEL, JERUSALEM, AND MOVE OUR EMBASSY TO THE CITY DESIGNATED BY THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ISRAEL AS ITS CAPITAL.

ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE
REACHED A POINT WHEREIN IT IS ABSURD TO GO
ON WITH THE OLD, MAKESHIFT ARRANGEMENT OF

MAINTAINING OUR EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV IN
DEFIANCE OF THE FACTS OF LIFE. TO
CONTINUE WITH THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT
MIGHT TEND TO INDICATE THAT THERE IS
SOMETHING TEMPORARY ABOUT THE LOCATION OF
ISRAEL'S CAPITAL. THIS SITUATION DOES NOT
ENCOURAGE THE ARABS TO TRANSLATE THE
PRESENT CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS INTO A
PERMANENT AND LASTING PEACE.

IT IS EMBARRASSING TO THE STATE
OF ISRAEL AND TO OUR AMBASSADOR IN
TEL AVIV WHEN HE HAS TO RIDE BACK AND
FORTH FROM ONE CITY TO ANOTHER TO MAINTAIN
A DIPLOMATIC MYTH. BY MOVING OUR EMBASSY
TO JERUSALEM, WE WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR
FRIENDSHIP HAS REACHED THE PHASE IN WHICH
WE ACCEPT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO DESIGNATE HER
CAPITAL.

PRESIDENT NIXON SET AN EXAMPLE
OF REVIEWING DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS AND

RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN PEKING. WE CAN DO NO LESS WITH A NATION WITH WHOM WE HAVE ENJOYED A CLOSE FRIENDSHIP IN THIS LAST QUARTER-CENTURY. I HOPE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON, BY THE YEAR 1973, GOES TO JERUSALEM TO DEDICATE A NEW UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN THAT CITY, A CITY OF GOD AND MAN, A CITY PRECIOUS TO ALL AMERICANS, CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH ALIKE, A CITY THAT WE CAN VERY APPROPRIATELY RECOGNIZE AS A WORLD CAPITAL DEVOTED TO THE IDEAL OF PEACE AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN UNDER THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

TO OUR SECRETARY OF STATE. WE REMAIN
MINDFUL, HOWEVER, OF THE SPIRITUAL AND
UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JERUSALEM AND
ITS SACRED MEANING TO THREE FAITHS -CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM (ISS-LOM), AND JUDAISM.

THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND THAT THE STATE OF ISRAEL WILL RESPECT THE RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVING THE HOLY SHRINES OF OTHER FAITHS, THE ACCESS TO SUCH SHRINES, AND RELATED FACTORS OF INTERFAITH CONCERN.

AS WE APPROACH THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL, A NEW ASSESSMENT OF ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS IN ORDER. WE HAVE MOVED MUCH CLOSER TOGETHER IN THE WAKE OF THE SIX DAY WAR OF 1967. THERE IS CONCERN LEST ISRAEL WIN THE WAR BUT LOSE THE PEACE. THERE WAS FEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT SELL ISRAEL DOWN THE RIVER, THAT ISRAEL MIGHT BE FORCED TO MAKE ONE-SIDED CONCESSIONS, THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT NOT PROVIDE THE REQUIRED PHANTOM JETS AND OTHER ARMS TO MAINTAIN THE ESSENTIAL MILITARY BALANCE.

PRO-COMMUNIST ARAB GUERRILLAS
WERE A DANGEROUS FACTOR. THE SOVIET ROLE
WAS UNPREDICTABLE. SOVIET TROOPS AND
AIRMEN ARRIVED IN EGYPT. AN OMINOUS CRISIS
EXISTED ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL.

TODAY, IF I MAY BE PERMITTED, WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THE SILVER LINING. THE AMERICAN-INSPIRED CEASE-FIRE AT THE SUEZ CANAL HAS BROUGHT TWENTY MONTHS OF RESPITE FROM WARFARE ON THAT DANGEROUS FRONT.

WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED NOT ONLY FOR A STRONG AND SECURE ISRAEL BUT ALSO FOR A CREDIBLE AND POWERFUL UNITED STATES PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE PERSIAN GULF.

AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. WE CANNOT ALLOW A POWER VACUUM TO DEVELOP.

ISRAEL AND JORDAN ARE NOW SHOWING SIGNS OF BUILDING ON A SITUATION THAT WE

PRO-COMMUNIST ARAB GUERRILLAS
WERE A DANGEROUS FACTOR. THE SOVIET ROLE
WAS UNPREDICTABLE. SOVIET TROOPS AND
AIRMEN ARRIVED IN EGYPT. AN OMINOUS CRISIS
EXISTED ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL.

TODAY, IF I MAY BE PERMITTED, WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THE SILVER LINING. THE AMERICAN-INSPIRED CEASE-FIRE AT THE SUEZ CANAL HAS BROUGHT TWENTY MONTHS OF RESPITE FROM WARFARE ON THAT DANGEROUS FRONT.

WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED NOT ONLY FOR A STRONG AND SECURE ISRAEL BUT ALSO FOR A CREDIBLE AND POWERFUL UNITED STATES PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE PERSIAN GULF.

AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. WE CANNOT ALLOW A POWER VACUUM TO DEVELOP.

ISRAEL AND JORDAN ARE NOW SHOWING SIGNS OF BUILDING ON A SITUATION THAT WE

HOPE IS STABILIZING. A NEW EVOLUTION OF THINKING APPEARS TO BE BRINGING ISRAEL AND JORDAN CLOSER TOGETHER. AT LEAST, THE SHOOTING HAS STOPPED. LET US HOPE THAT TALKING IS POSSIBLE AND THAT PRODUCTIVE RESULTS MAY BE ACHIEVED BY THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY YEAR.

THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT BECOME
A SUBSTITUTE IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS FOR ANY
COUNTRY DIRECTLY INVOLVED. OUR
ADMINISTRATION IS CONVINCED THAT ISRAEL
MUST BE PERMITTED TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES
DIRECTLY WITH HER NEIGHBORS. THE FAILURE
TO MAKE BINDING AND CONTRACTUAL PEACE
AGREEMENTS IN 1949 RESULTED IN TWO
ADDITIONAL WARS -- 1956 AND 1967. THAT
MISTAKE MUST NOT BE REPEATED.

WE HAVE HELPED STABILIZE THE SITUATION THROUGH A MASSIVE NEW FLOW OF ISRAEL. IT BEGAN IN 1969. FROM THE YEAR 1969 TO THE END OF 1972 WE WILL HAVE PROVIDED ISRAEL WITH MORE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID THAN IN THE ENTIRE PERIOD FROM 1948 TO 1969. PRESIDENT NIXON HAS KEPT HIS WORD ON THE COMMITMENTS HE MADE IN 1968.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S

FOUR YEAR TOTAL OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY

ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL WILL BE LARGER THAN

THE COMBINED FIGURE FOR THE 20-YEAR PERIOD

OF 1948 THROUGH 1968. THIS IS A GOOD

RECORD FOR A GOOD CAUSE.

WE REALIZE THAT WE CANNOT
FORECAST THE OUTCOME OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S
TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS IN MOSCOW THIS MAY.
BUT WE ARE ALL FREE TO SPECULATE ON SOME
DEVELOPMENTS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE FLOW

FROM THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE. WHAT HAPPENS
IN MOSCOW MAY HAVE AN IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON
THE MIDDLE EAST, AN AREA OF GREAT STRATEGIC
CONCERN TO BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE
SOVIET UNION.

MOSCOW MUST UNDERSTAND THAT
MILITARY BLACKMAIL AND MANIPULATION WILL
NOT WORK AGAINST ISRAEL. SUCH AN
UNDERSTANDING WILL ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS
OF PEACE. UNCERTAINTY IS DANGEROUS. WE
HAVE CLARIFIED OUR STAND AND ARE CONTINUING
TO DO SO.

JUST AS THERE ARE CHANGES IN

OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, A LIVE-AND-LET-LIVE

ATTITUDE MAY GROW AMONG THE STATES OF THE

MIDDLE EAST. IF WASHINGTON AND PEKING

CAN EXPLORE CO-EXISTENCE, WHY NOT CAIRO

AND JERUSALEM?

PART OF THE WORLD IF OTHERS CONCLUDE THAT

AMERICA HAS GROWN WEAK AND IS WITHDRAWING FROM HER WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES. WHEN HE VISITED THE UNITED STATES SIXTH FLEET IN 1970, PRESIDENT NIXON TOLD NATO COMMANDERS OF OTHE PRIMARY INDISPENSABLE PRINCIPLE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY." IN THE PRESIDENT'S OWN WORDS, "THAT PRINCIPLE IS TO MAINTAIN THE NECESSARY STRENGTH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN TO PRESERVE THE PEACE AGAINST THOSE WHO MIGHT THREATEN THE PEACE."

WE HAVE NOT VOTED LARGE SUMS

FOR ISRAEL PURELY BECAUSE OF GENEROSITY OR

OUR ADMIRATION FOR THE JEWISH STATE OR

BECAUSE SO MANY JEWS DIED IN WORLD WAR TWO.

LET US BE FRANK ABOUT THAT. THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE, THROUGH THE CONGRESS, HAVE

SUPPORTED THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY

ON ISRAEL BECAUSE OUR POLICY IS IN THE

NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST OF THE UNITED

STATES.

OUR OBLIGATION AS A NATION IS TO OUR OWN SECURITY, FIRST AND FOREMOST. THE REASON WE HAVE SO STRONGLY BACKED ISRAEL GOES BEYOND THE JUSTICE OF ISRAEL'S CASE. THE DEFENSE OF ISRAEL IS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. OUR POLICY IS LINKED WITH THE FATE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE FUTURE OF NATO. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE DESIRE OF OUR NATION TO PRESERVE FREEDOM AND TO OPPOSE TOTALITARIANISM.

I REJECT THE POLITICAL LINE NOW

EMERGING THAT WE SHOULD RETURN TO

ISOLATIONISM AND REFUSE TO INVOLVE

OURSELVES WITH THE MIDDLE EAST. SOME NEW

LEFTISTS AND EXTREME LIBERALS HAVE

DISPLAYED COMPLETE INCONSISTENCY IN

PROCLAIMING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL WHILE

UNDERMINING THE ADMINISTRATION'S MILITARY

CAPABILITIES WORLD WIDE. THEY OPPOSE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND BETTER WEAPONS FOR THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM WHILE SAYING THAT THEY FAVOR THE PROVISION OF SUCH WEAPONS TO ISRAEL.

OF NEO-ISOLATIONISM. THE SOVIET UNION IS
EXPANDING ITS AGGRESSIVE MILITARY BUILD-UP
AND SENDING ITS ATOMIC SUBMARINES AND
WARSHIPS TO OUR COASTAL WATERS. WHEN WE
CEASE MISSILE RESEARCH AND STOP DEVELOPMENT
OF NEWER AND BETTER JETS, WE LESSEN OUR
CAPACITY TO AID ISRAEL. WE ALSO INVITE
AGGRESSION.

CREDIBLE WHEN HE SPEAKS IN MOSCOW OF OUR INTENTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE MUST HAVE A SIXTH FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN THAT IS PROVIDED WITH THE MOST EFFECTIVE

SHIPS AND PERSONNEL. THE RUSSIANS MUST ALSO KNOW THAT WE ARE CONTINUING DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. OTHERWISE, THEY WILL LOOK AT THE CHESS BOARD OF POWER AND FIND OUR MOVES LACKING IN CREDIBILITY.

THE PRESIDENT'S EMPHASIS IS NOT ON WAR OR MILITARISM. HE IS TERMINATING A PRE-EXISTING CONFLICT IN THE FAR EAST. HIS CONCENTRATION IS ON THE EMERGING.

STRUCTURE OF PEACE.

DESPITE OUR RESTRAINT IN MILITARY
SUPPLY OF ISRAEL, THE SOVIET UNION MADE
NEW PLEDGES AND SHIPMENTS OF ARMS TO EGYPT
DURING 1971. AT THE END OF THE YEAR,
PRESIDENT NIXON FELT OBLIGED TO REITERATE
THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT ALLOW
THE BALANCE TO BE UPSET. THE SOVIET UNION
IS CONTINUING TO BUILD UP ITS OWN MILITARY
FACILITIES IN EGYPT AND TO STATION

INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY THERE.
WE ARE NOW SENDING NEW ARMS TO ISRAEL.

PRESIDENT NIXON LAST MONTH REPORTED TO THE CONGRESS THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S EFFORT TO USE THE ARAB-ISRAEL! CONFLICT TO PERPETUATE AND EXPAND ITS OWN MILITARY POSITION IN EGYPT HAS BEEN A MATTER OF CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES.39 HE POINTED OUT THAT, THE USSR HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF EGYPT'S INCREASING DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET MILITARY SUPPLY TO GAIN THE USE OF NAVAL AND AIR FACILITIES IN EGYPT. THIS HAS SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STABILITY OF THE BALANCE OF POWER LOCALLY, REGIONALLY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, AND GLOBALLY." THE SOVIET UNION RECENTLY

INTRODUCED INTO EGYPT THE FOXBAT AND OTHER ADVANCED MIG AIRCRAFT AND THE SA-6 MOBILE.

SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES. THEY HAVE ALSO

BROUGHT IN <u>TU-16</u> BOMBERS EQUIPPED WITH LONG-RANGE AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES. MUCH OF THIS EQUIPMENT IS OPERATED EXCLUSIVELY BY SOVIET MILITARY PERSONNEL.

ACCORDING TO WHAT THE PRESIDENT TOLD CONGRESS ABOUT THIS DEVELOPMENT, I CONCLUDED THAT HE MIGHT VERY WELL TELL THE RUSSIANS HOW THEY CAN BEST AVOID A MAJOR CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS BY RESTRAINT IN ARMS SUPPLY TO EGYPT, BY REFRAINING FROM EXPLOITATION OF THE DISPUTE TO ENHANCE THE SOVIET MILITARY POSITION, AND BY ENCOURAGING THE NEGOTIATION OF PEACE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS IN THE PAST ATTEMPTED TO DRAW A FINAL POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL BLUEPRINT, INCLUDING FINAL BOUNDARIES, INSTEAD OF COOPERATING IN A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.

THE PRESIDENT REMAINS CONVINCED
THAT THERE MUST BE AN UNDERSTANDING WITH
MOSCOW ON THE LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE SOVIET
BEHAVIOR IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A SECURE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST REQUIRES STABLE RELATIONS ON TWO LEVELS -- ACCOMMODATION WITHIN THE REGION AND A BALANCE AMONG THE POWERS OUTSIDE.

ISRAEL HAS REMINDED US THAT THE INDIAN-PAKISTANI WAR DEMONSTRATED THE IMPOTENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. I CAN ACCEPT THE ISRAELI POSITION THAT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS AND MEANS FOR SECURITY.

AS OUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO SEEK NEW PATTERNS OF ORDER AND A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL STABILITY, NEW RELATIONSHIPS MUST BE SHAPED. I AM VERY PLEASED BY THE NEW RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL.

SATISFACTION THAT JEWS IN SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS ARE NOW ABLE TO EMIGRATE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. I HAVE MADE KNOWN MY CONVICTION THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD KEEP THE SOVIET UNION AWARE OF AMERICAN OPINION ON THIS COMPELLING HUMANITARIAN ISSUE.

AS WE MOVE TOWARD ISRAEL'S SILVER
ANNIVERSARY, WE ARE AWARE OF THIS
ADMINISTRATION'S DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN
THE CEASE-FIRE, TO KEEP A MILITARY BALANCE,
TO OFFER ANY HELP DESIRED IF THE PARTIES
ACHIEVE AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT, AND TO
IMPRESS UPON THE SOVIET UNION THAT
STRATEGIC RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS
INCOMPATIBLE WITH REGIONAL PEACE AND
U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO A SILVER
ANNIVERSARY IN WHICH A REAL PEACE WILL
FREE THE ENERGIES AND RESOURCES OF THE
MIDDLE EAST FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS. THE UNITED STATES HOPES FOR
A NEW ERA OF CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS AND
ALL PEOPLES.

AS THIS YEAR'S RECIPIENT OF THE SILVER AWARD, I LOOK FORWARD, IN THE WORDS OF THE HEBREW PRAYER, TO WNEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM.

\$6 copies uf Mr. T. only Office Copy

> ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH. REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BEFORE THE CLEVELAND REGION, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

4 P.M. SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1972

## FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M. SUNDAY

As an individual, I am deeply honored to be selected by the Cleveland Region of the Zionist Organization of America as the second annual recipient of the Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Award. As the leader of my party in the House of Representatives, I wish to accept this award not only in my own name but on behalf of all those members of the Congress who cherish the memory of Rabbi Silver and the historic role he played in bringing about a confluence in the great streams of Zionism and Americanism.

It appears that I am the second Republican to be selected for this award. Senate and House Republicans now share in this honor in view of the presentation last year to the distinguished senator from Ohio, Bob Taft. My party remembers-with reverence and affection -- the sacred blessings invoked on our national political conventions by Rabbi Silver when he led us in prayer. His spirit will continue to guide us.

I am moved by the Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Award and the importance of commemorating the historic role of Dr. Silver in the development of Israeli-American relations. It would be fitting to celebrate this coming year, the 25th anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel, the Silver Anniversary of Israel, with a gesture honoring Dr. Silver.

The unique celebration of the Silver Anniversary of Israel that I propose would give new dimension and meaning to the relationship linking our two countries. It would be in the service of peace and the normalization of relations among the peoples of the world.

I propose that the United States Government take action by the Silver Anniversary of Israel in 1973 to recognize Jerusalem as the historic and lawful capital of Israel by moving the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. It has become anachronistic and even an impediment to a regional peace settlement for the United States to continue maintaining the fiction that Jerusalem is not the capital of Israel.

(more)

The Government of Israel is located in Jerusalem. The Israeli parliament, the offices of the prime minister and president, and the Israeli Foreign Ministry and other agencies of government are in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the historic, biblical, and revered capital of the Jewish nation. The re-born State of Israel, approaching its Silver Anniversary, has established its permanence to the extent that our government should recognize the capital city of Israel, Jerusalem, and move our embassy to the city designated by the sovereign state of Israel as its capital.

Israeli-American relations have reached a point wherein it is absurd to go on with the old, makeshift arrangement of maintaining our embassy in Tel Aviv in defiance of the facts of life. To continue with the present arrangement might tend to indicate that there is something temporary about the location of Israel's capital. This situation does not encourage the Arabs to translate the present cease-fire arrangements into a permanent and lasting peace.

It is embarrassing to the State of Israel and to our ambassador in Tel Aviv when he has to ride back and forth from one city to another to maintain a diplomatic myth. By moving our Embassy to Jerusalem, we will demonstrate that our friendship has reached the phase in which we accept Israel's right to designate her capital.

President Nixon set an example of reviewing diplomatic contacts and relations with the Chinese government in Peking. We can do no less with a nation with whom we have enjoyed a close friendship in this last quarter-century. I hope that President Nixon, by the year 1973, goes to Jerusalem to dedicate a new United States Embassy in that city, a city of God and man, a city precious to all Americans, Christian and Jewish alike, a city that we can very appropriately recognize as a world capital devoted to the ideal of peace and the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I intend to make my views known to our Secretary of State. We remain mindful, however, of the spiritual and universal significance of Jerusalem and its sacred meaning to three faiths—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. There is no question in my mind that the State of Israel will respect the religious considerations involving the holy shrines of other faiths, the access to such shrines, and related factors of interfaith concern.

As we approach the Silver anniversary of Israel, a new assessment of Israeli-American relations is in order. We have moved much closer together in the (more)

wake of the Six Day War of 1967. There is concern lest Israel win the war but lose the peace. There was fear that the United States might sell Israel down the river, that Israel might be forced to make one sided concessions, that the United States might not provide the required Phantom jets and other arms to maintain the essential military balance.

Pro-Communist Arab guerrillas were a dangerous factor. The Soviet role was unpredictable. Soviet troops and airmen arrived in Egypt. An ominous crisis existed along the Suez Canal.

Today, if I may be permitted, we are beginning to see the <u>silver</u> lining. The American-inspired cease-fire at the Suez Canal has brought twenty months of respite from warfare on that dangerous front.

We have recognized the need not only for a strong and secure Israel but also for a credible and powerful United States presence in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf. American interests are at stake. We cannot allow a power vacuum to develop.

Israel and Jordan are now showing signs of building on a situation that we hope is stabilizing. A new evolution of thinking appears to be bringing Israel and Jordan closer together. At least, the shooting has stopped. Let us hope that talking is possible and that productive results may be achieved by the Silver anniversary year.

The United States has not become a substitute in peace negotiations for any country directly involved. Our administration is convinced that Israel must be permitted to settle differences directly with her neighbors. The failure to make binding and contractual peace agreements in 1949 resulted in two additional wars—1956 and 1967. That mistake must not be repeated.

We have helped stabilize the situation through a massive new flow of economic and military assistance to Israel. It began in 1969. From the year 1969 to the end of 1972 we will have provided Israel with more economic and military aid than in the entire period from 1948 to 1969. President Nixon has kept his word on the commitments he made in 1968.

The Nixon Administration's four year total of economic and military assistance to Israel will be larger than the combined figure for the 20-year period of 1948 through 1968. This is a good record for a good cause.

We realize that we cannot forecast the outcome of President Nixon's talks with the Russians in Moscow this May. But we are all free to speculate on some

developments that we would like to see flow from the summit conference. What happens in Moscow may have an immediate impact on the Middle East, an area of great strategic concern to both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Moscow must understand that military blackmail and manipulation will not work against Israel. Such an understanding will enhance the prospects of peace.

Uncertainty is dangerous. We have clarified our stand and are continuing to do so.

Just as there are changes in other parts of the world, a live-and-let-live attitude may grow among the states of the Middle East. If Washington and Peking can explore co-existence, why not Cairo and Jerusalem?

But peace will not come in any part of the world if others conclude that

America has grown weak and is withdrawing from her world responsibilities. When he

visited the United States Sixth Fleet in 1970, President Nixon told NATO commanders

of "the primary indispensable principle of American foreign policy." In the

president's own words, "that principle is to maintain the necessary strength in the

Mediterranean to preserve the peace against those who might threaten the peace."

We have not voted large sums for Israel purely because of generosity or our admiration for the Jewish state or because so many Jews died in World War Two. Let us be frank about that. The American people, through the Congress, have supported this administration's policy on Israel because our policy is in the national security interest of the United States.

Our obligation as a nation is to our own security, first and foremost. The reason we have so strongly backed Israel goes beyond the justice of Israel's case. The defense of Israel is very important to the security of the United States. Our policy is linked with the fate of the Mediterranean and the future of NATO. It is consistent with the desire of our nation to preserve freedom and to oppose totalitarianism.

I reject the political line now emerging that we should return to isolationism and refuse to involve ourselves with the Middle East. Some new leftists and extreme liberals have displayed complete inconsistency in proclaiming support for Israel while undermining the administration's military capabilities world wide. They oppose the development of new and better weapons for the defense of freedom while saying that they favor the provision of such weapons to Israel.

We must resist the blandishments of neo-isolationism. The Soviet Union is expanding its aggressive military build-up and sending its atomic submarines and

warships to our coastal waters. When we cease missile research and stop development of newer and better jets, we lessen our capacity to aid Israel. We also invite aggression.

If President Nixon is to be credible when he speaks in Moscow of our intentions in the Middle East, we must have a Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean that is provided with the most effective ships and personnel. The Russians must also know that we are continuing defense research and development. Otherwise, they will look at the chess board of power and find our moves lacking in credibility.

The President's emphasis is not on war or militarism. He is terminating a pre-existing conflict in the Far East. His concentration is on the emerging structure of peace.

Despite our restraint in military supply of Israel, the Soviet Union made new pledges and shipments of arms to Egypt during 1971. At the end of the year, President Nixon felt obliged to reiterate that the United States would not allow the balance to be upset. The Soviet Union is continuing to build up its own military facilities in Egypt and to station increasingly sophisticated weaponry there. We are now sending new arms to Israel.

President Nixon last month reported to the Congress that "the Soviet Union's effort to use the Arab-Israeli conflict to perpetuate and expand its own military position in Egypt has been a matter of concern to the United States." He pointed out that "the USSR has taken advantage of Egypt's increasing dependence on Soviet military supply to gain the use of naval and air facilities in Egypt. This has serious implications for the stability of the balance of power locally, regionally in the Eastern Mediterranean, and globally."

The Soviet Union recently introduced into Egypt the FOXBAT and other advanced MIG aircraft and the SA-6 mobile surface-to-air missiles. They have also brought in TU-16 bombers equipped with long-range air-to-surface missiles. Much of this equipment is operated exclusively by Soviet military personnel.

According to what the President told Congress about this development, I concluded that he might very well tell the Russians how they can best avoid a major conflict in the Middle East. It is by restraint in arms supply to Egypt, by refraining from exploitation of the dispute to enhance the Soviet military position, and by encouraging the negotiation of peace. The Soviet Union has in the past attempted to draw a final political and territorial blueprint, including final

boundaries, instead of cooperating in a process of negotiation.

The President remains convinced that there must be an understanding with Moscow on the limits of acceptable Soviet behavior in the Middle East.

A secure peace in the Middle East requires stable relations on two levels--accommodation within the region and a balance among the powers outside.

Israel has reminded us that the Indian-Pakistani war demonstrated the impotence of the United Nations. I can accept the Israeli position that international guarantees are no substitute for the physical conditions and means for security.

As our Government continues to seek new patterns of order and a new era of international stability, new relationships must be shaped. I am very pleased by the new relationship developing between the United States and Israel.

It is also a source of satisfaction that Jews in substantial numbers are now able to emigrate from the Soviet Union. I have made known my conviction that the President should keep the Soviet Union aware of American opinion on this compelling humanitarian issue.

As we move toward Israel's Silver anniversary, we are aware of this administration's determination to maintain the cease-fire, to keep a military balance, to offer any help desired if the parties achieve an interim settlement, and to impress upon the Soviet Union that strategic rivalry in the Middle East is incompatible with regional peace and U.S.-Soviet relations.

I look forward to a Silver anniversary in which a real peace will free the energies and resources of the Middle East for economic and social progress.

The United States hopes for a new era of constructive and mutually beneficial relations with all nations and all peoples.

As this year's recipient of the Silver award, I look forward, in the words of the Hebrew prayer, to "next year in Jerusalem."

distribution! 30 Capies of Mr. Forly Mayrie Copy

ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BEFORE THE CLEVELAND REGION, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

4 P.M. SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1972

## FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M. SUNDAY

As an individual, I am deeply honored to be selected by the Cleveland Region of the Zionist Organization of America as the second annual recipient of the Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Award. As the leader of my party in the House of Representatives, I wish to accept this award not only in my own name but on behalf of all those members of the Congress who cherish the memory of Rabbi Silver and the historic role he played in bringing about a confluence in the great streams of Zionism and Americanism.

It appears that I am the second Republican to be selected for this award. Senate and House Republicans now share in this honor in view of the presentation last year to the distinguished senator from Ohio, Bob Taft. My party remembers—with reverence and affection—the sacred blessings invoked on our national political conventions by Rabbi Silver when he led us in prayer. His spirit will continue to guide us.

I am moved by the Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Award and the importance of commemorating the historic role of Dr. Silver in the development of Israeli-American relations. It would be fitting to celebrate this coming year, the 25th anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel, the Silver Anniversary of Israel, with a gesture honoring Dr. Silver.

The unique celebration of the Silver Anniversary of Israel that I propose would give new dimension and meaning to the relationship linking our two countries. It would be in the service of peace and the normalization of relations among the peoples of the world.

I propose that the United States Government take action by the Silver Anniversary of Israel in 1973 to recognize Jerusalem as the historic and lawful capital of Israel by moving the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. It has become anachronistic and even an impediment to a regional peace settlement for the United States to continue maintaining the fiction that Jerusalem is not the capital of Israel.

(more)

The Government of Israel is located in Jerusalem. The Israeli parliament, the offices of the prime minister and president, and the Israeli Foreign Ministry and other agencies of government are in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the historic, biblical, and revered capital of the Jewish nation. The re-born State of Israel, approaching its Silver Anniversary, has established its permanence to the extent that our government should recognize the capital city of Israel, Jerusalem, and move our embassy to the city designated by the sovereign state of Israel as its capital.

Israeli-American relations have reached a point wherein it is absurd to go on with the old, makeshift arrangement of maintaining our embassy in Tel Aviv in defiance of the facts of life. To continue with the present arrangement might tend to indicate that there is something temporary about the location of Israel's capital. This situation does not encourage the Arabs to translate the present cease-fire arrangements into a permanent and lasting peace.

It is embarrassing to the State of Israel and to our ambassador in Tel Aviv when he has to ride back and forth from one city to another to maintain a diplomatic myth. By moving our Embassy to Jerusalem, we will demonstrate that our friendship has reached the phase in which we accept Israel's right to designate her capital.

President Nixon set an example of reviewing diplomatic contacts and relations with the Chinese government in Peking. We can do no less with a nation with whom we have enjoyed a close friendship in this last quarter-century. I hope that President Nixon, by the year 1973, goes to Jerusalem to dedicate a new United States Embassy in that city, a city of God and man, a city precious to all Americans, Christian and Jewish alike, a city that we can very appropriately recognize as a world capital devoted to the ideal of peace and the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I intend to make my views known to our Secretary of State. We remain mindful, however, of the spiritual and universal significance of Jerusalem and its sacred meaning to three faiths—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. There is no question in my mind that the State of Israel will respect the religious considerations involving the holy shrines of other faiths, the access to such shrines, and related factors of interfaith concern.

As we approach the Silver anniversary of Israel, a new assessment of

Israeli-American relations is in order. We have moved much closer together in the

(more)

wake of the Six Day War of 1967. There is concern lest Israel win the war but lose the peace. There was fear that the United States might sell Israel down the river, that Israel might be forced to make one sided concessions, that the United States might not provide the required Phantom jets and other arms to maintain the essential military balance.

Pro-Communist Arab guerrillas were a dangerous factor. The Soviet role was unpredictable. Soviet troops and airmen arrived in Egypt. An ominous crisis existed along the Suez Canal.

Today, if I may be permitted, we are beginning to see the <u>silver</u> lining. The American-inspired cease-fire at the Suez Canal has brought twenty months of respite from warfare on that dangerous front.

We have recognized the need not only for a strong and secure Israel but also for a credible and powerful United States presence in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf. American interests are at stake. We cannot allow a power vacuum to develop.

Israel and Jordan are now showing signs of building on a situation that we hope is stabilizing. A new evolution of thinking appears to be bringing Israel and Jordan closer together. At least, the shooting has stopped. Let us hope that talking is possible and that productive results may be achieved by the Silver anniversary year.

The United States has not become a substitute in peace negotiations for any country directly involved. Our administration is convinced that Israel must be permitted to settle differences directly with her neighbors. The failure to make binding and contractual peace agreements in 1949 resulted in two additional wars--1956 and 1967. That mistake must not be repeated.

We have helped stabilize the situation through a massive new flow of economic and military assistance to Israel. It began in 1969. From the year 1969 to the end of 1972 we will have provided Israel with more economic and military aid than in the entire period from 1948 to 1969. President Nixon has kept his word on the commitments he made in 1968.

The Nixon Administration's four year total of economic and military assistance to Israel will be larger than the combined figure for the 20-year period of 1948 through 1968. This is a good record for a good cause.

We realize that we cannot forecast the outcome of President Nixon's talks with the Russians in Moscow this May. But we are all free to speculate on some

developments that we would like to see flow from the summit conference. What happens in Moscow may have an immediate impact on the Middle East, an area of great strategic concern to both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Moscow must understand that military blackmail and manipulation will not work against Israel. Such an understanding will enhance the prospects of peace.

Uncertainty is dangerous. We have clarified our stand and are continuing to do so.

Just as there are changes in other parts of the world, a live-and-let-live attitude may grow among the states of the Middle East. If Washington and Peking can explore co-existence, why not Cairo and Jerusalem?

But peace will not come in any part of the world if others conclude that

America has grown weak and is withdrawing from her world responsibilities. When he

visited the United States Sixth Fleet in 1970, President Nixon told NATO commanders

of "the primary indispensable principle of American foreign policy." In the

president's own words, "that principle is to maintain the necessary strength in the

Mediterranean to preserve the peace against those who might threaten the peace."

We have not voted large sums for Israel purely because of generosity or our admiration for the Jewish state or because so many Jews died in World War Two. Let us be frank about that. The American people, through the Congress, have supported this administration's policy on Israel because our policy is in the national security interest of the United States.

Our obligation as a nation is to our own security, first and foremost. The reason we have so strongly backed Israel goes beyond the justice of Israel's case. The defense of Israel is very important to the security of the United States. Our policy is linked with the fate of the Mediterranean and the future of NATO. It is consistent with the desire of our nation to preserve freedom and to oppose totalitarianism.

I reject the political line now emerging that we should return to isolationism and refuse to involve ourselves with the Middle East. Some new leftists and extreme liberals have displayed complete inconsistency in proclaiming support for Israel while undermining the administration's military capabilities world wide. They oppose the development of new and better weapons for the defense of freedom while saying that they favor the provision of such weapons to Israel.

We must resist the blandishments of neo-isolationism. The Soviet Union is expanding its aggressive military build-up and sending its atomic submarines and

(more)

warships to our coastal waters. When we cease missile research and stop development of newer and better jets, we lessen our capacity to aid Israel. We also invite aggression.

If President Nixon is to be credible when he speaks in Moscow of our intentions in the Middle East, we must have a Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean that is provided with the most effective ships and personnel. The Russians must also know that we are continuing defense research and development. Otherwise, they will look at the chess board of power and find our moves lacking in credibility.

The President's emphasis is not on war or militarism. He is terminating a pre-existing conflict in the Far East. His concentration is on the emerging structure of peace.

Despite our restraint in military supply of Israel, the Soviet Union made new pledges and shipments of arms to Egypt during 1971. At the end of the year, President Nixon felt obliged to reiterate that the United States would not allow the balance to be upset. The Soviet Union is continuing to build up its own military facilities in Egypt and to station increasingly sophisticated weaponry there. We are now sending new arms to Israel.

President Nixon last month reported to the Congress that "the Soviet Union's effort to use the Arab-Israeli conflict to perpetuate and expand its own military position in Egypt has been a matter of concern to the United States." He pointed out that "the USSR has taken advantage of Egypt's increasing dependence on Soviet military supply to gain the use of naval and air facilities in Egypt. This has serious implications for the stability of the balance of power locally, regionally in the Eastern Mediterranean, and globally."

The Soviet Union recently introduced into Egypt the FOXBAT and other advanced MIG aircraft and the SA-6 mobile surface-to-air missiles. They have also brought in TU-16 bombers equipped with long-range air-to-surface missiles. Much of this equipment is operated exclusively by Soviet military personnel.

According to what the President told Congress about this development, I concluded that he might very well tell the Russians how they can best avoid a major conflict in the Middle East. It is by restraint in arms supply to Egypt, by refraining from exploitation of the dispute to enhance the Soviet military position, and by encouraging the negotiation of peace. The Soviet Union has in the past attempted to draw a final political and territorial blueprint, including final

boundaries, instead of cooperating in a process of negotiation.

The President remains convinced that there must be an understanding with Moscow on the limits of acceptable Soviet behavior in the Middle East.

A secure peace in the Middle East requires stable relations on two levels--accommodation within the region and a balance among the powers outside.

Israel has reminded us that the Indian-Pakistani war demonstrated the impotence of the United Nations. I can accept the Israeli position that international guarantees are no substitute for the physical conditions and means for security.

As our Government continues to seek new patterns of order and a new era of international stability, new relationships must be shaped. I am very pleased by the new relationship developing between the United States and Israel.

It is also a source of satisfaction that Jews in substantial numbers are now able to emigrate from the Soviet Union. I have made known my conviction that the President should keep the Soviet Union aware of American opinion on this compelling humanitarian issue.

As we move toward Israel's Silver anniversary, we are aware of this administration's determination to maintain the cease-fire, to keep a military balance, to offer any help desired if the parties achieve an interim settlement, and to impress upon the Soviet Union that strategic rivalry in the Middle East is incompatible with regional peace and U.S.-Soviet relations.

I look forward to a Silver anniversary in which a real peace will free the energies and resources of the Middle East for economic and social progress.

The United States hopes for a new era of constructive and mutually beneficial relations with all nations and all peoples.

As this year's recipient of the Silver award, I look forward, in the words of the Hebrew prayer, to "next year in Jerusalem."