

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY AM's  
12/11/66

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL  
NEW YORK CITY  
DECEMBER 10, 1966

In 1946, after a long and full life, the poet Gertrude Stein lay dying in Paris. An old friend of hers came to her bedside, anxious to grasp the wisdom of a lifetime before it slipped away. "Gertrude," the friend said, "what is the answer?"

Miss Stein looked at her friend coldly, and replied, "What is the question?"

The American who looks ahead today faces a somewhat similar dilemma. Not only don't we have answers, but even the questions sometimes seem hard to figure out.

Up until recently this did not seem so.

For those of us who considered ourselves liberals, the question seemed sharp and clear: How do we help the aged? How do we help the low-income laborer? How do we help the Negro achieve equality? How do we provide medical security?

And the answers were clear also: social security, minimum wages, civil rights laws, medicare -- the whole range of what has since been called "social welfare liberalism."

Now we find we have these things -- these things we have fought for over the past 35 years.

The unfinished tasks, of course, are monumental: To rebuild our cities, to banish poverty, to make full equality of opportunity a full reality.

There are some epic struggles ahead, but I have no hesitation in saying to you that we can, and we will, win what remains of the social welfare war.

Using the framework we have finally built, I believe we shall overcome.

But what comes next?

When the New Deal arrived in 1932, more than half of all Americans were living at standards that today we would define as poverty.

As a contrast, you may note that the projections show that in the 1970's more than half of American families with young children will own two cars.

A family with two cars does not particularly have a direct and personal stake in much of the program of "social welfare liberalism."

Such a family will likely have good medical care with or without Medicare. The children will go to college with or without a program of federal scholarship aids.

Rebuilding the cities is of highest priority -- but this family likely lives on a landscaped quarter-acre in the suburbs.

For these Americans, what does come next?

A good share of America -- a share approaching a majority -- is today a society in search of a motive . . . a society in search of a question that leads to a purposeful answer.

With a firm purpose, we are everything. But irresolute, malcontent, aimless, we can become very little, very quickly.

Tonight I would like to explore three possible questions that may provide the stimulus to move us forward in the decades to come . . . even as we continue with the unfinished business of today.

The first question is this: Can America lead the way to a peaceful international order and well-being?

This is an age-old dream. Today, perhaps for the first time in human history, it seems feasible.

For America, and Americans, our striving for peace has an added bonus: It is a question that can hold our energy for a hundred years and more.

For if we can say that we can and will cure the major social and human illnesses of our own nation, the same cannot be said with any certainty of the world at large.

A world in which "nation shall not lift up sword against nation" has never existed.

Nor has a world ever existed in which God's blessings were truly and justly shared by his children, and in which the rule of peaceful law prevailed.

Yet I am convinced that, unless that kind of world is achieved, there is no long-term hope for the human family -- not with the powerful destructive weapons now at man's disposal.

I believe that both our spiritual and political beliefs -- and the weight of our power among nations -- dictate that we as a nation must lead in the search for such a world.

If we do not, we lessen both ourselves and our beliefs.

We have begun that search. But we have barely begun.

The international space treaty agreed upon this week is one of the most important steps toward peace that has taken place in our decade. We can be proud and grateful of the leadership that our great Jurist and Ambassador (and good friend), Arthur Goldberg, gave to this effort.

Our government is making every effort toward lessening of tensions wherever possible. We are striving for a nuclear non-proliferation agreement. We seek to strengthen our trade relationships with Eastern Europe. We seek an honorable end to the conflict in Vietnam. Yes, we seek the building of peaceful bridges to the people of mainland China and the Communist states of Asia.

We recognize, too, the great potential for conflict which exists in the Middle East. And there, too, our policy is unmistakably clear: We will energetically oppose aggression there which would threaten the peace. As part of that objective, the United States is committed to the integrity of Israel as a free and independent state. That is our position.

These are some of the beginnings in this long search for peace which lies ahead.

There is another question: Can we know our universe?

An English astronomer was recently asked whether he thought life existed elsewhere in the universe.

He thought for a moment and said, "Sometimes I think it does. Sometimes I think it does not. In either event, it is a staggering idea."

And so it is with scientific activity in many fields today.

It is staggering no matter which way you turn. We face an era when space travel will be commonplace . . .when the human control of human genetics will be far more than a fantasy . . .when new sources of energy and of food and of water will be developed day by day.

In part, science will provide the wherewithal for the international development that will be coming.

But science can do more for us as we approach the keys to age-old riddles of man.

It, too, can provide our society with another motive drive.

Countless generations have grown up knowing that they would one day test their manhood, or their nationhood, at the point of a spear or at the barrel of a rifle.

Today that concept is far too dangerous to pursue. I believe that science carries with it the depth of adventure to become William James' "moral equivalent" -- if we truly give ourselves to the task.

Finally, there is a third question that is inter-related with the other two.

It is this: Can we, in our own America, achieve excellence along with abundance? (If we cannot, we shall certainly fail to answer the first two questions.)

Every society has produced some great men -- statesmen and artists, musicians and poets. But no society on earth has ever had the opportunity that we have: To provide the conditions for greatness and excellence to all our citizens. That is what we have within our sight in the United States -- the ability to let every man go as far as he can to enlarge himself. (That, after all, is what the New World was originally all about. America, to begin with, was not a place, but an opportunity. No one knows this more than the men and women of Jewish faith who have given so much to our land.)

Now, it is one thing to say that we want excellence, that we want men to be able to push out as far as the human spirit will let them go -- and it is entirely another thing to translate that thought into action.

I, for one, do not doubt that there is some truth in the thesis that physical security and well-being -- without accompanying moral and intellectual growth -- can lead to inner destruction of the most-advanced society.

Many of us know Ray Bradbury's brilliant story Fahrenheit 451 (Fahrenheit 451, by the way is the temperature at which books burn) -- a story which projects a future society in which "social welfare," in its superficial aspects, has been all but completely achieved . . .a society of well-tended lawns . . .modern homes . . . and electronic gadgets. It is a society of every conceivable comfort, yet one in which human individuality and higher instincts are lost . . . a society in which books are burned.

I do not believe that our American Society is destined for burial with a television antenna for a headstone. Nor do I believe that ours is a society in which books will ever be burned -- although it has happened elsewhere.

But I do believe that we must recognize the seeds of trouble which lie within a society of the satisfied, a community of the complacent.

And we must strive within ourselves not only to finish the work we are in, but to reach far beyond it to the greater questions lying beyond.

My old friend Adlai Stevenson put it in these words: "With the supermarket as our temple and the singing commercial as our litany, are we likely to fire the world with an irresistible vision of America's exalted purposes and inspiring way of life?"

If our temple and our litany are only those, they will inspire nothing in the end but contempt.

But if we use the blessings God has bestowed upon us -- and the blessings we have created -- our nation, as no other, has the chance to lead man toward the world of peace and hope that has been his dream.

We are beginning, in our own nation, at long last to provide the human betterment, the equal justice -- yes, the "social welfare," that we have sought for many years.

To those who ask, what next? I reply: All the rest.

#####

*Mr. Rosen*

REMARKS *Chr. → Mr. Louis Pincus*  
*Sunche → Max Fisher*

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL  
NEW YORK CITY  
DECEMBER 10, 1966

*Mintell* Abba Eban  
Amf Harman  
Amf Comay

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Gertrude Stein lay dying in Paris. An old friend of hers  
came to her bedside, anxious to grasp the wisdom of a  
lifetime before it slipped away. "Gertrude," the friend  
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*in her wise and witty fashion,*  
Miss Stein looked at her friend coldly, and replied,  
"What is the question?"

The American who looks ahead today faces a  
somewhat similar dilemma. Not only don't we have <sup>all the</sup> answers,  
but even the questions sometimes seem hard to figure out.

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Change - Fantastic Change -  
Science + Technology  
✓ Computer 17 yrs -  
Space Caps 5 yrs - John Glenn

Keep.

For those of us who considered ourselves liberals, the question <sup>seemed</sup> sharp and clear: How do we help the aged? How do we help the low-income ~~laborer~~ <sup>worker</sup>? How do we help the Negro achieve equality? How do we provide medical security? <sup>for the elderly.</sup>

And the answers were clear also: social security, minimum wages, civil rights laws, medicare -- the whole range of what has since been called "social welfare liberalism."

Now we find we have these things -- these things we have fought for over the past 35 years.

Yet <sup>the</sup> unfinished tasks, of course, are monumental: To rebuild our cities, to banish poverty, to make full equality of opportunity a full reality. -- Require our total effort

There are some epic struggles ahead, but I have no hesitation in saying to you that we can, and we will, win what remains of the social welfare war.

Together  
Govt, and the Private enterprise,  
\$

↳ Using the framework we have finally built, I believe we shall overcome. —

↳ But what comes next?

↳ When the New Deal arrived in 1933, more than half <sup>1/2</sup> of all Americans were living at standards that today we would define as poverty.

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↳ Such a family will likely have good medical care with or without Medicare. The children will go to college with or without a program of federal scholarship aids.

↳ Rebuilding the cities is of highest priority -- but ~~the~~ <sup>most</sup>

*American families will*

*family likely lives on a landscaped quarter-acre in the suburbs,*

*or in good neighborhoods in the better areas of our cities.*

*and* For these Americans, what does come next?

↳ A good share of America -- a share approaching a majority -- is today a society in search of a motive ... a society in search of a question that leads to a purposeful answer!

↳ With a firm purpose, we are everything! But irresolute, malcontent, aimless, we can become very little, <sup>-nothing-</sup> very quickly.

*We are what we will be*

*Israel!  
USA*

⊗

Tonight I would like to explore three possible questions that may provide the stimulus to move us forward in the decades to come ... even as we continue with the unfinished business of today.

*Future*

*To the future*

↳ The first question is this: Can America lead the way to a peaceful international order and well-being?

*Key*

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*and  
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nuclear Test Ban Treaty

U. Nations -

Peace Corps - AID etc



National Survival  
- Precedes International Popularity

① Cannot Submit to Force  
for Pol. Solutions

↳ Guerrilla War

↳ Terrorism

↳ Middle East

↳ S.E. Asia

↳ Vietnam

↳ Thailand

↳ Jass

safety and

the United States is committed to the integrity of Israel as a

free and independent state. That is our position.

<sup>has been</sup> <sup>continues to</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>policy</sup>

It continues to be our position. - Israel is a friend!

These are some of the beginnings in this long

search for peace which lies ahead. -

Peace Builders - makes

Take time - Patience - Perseverance

Nation Building Takes Time, Will -  
Perseverance and help.

USA - Help for Americans  
Help for Israel -

new immigrants - social absorption

Jobs + Job Training -

Educ + youth employment

Difficult Tasks.

Your Part  
in USA

In prophetic tradition, each one of us must be able to look to himself and say in the words of the prophet Nathan - Thou art the Man!

an interesting question - Can America lead  
the way to a peaceful world  
order -

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#13  
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*Improve Quality of our lives!*

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↳ That is what we have within our sight in the United States -- the ability to let every man go as far as he can to enlarge himself. (That, after all, is what the New World was originally all about. America, to begin with, was not a place, but an opportunity. No one knows this more than the men and women of Jewish faith who have given so much to our land.)

America

⊗ Thomas Wolfe

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*Restless Energy - Idealism + Idealists - are needed for freedom.*

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↳ In years ahead scientific and technological progress will not be enough to sustain the spirit of civilization or the functioning of a democratic society.

↳ The vision of the poet and the philosopher, the humanist and the historian are needed to stimulate what Shakespeare called the "better angels of our nature."

↳ Without these to guide us, we can create in our society the faceless men of an Orwellian world, men whose sole distinction lies in their similarity to one another.

② Atta Eham - Eloquence  
+ Vice President -

Decl. of Israel For. Policy  
+ Nat Security -

The Danger of Aggression  
o its new forms

The need of respect  
for Territorial  
Integrity. -

U.N Charter -

- Promote Self Determination
- resist Aggression

Mr Louis Bensus

Israel - Troubles -

Social Absorption

2 Societies - no -

Rising Expectations

Israel  
Position  
in  
World  
Order

America - our Problems too  
The unemployed the weak  
The untrained Adult  
The untrained youth  
those from other cultures

the two (2) Americas

2 worlds  
Rich + Poor

Israel + U.S.  
Great Society

18th Anniv Birth of Israel

18 - Chai - "Life" -

Good news - Israel lives 18 yrs

Israel - alive!

State of Israel - exciting story  
"Life, our future, our sacred home"

Mr Louis Pincus

Powerful Address

Minister Abba Eban

But if we use the blessings God has bestowed upon us -- and the blessings we have created -- our nation, as no other, has the chance to lead man toward the world of peace and hope that has been his dream.

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↳ To those who ask, what next? I reply: All the rest.

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