## REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

### ANNUAL DINNER

### AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

New York, New York

May 12, 1977

Words really cannot express adequately the deep appreciation I feel for your kindness and generosity in conferring upon me this prized honor. This award is particularly meaningful, because it is presented by an organization which has come to epitomize the very essence of promoting the humanity of mankind.

This is a very humbling experience, particularly as one looks at the list of past recipients of the American Liberties Medallion -- Earl Warren, Averill Harriman, Lyndon Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr., Adlai Stevenson and Thurgood Marshall.

This is a particularly appropriate forum in which to discuss two issues about which I am deeply concerned -- the future of Israel, and the commitment by the United States to fundamental human rights.

The American Jewish Committee has gained special recognition and respect in its pursuit of social justice for all peoples. Your deep commitment to the freedom and security of Jews worldwide continues to serve as an inspiration to all.

Throughout my public career, I have been honored to have had a small role in the history of Israel -- a people consistently persecuted but always persistent in the affirmation of human potential.

I am proud because there is a message in thousands of years of struggle and survival of the Jewish people, as symbolized in the struggle of the state of Israel.

There is a message in the martyrdom and nameless victims of this struggle.

And the message is that while people may be oppressed, the urge for freedom will persist undiminished.

This is the story of Israel and it is also the story of the commitment of the United States to the survival of an independent, Jewish state in the Middle East.

Except for longstanding obligations to NATO and Japan, few aspects of American foreign policy have been as firm and as longlasting as the commitment to support an independent and secure Israel.

Presidents of vastly different political persuasions have made the support of Israel a fundamental element of American foreign policy.

And I am here to tell you that this policy is reaffirmed in the administration of President Jimmy Carter. Even while there is a recognition of the need to move ahead in our relations with the Arab states in finding the key to peace in the Middle East, this Administration will not let Israel down.

President Carter has told your National Executive Council that "genuine peace and reconciliation in the Middle East will be among the very highest and earliest priorities in my Administration." However, he said, "there will be no change in my basic commitment that the issue of the very security and survival of the State of Israel is not negotiable. The sooner and the better this is understood, the sooner progress can be made toward a lasting and genuine peace."

The American Jewish Committee has been a vital force in support of the democratic state of Israel.

But it also has carried through a basic commitment to human rights, social justice and the dignity of man as values which transcend national boundaries. And Americans have a great stake in the struggle for human rights because we are the land of immigrants and the children of immigrants.

The commitment to freedom, to social justice, to the dignity of man, all lie at the heart of Judaism. This is the fundamental driving force that lies at the heart of the creation of the United States of America, and that is the key to our position of world leadership.

It is here in America that the Jewish concept of social and economic justice as the cornerstone of freedom has joined with the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian ideals of equality. Together they form a potent force -- a force capable of guaranteeing that we remain a free, vibrant, open society in which all men and women can make the most of their God-given potential.

But we all are fully aware that the civil rights struggle of the 1950's and 1960's did not eradicate inequality and injustice from our society. That is why I want to take a few minutes to discuss why I believe the concept of the civil rights movement must be broadened to include the rights and opportunities that should be available to all disadvantaged groups in America.

The struggle for civil rights is a struggle for the rights and privileges and duties of all Americans. And what do these rights include?

- -- The right to a meaningful life, free from poverty that today afflicts some 25 million Americans.
  - -- The right to full and equal protection under the law -- an end to the double standard applied to many of those who are less privileged, where justice delayed can become justice denied.
  - -- The right to productive and gainful employment -- for all our people, as a specific national goal toward whose achievement we will apply every possible private and public resource.
  - -- The right to economic, political and social opportunity where progress toward realizing one's full potential will confront no artificial barrier of discrimination based on race, creed or sex.
    - -- The right to a clean and decent neighborhood.
    - -- The right to a life free from violence and terrorism.
  - -- The right to safety, including protection of person and property.
  - -- The right to quality education at all levels, free from segregation.
  - -- The right to live in good health under a system that helps assure modern health care for all at the lowest possible cost.
    - -- The right to be free from hunger and malnutrition.
    - -- The right to opportunities for recreation and leisure, and
    - -- The right to a clean and wholesome environment.

These rights belong to all American people. Without them there are no real civil or human rights.

The new dimensions of civil rights are to be found in the living and working conditions of our people.

This is our challenge, for if we cannot overcome the economic and social obstacles to the full participation of our citizens in our society, the hard-won political and civil rights of the last two decades will hold little meaning for millions of our people.

Yet, this concern does not stop at our nation's shores. For our country cannot hope to survive as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty.

We cannot seek democracy and social and economic justice at home and abandon these principles abroad.

We have made significant strides during the first months of President Carter's Administration. Support of democratic governments now has become a central tenet of American foreign policy.

The only effective way to combat the tyranny of communism and the totalitarianism of the right is to battle for human and economic rights and democratic values.

A sense of moral values should be an imperative of our foreign policy. Unless it is, we will find it difficult to gain the support of peoples around the world who look to us for spiritual and moral support in their struggles for freedom.

Nearly two years ago, the United States joined with the Soviet Union and 33 other nations in signing the Helsinki Agreement. The most important articles in that agreement are the Basket Three -- or human rights -- provisions.

The Basket Three provisions are proving to be a most important development in the field of international human rights. While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, this does not mean we should not remind the world that human rights are the highest priority of our government and our people, and that our policies will be directed accordingly.

The message of the United States is not nuclear power. The message of the United States is a spiritual message. It is the message of human ideals; it is the message of the freedom of ideas, speech, press, the right to assemble, to worship, and the message of the freedom of movement of peoples.

It is the message of the Bill of Rights. It is the message of the Declaration of Independence, where we boldly proclaimed to a world dominated by monarchs and tyrants that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

This is the message of America. This is the source of our power. This is the source of our strength.

I recognize and understand the common wisdom that the relations among nations demand a pragmatic trade-off of national self-interests, the maintenance of balance of power, and compromises in easing tensions and in gaining and holding allies.

However, in this delicate process of negotiation and accommodation, the United States government and our people must not neglect our basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These principles have formed the foundation of our government and have served as a beacon of hope for the rest of the world.

To refrain from calling attention to these basic concerns only tarnishes the image of the United States. It diminishes our value system in the eyes of the global community. It undermines our own society and leaves us a weaker people.

Here in the United States, we have the most heterogeneous mixture of races, religions and nationalities ever to coexist peacefully under the tent of democracy. And we are the world's largest democracy, which has just completed celebrating two centuries of freedom.

I am an optimist. There is every reason to believe that our third century not only can be one of expanding freedom and opportunity for all Americans, but also one in which we can once again exercise leadership in the promotion of human rights worldwide and in the global assault on the historic plagues of mankind -- the bondage of hunger, disease and illiteracy.

There is every reason to believe that the progressive forces in America and abroad can make great gains in the struggle to eradicate injustice, hunger and poverty wherever they are found.

I know that the men and women of will and vision here this evening are ready to join hands for the kind of America and world which is in our hopes and dreams.

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WORDS REALLY CANNOT EXPRESS ADEQUATELY THE DEEP

APPRECIATION I FEEL FOR YOUR KINDNESS AND GENEROSITY IN CONFERRING

UPON ME THIS PRIZED HONOR. THIS AWARD IS PARTICULARLY MEANINGFUL,

BECAUSE IT IS PRESENTED BY AN ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS COME TO

EPITOMIZE THE VERY ESSENCE OF PROMOTING THE HUMANITY OF MANKIND.

THIS IS A VERY HUMBLING EXPERIENCE, PARTICULARLY AS ONE

MEDALLION -- EARL WARREN, AVERILL HARRIMAN, LYNDON JOHNSON,

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ADLAI STEVENSON AND THURGOOD MARSHALL.

This is a particularly appropriate forum in which to discuss Polume with the Manten Sutter Kny 20.

TWO ISSUES ABOUT WHICH I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED -- THE FUTURE OF

ISRAEL, AND THE COMMITMENT BY THE UNITED STATES TO FUNDAMENTAL

HUMAN RIGHTS,

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS GAINED SPECIAL RECOGNITION

AND RESPECT IN ITS PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR ALL PEOPLES.

YOUR DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE FREEDOM AND SECURITY TO THE SECURITY TO THE FREEDOM AND SECURITY TO THE SECURITY TO THE SECURITY TO THE SECURITY T

WORLDWIDE CONTINUES TO SERVE AS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL.

THROUGHOUT MY PUBLIC CAREER, I HAVE BEEN HONORED TO HAVE HAD A SMALL ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

CONSISTENTLY PERSECUTED BUT ALWAYS PERSISTENT IN THE AFFIRMATION
OF HUMAN POTENTIAL.

I AM PROUD BECAUSE THERE IS A MESSAGE IN THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND SURVIVAL OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AS SYMBOLIZED IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

THERE IS A MESSAGE IN THE MARTYRDOM AND NAMELESS VICTIMS
OF THIS STRUGGLE.

AND THE MESSAGE IS THAT WHILE PEOPLE MAY BE OPPRESSED, THE URGE FOR FREEDOM WILL PERSIST UNDIMINISHED.

This is the story of Israel and it is also the story of the commitment of the United States to the survival of an independent, Jewish state in the Middle East.

EXCEPT FOR LONGSTANDING OBLIGATIONS TO NATO AND JAPAN,

ASPECTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAVE BEEN AS FIRM AND AS

LONGLASTING AS THE COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT AND

SECURE ISRAEL.

PRESIDENTS OF VASTLY DIFFERENT POLITICAL PERSUASIONS HAVE

MADE THE SUPPORT OF ISRAEL A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF AMERICAN

FOREIGN POLICY. Trum, Carly, King, Adm., Trum,

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AND I AM HERE TO TELL YOU THAT THIS POLICY IS REAFFIRMED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER. EVEN WHILE THERE IS A RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO MOVE AHEAD IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES IN FINDING THE KEY TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT LET ISRAEL DOWN.

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS TOLD YOUR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

THAT "GENUINE PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL

BE AMONG THE VERY HIGHEST AND EARLIEST PRIORITIES IN MY

ADMINISTRATION." However, HE SAID, "THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN

MY BASIC COMMITMENT THAT THE ISSUE OF THE VERY SECURITY AND

SURVIVAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS NOT NEGOTIABLE. THE SOONER

AND THE BETTER THIS IS UNDERSTOOD, THE SOONER PROGRESS CAN BE

MADE TOWARD A LASTING AND GENUINE PEACE."



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS BEEN A VITAL FORCE IN SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE OF ISRAEL.

BUT IT ALSO HAS CARRIED THROUGH A BASIC COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN AS VALUES WHICH TRANSCEND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. AND AMERICANS HAVE A GREAT STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE WE ARE THE LAND OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS.

THE COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, TO SOCIAL JUSTICE, TO THE DIGNITY OF MAN, ALL LIE AT THE HEART OF JUDAISM. THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL DRIVING FORCE THAT LIES AT THE HEART OF THE CREATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THAT IS THE KEY TO OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP.

IT IS HERE IN AMERICA THAT THE JEWISH CONCEPT OF SOCIAL

AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF FREEDOM HAS JOINED

WITH THE JEFFERSONIAN AND JACKSONIAN IDEALS OF EQUALITY.

TOGETHER THEY FORM A POTENT FORCE -- A FORCE CAPABLE OF GUARANTEEING

THAT WE REMAIN A FREE, VIBRANT, OPEN SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL



BUT WE ALL ARE FULLY AWARE THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE

FROM OUR SOCIETY, THAT IS WHY I WANT TO TAKE FEW MINUTES TO DISCUSS WHY I BELIEVE THE CONCEPT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MUST BE BROADENED TO INCLUDE THE RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT SHOULD BE AVAILABLE TO ALL DISADVANTAGED GROUPS IN AMERICA.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IS A STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS
AND PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF ALL AMERICANS. AND WHAT DO THESE
RIGHTS INCLUDE?

Z-- THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL LIFE, FREE FROM POVERTY THAT TODAY AFFLICTS SOME 25 MILLION AMERICANS.

-- THE RIGHT TO FULL AND EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE

LAW -- AN END TO THE DOUBLE STANDARD APPLIED TO MANY OF THOSE

WHO ARE LESS PRIVILEGED, WHERE JUSTICE DELAYED CAN BECOME

JUSTICE DENIED.

THE RIGHT TO PRODUCTIVE AND GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT -- FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE, AS A SPECIFIC NATIONAL GOAL TOWARD WHOSE ACHIEVEMENT WE WILL APPLY EVERY POSSIBLE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RESOURCE.

Z-- THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY

WHERE PROGRESS TOWARD REALIZING ONE'S FULL POTENTIAL WILL

CONFRONT NO ARTIFICIAL BARRIER OF DISCRIMINATION BASED ON

RACE, CREED OR SEX.

-- THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN AND DECENT NEIGHBORHOOD.

-- THE RIGHT TO A LIFE FREE FROM VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM.

\_\_\_ THE RIGHT TO SAFETY, INCLUDING PROTECTION OF PERSON AND

PROPERTY.

\_\_\_ THE RIGHT TO QUALITY EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS, FREE FROM

SEGREGATION.

-- THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN GOOD HEALTH, UNDER A SYSTEM THAT HELPS

ASSURE MODERN HEALTH CARE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST.

4-- THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION.

THE RIGHT TO OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECREATION AND LEISURE, AND THESE RIGHTS BELONG TO ALL AMERICAN PEOPL THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF OUR PEOPLE This is our challenge, for if we cannot overcome the economic AND SOCIAL OBSTACLES TO THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF OUR CITIZENS

AND SOCIAL OBSTACLES TO THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF OUR CITIZENS
IN OUR SOCIETY, THE HARD-WON POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE

LAST TWO DECADES WILL HOLD LITTLE MEANING FOR MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE.

YET THIS CONCERN DOES NOT STOP AT OUR NATION'S SHORES FOR

OUR COUNTRY CANNOT HOPE TO SURVIVE AS AN ISLAND OF WEALTH IN A SEA

OF POVERTY.

WE CANNOT SEEK DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

AT HOME AND ABANDON THESE PRINCIPLES ABROAD.

WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES DURING THE FIRST MONTHS OF

PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC

GOVERNMENTS NOW HAS BECOME A CENTRAL TENET OF AMERICAN FOREIGN

POLICY.

THE ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO COMBAT THE TYRANNY OF COMMUNISM AND
TOTALITARIANISM CE THE RESULT IS TO BATTLE FOR HUMAN AND ECONOMIC

RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES

A SENSE OF MORAL VALUES SHOULD BE AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR

FOREIGN POLICY UNLESS IT IS, WE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GAIN

THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO US FOR

SPIRITUAL AND MORAL SUPPORT IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM.

NEARLY TWO YEARS AGO, THE UNITED STATES JOINED WITH THE SOVIET Union and 33 other nations in signing the Helsinki Agreement The MOST IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN THAT AGREEMENT ARE THE BASKET THREE PROVISIONS of Human Rights. PROVISIONS ARE PROVING TO BE A MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL IS TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD NOT REMIND THE WORLD THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE, AND THAT OUR POLICIES WILL BE DIRECTED THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NUCLEAR

THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A SPIRITUAL MESSAGE.

IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM OF IDEAS, SPEECH, PRESS, THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE, TO WORSHIP, AND THE MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES. IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS. IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WHERE WE BOLDLY PROCLAIMED TO A WORLD DOMINATED BY MONARCHS AND TYRANTS THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AND AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF AMERICA. THIS IS THE SOURCE

OF OUR POWER. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH.

LI RECOGNIZE AND UNDERSTAND THE COMMON WISDOM THAT THE

RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS DEMAND A PRAGMATIC TRADE-OFF OF NATIONAL

SELF-INTERESTS, THE MAINTENANCE OF BALANCES OF POWER, AND COMPROMISES

IN EASING TENSIONS AND IN GAINING AND HOLDING ALLIES.

However, IN THIS DELICATE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND

ACCOMMODATION, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE MUST NOT

NEGLECT OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE FORMED THE FOUNDATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND

HAVE SERVED AS A BEACON OF HOPE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD.

To REFRAIN FROM CALLING ATTENTION TO THESE BASIC CONCERNS ONLY

TARNISHES THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES. IT DIMINISHES OUR VALUE

SYSTEM IN THE EYES OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. IT UNDERMINES OUR OWN

SOCIETY AND LEAVES US A WEAKER PEOPLE.

Do we lucupto our ideals-votaling Botchellerg-Hopel HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE THE MOST HETEROGENEOUS

MIXTURE OF RACES, RELIGIONS AND NATIONALITIES EVER TO COEXIST PEACE
FULLY UNDER THE TENT OF DEMOCRACY, AND WE ARE THE WORLD'S

DEMOCRACY, WHICH HAS JUST COMPLETED CELEBRATING TWO CENTURIES OF

FREEDOM.

I AM AN OPTIMIST. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OUR

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS, ALSO ONE IN WHICH WE CAN ONCE

AGAIN EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORLD-

WIDE AND THE GLOBAL ASSAULT ON THE HISTORIC PLAGUES OF MANKIND --

THE BONDAGE OF HUNGER, DISEASE AND ILLITERACY.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES
IN AMERICA AND ABROAD CAN MAKE GREAT GAINS IN THE STRUGGLE TO
ERADICATE INJUSTICE, HUNGER AND POVERTY WHEREVER THEY ARE FOUND.

I KNOW THAT THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION HERE

THIS EVENING ARE READY TO JOIN HANDS FOR THE KIND OF AMERICA

AND WORLD WHICH IS IN OUR HOPES AND DREAMS.

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