

✓ Bob Abrams
✓ Sam Rale

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP ASSEMBLY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 17, 1976

✓ Stanley Lowell
✓ Jerry Goodman

ⓧ Brussels Conference

IT IS INDEED A GREAT PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO ADDRESS
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY.

Amey
YOUR LEADERSHIP ASSEMBLY REPRESENTS A LARGE
NUMBER OF AMERICANS CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE OF
THEIR CORELIGIONISTS IN A COMMUNIST NATION.

BUT LET ME TELL YOU TODAY: THE PLIGHT OF
SOVIET JEWRY IS NOT JUST A JEWISH ISSUE. IT IS A

MORAL ISSUE. IT IS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE.

Life, Liberty - Pursuit of Happiness

IT IS AN ISSUE WHOSE CAUSE BOTH JEW AND

CHRISTIAN HAVE JOINED.

IT IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH
OUR GREAT NATION FACES AS IT FORMULATES ITS FOREIGN
POLICY DURING ITS BICENTENNIAL.

*its Bicentennial
should therefore
include it*

L IT IS CRITICAL THAT OUR NATION PUT A PREMIUM
ON THE SUPPORT OF EXISTING DEMOCRACIES AND THOSE
PEOPLE STRUGGLING TO BE FREE.

L WE MUST DO THIS IN ISRAEL.

L WE MUST DO THIS IN GREECE, IN PORTUGAL, IN
SPAIN AND IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF AFRICA.

L AND WE MUST AID AN OPPRESSED MINORITY IN THE
SOVIET UNION.

L MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS AFTER LENIN'S REVOLUTION,
THE FLAME OF JEWISH FREEDOM IS ALIVE IN RUSSIA.

h THE CZAR'S POGROMS, STALIN'S TERROR AND THE
SECRET POLICE OF HIS SUCCESSORS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO
EXTINGUISH THE JEWISH QUEST FOR FREEDOM.

L THE SOVIET JEW HAS NEVER GIVEN UP IN HIS STRUGGLE.

L AND WE MUST NOT ABANDON OUR STRUGGLE EITHER.

L THE MESSAGE MUST GO FORTH FROM HERE AND FROM

ALL ACROSS AMERICA TO THOSE IN THE SOVIET UNION WHO

LISTEN TO OUR VOICES: LET YOUR JEWISH CITIZENS LIVE

AS JEWS OR LEAVE AS JEWS!

L THIS IS NOT JUST A MESSAGE WHICH I VOICE IN

WASHINGTON, L I HAVE SPOKEN THESE WORDS IN THE KREMLIN

AS WELL. L AND ALL WHO MEET WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS

AND ORDINARY CITIZENS MUST DO THE SAME.

L WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A HEATED ELECTION CAMPAIGN

IN WHICH THE TOPIC OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAS

BECOME AN IMPORTANT ISSUE.

DESPIITE THE FULMINATIONS FROM THE RIGHT WING
OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, JERRY FORD AND EVEN RONALD
REAGAN KNOW THAT A RENEWAL OF THE COLD WAR IS NOT IN
THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT--BE HE DEMOCRAT OR
REPUBLICAN--HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO TRY TO NORMALIZE
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. WORLD PEACE DEPENDS ON
IT.

THE QUESTION IS HOW AND ON ^{what} WHO'S TERMS.

LET ME GIVE YOU MY VIEWS.

NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS SHOULD
NOT MEAN THAT WE ACQUIESCE THROUGH OUR SILENCE TO
SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES OR PRACTICES.

L WE HAD A PERIOD OF ACQUIESCENCE IN THIS WORLD IN
THE TIME OF HITLER. L PEOPLE DID ACQUIESCE, IN GERMANY
AND ELSEWHERE, WHO KNEW THAT HITLER'S POLICIES WERE
WRONG. L THERE WAS TOO MUCH ACQUIESCENCE IN
AMERICA BOTH TO JAPANESE IMPERIALISM AND GERMAN
NAZISM WITH PEOPLE SAYING IT WASN'T ANY OF OUR
BUSINESS.

L THE FACT IS THAT FREEDOM IS OUR BUSINESS.

L THE FACT IS THAT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS ARE OUR
BUSINESS. L AND WHENEVER WE SELL THEM OUT BY SILENCE
OR BY NEGOTIATION, WE DO SO AT OUR PERIL.

L WE MUST NEVER ABANDON THE LONG-TERM GOAL OF
PEACEFUL CHANGE WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE COMMUNIST
SYSTEM AS THE PRICE OF U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.

IF WE SHOULD DO SO, THIS RELATIONSHIP CANNOT
LONG ENDURE.

THESE ARE THE VERY BASIC ^{framework} PARAMETERS OF WHAT
I BELIEVE SHOULD BE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET-
AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP.

UNLESS THEY BECOME BASIC AMERICAN POLICY, OUR
ABILITY TO SOLVE THE URGENT PROBLEM FOR WHICH WE ARE
GATHERED TODAY WILL BE SEVERELY IMPAIRED.

UNLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA JOINS THE
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM FOR SOVIET JEWS THEIR CAUSE

WILL BE LOST. THEY WILL REMAIN OPPRESSED. ISRAEL

IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH. OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AND ELSE-

WHERE ARE TOO OFTEN SADLY INDIFFERENT ^{either} or overwhelmed
by their own problems.

L WE REMAIN THE ONLY HOPE OF THE SOVIET JEW.

L BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BEEN TOTALLY SUCCESSFUL IN

OUR EFFORTS, IS NO EXCUSE TO GIVE UP.

L BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US "THIS IS NONE

OF YOUR BUSINESS", IS NO EXCUSE TO ABANDON OUR

STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

*Let everyone know -
that human rights are our business!*

L IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT WE MUST RENEW OUR

EFFORTS AND DO SO IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

L LET ME TALK WITH YOU FRANKLY! DURING THE

REMAINING MONTHS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, I SEE

LITTLE PROSPECT FOR A RENEWAL OF SERIOUS SOVIET-

AMERICAN DISCUSSIONS ON THIS VITAL ISSUE.

HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT ONCE WE HAVE ELECTED
A PRESIDENT, THIS MAN SHOULD MAKE IT HIS BUSINESS TO
APPROACH THE SOVIETS QUIETLY AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL
AND PRESS FOR A SOLUTION TO THIS CRITICAL HUMAN
PROBLEM.

IT IS, OF COURSE, MY HOPE THAT A DEMOCRAT
WILL BE PRESIDENT IN NOVEMBER.

BUT NO MATTER WHO IS THE PRESIDENT, THE PLIGHT
OF SOVIET JEWRY CAN NO LONGER BE VIEWED AS AN ISSUE
APART FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF SOVIET-AMERICAN
RELATIONS.

L A NEW ADMINISTRATION CANNOT REGARD THE PLIGHT
OF SOVIET JEWRY AS A MINOR IRRITANT THAT IT MUST
DEAL WITH IN SHAPING ITS FOREIGN POLICY.

L A NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST CONSIDER THIS ISSUE
AS A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR WHICH IT MUST RESOLVE
IN THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZING AMERICAN RELATIONS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

L IT CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO TREAT THE MATTER
AS AN AFTER-THOUGHT.

L IT CAN NO LONGER REGARD THE MATTER AS THE
CONCERN OF A MINORITY.

AND IT CAN NO LONGER SEEM TO BE INFLUENCED BY
 THE SOVIET VIEW THAT THEIR TREATMENT OF THEIR JEWISH
 CITIZENS IS AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR WHICH NO FOREIGN
 GOVERNMENT HAS THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS CONCERN.

The Protection of *more than an*
 NO HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IS AN "INTERNAL

MATTER" IN A SHRINKING, INTERDEPENDENT WORLD.

AND THIS IS TRUE FOR CHILE, KOREA AND THE SOVIET

UNION.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT AND
 HIS SECRETARY OF STATE TO MAKE THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENT OF AMERICA'S

FOREIGN POLICY.

The definition of
America is the dignity of
the individual - the basic rights
of people.

WE CAN DO NO LESS AS WE CELEBRATE OUR FREEDOM.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NO LONGER WILLING TO
SUPPORT A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH PLACES CONCERN FOR
THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS SECOND TO POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

I SUGGEST TO YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN HAVE

A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IS BOTH PRAGMATIC AND MORAL--

THE TWO ARE NOT INCONSISTENT.

in fact they are inseparable!

THE TIME IS FAST APPROACHING WHEN A NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE WITH THE SOVIETS
TO SOLVE THE MOST PRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM OF
OUR TIME.

WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO DRIFT.

I KNOW THAT THE CONGRESS STANDS READY TO WORK
WITH A NEW ADMINISTRATION IN AN APPROACH TO THE
RUSSIANS.

LET ME CONCLUDE WITH THIS THOUGHT. *President* GERALD FORD

WENT TO HELSINKI IN AUGUST, 1975 TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT

WITH *Secretary* ~~LEONID~~ BREZHNEV AND 35 OTHER SIGNATORIES.

THIS AGREEMENT WAS MEANT TO ASSURE BASIC FREEDOMS FOR

ALL PEOPLES, BE THEY SOVIET, AMERICAN OR EUROPEAN.

WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO INSURE THAT ALL

WHO SIGNED THIS AGREEMENT LIVE BY IT. IT IS TIME

FOR DOCUMENTS TO BECOME LIVING LAW.

LET US SEND A MESSAGE TO THE SOVIETS. WE WILL

NOT LET THEM FORGET HELSINKI AND THE FUNDAMENTAL

FREEDOMS IT GUARANTEES.

L WE WILL NOT LET THEM FORGET THAT IN ORDER TO
RECEIVE THE FRUITS OF AMERICAN GENIUS--BE THEY FROM
THE EARTH OR FROM OUR FACTORIES--THEY MUST OBEY THE
INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED CODES OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AND HUMAN DIGNITY.

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