

# **APIAC**

**National Summit 2006: Closing Plenary**

**Senator Christopher Dodd**

**October 23, 2006**

**Tapes #1 & 2**

Senator Christopher Dodd, 10/23/06

Line#	Timecode	Quote
1		[START TAPE]
2		MR. NATE LEVINE: Good afternoon,
3	0:35:33	ladies and gentlemen. My name is
4		Nate Levine, and I am a National
5		Summit Chair from Dallas. I hope you
6		are all having a great time and
7		enjoying the program so far. Our
8		next speaker is known as one of the
9		Senate's foremost champions of human
10		rights around the globe. As part of
11		that fight, he has never shied away
12		from condemning the worst of human
13	0:36:08	rights violations - terrorism.
14		SENATOR CHRISTOPHER DODD: We are not
15		going to tolerate the terrorists,
16		nations that harbor them, nations
17		that support them, the groups and
18		communities that back them and
19		support them. We are going to fight
20		them day in and day out.
21		MR. LEVINE: Senator Christopher Dodd
22		spoke those words to us in 1995, long
23	0:36:38	before the 9/11 terrorists attacked,
24		killed thousands of Americans, and
25		long before a Palestinian campaign of

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26		violence had killed thousands of
27		Israelis. He spoke against terrorism
28	0:36:58	with the same moral clarity that he
29		has shown in discussing the fall of
30		communism, human rights in Central
31		America, peace in the Middle East,
32		and freedom for Soviet Jews. Senator
33		Dodd has always worked tirelessly to
34		ensure that America does the right
35		thing for the American people and for
36		other peoples around the world. He
37		gained a sense of America's moral
38	0:37:32	purpose, at least in part, from his
39		father - a member of the prosecution
40		team at the Nuremburg war crimes
41		trials. And from him he learned
42		early about the horrors of the
43		holocaust and the historic importance
44		of the state of Israel. That is one
45		reason why his leadership and his
46		friendship are so important to the
47		pro-Israel community. He gets that
48	0:38:08	Israel is an American value. He
49		understands that strong support for
50		the lone democracy in the Middle East

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
51		sends a signal to the world about
52		what America stands for. As you can
53	0:38:29	read on his blog, he never stops
54		working on issues important to all of
55		us, traveling to Israel earlier this
56		year and helping to pass Senate
57		legislation on the conflict in
58		Lebanon and speaking out on
59		Palestinian elections. He was an
60		early and important cosponsor of the
61		Syrian Accountability Act, a leader
62		in exposing the Iran nuclear threat,
63	0:39:02	and a key supporter for the need to
64		ensure Israel's security against
65		Hezbollah and other terrorist groups.
66		Ladies and gentlemen, please give a
67		warm welcome to our friend, a
68		distinguished Senator from
69		Connecticut, Christopher Dodd.
70		[END TAPE 1]
71		[START TAPE 2]
72		SENATOR DODD: Thank you all very,
73		very much. Thank you. Thank you for
74		that very warm welcome, and Nate, I
75	0:39:47	thank you immensely for that generous

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
76		introduction. I grew a beard
77		listening to Nate go on at some
78		length back there. It's a pleasure
79		to be home again, in a sense, to be
80	0:39:58	with AIPAC and have a chance to share
81		some thoughts with you this
82		afternoon. I gather you've had a
83		full program over the last day or so,
84		and so I hope I - I want you to eat
85		while I'm talking. You won't offend
86		me. I come from a large family. We
87		used to do this all the time. And so
88		please enjoy your lunch while I share
89		some thoughts with you, and again I'm
90	0:40:15	grateful. I gather you've had a
91		number of my colleagues here already.
92		I gather about eight or ten
93		Republicans, and I'm the only
94		Democrat. I think it's about fair if
95		we were to balance this out along the
96		lines. So I thank you for having me
97		down to be with you today. I was
98		listening to Nate and that long
99		introduction - one of my favorite
100	0:40:34	introductions of a politician was

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
101		given a number of years ago. William
102		Howard Taft was, as you'll recall, a
103		former - not only former President of
104		the United States, but a former Chief
105	0:40:44	Justice of the United States Supreme
106		Court, and he was being feted and
107		celebrated at a black tie dinner at
108		the Waldorf Astoria back in the early
109		part of the 20th century. And it was
110		a very colorful member of the United
111		States Senate from New York by the
112		name of Chauncey Depew. And Chauncey
113		thought of himself as quite a wit,
114		and Taft, you may recall, was not
115	0:41:03	only a giant of a person in terms of
116		his substance of accomplishments, but
117		also physically, he was huge. He was
118		about 6'8" and weighed about 400
119		pounds. Anyway, Chauncey Depew
120		concludes this introduction of this
121		wonderful American by saying it now
122		gives me a great deal of pleasure to
123		present to you a man who is both
124		pregnant with integrity and courage.
125	0:41:22	Well, of course the crowd roared its

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
126		approval. They gave Taft a standing
127		ovation. He slowly made his way up
128		to the podium. He waited for the
129		crowd to be reseated and the noise to
130	0:41:30	subside. He then turned to the
131		audience and he said if it is a girl
132		I shall call her Integrity. If it is
133		a boy I shall call him Courage. But
134		if, as I suspect, it's nothing more
135		than gas I shall call it Chauncey
136		Depew. Oh. Right here. So when you
137		- so when you hear these lengthy -
138		these lengthy - lengthy
139		introductions. The only one that was
140	0:41:57	almost that good was given - I was
141		giving - years ago - I used to have a
142		head of black hair when I was first
143		elected to Congress some 32 years
144		ago. I used to do a lot of speaking
145		at the United Jewish Appeal dinners.
146		I remember being in Cleveland. No
147		one knew me in the place. I was
148		brought out. I was a first term or
149		second term Congressman, and they
150	0:42:14	asked me to come out and share some

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
151		thoughts and my views on various
152		things. And the master of ceremonies
153		wanted to make me feel welcome. He
154		went on at some length introducing
155	0:42:21	me. And I know what he wanted to
156		say. He wanted to say it now gives
157		me a great deal of pleasure to
158		present to you a great joy. But you
159		could imagine what was said. I was
160		introduced as the great goy in
161		Cleveland at the - so I've always -
162		so introductions are always a little
163		- a little dicey for me along the way
164		here. Well, at any rate, you've had
165	0:42:45	a wonderful conference, I gather. I
166		looked over the program. You've had
167		some remarkable people to talk to you
168		and I regret I didn't get down
169		earlier and could have participated
170		or listened in on some of the
171		informed discussions you've had over
172		the last day or so. It's got to have
173		been tremendously helpful. And I
174		considered myself a good friend over
175	0:43:01	the years and let me just say to all



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
176		of you here, I don't - I never know -
177		none of us know, obviously, how long
178		we're going to be on this earth. But
179		I can just tell you this - I've said
180	0:43:09	it over and over again over the
181		years, that's why in a sense of
182		coming back, being here with all of
183		you is such a comfortable feeling,
184		that as long as I'm in public life,
185		particularly I suppose the United
186		States Senate, but wherever else it
187		may be, I just want all of you to
188		know, as I tell my constituents all
189		the time, I consider myself a strong
190	0:43:25	and unwavering support - a supporter
191		of the state of Israel, and it will
192		continue to be the case. And you
193		have my pledge on that. I want you
194		to know that. I feel very strongly
195		about it. I always - I always say I
196		hope these people who come and speak
197		at conferences like this will also
198		give the same speech when they go to
199		the Chamber of Commerce or the Lions
200	0:43:47	Club or some other organization.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
201		They give great talks when we gather
202		together where there's a commonality
203		of theme. This is such an important
204		subject matter. It's one that I
205	0:43:56	would hope people in public life
206		would speak about at some length at
207		other places as well. I - some of
208		you - and Nate was very generous in
209		his introduction because a lot of
210		audiences wonder why this Irish-
211		Catholic senator from Connecticut
212		would have any interest in the
213		subject matter, other than the one
214		you would have because of a
215	0:44:12	constituent interest. And Nate was
216		very generous to mention that some 61
217		years ago when I was a one-year-old,
218		in the summer of 1945, my father left
219		his five children to go to a place
220		called Nuremberg. And for the next
221		year and a half he was there. He
222		started over as just an interrogator,
223		as a Justice Department lawyer, but
224		very close to Robert Jackson, who was
225	0:44:31	the Chief Prosecutor of the United

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
226		States - those of you familiar, of
227		course, with the Nuremberg Trials -
228		and ended up becoming the number two
229		on the prosecutorial team. When
230	0:44:39	Judge Story left, my father took over
231		as part of the team. And only a
232		couple of these judges - a couple of
233		these prosecutors still left today.
234		But he wrote my mother every single
235		day - letters I only discovered a few
236		years ago, 400 letters, wrote 8-,
237		10-, 20-page letters every single day
238		from Nuremberg, remarkable letters.
239		First of all, I remember the first
240	0:44:57	night I read them, which is I found
241		them only about ten or twelve years
242		ago. And the first letter was
243		written on July 28th, 1945. You can
244		imagine the chilling feeling. After I
245		found the letters - they were not in
246		chronological order, so it took me
247		several days to put them in order. I
248		didn't want to start reading them
249		until actually I had put them in some
250	0:45:14	order so I could get the flow of his

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
251		correspondence to my mother. And the
252		first time I sat down to read the
253		very first letter, it was July 28th,
254		1990, exactly 45 years to the day
255	0:45:24	that the first letter was written.
256		And these letters are fascinating
257		letters. They're great letters in
258		many ways, so insightful about the
259		defendants, about the prosecutorial
260		teams and the like. They're also
261		pretty good love letters, and I was
262		first of all wondering who is this
263		guy talking about my mother this way
264		and everything? And then I realized
265	0:45:41	I was one of six children, so it's -
266		something is going on here. Children
267		don't want to admit these things
268		happen at all with their - with their
269		parents along the way. At any rate,
270		that just is a - is a background in a
271		sense, because it was wonderful
272		growing up as a child in my home in
273		West Hartford, Connecticut, that had
274		a parent who literally, on almost a
275	0:46:00	daily basis, shared with his children

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
276		his experiences, which was the
277		seminal event in his life. Without
278		any question, the Nuremberg Trials
279		changed his life, as of course the
280	0:46:10	holocaust did for so many people.
281		But those who were involved in it in
282		one way or another had their lives
283		unalterably changed as a result of
284		those years and those - of those
285		years and those experiences. So with
286		that as a background, having arrived
287		in Congress a long time ago, and over
288		these mass many years - 25 now in the
289		United States Senate, was in the
290	0:46:28	House of Representatives for six
291		years before that, but these issues
292		have always been extremely important
293		to me. And not merely because - I've
294		always said over and over again, this
295		is not a Jewish issue, the condition
296		and state of Israel and security and
297		safety. This is an American an issue
298		as any issue I know and we need to
299		make sure the people understand this,
300	0:46:45	and time and time again. So all the

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
301		more - all the - all the more
302		importance why we talk about it not
303		just in audiences here. And I'd urge
304		you when you're going back to your
305	0:46:56	respective states, when you meet with
306		your respective delegations, ask them
307		if they'd be willing to also talk to
308		other groups about this. It's so
309		important with each generation they
310		understand the history. I worry
311		deeply that we're raising a
312		generation of people who don't
313		understand. We'll lose that first-
314		hand personal accounts that are going
315	0:47:12	to disappear very, very quickly from
316		our midst. Anyway, let me share some
317		thoughts with you here this afternoon
318		about where I think things are, and
319		I've prepared some remarks, and I
320		want you to bear with me as I go
321		through them because I've thought a
322		lot about this, and it's important a
323		gathering and meeting we're here for.
324		I'm not a great biblical scholar but
325	0:47:27	I've always loved the story of Job.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
326		And when all of Job's wealth, of
327		course, had been taken away, as many
328		of you may know here, when his sons
329		and daughters had been killed, and
330	0:47:36	his skin had broken out in boils, and
331		he called his three friends to come
332		and give him a hand, to help him out
333		in his grief, they found him sitting
334		in dust and ashes on the floor of his
335		home, scratching his sores with a
336		broken pot. And the first thing they
337		asked him is what did you do wrong?
338		Now these were Job's friends, by the
339		way, and they knew him. They knew
340	0:47:56	that he was a good man, that he loved
341		his family, and that he provided for
342		the poor, and that he had no fault on
343		his head to speak of. But their way
344		of seeing the world said that if
345		their friend Job was in pain, that it
346		must have been because he'd done some
347		secret evil. It didn't matter that
348		they knew Job, that their unexamined
349		belief, their ideology if you will,
350	0:48:18	told them that he was to blame for

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351		whatever had befallen him. So Job
352		had no help in his grief because his
353		friends put more faith in their
354		theories than in the evidence that
355	0:48:29	was right before their eyes. Well,
356		we're here today gathering to
357		celebrate, of course, the state of
358		Israel for showing, among other
359		things, that the patience of Job is
360		no myth. For six decades now, as a
361		state, Israeli has passed every
362		single day without exception in the
363		knowledge that her enemies are
364		praying and plotting every single
365	0:48:50	day, every waking minute, for its
366		death and its annihilation. In the
367		face of such hatred, we might have
368		expected the people of Israel to
369		answer with a hate of their own. But
370		miraculously, wonderfully, they have
371		not. Israel remains an island of
372		openness in a sea of fear. This
373		success belongs to all of the Israeli
374		people, and it's more lasting than
375	0:49:13	anything else that's ever happened on



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
376		a battlefield or in the corridors of
377		political power. Because Israel has
378		something that Job never had, and
379		that's a friend who trusts his eyes.
380	0:49:25	Just like Job, Israel shows its
381		goodness to the world, that its
382		politics are open and vibrant, that
383		its markets are free and fair, that
384		its laws hold for the weak and strong
385		alike in the country, that its might
386		serves only for its own self-defense.
387		And like America, how can you hate
388		Israel if you claim to know her?
389		Well, we also know how much of the
390	0:49:48	world prefers ideology to fact, how
391		many choose to make themselves blind
392		to Israel's virtues because they
393		prefer a scapegoat or a convenient
394		demon. But for six decades America
395		has been to Israel the friend Job
396		never had, the friend who sees the
397		fact of goodness and says I will not
398		leave you, I will not abandon you,
399		and I will stand with you. I'm here
400	0:50:13	today - I'm here today to claim my

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
401		part in that friendship if you will.
402		I can't promise easy answers to the
403		dangers facing Israel, but I can
404		promise one small and vital thing. I
405	0:50:31	am a man who believes his own eyes.
406		No one will ever be able to persuade
407		me of Israel's - or not be able to
408		persuade me of Israel's goodness, its
409		deep meaning, its necessity to the
410		United States and to freedom-loving
411		people everywhere. My journey began,
412		as I said, long before I entered
413		Congress some 30 years ago, began in
414		our home at our dining room table.
415	0:50:51	It was the Nuremberg experience that
416		I've discussed already with you here,
417		that my father brought to his
418		children almost on a daily basis and
419		educated his family about the
420		importance of what happens when the
421		world sits silently by in the face of
422		genocidal behavior as we saw in the
423		1930s and 40s. It was impossible for
424		anyone to come unchanged from a
425	0:51:10	confrontation with evil, and my

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
426		father was no exception, of course.
427		I know how often he spoke of it to me
428		and my siblings, and I think it was
429		impossible for anyone to go through
430	0:51:19	the holocaust years or the Nuremberg
431		Trials without wondering at some
432		point or another, what if those six
433		million had had some place to go?
434		What if there'd been a country to
435		take them? Who would take them in no
436		questions asked? What if there had
437		been a nation willing to stand up for
438		them when no one else would? Only
439		two years after my father came home
440	0:51:38	from Nuremberg, of course, that
441		nation was born. So in a very small
442		way I shared some of my past with
443		Israel. My father had his part in
444		the events that proved, at the price
445		of tremendous pain, if you will, the
446		necessity of a Jewish state. My
447		father learned that necessity and
448		supported it throughout his public
449		life, and I do, too, through him. In
450	0:52:01	the years since, nothing has dampened

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
451		the force of that lesson. How could
452		I forget? How could I forget when
453		Israel faces Hezbollah? Israel faces
454		a private army dedicated to its
455	0:52:13	destruction. And Iran, a mad
456		theocracy whose president stood
457		before the United Nations and openly
458		prayed for the apocalypse. Or Hamas,
459		a government that kidnaps Israeli
460		soldiers and whose founding charter
461		states that Israel will exist and
462		will continue to exist until Islam
463		obliterates it. How can I forget
464		when the Arab League has been
465	0:52:35	boycotting Jewish goods since 1945?
466		How could I forget when ideological
467		attacks on Israel's right to exist
468		reverberate from national parliaments
469		to international assemblies? How
470		could I forget? How could I forget
471		when even Israel's college professors
472		are shunned for the crime of being
473		Israel and Jewish? Make no mistake
474		about it. These attacks on Israel -
475	0:52:59	military, economic, ideological --

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
476		add up to an existential threat.
477		That's why I've supported substantial
478		foreign aid for Israel every year
479		that I've been in the United States
480	0:53:10	Congress for the past 30, and I'll
481		continue to provide that kind of
482		support along the way. It's why I'm
483		- it's why I cosponsor the Syria
484		Accountability Act, which put
485		pressure on the dictatorship to end
486		its support for terrorism, and that's
487		why this summer I sponsored a
488		resolution reaffirming Israel's right
489		to defend itself against the
490	0:53:33	provocations of Hamas and Hezbollah.
491		And that's why I've had a discourse
492		with every Prime Minister of Israel
493		since the 1970s. Of course these
494		efforts - these efforts hardly make
495		me unique, but all the better, I say.
496		I'm proud to be part of an American
497		tradition that dates back to May
498		14th, 1948, when it only took America
499		11 minutes to recognize a new state
500	0:53:58	and a new ally. And for nearly 60

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
501		years now America and Israel have
502		been two nations that can look across
503		the gulf of history, space, and
504		language, and still see in each other
505	0:54:09	themselves. What do we see to compel
506		our friendship? First we see our own
507		interest. Supporting Israel is in
508		our national interest, as I've said.
509		No nation - no nation anywhere has
510		been a more reliable ally than either
511		the Middle East or anywhere around
512		the globe as Israel has been to the
513		United States. And that needs to be
514		said over and over again. But even
515	0:54:35	if this were not the case, even if
516		Israel were a tiny island someplace,
517		even if Israel were useless to us in
518		some national security sense, our
519		friendship in my view wouldn't be any
520		less. As one scholar put it, without
521		oil, international terrorists,
522		support for Israel rests on
523		principled sympathy with a democratic
524		society. A democratic society -
525	0:54:59	those words are very, very important.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
526		They should be to all of us here.
527		What we love about Israel is not
528		simply the machinery of its elections
529		and parliament. What we love is the
530	0:55:08	way democracy has found its way into
531		every part of Israel's life. America
532		sees in Israel a free people, and a
533		free people knows its own kind. This
534		should not mean we must romanticize
535		democracy, and it doesn't mean that
536		democracies are infallible. We're
537		all aware of leaders in democracies
538		who can be just as foolish, cowardly,
539		or self-important as anyone else.
540	0:55:33	Getting elected to the United States
541		Congress or the Knesset never
542		conferred sainthood. But when
543		leaders - but when leaders foul up in
544		a democracy, free people can always
545		call them to account. Even when
546		politicians disagree across the
547		table, one assumption is held so
548		tightly as to be unquestioned. We
549		will resolve our differences, our
550	0:55:55	differences, in argument and voting,

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
551		in picketing, even shouting at one
552		another, but always in words, never,
553		never with deadly force. Perhaps
554		that seems unremarkable to us
555	0:56:06	gathered in this room today, but only
556		because it is so deep a part of our
557		political lives that we take it for
558		granted. Even now much of the world
559		goes without that privilege, as all
560		of us know. We see this stark
561		illustration in two very different
562		protests that took place earlier this
563		month. In Gaza City a Fatah rally
564		turned into a gun battle with Hamas.
565	0:56:28	Two people were killed including a
566		15-year-old. Thirty-two others were
567		wounded - injured. In Jerusalem
568		almost simultaneously, IDF reservists
569		kept up their vigil outside the
570		Knesset building, yet they went to
571		sleep in their tents knowing that
572		they would wake up in the morning
573		unharmd. The point here is not the
574		content of either protest that I'm
575	0:56:49	talking about. The point is that



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
576		Gaza City and Jerusalem are only
577		about 50 miles apart and yet they're
578		worlds - worlds apart. Why were the
579		protests in Jerusalem different from
580	0:57:00	those in Gaza City? Two words.
581		Democratic society - in democratic
582		societies even the worst political
583		enemies know that they are part of
584		the same home, the same people. Of
585		course they argue. But so does every
586		family that I know of. I believe a
587		nation must be a society before it
588		could ever be democratic in many
589		ways. The chief rabbi of Britain,
590	0:57:24	Sir Jonathan Sacks, said it so
591		wisely. One of the most striking
592		features of the Hebrew bible is the
593		way it distinguishes between state
594		and society. The ancient Israelites
595		became a state when the prophet
596		Samuel anointed Saul as king. The
597		Israelites became a society, however,
598		400 years earlier when they stood at
599		the foot of Mt. Sinai and received
600	0:57:47	their constitution as a nation under

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
601		the sovereignty of God. You have to
602		build a society, Rabbi Sacks went on,
603		before you have a state. States
604		exist by reason of power. Societies
605	0:58:00	exist through a shared moral code and
606		a sense of collective responsibility.
607		The symbols of states are palaces and
608		parliaments. The symbols - the
609		symbols of societies are families and
610		neighborhoods and communities and
611		schools. Israel's secret, then, is
612		not its parliament or its armed
613		forces or its economic success.
614		Rather it's in those instruments of a
615	0:58:23	civil society that every single day
616		renew Israelis in their common bond.
617		Ashkenazi, Safardic, from Russia,
618		Morocco, Brooklyn, or even Texas,
619		that every day teach them that debate
620		and disagreement take nothing away -
621		take nothing away from the shared
622		love of Am Yisrael. Here in America,
623		of course, AIPAC is essential. Of
624		course AIPAC has
625	0:58:48	influence, and of course it has

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
626		criticisms for our government from
627		time to time. But that influence is
628		part of an open debate and that
629		criticism detracts not one bit from
630	0:58:58	our friendship at all. Of course we
631		are friends when we disagree to call
632		to a - or call to account, especially
633		when we do those things. As friends
634		can say - care for one another
635		certainly do from time to time. The
636		lesson, it seems to me, is clear
637		here. We can't abolish argument
638		among ourselves or among nations, but
639		we can demand that argument be civil.
640	0:59:19	The ultimate end of all of our policy
641		has never changed - civil society on
642		the greatest scale - will be on the
643		greatest scale when nation shall not
644		lift up sword against nation. But I
645		don't have to tell anyone in this
646		room today how far we are away from
647		that goal when it comes to Israel's
648		security. Israel confronts death
649		every single day, as I said at the
650	0:59:41	outset of these remarks. But not

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
651		just over the division of land or the
652		right of return or the exchange of
653		prisoners. If these were the only
654		issues I suspect they would have been
655	0:59:51	resolved at Madrid or Oslo or Wye or
656		Camp David or Tabah or Sharm El
657		Sheikh. Of course these questions
658		have to be answered. But there's a
659		deeper - there's a deeper problem
660		that people need to understand in
661		this country and elsewhere. Israel
662		has nothing to negotiate with but
663		despotism and hatred all over its
664		neighborhood.
665	1:00:10	That's the difficult problem to solve
666		that stands before us. We see that
667		despotic absolute worldview in Hamas
668		charter, which claims that there is
669		no solution for the Palestinian
670		question except for Jihad.
671		Initiatives, proposals, and
672		international conferences are all a
673		waste of time and vain endeavors, as
674		they say. It all puts me in mind of
675	1:00:33	Hermann Goering's attitude toward our

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
676		own treaties and alliances when back
677		in 1945 he called them just so much
678		toilet paper. Sounds very similar in
679		many ways. Despots can't understand
680	1:00:44	that compacts of a free people
681		because force is their only law. And
682		the exercise of an election does
683		nothing to change that fact. The
684		election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad or
685		the Hamas government or indeed the
686		elections in Iraq only bring home to
687		us the truth of Rabbi Sacks' argument
688		- the danger of a state without a
689		society.
690	1:01:07	Unfortunately it's only now a -
691		unfortunately it's only now a lesson
692		we're beginning to learn, in my view.
693		In Iraq, in Lebanon, and in Palestine
694		Authority [sic], I believe America
695		made a mistake, in my view, of urging
696		elections before there was really
697		anything worth voting for. Our plan
698		for democratization was like an
699		upside down plant - fruit first,
700	1:01:28	roots later, if ever. Democracy is a

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
701		worthy goal. I support that. I'm
702		not opposed to that at all,
703		especially in the Middle East.
704		Israel is the target of so much hate
705	1:01:39	in the part because of the lack of
706		democracy that exists, because
707		dictators and demagogues use the
708		specter of Israel to distract their
709		own people. But if the past years
710		have taught us anything, it's that
711		replacing these dictators is a
712		generational task and may be more, -
713		a strong middle class, a private
714		sector, a free press, a fair
715	1:02:00	judiciary. These aren't the
716		ornaments of democracy, but
717		democracy's foundation. Free
718		elections alone do not create
719		democracies. In my view,
720		institutions that mold and form a
721		society are what must come first and
722		that has not happened in the
723		neighborhood in which Israeli -
724		Israel resides. America's role in
725	1:02:20	all of this should be clear.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
726		Our role is to stand by Israel and
727		put all the pressure we can on
728		despots and extremists. Given the
729		new threats facing Israel we should
730	1:02:30	assess U.S. assistance levels and
731		make sure that they're adequate to
732		the challenges that our ally faces
733		today. And we should also take
734		concrete steps against Israel's
735		enemies. For one thing that means
736		supporting the Palestinian Anti-
737		Terrorism Act, which I'm proud to co-
738		sponsor in the United States Senate.
739		That act should put Congress
740	1:02:54	- that act should put Congress on the
741		record as decrying the organizations
742		or countries that support terrorists
743		or violently oppose a two-state
744		solution. But more importantly, it
745		will cut off all American funds from
746		Hamas-controlled Palestinian
747		Authority unless Hamas, of course,
748		takes the three essential steps that
749		I'm sure you've discussed -
750	1:03:14	recognizing Israel's right to exist,

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
751		renouncing violence, and accepting
752		all prior agreements with Israel.
753		There can be no peace otherwise.
754		Right now this bill is stalled in
755	1:03:23	Congress despite the fact we have 90
756		cosponsors. When we get back on
757		November 13th after the elections on
758		November 7th, I will do everything in
759		my power, by the way, to see that
760		before we leave that, that becomes
761		the law of the land of the United
762		States Senate because it's critically
763		important. Israel has risked almost
764		everything for peace. Hamas has
765	1:03:49	risked nothing. So it must be Hamas
766		who takes the first step, in my view.
767		But until that happens its failure to
768		do so is no excuse for our own
769		country to abdicate its mission, and
770		that is to pursue the political
771		solutions, because ultimately it is a
772		political solution that will bring
773		peace. We can have hope that one day
774		the Palestinian government will
775	1:04:09	accept Israel's right to exist, will



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
776		return to the negotiating table, and
777		that talks can resume following the
778		Clinton principles laid out in the
779		January of 2001. We can hope that
780	1:04:19	America's administration will once
781		more intimately involve itself in the
782		details of the peace process and once
783		more put behind it the full weight
784		and prestige of the presidency.
785		Israel is ready, in my view. Is
786		Hamas? In the words of Aba Eban, who
787		I had the pleasure of meeting on
788		numerous occasions, history teaches
789		us that men and
790	1:04:39	nations behave wisely only when they
791		have exhausted all other
792		alternatives. Only Aba Eban could
793		say things like that. Of course it
794		always helps to point out when those
795		alternatives have been exhausted, and
796		that's what I hope we can do for the
797		nation of Syria. Syria has allied
798		itself, of course, with Iran and
799		actively has funneled aid to the
800	1:05:01	terrorists of Hamas and Hezbollah.

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
801		And Syria's deliberate failure to
802		seal its borders with Lebanon and
803		Iraq doesn't just hurt our interests,
804		it hurts the stability throughout the
805	1:05:10	entire Middle East. Robust muscular
806		diplomacy is a necessary part of
807		security. However, I also believe
808		that when your safety and even your
809		very existence is threatened, then
810		there ought to be no substitute for
811		self-defense. Israel was entirely
812		justified, in my view, to take the
813		military action they had to last
814		summer in pushing back against the
815	1:05:33	private armies that were sending
816		those rockets in Haifa and other
817		communities, putting at risk the
818		Israeli people. No self-respecting
819		nation would have done anything but
820		what the Israelis did at that time.
821		But when you ask today - when you ask
822		today who won the war last summer
823		between Israel and Hezbollah, I think
824		the honest answer is we don't know
825	1:06:00	yet. In this age of asymmetrical

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
826		warfare, of 24-hour propaganda, and
827		the ever fluid conditions for
828		success, the old calculus of victory
829		and defeat can be turned on its head.
830	1:06:13	This much is certain. We'll only be
831		able to tell the truth - or tell them
832		apart, rather, in retrospect. If we
833		find that Israel was able to end the
834		threat of terrorists and rockets
835		falling on its cities, then Israel
836		will have won. If Hezbollah lives
837		and fights another day, we'll know
838		who won in the summer of 2006. So
839		it's not a formality - a mere
840	1:06:36	formality, that we properly enforce
841		the Security Council resolutions
842		ending the conflict. It's the key to
843		solidifying Israel's victory. It'll
844		be critical that we enforce these
845		resolutions. Six years ago,
846		Resolution 1559 called for all
847		foreign armies to withdraw from
848		Lebanon and for all militias to
849		disband. Because we failed to fully
850	1:07:00	enforce those resolutions then

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
851		Hezbollah was allowed to attack
852		again. I pray we are not merely
853		setting the stage once again for that
854		to happen. As you know, under
855	1:07:09	Resolution 1701, UNIFIL and Lebanese
856		- the Lebanese Army must continue to
857		secure the Israeli/Lebanese border.
858		And they must be ready to take all
859		necessary action to prevent further
860		Hezbollah attacks. And most
861		importantly, it prescribes sanctions
862		for any nation that supplies
863		Hezbollah with weapons. So let us
864		put our full clout behind the push
865	1:07:31	for Hezbollah's disarmament. But let
866		us also be clear - let us also be
867		clear that if Hezbollah does not
868		disarm and continues to threaten the
869		lives and safety of the Israeli
870		people, then Israeli - Israel's will
871		respond - Israel will respond
872		accordingly and the United States
873		will support our ally and friend if
874		they have to take that action. And
875	1:07:53	that ought to be clear. You'll

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
876		recall many as the - many recall why
877		Hezbollah's actions demanded such an
878		overwhelming response on the part of
879		the Israelis. Israel answered
880	1:08:10	rightly in my view. That it wasn't
881		just about Hezbollah. It was about
882		Hezbollah's patron, Iran, which
883		funded and approved the attacks and
884		whose nuclear ambitions threatened
885		all of the world, but especially and
886		particularly Israel with
887		annihilation. Israel understood the
888		next time it might not be just
889		Katyushas - rockets. For Israel's
890	1:08:32	sake and our own we must do
891		everything in our power, of course,
892		to ensure that Iran's ambitions
893		remain unrealized. A successful
894		approach will include both carrots, I
895		suspect, and sticks. So while we
896		still have to exhaust every
897		diplomatic option to freeze Iran's
898		nuclear program, we won't hesitate to
899		pressure Iran with very, very tough
900	1:08:51	sanctions. And I'm proud to support

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
901		a renewal of the Libyan/Iran
902		sanctions act before the Congress -
903		ILSA. The law sanctioning companies
904		that invest in Iran's
905	1:09:02	petroleum sector. Now I sit on the
906		Banking Committee of the United
907		States Senate. In fact if my party
908		wins control of the United States
909		Senate in 14 days, from my mouth to
910		God's ear -- it's an old Gaelic
911		expression -- then I will be the
912		Chairman of the Banking Committee of
913		the United States Senate and I
914		promise you that this language and
915	1:09:23	this law will be followed and pursued
916		with all the authority that a
917		chairman can bring to that committee,
918		because that's a jurisdiction of the
919		Banking Committee, and we'll keep at
920		it. When Iran calls for Israel to be
921		wiped off the map, as they have, that
922		on my watch, I'll tell you, we will
923		spend every ounce of our strength to
924		ensure that that never comes to be.
925	1:09:48	In Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
926		Iran, the program I've outlined, the
927		program AIPAC supports, is a plan to
928		keep Israel secure and to face down
929		tyrants and would-be tyrants who
930	1:10:01	threaten her very existence. We can
931		and must protect Israel. I feel very
932		strongly about it. But we ultimately
933		cannot force Hamas to seek
934		coexistence with Israel, Syria to
935		abandon its dictatorship, or
936		Hezbollah to resolve its grievances
937		in diplomatic rather than through
938		military means, or Ahmadinejad to
939		abandon his hateful rhetoric and
940	1:10:24	apocalypse call - calls for
941		apocalypse. Even with the greatest
942		strength of arms or purity of
943		motives, we alone - we alone cannot
944		create the kind of civil society we
945		treasure here in the United States
946		and Israel. That must be the work
947		for the Palestinians, the Lebanese,
948		the Iranian people. In fact, it is
949		up to them so that they will try to
950	1:10:48	force the kind of lives or create the

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
951		kind of lives available to their
952		people. That's the sad part of the
953		truth. But the happier part of the
954		truth is that gentle and generous
955	1:10:57	nations do exist and they can
956		recognize each other and support one
957		another in their hours of need. The
958		happier part of that truth is that
959		the bond between America and Israel
960		will never be broken in my view as
961		long as each generation understands
962		what is at stake. You must I - you
963		and I must never forget either part
964		of the truth - the sad part and the
965	1:11:19	happier part, which brings me back to
966		the story, of course, of Job. In all
967		that suffering, a weaker Job might
968		have lost his mind and forced himself
969		to pretend it wasn't happening. A
970		more despairing Job might have cursed
971		God and begged for death. Job did
972		neither, of course. In ashes and
973		boils, he comes down to us as a sign
974		of human dignity, refusing to hide
975	1:11:43	from the truth, refusing to staunch



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Line#	Timecode	Quote
976		his hope for justice. And these two
977		parts of truth remind me that I can
978		think of only one national anthem in
979		a mournful minor key. It's called
980	1:11:55	Hatikvah. And I want you to know
981		that word hope is something I feel
982		strongly about. As I stand before
983		you today, I'm an optimist. I
984		believe we're going to get this
985		right. It may not happen in our
986		lifetime. But we have to get this
987		right. We have to set the stage for
988		this. And I'm confident that can
989		happen. We only get a small amount
990	1:12:13	of time, you and I. None of us can
991		say with certainty how long we're
992		going to be here. But it's our watch
993		now. It's yours and mine together.
994		Not everyone gets to be a United
995		States Senator or the Chairman of the
996		Banking Committee, or sitting on the
997		Foreign Relations Committee. Not
998		everyone gets to be a major member of
999		an organization like this. But each
1000	1:12:31	one of us here has a collective and

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Line#	Timecode	Quote
1001		individual responsibility to see to
1002		it that at our time, on our watch,
1003		that Israel will survive, that
1004		America will remain strong, and that
1005	1:12:40	this bond will not be broken. That's
1006		why we gather here today, that's why
1007		you invite people like me to come
1008		here, that's why I want to stand
1009		before you and once again recommit
1010		what I've done over the past quarter
1011		of a century, and to tell you that as
1012		long as I'm there Israel will be
1013		secure and America will be there
1014		friend. I thank you for listening
1015	1:12:57	here today. Thank you. Thank you.
1016		Thanks.