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587-6006

1 IN RE:

2
3 CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
4

5
6 Speech By
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9 HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
10

11 March 5, 1969
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1 MR. WINKLER: In view of the hour we
2 are most anxious to get started and I am going to take the
3 liberty of introducing the head table at this time.

4 I will ask that you withhold your applause until
5 the entire head table is introduced, thank you.

6 At my far right is our Executive Director,
7 Mr. Clarence Judah. Will you please rise upon the announce-
8 ment of your name, please.

9 Next to Mr. Judah is my good friend Morris Kling,
10 Vice President of the Louisville Conference of Jewish
11 Organizations. Mr. Kling.

12 Next to Mr. Kling is Mrs. Carolyn Neustadt, Chair-
13 man of the Women's Division, United Jewish Appeal.

14 Next is my good friend Mr. Bernard Berman, Chair-
15 man of the Pace Setters.

16 On my left Mr. Bernard Barnett and if you will give
17 me one moment I will attempt to read his accomplishments.
18 He is on the, he is a Chairman, a National Chairman of the
19 United Jewish Appeal, he is also on the Executive Committee
20 of the United Jewish Appeal and this year for the second
21 straight year he is co-chairman of the Louisville United
22 Jewish Appeal. Mr. Bernard Barnett.

23 Next to Mr. Barnett is our honored guest of the
24 evening who will be formally introduced later, Mr. Hubert
25 Humphrey, former vice-president of the United States. (Applause)

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1 Next is Mrs. Mary Helen Byck, whose accomplish-
2 ments in the City of Louisville, in the State of Kentucky,
3 in this great country of ours are too numerous to mention.
4 Mrs. Byck. (Applause)

5 Next is Mr. Stanley Yarmuth, a member of the
6 Executive Committee of the United Jewish Appeal, a co-chair-
7 man of our Local Louisville United Jewish Appeal and a poten-
8 tial president of Churchill Downs. (Applause).

9 Try and bear with us and eat your dessert as
10 quietly as possible (laughter) and I will ask the waiters
11 please not to remove the dishes during our program. It is
12 now my pleasure to introduce Mr. Morris Kling, Vice President
13 of our Louisville Conference of Jewish Organizations. Mr.
14 Kling. (Applause).

15 MR. KLING: Mr. Chairman, honored
16 guest, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. The last time
17 that I had dinner with our esteemed guest here tonight
18 I think it was October, it cost me one hundred dollars.
19 We are all happy to know that we are here tonight where it
20 will cost us nothing and I am here pinch-hitting for Joe
21 Kaplan, President of the Conference, and I want to welcome
22 you on behalf of the Conference to this meeting.

23 It is really tremendous how Jews in Louisville and
24 Jews all over the United States and Jews all over the world
25 will come to meetings like this year after year, after year,

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1 after year, and give their money and give of their under-
2 standing.

3 They must certainly appreciate the need for Israel
4 and in understanding Israel they must understand that they
5 are also helping themselves. It is always a tremendous
6 thing that people will work on this campaign, the Barney
7 Barnetts, the Stanley Yarmuths, the Ed Winklers, the Carolyn
8 Neustadts, the Coles, the Ehrlichs, the Rosenbaums, and
9 I could go on and on and on and who give of their time and
10 effort to do this tremendous job and on behalf of the
11 Conference I can't thank them, -- too loud or too long
12 (laughter).

13 On behalf of the Conference I can't thank you
14 enough because they are part of the Conference and would,
15 would merely be patting yourself on the back. I think we
16 are here tonight to do a job and as my very good friend
17 Sam Fishman tells me that when you give something you al-
18 ways get something in return.

19 And I hope that when you give tonight you measure
20 it in dollars because if you give two thousand dollars you
21 are going to get more in return than if you gave a thousand
22 dollars.

23 When I came back from Florida this afternoon I
24 had got a rental car, it was an Avis, and Avis is second bes
25 And Avis says that in four years they are going to be first

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1 and I want the honored guest tonight to remember that.

2 (Applause).

3 We are here for a serious business and we must
4 maintain a strong Israel and we must support Israel with
5 every power we can but to do that we must also have a strong
6 Jewish foundation here locally and nationally.

7 Louisville can be well proud of its many Jewish
8 agencies and the job that they are doing. I suppose for
9 a town of Louisville we have more than any city in the
10 country. The need for additional funds for these agencies
11 is also important. And I could read off a list that was
12 given me, some of the extra costs that will be involved this
13 year. I'm not going to read through there because I'm sure
14 that all of you are involved with one or more of the
15 agencies and you know the need, you know the overhead goes
16 up and you know that the cost of doing business in the local
17 agencies and the need to maintain these agencies is very,
18 very important.

19 Therefore, when you make your pledge we are, urge
20 you -- as you know we have a two line card, I urge you to
21 take into consideration the fact that the local agency will
22 need fifty five thousand dollars more this year and please
23 give an increase. Also, on the first line, which will take
24 care of the local agency, a good part of that goes to Israel
25 too, and you will help build a good foundation so that we

1 do a good job for Israel. I thank you. (Applause).

2 MR. WINKLER: Thank you very much, Morris

3 I think that is one of the reasons you and I have made this
4 a nice team throughout the years. You keep fighting for
5 Louisville and I keep fighting for Israel. It is now my
6 pleasure to present Mrs. Carolyn Neustadt, Chairman of the
7 Woman's Divison. (Applause).

8 MRS. NEUSTADT: I thank you for that
9 presentation but in view of the hour and the business at
10 hand I have nothing to say but thank you for presenting me.
11 (Applause).

12 MR. WINKLER: That was great (laughter).

13 It is now my pleasure to present a man who
14 definitely needs no introduction inasmuch as I would say
15 that 99% of the people here call Barney by his first name
16 and Barney will introduce Mr. Humphrey. (Applause).

17 MR. BARNETT: I must say that with such,
18 that with such a large crowd tonight my senatorian voice
19 may not work. I want to say first that Carolyn Neustadt has
20 done a magnificent job along with all of the women divisions
21 is absolutely essential to the Campaign. It is not just
22 plus giving, it is giving from the heart and also the women
23 after all control all of the men. (Applause).

24 Mr. Vice President, I can tell you in 1972 Max
25 Fisher and I will take a trip as you once suggested. But as

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1 you will know over the years many times I've had an oppor-
2 tunity to support you, to know that you have been a close
3 friend of the Jewish Community and of all of the minorities
4 in America and the world. As a matter of fact I would say
5 that you are a great humaitarian and your politics came
6 later.

7 I could say to these people a few years back I had
8 the opportunity to speak in Minneapolis and my friend there
9 after the meeting told me things that were unbelievable for
10 a great city until Hubert Humphrey became a mayor of that
11 city.

12 That the Jewish Community there were not even
13 allowed in the Triple A Automobile Club. He and many of
14 his friends made a promise to open the way. He opened it
15 in Minneapolis, he opened it throughout the United States
16 and I think the world.

17 We are deeply grateful for your being with us
18 tonight and I think that you know that Herb Friedman in
19 urging you to accept this invitation gave recognition to
20 Louisville as one of the outstanding communities in the
21 United States in its performance in supporting United
22 Jewish Appeal in all charitable and civic activities. We
23 are among the top percapita givers in the United States
24 and I can say in the free world.

25 I know as a great student of the Middle East,

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1 observer of Israel, you would agree with me that this is
2 one of the most critical times in Israel's short history.
3 You can see in 1967 it was easy for us to go around the
4 country and say to everyone with great pride and great
5 emotion about victory that Israel won in the six day war.

6 It is true that the war ended on the sixth day
7 but on the seventh day a new war against Israel started,
8 a three hundred and sixty five day war.

9 I am sure hearing your message, knowing exactly
10 where we stand in the survival of Israel and the Jews that
11 our community once again will meet the high level that it
12 has in the past. It is my great privilege to present to
13 you a great friend of Louisville, Kentucky, and Kentucky,
14 the Vice President of the United States, Mr. Hubert Humphrey.
15 (Applause).

16 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, thank you very
17 much, Mr. Barnett. Our friend Barney, and there are so many
18 distinguished and honored guests here this evening that
19 I trust you will permit me to just mention the few that
20 have already been introduced to you. And to say how very
21 please I am to be back in Louisville.

22 I have a few observations that I would like to
23 make preliminary to my informal and formal remarks.

24 I am looking forward to hearing from Stanley
25 Yarmuth tonight. I know that he is going to do a very good

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1 job for us, and I am very happy to be at this bipartisan
2 meeting presided over by Barney and Mary Helen (laughter)
3 which is very good. And to Mrs. Neustadt I just want to
4 say this: that I am fully aware of the fact that you have
5 had, that the girls have gotten the jump on the fellows
6 once again. That you had a meeting in January and that you
7 had one last night and I am delighted that they decided
8 to make this meeting coeducational. I have seen you fellows
9 enough alone.

10 This is, this gives it an extra dimension and
11 I believe I heard somebody say 'where is the dessert?' I
12 can only say myself 'my goodness, can't you see it all
13 around this room? I can'

14 Well, to Ed Winkler and to Mr. Berman and to
15 Mr. Kling and to one and all that are here, let me tell you
16 you are doing a big job and you have got a big job on your
17 hands. Morris Kling gave us a little invocation of some
18 of the job that we have ahead of us and he said something
19 that reminded me of my situation as he looked over at me.
20 He talked about Aves or Avis and he reminded us that when
21 you are number two you have to try harded. And I want to
22 tell you when you are number two it hurts (laughter).

23 I knew you would get it -- I knew you would get
24 it? (Applause).

25 So, let's be number one and that is what we want

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1 to do with Louisville. And to Stan, Stanley Yarmuth I
2 want to tell you that whenever you get the feeling that
3 you are a potential president it is some feeling, I can
4 assure you of that (laughter and applause).

5 Oh my, what fun you are going to have (laughter).
6 I have a reason to believe you are a little more potent
7 than I am, you may do alright (laughter).

8 And Morris, let me say that while you were
9 referring to that time that we were together was in October,
10 at a hundred dollar dinner, that was the United Fund for
11 Humphrey and this is a different one. This is the United
12 Jewish Campaign even though there is some similarity, I
13 might add. That was just a, well that was just tips for
14 what we expect tonight, I want you to know (laughter).

15 Some of you may recall -- some of you may recall
16 what the late John Kennedy said when he was addressing a
17 big Democratic gathering and he found out that everybody
18 there had paid a thousand dollars a plate. And he looked
19 over that wonderful audience of all of these great Democrati
20 givers and he said " I am touched but" he said "I gather
21 you have been touched first." (Laughter).

22 Now, tonight I come to you in a different capacity
23 than the introduction indicated. I always have a great
24 respect for anyone that occupies that awkward office called
25 the Vice President or the Vice Presidency. My heart is

1 filled with compassion and understanding and I am pleased
2 that I was introduced as Vice President of the United
3 States. But I think you ought to know you are only paying
4 for one at a time (laughter).

5 And I am just traveling under false colors, that's
6 all (laughter). But it is good to be introduced that way;
7 it makes me feel good. But I am a very much emancipated
8 human being and when you are Vice President you can't always
9 say that. And, as you have others -- you have other obliga-
10 tions.

11 And tonight I am going to talk to you a little
12 bit about some of my experiences that relate to your common
13 cause and my common cause. Now, you know what my new work
14 is. It is rather diversified.

15 I am involved in some business enterprise with
16 the Encyclopedia Britannica and I am involved with teaching
17 at a great university and college and I am involved going
18 around the country once in awhile and giving a talk and
19 doing a little political work to worry Barney and some of
20 his friends a little bit. But, you know, I really hadn't
21 planned it this way. I wanted you to know that (laughter),
22 inasmuch as I enjoy being here. I used to go to these
23 college campuses and talk to the students and it was in
24 those days and they are still the days somewhat upon us
25 when particularly you represented the Johnson-Humphrey

Administration you weren't always the most popular person on the campus. And I tried to immediately make some good contacts with this young group and I'd start out, you know, say I am a refugee from a classroom which was partly true because I used to be a teacher and professor. And then I'd look around and I'd tell the young folks, you know, I'm a soft grader, too, just in case. That would get a few people over with you (laughter).

And then I would look around and see if I could find the University or College president, whether he was locked in or locked out or wherever he was (laughter), and some poor harassed member of the Board of Trustees, and I would say something like this: I'd say "you know, I want you to understand that my professional credentials as a political scientist are in good order. I want to impress this upon you because elective public office is such an uncertain and precarious existence that I thought I would just put in my bid for a job just in case things went wrong."

And then I would laugh and chuckle, you know (laughter), never realizing how convincing I turned out to be (laughter).

So here I am having convinced myself and many, many others, but I'm back to teaching and liking it. And I'm sure going to like it. But I am also going to do what I like best to do and that is to visit with the people of

1 this country and I can tell you in some other countries
2 in short order to talk to them about our common destiny
3 and some of the problems that beset us here at home and
4 abroad.

5 Now, you have a great opportunity here in this
6 great city of Louisville, it's a beautiful city, and it is
7 in a wonderful State. And this community represents some
8 of the finest people in our country.

9 I have been told and, of course, I do know that
10 the Jewish Community in Louisville is a very generous comm-
11 unity. That impresses me. But, more importantly, it is
12 a civic minded community and that impresses me greatly.

13 There are people in this room tonight that are
14 the leaders in every walk of life in this city and in this
15 state and in this nation. And that is what is really impor-
16 tant. I don't worry about your sense of generosity for
17 whatever cause it may be and the fact of the matter is that
18 all across this great nation there are hundreds of thousands
19 of people like yourself that are not only generous to the
20 United Jewish Appeal or to the combined Jewish Appeal or
21 to the Jewish Federation program or whatever you wish to
22 call it, and each community has its own name, but you have
23 been generous to colleges, Catholics, Protestants, you have
24 been generous to every community endeavor and there is a
25 reputation that has grown for the people of the Jewish

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1 faith in America for incredible generosity.

2 And the interesting thing is that the more generous
3 you are, the more you have, not the less. And this is pretty
4 true of most everybody.

5 The only time this country has ever been in serious
6 trouble is when we thought we could keep it all for ourselves
7 and that was back in those dark days of the late 20's and
8 the early 30's, much too far back for any of you ladies with
9 a few exceptions here tonight. But it is a fact that there
10 was a time that we closed our doors to people who wanted to
11 come in with cruel immigration laws. We closed our credit
12 to those that needed it. We closed off our aid to those
13 that deserved it and we ended up closing up our banks and
14 losing our businesses and ultimately just closing out millions
15 of our people from participating in the life of this nation.

16 We have learned some lessons from that. I think
17 we have, I hope those lessons of history are literally
18 seared into our memories and I know they are here.

19 And I repeat to you again that an act of compassion
20 that an act of generosity is a great investment. That it is
21 an investment not only in other people but in yourself. It
22 is an investment not only in the cause or the needs of others
23 but of your own. And surely of your country.

24 So I, I come tonight to speak very openly and
25 very candidly about what you are trying to do. I'm here

1 just for one purpose and that is to get you to do what you
2 intended to do, only to do it in capital letters because
3 really you are only going to do what you intended to do. We
4 didn't really need dinner except for eating out and I
5 imagine most of you are out plenty of evenings anyhow.

6 But what we ought to do in the moment that we
7 have here is to think about the meaning of what our act
8 or our actions will be.

9 Now, I just want to kind of divide it up into
10 easy segments for you that will be somewhat digestible.

11 Your program is divided up into both national,
12 into three segments really, national, local and international
13 And that is good citizenship.

14 You can't be a good citizen in this country any
15 longer without having deep concern and involvement, not just
16 concern but involvement and commitment at the local level,
17 the national level and the international level. Those are
18 the three areas where the life of the citizen is to be
19 tested.

20 Now, your program of, of assistance and aid is
21 involved here with hospitals and schools and training and
22 jobs and family welfare services. Now you say "well good-
23 ness, doesn't the government take care of most of these
24 things?" Yes, the government does a lot of these things.

25 Some people think it does too much, some people

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1 are very critical of what it does even if it does enough,
2 some people think as I do that we could do more and ought
3 to do more.

4 But whatever the government may do, let me tell
5 you that the margin of difference between a successful
6 program of social betterment and a failure is citizen involve-
7 ment. Whenever government does it alone it has to be com-
8 puterized so to speak, rather inhuman or less than, less
9 than with human personality. It is the voluntary participa-
10 tion that brings out the flavor, that adds that sense of
11 humanity. And even though voluntary participation may be
12 a small percentage of the total needs of a community, it
13 is that little bit extra that makes it count. It is what
14 brings out the meaning of what we are trying to do as a
15 people.

16 For example, your government today spends hundreds
17 of millions of dollars in job training trying to help people
18 to help themselves. Very important and without it I don't
19 know what would happen to us in this nation as dangerous
20 as the times are. But it is that little extra which the
21 private business man puts in, which an organization, a non-
22 profit charitable organization, a philanthropical group
23 does, that makes the whole thing seem worthwhile. And that
24 is why whatever your percentage is, I think somebody said
25 35 - 37% or more, or whatever the percentage is of your gift

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1 that goes to the philanthropic endeavors, that is what
2 really counts and makes things add up.

3 Now, we have been doing a lot of things and people
4 wonder why things aren't better. You know, I said I'm on
5 the campus and people say 'what's wrong with all these young
6 people?' Well, first of all there isn't much wrong with
7 them. With some and that they generally reflect pretty
8 much the culture from which they come. If they get a little
9 out of hand and may I say quite candidly we can all indivi-
10 dually and collectively look in the mirrors, we cannot dis-
11 claim responsibility but this is a, this is a very bright
12 generation that we are dealing with. Maybe sometimes people
13 think too bright, I don't. They are sharp, they are alert
14 and more than that they are concerned.

15 Many times they are concerned on great big issues
16 that is beyond their immediate control or even comprehension
17 because they have had so little chance to be really involved
18 as individuals.

19 So when they get to the university and their coll-
20 ege which is their environment they begin to act their way
21 about problems that they think will be their problems.

22 And let me show you why they are concerned. Here
23 you are in a great, in a country that has for thirty five -
24 forty years been having the constant problem of food surplus
25 and we wake up to find out in this late period of our life

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1 that hunger is a pattern of life for hundreds of thousands
2 of people, that millions are the victim of mal-nutrition
3 despite all of the advertising, despite all of the things
4 that we have done in food processing and we have people who
5 say 'well, we don't know what to do about it.' It is
6 incredible that anybody would even dare say that. I tell
7 my young student friends, I say, "look at you, you are the
8 now generation, you want to do everything now. There are
9 some things you can't do now. You can't make a doctor over-
10 night, you cannot train an architect overnight, you cannot
11 in one year make an engineer. There are some things you
12 just can't do that quickly, but you can feed people."

13 In one year or less we could banish hunger from
14 every county, every township, every village, every home
15 in this land. We can do it if we have the commitment, if
16 we have the will. And it won't cost very much either in
17 terms of our gross national product and we could do it.
18 Maybe in the process of doing it we could improve the economy
19 so that the farmer who suffers from poor prices because
20 of surpluses would find out that he was needed and you would
21 quit paying him for not working, quit paying him for not
22 producing and start to pay him for producing. It might do
23 something for everybody's moral stature. Young man, the
24 young man and woman today says 'what is going on around
25 in this country?' Here we are paying out billions of dollars

1 to tell people not to produce, paying out billions of
2 dollars or millions of dollars for storeage of what some
3 people said were unneeded food products. And we find all
4 at once that hunger stalks the land.

5 So they are angry and they haven't had a lot of
6 experience, wisdom doesn't come instantaneously. They don't
7 even have a lot of information which without information
8 you have no judgment. But at least they respond. They are,
9 their instincts are right and then what else do they see.
10 They see unbelievable wealth. They read about a trillion
11 dollar economy that is on our doorstep next year.

12 Not later than two years and most likely next
13 year. And they say 'what's this business, a billion dollar
14 economy?' And yet we have got hundreds of thousands of
15 people in abject poverty. They say 'what's wrong with the
16 system?'

17 Well, you know that there are many things I
18 suppose wrong with it, but I don't happen to think there's
19 enough wrong with it to junk it. Some of them say let's
20 get rid of it. You and I have to answer in a different way
21 but we can't say there's nothing wrong. We have to do
22 something about it.

23 Here we are, a country that can put super highways
24 from one end of this nation to another because we committed
25 ourselves to it. Then they cost millions of dollars a

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1 mile and we are literally on -- what, within a year or two
2 of being on schedule.

3 1949 the late Senator Robert Taft and Allen
4 Allender of Louisiana, one of them radicals, pledged to this
5 country in the Housing Act of 1949 that there would be a
6 home for, a decent home for every American family. That
7 was the commitment twenty years ago. They said twenty years
8 ago that we would at least construct a hundred and thirty
9 five thousand public housing units per year for six years.
10 That is eight hundred and ten thousand units in six years.
11 That was 1949. We have constructed less than five hundred
12 thousand homes in less than twenty years.

13 We, we could have done better. We made, we made
14 a choice between the four lane highways and inadequate hous-
15 ing. We have to get our priorities right.

16 Now, here is the same group of young people that
17 say 'look, we can have a man up there in Apollo 8 and Apollo
18 9 in an environment, the air that he breathes, everything
19 that is about him is perfect.'

20 There is one thing he is not going to choke on is
21 smog. And the water that he drinks is clean. And even
22 despite the fact that they will be in orbit for ten days
23 with all the problems that that presents in terms of, of
24 personal hygiene and sanitation, they live in an environment
25 that is cleaner than all of the environment of Louisville and

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1 all of the environment of Minneapolis put together and the
2 water is cleaner and the air is better.

3 They said 'well, good God, if you could do that
4 how come you can't protect the Great Lakes so that they
5 are not destroyed, the greatest body of fresh water in the
6 world, God's gift to mankind and we are destroying it. Why
7 isn't it that we can't do something about smog?'

8 I don't say that there are any easy answers.
9 I'm just telling you why they are concerned. They are con-
10 cerned that they see the madness of war. They see it on
11 television too and they say how come people haven't got
12 enough sense to stop that.

13 So, here we are. Now, have we done nothing about
14 it, of course we have -- we have created institutions like
15 the United Nations and the World Bank and other things of
16 the International field. Diplomats work ceaselessly to
17 try to find some answers to this struggle between nations
18 and people. We are trying to do something about poverty.
19 We are pouring in resources. We see illiteracy and yet
20 we have a great educational system.

21 We are still pouring in hundreds of millions of
22 dollars in education. We are doing a lot of things. But
23 we need to do more.

24 And I am here to tell you that you've got to do
25 more. And if we don't do more, my fellow Americans, we are

1 the ones that are going to suffer, make no mistake about it.
2 We have more to lose than anybody else.

3 Now, there's an old story about Winston Churchill
4 that will summarize this part of my little talk.

5 When Winston Churchill was at the height of his
6 great, his great responsibility and leadership in Great
7 Britain a little group came in to see him headed by a sweet
8 little old lady in tennis shoes. And it was a temperance
9 society of Britain. And they demanded an audience right
10 at the time when Churchill was fighting for the life of his
11 country to talk about his habit of alcoholic consumption.

12 And they finally got this audience and they said
13 "Mr. Prime Minister," this little old lady said, " you know
14 we have taken, we have evaluated here and analyzed all of
15 your drinking habits and we have come to the conclusion
16 after careful analysis that if all of the whiskey, the
17 scotch and the brandy and alcoholic beverages that you have
18 consumed since you have been Prime Minister were poured in
19 this room it would come up to here."

20 She said " what do you have to say about that?"
21 And he looked and he said, "up to there?" (Indicating).
22 She said "Yes." And he looked down at the floor and he looked
23 up at the ceiling and he said, "so little have I done; so
24 much is there yet to do." (Laughter and applause).
25 That's it -- you see, so little have I done -- so little

1 have we done, so much is there yet to do and time runs out
2 on us.

3 Now, a nation's foreign policy, and I can speak
4 with some authority on this, is not a bit better than its
5 domestic policy. You are not going to be able to talk
6 peace in the world when you can't keep peace at home.

7 You are not going to be able to wage war on
8 poverty in the world if you can't wage it successfully here
9 at home. You are not going to be able to train the unemploy-
10 ed, poor peasants and campesinos all around the world if
11 you can't do something about your own people back home,
12 make no mistake about that. We are being tested right here,
13 right here.

14 So a nation's domestic attitude conditions what
15 is ultimately going to be its foreign policy. I think one
16 of the great problems in Asia is that we know so little
17 about it. We know so little about it.

18 And that is why we sometimes make mistakes. And
19 that is why we sometimes have so little public understanding
20 of even what we are trying to do if it isn't a mistake be-
21 cause we know so little.

22 Now here -- what do we have on the international
23 scene? Well, I want to say quite frankly I have, I sympa-
24 thize with whomever is President of the United States.
25 He surely inherits a tough job. I knew that when I was

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1 seeking it and I surely am not going to start out throwing
2 rocks at a man who is President of the United States as
3 he seeks to try to find some answers.

4 I happen to believe that he is entitled to the
5 time and the patience of the American people to work out
6 a program, to feel his way, to get a steady sense of the
7 hand on the, on the helm to be able to direct the ship of
8 state.

9 I think that his trip to Europe was necessary,
10 particularly if the ultimate objective is negotiations with
11 the Soviet Union because frankly the peace of the world
12 does depend upon how we and the Soviet Union can get along
13 and how we can work out our differences.

14 We are the super powers with great responsibility.
15 He has, the President of the United States has an incredibly
16 difficult job and I may feel at times as we go along as
17 one of the people in public life or that has been in public
18 life that maybe we should speak out because something we
19 do not agree with happens. But if I do I'm going to offer
20 an alternative. I've had a stomach full of carping criti-
21 cisms just for the sake of criticism.

22 I've been in public life too long to want to in-
23 dulse in that. I think it is important for those of us that
24 disagree to have an alternative, a constructive alternative.

25 So if you hear anything from me later on it will

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1 not be because I want to pick on somebody, but rather because
2 I happen to think that something may be amiss and I hope to
3 be able to point out maybe a better way, one man's point of
4 view.

5 Well, let's take a look at this world in which
6 we live quickly. I'm not going to spend time on Southeast
7 Asia tonight because it is a highly complex and controversial
8 area. I believe that the process of peace are at least in
9 their embryonic stage in Paris. I regret that there is
10 this tragic recurrence or this, this resurgence of violence.
11 I have a feeling that it is not going to last.

12 I believe that the war in South Viet Nam will
13 slowly de-escalate and I believe that as a result of that
14 in time we are going to have a negotiated political settle-
15 ment. That is about as simple and direct as I can put it
16 to you.

17 I wouldn't want you to think for a minute that
18 it is going to be easy or in a hurry because it is very
19 difficult. But I hope that we do not, that we don't fall
20 to the temptation of precipitous acts that will destroy
21 the possibility of a negotiated political settlement.
22 This has been our objective even though we may not have
23 always been able to get people to understand it, but now
24 we have the chance and we must be careful.

25 Now, what else: Berlin -- always there, a problem.

1 But again I happen to believe that the Soviet Union under-
2 stands our power and we surely understand hers and they
3 understand our commitments. So while it is dangerous I
4 don't consider it the most dangerous. I consider the most
5 dangerous area of the world for you, for me, for Jew,
6 for Gentile, for Protestant, Catholic, black or white, the
7 Middle East and I have for years.

8 And I know a little bit about it. I tried to
9 inform myself about that area as a Senator and as a member
10 of the National Security Council. Now, let's just talk a
11 little. Why is it dangerous? Well, first of all there is,
12 there is in many areas lack of stable, sound political
13 leadership.

14 Secondly, many of the nations in the area have
15 been heavily equipped with modern sophisticated weapons
16 without the political leadership that can exercise the
17 restraint in the, in the use or the not using those weapons,
18 but more importantly because for the first time in a long
19 time the Soviet Union and the United States come head on.

20 For four hundred years Russians, not Communists,
21 didn't make any difference whether they were czars or
22 commissars, they have been trying to get into the Medi-
23 terranean, out of the Black Sea, into the Mediterranean,
24 into the Middle East, into North Africa, this has been an
25 historical objective of czars and commissars. They are there

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1 The Soviet fleet is there; so is ours, the Sixth
2 Fleet. We have an alliance called the Grand Alliance, the
3 NATO. We have the North Flank, the South Flank, the Under-
4 belly, the most dangerous part of Europe has always been
5 Southern Europe, what they used to call the Balkans, the
6 Aegean Sea. The Southern Flank. We are committed, committed
7 man -- our men are committed, our country is committed to
8 the defense of all of the NATO area which includes Turkey,
9 which includes Greece, which includes Italy and yet that
10 area is in close geographical proximity to the powder keg
11 of the world, the Middle East.

12 And in the Middle East we find that: political
13 regimes that are non -- undemocratic, political leadership
14 that comes and goes, that is highly emotional, that has
15 no solid political base, no restraints imposed either by law
16 or custom.

17 And we find the Soviet Union pouring arms by the
18 hundreds of millions of dollars into the area. That is the
19 picture.

20 And we find a little country there called Israel.
21 By the way, anything I say about Israel tonight, I said
22 twenty years ago. I was in Temple Israel, Minneapolis,
23 Minnesota, with Rabbi Minda on the night of Israel's
24 independence and I was there in Minneapolis. I have been
25 interested in Israel for many years.

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1 First of all because I think it sets a good example
2 for all of that part of the world in government, in social
3 progress, in what a nation's state ought to be. It has
4 opened up its doors to its refugees and to the refugees
5 from many lands.

6 And when we speak of refugees and many people
7 speak so much today of the Arab refugees, might I say that
8 there have been Jewish refugees that came to Israel. They
9 had to come from far away places and Israel found a place
10 for them. And you helped and others helped. Rather to
11 say that it was a political problem that would boil over
12 into conflagration and war, something was done about it.
13 And something can be done about refugees in any part of the
14 world if there is a will to do it and unless you want to
15 play politics with it.

16 Well, I know that many of us here take great joy
17 in reminding ourselves as we did tonight of the Six Day War
18 -- well, the Six Day War was a great victory for the Israel
19 Armed Forces but it was only a victory for the moment. And
20 let me tell you what I mean -- I quit smoking, those cigars
21 have got me but that's alright (laughter).

22 Let me tell you what I mean. The Six Day War,
23 I know that 1967 this community like every community in
24 American rallied when people came here, I'm sure they came,
25 spokesmen came and said help, Israel is in trouble. She needs

1 your help. And there isn't a doubt in my mind that better
2 than eight thousand people of the Jewish Community in this
3 city, in this area, almost to a man and a woman rallied
4 to make some little help and some of them very generous.

5 I was at many of these meetings. I was in your
6 government at that time. I know what was going on in the
7 government and I know what was going on outside.

8 I have some idea of what the facts were of the
9 time. Well, it was nothing short of a military miracle of
10 what Israel was able to do, but ladies and gentlemen, don't
11 always depend on miracles.

12 Oh, there's a story they tell about those three
13 great militarists who were down there in the firey places
14 talking about the amazing success of Israel's arms in the
15 Six Day War. Genghis Khan, you maybe heard this one, you
16 know -- and Hannibal of the -- and Napoleon.

17 Genghis Khan, as they were, as the three militar-
18 ists were visiting about the amazing achievements of Israel
19 Armed Forces, Genghis Khan said "Oh, if I only had Israel's
20 airplanes and their pilots I would have conquered the whole
21 world." And Hannibal said "oh" he said, "what I would have
22 given for those Israeli tanks instead of those elephants,
23 I would have been able to conquer Rome." And Napoleon leaned
24 back and said "well, fellows, all I want was radio Cairo
25 and they would have never known I had lost the Battle of

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1 Waterloo." (Laughter). And it is a good story and I like
2 to tell it once in awhile. And I got a big kick out of it
3 because it gives you kind of a sense of euphoria but the
4 facts were stated from this podium tonight either by Morris
5 or Barney, my memory fails me for the moment, it was a Six
6 Day War and a victory and there's a three hundred sixty
7 five day struggle right now and that is a fact.

8 Now, your government, your country, my country,
9 our country helps the state of Israel and I must tell you
10 that within your government, whether it is a Democratic
11 Administration or a Republican Administration, in the frame-
12 work, in the bureaucratic structure of this government which
13 is a vital part of any government there are contesting
14 forces.

15 Israel would have never been recognized as an
16 independent nation state by the President of, by the United
17 States of America had not Harry Truman overruled some of
18 his advisors, that is a fact and you know it. (Applause).

19 And whether it was Harry Truman or Dwight Eisen-
20 hower or John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson, they have all had
21 to have a firm hand on policy in the Middle East or the
22 policy of this country could well have been changed and
23 speak as a member of the Senate for sixteen years and twelve
24 years a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and eight
25 of those twelve years as Chairman of the Mid-East Subcommitt-
ee. And a member of the National Security Council of this

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1 government.

2 There are contesting forces within this government,
3 they are not, they don't think they are anti, they just
4 have a different point of view. And you have had to rely
5 upon your elected public officials to take a stand. Now,
6 does that tell you anything -- I'm here to tell you you
7 better take an interest and you'd better speak up, not just
8 to yourself. One of the real problems that we have in
9 meetings like this is that we like to talk to each other.

10 One of the reasons I came out here is because
11 I am not of Jewish faith and I can speak as a Gentile and
12 as a Christian and I can come here and speak about something
13 that means everything to our country and means everything
14 to every citizen of this country so that we can help mold
15 a public opinion. I lay no, I am not at all sure what
16 an administration will do. I hope and pray that it will
17 do what I think it is going to do, namely, pursue a very
18 constructive and helpful policy in the Middle East that would
19 preserve and protect the independence and the sovereignty
20 of Israel. But I'm not going to take any chances. I am
21 going to ask people to speak up and become involved just
22 like you need to become involved with Louisville and its
23 problems.

24 You need to become involved with your government
25 in its decisions and you need to have some view of what

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1 kind of international policy we ought to have.

2 Now, many of you have been involved in Viet Nam
3 policy. Many of you have been involved in all kinds of policy
4 and you haven't hesitated to go to other meetings to speak
5 your views about what the war in Viet Nam.

6 I know. Well now, listen, be as brave, don't
7 be, don't be afraid. Don't think just because it is Israel
8 and because you happen to attend a temple that this isn't
9 vital to us. Of course, it is.

10 This doesn't make you less a good citizen. It
11 makes you a better citizen. I happen to feel that there
12 are elements of a just peace in the Middle East. I think
13 that President Johnson outlined it in his letter of June
14 19th, 1967. There is basic tenets that were looked upon
15 by the responsible leadership in Israel as at least accept-
16 able guidelines for a fair and equitable settlement in the
17 Middle East. I want to be sure that those basic elements
18 are not jettisoned in the name of peace and expediency.

19 I am for the Four Power Conference. I am for any
20 kind of conference that anybody can have that will lead to
21 peace anywhere in the world. But I want to be sure that
22 our government knows what it is doing when it goes there.
23 I want to be sure that our spokesmen know what the guidelines
24 are, know what the area of negotiation is, know how much we
25 are willing to give and how far we are willing to go and

1 not to have a peace of expediency or one that is imposed,
2 that is inequitable and unfair. I believe that is the
3 important thing for you to understand.

4 Now we're going to have these conferences.
5 Now what other elements then? Well, what is the problem --
6 well, first of all the problem is that a number of nations
7 in the world do not recognize the sovereignty of Israel.
8 The first element of a just peace in the Middle East is
9 in recognition of the independence and the freedom and the
10 sovereignty of the State of Israel, that is number one.

11 The second one is the end of the state of belligerency
12 by its neighbors. You can't have peace without ending
13 the state of belligerency which is a legal fact today.
14 If not a legal one at least a fact.

15 What is the third thing that needs to be, that
16 needs to take place. That Israel along with every other
17 nation, our nation, Egypt, any other nation shall have all
18 of the rights under international law to passage and inter-
19 national waterways including the Suez Canal and the Gulf
20 of Aqaba. This is absolutely essential. You think that
21 we would settle for less -- we have gone to war a half a
22 dozen times over the freedom of the seas.

23 And it is important for a nation that is that
24 small that has so few areas where it can have freedom of
25 movement that it have freedom in the international water-

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1 ways. What else is an element of that peace? That Israel
2 should have the means of her defense. A strategic balance
3 is the only way in a world that is terrorized at times by
4 brute force and that is the victim of propaganda and
5 gorilla warfare and tension, the only kind of peace, hope
6 for peace that you have is what you have what we call a
7 strategic balance.

8 Now, if Israel finds herself today with nobody
9 to supply her with her means of defense and others to supply
10 her enemies with all of the means of the attack, it poses
11 a situation which is conducive to trouble. It would mean
12 to Israel that maybe she would feel that she would have to
13 take preemptive measures before it is too late or if she
14 sat back and said I'll just defend our, myself or ourselves
15 she may be overwhelmed. Now this government of yours under
16 Democrats and Republicans has pledged that we would see to
17 it that there is a modern, sophisticated, supersonic aircraft
18 made available. Not many, that they would buy called
19 Phantom jets. I want to say that my hope, my hope is that
20 we could get an Arms Control Agreement so that none of the
21 nations, states in the area would have to use their limited
22 resources for the arms that are ultimately a waste. But
23 until that can be, Israel must have the means of her defense
24 or she will be the victim of attack or at least a threat and
25 the area of the Middle East instead of becoming less tense

1 will become more tense and instead of becoming less dangerous
2 it will become more dangerous and this affects the United
3 States of America and every nation in Europe, in Asia, in
4 Africa.

5 These are some of the fundamentals and then what
6 else -- we must work for the day that we can turn those
7 deserts into fertile lands through programs and resource
8 development. Taking the waters of the seas and making them
9 sweet water so that the land becomes arable. That area of
10 the world is potentially the richest area in the world,
11 its lands are waiting for the blessing of water filled with
12 the life of the sun producing, the capacity to produce
13 untold foodstuffs. An area rich in resources of people
14 and the physical and natural resources of land and even
15 the water and minerals. It is there.

16 And Israel is trying to show the way, my dear
17 friends. This is what you must know and believe. It isn't
18 just a matter of protecting another Jew. Important as that
19 is. And surely people of Jewish faith have a right to
20 be concerned about that in the light of recent history.
21 And you ought to be doubly concerned because we are mighty
22 lucky in this country. But really what we are talking
23 about is there is a country there that with its technicians,
24 with its know-how, with its unusual human capacity could
25 be a God-send, a blessing to the entire area.

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1 And one of the great threats to peace in the world
2 could be removed if once and for all people could be brought
3 together to join together in common enterprises. This is
4 what your program is about. This is what the emergency
5 fund is about. The emergency fund that you heard announced
6 here tonight is about giving people the chance to live,
7 not just to survive. A lot of difference.

8 The emergency fund is another way for you to send
9 a message throughout the world that you care and that some-
10 body else cares.

11 The government of France has closed off supplies.
12 Other countries have put on, if not an official embargo,
13 at least a defacto embargo and Israel and her leaders,
14 and she suffered tragedy again losing her prime minister,
15 going through with the processes of an interim government,
16 facing an election in November with constant pressure upon
17 her frontiers, with terrorism -- oh, I hear everybody talk
18 about, you know, well, they shouldn't have done what they
19 did at Beirut. Well, I was a little bit upset to be frank
20 about it, but then I say well, what would you do? If we
21 were all so smart how do we deal with terrorism at home.
22 What do you do -- terrorism -- I've seen it in Viet Nam,
23 I've seen it in the Middle East, I've seen it in America.
24 And we do not yet quite know what to do with this kind of
25 gorilla warfare. At home or abroad.

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1 And the Israelis are saying to the neighboring
2 governments and the neighboring countries, you are harboring
3 clandestine forces here. At least we think you are and
4 we ask you to take preventative measures so that those
5 clandestine forces do not cross the frontiers, come in and
6 blow up our villages, kill our children, destroy our water-
7 works and nothing happens. Their planes are shot up, people
8 are hanged in the name of being spies. Villages are destroyed
9 Children are shot down in the streets and political and
10 government-elected, not appointed, an elected government
11 with a canescent(?), a parliament says 'hey, you're going
12 to let that happen to our people?' and those elected official
13 have to respond. Now, if you have got a better answer for
14 it, all of us that live in these nice wonderful America,
15 let's find it. We don't have a better answer for it right
16 now. I don't like the answer that is being used but we
17 don't seem to have a better one. But I know this, that if
18 Israel feels that she is isolated and forgotten she will
19 not act responsible because she will be like a caged person
20 that feels that there is no one left that cares.

21 I come here to ask you for one thing only, to
22 care. How much you care, that is up to you. I ask you to
23 come here to let the whole world know that we care as people
24 and let your government know that we care. You have a
25 right to. It is very peaceful. We are not demonstrating,

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1 we are not burning down anything, we just have a right to
2 say we care. I'm coming here to tell you that by expressing
3 through your good works that you care that you may do some-
4 thing more for your peace of the world than all of the
5 speeches that you have ever heard.

6 And I submit that you can care and it will help
7 you more than it will help those that you care for.

8 So my challenge to you tonight is simply to do
9 this: whatever you thought you were going to do was never
10 enough. You and I know that. Whatever you thought you could
11 do is not enough. Israel never would have been if it
12 was only what some people thought they could do. It is
13 the difference between a great people and an ordinary people
14 is doing the impossible. And the difference between a
15 great nation and an ordinary nation is doing the impossible.
16 I happen to think this little country of Israel, like our
17 great country of America, has done the impossible. They
18 have made representative government work. They defended
19 themselves. They have shown great courage in adversity and
20 with all of this they haven't given up the hope of human
21 betterment. Social progress, education, health, housing,
22 everything that you and I believe that a democracy should
23 be is still high on their agenda. And you're asked to help
24 that. You're not asked to buy weapons. You are asked to
25 help buy houses. You're asked to help buy some education.

1 You're asked to help some people that want to come in,
2 find a place to live.

3 You are asked to give -- you are privileged, may
4 I say you are privileged to have the opportunity to save
5 a life, maybe to save a nation and I know if we do right,
6 to save peace. Thank you very very much. (Applause).

7 MR. YARMUTH: Mr. Vice President,
8 earlier in the evening you said quote to be second hurts.
9 I spell hurts H-e-r-t-z and they are number one. And in our
10 hearts tonight you are number one. (Applause).

11 It is not very much anybody can say after one
12 of the great American leaders has spoken and not only one
13 of the great American leaders of our time but even a greater
14 humanitarian. We have been really privileged tonight to
15 hear from one of the greatest humanitarians that I have
16 ever experienced and rather than say anything more I think
17 we ought to really get down to the business of what we are
18 here for tonight. We are here to give. We are here to
19 give because we know the importance of giving. The Vice
20 President expressed the importance of giving and I think
21 we are here not to give what you came to give because that
22 is what the Vice President said, and I'm quoting him,
23 but to give that little more than you had intended to give.
24 So without futher ado we would like to call the cards.

25 *** **

March 3, 1969

MEMORANDUM

For: HHH

From: John G. Stewart

Subject: UJA remarks, Louisville, Kentucky, Wed., March 5, 1969

The next few months are critical in the search for peace in the Middle East. There is, I believe, a growing awareness among many of the world's leaders that the Middle East situation cannot be permitted to rock along from crisis to crisis -- from atrocity to atrocity.

The United States will be exploring for workable solutions with Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union at the United Nations -- in support of the Secretary General's Representative, Gunnar Jarring. These informal conversations can be immensely important and every American -- regardless of party -- surely hopes they will be productive. Incidentally, Ambassador Charles Yost, a member during the campaign of the Humphrey-Muskie task force on international organizations, is a talented and skilled diplomat with extensive personal knowledge of the Middle East. He is ideally suited to pursue these initiatives with the other major powers.

What are the elements of a lasting peace in the Middle East?

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

Israel must understand that it does not stand alone in these difficult times. For a country which feels isolated and

abandoned is more likely to act irrationally than a country which conducts its affairs with quiet, self-confidence. We must tell the people of Israel that we care.

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