

'RUDDERLESS' U.S. POLICY IN MIDDLE EAST FACING SHIPWRECK, HUMPHREY WARNS

American diplomacy is "rudderless" in the Middle East, and threatened with a complete "shipwreck", Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) warned today.

Speaking before the ~~American Bakers Association in Chicago~~ *Israel Bond Dinner in Houston, Texas* on the topic,

"Where Are We Going?", Senator Humphrey declared:

"As far as the Middle East is concerned, that question can be answered with two words -- Nowhere, fast!

"We're already floundering among the rocks without guidance. Unless there is a drastic switch of emphasis, programming, and planning in the whole Middle East area, we may face a total policy shipwreck," Senator Humphrey declared.

"Instead of supplying affirmative, constructive leadership, the Administration has drifted and hesitated. Instead of anticipating and helping to mold events, the Administration has reacted unevenly and spasmodically to them. Instead of displaying real initiative in working with the struggling new nationalist governments of the region, we have unnecessarily inherited the enmity and suspicion once directed toward the colonial powers. Instead of winning the friendship of the 40 million people of the Middle East, we have relied excessively on military pacts, advance bases, and dramatically advertised arms shipments.

"Within a few short months we have had evidence of gradual estrangement from the United States of hitherto friendly Arab nations -- Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia; the growing unease in Israel about our policies; and deepening suspicion in neutralist countries about our motives and objectives.

"Adroit Soviet diplomacy and propaganda has made a shambles of the Eisenhower Doctrine. The only possibility of rescuing that doctrine and American Middle East policy generally is to face up to the challenges of that area in a variety of specific ways," Humphrey declared.

The Senator listed six specific suggestions:

(X) "1. We should strengthen the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East to use on the Turko-Syrian border if necessary. We should initiate proposals in the United Nations to place the United Nations police force on a continuing basis for permanent availability for service elsewhere as the United Nations may direct.

(X) "2. We should initiate proposals to end the arms race in the Middle East by an effective embargo against shipments from any outside source other than under United Nations auspices. To this end, we should seek the establishment by the United Nations General Assembly of a Special Commission on Arms Traffic, which Commission would be charged with responsibility for proposing early recommendations on regulating all flow of non-United Nations materiel into that region.

(X) "3. We should consider proposing a pilot project, open-skies aerial and ground inspection system over the Egyptian-Israeli-Jordanian-Syrian-Saudi Arabian border areas. Since many of these governments supported the 1955 United Nations resolution giving priority to these proposals on a wider scale, the same governments might be asked to assist in the reduction of tensions in their own areas, as well as help promote the usefulness of this concept for disarmament negotiations generally, by agreeing now to such a pilot mutual inspection system to be conducted by themselves or by outside parties as agreed upon.

(X) "4. We should recognize the critical importance of re-establishing the principle of free navigation on international waterways, specifically including free, unfettered access to the use of the Suez canal and the Gulf of

(over)

Agaba for the shipping of all nations. To this end, we should be taking the leadership in the United Nations where already existing resolutions in this matter remain to be implemented and reinforced.

"5. We should propose the establishment of a United Nations Good Offices Commission, whose purpose would be to reduce tensions in the Middle East by promoting direct negotiations between the current antagonists and mediating among them if direct negotiations prove to be impossible. The Commission should be specifically charged with unremitting exploration of the possibility of negotiations on the central problems of determination of boundaries, resettlement of Arab refugees from Israel and of Jewish refugees from Egypt and Syria, and the conclusion of treaties of peace.

"6. We should help break the stalemates of inertia and blockade by promoting dynamic projects to help raise living standards, strengthen economies, and encourage orderly social progress in the Middle East. We should reaffirm our interest and support for long-term regional economic development programs sufficiently broad to encompass multi-national river development projects for the Jordan, Nile, and Tigris-Euphrates river valley systems. Toward this end, we should take the initiative in the United Nations in proposing a Middle East Development Authority, as an administering agency for the mutual pooling of capital and technical aid in the region, the Board of Directors of which would contain representatives of all Middle Eastern States as well as of all other states furnishing capital aid and technical assistance.

"I consider these proposals to be sound, practicable and indicative of the positive approach which the United States must soon adopt," Humphrey stated. "It will take courage and daring to adopt such an approach in the Middle East.

"Without these qualities, however, we will continue to muddle, moralize, and probably miss the opportunity to be of constructive use in the Middle East. With these qualities, we can at least hope that our courage will be rewarded."

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