

"first rate out!"

Something happened to me on way to WH - I seemed to have detoured to Cleveland

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Jewish Welfare Fund
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

- Max Axelrod
- ~~Max Axelrod~~
- Edina Weiner
- Cong. Char Vank
- Harry Stone
- Eddie Ginsberg

Day 1

1st day in 24 years a Private Citizen
Crashin - who made you
I don't know
I ain't done yet.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

JANUARY 22, 1969

Professor

Yesterday at 12 noon on the steps of the United States

My school
for
for
for

Capitol we concluded the smoothest and most efficient period of Presidential transition in American history. (This was no small achievement -- even if we almost took it for granted.

In these revolutionary times it is noteworthy and significant that once again the immense power of the American Presidency has been transferred without difficulty or challenge.

This process necessarily tests -- however implicitly -- the nature of our commitment to our constitutional system

Pres Mon. Delmar Des Speck

Been many things but never before a former V.A.

And the American people have the obligation, regardless of party, to work with and support the new administration in the quest of these goals -- for who does not yearn for their realization?

② Yesterday we began a new Presidency and a new administration.

④ Every American wishes them success as they continue the difficult task of making democracy work in these challenging times.

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REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

CLEVELAND, OHIO

JANUARY 22, 1969

Yesterday at 12 noon on the steps of the United States Capitol we concluded the smoothest and most efficient period of Presidential transition in American history. This was no small achievement -- even if we almost took it for granted.

In these revolutionary times it is noteworthy and significant that once again the immense power of the American Presidency has been transferred without difficulty or challenge.

This process necessarily tests -- however implicitly -- the nature of our commitment to our constitutional system

and to the very concept of democratic government. For the people to speak -- for the election to be decided -- and then to encounter obstacles and problems in the transfer of power would raise profound questions about the viability of our democratic enterprise.

So when a new President rises to take the oath of office, this is more than just one man personally pledging to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. This act signifies that our democratic covenant has been renewed -- that our faith in the democratic process is intact -- and that we are fundamentally a united and free people.

This was our message to the world on Inauguration Day 1969.

Once again we achieved what all mankind truly seeks -- the chance to decide our destiny through free and open choice of the people. And in a world full of tragedy and abandoned dreams, we cannot afford to let these moments of celebration slip by without due notice.

But in our celebration of the successful transfer of political power, we know that many of our past challenges and problems remain. The Nixon-Agnew administration will need -- and, I am confident, will receive -- the support of every American in the coming days.

The problems of war and peace remain, particularly in Vietnam and in the Middle East. The challenge of bringing these conflicts to a peaceful conclusion surely ranks at the top of the new administration's agenda.

In the Presidential campaign I set forth my views on the necessary elements for a permanent peace in the Middle East. They are, in my opinion, equally applicable today.

1. The existence of the State of Israel must be accepted by all of its neighbors.
2. The fragile, often-violated truce lines must be transformed into agreed and secure boundaries.
3. The State of Israel must have free navigational rights in all international waters, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.
4. The arms race, which breeds insecurity as it feeds on hostility, must be finally terminated.
5. The international community must assist the countries immediately concerned in solving the human tragedy posed by the Arab refugees.

6. The resources of the Middle East countries must be used primarily for human and economic development rather than war and destruction.

The obstacles to translating these generalities into workable specifics are formidable, particularly in an atmosphere of rising hate and hostility. But we cannot slacken our determination to push forward toward a stable and lasting peace in this critically important area of the world.

We know many other issues that will command the attention of the new administration and the sympathetic concern of the American people.

We must -- and I am confident we will -- push on with the urgent work of limiting the spread of nuclear weapons on this planet and, then of progressively reducing the numbers

of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons through enforceable arms control agreements.

The spectre of nuclear catastrophe hangs over mankind -- we cannot rest until this awesome destructive force has been shackled and the survival of the human race assured.

At home we know the agenda is long indeed.

We have begun a serious assault on the complex, interrelated problems which grip our cities. Programs such as Model Cities are just beginning to have a measureable impact. But we must push forward -- with an open mind, understanding that failures and disappointments are inevitable, but committed to a rebirth of our metropolitan areas.

We know that our nation will know no peace until racial justice is finally secured in this land. The easy victories

are behind us. Our attention is constantly diverted by the cries and threats of militant extremists.

Now is indeed the time for those persons who believe in an open, integrated, multi-racial society to stand up and speak out. For if we remain silent -- if we abandon the field to those who would destroy this country -- our nation will know nothing but torment and trouble in the days ahead.

We must frankly recognize the need for vastly increased resources to help our national, state and local law enforcement officials fight the rising tide of crime and lawlessness.

We must continue to expand our investments in education, health care, and job training programs. These are life-saving expenditures in the fullest meaning of that word.

A child is exposed to the wonders of education and the thrill of learning -- and truly a life is saved.

An expectant mother receives the proper pre-natal care and her child is born healthy -- and truly a life is saved.

A hard-core unemployed worker finds a steady job with good pay and the chance for further training and advancement -- and truly a life is saved.

An incoming administration will necessarily develop its own programs and policies in each of these areas. This is as it should be.

But the long-term goals remain the same, even as the Presidency changes hands -- the goals of peace and security abroad, justice and opportunity at home.

And the American people have the obligation, regardless of party, to work with and support the new administration in the quest of these goals -- for who does not yearn for their realization?

Yesterday we began a new Presidency and a new administration.

Every American wishes them success as they continue the difficult task of making democracy work in these challenging times.

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= RAW TRANSCRIPT =
HUBERT HUMPHREY'S REMARKS
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL DINNER
CLEVELAND, OHIO JAN. 21, 1967

Thank you Mr. Ginsberg. I wish that you'd introduce me more often. You seem to have an electric effect upon the audience. I'm very pleased and very happy to be in your home area and your community to share in this program with you as one of our national leaders. And we have shared the platform before, but tonight is a little special and I want to explain to you why it's a little special. First, let me pay my respects to Ed Weiner, your chairman for the evening, for this great drive. Every member of the committee and many of them have been introduced, and Harry, I would be remiss if I didn't thank you for your many kindnesses to me, Harry Stone, you've been awfully nice to me.

I do want to acknowledge the presence of one of the finest members of Congress. One of the most humanitarian and not only a man of great ideals and ideas -- he puts them to work -- that's Charlie Vanik.

Mr. Axelrod, I know that you spoke to an audience of friends and as you were speaking, I ~~XX~~ was informed that Cleveland has the record of them all. The top record, the most generous givers of all the givers throughout the U.S. That's a record you ought not to let down and I have a ~~XXXXX~~ feeling that you're going to take good care of it tonite. And I hope that you shall. I don't hesitate at all in putting in a little commercial. The boys over at the ~~XX~~ table are looking at me all the time saying "I expect him to do all right here tonight." I've gotten the word from Howard Metzenbaum - things are going to be all right and all the way around every one of you. And I've been busy jotting down some notes here, as I've listened to what you have to say and as we visited. I planned on being here much earlier today, but the weather conspired against us and as a former vice president you don't get the airfare airplane. But I'll let you fellow in on it -- those

~~XX~~ stewardesses beat those seargents. This is my first night out and I haven't been a free man for a long time and I want you to know I'd rather been a captive. I just want you to know that when I said a moment ago that when I was former vice president, I said it just ~~QXX~~ went thru my mind I've been called everything and I've been everything--teacher, mayor, and senator and vice president. This is the first time I've ever been former fice president. And I don't know whether I'm going to ~~YXX~~ like it or not but I'm going to try to make the best of it. ~~YXX~~ I'm very happy I can be here. Frankly, I was on my way to the White House and I got detoured into Cleveland. But I suppose if you're going to end up in the wrong place, this is as good a place as any. According to what I heard here, this is the best place in the country. I've begun to believe it since there wasn't room in the other place, I've begun to believe it. I think you may be right. I'll let you in on a little ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ intimacy of yesterday. We had a great ~~day~~ day in Washington, yesterday, and I want to talk to you a little bit about it. But the day went something like this --the ~~XXXXXX~~ first thing in the morning, about 8 o'clock, I went to a non-partisan objective affair called the meeting of the Democratic Governors. We had a fellow outside selling towels----and, after that I went back and got into my Republican unifor and then we journeyed over to the White House to meet with the President and Mrs. Johnson about ~~XXXX~~ 10:15, we had our escort, in my instance it was Senator Jordan of N.C. and the Honorable Carl Albert, the majority leader of the House of Oklahoma, and then the Vice President-Elect and his wife came to the White House and then the President-Elect, Mr. Nixon and his wife came to the White House and we have just a friendly little gathering there. As a matter of fact, it was one of the most pleasant occasions

that we had in the White House and I had a good chance to visit with the President-Elect and now our President, Mr. Nixon. We were standing over there along-side one of the windows; we were visiting about some things. We have several visits believe it or not and they have all been very friendly. ~~Part~~ Particularly, since the election...and ~~XXXX~~ he said to me "Hubert, how would you like to make my inaugural address?" I said, "Well, how long is it?" and he said "2,025 words". And I said "Well, I planned on making that address. But I guess maybe they changed actors at the last time, or participants, and I think maybe ~~XXXXXX~~ you'd better go along with it. You're a little more familiar with it." All said in good humor and good fellowship. ~~And~~ And we went on from there in the great limos~~es~~ and down Penn. Ave. and on to the Capitol.

Many people have asked me "What are you going to do?" And I thought I'd let you in on it. You know, I used to go around the country, ~~here~~; Your great State and talk to your young people in the universities and your high schools. In fact, during my vice presidency, I visited over 125 college campuses. Visited with the young people in what we call a sort of an economy budget "Meet the Press." Where the local student leaders would interview me and we had a give and take as some of you know. But we have a great time and I used to tell these students after we ^{you} got a little better acquainted - I said, ~~XX~~ know I used to be a college teacher- I'm ~~XXXXXX~~ refugee from a class room--sort of a nice way to get acquainted. Then I'd look over to the president of the university-if he were still around and if he wasn't there---to the acting president, the dean of student affairs and I'd say I want the president of the university and the members of the Regents; the board of trustees to know that I once was a college prof. I kept my credentials in good order. I said you know how

uncertain and precarious elective political life is and I'd laugh and chuckle. It was supposed to be a great joke. I found out I was the most persuasive speaker anybody ever knew. I didn't expect that they'd take me so seriously. But they did. I am planning on going back to the academic world. At least for ~~part~~ part of my time. At least 1/3 to 1/2 of my time out of my home state of Minn. Traveling around this great America of ours. Once again refreshing my spirit ~~in~~ in what goes on in our academic and intellectual circles and maybe learning a lot more than I'm able to impart to the faculty and students of these great centers of learning. This is part of what I'm going to do and I have some other things in my mind as well. But many people say "Well, what about ~~this~~ this politics?" Well, I didn't expect ~~you~~ you to start so soon tonite, Eddie, I was going to hold off for a week or two but since you mentioned it....Somebody told a story about the rabbi who had this little boy in the Sabbath school- had him ~~tuned up~~ all ~~proper~~ proper theology and he said he was going to show this little fellow off. He said, "Who made you, son?" The little boy looked up at the rabbi in a quiscial manner, he said "Rabbi, I don't know, I ain't done yet." I just thought you ought to know about me- I ain't done yet. ~~Now I said I want to talk to you a little bit this evening~~

Now, I said I want to talk to you a little about this evening, about this great event that took place yesterday and I want to visit with you about ~~some~~ some of the things transpiring in our world . We have a tendency, we Americans, to take some of the most solemn and most important moments of history for granted. Oh, I know that the inaugural was covered by ~~XXXX~~

television , press, radio, and it is a great moment--it is a great occasion but I often wonder if we really sense what it means in terms of our democracy and in terms of our constitutional system in terms of we as people. And tonite as one that can be somewhat objective about this great occasion let me share with you some of my thoughts.

At 12 noon yesterday, on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, and that's a very appropriate setting, the hall of the people, we concluded the smoothest and the most efficient transition of presidential power in the history of this nation. And this is no small achievement, particularly in these troubled times because we are in the most troubled of times in frankly, the transition of ~~the~~ power doesn't ~~come~~ generally come too easily and surely it doesn't come very peacefully. I'd like to remind you once again, lest you have forgotten it that the power, the immense power of the presidency is without a doubt the most powerful office in the world, and yet that ~~the~~ power that means life and death not only for our own people, but it can mean for much of the world was transferred without too much difficulty and it surely was about as peacefully as you could hope to have ---a transfer of such magnitude of power. Well what about that process? We know that to be a fact,. Here's what it meant to me, and I put these notes down for you. This process necessarily tests however implicitly it may be. The nature of your commitment and yes our commitment to our constitutional system and to the very concept of Democratic Government. Now why do I say it? Well for the people to speak as they have; for an election to be decided as it was, and then to have this nation ~~to~~ encounter obstacles

and problems in the transfer of ~~the~~ power could threaten the entire existence of this Republic and would certainly raise profound questions ~~XXX~~ about the viability of our democratic enterprise. I wonder if we really remember just what has happened in the two elections in the last eight years. I want to call to your attention that the election of 1960 was decided by less than ~~XXXX~~ 1/2 of 1% of the vote. A handful of votes and yet in 1960 there was the transfer of power, quietly, smoothly, in that instance the Democratic candidate barely ~~XXXXXX~~ eking out a victory becoming the President of these U.S. without any revolution, without any violence, ~~XXXXXX~~ without any danger. In 1968 the election was won by 1/2 of 1% of the vote - that same transfer of power. In these troubled times, in times unprecedented, in times when dictatorship seems to be flourishing when huntas seem to be taking over when people according to what we often read are losing faith in the democratic process. I mention this because I think that America has done something for the world that many of our critics don't give us credit for. What we demonstrated is that we know how to govern, that we have deep and abiding faith in the democratic process. I'm reminded of an example that I think is ~~XXXXXX~~ appropriate for this occasion. We had something like this in 1933 when the country was in serious trouble. When Franklin Roosevelt became president, when millions were walking the streets. When our whole system was in doubt. In March, 1933 Franklin Roosevelt became president of the U.S. under the democratic process - peacefully, challenging the people to greatness. March 1933, Adolph Hitler became chancellor of the Reich - not peacefully and not leading his people

in a ~~XXXX~~ democratic manner, not following democratic processes, but dictatorship. You ask why - people educated in both societies . Ours is the reason, ours is the country with the ~~XXXX~~ philosophy of a Thomas Jefferson and a James Madison and an Abraham Lincoln and a Woodrow Wilson just to mention a few. ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{The colosophy} of ~~the~~ government by the consent of the goverened ~~XXXXX~~ deep in the marrow of the bones of this ;nation into the very fabric of our society . And Hitler came into power where names like Bismark , the Prussian militarists, men like Haegel, Nitzi, and others representing authoritarianism set this pattern. So its good once again to see this democracy come thru at time when the world needs and example of it. So I remind you that when a new president takes the oath of office, this is more than one man pledging to protect the constitution of the U.S. and that's a great pledge, I've taken it as vice president. And it's a sobering experience, a chilling one in many ways. But a wonderful one - this act signifies that our democratic covenant has been renewed. That our faith in the ~~XXXXX~~ democratic process has been intact and that we are fundamentally, basicly despite ~~XXXX~~ these disturbances , despite the violence that is prevalent all too often, a united and a free people. That s whats important about it. that was our message to a troubled world and I thing it was better than all the headlines we could possibly write. Even greater than the achievements, by far, of Apollo 8. It was the message of a free people. Once again we had achieved what all mankind truly seeks, and here, may I say we seek here in America what the people of Israel seek - this is the common bond, my dear friends, this is

what unites us . The chance to decide our destiny, the free and open choice of the people - That's the bond that ties us together. Stronger than any alliance, stronger than any written word and I might add in a world full of tragedy and abandoned dreams, we cannot afford to let these celebrations slip by without due notice. But I must say that in this celebration, in this transfer of political power , I think we know that many many of our past challenges and problems remain. And they will remain with us. They are not ~~subject to~~ subject to easy and sudden treatment and a mature people must understand this and ~~the~~ ^{this} new ~~ad-~~ ~~ministration~~ ministration, this administration of Pres. Nixon, will need and I'm confident it will receive in these coming days, the overwhelming support of the American people because after all he is our president, this is our country. We only have one president at a time and gentlemen, we must give ~~him~~ ^{him} ~~help~~ ^{help} when he does what needs to be done. I've been close enough to the seat of power in this government = both in Congress and in the White House to know the anguish that leaders go thru the difficulties that they face. While I'm supposed to be one of the leaders ~~of~~ of the opposition party, I do not consider opposition for the sake of opposition worthy of intelligent responsible people. I think opposition should come only when it is necessary ...with alternatives, just these people who criticize with no alternatives , I have little time for those things, very little time.

Now may I give you just a little brief review here, you know that there are problems and there are many of them. There are problems of war and peace. The most fundamental problems. ~~It was~~ It was to that Mr. Nixon addressed ;himself in his ~~inaugural~~ inaugural . And there is particularly these problems in Viet Nam, SE Asia and

the Middle East - just to mention a few places in the world. And a challenge in bringing these conflicts to a conclusion, surely must rank at the top of the new administrations agenda . Can I just bear with you for a moment or will you bear with me for a moment to tell you some of the things that are in the inventory today that stand this country well , because they stand our country well, will help our new administration. First of all the talks in Paris, the negotiations in Paris on Viet Nam are under way and just as war has its own built-in escalation so does the process of peace. And peace is going to come to that ~~KX~~ troubled area ~~part~~ of the world, SE Asia, just as surely as you and I are gathered in this room tonight. One of the heartaches of public life is frequently you are not around to harvest what you have planted and yet, I suppose, one of the rewards is that you know that it will happen. I had the privilege as a Senator to pioneer many things in Congress . You know that, many in this room, and many didn't come ~~back~~ into being until I was out of the Senate and became vice president, but I knew I had something to do with it and let me say the peace negotiations started in Paris on that day, as I would tell some of our critics, the process of peace in, set ~~the~~ peace does not come easily. I don't care how loud you shout for it . It's a difficult ~~process~~ process . Secondly, we have some other good news - we have the release of the Pueblo crew. That's more significant than it sounds. It isn't only the return of the men, it represents the easing of some tension. And any easing of tension is worthwhile. We'll have the release of American prisoners from Cambodia, held captive for years. That within itself represents some good. We ~~had~~ had news only yesterday that the Soviet Union suggesting that we start the talks on the anti-ballistic system missiles and I hope, at least as

they expressed it, and we had hoped for it being able to curtail that expansion of the arms race. We have had other things that have happened -- ~~is~~ the non-proliferation treaty, lying idle waiting to be ratified for a hope of peace in this world. The balance of payment that you worried about as businessmen, the balance of trade which has been a deficit for years is in surplus. Tonite, in a substantial surplus. The budget of the U.S. that ~~hasn't~~ hasn't been balanced for years is in surplus for the fiscal year of 1969. That within itself is some good news. And the dollar which many of you have worried about in your commercial work - the dollar today remains the world's strongest currency despite all of the people who tried to down grade it and ~~the people~~ de-bunk it. The market is substantially basically good. There is some fairly good news. But with all of it, there are some great problems. Now in the presidential campaign and prior to that, I tried to direct my attention to some of these problems I mentioned - Viet Nam, the Middle East. Tonight, let me talk to you about the Middle East - and some of our concerns here. I'm going to set forth here my views ~~for~~ as to the necessary elements for a permanent peace in the Middle East. Now let me tell you how important this peace is. It's frequently been said that modern civilization's cradle was in the Mediterranean and I think as far as we're concerned, we generally feel that way. This great culture of which we are part seems to have emanated from that area. I want to say with equal candor that if the Med. and the Middle East was the cradle of modern civilization if we don't watch out, it can be the death of it. Here you see the powerful forces of the super powers coming into confrontation. The Soviet Union, the Russians, have for 500 years, sought ~~to~~ to move into the Med. and they finally made it.

and they're there in force. They're ~~XXXXXX~~ busily engaged in selling and giving arms to nations, some nations in the Middle East. The danger is there - I think the ~~XXXX~~ Middle East is the most dangerous area in the world. And I felt so for a long time and that's why I think it requires our most careful attention and we're here to talk about it ~~XXX~~ a little tonite. What are the elements of peace that we, as Americans, are concerned about? What are these elements of peace that maybe can lead us as guide lines to some ;hopeful peace?

The first one is the acceptance of the existence of the State of Israel, ^{as} a nation State. Now your're going to say to me, now, doesn't everybody do that? The fact is no. We do, but I ~~XXXX~~ want to remind you it wasn't easy. I want to advise you that it was Harry Truman who over ~~XXXXXX~~ ruled his own advisors. The long established policy of this country was changed by a presidential intervention in order so that we recognize the existence of the State of Israel. And that existence must be accepted not only by the U.S. but it must be our policy and it always has been my conviction as Senator, ~~XXXX~~ Vice President and former member of this Government that we must press ceaselessly for this first principle. The existence of the State of Israel and the end of the state of belligerency on the part of its neighbors. This has got to come. Secondly, those fragile and often violated truce lines must be transformed into an agreed and secured boundaries. Vital to this entire area for its peace. The state of Israel must have free open ~~XXX~~ navigational rights in all international waters including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Akiba. This is our policy. Gentlemen, I speak frankly to you, ^{having} ~~had~~ you been in government now for 20 years in Washington,

expression
you never let a policy just remain dormant. You refresh it with your ~~support~~ of support, with your insistence , with your knowledge of it, otherwise it tends to lose its vitality. Fourth, it should be, it must be our long-term policy that the arms race which breeds insecurity as it feeds on ~~the~~ hostility must be terminated . But I must make a foot note that what is absolutely essential for peace in this area is the capacity the State of Israel in the light of the state of belligerency which has existed on the part of its neighbors for years , it is absolutely essential that Israel have the modern weapons including the modern aircraft to be able to defend herself. Now why do I mention this to you now? Now, you say, isn't this all agreed to? Yes. I think there is ~~some~~ general agreement in the new administration, the outgoing administration, but I've been around in politics a long time and you'd better ~~keep~~ keep reminding ~~people~~ people - ~~you~~ remind the Congress, remind the Government, remind yourself and I remind you that in the traditional foreign service of this country in the past and even to the present, there are those who do not agree with these principles. Therefore, we, as the people, as private citizens , we must remind those who serve ~~us~~ us. That an international community must assist the ~~concerned~~ countries immediately concerned ~~in~~ in solving the human tragedy of the Arab refugees. This ~~isn't~~ isn't just a problem for Israel, this is a problem for all mankind and the resources of the Middle East countries must be used primarily for human and economic development, rather than war and destruction. Now I know that these are general things ~~and~~ and general statements of ~~importance~~ elements and ~~it's~~ it's not easy to translate these generalities into workable specifics. Particularly in the atmosphere of rising hate and hostility. But what I say to

you is that the stakes ~~are~~ are so high that we must put the best that we have
 on the line. To see that these elements do become specifics - to see that we
 do not weaken in our commitment to these elements. Now these ~~elements are~~ ^{points are}
~~part of an existing governmental policy to this~~ a part of an existing governmental policy to this
 very hour . I want to make sure that we don't in any way permit any weakening,
 any deviation because if we do, there will be a very serious crisis. Now
 where do you come in on this. You say, well this is all government stuff,
 what's this got to do with me. I'll tell you what it's got to do - Israel feels
 alone tonite. She's ^{had} ~~got~~ trouble. Now maybe she's done things that you and I
 don't approve of. ~~XX~~ I know there are many people who are very upset about
 the attacks that took place in Beirut . I'm not here to stand in judgement, I
 am here to say that terrorism has become ~~XX~~ a pattern in many areas of the world.
 We see some of it at ~~XX~~ home and everybody is so wise they know how to
 handle terrorism , I wish they'd send us a note . The train of ^{in?} geurrillas, of
~~XX~~ terrorists has become a business in certain areas of the world. We've
 seen it in Viet Nam ; we see it in Latin America, Castro did it right in Cuba
 to send them into Venzuella and other parts of Latin America. We've seen it
 in ~~XX~~ some of the Arabic countries, training terrorists to send them on into
 Israel and how does an ~~organized~~ organized government that represents people
 not a dictatorship, but an elected government - a government with a Parliament
 a Kenneseth, how does that governent survive - how does it protect its people?
 People are shot down in cold blood, I don't have the quick and easy answer.
 I know one thing, my dear friends, the State of Israel will not act responsibly

if it feels that know one cares and that it stands alone. If ever there was a time that this Nation State which frankly has represented many of the highest objectives of ~~the~~ American formed policy- freedom of elections, social development, economic development, economic viability, willingness to fight for its independence, its territorial integrity. These are all things we've encouraged other nations to be willing to do, now this nation today stands on trial. It stands rather lonely. What does it need from America besides official expressions from the State Dept. or the President of the U.S. It needs your commitment, it needs my commitment. I've always had it. This is not new for me. I didn't come to Cleveland to please you. I came to state what I believe is essential for the well being of America policy and security in the Middle East as well as the well being of Israel. To ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ simplify it - what do we say - we care. Let the message go from Cleve. that you care. Let it go to the people here at home that you're trying to help in your ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{general} appeal for your Jewish Welfare. Let them know that you care. And the governments, like the French Government that closed down any help, let them know that you care. Just let them know that the voice of the people may be stronger than the voice of even of a man who heads a great Nation State like France. Let them know, I think it will help. That's what I wanted to tell you about that part of the world.

Now we have immense difficulties. I'm concerned about the arms races. Deeply concerned about them. The nuclear race could be a catastrophe. Gentlemen, it could consume our revenue as well as destroy this planet. And I think it

of the utmost importance that we enter as quickly as possible the negotiations and discussions in the hope that it will lead to some reduction in the tensions as well as the reduction in the arms race itself. And all of these can be arrived at thru enforceable arms agreement.

Now a word about at home then I'll leave. We have great problems here at home, too. I like to believe that we've done a good deal about them ; at least we tried. But I'd be the last one to say that we've done enough. It's sort of like that story they tell about Winston Churchill. Churchill, about after 1945 after he lead his nation to greatness in WWII, stood his ground and had gone thru every difficulty. A group of ladies who were of the Temperance Society and one little old lady in tennis shoes was there and she was speaking for them and she said, "Mr. Prime Minister, we have judged that if all the whiskey that you have consumed during your period of Prime Ministry, during these recent years, were to be placed in this room, poured in this room, it would come to about here. And Winston Churchill looked at her with his wise penetrating eyes, quietly and kindly he said to her "Let me see---to about here"-he looked up and he looked down-"so little have I done - so much there is yet to do." There isn't any way we can solve the problems of our cities without you, you know that. The urban crisis is our central domestic crisis. There isn't any way there is going to be any peace here at home unless we solve our racial difficulties and we're not going to do it by standing idly by and let the extremists and the militants have their way. Our attention is constantly diverted by the cries and the threats of the militants and the extremists.

If ever there was a time that people believed we could make an integrated multi-racial society work, that time is now for you to speak out, knowing the difficulties, no people should know about difficulties than the people I'm speaking to in this room, must frankly recognize that the problem is almost beyond us but we cannot fail. We're going to need national programs - state, local programs, we're going to need your your programs, Mr. Axelrod, We'll need the program~~s~~ of this Federation - just as we're going to need it of every Jewish Community Fund throughout the nation. I have some suggestions that when we expand our investments in education and health and job training programs, we're really investing in life-giving programs. Let me tell you what it means. A child who is exposed to the wonders of education and the thrill of learning - then truly a life is saved - an expectant mother, receives the proper pre-natal and post-natal care, and her child is born healthy, truly a life is saved. A hard core unemployed worker finds a steady job with good pay and a chance for ~~XXXXXXXX~~ advancement and additional training - truly a life is saved. That's what it's all about. Let me tell you, I've been engaged in ~~XXXXXXXX~~ life-saving projects during these ~~XX~~ 20 some years as senator and vice president just like you've been engaged in it. I haven't saved enough lives, I haven't helped enough people. So little had we done - so much more is there to do. But your helping to save lives and gentlemen, you're helping to save lives in America, if you want to, I want you to think about what you're doing tonight. I ~~XXXX~~ know some people come to a meeting like this and say "Well I guess I gotta go." You're expected to do certain things and you may be lose what your really doing, you're not giving money, ~~XXXX~~ You're saving lives, just as surely as a doctor saves lives. Just as surely as someone goes out and rescues a child from the

river, saves a life. You're going to help save lives in this city, this State, you're going to help save a lot of lives and maybe a Nation, in the Middle East, a place that means a great deal to all of us. It means a lot to you and to me. That's why I come here and I wanted to ask for your help. I do it and I'm going to openly ~~XXXX~~ do it across the length and breadth of this land. I think there's a great inter-dependence and a great inter-relationship~~X~~ between the domestic ^{progressive} policy and a humane international policy. I believe that wherever people believe in freedom and are willing to stand up and fight for it they deserve our help-governmental and private. I think that the sooner the whole world finds out that we care that we know there's a difference between dictatorship and freedom, that we know there's a difference the allegarcy and the representative government. That we know there's a difference between those who stand for social progress and those who have turned their back on it. ~~XXX~~ I think that when people in the world find out ~~XXXXX~~ that America really knows the difference in the government and in the people of this country, they'll be a change all throughout the world. For this is a powerful country. What we do counts - what we don't do counts, too. And if we remain neutral that counts too. There is no neutrality between freedom and dictatorship, between peace and war. There is no neutrality social progress and retrogression or reaction. You've got your choice. I've come here tonite to do what I asked you in the beginning - what is the greatest thing that binds us together. The right to choose our own destiny. The right to choose it freely. It's that which tonite binds together free nations and free people and you can make your contributions to it

and I hope that you can make it in a way that will be heard around the world or at least heard in the places where people are listening. Thank you very much.



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