

HUMPHREY FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Suite 740, Roosevelt Hotel

Washington 9, D.C.

ADams 2-3411

FOR RELEASE: Friday AMs, Feb. 12, 1960

SANTA ANA, CALIF., Feb. 11 -- Senator Hubert H. Humphrey said tonight that all seven votes Richard Nixon has cast as Vice President were "votes against the people and their progress."

Senator Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat and candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, spoke before a party rally here Thursday night.

"As the Senate tie-breaker, Mr. Nixon has often broken the hopes of millions of Americans for good, sound, progressive legislation," Sen. Humphrey declared. "He has always remained true to Republican beliefs."

"The Vice President votes only in case of a tie. You know how it is in a pro football championship game. When the four quarters end in a tie, there's a 'sudden death' overtime period to break it. When Mr. Nixon breaks a tie it's 'sudden death' for the working man, the farmer, the veteran, the small businessman, and the home-owner.

"The most recent occasion for him to break a tie came in the Senate only last week. At issue was an aid-to-education bill that would have provided enough money to help start a realistic school construction program and to raise teachers' salaries.

"Fortunately, on this occasion his vote against the bill only slowed up the legislation, for the next day we passed a bill very much like the one he voted against. But if his vote had been controlling America's hopes for expanded school construction and better teachers' salaries would have been dashed and wrecked.

"His six other tie-breaking votes were as follows:

"On June 18, 1953, he broke ties two times in favor of an economic controls bill that was unfavorable to small business. These were on the question of taking up a conference report on extension of economic controls under the Defense Production Act.

"On March 9, 1956, Mr. Nixon cast the deciding vote to kill 90 per cent supports for millable wheat -- another blow to the farmer under the Benson-Nixon-Eisenhower agricultural program.

"On May 29, 1956, Mr. Nixon voted to let the states rather than the U.S. Secretary of Labor set wage rates for Federal highway construction projects.

"On March 12, 1958, Mr. Nixon's tie-breaking vote permitted an increase in the interest rate on Veterans Administration loans for GI housing from 4 1/2 to 4 3/4 per cent.

"On April 22, 1959, Mr. Nixon's deciding vote made the mis-called 'bill of rights' part of the Labor Control bill.

"Time after time Mr. Nixon has demonstrated that he is the most Republican of the Republicans. In a position of leadership he would be a negative, no-go, go-slow, not-now, veto type of executive.

"The best way to avoid this is to nominate a 'let's go' Democrat for President and then elect him in November.

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MEMBER FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE
Suite 740 Roosevelt Hotel
Washington 9, D. C.
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FOR RELEASE Wed. PMs, Feb. 10, 1960

Excerpts from Remarks
By Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Town Hall luncheon
Los Angeles, Calif. - Feb. 10, 1960

"Many of you, as business and professional people, have more than passing interest in the profession of politics and the business of government.

'As a practicing politician -- a candidate for the highest post my profession offers -- I will talk to you today about the biggest business in our country: the conduct of our national government.

"That business is not keeping up to date, not meeting the competition.

'Our government is not moving and developing with the times.

"To judge from the best-seller lists, a lot of Americans agree with the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale that there is a great deal of power in positive thinking.

"The big issue of this campaign is to re-discover and revive the poer of positive government, and apply it to the needs of our nation.

"I say re-discover because long ago a good Republican -- in fact, the best Republican, Abraham Lincoln said:

"'The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot by individual effort do at all or do so well themselves.'

"What should our government be doing to fulfill this 'legitimate object'?

"It is high time that government ceased to be the mere policeman of the national economy--turning on the amber light whenever it threatened to grow too lustily, or flashing the red light so abruptly that we almost go through the windshield.

"It is the job of positive government to assure steady economic growth, rather than the back-and-forth cha-cha-cha of the past seven years. Inflation and recession -- the fevers and chills between which our economy wobbles--are man-made defects in a man-made system. We can, if we have the wit and the will, have done with them.

"This is not a proposal for a 'regimented' economy -- far from it. Our free enterprise system has yielded us a standard of living such as no other people have ever enjoyed, and no one in his right mind would propose substituting bureaucratic controls for the workings of our market economy.

"But we must no longer let the market alone--often a manipulated market -- make the key decisions of public policies for us. Positive government, responsible to the electorate, must do this. If we are ever driven to admit that a free people cannot plan to secure their common defense and promote their general welfare, we shall be lost in a smog far thicker than any you have suffered here.

"Positive government means government that helps people when they cannot help themselves. We cannot claim that welfare is really general when it stops short of the seventh of our people who are still submerged in poverty.

more ...

"So, as our economy grows, we must channel a fairer share of its benefits to the aged, the sick, and those marooned in economically depressed areas.

"The greatest single wastage of talent and ability is that of minority groups, who, in some parts of our country, are denied the right to make their full contribution as workers and as citizens. That is one compelling reason why we need action on civil rights all along the line. Another is obvious to you as you look across the Pacific to Asia and Africa. Everywhere the non-white peoples are finding their place in the sun. We can't afford to be out of step with the human race.

"Positive government means, above all, positive action for peace. I welcome our commitment to a series of summit meetings with the Soviet leaders. But it is absolutely vital that we come there with our own proposals, rather than merely react to theirs.

"We must be fully equipped to deal with the toughest and most determined negotiators American statesmen have ever faced. Good intentions are not enough. We need to know our case forwards and backwards, and know precisely where we can compromise and where, for the sake of the survival and growth of freedom, we must stand firm.

"We need to know what we ourselves want. Too often American negotiators have been undermined by divisions within our government. Too often the State Department, the Pentagon, and the Atomic Energy Commission have waged their own private civil wars during vital discussions. The proposal by the Democratic Advisory Council of a National Peace Agency to give unity and continuity to American policy is therefore most welcome.

"Just last week I introduced a bill in the Senate to create such an agency--the National Peace Agency Act--which would deal specifically with these problems that are now divided under various segments of our government.

"My bill would deal with those problems related to achieving peace --through arms limitation, agreements to develop international control and inspection systems to enforce such agreements, and to apply scientific and technical resources to promote peace by eliminating or reducing the economic cause of war. In other words, it would create an agency whose specific duty would be to work toward an active, positive peace.

"Assuming that the Soviet leaders are prudent and intelligent men despite the fact they are dedicated Communists, there are areas of mutual interest upon which we can build agreement. We have, above all, an urgent mutual interest in avoiding mutual and total destruction. Therefore, through patient and hard-headed negotiation we can, in the field of disarmament, make a significant breakthrough toward peace.

"Peace will mean economic adjustments, in this region as elsewhere. But if we think and plan ahead, we can make them. Beating our swords into plough-shares can be sound business as well as sound religion.

"It helps all of us to gain perspective if we can see ourselves as others see us. There are few keener observers than the able correspondents in America of the great foreign newspapers. Lately I have been asking them how they assess the total significance of Chairman Khrushchev's visit.

"They expressed it in many different ways, but it all came to the same thing - and one of them wrapped it up into three words:

'Wake up, America!'

"In recent years, we Americans seem to have fallen into a deep and almost dreamless slumber. We cannot risk sleep-walking into the Sixties. We need the verve and the enthusiasm of a Roosevelt government - both Republican Teddy and Democratic Franklin.

"Some pundits say that we candidates for the Presidency should call upon you for sacrifice. I would rather challenge you to the bracing discipline of fulfillment.

"Our nation remains strong in spite of the fact that its government has been only half alive. How much stronger it would be, how much braver a figure it would cut in the world if we blow the bugles instead of mute them, rise to our opportunities instead of seeking excuses for evading them.

Thirty-six years ago Franklin D. Roosevelt said that a candidate for president should be a nappy warrior -- a fighter in the great tradition of Democrats, and happy because he can draw on the great moral and material resources of this country.

"That is the kind of candidate I am, and that is the kind of President I aspire to be."

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Mr Miller

Mr Miller , 000428

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Town Hall Luncheon
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As a practicing politician -- and a declared candidate for the highest
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government.

*In the frame of Reference of
a world in struggle - in complete*

That business ^{is} ~~is~~ not keeping up to date, not meeting the
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The challenge in America

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I say re-discover because long ago a good Republican - in fact, the best Republican, Abraham Lincoln said:

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encourage

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If we are ever driven to admit that a free people cannot plan to secure their common defense and promote their general welfare, we shall be lost in a smog far thicker than any you have suffered here. *(Planning is needed)*

#
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Civil Rts Morally Rt Politically sound more... and a necessity for survival.

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~~McClain~~
~~Johnston~~
MINK-S.D.
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Lester Van Tattenhove
Van Tattenhove

Excerpts from Remarks By
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

~~Earl Warren~~
candidate for
Cong

Orange County Democratic Central Committee Dinner

Santa Ana, Calif.

February 11, 1960

Dorothy Harvey
Hayz Lewis

assemblyman
DICK HANNA

✓ No NEW Starts - Educ, Health, Soc Sec Projects
✓ No NEW Candidates
Votes
of
Nixon

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President were votes against the people and their progress.

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DISNEY LAND - "LAND OF TOMORROW" "HOUSE OF FANTASY"
MAKE BELIEVE

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The best way to avoid this is to nominate a
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November.

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"all American Tom Cat"

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Reading Copy

Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, Cal.

Friday, Feb. 12, 1960

I want to talk to you today about the problem which concerns us more profoundly, ~~than~~ ^{than} any other problem on our overcrowded national agenda.

We are ~~is~~ ^{or should be} worried about many things

- about the slowdown in the pace of our economic growth.

- about the continued denial of equal rights and opportunities to American citizens on the grounds of race, color or religion.

- about the ~~inadequacy~~ inadequacy of our educational system to our expanding population and our national needs.

- about the allocation of an insufficient amount of our national abundance to public purposes. — *the ever growing*

list of unmet needs —

Yes and about the materialism and cynicism in our national moral life.

{ All these things, and many others, cause us deep concern. But the thing which haunts us most of all is the question of war and peace.

{ The supreme task of our time is to find peace in this most unpeaceful world - a world torn by antagonisms, divided by ideologies, on fire with revolution - a world armed, for the first time in history, with the ultimate power, the power of self-obliteration. *total destruction.*

{ There is no "royal road" to peace in such a world. Yet to renounce the search for peace is to commit us indefinitely to the theory that war can only be abolished by the permanent threat of war - that terror can only be eliminated by having a precarious and unstable balance of terror. It commits us to an everlasting arms race. It commits an ever-increasing amount of our resources to the making of guns and

bombs and missiles. It commits us to deep and eternal tensions. It establishes the world forever as a collection of besieged states, each one bristling with armed power and suspicion and hate.

↳ What a repellent destiny for mankind! Yet the fact that it is repellent does not mean that it cannot happen. ~~_____~~

↳ Serious issues divide the Communist states from the free states. We cannot pretend that these issues do not exist.

We cannot pretend that Communism does not offer the gravest possible threat to freedom. (We cannot for one moment relax our guard or our vigilance. Given the Communist purpose and the Communist power, we have ^{immediate} no alternative, in the present situation, but to build our own armed strength in order to prevent the balance of terror from turning against us — !

Let me make this absolutely clear: no one hates the arms race more than I do; but if I am sure of anything it is that unilateral disarmament is no way out. ^{Therefore,} We must redouble

our efforts in the missile program and in the contest for space.

We must show that we can stay in the race as long as our oppon-

ents. ~~say this because I know that~~ this is the only way to

convince ^{the Communist leaders} ~~them~~ that they have no alternative except to join with

us in bringing the race to an end.

Some ^{proponents} ~~proponents~~ of unilateral disarmament ^{believe} ~~have a considered~~

~~belief~~ that the Communist world means us no harm. Others have a

considered belief that the capitalist world cannot afford to do

what is necessary for its own defense. ^{Both are wrong & dangerous} Unilateral disarmament

is bad whether proceeding from principle or parsimony. ^{It encourages} ~~we can~~

^{Soviet arrogance & enhances Soviet power.}

^{We can} never achieve peace by a policy of cutting down our own strength

in advance of a general disarmament agreement. ^{Weakness begets}

iniquities disaster.

The arms race is the center of the threat to humanity.

For this reason, dealing with the arms race should be, in my

judgment, the center of American foreign policy. ^{As peace is our}

object, so controlled world disarmament is the key to peace. Once

^{can} we achieve this, then the political and territorial problems

which tear the world apart will become relatively manageable.

Until we achieve this, political and territorial settlements will be vain and illusory.

↳ Nothing seems to me more self-evident than the understanding that disarmament, based on reliable inspection and control, affords the only chance of delivering the world from this terrifying and disastrous arms race.

↳ Nothing depresses me more about recent American foreign policy than the low priority which disarmament has enjoyed in our dealings with the outside world.

↳ Instead of being the center of our policy, disarmament has been on the periphery.

↳ Instead of being a matter for top policy-makers, it has been a matter for underlings.

↳ Instead of our leaders taking every occasion and seizing every opportunity to identify the United States with the cause of disarmament, we have let the Communists reap most of the

propaganda benefit from disarmament talk and have systematically presented ourselves to the world as the nation throwing constant obstacles in the way of what the people of the world most desperately want.

↳ Not once in the long series of conferences has the United States entered negotiations properly prepared. Not once has our government known what it wanted to achieve. We have a mere handful of people working on this vast and technical subject on which the future of civilization depends. We spend billions -- and rightly so -- to build new weapons; but we recoil from spending millions to learn how to control them.

↳ I say that the time has come to stop treating the disarmament effort as a poor relation, to be kept in an unheated garret and fed scraps left over from the Pentagon table.

I say that the time has come to make disarmament a top priority in our foreign policy.

↳ I say that the time has come for a President of the

United States to make controlled world disarmament his personal cause and his personal crusade so that the people of the world will understand that the American government is exploring every possibility in its fight to lift from the world the black shadow of nuclear war. (Nuclear Test Ban Proposal - Good)

I say the time has come for a President to take the disarmament offensive against Khrushchev.

If disarmament is the key to peace, detection and inspection provide the key to disarmament. The technical problems in this field are very great; many critical problems remain to be solved. We must make the progress toward their solution a major national effort. *Again, why the Nuclear Test Ban Agreement is important.*

↳ We had a crash program to build the bomb. Now we need a crash program to control it. We need a Manhattan Project for peace. And we need a National Peace Agency to run the ~~crash~~ peace program.

↳ This is not a problem for Republicans or Democrats. It

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is a problem for all Americans. It is time for us all to unite in the determination to make disarmament the central American issue. It is time for us so to bombard the Communists with plans and schemes for inspection and control of all weapons, ^{thus,} ~~that~~ either they will accept a workable disarmament plan or else they will be exposed before the world as the real enemies of peace.

Why aren't we doing this already?

Well, one reason, ~~think~~, is that such a policy will require a great deal of administrative vigor and executive energy -- vigor and energy to unite all branches of the government behind such a policy. *This has been lacking!*

Another reason is the obsession with balancing the budget, ^{rather than expanding the economy.} This obsession has led the government to deny the nation adequate funds for our national defense -- which means that the Russians, convinced that we are probably going to let our defensive position deteriorate anyway, have no real incentive to submit to a scheme for arms control. It is the Com-

(Time)

munist hope that an American government will do for them what they could not do for themselves: reduce the United States to a second-class power.

↳ And this same obsession with budget-balancing denies our scientists and engineers the funds necessary for research on disarmament -- research necessary to achieve the technical breakthroughs which will improve our systems of detection and inspection and make international arms control a practical reality.

ipw see ↳ If we accept the policy of controlled world disarmament, we must accept the implications of this policy. *(Economic Plans for Peace)*

Another ↳ ~~the~~ basic implication has to do with the nations to be inspected. Obviously any substantial arms control plan which leaves out Communist China would be meaningless. Without China in an arms control agreement, the entire power balance in the world would be dangerously upset. National security and world security alike demand the inclusion of Communist China in major

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arms control agreements.

Unfortunately Communist China is still highly irres-
 ponsible and aggressive. It may take the combined persuasive-
 ness of the Soviet Union, the United States and all the countries
 of Asia to impress on Peking the need to forego plans of ag-
 gression and to cease its defiance of the international com-
munity. Strange as it may seem to think of Soviet-American
cooperation to persuade China to participate in a disarmament
 agreement, the world situation may yet produce such a result.

No problem in the world is more urgent than disarmament.

No peace will be reliable until we have solved it. No respon-
 sibility will rest more ^{fatefully} ~~fatefully~~ on the next Administration than the
 responsibility of restoring American leadership in the cause of ^{Peace}

and disarmament,

As we solve this problem, then we can press forward on
 the other fronts necessary to bring about genuine peace.

Peace has to be something more than the absence of war. Peace

must mean justice, freedom and opportunity for all the people of the world.

↳ To achieve all the dimensions of peace will take generations, perhaps centuries. But unless we embark on this effort soon, we may lose forever the chance to preserve the kind of world to which we, as Americans, have always been dedicated.

We must never ~~by any means~~ surrender our dream of freedom to the world of tyranny!

Human
RTS

Competition Co-existence may compel us to recognize the fact of communist power but it does not require us to ~~politically or morally~~ condone it!

↳ In my vision I look toward a world in which power will no longer be polarized between two giant forces, but balanced among many. In which Europe, revived and united, will be a powerful middle force. In which a democratic and prosperous India will speak with the full authority of her land and her people. In which the ^{new nation} states of Africa will join in taming ^{and developing} their own rich continent. In which the new technology will spread its blessings to the ends of the earth and unto all the inhabitants thereof. ~~American a world~~

I look toward a time when the chinks in ⁰⁰⁰⁴⁵³ the Iron Curtain will become windows and doors through which ideas and people can pass freely, eastward and westward; when the maturing of the Soviet economy will bring in its train the liberalizing influence of a higher standard of living; when thought will break the bonds of dogma and politics.

I look toward a world in which differences among nations will be eroded by time and understanding; where common interests will overshadow mutual antagonisms; where, perhaps, a new world civilization will be in the making, building on the best the old world has to offer.

The Twenty-first Century could be the century of the United Nations, ^{the century of interdependence.} In such a world there could be peace, under law.

I say to you, with all the ^{conviction} ~~seriousness~~ at my command, ~~that~~ the fight for peace is the supreme issue of our lifetime.

^{and} I ~~say to you that~~, unless the American government dedicates its energy and resources to the achievement of workable world dis-

armament, we will have forfeited our claim to the leadership
of free peoples.

~~And I say to you that,~~ whatever the politicians and makers
of high policy ^{may} think, ^{Peace} ~~this~~ is what the American people want and
demand. Neither the people of our own land nor the people of
the world will be satisfied until the leaders of every great
nation prove by words and deeds their absolute commitment to
the search for peace.

*"Blessed are the Peacemakers" -
and indeed ## They shall inherit
the earth"*



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