



*Julie Cahm*¹⁹
FOR RELEASE
Monday AM's
May 6, 1968

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
20th Anniversary of Israel Celebration
Chicago, Illinois
May 5, 1968

I salute, with you, the first state in history that was 3500 years old on its 20th birthday.

What we recognize tonight is the timeless tradition of mankind's ceaseless search -- no matter what the odds or how long and hard the course -- for freedom of the human spirit and for the dignity -- and the meaning -- of Man.

What we recognize, beyond that, the greatest feat of human invention -- under divine inspiration and encouragement -- of the 20th or perhaps any other century: The miracle of Israel.

It is commonplace to recognize the era we live in as a time of scientific miracles -- of lasers and masers, of atomic power and space-ships, of heart transplants and the creation of the molecule of synthetic life in the laboratory.

It is harder to realize that this is equally the era of social and political change and achievement equal to the magnitude of technological advance.

Israel is the evidence that Man as Citizen -- no less than Man as Scientist -- can invent his future.

From the ghastly ashes of a continent gone crazy, a new nation grew up in the Middle East that has shown mankind that a small nation can -- in a moment of time -- become a great nation, an independent nation, a creative nation, and a strong nation -- no matter what the obstacles!

And the way that was followed was freedom -- not the way of tyranny that takes shortcuts across the quicksand of false promise -- but the harder, yet firmer, course of freedom.

One other thing: The miracle of Israel is not the less, but the greater, for its being the story of how free men and women all over the world -- and especially here in America -- united in their efforts -- and shared the responsibility -- to bring a land and a people back to life. Americans -- and free men and women everywhere -- stand taller tonight for having taken even a little part in the miracle of Israel.

And we can all be proud that the United States, with public involvement and public resources . . . with personal involvement and private resources, had supported the great nation building enterprise of many peoples in this post-war period.

Does the miracle of Israel stand alone? Or is it perhaps in part a more dramatic reflection of changes which are also taking place even here in America?

We Americans tend to ignore history. We drive ahead at a tremendous pace and seldom bother to look back at the road behind.

This has some advantages -- we don't waste a lot of time and energy arguing about dead issues.

But it also limits our capacity to understand how far we have traveled, how fast, and the extent to which our society has -- under our unseeing eyes -- been fundamentally transformed.

A quarter of a century ago -- at just about the time of Israel's reincarnation -- America emerged almost as suddenly as the strongest power in the world.

Our achievement has been in the exercise of this incredible power with both effectiveness and restraint.

This has meant accepting the positive obligations of power by rebuilding the shattered societies of Western Europe.

It has meant accepting the negative but equally necessary burden of utilizing military power to contain Communist aggression.

It has meant the recognition that this power carries no mandate to play world policeman, to throw our weight around the world in risky adventurism, or to organize international life in our own image. And we have not done so.

Nor have we sponsored "wars of liberation" or guerrilla movements in infringement of the sovereignty of others.

We have sailed, as President Johnson once said, in uncharted waters. The advent of the nuclear age made all the old maps obsolete.

Living in a world where decisions must be made before history is written -- I think we can say that the United States since World War II, has exercised its power with restraint and responsibility . . . has shown a commitment to responsibility with an unselfish spirit that defies description as "globalistic meddling" or "neo-colonialism" . . . and at the same time has been prepared to utilize its power to prevent the rise of new aggressors.

In short, we seek peace -- not as an abstraction, but as an enforceable reality.

The course has not been easy -- or certain. It is far from easy or certain today.

(con't)

We are now entered on the course toward peace in Southeast Asia -- a course which will surely be long and difficult.

Nor will peace in the Middle East -- a lasting peace -- come easily.

The five principles on which a durable peace in the Middle East can be built are still the same, we believe, as when they were stated by President Johnson last June 19.

Such a peace could be the hope not just of one nation in the Middle East but of all. It would make the difference between people progressing in confidence . . . and nations draining their strength in the ever-present fear of war.

If the peace is won, the bonds you buy today will turn out to be not simply Bonds for Israel, but Bonds for the Middle East. I am sure that everyone here would prefer to have it that way.

Perhaps the greatest contribution we can make to peace in the Middle East would be to reach agreement with the Soviet Union to curtail the arms race there.

If the Soviet Union -- which has been willing to discuss curtailment of the global arms race -- would give equal priority to slowing the conventional arms race in the Middle East, it would earn the gratitude of all mankind.

Meanwhile, however, because of what we all so deeply believe, let this be clear:

America is not going to permit Israel to stand defenseless against any who would destroy her.

For reason must prevail over force. Acceptance of nationhood must prevail over prejudice.

As President Johnson indicated in the communique issued in January following his meeting with Prime Minister Eshkol, the United States will "keep Israel's military defense capability under active and sympathetic examination and review in the light of all relevant factors including the shipment of military equipment by others to the area."

Israel represents freedom.

Israel represents modern nation building.

Israel represents a part of our spiritual and cultural heritage which Americans will never sacrifice.

* * *

I believe that the whole course of post-war history proves that man can invent the future.

Indeed we are inventing the future -- of man's relationship not alone to nature but, even more important, to himself -- each with every other.

All of us in this room tonight can look back on those twenty years in the lives of two nations -- one new, the other new to unparalleled power in the world -- with infinite pride.

That pride is leavened with the humility that must be in our

answer to what Adlai Stevenson meant by the Call to Greatness.

We know that the charge upon greatness is responsibility.

Yet no person here tonight would have it any other way --
or choose any other time to live in.

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REMARKS

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VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF

ISRAEL CELEBRATION

*Erwin
Wein*

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

*Ch Marshall
Kroschak*

MAY 5, 1968

NOT IN RELEASE

*\$ 15,300,000 - to increase
it*

(Introduction of HHH will -- it is reported -- include this remark: "The Vice President has been a close and intimate friend of Jews and of Israel. If one could be described as, Vice President would be called the "adopted son of Israel!")

/In response to applause/ "If you don't stop that, I'll begin to think I am Jewish."

But this "adopted son" business, Mr.

Chairman: Why, I adopted Israel -- 20 years ago.

↳ You forget on Israel's 20th birthday how anxiously so many of us stood beside that embattled cradle and looked at that infant state lying there. /It was pretty scrawny. / It had been a long pregnancy --

several thousand years -- and we didn't want anything
to go wrong.

I remember it helped quite a lot when a
great man called out the baby's name -- in a loud
voice that all the world could hear -- just two hours
after the blessed event. Next Wednesday ^{may} is his
^{so} birthday -- number 84. Let's say Happy Birthday from
independent Israel to Harry S. Truman of Independence,
Missouri.

If I can't assert, with you, any real part
in Israel's paternity, I do make another claim: that
later on I helped as much with the doctor's bills,
the food bills, the bar mitzvah bills and the college
expenses as any other living Israel Bond salesman.

By the way -- My bar mitzvah is in August -- really ~~in~~ ^{its} in
November -- and you are all invited.

I want to say here tonight, ~~too~~, in the city
of his parents, our delight and gratitude in Washington
for Israel's new Ambassador -- Rav Aluf Rabin (-- Major
General Rabin, for those of you who don't know Hebrew
as well as I do.) |

Ah-lee-ah There may be some kind of lesson here for
those, especially in the Midwest, who are considering
Aliyah. If you settle in Israel, you can't be sure your
son will return here as ambassador . . . or that your
daughter will become a foreign minister . . . but it's
something to think about. ! ~~It is~~

Thanks, too, here in his city, for all ~~that~~
~~that~~ the world and the nation have come to associate . . .
of excellence, of effectiveness, and of leadership . . .

with the name of Secretary . . . Justice . . . and
Ambassador . . . Arthur J. Goldberg. !

↳ It's wonderful to be here tonight with so
many old friends that to name any of them would be
to find no reasonable stopping place along the line. °

So I'm not going to start. !

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~~START RELEASE~~

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history that was 3500 years old on its 20th birthday. !

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∟ We recognize, beyond that, the greatest
feat of human invention -- under divine inspiration
and encouragement -- of the 20th or perhaps any other
century: The miracle of Israel.

*It lives, It prospers,
~~It fights~~, It Wins!*

∟ It is commonplace to recognize ~~the miracle of Israel~~

the era live in as a time of scientific miracles -- of lazers and
mazers, of atomic power and space-ships, of heart
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Freedom! | And the way that was followed was
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One other thing. The miracle of Israel
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story of how free men and women all over the world --

Bonds

and especially here in America -- united in their efforts -- and ^{sharing} ~~shared~~ the responsibility -- to bring

a land and a people back to life! Americans -- and free men and women everywhere -- stand taller tonight for having taken even a little part in the miracle of Israel.!

Nation Building

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If the Soviet Union -- which has been willing to discuss curtailment of the global ^{nuclear} arms race -- would give equal priority to slowing ^{down} the conventional arms race in the Middle East, it would earn the gratitude of all

mankind. — It would be a truly
Constructive Step toward Peace.

And when P.M. Eschke - W.T.K. L.B.J. -

Meanwhile, however, because of what we all so deeply believe, let this be clear:

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ORIGINAL

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

Remarks of Vice President Robert E. Humphrey
at the Trustees Dinner, Greater Chicago Committee
of State of Israel Bonds, Saddle and Siroin Club -
Stock Yard Inn, Chicago, Illinois, Sunday, May 3, 1968.

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LEON M. GOLDING & ASSOCIATES

COURT REPORTERS

30 NORTH LA SALLE STREET - SUITE 1310

CHICAGO 60602

CENTRAL 6-4943

(Remarks of Vice President Hubert
H. Humphrey at the Trustee Dinner,
Greater Chicago Committee for State
of Israel Bonds, Saddle and Sirloin
Club - Stock Yard Inn, Chicago,
Illinois, Sunday, May 5, 1968, at
7:00 o'clock p.m., and Introduction
By Mr. Marshall Korshak, Co-Chairman.)

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CHAIRMAN KORSHAK: Mr. Vice President,
Governor Sam Shapiro, Colonel Arvey, Distinguished
Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen:

Happy Anniversary to all of you here to-
night on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the
State of Israel.

We are so proud tonight beyond any of our
ability to tell you on the occasion of the Vice
President's visit with us here. He, perhaps, like
no other man in the history of America has initiated
more legislation to benefit people than any man
who ever served in the Senate of the United States.

He is a great statesman, a great American,
a great Vice President. He is a great friend of

Israel. It is a great job to have him with us here tonight.

Now, as unaccustomed as he is to making speeches (laughter), I would like to prevail upon the Vice President, even though he is going to make a major address next door in a few minutes, I know that if we prevail upon him, he will say a few words for us here right now.

Mr. Vice President.

(The audience arose with applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Marshall, this is a meeting where one can address friends by their first names because we are friends, and when David and Jacob got up here and talked, and Erwin, and now you, Marshall, and I look around this room and see all of our other friends -- of course, when it comes to governors, you have got to be more careful. (Laughter)

And, Governor -- Governor, my dear friend, Governor (appluse), governors and judges, you know, you really have to be on guard. (Laughter)

Well, I do have a message for you tonight, which I hope will be worthy of you, and that is the message that we will have a little later on. My

message for you now is just primarily a message of fellowship and friendship and good neighbors and good folks getting together.

I think there is some truth to it that I have maybe addressed as many Bond meetings as almost anybody else. I always told my friends in the B'Nai B'Rith that I attended more meetings than they did. (Laughter) And sometimes I have even told some of my friends that I had been "dohvening in the shul" a little bit more than some of them have. (Laughter and applause)

I was just thinking here for a moment about the time of the year that we are holding this celebration and this Anniversary party. Some of you may have noticed that I did like this to Florence Berman a little while ago and asked her to come on over here and I leaned over and gave her a good old fashioned smack, and I just wished her a happy birthday because I remembered it was her birthday. (Laughter) (Applause)

As a matter of fact, the month of May is just filled up with good birthdays, including mine. (Laughter and applause)

I was just running down to Florence all the

birthdays: Israel's birthday, Harry Truman's birthday, Bob Hope's birthday, John Kennedy's birthday, Florence Berman's birthday. Any of you folks want to get in on the month of May birthdays, we'll let you in right now. (Laughter)

Tonight we are going to talk a little bit about some of our policy and some of our attitude, some of our commitment to the State of Israel. This is a wonderful birthday occasion, an anniversary occasion, the 20th, and that is a very significant year in the life of man or woman or a nation. Isn't it entirely fitting and appropriate that there should be something special that is achieved on that occasion?

I know that last year because of the crisis in the Middle East, because of the aggression and the threat to Israel, the people rose up in this country, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, to help the State of Israel, and I know that the bond sales last year were greater than they had ever been, and the only reason that I said that is that that is a floor from which you work from here on out. That is a fact. You cannot afford to have a standard of last year be any less than the standard of this year, or

should I say more than the standard of this year.

Now, when I get down to the Amphitheatre or to the main auditorium, I may not be quite so direct as this. I am Vice President, and they tell me that I have to be very circumspect all the time and everything like that, but I want you to know I am not very circumspect about this. I have always thought it was right for people to invest in freedom, at home or abroad, and that is what you are doing. (Applause) And I have always thought it was right for people to be proud of their heritage. You ought to be proud of your heritage, your religion, your family, and your country. (Applause)

I have always thought that a democracy could never be successful unless the people themselves were involved, and that means our democracy and our people involved in the hopes and the aspirations that we have for ourselves and for other people.

I have had some of the happiest days of my life, the happiest hours of my life going about this country during the years that I have been in public life talking to audiences like this, being in temples and meetings and dinners, and you name it, I have been there, and asking people to invest in the

• cause of freedom, asking people to invest in a nation or a people or a cause that was just.

Sometimes on other occasions when it has been a charitable function, I have asked people to give. There is a great deal of difference between the giving that we have in the USA and the bond program that we have in the sale of bonds for the State of Israel. I am well aware of it. But let me say this, that there is not a single person that I have met in these twenty years since the birth of Israel that is any the worse off for what they have given or what they have invested. In fact, I believe I can make this claim without fear of contradiction, that every person that has either given or invested is better off today than he was when he started.

(Applause)

Well, I am not going to say much more. I sat down here -- I am kind of a sentimental character-- and you all know it, there is no use trying to pretend I am not -- I looked here and saw this little symbol of what we are talking about (indicating flags) and you just take a look at it for a little while. I have been seeing those flags together for twenty years and, very frankly, those flags ought to be

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together from here on out for the next hundred years or thousand years. (Applause)

It takes more than talk or good sentiment, and I know it and so do you, and I don't have to say any more about it but I will tell you something, the Stars and Stripes and the Star of David sure do go together. It is a good color combination, and it also looks good no matter how you look at it, it looks good. (Applause)

The last thing I want to tell you is what an old preacher said one day. He said in the worst of times you do the best of things. Just let that sink in and that is true here at home or it is true in our efforts abroad. When it looks the most difficult and is the most difficult, that is the time that you have to be the greatest, the best. In the worst of times, you must do the best of things.

In the easiest of times, you can do anything, but it is when -- as we put it in the American vernacular -- when the chips are down, and I will tell you what I think will do more to secure peace in the Middle East than any other one thing, is when the whole world knows that there is a great American commitment to peace in the Middle East, that we don't

intend to let a free nation, an independent nation, be destroyed or demolished, or be run over. (Applause)

That is my feeling. That is my commitment. That is my sentiment, I am not a war-like man, never have been, but I do know this, that the cause of peace is not fulfilled by the timid. It takes as much courage to do the things that are required to sustain or maintain peace as it does to win a war, and it takes a little more inspiration, may I say, to get people to do it.

So all I want to say to you tonight is what you are doing and what you have done and what this community has done for years is to help build the conditions that are conducive to peace in the Middle East, and the investments that you make are going to help maintain the peace in the Middle East, and to me, very candidly, the most dangerous area of the world today for this nation, for the whole word, if it gets out of hand, is the Middle East.

Whatever you can do as an individual citizen to sustain the economic and political and social vitality of a free country--all it wants is its freedom, and its independence, its right to live and let live--whatever you can do, you do it not only

for Israel, which is your right and your privilege, but you do it for America and you do it for the whole cause of humanity.

I only hope that what I have to say at the Amphitheatre tonight will be as concise and as succinct as that. I have spoken to you from my heart as well as from my mind.

Just make up your mind that you have got to do a better job than you ever planned on doing, otherwise there is no need of me coming out here, to be frank about it. I would love to see you. The best friends I have are in this room, and I can honestly say that. If I could have the whole night off, as my wife used to say to me, "Why do you always stay up so late?"

I said, "Honey, because I love my friends so much."

And she said, "Did you ever think about going home first?"

And I said, "It never passed through my mind." (Laughter)

It never has. I have been out here on all of these wonderful occasions and had such a joyous time, but listen, this time I am out here for a purpose for you, for my country, for the country,

for the cause of humanity, for peace in the Middle East, and I want you to make up your mind as a result of this meeting in this room tonight to do a whole lot better job than you intended to do, and you can do it. There isn't any doubt about it, so get busy.

Thank you, very much.

ORIGINAL

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

Address of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
at the 20th Anniversary of Israel Celebration,
International Amphitheatre, Chicago, Illinois,
Sunday, May 5, 1963.

LEON M. GOLDING & ASSOCIATES

COURT REPORTERS

30 NORTH LA SALLE STREET - SUITE 1310

CHICAGO 60602

CENTRAL 6-4949

mjsl

(Address of Vice President Hubert
H. Humphrey at the 20th Anniversary
of Israel Celebration, International
Amphitheatre, Chicago, Illinois,
Sunday, May 5, 1968, at 9:00 o'clock
p.m., and Intriduction by Colonel
Jacob Arvey.)

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COLONEL ARVEY: My assignment tonight
is the introduction of a man. I met that man 20
years ago, a bare two months after the establishment
of the State of Israel. He was a young man.
He had just completed a term as mayor of his city
and had been re-elected by the largest majority
ever given to a public official in that municipality.

He was a member of a Platform Committee of
a political convention that he and I attended as
delegates. I heard and saw that young man in action.
He fought successfully for a plank in the platform
which congratulated President Truman for recognizing
the State of Israel, pledging our country to support
that little nation of Israel, and pleading the
United Nations would admit it to membership.

LEON M. GOLDING AND ASSOCIATES, CHICAGO

On that same committee, he, a David among the Goliaths of politics, a young man new to national politics, met with seasoned men, fought for a liberal civil rights plank. He was defeated in committee, and he announced his determination to present a minority report, and the leaders of that party pleaded with him to agree to a compromise. They pointed out to him that if he did not agree to a compromise and if his minority report was adopted, his party would lose the national elections, and he, who was then a candidate for senator from his state, would face certain defeat.

And I fell in love with him when I heard him say, "I am agreeable to compromise. Compromise is necessary in government, but I could never agree to compromise on principle."

And then I heard him on the floor of the convention when he pleaded for support for his minority report, and he said, "There are those who say to me that we are rushing too fast", and he said to them, "I say to them that we are 172 years late, because at that time, 172 years ago, we did not proclaim that all the white or the black or the red or the yellow are equal, that all Christian or Jewish men are equal,

that all Protestant or Catholic men are equal, that all rich and poor men are equal, that all good and bad men are equal, but what we declared then was that all men are equal."

Ladies and gentlemen, that was 20 years ago and throughout those two decades, no man has been more eloquent, no man has been more forceful than that man in implementing that creed which he proclaimed at that convention, and which was proclaimed 172 years ago.

My friends, you and I have worked together for more than 20 years, and you know that my primary interest during these two decades has been the progress and security of the State of Israel. I say to you that I know of no man, Jew or non-Jew, who has been a greater ally and supporter and friend of the State of Israel than that man. (Applause)

And we here tonight give thanks to him for that support and that friendship. May I say to you that in this very hall we hope you people will be present a couple of months from today, (Applause) and millions of Americans and millions of men of good will throughout the world hope and pray that at that time, in this hall, he will be able to give his

thanks to the leaders of his party for giving him the baton of leadership. (Applause)

That man, my friends, is our guest tonight. He is our friend, a man of courage, of honesty, a man of unquestioned integrity, of greater knowledge-ability than any man that I know of in government. That man is the Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey. (The audience arose with applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Colonel Arvey, my good friends, Marshall and Erwin, David, all the good friends of this great gathering tonight:

I must say that if you had not stopped that applause when you did that I was beginning to think that I am Jewish. (Laughter and applause)

I tell you I could really enjoy it, too. Yes, I must say that I almost feel like an adopted son. (Applause) But this adopted son business, Colonel Arvey, let me just say a word about it. You may have adopted me and I am delighted. Why, I adopted Israel some twenty years ago. (Applause)

I wonder if we sometimes don't forget that on Israel's 20th Birthday how anxiously so many of us stood beside that embattled cradle and looked at that

infant lying there in state. You know, it was a pretty scrawny little infant at that time and, quite frankly, it had been a long pregnancy. (Laughter) Several thousand years, in fact, and we didn't want anything to go wrong, did we, after all that time. (Applause)

And I remember that it helped quite a lot when a very, very great man called out from this nation that baby's name, and he called it out in a loud voice that all the world could hear just two hours after the blessed event, and next Wednesday, on May 8, is his birthday, number 84. (Applause)

So, my fellow Americans, let's say Happy Birthday from independent Israel to Harry S. Truman of Independence, Missouri. (Shouts and applause) Israel never had a better friend, America never had a better friend, and I have never had a better friend than Harry S. Truman. (Applause)

I realize that I may not be able to assert with any real authenticity any real part in Israel's paternity. I do make another claim, however, that later on I helped as much as I could with the doctor bills, the food bills, the bar mitzvah bills, (Laughter) and the college expenses, as any other living Israel

Bond salesman. (Applause) And I enjoyed every single meeting, every one of them.

By the way, speaking of bar mitzvahs, I have one coming up in August, as Colonel Arvey mentioned here, and the big one is in November, and all of you are invited. (Applause)

I wish to say here tonight in the city of his parents our special delight and gratitude in Washington for Israel's new ambassador, Rab Alav Rabin, I mean Major General Rabin, for those of you who don't know Hebrew as well as I do. (Laughter) Just a few months ago I was with the Ambassador in Miami. Some of you were present there, some of the leaders in the Chicago community. We had a wonderful evening together. And only just two nights ago I attended Israel's Independence Day reception in Washington and between the Ambassador and the Vice President we had a reception that Washington has never had before or since. (Applause)

Now, there may be some kind of lesson here tonight for those especially in the Midwest who are considering aliah. (Laughter and applause) If you should settle in Israel, you simply can't be sure that your son will return here as ambassador

or that your daughter will become foreign minister. But I will tell you, it is something to think about. The odds are good. (Applause) And I believe it is very good and proper to say thanks here in this city for all that the world and the nation have come to associate of excellence, of effectiveness, and of leadership with the name of Secretary, Justice and Ambassador, Arthur J. Goldberg. (Applause)

And it is mighty wonderful to be here tonight with so many old friends, and the room is filled with them, old friends, so many that to name any of them would be to find no reasonable stopping place along the line, and my good friend Judge Marovitz said to me just before I came to this podium, "How long do you plan on talking?" And I said, "It's a great secret, Judge, just wait."

(Laughter)

So now I am going to start on the substance of my message.

I salute, with you, the first State in history that was 3,500 years old on its 20th Birthday. (Applause)

What we recognize tonight is the timeless tradition of mankind's ceaseless search, no matter

what the odds or how long and hard the course, for the freedom of the human spirit and for the dignity, and the meaning, of man. That, my friends, is the true meaning of the State of Israel and its birth.

We recognize, beyond that, the greatest feat of human invention, under divine inspiration and encouragement, of the 20th Century or perhaps any other century -- the miracle of Israel. It lives, it prospers, and it wins in its struggles. (Applause)

If for no other reason we should pay tribute to her, but there is so much more that we can say.

It is commonplace to recognize in this era a period of time of scientific miracles, of lasers and masers, of atomic power and space-ships, of heart transplants and the creation of the molecule of synthetic life in the laboratory. These are the things of which this age is known. It is sometimes harder, however, to realize that this is equally the era of social and political change and spectacular achievement equal to the magnitude of the technological advance that I have just mentioned.

Israel is the evidence that man, as citizen, no less than man, as scientist, can invent his own

future.

From the ghastly ashes of a continent gone crazy, a new nation grew up in the Middle East that has shown mankind that a little nation, a small nation, can -- in a moment of time -- become a great nation, an independent nation, a creative nation, and a strong nation, no matter what the obstacles. That is the story of Israel. (Applause)

How was it done? How was it accomplished? Well, the way that was followed was the way of freedom, not the way of dictatorship, not the way of tyranny that takes shortcuts across the quicksand of false promise, but the way of freedom, the harder yet the firmer course of human freedom and dignity.

One other thing, the miracle of Israel is not the less but the greater for its being the story of how free men and women all over the world, and especially here in America, united in their efforts and sharing the responsibility, can bring a land and a people to life, really a new life. (Applause)

My fellow Americans, what greater thing is there that you can do than to help a people live?

Americans, and free men and women everywhere, stand stronger tonight, taller tonight, for having taken a little part in the miracle of the life of Israel as a nation state. (Applause)

And how proud and happy we can be. We can all be proud that the United States, first with its public involvement and public resources and then with personal involvement and personal resources, has supported the great nation building enterprise of many peoples in this post-war period. And how proud you should be in this great Amphitheatre this evening, each and every one of you, who may have purchased a bond in this Bonds for Israel program, or may have made a contribution in charity and compassion some time in your lives, how proud you should be that you have helped a people gain that great dignity of freedom and independence, which is today the record of the State of Israel. (Applause)

But does this miracle of Israel stand alone, or is it perhaps in part a more dramatic reflection of changes which are also taking place not only in Israel but even here in America? You know, we Americans tend to ignore our history. We drive ahead at a tremendous pace. We are always in a

hurry, and we seldom bother to look back at the road behind. Of course, that has some advantages. We don't waste a lot of our time and energy arguing about the past and dead issues, but I think sometimes it also limits our capacity to understand how far we have traveled, how fast, and the extent to which our own society has, under our unseeing eyes, been fundamentally transformed.

A quarter of a century ago, at just about the time of Israel's reincarnation, America emerged almost as suddenly as the strongest power in the world. Our achievement has been in the exercise, yes, in the prudent, the careful exercise of this incredible power and they exercise it both with effectiveness and restraint. This has meant accepting the positive obligations of power by rebuilding the shattered societies of Western Europe.

It has meant accepting the negative but equally necessary burden of utilizing military power to contain communist aggression. (Applause)

And let us remember, my friends, that those who feel that they can rule this world by brute force, that those who feel that they can indulge in guerrilla warfare and the savage slaughter of

innocent people, that those people are the enemies of freedom, not only in America, not only in Asia, not only in Europe, but in the Middle East as well and indeed the enemies of Israel herself. (Applause)

These post-war years and what America has had to go through has meant the recognition that this power of ours carries no mandate to play world policeman, to throw our weight around in risky adventurism, or to organize international life in our own image. This is not our purpose. This is not our goal. This is not our design, and we have not done so. Nor have we sponsored these so-called "wars of liberation" or guerrilla movements in the infringement of the sovereignty of others.

We have sailed, as President Johnson once said, in uncharted waters. The advent of the nuclear age has made all the old maps obsolete, and living in a world where decisions must be made before history is written, I think we can say that our beloved United States since World War II, has exercised its incredible power with great restraint and responsibility, has shown a commitment to responsibility with an unselfish spirit that defies

description as "globalistic meddling" or "neo-colonialism" and at the same time our nation has been prepared to utilize its power to prevent the rise and the success of new aggressors. (Applause)

In short, my fellow Americans, we seek peace, genuine peace, not as an abstraction but as an enforceable reality.

The course has not been easy nor has it even been certain and it is far from easy or certain today, but there are some faint hopes of a better day. We are now entered on the course toward peace in Southeast Asia, thank goodness, a course which I know will surely be long and difficult, but a course which we must have the courage and the stamina to pursue. (Applause)

Nor will peace in the Middle East, a lasting peace, come easily. It will be difficult.

The five principles on which a durable peace in the Middle East can be built are still the same as when they were stated by President Johnson last June 19, and it is those five principles which this nation accepts and which the state of Israel itself has accepted, and those are the five principles that, if they will be adopted by all the nations of

the troubled area in the Middle East, would lead to a blessed day in that historic region. (Applause)

Such a peace could be the hope, not just of one nation in the Middle East but of all. It would make the difference between people progressing and growing in confidence and nations draining their strength and resources in the ever present fear of war.

If the peace is won -- oh, if only the peace could be won, the bonds that you buy today will turn out to be not simply bonds for Israel but bonds for a whole new day for all of the Middle East and all of its people. (Applause)

And I see tonight as I have every time before that that is exactly the way that you would prefer to have it. Let the world know that gatherings like this are not for the purpose of conquest nor even for the purpose of war. They are for the purpose of defense so that national building, national development and national security can go hand in hand. That is what this program is about tonight. (Applause) Every one of us has a stake in it.

The greatest contribution that your government can make to peace in the Middle East would be

to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to curtail the arms race there, a terrible costly arms race.

(Applause) We pursue that objective relentlessly.

If the Soviet Union, which has been willing to discuss with us recently the curtailment of the global nuclear arms race would give equal priority to slowing down the conventional arms race in the Middle East, it would earn the gratitude of all mankind. (Applause)

But meanwhile, because of what we all so deeply believe, let me make this crystal clear. The United States of America is not going to permit Israel to stand defenseless against anyone who would destroy her. (Shouts and applause)

Let me repeat to you what I said in your national meeting in Miami in December. I look at the record of that meeting. The distinguished Prime Minister of Israel, when he visited President Johnson some months ago, discussed with our President these very thoughts, and without going into the details, because I don't think this audience would want me to do so, let me say this, those two men who have great responsibility, each in their own countries, in their own way, these two leaders did not argue, they did

not dispute. They understood that freedom is not free. They understood that we live in times of peril and they understood that common defense is the only defense. And without going into details, may I say that when the Prime Minister of Israel returned to his homeland he did not come back empty handed or in despair. (Shouts and applause)

And this nation, this nation has pledged to keep Israel's military defense capability under active and sympathetic examination and review in the light of all of the relevant factors including the shipment of military equipment by others to that area. Now, what does that mean? It means we are not going to let Israel be the victim of aggression. We are not going to let her stand alone. (Applause)

We seek no trouble. We seek one thing and only one thing. We seek peace and we seek friendly relations with all of the nations, Arab and Jew, with all the peoples in the Middle East just as we do with all the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. But Israel is far more than one small nation in the Middle East. It is more than a spot on the map. It is more than a few thousand square miles. It is even more than just people.

Israel represents an idea, a precious idea to every American, a precious idea to every free man.

Israel represents freedom itself, and that is why it is precious. (Shouts and applause)

Israel represents another idea, a very important idea. Israel represents modern nation building.

Israel represents a part of our spiritual and cultural heritage which Americans will never sacrifice. (Applause)

So, my friends, we are here in common cause. We are here in the greatest cause of mankind, the cause of freedom itself.

I believe that the whole course of post-war history proves that man can invent the future. Indeed, we are inventing the future. We are inventing the future of man's relationship not only to nature but, even more important, to himself, each with every other.

And all of us in this Amphitheatre tonight can look back on those twenty years in the lives of our two nations, one new, the other new to unparalleled power in the world, and we can look back with pride,

LEON M. GOLDING AND ASSOCIATES, CHICAGO

we can look back with honor. That pride, however, is leavened with the humility that must be in our answer to what Adlai Stevenson meant by the call to greatness. We know that the charge upon greatness is responsibility, and I call upon this audience to act responsibly to everything relating to our America and to its role in this world. When you aid someone in their struggle for dignity, when you aid a nation or a person in its effort for full opportunity, its right to live, its right to work, its right for its own identity, when you aid in that cause, whether it is for a person, black or white, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, when you aid in that cause, whether it is for Israel or America, you aid in the cause of mankind. (Applause)

I ask you tonight, I ask you to redouble your efforts in whatever you seek to do. I ask you tonight to redouble your efforts to build America strong and just. I ask you tonight to speak out for your beloved country, the United States of America in this, a very troubled time in its history. (Applause)

I ask you tonight to have faith, genuine faith in the destiny of free peoples and free

nations. I ask you tonight not to sell Israel short and I ask tonight, don't you sell America short. Both deserve your faith. (Shouts and applause)

LIST OF DAIS GUESTS (page 2)

PRIVATE DINNER WITH VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SIRLOIN AND SADDLE CLUB -- STOCK YARD INN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS MAY 5, 1968

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR SAMUEL H. SHAPIRO

B - City National Bank Building, Kankakee
B - State House, Springfield
B - 160 N. LaSalle Street
R - 1300 Cobb, Kankakee

WE 3-8239
525-6310
FI 6-2000
WE 3-5225

MRS. SEYMOUR SIMON

R - 5900 N. Christiana Avenue

IN 3-4844

MRS. DAVID SPATZ

R - 443 Sheridan Road, Glencoe

VE 5-3492

ERWIN WEINER

B - 425 E. 14th Street
R - 2946 W. Balmoral

HA 7-5252, Ext. 304
LO 1-0067

HARRY ZAIDENBERG

B - 10 N. Clark Street
R - 934 W. Carmen

DE 2-6691
LO 1-1622

DAVID H. ZYSMAN

B - 230 N. Michigan Avenue
R - 300 N. State Street, Apt. 5519

FI 6-3851
321-0822

ABRAM N. PRITZKER

B - 134 N. LaSalle Street
R - 1040 N. Lake Shore Drive

DE 2-0525
664-8705

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1968 - 10 A.M.

Mr. Vice-President:

Here are, for the Chicago Israel Bond affair:

- A -- A draft I have put together.
- B -- A draft by Ben Wattenberg. (This draft is very strong pro-Israel -- with quite a policy statement -- which I recommend against, right now -- on pages 9-10.)
- C -- A draft whose authorship I have been asked to identify to you only orally. (This draft is fairly strong pro-Administration foreign policy -- at least for an Israel Bond speech.)

There are some pieces of B and C in A.

This Chicago affair is hazardous, and I'm not sure this is the right pitch. These drafts (and all of the previous Israel Bond drafts) are all about (i) Israel, or (ii) U.S. foreign policy.

- * But there is strong (I don't know how reliable) advice that the White House and the State Department will take a very dim view right now of too much all-out-for-Israel stuff.
- * And it is a dangerous week for anything that might seem to bear on Viet Nam. Anything that might help in Paris won't go over very well in the Chicago Ampitheatre -- and vice versa.

If this draft feels wrong, please call -- and I'll have something else when you get back.

I am trying to check this draft out with John Riley.

The advance information indicates strongly that a short speech -- even including the introductory material -- will be best received. Staying under 20 minutes -- for everything -- would be all to the good. There are other things on the program.

W.W.
Willard Wirtz

(B)

Remarks for Israel Bonds Dinner

It has become a commonplace to refer to our era as "a time of scientific miracles". And surely, that is so. Just in last few months we have been thrilled by stories of heart transplants and by the creation of the molecule^{of} synthetic life in the laboratory. We do indeed live in an age of lasers and masers, of atomic power and of spaceships -- we do indeed live in a time of scientific miracles.

But what we often fail to realize, is that we live also in an era of social and political miracles. Those miracles, I would suggest, are as important -- and perhaps more important -- than the technological and scientific marvels upon which we lavish so much of our attention. The social and political miracles that have occurred in our era have changed the world, have changed the lives of men in the world, most importantly they have changed the way in which men look at themselves -- and I don't believe the world will ever be the same.

The case of Israel is a case in point. It was only ^{about} eighty-five years ago that the first ^{pioneers} ~~made their way~~ ^{Some of them actually} ~~came~~ from Russia and from Eastern Europe. ~~They~~ marched across Turkey and across what is now Syria, all across the length of what was then the Ottoman Empire. They were a relative handful joining a Jewish handful who had always lived in the Holy Land in Safed and in Jerusalem and in a few other towns.

19 [Not many years later a Viennese journalist -- in 1898 -- said that it

"I am my own man"
Unity and meditation

would take fifty years, but that in fifty years there would be a Jewish state in Palestine. That journalist was Theodore Herzl and he spoke before the World Jewish Congress in Basel, Switzerland -- and, lo and behold, a great political miracle was set into motion. An ancient, dusty, barren, sparsely inhabited land -- still under harsh and backward colonial rule -- A great people, an ancient people, a people beleaguered people were preparing to re-establish nationhood. was marked for greatness in a dynamic Twentieth Century world.

Fifty years later -- just exactly fifty years later in 1948 -- David Ben Curion spoke to the world from Tel Aviv and proclaimed a state called "Israel", the first sovereign Jewish state in almost two thousand years.

That was a moment of high drama and great emotion.

It was high drama to be sure in Palestine -- where a political miracle became a fact.

There was high drama and great emotion in Washington, to be sure, when President Harry S. Truman acted decisively and extended American recognition to the fledgling state of Israel. Harry Truman, you'll remember, recognized Israel just two hours after the state was established, and the U. S. was the first nation in the world community to extend recognition.

There was great emotion, to be sure, in the hearts of American Jews all over America -- and not only Jews either. I was Mayor of Minneapolis at that time and on that auspicious day I was in Temple Israel in Minneapolis. Israel's independence meant much to me, for I had gone round my state of Minnesota for years speaking for the right of the Jewish people for an independent state. And, I must tell you, that the

0.B. :
check
this → were many other non-Jewish American leaders who understood the vision and the meaning of Israel, and who supported her cause -- and Dick Daley was right in the forefront.

And so, a 20th Century political miracle came into being in the ancient land of David, in the land of Isaiah and Amos and Ezekiel. But that modern-day prophet -- David Ben-Gurion -- knew that there was a world of difference between proclaiming a miracle, even a political miracle, and making it into a reality. David Ben-Gurion recounted recently that his mind was not on the great historical drama that day 20 years ago. He was thinking about the military survival of what was then a brand new ~~state~~ nation of only 600,000 souls, with not enough hard-ware -- but with plenty of heart-ware. His mind was on the fact that the new state of Israel was surrounded by hostile nations and that it was already under attack.

(Let me get ahead of my story for a moment here. We talk about miracles tonight. I wonder what kind of a strange miracle Theodore Herzl would have thought it if somebody had told him that the classic military text-books of the Twentieth Century were to be written on the battle-field by men whose names were Moshe (Mo-sheh) and Yitzhak (Yitz-hak), ~~and~~
~~Yitzhak~~

Well, of course, Israel did survive that first onslaught. She survived with a strange array of gerry-built weapons and she survived

with the greatest weapon that man knows: an indomitable spirit that will not acknowledge defeat!

When peace came -- a restless, tense, angry peace, its true, but a peace nonetheless -- the leaders of Israel understood that a miracle proclaimed and miracle won militarily must still be won economically and demographically and socially and culturally. And what leaders they were! What a panoply of statesmen and patriots to emerge at one time and in one place: Weizman, Ben-Gurion, Sharrett, Eshkol! And across the sea and across the ocean, there were others who saw that Israel would need help if she were to win her struggle for full nationhood. And they saw to it that Israel -- and Jews who wanted to get to Israel -- got that help.

There were many organizations that did the job -- I have come to learn that Jews are wonderful organization setter-uppers. It's remarkable, in fact, that DeTocqueville wrote about how organization-minded Americans were before the large waves of Jewish migration came here. He hadn't seen nothing!

There is not doubt in my mind that the story of how American Jews responded to the call of their brethren in Israel in one of the great human stories of our time. So many American Jews helped in

so many ways; each as he saw fit, each as he was qualified. Small boys with little blue coin collecting boxes helped; women on committees helped; men in business and in the professions helped; -- and even a few of us politicians did our share. And so, hospitals were built and great universities; capital was raised to establish new and vibrant industry and to irrigate the brown land and turn it green and ripe and lush.

Of course, as you know, the Israel Bonds organization was one of the great motive forces in this effort. In xx years more than \$_____ has been raised and, as you also know, Israel Bonds have not only helped build Israel -- they have been a fine personal investment!

So Israel survived -- and Israel prospered. The barren, sleepy land of a century ago became a modern state. The Jewish people, dispersed against their will for almost two millenia had again a homeland and a choice! From the ghastly ashes of a continent gone crazy -- a new land ^{grew} ~~grew~~ up in the Middle East that has shown mankind that a small nation can be a great nation and an independent nation and a creative nation and a strong nation, -- no matter what the obstacles!

What a miracle in the real sense of that word! And what a privilege to play a part in it! Like living out in real life, in full color, a part of the Bible!

(I was told some time ago by Abe Feinberg (?) that over the years I had sold more Israel Bonds than any other man. That, my friends, is an honor I will always cherish.)

So it has been a great story, this story of modern Israel ~~so~~ so great that we can learn much from it.

What are the lessons?

First there is a lesson about America. I think that between the record of John F. Kennedy as President and the record of American Jewry since the establishment of Israel we can lay to rest forever the misguided notion that America would ever be threatened by a bogeyman called "divided loyalty".

Americans come from all over; they comprise all the religions, all the races, all the ethnic groups. The old idea of the Melting Pot is fine; but there is a sounder, deeper, more important concept of Americanism than that, and it has never been better demonstrated than by the response of American Jewry to the state of Israel. That concept is what is called "cultural pluralism". We are not all the same in America; we are different, and we glory in our differences and then we unite in our spirit to make America great.

I can't tell you the pride that I felt last week when the King of Norway visited Washington. And I remember, also with pride, that at my grandparents house in _____ Minnesota (South Dakota?)

the flags of Norway and the U.S. flew side by side -- and they honored each other.

And so it is with American Jews, I believe. What group in America could have done more for America over the recent decades than the vibrant, bubbling American-Jewish community? And at the same time what group did more to aid the cause of democracy, freedom and cultural identity distant from American shores? And has it ever been more apparent that far from being divisive, these causes in reality nourish each other!

That leads us to a second lesson that we should learn and learn well for the months and years ahead. It is this: America is very important -- crucially important in many instances -- to the free nations of the world. It is clear, for example, that Israel would have had a much more difficult time in defending her freedom had it not been for help from the United States -- I talk now of United States governmental help in the form of arms and dollars and international political muscle.

But that assertion, we must remember, can be made not only about Israel, but about many free nations in the world today. Norway, as an example, is one of them. A United States commitment in the form of the Marshall Plan and the NATO alliance has allowed Western Europe develop in its own free way over the last two decades, un-intimidated by any external pressures.

So -- America matters.

She matters when she chooses to become involved in the fight for freedom -- and she matters by the mere absence of her presence when she ^{is} ~~chooses~~ not to be involved. So let us not delude ourselves with the cliches of the moment: "What are we doing all over the world?" and "Why are we playing world policeman?" and, "let every nation defend itself if it can."

Well, that doesn't work. America and American commitment matters deeply to people all over the world and let us not kid ourselves about it. It matters when we are committed and it matters when we are not. It matters in Israel and in Norway and in Japan and in Latin America and in Southeast Asia. It matters all over the world whether we like it or not. That is a fact and there is no escaping it even if we wanted to. And ultimately, let us remember, the peace and freedom of the United States is directly dependent upon the peace and freedom of the other nations of the world.

The United States position on foreign problems matters deeply. No better example of how much it matters can be given than by comparing the United States position on the Middle East in 1956 with the courageous stand taken by President Johnson in 1967 -- in each instance following an Arab-Israeli war. In one instance Israel was forced to retreat without gaining the peace and security that she had sought. In the second instance, President Johnson has put

America's power behind a Middle Eastern settlement that will one day bring a fair peace to a troubled area -- a peace where Jew and Arab can live side by side in harmony, each in dignity and safety. ~~regard~~

~~regard to the President's position, I would like to read to you what an~~
~~When the President and Prime Minister Eshkol met at the LBJ~~
~~Israeli newspaper wrote earlier this year.~~
Ranah earlier this year, they agreed that peace could come to the Middle East only if both sides ~~should~~ ^{co-operated}.

~~Quote: "At present, it is from Felsen Rosenblatt"~~
This time --- unlike 1956 --- there will be no pressure on only one side.

There is a third lesson that ought to be learned by men and nations all over the world. It is this: Israel is here to stay. No nation has fought more valiantly or proved more successfully its right to membership in the family of nations.

At this point, Israel is fully capable of seeing to it herself that she is here to stay -- a proud, vigorous and creative nation, an ornament to freedom in our world. But what if an occasion should ever arise when Israel's very existence was ^{again} threatened by powerful external forces? I ~~would view~~ ^{believe} that ~~as the moment when~~ the United States ought to make it clear ^{now} that the survival of Israel is of the utmost importance to the United States and that we ~~should~~ ^{will} be prepared to see to it Israel will survive! I view it that way now, and I would view it that way in any future office I might hold in the United States.

That sort of a declaration, I believe, would pave the way to a peace in the Middle East. When it is understood by all -- by small ^{neighboring} ~~nations~~ nations and by mighty and distant ones -- that Israel's existence is not negotiable, then we may be able to see an honorably negotiated peace emerge that is fair to both sides in the Middle East.

Peace does not come when one party believes ~~he~~ ^{it} can eliminate another. The American shield around the world since World War II has given nations the assurance that they will not be over-run, and I believe that is why we have ~~avoided large wars~~ ^{had an era of world peace} for 23 years.

And now, finally, there is another lesson -- or more properly, a clue, that comes from a study of the Israeli miracle. It is this: Israel ^{has not been alone} ~~is not unique~~ in setting up a new and better political and social order.

We live in ~~an era~~ ^{time} where great and beneficial changes are going on all over the world. -- social and political miracles --

The great colonial empires have all but disappeared in a matter of a few years. A multitude of new nations have emerged each seeking its place in the sun. Billions -- literally billions -- of people seek freedom and prosperity where only subjugation and poverty existed before. A miracle? Surely it is.

The miracles are not only going on overseas, they go on in the United States. The immigrant groups that came to the United States as "huddled masses yearning to be free" have emerged into the

broad sunlight of an open America. A miracle? -- surely, ^{Today, in America, more than 80% of our young people now go on to college -- more than twice the percentage of any nation in the world. Is that a miracle? Of course it is.}

In America, in recent years, the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of slaves are also embarked upon making a great miracle happen: a miracle of racial equality, of a true multi-racial society with fairness for all. And that, my friends, that will happen, and I know many of you and I know that Chicago's great Mayor Dick Daley have been working toward that goal.

A miracle that America will shuck off inequality? A miracle that America will banish poverty? Yes they are miracles -- but they will happen!

For we live in an age of minor, and not-so-minor, miracles. It's a minor miracle when Hubert Humphrey can become known as the candidate of the South, but it is not an insignificant miracle. We live in an age of changing attitudes -- all over the world -- where men are seeking to clear the air and start fresh, to better themselves and to better their nations.

The hallmark of our age is not that we want miracles to happen -- that has always been the case -- but that we human beings can make miracles happen! Scientific miracles like a transplanted heart -- and human miracles like an open heart. We live in a can-do world and we are a can-do people! We can make our world and our nation better -- and that is a high honor.

My friends, we live ^{in a remarkable time} ~~in a great era in the ages of man.~~ The historian William H. McNeill of the University of Chicago has put it most beautifully in the conclusion to his monumental work "The Rise of the West -- A History of the Human Community".

"We belong in... high company and should count ourselves fortunate to live in one of the great ages of the world... Men some centuries from now will surely look back upon our time as a golden age of unparalleled technical, intellectual, institutional and perhaps even artistic creativity.

"Our world assuredly lacks neither dangers nor the possibility of failure. ^(But) It also offers a theater for heroism such ^{as has} ~~as has~~ seldom or never been seen before in all history."

My friends, I do count myself fortunate to be living at this time.

I think we can make it in this world.

I know we can try -- and with your help, we shall try.

Thank you.

(c)

It is wonderful to be here tonight with so many old friends. And it is really incredible to realize that Israel is now twenty years old.

Why, it seems like only yesterday we were standing around the embattled cradle of the new state, fearful that it might be destroyed in its infancy.

--And I think we should all recall with pride the role that a great American President, Harry Truman, played in the drama which ended with Israel taking its rightful place as a sovereign member of the world community.

But twenty years have passed, and I think--in a year full of electoral frenzy--it might be wise to stand back a bit and get some perspective--not just on the past twenty years, but on the last half-century.

We Americans tend to ignore history. We drive ahead at a tremendous pace and seldom bother to look back at the road behind.

This has some advantages--we don't waste a lot of time and energy arguing about dead issues.

But it also limits our capacity to understand how far we have traveled, how fast, and the extent to which our society has--under our unseeing eyes--been fundamentally transformed.

To most Americans, for example, the First World War took place sometime in the Middle Ages.

In a sense, they are right. The United States in 1914 resembled the America of the Founding Fathers far more than it resembled the nation we know in 1968.

But in a different way, this lack of time-sense contributes to our impatience, our demand for "instant solutions."

It is hard to realize it, but Woodrow Wilson's State of the Union address fifty years ago was a war message.

When we read it today in the light of what we have seen in the past half-century, there is a quality of innocence about the President's assertion that:

"We shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly.

"We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

"You catch with me the voices of humanity that are in the air."

Fifty years ago, Woodrow Wilson took the United States into the world arena.

World War I destroyed once and for all time our isolationist innocence, but unfortunately Wilson's vision of a world government by law and covenant soon became the last wartime casualty.

The American people, soothed by isolationist reassurances, retired to their continental fortress and permitted the forces of aggression and totalitarianism to sweep over Europe and Asia,

--to discover in a day of stunned fury that their fortress was gone, that hiding from the responsibilities of power was a futile substitute for a foreign policy.

While World War I seems light-years away from the America of 1968, World War II is rapidly moving towards ancient history.

Yet, it was only a quarter of a century ago that the United States was wholly committed to the tasks of achieving victory over the Axis powers.

Drawing on the lessons of history as he saw them, President Roosevelt told Congress:

"Every normal American prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

"Undoubtedly a few Americans, even now, think that this Nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after them.

"But we have learned that we can never dig a hole so deep that it would be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength--and they will be at our throats once more in a short generation."

There were Americans in the post-World War II period who wanted to climb back into the comfortable American hole.

But fortunately there were far more who refused to repeat the mistakes of the past,

--who accepted the positive obligations of power by rebuilding the shattered societies of Western Europe;

--and who accepted the negative, but equally necessary burden of utilizing military power to contain communist aggression.

Fifty years ago, America entered the world--and then fled.

Twenty-five years ago, we paid the price of our withdrawal, and then emerged as the strongest power in the world.

And throughout the past quarter-century, we have been trying to exercise this incredible--this frightening power with both effectiveness and restraint.

We have learned much since Woodrow Wilson joyously went out to remake the world.

-- Societies can not be molded afresh like a youngster making models from plasticene.

-- There may be problems for which there are no solutions.

-- We have no mandate from heaven to play world policeman, to organize international life in our own image.

We have also learned a lot since Roosevelt called for "total victory" and "unconditional surrender."

--In our world of nuclear equilibrium, the concept of "total victory" must be a museum-piece.

--We are prepared to live peacefully with totalitarian states.

We have an ultimate faith in the subversive power of freedom.

--Much as we detest the way they dominate the lives of their citizens, we are prepared to let time do its erosive work.

In short, we know that we live in a complex world that defies rapid reshaping.

--We know that our convictions about the nature of a good society can not be imposed by executive order.

--We know that in the event of nuclear war destruction would fall alike upon the just and the unjust.

--We are sponsoring no "wars of liberation," no guerrillas in Uzbekistan.

These are the fundamentals of what I consider a responsible, mature foreign policy. A policy which has emerged by the process of trial and error over the past half-century:

--one which has been refined and redefined by some of our ablest public figures on the basis of experience.

It is a policy which avoids both arrogance and false humility--

--We have not thrown our weight around the world in risky adventurism;

--Nor can we pretend that whatever we do--or fail to do--is insignificant in the course of international politics.

As President Johnson once said, we have been sailing in uncharted waters--the advent of the nuclear age made all the old maps obsolete.

We have changed course more than once as wisdom and experience required.

--In the past decade, for example, we have shifted our strategic posture from "massive retaliation" to "flexible response" and in the process re-examined every conceivable aspect of military policy.

No one but a historian a hundred years hence can properly evaluate what we have done--or left undone.

But as one living in a world where decisions must be made before history is written--I think it is fair to say that the United States since World War II

--has exercised unprecedented power with restraint and wisdom;

--has shown a commitment to responsibility with an unselfish spirit that defies description as "globalistic meddling" or "neo-colonialism;"

--and at the same time has been prepared to utilize its great power to prevent the rise of new aggressors.

For this is the other side of the coin. If we abstain from adventurism, we will insist--and have insisted--that our ideological opponents do the same.

--If we reach out for detente, we insist on reciprocity.

--There is no such thing as a unilateral detente.

In short, we are neither sword-rattlers nor appeasers. We have faced a number of crises over the past generation and faced them coolly even when nuclear war was a real possibility.

Reluctantly--because we are not a militaristic nation--we found it necessary to commit our military power in Korea and Vietnam.

Reluctantly--because we were fully aware of the risks--we found it necessary to go to the nuclear brink in October, 1962.

These were not random acts of witless arrogance--they were based on a deep soul-scaring determination that the dangers of not acting were in the long run greater than the perils of action.

They were made by men who could not take the easy path of permitting self-doubts--a full recognition of human fallibility--to paralyze their capacity for decision.

Thus I submit to you that there has been a fundamental continuity in our policy and a basic consistency.

Today in both the Middle East and in Southeast Asia we rest our case on the same principles.

--We want to see negotiations and an end to war.

--We want to see the territorial integrity of the Republic of Vietnam and of Israel respected by their neighbors.

--We want to see great power cooperation in achieving stability in both areas, but we will not be party to a great power "deal" over the heads of the nations involved.

--We will not tolerate a "solution" by aggression.

In Southeast Asia, we have made it absolutely clear that we seek a peaceful negotiated settlement.

In the Middle East we have set forth our policy in President Johnson's five points--which seem to me to merit reemphasis:

--first, the recognized right of national life;

--second, justice for the refugees;

--third, innocent maritime passage;

--fourth, limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race; and

--fifth, political independence and territorial integrity for all.

In short, we seek peace--not as an abstraction, but as an enforceable reality. We want to see this peace built firmly by those directly involved--

--contrary to rumor, we do not have as a nation any interest in intervening throughout the world to impose a Pax Americana.

--contrary to rumor, we are quite aware of the complexities of world politics. It was, after all, President Johnson--not one of his critics--who said on October 14, 1964:

"There is no longer one cold war. There are many. They differ in temperature, intensity and danger."

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--Contrary to rumor, we have not been "fighting ideas with bullets." No one has ever had his leg blown off by walking over a copy of The Communist Manifesto. It is the hand-grenade, not the handbill, that we are concerned about.

I find it ironic that the only legal communist party in the Middle East is in Israel. But this is hardly relevant when a land-mine explodes under an Israeli bus. Israel stands for freedom of ideas--but a land-mine is not an idea.

So let us all agree to sweep away the cliches and cut through to the reality of the past twenty years:

That American power has been the buttress of freedom,
That this power has been used with wisdom and restraint,
That we can not just pick easy situations for the exercise of this power, intervening only to help a natural winner,
That the concern of all Americans for the security of America and for freedom must forestall the current drift towards isolationism.

We can not stop the world and get off. Whether we like it or not, we are--in John Kennedy's memorable phrase--"watchmen on the walls of world freedom."

Surely we must not sally forth from the walls on reckless adventures--nor have we.

But neither can we abandon the walls and let freedom fend for itself. For if there is one thing we have learned in this perilous century, it is that there is no automatic victory for righteous men, unless right is girded with might, Goliath will inevitably triumph over David.

Finally, at a time when there is much criticism of American actions, let me remind you of something that the fate of the six million should have seared into everyone's consciousness:

--the frightful consequences of inertia and inaction.

Israel knows the risks of American disengagement from the world.

And those of us in America who joyously celebrate this twentieth anniversary must realize that the frenzied and unjustified attacks on our policy in Southeast Asia could result in a liberal, affluent "Fortress America," with poverty and racism eliminated, cities rebuilt,

--and a world sliding into chaos, war, and ultimate apocalypse.

This is not the kind of world we want. And I must be utterly frank with you--

--to prevent it we must all be ^{realistic} ~~responsible~~ and realize that with maturity--and Israel is surely mature--comes an increased burden of responsibility.

The United States knows how hard peacemaking is and so does Israel. But it is our common obligation to ourselves and to all humanity to take up this burden with a full realization of the hurdles that lie ahead.

We are no longer innocent children marching forth intoxicated with slogans. We are mature peoples who know, with the Preacher, that knowledge increases sorrow and with much wisdom comes much grief.

(1) file

Chicago Israel Bond Orgnaization
May 5

5/4/68 Draft

NOT IN RELEASE

(Introduction of HHH will -- it is reported -- include this remark: "The Vice President has been a close and intimate friend of Jews and of Israel. If one could be described as, the Vice President would be called the "adopted son of Israel")

[In response to applause/ If you don't stop that, I'll begin to think I am Jewish."

But this "adopted son" business, Mr. Chairman: Why, I adopted Israel -- 20 years ago.

You forget on Israel's 20th birthday how anxiously so many of us stood beside that embattled cradle and looked down at that infant state lying there. It was pretty scrawny. It had been a long pregnancy -- several thousand years -- and we didn't want anything to happen.

I remember it helped quite a lot when a great man called out that baby's name -- in a loud voice that all the world could hear -- just two hours after the blessed event. Next Wednesday is his

birthday -- number 84. Let's say Happy Birthday from Independence, Israel to Harry S. Truman of Independence, Missouri.

If I can't assert, with you, any real part in Israel's paternity, I do make another claim: that later on I helped as much with the doctor's bills, the food bills, the bar mitzvah bills, and the college expenses as any other living Israel Bond pedlar.

And don't be surprised if I come back this summer asking your help for a so-far under-developed statesman.

My bar mitzvah is in August -- really in November -- and you are all invited.

I want to say here tonight, too, in the city of his parents, our delight and gratitude in Washington for Israel's new Ambassador -- Rav Aluf Rabin -- Mayor General Rabin, for those of you who don't know Hebrew as well as I do.

There may be some kind of lesson here for those, especially in the Midwest, who are considering Aliyah. If you settle in Israel, you can't be sure your son will return here as ambassador . . . or that your daughter will become a foreign minister . . . but it's something to think about.

Thanks, too, here in his city, for all that the world and the nation have come to associate . . . of excellence, of effectiveness, and of leadership . . . with the name of Secretary . . . Justice . . . Ambassador . . . Arthur J. Goldberg.

It's wonderful to be here tonight with so many old friends that to name any of them would be to find no reasonable stopping place along the line. I'm not going to start.

START RELEASE

I salute, with you, the first state in history that was 3500 years old on its 20th birthday.

What we recognize tonight is really the timeless tradition of mankind's ceaseless search -- no matter what the odds or how long and hard the course -- for freedom of the human spirit and for the dignity -- and the meaning -- of Man.

We recognize, beyond that, the greatest feat of human invention -- under divine inspiration and encouragement -- of the 20th or perhaps any other century: The miracle of Israel.

It is commonplace to recognize the era we live in as a time of scientific miracles -- of lasers and masers, of atomic power and space-ships, of heart transplants and the creation of the molecule of synthetic life in the laboratory.

It is harder to realize that this is equally the era -- as it must be for survival -- of social and political change and achievement equal to the magnitude of technological advance.

Israel is the evidence that Man as Citizen -- no less than Man as Scientist -- can invent the future.

From the ghastly ashes of a continent gone crazy, a new nation grew up in the Middle East that has shown mankind that a small nation can -- in a moment of time -- become a great nation, an independent nation, a creative nation, and a strong nation -- no matter what the obstacles!

And the way that was followed was freedom -- not the way of tyranny that takes shortcuts across the quicksand of false promise -- but the harder, yet firmer, cause of freedom.

One other thing: The miracle of Israel is not the less, but the greater, for its being the story of how free men and women all over the world -- and especially here in America -- united in their efforts -- and shared the responsibility -- to bring a land and a people back to life. Americans -- and free men and women everywhere -- stand taller tonight for having taken even a little part in the miracle of Israel.

Does this miracle stand alone? Or is it perhaps at least in part a more dramatic reflection of changes which are also taking place even here in America -- where we had so much more to start with twenty years ago that human progress is less obviously perceptible?

We Americans tend to ignore history. We drive ahead at a tremendous pace and seldom bother to look back at the road behind.

This has some advantages -- we don't waste a lot of time and energy arguing about dead issues.

But it also limits our capacity to understand how far we have traveled, how fast, and the extent to which our society has -- under our unseeing eyes -- been fundamentally transformed.

A quarter of a century ago -- at just about the time of Israel's reincarnation -- America emerged almost as suddenly as the strongest power in the world.

Our achievement has been in the exercise of this incredible power with both effectiveness and restraint.

This has meant accepting the positive obligations of power by rebuilding the shattered societies of Western Europe.

It has meant accepting the negative but equally necessary burden of utilizing military power to contain Communist aggression.

It has meant, too, the recognition that this power carries no mandate to play world policeman, to throw our weight around the world in risky adventurism, or to organize international life in our own image. So we neither have nor will sponsor "wars of liberation" or guerrillas in Uzbekistan.

We have sailed, as President Johnson once said, in uncharted waters. The advent of the nuclear age made all the old maps obsolete.

Living in a world where decisions must be made before history is written -- I think we say fairly to each other that the United States since World War II, has exercised unprecedented power with restraint and wisdom; has shown a commitment to responsibility with an unselfish spirit that defies description as "globalistic meddling" or "neo-colonialism"; and at the same time has been prepared to utilize its great power to prevent the use of new aggressors.

In short, we seek peace -- not as an abstraction, but as an enforceable reality.

The course has not been easy -- or certain. It is far from easy or certain today.

And tonight the words we speak and hear intrude on our silent prayer that the forces of peace -- which we have not yet mastered as we have so many forces of nature -- are converging on that conference table in Paris. So we speak in general terms in the hope not to divert those forces -- but to add to them the strength of our undeniably common purpose.

[Insert]

We are inventing the future -- of man's relationship not alone to nature but, even more important, to himself -- each with every other.

None of us in this room tonight looks back on these twenty years in the lives of two nations -- one new, the other new to unparalleled power in the world -- except with infinite pride.

That pride is leavened with the humility that must be in our answer to what Adlai Stevenson meant by the Call to Greatness.

We know that the charge upon greatness is responsibility.

Yet no person here tonight would have it any other way -- or choose any other time to live in.

We are less and less prisoners of the past -- and increasingly our own architects of our future.



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