

AJC - Israel Emergency
Fund
Detroit Michigan

ADDRESS OF
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AT

TEMPLE EMANU-EL
14450 West 10 Mile Road
Oak Park, Michigan

on

Wednesday, March 26, 1969



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4 MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much,
5 my long-time, good ecumenical, bi-partisan friend, Max
6 Fisher.

7 I want you to know he is an
8 accurate reporter, too. It is exactly what happened. Maybe
9 things all worked out for the best, Max, and I know that we
10 are all very, very fortunate in this country to have you not
11 only as one of the great leaders in the Jewish community,
12 but in the entire American community -- and one of the close
13 friends of the President of the United States. Speak a
14 good word for me, will you?

15 Well, I spoke in many places. I
16 have talked to many audiences, but I can't think of any time
17 that I am more pleased to be in a particular place and to
18 talk to an audience than in this place tonight, in this
19 wonderful Temple and before this audience, and I want
20 Rabbi Rosenbaum to know that I have no intention of taking
21 over the congregation, but I am very honored to be here in
22 this Temple for this occasion.

23 Now, first let me say that
24 Max Jospay has reported to you pretty accurately -- or was
25 it Dick Sloan, one or the other -- as to what the conversation

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1 was in the car on the way in from the airport, because when
2 I see a crowd this big and to think that we are really not
3 going to go to work on you, it really bothers me. But I do
4 want to say how much I appreciated that Max Jospey and
5 Richard Sloan, Dick Sloan, would come out and say hello to
6 me and bring me over here tonight, and I want their ladies,
7 Ann and Shiela, to know how good it is to have the chance
8 of being in the company of their husbands, and your company,
9 as well, I might add, and I asked Max about Marjorie. She
10 isn't here with us, but you bring her my greetings. I always
11 say a good word for Max Fisher in the presence of his wife,
12 but that Max Fisher travels more than I do. He is on the
13 go all the time.

14 I was so impressed by what I have
15 heard this evening of the organization that's taken place
16 thus far in this pre-campaign, so to speak. I wish to
17 goodness my pre-campaign had been this good. I just sat up
18 here and I said, "Oh, my goodness. I was calling on the
19 wrong people all the time." If I had known that Max Jospey
20 and Dick Sloan and the others that were here tonight were
21 going to be able to do this good a job, they would never
22 have had time, may I say, for the Allied Jewish Campaign.
23 They would have been associated with the Allied Humphrey
24 Campaign, as they were, may I say, in certain degrees, but
25 I am proud of the work that's been undertaken here and so

1 successfully forwarded, but the fact is it is not over, and
2 I want to talk to you tonight about how to really make it
3 a smashing success.

4 I didn't come here to deliver a
5 State paper. I had some intentions of doing things like
6 that a few months ago, but somewhere or another I stopped
7 off at Detroit and didn't get down to Washington to do it,
8 so I am going to do what I like to do as well as what I was
9 liking to do, and that's visit with you tonight to talk to
10 you about some common concerns.

11 I know that -- well, I know that
12 we are not going to do what is frequently done at our dinners,
13 and I have been to many a UJA meeting, but I have the
14 feeling that if any of you should get the spirit tonight
15 during these proceedings, don't you worry about embarrassing
16 me if you want to come on up here and say something. Just
17 feel free to do it because we are here tonight for an
18 important purpose. We are here on a life-saving mission,
19 and there is no greater, no greater purpose that a person
20 can dedicate his life to than saving somebody else's life,
21 and I have often tried to find the proper words to explain
22 what these great philanthropic exercises and endeavors are
23 all about and I know of no effort in voluntary action, no
24 effort in private philanthropy that is more directly
25 related to the saving of a life and of lives than the

1 program of the United Jewish Appeal or, in this community,
2 as you call it, the Allied Jewish Campaign. You are saving
3 lives.

4 Now, I come to you under several
5 hats, so to speak. This is a wonderful community endeavor.
6 I owe so many people in this audience a note of personal
7 thanks that I trust that you permit me to express it from
8 this podium tonight. Many of you here have given me so
9 much of your time and your resources and your dedication
10 and your support. This is a great motivation to me to do
11 what I am now doing tonight: In some way possibly to make
12 some repayment, but more importantly we have learned how to
13 work together. I want this community of Detroit and Michigan
14 to know that in this audience tonight are people who not
15 only give generously to the Allied Jewish Campaign or to
16 the United Jewish Appeal, but who give generously to all the
17 activities of this City and of this State. I only wish that
18 other communities in America were as generous. I compliment
19 you on your willingness to share, and I compliment your
20 leaders on their ability and their capacity to organize
21 sharing and giving so that it is truly meaningful and
22 effective. Every word that was read tonight from that little
23 statement of mine about the importance of voluntary action
24 I subscribe to more now than I did when I said it originally.
25 It is so important today that we have this partnership

1 between government and the private sector, as we call it,
2 or between the public resources and the private resources.
3 It is terribly important, and I know that our good friend
4 here, Max Fisher, is deeply involved in this matter now in
5 Washington. We are not going to solve our problems in this
6 country through government alone, and even if we could, I
7 doubt that that's the way we ought to do it. We need that
8 injection of the human spirit, of the personal sacrifice,
9 of the willingness of a citizen and an individual to share
10 in the burdens of responsibility, and this community and
11 communities like yours across this land -- and I have met
12 with dozens of them -- are showing the capacity to do just
13 that and the willingness to do it, the willingness to carry
14 more than your share of the burden.

15 The American Jewish community has
16 set an example for the entire world in terms of citizenship
17 responsibility and in philanthropy and in all of the works
18 of civic leadership that is so evident here tonight, and I
19 salute you for it.

20 Now, I went back to teaching
21 recently. I want you to know that I like to teach, but I
22 entered into it involuntarily. I had planned to do a little
23 teaching from a different platform.

24 I do say seriously, though, that
25 the greatest rostrum in the world -- as Teddy Roosevelt put

1 it, "The greatest pulpit in the world is in the White House,"
2 and what an opportunity there is to teach from there, and
3 so I wanted to be a teacher. I wanted to be THE teacher.
4 Now I am a teacher, but I'm teaching.

5 I thought it might not be a bad
6 idea if I were to select, since I am in a Temple, a few
7 words of philosophy and almost, you might say, of theology
8 that would be somewhat appropriate for this meeting, and I
9 quote from the great Rabbi Hillah who said, "What is hateful
10 to thee, do not do unto thy fellow man. This is the whole
11 law; the rest is mere commentary."

12 What profundity in a few simple
13 but yet profound words say a whole sermon, an entire message.
14 It is said many other ways: "Do unto others as you would
15 have them do unto you," but "What is hateful to thee, do not
16 do unto thy fellow man. This is the whole law; the rest is
17 mere commentary."

18 One can turn that around and say,
19 in a sense, that by sharing with others you help yourself,
20 as well as helping those to whom you extend the hand of
21 generosity and assistance. I think that's the case. I
22 have found in my own personal life that the things that I do
23 that seem to be of some help to others seem to help me more
24 than the others that I thought I was directing my attention
25 toward.

1 I have been enjoying an entirely
2 new pattern of life these last few weeks. I said on the
3 way coming in here that I had just become a member of the
4 Board of Trustees of Brandeis University in December. My
5 friend Morris Abram asked me if I would serve and I said
6 yes, I would, because it's an exciting University. I'm
7 not going to ask you to make any pledges here tonight. I'll
8 come back later on, though, and I will, and I serve on this
9 Board because I want to, not because it is something that
10 you pay -- you pay to serve on this Board, and I made a
11 talk down in Palm Beach not long ago about Brandeis
12 University. I got so excited during my own talk I got up
13 and pledged \$2,500 before I sat down.

14 I want to say that I imagine in
15 all of my life that I have not been able to do anything
16 that was more meaningful to me because I know that I am a
17 part of a growing institution, of a new life, a new univer-
18 sity.

19 Now, my dear friends and my fellow
20 citizens, we have a chance here tonight and in the days
21 ahead, as you have in the past, to have a hand in the building
22 and the rebuilding, the rebirth of a nation, and also a
23 hand in keeping very much alive the spirit of this nation.
24 What a rare privilege that is.

25 When I came here tonight, there

1 were some people outside, my friends of the Fourth Estate.
2 The Press asked me about them. They were carrying some
3 signs. Well, I am accustomed to that. I kind of thought
4 it was a welcome for me, and I was asked whether or not
5 this disturbed me and I said not particularly, because I
6 thought that the entire purpose of this meeting and the
7 purpose of this meeting is not to take anything from any-
8 body, but to give something to everybody. That's the purpose
9 of this meeting.

10 So I am going to talk to you
11 tonight about two areas of our current situation, problems
12 at home and what is a continuing crisis abroad.

13 The late President John Kennedy
14 said that peace and freedom are not cheap. Never were
15 truer words spoken, and then he went on to say that most of us
16 will live out the balance our lives in times of peril,
17 challenge and uncertainty.

18 I tell young people this every
19 day in the classroom, and I remind them that it has been
20 this way for a long time. I remind them that there are no
21 instant solutions to problems that are centuries in the
22 making, but I also remind them that each generation must
23 make its contribution to the solution of the inherited
24 problems of the previous generation, and even further than
25 that, must take a leap forward, so to speak, to create new

1 patterns, new patterns of social action and social conduct
2 that will make life a little better.

3 The whole purpose of human
4 existence is what was stated so beautifully in our own
5 Declaration of Independence -- those inalienable rights
6 of life and of liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Those
7 men that wrote those words were scholars as well as politi-
8 cians. They understood that life alone was not enough,
9 because life alone may mean simply survival. People live
10 under the cruelest forms of dictatorship. They can live
11 under the worst forms of subjugation and slavery and under
12 intolerable conditions. So life alone is not enough. Life
13 must be embellished and at least enriched with liberty,
14 which means the right of an individual to be creative and
15 to develop his own personality and to realize his own
16 self-respect and dignity, and if you add that to life, then
17 maybe you can pursue that elusive goal called happiness
18 and that's really what we are after.

19 I heard a minister in the church
20 at Macalester College about a month ago speak on the subject
21 of shalom. I was reaching in my pocket tonight to see if
22 I didn't have the notes, and, so help me, I left the little
23 notebook back in the room, but he reminded me and he reminded
24 that audience that shalom, which is a great Hebrew word --
25 it says to much -- that shalom, that we generally mean,

1 conceive as "peace" as more than just the absence of con-
2 flict, that it is a sense of serenity and tranquility. It
3 is a sense of realization of purpose. It is a sense of
4 peace within oneself, as well as within the community or the
5 neighborhood of mankind, and isn't this really what mankind
6 is trying to seek today? At least isn't that the cry that
7 comes up from the multitude? Whatever your faith, whatever
8 your tongue -- shalom. Not merely the absence of armed
9 conflict, not even the absence of conflict, but more impor-
10 tantly the realization of a sense of serenity, of purpose,
11 of a kind of inner calm, of tranquility, the reaching out
12 for common goals, and I believe that what the Allied Jewish
13 Campaign in greater Detroit is trying to do is to help
14 hundreds of thousands of people here in America and in Israel
15 sense the meaning of shalom. That's what it's all about.
16 That's why I would like to involve myself here, just as I
17 did last Sunday in the Diocese of the Archbishop of
18 Minneapolis and St. Paul, for a very important work that we
19 are trying to do with that Twin City area.

20 My performances are rather
21 ecumenical. I really am not particularly disturbed or
22 concerned about just where I go, as long as the purpose is
23 proper.

24 I recall that one of the speakers
25 on that Sunday at the Knights of Columbus meeting and a

1 great charitable drive -- it was sponsored by the Knights --
2 said that what a great day was St. Patrick's Day. Over in
3 St. Paul an Irish mayor leading an Irish parade, only to
4 be joined by the mayor of Minneapolis, who was a Jew, leading
5 a lot of Norwegians and Swedes on St. Patrick's Day.
6 Ecumenical to the utmost, but all of it in that instance,
7 may I say, for a very good purpose.

8 Now, what are some of our problems
9 here? Well, I get a better view of them -- well, I have
10 always thought I had some grasp of them, but when I am with
11 young people I get a more precise, a sharper view of them
12 because they are less inhibited. They are almost downright
13 blunt and, to a degree, at times rude in telling you what's
14 wrong. Our job is to try to let them know a little bit of
15 what can be right, but they see hunger in the midst of
16 abundance or plenty. They see poverty in the midst of
17 prosperity. They see illiteracy in the midst of a great
18 educational structure. They see unemployment in the midst
19 of a growing economy, and they say : "Why?"

20 Then they start to ask people like
21 myself, who has been in public life for a long time, "What
22 have you done about it?" When you start to tell them, they
23 say, "Well, why didn't you do more?" Then you start to try
24 to remind them, if you hope to be a teacher, that it isn't
25 just government alone in this country, as I said earlier,

1 that has these responsibilities, that each and every one of
2 us have them and that's what this Campaign is about here.

3 I listened from this platform
4 tonight and after you reached a certain figure, then the
5 money goes to the Emergency Fund. You are going to take
6 care of your emergency, of your needs here, your Hebrew
7 School, your community center, your Sinai Hospital, your
8 programs of training and education, your home for the aged,
9 and many other things, and that's the way it ought to be.
10 People need to know that you care, and no matter how much
11 you do, there will still be more to do next year, and, might
12 I add, that next year I am sure that your leaders will say,
13 "We have got to be a little, do a little bit better than
14 we did in the last year," because I listened to these
15 percentage gains -- by the way, they are excellent. I
16 listened to them all across this country. You're doing
17 fine. Don't quit. You got a good start. You ought to be
18 very proud of what you are doing here.

19 Next year, there will be more to
20 do and the next year after that, and this young leadership
21 is coming up and how good it is to see it here in this
22 congregation tonight in this assemblage, and I am reminded
23 of that story, which is a rather old one, about so much left
24 to do despite all we have done, you know, when I think of
25 being in the government and fighting in front of Congress

1 to get more money for the Poverty Program, more money for
2 Manpower Training, more money for education, more money for
3 health research, environment control, and the more you ask
4 for the more you seem to need; you sometimes say to yourself,
5 "I wonder if we can ever do all that needs to be done."

6 There was a man by the name of
7 Winston Churchill who had to face up to that issue. He was
8 confronted during the War years by a group of women that
9 were very active in the Temperance Movement and they knew
10 that Winston Churchill, Sir Winston had a bit of a habit
11 about the consumption of alcoholic beverages. He was known
12 to drink rather copious quantities of brandy and Scotch
13 whisky, and they appointed one lady to represent their
14 group and to call on the Prime Minister right in the midst
15 of the terrible war while Briton was fighting for its life,
16 and the wartime Prime Minister was trying to give leadership
17 to that beleaguered people and this little old lady came in
18 there to the Prime Minister's office at Ten Downing Street,
19 wearing tennis shoes and all, and stood there before the
20 Prime Minister and said, "Mr. Prime Minister, we are con-
21 cerned about your bad habits. We are deeply concerned about
22 your drinking habits and we are particularly concerned about
23 your consumption of alcoholic beverages and we have made and
24 analysis and evaluation and we have come to the conclusion,
25 after careful consideration, that if all of the whisky and

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1 the brandy and the alcohol that you have consumed since
2 you have been Prime Minister were put in this room, it would
3 come up to here." She said, "What do you have to say about
4 that, Mr. Prime Minister?"

5 Sir Winston lowered his glasses,
6 looked out over at her and he said, "Up to here?"

7 She said, "Yes, right up to there."

8 He said, "My dear lady," -- he
9 looked down at the floor; he looked up at the ceiling -- he
10 said, "So little have I done; so much is there yet to do."

11 That's it. That's why these
12 twenty percent and forty percent and fifteen percent and
13 110 percent and 27 percent increases are necessary. So
14 little really have we done and so much is there yet to do,
15 and don't you let up for a minute.

16 Now, I am going to add a little
17 extra on this. There isn't a person in this assemblage
18 tonight that's any the worse off for your giving it, not one
19 of you. In fact, if you will go home tonight and think it
20 over in the quiet of your own home, you will come to the
21 conclusion you are better off, not only materially, but
22 spiritually, and you know it. I have been going around this
23 nation for better than twenty years and better than that,
24 twenty, almost twenty-five, when I started out being mayor
25 of my city, encouraging people to give to a heart hospital,

1 to a community center, to a Camp Courage for the handicapped,
2 a Camp Friendship for the mentally retarded. I have spent
3 a lifetime raising monies for others, and myself, trying
4 to get a campaign going one way or another.

5 I must say that when it comes to
6 philanthropy and to works of charity that I have yet to see
7 a single person that has put himself into insolvency or into
8 unfortunate circumstances because he was generous with those
9 who needed a helping hand, and I can tell you that the
10 Jewish community itself is a living embodiment of what I am
11 talking about. Nobody more generous, no individual or group
12 is more generous, and yet we gather together year in and
13 year out and unhesitatingly we say that next year it must
14 be a little more and unhesitatingly next year it is a little
15 bit more, and I am happy to say that next year you are
16 capable of giving a little bit more. The only time this
17 country has ever been in trouble as a nation was when we
18 closed our gates to trade, closed our doors to the immigrant,
19 closed our hearts to human need, and then we ended up
20 closing our banks and closing down our industries and
21 literally closing up business. That's the lesson of the
22 1930's, and we have learned since then, despite the great
23 gifts that America as a nation has given all over this world
24 that the more we have given, the more we have had and we
25 are now the one nation in the world that has a standard of

1 living so far beyond that of any others that there isn't
2 even any comparison. Within the next two years we look
3 forward to a trillion-dollar economy and even if adjusted
4 for inflation, it is the most incredible performance of an
5 economic and political system that the world has ever known.
6 Much as been given unto us and much is expected of us.
7 So I compliment you on what you are doing to prove that you
8 mean it.

9 Now, let me talk to you about the
10 other area of my concern. The other area of my concern is
11 on the international scene, but I want to say to you right
12 now that a nation's foreign policy is no better than its
13 domestic performance. You can seldom convince people abroad
14 that you are really interested in their well-being and their
15 dignity and their safety, in their freedom, unless you demon-
16 strate that you are more interested in your own here at home,
17 so we measure, in a sense, our foreign policy and the
18 standards of our foreign policy by what we do here. That's
19 one of the reasons that it is important to do what's right
20 here. This is why I have said a hundred and one, a thousand
21 times, that if we can't wage war on poverty in America,
22 where we have a common language and a common citizenship,
23 what makes you think you can abolish poverty in India or any
24 place else? Impossible to do it.

25 Now, we live in a time of mortal

1 crisis. I am not going to burden you tonight with fears
2 and concerns about all the areas of the world in which there
3 are troubles. I said to you in the beginning: We shall
4 live for the rest of our lives in peril, in challenge and
5 uncertainty, and we shall. This the urban era. This is
6 the space age. This is Year 24 of the Nuclear Age. It's
7 a dangerous period in which to live and yet it's filled
8 with unlimited possibilities, incredible possibilities for
9 good. It's sort of like television. It hasn't quite made
10 up its mind whether it's an instrument for good or for evil,
11 and I say that with careful restraint and careful weighing
12 of my words. This fantastic instrument of communication,
13 it can do so much to arouse people to do what's right and
14 do so much to prejudice people to do what's bad. I have
15 often thought, what would have Hitler been able to do with
16 television. A picture. Thank goodness that in this nation
17 we have some sense of social responsibility, and I don't say
18 what I have said about the media of any form in criticism.
19 I say it only as a warning. Just like those of us in public
20 life that have any audience, anybody to listen to us, we have
21 an extra responsibility to speak responsibly. We must be
22 careful even as we dare to venture into new ideas and new
23 thoughts.

24 Well, what kind of crisis do we
25 live in? Goodness me. I'm sure everybody in this audience

1 longs for the day that the tragedy and the tragic war in
2 Southeast Asia and Viet Nam will be over, and tonight it
3 still wages, and let me say for this audience that the
4 present President of the United States wants to end that
5 war just exactly as the previous one did. I have not had
6 the privilege of sitting in the Councils of this Administra-
7 tion, but I know what we wanted to do in the other. It's
8 difficult to find the answers and my heart goes out to the
9 President of the United States as he searches for those
10 answers. This is why, as one of the so-called loyal opposition,
11 I haven't been very critical, because I figure that if we
12 couldn't find it in four years, he is entitled to at least
13 a few weeks. He will have more than that, as far as I am
14 concerned, but there is the crisis, dangers.

15 There is a another one that we
16 just had a while ago, the Berlin crisis, the invasion of
17 Czechoslovakia -- dangers, danger signs -- to now we face
18 a problem that where I must take some position, and I do,
19 and that's on the whole subject of weapons and arms.

20 I worry, and I worry greatly, that
21 we may find ourselves inadvertently or even by accident or
22 design, or I should say by policy, involved in another
23 spiral of the arms race. I didn't intend to make any
24 particular comment about it, but I feel compelled to at
25 least express to you my views.

1 I have felt that this year of
2 1969 gave us an opportunity in a lifetime to slow down the
3 arms race, to prevent it from going to an entirely new
4 dimension. This is why I have posed and did in the previous
5 Administration and said so in the months of my campaign,
6 even though the previous Administration asked for the
7 deployment of the ABM system, I spoke out against it in the
8 campaign period when I was on my own, telling you what I
9 would do if I were the President of these United States,
10 and I feel today that that deployment of that system at this
11 time is unwise. I do not think it adds extra security.

12 I think it possibly could jeopardize the possibilities of
13 successful negotiations. It's another one of the dangers.

14 I may be wrong. I hope and pray
15 I am, and my plea to my President tonight and your President
16 is that even if the Congress authorizes it, which I think
17 it may, and even if the money is appropriated, which I think
18 it may, which the Congress may do, I hope that the President
19 of the United States will say, "Wait a minute. I asked for
20 the authorization. I asked for the money. I have it. I
21 am going to set it aside for a while and I'm going to ask
22 the leaders of the Soviet Union before we manufacture and
23 deploy to sit down with me, the President of the United
24 States, and/or my representatives to see if we can't come
25 to some sensible, reasonable, sane resolution of this

1 continuing problem of the arms race which grips the super
2 powers in the world today and threatens the peace."

3 Now, the most prevailing and the
4 most persistent crisis that this country has faced for almost
5 twenty years is in the Middle East, and it is fitting and
6 proper that we gather like this to discuss this area of the
7 world. This isn't just Israel and the UAR. We are talking
8 about the problems that confront a whole world. For five
9 hundred years, the Russians have wanted to get into the
10 Mediterranean. I said "Russians," not "Communists."
11 Russians. Now, the Russian Communists have gotten into the
12 Mediterranean through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Their
13 fleets are there; so is ours. They are the representatives
14 of a great power, the Warsaw Pact countries. We are the
15 representatives of a grand alliance, the NATO countries.
16 Our fleet in the Mediterranean is there for the protection
17 of the underbelly, as we say, the southern flank of NATO.
18 The Soviet fleet is in the Mediterranean for the first time
19 in five hundred years, and it has found allies in client
20 states. We are in open confrontation with them.

21 In recent maneuvers, it has been
22 so tense that our ships have been actually touched on the
23 side by a maneuvering ship of the Soviet Navy. The paint
24 has been scraped off.

25 There are reasons to be deeply

1 concerned. Therefore, when we talk about the possibilities
2 of peace in the Middle East, we are talking about our lives.
3 We are talking about the lives of millions and millions of
4 people that are not here and represented even in this country
5 or in this area. I am interested in peace in the Middle
6 East. I'm a peace man; so are you. I am not interested in
7 war.

8 Now, I sat in the Councils of this
9 government for four years on the Security Council. I know
10 the discussions that took place in 1967, in May 1967, and
11 up to the first part of June and I might just as well lay
12 it on the line. The only time that the State of Israel
13 has had friendly consideration out of the government of the
14 United States is when the President of the United States
15 made it his personal business to see that that was done,
16 and you know I tell you the truth. Whether it was Truman
17 or Eisenhower or Kennedy or Johnson or President Nixon,
18 for some peculiar reason there have been problems down
19 through what I call the structure of the diplomatic surface
20 of this government, and there wouldn't have been any
21 recognition of the State of Israel if it hadn't been for
22 President Truman overruling his advisors.

23 My dear friends, I am not here to
24 be suspicious or to encourage you to be suspicious. I am
25 simply here to tell you that it is imperative that we make

1 our voices heard and that we let representatives in Congress,
2 in the House, in the Senate, governors and legislators,
3 men in public life know what you think and what I think.
4 I intend to see that it's done on my part and I hope that you
5 intend to see that it is done on your part. It is not good
6 enough just to be a generous contributor to the Allied
7 Jewish Campaign in this area. You also have to be an active,
8 articulate spokesman for what you believe in in order to
9 help mold public opinion and to help, in a sense, bring
10 to the attention of those responsible for public policy
11 your views.

12 Now, I know we all like to
13 remember, at least as a tremendous feat of military arms,
14 the Six-Day War. It was a miracle. It has been heralded
15 by generals and militarists all over the world as nothing
16 short of a miraculous campaign on the part of the Israeli
17 forces. Many reasons for it -- the morale of the people,
18 the strategy employed, the mobility of the forces, and the
19 lack, obviously, of the quality of the resistance.

20 Why, they tell stories. I heard
21 Ambassador Rabin tell a story one time down in -- maybe
22 some of you were there -- down in Miami. He tells this
23 story. He said after that Six-Day War, that tremendous
24 victory in the battlefield, they said there was a little
25 meeting down there around Dante's Inferno in the lower

1 stretches, and around that furnace was Genghis Khan,
2 Hannibal and Napoleon. Genghis Khan said, "If I had had
3 those Israeli pilots and planes, I would have conquered the
4 world."

5 Hannibal said, "Oh," he said,
6 "if I could have just had those Israeli tanks instead of
7 those miserable elephants, I would have conquered Rome."

8 And Napoleon said, "If I had had
9 Radio Cairo, they would never have known when I lost the
10 Battle of Waterloo."

11 Even when I tell it, I get a sort
12 of, you know, euphoria, a spirit here that just kind of
13 lifts you, but it isn't good enough that Israel won the
14 battle and the war and the problems still remains, and the
15 Israelis are the first to tell you so. They are realists.

16 I was in Los Angeles a week ago
17 and I had an afternoon with the Foreign Minister, Abba Eban.
18 I want to tell you I'm glad that he is away from here. The
19 last time I was around, he spoke before I did. I never had
20 such a challenge in all my life. I darn near became anti-
21 Israel when I came out, but I had a long visit with him and
22 we talked a great deal about the situation that prevails
23 in that part of the world, and as he said to me, he said --
24 and we are on a first-name basis, as old friends.

25 He said, "Hubert," he said,

1 "the people in Israel are confident. There is no lack of
2 morale. There is no lack of spirit. The economy is booming,
3 but," he said, "the problems are yet unsolved and the only
4 way we are going to solve them is through the spirit of
5 negotiation and the process of negotiation."

6 I said, "Let me share with you
7 some of my thoughts as to what I believe are some of the
8 essentials for peace."

9 I got a great lift out of talking
10 to him, first of all. Now, I want to talk -- you know about
11 this proposed Four-Power Conference. There has been concern
12 about the Four-Power Conference. I must say to you I think
13 it's going to take place. All that I want to be sure of
14 when it takes place is that we have a policy. I have been
15 in a lot of negotiations in my life. Won a few and lost
16 several. I was your delegate to the United Nations in 1956
17 when we were trying to negotiate then with the Soviet Union
18 on the expansion of the Security Council. I have sat in
19 the Disarmament Committee of the United Nations for years,
20 year in and year out as an advisor, and negotiated with the
21 Soviet Union, and if you do not come to that conference
22 table with a firm policy, if you just come there as a hale,
23 hearty, well-met, jolly good fellow, you have had it.

24 Now, the policy of this country
25 was laid down on June 19, 1967, the essentials for a peace

1 in the Middle East, and I want the word to go from this
2 place and wherever I go that those are the minimum conditions.
3 Those are the guidelines in which you work out a policy.
4 I do not want to see, in the name of our combination with
5 any other country, that we impose an unfair and unjust peace
6 simply because of our power and the power of the Soviet
7 Union upon somebody else. I think we have got to be careful
8 of that.

9 I have a feeling that a conference
10 like this could be helpful. I wonder sometimes if the
11 USSR, the Soviet Union, isn't a little concerned about some
12 of its associates, and it may very well be that there are
13 some second thoughts in Moscow as to what ought to be taking
14 place in terms of their security. The Jarring Mission, I
15 think, has at least some promise because it is essentially
16 directed towards bilateral negotiations.

17 Now, here are the essentials that
18 I see as requirements for any kind of peace that is a
19 meaningful peace:

20 First of all, it is not Israel
21 who has maintained a state of belligerency for these twenty
22 years in the Middle East. It is her neighbors, and there
23 must be a recognition by all of the neighbors and other
24 nations as well of the existence of the State of Israel, a
25 recognition of her sovereignty, of her independence, and

1 that State of Israel must be accepted by its neighbors as
2 a peaceful state and the state of belligerency which has
3 been sustained and maintained must cease and desist. That's
4 the first.

5 Then the second thing is that
6 those fragile and often-violated truce lines -- and there
7 have been several truce lines; there are some new ones now --
8 that those fragile and often-violated truce lines must be
9 transformed into agreed and secured boundries. Israel isn't
10 trying to keep all of Sinai and all that she has today.
11 What she wants and what I know she wants and what any self-
12 respecting nation deserves is the right to negotiate out
13 her difficulties with those who are on her frontiers or
14 those who seem to be in opposition to her. That's a
15 reasonable request which this government must support.

16 And the State of Israel, just as
17 we in the United States, must have free navigational rights
18 in all international waters. Ladies and gentlemen, your
19 country has gone to war three times over that principle,
20 freedom of the seas, freedom of international waters, and
21 that must include, in the instance of the State of Israel,
22 the Gulf of Aquaba, as well as Suez Canal because Israel
23 cannot be choked. She will die if her lifeline to the sea
24 and to the Persian Gulf is cut off, and she knows it.

25 She must also have the means of

1 her self-defense. Now, I happen to be an arms control man.
2 I really believe that this is the most important business
3 of our time, but I am a realist, too. Unilateral disarmament
4 is not a contribution to peace. Negotiated disarmament
5 or arms control is, and while Israel today, I think, has a
6 very efficient military establishment capable of her self-
7 defense, we just as well not kid ourselves at all that when
8 MIG 19's and MIG 20's and the latest sophisticated air craft
9 are made available to her neighbors who maintain a state of
10 belligerency, it is understandable that the government of
11 the State of Israel would like to have supersonic jets of
12 her own so that she can readily defend herself because of
13 the limits of her territories, the possibilities of a
14 surprise attack, and therefore she asks for the Phantom jets
15 and, thank goodness, two Administrations have assured her
16 of them and they will be on their way this fall.

17 We were hearing here tonight how
18 wonderful it would be if the resources of the Middle East
19 countries, all of those countries, could once be diverted
20 or converted primarily for human and economic development
21 rather than for arms and war and destruction. Oh, the
22 potential. I had a reporter ask me a question out here and
23 I said, "Look, imagine what Israel could do in that area
24 if there was a spirit of cooperation."

25 Today Israel sends her technicians

1 to Africa. I met them when I was in Africa. She sends her
2 technicians to Latin America. She is sending her capably
3 trained people all around the world. I think I know the
4 people of the Middle East well enough to know that Israel's
5 technicians could be a God-send to that part of the world.
6 Just the other day, they have discovered in Libya a body of
7 water under the deserts greater than all of the Great Lakes
8 put together, and with earth resource satellites, sensory
9 devices in space capsules, and high-altitude planes, we are
10 able to detect water resources deep in underground tunnels
11 and caverns and rivers and lakes. We are able to detect
12 minerals and analyze soil from 150 miles into space through
13 sensory devices known as earth resource satellites. It's
14 all there. Science and technology has made it possible.
15 All that is needed is a rational settlement, the willingness
16 of people to think rather than to emote, the willingness of
17 people in the Arab States to sit down with the State of
18 Israel and work out their difficulties, calling upon the
19 good offices of others, if need be, to reconcile points
20 that seem irreconcilable and hopefully to come to some
21 understanding. That will be the blessed day.

22 Imagine what it will be like if
23 we could ever once take the atomic energy that we speak of
24 now in such fear and we could utilize it for the processes
25 of desalinization, and there are proposals like this.

1 Louis Strouse and President Eisenhower and others have these
2 proposals. David Lillienthal. Just think of the possibilities,
3 and that's what we have to keep thinking about.

4 Somebody asked me, "Are you
5 attending a meeting in here to raise money for arms?"

6 I said, "No. I'm attending a
7 meeting in here to raise money for life. That's what we are
8 doing here."

9 Well, many of you have been to
10 Israel. I have been there twice and I hope I go again this
11 year. I'm not sure whether I will make it, but I think so.
12 Kind of think I will be there, and isn't it a lift? Don't
13 you feel that sense of a pioneer? Don't you feel a sense
14 of dedication and commitment and -- listen, my fellow
15 Americans: When you see lots of things going wrong in your
16 own country here, when you see people griping that ought
17 not to gripe, when you see things not being done that ought
18 to be done, and you go to a little country like Israel and
19 you see that they have opened their doors to the helpless,
20 and they have, you know -- let me just tell you something,
21 my friends. Some of the immigrants Israel took in, no
22 immigration law in the United States would permit to come in.
23 Israel takes them in, gives them a home, makes it possible
24 for them to live. I have been there twice. Each time I
25 come away feeling younger. Each time I come away feeling

1 better. Each time I came away feeling inspired and lifted
2 and I knew then that people can do what they want to do.

3 The human spirit -- St. Augustine
4 said, when he spoke of the wonders of the world, that the
5 greatest wonder of them all is man himself, and you have
6 seen it. Simple people, some of them, as different as you
7 can imagine. A Jew from North Africa is as different as
8 can be when you compare him to a Jew from Poland, except
9 in one thing -- in faith and in spirit. They have made
10 something out of it.

11 Now, why do I get excited about
12 this? Because I spent now twenty years of my life in
13 government. I thought that we had designed a foreign
14 policy that was basically good. The purpose of that foreign
15 policy was to promote the development of, as we put it,
16 national security and national development within the
17 spirit of international institutions, within the framework
18 of international institutions, and the spirit of inter-
19 national cooperation. The objectives of American foreign
20 policy, what you paid your taxes for, and you paid billions
21 of dollars of it, are for national development, national
22 security within a framework of international organization
23 and in the spirit of international cooperation.

24 It is an extra dividend when that
25 means parliamentary institutions, democratic institutions,

1 and whenever we find a country today that has fulfilled
2 those hopes, whenever you find a country, no matter where
3 it is, whether it is in Asia or Latin America or the Middle
4 East or Africa or Europe that has fulfilled the hopes that
5 we have had in our policy, then I think we have an extra
6 commitment to it.

7 Now, we frequently lend our
8 resources to people that have less than democratic govern-
9 ments. We have spread and spilled the blood of our young
10 men for countries that have no democratic governments.
11 The State of Israel is not asking the United States of
12 America, the Government of the United States of America
13 to give them one thing. They are willing to pay for the
14 planes that they want to buy, pay for the supplies that
15 they ask for, pay for the food that they get. There are
16 people in this country who are willing to help, thank
17 goodness, and that's what this is all about tonight, and
18 I didn't come here just to give you a talk. I came here
19 to ask you to act. I listened to your reports. Very good,
20 but B plus. I am grading now, you know, papers.

21 A reporter asked me, "How do you
22 think you are doing as a teacher?"

23 I said, "About B minus."

24 Maybe I even cheated a little bit
25 there.

1 Ladies and gentlemen, I have just
2 noted it down here that your government needs to know that
3 you care, too. Your government. There is no better way to
4 be a good citizen than to care, to care about people here
5 and to care about them elsewhere, and you can be tonight
6 a great American and a good Jew in the same act and in so
7 doing you are better both ways if you open up your hearts
8 and say that "I do care; I care enough to help somebody else
9 and I care enough to tell my country that I care and I'm
10 going to tell my neighbors that I care. I'm going to quit
11 talking to myself. I'm going to talk to others and I'm
12 going to tell them what's going on and I'm going to say to
13 them that I've made my commitment. What have you done?"

14 Thank you very much.

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Maxwell Jospey
Chairman

Max M. Fisher
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April 17, 1969

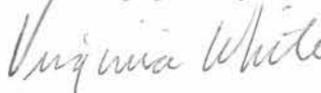
Mr. David Gartner
Federal Building #7 Room 6202
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mr. Gartner:

Enclosed is the transcript of the talk that Mr. Humphrey made at the opening meeting of the 1969 Allied Jewish Campaign-Israel Emergency Fund in Detroit on March 26.

Also enclosed is a picture that I thought that Mike O'Donnell might like to have.

Cordially yours,



Virginia W. White
Public Relations Department

VW:dL

Enclosure



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