Meeting with Rabbinian assembly many 31, 1967 D.P. I wish today to reiterate the President's firm

commitment of the United States "to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all nations of the area."

In the week since the President made that statement, we have been in frequent touch with all governments concerned. At the end of last week, Israeli Foreign Minister Eban held detailed discussions here with Secretaries Rusk and McNamara and their staffs and called on the President before returning to Israel to report to his government.

We are now concentrating our efforts in the United Nations Security Council.

Ambassador Goldberg has clearly declared there that we stand for free and innocent navigation through the Straits of Tiran in accordance with international law.

We expect that the Security Council -- and the nations which sit there representing the aspirations for peace of all the world -- will see their responsibility and act accordingly.

The United Nations is facing one of the most serious challenges of its history.

Through the last two decades the United Nations has played a crucial role for peace in that area, and we must bend every effort to preserve its effectiveness.

We are also active on other diplomatic fronts.

Although it is too early to say more, I can assure you that we are making every effort -- exploring every honorable avenue -- to preserve peace in the Middle East and to persuade all nations involved to uphold the principles of international law on which the world community relies to maintain that peace.

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September 13, 1967

Dear Keo:

We have looked over the transcript in question quite closely. Because of the sensitive content -- and because the meeting was not a public one -- I'm afraid we're going to have to keep it private and withhold publication, as much as we regret it.

With all best wishes and thanks.

Sincerely,

Ted Van Dyk Assistant to the Vice President

Mr. Leo Kramer Leo Kramer, Inc. 1250 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036 our congregations Friday evening, our c

our congregations Friday evening, our congregations, our temples are going to be crowded with people waiting for, really, for a word from you and we will be the channel or the conduit for those words.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

(Applause.)

MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

Rabbi, first permit me just to sort out these papers. It's a long ways from a Boy Scout Camp to this, the 67th Annual Convention of the Rabbinical Assembly, and I sort of have to get myself in shape here. Shifting from outdoor camp life to just the whole subject of life itself, and I hope to be able to do so.

My dear friends, at the time that we discussed this dialogue between this wonderful audience and the Vice President none of us ever would have believed that we would be facing the dire conditions that we face today. It had been my hope that when that arrangement for our discussion and conversation was agreed upon that I might primarily concentrate my attention upon the matters of social concern in our own country here in the United States, what we were trying to do in the field of education, the war on poverty, health, the program to lift the life of the American people and indeed programs that are underway to improve the lot of mankind throughtout the world.

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Since that time, however, circumstances have developed, or situations have been created which surely have changed the picture that confronts us. I know very much that topic is uppermost in your minds and indeed in mine. It is the whole subject of the Middle East, what is traspiring there, what may happen and what we hope can be done to prevent any violence, war or the fruits, or the destruction of aggression.

Now, may I say most respectfully to this audience that this is a very delicate situation. It is extremely sensitive for me. I want to talk to you completely off the record and I know that there are reporters in this room and I'm going to ask them to abide by the rules of fair play and a general understanding that we have in the — between the public, those of us in public life and those in the press.

I recognize, having been in Washington for almost twenty years, that very little stays off the record no matter how much you wish it would and this is one of the real difficult problems that we have in discussing any sensitive matter, any matter of diplomacy, any matter of national security, any matter of life or death. And, quite frankly, many times efforts which a government seeks to make or is making are torpedoes prematurely or just torpedoed by some premature notice of what is underway.

I couldn't help but note the last couple of days, in reading many of the columns, that there were suggestions and

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proposals that were attributed to your government which are not government policy and if they were to become government policy would have lost their effectiveness at this stage by being publicized.

It poses the great problem for a free society. of how do you conduct the most sensitive and delicate relationships in a very troubled, and at times, emotional world and be able to obtain your objectives through peaceful pursuit. I don't know whether we are able to do that, but I hope that we can.

So I want to say that while I feel very much a member of this family, and I think you know that, we've been together for years, and what I've said in the past I believe in the present, every word of it.

(Applause.)

I have a special obligation today, as a member of the President's Cabinet, as a member of the National Security Council, to weigh my words most carefully and not to do encithings, or say one thing that will exacerbate this situation, aggravate it or that will in any way impede the efforts of our government to fulfill every commitment that it has made over the years, through four Presidents, from President Truman to President Eisenhower to President Kennedy to President Johnson.

-(Applause.)___

I was noticing, with great interest, the memorandum

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in your hands, each of you have, of the record of statements of our great national leaders. Starting back with February 20, 1957 with President Eisenhower's address to the American people and the Aden Memoir handed to Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban by Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles on 11 February 1957. The reply by the Secretary of States, Mr. Dulles at a news conference on the 26th of March 1957.

Now we know what this period means. This was after the Sinai Campaign. I was serving in the United Nations at that time and I remember coming back to the Senate and making my views right, clear, in fact, I have said to our government that as we examine the record of this period and the understanding of this period and the obligations entered into by all countries, and including, and particularly our own in this period; we must examine not only what was said by Presidents and Secretaries of State, but, what was said in Committee Hearings, what was said on the floor of the House, what was said on the floor of the Senate and what was said in public utterances by responsible public officials during that time.

I note here the statement of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge on March 1st, 1957. This was at the time, we all recall, when Israel was asked to remove her forces from certain areas that those forces had staked out a claim, so to speak, or were present and did so under the understanding that there would be

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WOYLD BE UNEF forces, United Nations Emergency Forces, placed in the Sinai area and that there would be access to the Gulf of Aqaba through the Straits of Tiran without interruption, free and Innocent passage.

And of course, that is the central issue and it was to this issue that the Presidents that I have mentioned, Secretary of State Dulles and later on President John Kennedy and later on President Lyndon Johnson, addressed themselves to.

I don't need to go over this paper, I want to say that it's an excellent job of research. Your government is fully aware of everyone of these dates and your government looks upont this record as the predicate upon which we will base and are basing our actions. - (Applause.) We're not seeking to change that record.

(Appleuse.)

I want to make the clear we're not seeking to change that record, because it is a part of a continuity of American public policy since the day that Harry Truman, President of the United States, recognized the independence of the State of Israel.

"(Applause.)-

Now your government seeks to preserve a friendly relationship, or at least a proper relationship, with as many countries as is humanly possible. We do not seek to irritate or agitate, we seek to placate if possible, but your government

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has taken a stand throughout the years against the use of force, against aggression, and that stand has not been modified in any part of the world.

It was the same stand that was taken in the instance of Greece, of Berlin, of Korea, it was taken indeed in Lebanon by President Eisenhower when certain forces were sent there. It's been taken in Southeast Asia and that stand as—to—the—of opposition to aggression and force, coercion as a means of settling international disputes, is unmistakable.

New, we seek to resist that aggression wherever it takes place through multilateral action, through the United Nations first. This is the area, this is the form we believe should be brought to play.

But our stand and our policy should not be misunderstood by anybody. This country has given enough lives since
World War II and has sacrificed enough of its men and its
treasures since World War II in defense of territorial integrity,
in defense of free people, in defense of independent nations so
that no one anywhere in the world ought misunderstand for a
single minute the integrity of the American commitment and
the reliability of the American commitment. (Applause.)

I have a statement here that I want to read to you.

I want you to understand every word that I say. I do not think
it does any good for anybody to sell short or to undermine what

the possibilities could be, should be and may be through collective action in the United Nations. I'm fully aware of the
disappointments that we've had on occasion but I am also aware
of the fact that if you start out believing that it won't
work then you are not fulfilling your treaty obligations under
the United Nations.

We have an extremely able ambassador there, you know him better, as well as I do and maybe some of you better. I donbt that,

I know him pretty well. I know of his deep concern over this matter and I know that if he thought our government was not acting in the manner in which it should on a matter of such importance, that he would be the first to say so. Even at the expense of his personal position. I think you must remember that.

"(Appleuso-)-

had most fortuitously and properly printed the text of President Johnson's statement on May 23rd, and I want to in light of that statement to make this comment.

I want to reiterate the President's firm commitment, and I use the word commitment, of the United States, "To the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all of the nations of the area, "refers to the area of the Middle East. Now this is predicated upon every commitment made

from the time of Mr. Truman up to the Presidency of Mr. Johnson.

It is predicated on the Tripartite Agreement of 1950, which is a basic agreement and one that has been a central pivotal point, pivotal point of American Foreign Policy since that date.

In the weeks since the President made that statement, and the copy of which you have in its total test, we have been your government has been in frequent touch with all of the governments concerned, all-government concerned in the area and indeed the great powers as well.

At the end of last week, as you so well know, Israel's Foreign Minister, the distinguished Abba Eban, who is well known to all of us, held detailed discussions here with Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk and Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamarra and their staffs and then called on the President, where these two men, the President of the United States and the Foreign Minister of Israel held a general discussion of the situation and after that discussion Mr. Eban returned to Israel to report to his government and his government, the government of the State of Israel is fully aware of the detailed conversations that have taken place and because of that awareness has conducted itself with great self-discipline, with high regard for peace and international responsibility.

-(Applauso.)

I think it should be said that the government of

It has been

-(Applauser)-

to operate. We are ever indebted to them.

New ladies and gentlemen, we are now concentrating on our efforts in the United Nations Security Council. We are fully aware of the difficulties, but the United Nations has a special responsibility in this area. Since 1956 and \$\int_{57}\$ and as an active full-fledged participating loyal member of the United Nations, the government of the United States is doing its level best, its very best to have the appropriate instrumentality of the United Nations, namely the Security Council, not only to take cognizance of the critical situation in the Middle East but to act in a manner that will maintain the peace, prevent any resort to force and maintain the passageway the international passageway of the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Agaba.

Israel has been most restrained in its comments. It has not

tiself in histrionics and warlike propagand.

acted in a bellicose and belligerent manner, nor has it indulged

primarily concerned over its national survival, and its national

security and national defense, and I for one, as Vice President

of the United States, want to pay an appropriate expression of

gratitutde and appreciation to the responsible officers of the

people and the government of Israel for their conduct and their

self-restraint, their sense of self-discipline and their will-

ingness to permit the processes of diplomacy and peaceful pursuit

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Amabassador Goldberg has clearly declared that we stand for free and innocent navigation through the Straits of Tiran in accordance with international law. That we not only stand for it now we have in the past. Freedom of the seas has been as much a doctrine of American life as free spech and the Ambassador to the United Nations from the United States has made that manifestly clear and will do so again tomorrow.

New we expect the Security Council and the nations which sit there, representing the aspirations for peace of all the world, will see their respnsibility and act accordingly.

For us to expect less or to want less would be unworthy of us.

The United Nations is truckly facing one of the most serious challenges in its history. Through the last two decades the United Nations has played a crucial role for peace in that area and we must bend every effort to preserve its effectiveness, and this is why your government is emphasizing measure of collective security through the United Nations rather than THEO WAY unilateral action.

We want to exhaust every possibility for international responsibility through the established instrumentality of the of the United Ntions, That is the least we can do.

We are also active on other diplomatic fronts. I don't think you would want me to spell that out but take my word for it, I've never lied to you in the past and I have no intention to do so now.

(Applauso.)

Although it is too early and I think would be very inappropriate for me to say more on this point, I can assure you that we are making every effort and I want to you to under score the word every. Every effort exploring every honorable avenue, every possibility that we can think of to preserve peace in the Middle East and I might add, not at the expense of Israel's sovereignty or life or her lifeline.

(Applause.)-

And to persuade all nations involved to uphold the principles of international law on which the world community relies to maintain that peace.

Now ladies and gentlemen, if I were to be more explicit, more detailed and to say more I wouldn't serve you well, serve my country well or serve the cause of peace at all.

I'm a most unhappy man when there's war anyplace. I think you know that and yet you and I know that international law and order and respect for the territorial integrity and the independence of nations, states, is the minimum requirement for a world of peace. You don't have peace without that and you serve peace not merly by saing your for it, but you serve it by the standards that are set for its preservation.

I do believe that it is important for you, my dear filtends, my fellow American, and those of you who have worked so closely with us for these many years. I think it is impor-

tant for you to know that this government, this administration, is no less committed to peace in the Middle East, to the territorial integrity of the nations states of the Middle East, to the life and the existence and the political sovereignty of a free Israel in the Middle East than any other administration.

There isn't any politics in this. It isn't whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. It isn't whether you're from the east or the west.

There are certain basic fundamentals of American policy which endure. For expaple, the Monroe Doctrine in the Cuban Crisis. The Tripartite Agreement in the Middle East Crisis.

(Applause_)

The principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and I want you to study that Charter, there are three basic commitments and responsibilities of the members of the United Nations. Now they all don't live up to it. If everybody lived up to every commitment we'd taken, we wouldn't need any Rabbis any ministers or any priests. But they're around to remind us once in a while of our commitments.

One of those commitments is to resist aggression, it's there written as plain as any word could be written. The second is to promote determination and the third is to aid in nation building, economic and social progress. They're there.

Now we signed a treaty for that. If anybody ever

asks you were there any treaties we have that apply to this situation or to other situations, the answer is yes. The treaty that we signed calls upon the United States and every other signatory to that treaty to resist aggression, to promote self-determination, to aid and encourage nation building through economic and social progress.

Those are really sacred commitments, the highest, the supreme law of this land. Now how that is done is a matter for statesmen, political leader, diplomate, representatives of the interested and involved nations to decide and design. But the fact that the commitment is there is undeniable and I ask you to put your faith in your government.

-(Applause-)-

I think you have every reason to do so, I know that there isn't a person in this room that want a war in the Middle East, not one, not-one.

(Applause-)

And while it makes good headlines to read how Israel's forces could defeat the combined coalition against her, may I say that, my dear friends, what would happen in that struggle to all the peoples and to all that you have dreamed for and worked and many of you given for, would be a tragedy, just a tragedy.

-{Applause.}-

So, while it would be the easiest thing in the world

for the Vice President to get up here and give a sabre rattling speech, and it might appeal momentarily to your emotions, I can assure you that it would not save a single life in Israel, nor would it save a single life in other nations on the border of Israel.

The cost of such a struggle if it breaks out would be unbelievable, because of the limited area and furthermore, may I say, because of the high, sophisticated weaponry that is in that area and because of the possibility of confrontation of other powers in the area, so that I don't believe that I prove myself a friend of Israel or a friend of yours by standing up here and shaking my fist and saying let me tell you, if anybody does anything they'll hear from us.

What we ought to be saying is that we will use every means at our command to insure the peace, to prevent the struggle, to make sure that unbelievable destruction of men and material does not happen and at the same time, when we repreat, the words as was repeated, to support, and the President of the United States said this, to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all of the nations of the area.

We're talking about the life of nations, not just that they are a spot on the map but that they could live, that their lifelines are not choked off and we're talking about fundamental intergritional law. When Ambassador Goldberg has

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declared that we stand for free and innocent navigation through the Straits of Tiran, in accordance with international law, and we mean it, that is the central issue.

-(Applauso.)-

Well, ordinarily when I speak to you I'm more of what you might call a free-wheeler, aren't I? I mean, I cover a multitude of areas because your interests are so wide. I've never talked to a group of people in my life that had, a basic interest in human dignity and human welfare, than the group I'm looking at now. But, I am also fully aware of your deep concern.

We, you know, I was one of the first that was present when Mr. Truman declared and gave recognition to the State of Israel and when you're there when the baby is born you kind of like to stick with the member of the family all the way.

-(Applause-)_

RABBI BOHNEN: Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President has agreed to answer a few questions and during the course of his address, there have been several here that have indicated a desire to ask such questions.

I do want to remind you, however, that only one address was scheduled for this afternoon. (Taughter.) If you have a question that evokes or requires an answer from the Vice President, we will consider it. There will be no speeches offered here.

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Rabbi-(Cassis) our-61stinguished-colleague-will be

ISLARY JOHNEZ RABBI (CASSIS): Mr. Vice President, we were deeply heartened by your warm and encouraging words.

I think what is of the deepest concern to us here today is time. I think maybe (Batwo) and Abba Eban and the leaders of the people of Israel have shown remarkable constraint, as you indicated. My concern is how long can they wait, in terms of the pressures, that build up.

Therefore, we remember all too dadly, Mr. Vice President, what happened a generation ago when another dictator was allowed to pursue his following. We do not want to see this happen again inour day.

MR. HUMPHREY: We're fully aware of that history.andmay I say that the lessons of that history are not the exclusive property of anyone. They're the property of all of us.

We are at this stage doing what I think is one of the spokesmen of the State of Israel said: - I just looked at my notes - gaining broathing space. But what is to happen during that breathing space is what's important and it's to that question that we are directing our intensive efforts, because we are aware of the time factor.

We're also aware of the fact that the government of Israel is an elected government, of the emotions of the people in that country. and sometimes, governments are driven by their

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own people beyond even what their leaders would went them to

And may I add at this point, I think it's very important, therefore, that your words and my words be such that they are words of reassurance to the people of Israel, as to the faithfulness of the friend, the United States, number one, and number two, as to the supreme tragedy of military confrontation or military action that would be initiated or could be initiated by the State of Israel.

In other words, let's have no word come from us, sinkery either from government or private, that would precipitate a first strike, so to speak, by the State of Israel because to do so I think would seriously jeopardize all of the diplomatic efforts that your government now pursues, even though I understand that temptation. I understand what Israel has had to face with underlared, I mean with declared war around her borders for years with the claim of the UAR, her belligerent status, I understand that.

We're asking the State of Israel to exemplify qualities of character that very few of us have. I understand that too. But, may I say most respectfully, there wouldn't have been a State of Israel if they hadn't had that character in the first place.

(Applause.)

RABBI BOHNEN: I'm going to ask the Vice President

of the Rabbinical Assembly to ask a question of the Vice President of the United States.

(Eaughtor.)

I hope.

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RABBI SIMON: Mr. Vice President, I wish to re-echo the words of my distinguished colleague in telling you how heartened we are by the firm, clear and unequivical statements of commitment you express.

(Applauses)-

We also wish to re-echo the sense of concern that we have and I know you have, about a democracy that is a true democracy and our response to the will of the people.

I have received information from Israel about the unrest of the populace and the difficulties that Mr. (Eshcol) may have in interpreting to his people the need for deally.

What has happened is that men have been called from the farms, from the fields, from the factories. Teachers have been called from the schools, everything has ground to a halt. The shops are closed. People are going to face the problem of food, of support, of taking care of their children.

I have been thinking that one of the things that we could do, and when I say we I mean we Americans, perhaps our government, would be to say to the people of Israel, we need time and what we would like to do is to help you bid the time

with your people.

Wouldn't it be a dramatic gesture if food, supplies and help and a fleet of ships carrying food and support and clothing and whatever that country needs now in this crisis, so that it does not face bankruptcy and does not face the need for some precipitous action that would be regreted.

I hope that there can be conveyed to the President Carrier and to the Balack the need for some striking dramatic action that would come from the heart of America: to the heart of the people of Israel, that would say to them we are with you in a moral way until we solve this political problem in whichwe fully understand and the commitments that we fully intend to keep.

-(Applause.)

MR. HUMPHREY: Might I make a practical suggestion, that is strictly out of order since I as yet have not been made a member of the Rabbinical Assembly, but, I come close on a couple of occasions.

(Laughter.)

I would think that such a proposal worded very much along the lines that you have, would be very helpful, constructive suggestion in the form of a resolution, and if you would like. I can remember what you said fairly well, but if you would like to make it a little more detailed and formal and you would like to present such a resolution to me, I will see

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that it gets to the President of the United States.

-(Annlause.)

RABBI SIMON: If I may have the floor to propose this resolution, I will word it and submit it to an editorial committee for proper etiquette, that we the members of the Rabbinical Assembly, Convention, assembled and in the presence of the Vice President of the United States, hereby respectfully petition the government of the United States, which is actively seeking a solution to the problem of the aggression that has occurred in the Middle East, that our government in this interim extend its hand of assistance and support to the government of the State of Israel and to its people who are suffering economic distress through the dislocation of industry and all commerical activity, that it do this by the immediate dispathh of food supplies and all other supplies that will sustain the normal life and the activity of the beleaguered people in the State of Israel.

- (Appleuse_)_

RABBI BOHNEN: Ladies and gentlemen, this is a formal resolution. Do I hear it seconded?

VOICES: Seconded.

RABBI BOHNEN: It has been moved and seconded.

All those in favor --

VOICES: Aye.

All those opposed?

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(No response.)

RABBI BOHNEN: It id passed that we will convey that to the Vice President to give to the President.

-(Applause.)

L-recognize the Chairman of our Israel Committee, Rebbi Tyron Fenster,

RABBI FENSTER: Mr. Vice President, we as you have heard have all been very encouraged by your support of the commitments of the government of the United States, but there is some difficulty in clarifying these last days precisely what that commitment is and there are apparently a number of interpretations that have been given to the nature of that commitment.

Could you inform us and enlarge on what you consider to be the nature of the commitment?

MR. HUMPHREY: I don't believe there's any doubt as to the meaning of internationalization of the waters of the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba. That, I believe, was decided in the what is it, the Convention of the Seas in 1957, relating to the laws of the seas.

It is a fact, of course, that the United Arab Republic Access did not exceed to that convention, but I believe, unless my memory is mistaken, that the United States and the Soviet Union and many other nations, most of the maritime powers, did exceed to that convention.

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There is one question that has been raised. It is in reference to one of the statements of the former Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, as to what the United States would do under certain circumstances, and might I say that it might be just as well for this meeting if that question remain, if that issue remain, as ambiguous as it is.

There may be some merit in its amiguity, I happen to think so.

(Applause.)

This is not to try to avoid or evade your question, sir, but this is a matter that has been discussed, not as a matter of weakening our position but as a matter of, should, I put it, of hopefully insuring the effectiveness of our ciplomacy.

(Applause.) -

RABBI BOHNEN: Rabbi () Nadich.

RABBI, NADACH: Mr. Vice President, may I express my own personal appreciation for your graciousness in keeping your long standing commitment to appear here today despite the crisis that has come upon our country and upon the world as a whole.

May I then ask you, sir, is it not your opinion that the free world's failure to insist in these past years upon free passage of all shipping, including Israel's, through the Suez Canal and free access of Jews to the holy places in the Jordanian Sector of Jerusalem both offered by the United Nations

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action, have contributed to the present crisis. MR. HUMPHREY: I guess I have addressed myself to that subject about fifteen times over the last six years and

I'll let the record of my previous statements speak for Hubert Humphrey, and as Vice President of the United States I feel that much more could have been done that would have been very very helpful in these matters. I've said so before, I see

no reason not to say so again.

It's always been my view that one of the understandings that was arrived at, at the time of the settlement in 1957, was the free access of all ships to the use of the Suez Canal and surely the United Nations has made itself manifestly clear on the access to the holy places in Jerusalem.

T-see-that, had thet been done frankly, had we been able to succeed in that, this situation might be much less volatile than it is. I can't say for Usre, however, that it would be.

There are forces at work in the Middle East that have been at work for a long period of time, that still would plauge us. How I wish I could be more explicit with you, sir.

(Applauso.)

RABBI BOHNEN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are very greatful to the Vice President for being here.

(Applause.)-

Mr. Vice President, I think I can speak on behalf of

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my constituents when I say that we appreciate very much your coming here and that we will be able to take back to our congregations now, more than a word of hope, we'll be able to tell them that the Vice President of the United States, speaking for the government of the United States has made us feel that every word of the commitment of this country will be carried out and that the people of Israel, to use or paraphrase the words that were addressed to them way back in 1957, will never have reason to regret that they put their trust and faith in the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

(The afternhon-session was closed.)

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