

*AK - Israel Emergency  
Fund  
Detroit Michigan*

ADDRESS OF  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AT

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

on

Wednesday, March 26, 1969



**COURT REPORTING SERVICE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

25 When I came here tonight, there

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

25 Now, we live in a time of mortal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 There are reasons to be deeply

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 He said, "Hubert," he said,

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 She must also have the means of

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

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

25 Today Israel sends her technicians



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

23 I said, "About B minus."

24 Maybe I even cheated a little bit  
25 there.

You have done about B plus. You ought to be grade A. I tell you that tonight Israel needs your help. I know she does. She doesn't ask you to buy her any bullets, any bombs; she doesn't ask you to buy any planes. She will take care of that, either out of loans or her tax revenues.

She is asking you, however, to help a little bit with health and with food and with settlements and with schools and with the aged and with the sick and with the land, and you are not going to help too much even then in terms of what the needs are. Just a little extra, but more importantly, she not only needs your economic help -- she needs to know that you care. More than a check, more than a gift, she needs to know that you care.

Israel today finds herself with old friends that have left her. She found herself with an embargo in France. She finds herself with countries that are a little bit hesitant to act, for one reason or another in her behalf. She looks to the peoples of the United States, the peoples. She looks to your government for fair play. She looks to your government to be fair in the market place of dipolmacy. She does not look to your government to save her, to pull her chestnuts, so to speak, out of the fire. She looks for your government to give her a square deal, and she looks to you to give her a chance.

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

14 Thank you very much.  
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Maxwell Jospey  
Chairman

Max M. Fisher  
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Paul Zuckerman  
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United Jewish Appeal

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# 1969 ALLIED JEWISH CAMPAIGN and ISRAEL EMERGENCY FUND

Jewish Welfare Federation • 163 Madison • Fred M. Butzel Memorial Building • Detroit, Michigan 48226 • WO 5-3939

April 17, 1969

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

Dear Mr. Gartner:

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

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

Cordially yours,

*Virginia White*

Virginia W. White  
Public Relations Department

VW:dL

Enclosure



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