

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

by

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
REGIONAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES ASSOCIATION
FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 18
HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS



America's rural electrification program is known throughout the world as one of this nation's greatest success stories. I am delighted to be with the people who have made it possible.

Over the years I have been proud of your accomplishments. I have worked side by side with you to solve some of your problems. In fact, I almost feel I am one of you. I hope you share this feeling and will remember your kin-folks next November 3rd.

Rural Electrification is one of the most successful partnerships ever created in this country between the Federal Government and the people -- for it is the people who own and operate their own cooperative electric power systems.

These are the same people - rural Americans - who literally lived in utter darkness before the Rural Electrification Administration said, "Let there be light." These are the same people who for years pleaded in vain for the electricity cities and towns took for granted -- the same workers whose labor was never lightened by electric power. These were the neglected, forgotten, and the scorned. Millions of people -- American citizens, taxpayers -- people with a crying need for electric power.

How was this need met? How did electricity come to the people of rural America?

Let me make one point absolutely clear: It did not come from Senator Goldwater and it did not flow from the philosophy of Goldwaterism.

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HUMPHREY/"...of Goldwaterism."

Rural America got electricity because a Congress and a Democratic Administration believed with Lincoln that the government should work for the people. And the people believed and called upon their government.

The philosophy of Goldwaterism holds that people should be suspicious of the government, that they should mistrust the government, that they should fear the people who work for the government.

But, fortunately for rural people, the great Republican Senator George Norris of Nebraska did not share this strange belief; nor did the young Democratic Congressman from Texas named Sam Rayburn; nor did President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who made rural electrification a personal crusade.

These are the three great men who fought for the legislation that created REA and brought rural America out of darkness: Norris, Rayburn and Roosevelt.

These are great names from America's past -- names associated with strength and progress, not fear and retreat.

Because of these men, and the thousands of others who have carried on this great crusade, darkness has disappeared from rural America. Our rural people now have the same conveniences and tools that city people have taken for granted for generations.

But the great danger is that rural America may begin to take rural electrification for granted. If they do, the great network of rural electric cooperatives which the people have built can quickly collapse and disappear. What has been built to serve the people of rural America will serve instead the monopolists and opportunists. Anyone who doubts this possibility should **take** a hard look at the record and philosophy of Senator Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater has consistently voted against rural electrification and

(more)

he has just as consistently voted against all the related programs that make rural electrification possible. I'm talking about TVA and the other great wholesale power authorities, about transmission lines and multiple purpose dams, about all the programs which build the strength of rural America. In twelve years in the United States Senate, Barry Goldwater voted against the position taken by the rural electric cooperatives no less than 35 times.

On two occasions he voted for REA proposals, and both times the projects directly benefitted his own state of Arizona.

That is his record of inaction and opposition to REA as a United States Senator. And he has supported this record by many public statements over the years. Goldwater has said that REA has outlived its usefulness and ought to be dissolved. He has said that the electric cooperatives should fold up and get out of areas if the commercial power companies find them profitable enough to take over. He said TVA and the other power authorities and agencies should be sold even if the government got only one dollar for them. He said the government should be "phased out" of public power and agricultural programs on a "rigid timetable."

One cannot change the philosophy of a lifetime in one wild night at the Cow Palace and I don't think Senator Goldwater wants to change. I've watched him operate for years in the United States Senate and I think he's uncomfortable now saying things which contradict the philosophy of a lifetime.

No matter how hard he tries, when he attempts to say something good about social security or TVA or REA, the words catch in his throat.

He really doesn't believe that expediency in the pursuit of votes is no vice.

Is this the man rural America wants for President of the United States?

Is this the man rural America wants to appoint the next Secretary of Agriculture? The next REA administrator? The next Secretary of the Interior? The next Federal power commission?

(more)

But you do not have to accept Goldwaterism with its negative echoes of the past. You have a clear-cut and meaningful choice. The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party is against REA, TVA, and the other programs you believe in. President Lyndon B. Johnson has been and still is in complete support of these programs. The choice is no more complicated than this -- a choice between "Yes" and "No."

Lyndon B. Johnson is one of you. He came out of the Rural Electrification Program just as you did. Like many of you, he helped organize the electric co-op that serves his ranch in Texas today. As a Congressman, as a U. S. Senator, as Senate Majority Leader, as Vice-President, and as President, he has not only supported REA, he has been an aggressive, proud, fighting champion of your cause.

You've come a long way in the rural electrification program, but you still have a long way to go. Through your deeds and your example, most of the homes and institutions in rural America now have electricity. But to say that the rural electrification program has outlived its usefulness, as Senator Goldwater says, is like saying highway construction should have stopped after the first narrow roads were built.

The demand for power in rural areas is doubling every seven years, and electrical and electronic advances for rural America are still only in their initial stages. The rural coops must constantly improve their lines and service and build **bigger** and better facilities, just as the commercial utilities must do. The objective of the rural electrification program must continue to be both service and rates which compare favorably with those in towns and cities.

The rural electrification program has been good for everyone -- rural people, townspeople, businessmen, and farmers. The government has never lost a dime on a loan to a rural electric cooperative. The repayment record has been called the finest in the history of banking. You

(more)

know that ... the Federal government knows that even if Senator Goldwater doesn't.

Where once there was darkness and drudgery, there is now light and electrically-assisted labor. Where once there was only need, there is now a billion dollar market for electrical equipment.

All of this has been accomplished within the framework of the American way of life. This is an effective, dynamic partnership between the Federal Government and the people of America.

This is the kind of program, the kind of government activity and the kind of local initiative that most members of Congress and most Americans believe in.

But not Senator Goldwater.

My friends, President Johnson and I ask you to make your choice on election day.

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*Sp: Hot Springs, Ark.
Sept 18, 1964*

Suggested introduction to REA speech:

I'm particularly happy to be with you at this Region VIII meeting of the National Regional Electric Cooperative Association. I feel at home in this region because it includes the great state of Louisiana where I attended LSU. The other states of the region - Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas - also are familiar, not only through past visits but also because I work closely with some of your most distinguished citizens who serve in Congress and in other positions of national leadership.

This is particularly true of our host state of Arkansas, which has developed such a remarkable group of national leaders. Among the most distinguished is the general manager of your national association and former Congressman from Arkansas, Clyde T. Ellis. I've watched Clyde in action in this country and other countries and I've worked closely with him on a number of rural electrification projects. He's one of the most dynamic and productive individuals I have known.

I would also like to say one special word about one Arkansas Congressman who is one of the very finest and most responsible members of the House of Representatives. I'm speaking of Judge Jim Trimble, and I single him out because I understand the opposition is making a determined effort to deprive this state of his leadership - just because he is so effective.

I can' conceive of the people of the Third District of

Suggested introduction to REA speech (2):

Arkansas not re-electing Jim Trimble, who is so highly regarded by his colleagues that he holds one of the most powerful positions in Washington as a ranking member of the House Rules Committee. It would be tragic for the third district, for the state of Arkansas, and for the nation if Jim Trimble were not returned to Congress, but I'm confident he will be re-elected by an impressive margin.

Student taught
that each induced Bill 7
to run for cover

Clyde Ellis - Rural Americans
for the BI + HHA

Ron Pelt
meeting

✓ Alan Harris
Bill Fulbright

④ Gov. Faubus
friend 7 REA

Sp. Hot Springs, Ark.
Sept. 18, 1964

Clyde Ellis

Chm Paul Jones

Pres. Al Hoffe + Director

Oran Harris

Harry Oswald

Betty B. H. Fulbright

RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE SPEECH

HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS

September 18, 1964

1928
Joe Rohrer
Nat Park

Norman Clapp
Stuck Bell

America's rural electrification program is known

throughout the world as one of this nation's greatest

success stories. I am delighted to be with the people

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Over the years I have been proud of your accomplish-

ments. I have worked side by side with you to solve

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Rural Electrification is one of the most successful

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Partnership

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the people believed and called upon their government.

✓ The philosophy of Goldwaterism holds that people
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the people who work for the government.

✓ But, fortunately for rural people, the great
Republican Senator George Norris of Nebraska did not
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Because of these men, and the thousands of others who have carried on this great crusade, darkness has disappeared from rural America. Our rural people now have the same conveniences and tools that city people have taken for granted for generations.

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power and agricultural programs on a "rigid timetable."

I say - Phase Goldwater out of Public office on a Rigid Timetable NOV 3
This is the Goldwater record and this is his philosophy. He can't run away from either one,

One cannot change the philosophy of a lifetime

or one crazy afternoon at Hershey, Pa.
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Senator Goldwater wants to change. ~~I've watched him~~
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L Is this the man rural America wants for President
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Wow!

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✓ You've come a long way in the rural electrification program, but you still have a long way to go. ✓ Through your deeds and your example, most of the homes and institutions in rural America now have electricity.

✓ But to say that the rural electrification program has outlived its usefulness, as Senator Goldwater says, is like saying highway construction should have stopped after the first narrow roads were built.

✓ The demand for power in rural areas is doubling every seven years, and electrical and electronic advances for rural America are still only in their initial stages.

✓ The rural co-ops must constantly improve their lines and service and build bigger and better facilities, just as the commercial utilities must do. ✓ The objective of the rural electrification program must continue to be both service and rates which compare favorably with those in towns and cities.

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See attachments

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ADDITION TO REA SPEECH

Republican
It is interesting to hear so-called "farm experts"

discuss agriculture. It was not so long ago that

Senator Goldwater was saying in Dillon, South Carolina,

"I am not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming."

Earlier this week, his junior partner -- Congressman Miller --

said in Des Moines, Iowa, "I am not a farm expert."

Having said this, the temporary farm spokesman for the Republican party then launched into a lengthy discussion of agriculture. His major charge was that this administration "has not redeemed a single major pledge made to farmers in the 1960 campaign."

I call his attention to the 1960 Democratic platform which will show him, if he takes time to read it, that the Democrats pledged to raise farm income, reduce surpluses, increase consumption of food at home and abroad, establish a Food Stamp program, protect the consumer,

increase farm credit, expand research, encourage
cooperatives, protect natural resources, expand farmers'
protection against natural disasters, and protect
the family farm.

I hope he will take off his Goldwater colored
glasses and read this platform. If he does, he will
find we fulfilled every one of our pledges. We have
protected the consumer, who now pays only 18 percent of
his disposable income for food, compared to 20 percent
in 1960, and we have done this without wringing our
hands about a "farm problem." Instead, we have
complimented the American farmer on his accomplishment
of producing the most and the best food in all history.

without lines
Rephrased
~~Mr. Wilson~~ is concerned about things like farm
mortgage debt. So am I. But if you have a debt of
\$10 with \$20 in the bank, you're a lot better off than
if you have a \$10 debt with \$5 in the bank.

In the last 4 years farm assets have gone up 4 times
faster than farm debt.

The temporary farm spokesman for the Republican party also is worried about the number of employees in the Department of Agriculture. It is true that there are more employees in the Department of Agriculture now than there have been in the past.

But one-fourth of the Department of Agriculture employees are concerned with our national forests.

Furthermore, a larger number of Agriculture employees work on meat inspection, poultry inspection, soil conservation and the many other vital services performed by the Department of Agriculture.

~~Republican~~
Maybe Mr. Miller wants our forests to rot, or our meat and poultry to go uninspected, or our soils to go down our streams and rivers.

Maybe he doesn't realize that there are more
family farms today than in the past. Ninety-six
per cent of all farms today are family farms. In 1944,
the figure was 94 per cent. This advance has strengthened
and protected the family farms.

Goldwater & Miller Laine
~~Representative Miller~~ has opposed every one of the
Administration advances in agriculture. ~~Just this year~~
~~he voted against~~ the Wheat Bill. This bill meant a
\$450 million increase in income for wheat farmers.

~~Every day by his action in Congress and his speeches
in this campaign, he proves once again he knows nothing
about farming. The best thing he did for the farmers of
this country was to announce he was going to resign
from Congress.~~

One might wonder, what is the farm program ~~of the~~ *Goldwater*
Miller Depression Team
temporary spokesman. It is the same as the Goldwater

~~Let's~~ do away with farm programs. That's like
~~farm programs~~

~~_____~~
saying if you have a headache, cut your head off.
~~_____~~

~~L~~The Library of Congress, bi-partisan committees of
Congress, Iowa State University, Pennsylvania State
University, and Cornell University all have studied what
would happen if we did away with farm programs. They
concluded farm income would drop from 20 to 50 per cent.
This would mean ruin for our farmers and economic chaos
in our country.

Farmers are well aware of what the Goldwater-Miller
program would mean. Polls of farmers have been conducted in
Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In every one nearly
70 per cent of farmers favor Johnson over Goldwater.
~~_____~~
Farmers, just as all Americans, know who has their
~~_____~~
interests at heart.
~~_____~~

TRANSCRIPT

A D D R E S S
Hot Spring, Arkansas

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
Friday, September 18, 1964

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Senator Fulbright, my good friends, Bill and Betty, Congressman Harris, stalwart champion of rural electrification and of independent business, and of that great state of Arkansas, and of America.

By the way, I said to Senator Fulbright just as I got up here, after that glowing, generous, enthusiastic introduction, I said, "Well, Bill, I hope they don't run you out of the state after that."

He's a man of such supreme confidence that he feels he can get by even with what he said about me, and I hope, Bill, that that is true.

Now, may I pay my respects first of all to Chairman Paul Jones, to Harry Oswald, to Al Hauffe, the Director, to the many people that have gathered here for this wonderful regional meeting under the most delightful circumstances.

I just can't help but feel, as I traveled around America, and I find all of this good weather, it is always good weather when you have a Democratic spokesman. It just sounds good.

I was in Texas yesterday and the day before I went to Texas, the President called me and he said, "Hubert, we have had a drought in Texas. The one thing I want you to do tonight is to pray for rain. Pray loud, pray long, pray clearly."

I prayed, and I am happy to tell you that it rained the next day in Texas!

(Applause.)

Now, I didn't say that we were responsible for it, but I can say that no Republican can make that same claim.

(Laughter and applause.)

It's delightful to find so many of the participants and officers of rural Americans for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert

Humphrey in this wonderful Rural Electrification Cooperative, sponsors and members, and I can only say that you have got your work cut out for you; but never in your lifetime did you have a clearer record, a clearer choice to give to the people of rural America than you have in this particular election, and I think that our friends of the rural Americans, rural Citizens for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey that in this election, you are going to be able to bring that choice clearly to the American people.

By the way, Senator Fulbright, you said that our good friend, Clyde Ellis, here was one of your students and that he was really responsible for getting you into politics. Your wife whispered to me as you were making that statement -- and I always like to listen to the wife. When I have a choice of listening to Bill or Betty, I take Betty -- but when you were making that statement, she whispered to me and she said, "Well, Hubert, this is one time that the student taught the teacher."

I just want to commend Clyde Ellis, not only for his work in the Rural Electrification National Association, not only for his fine record in Congress, but I want to commend him for doing something for America that every American -- every thoughtful American -- ought to be grateful for, namely, encouraging to run for the Congress and making possible the leadership in the United States Senate of truly one of the greatest Americans of our time, Senator William Fulbright.

(Applause.)

By the way, too, I want to mention that if any of you have any complaints about the REA administration in Washington, I insisted that when I came out here that since I had been on a rather busy tour that they send Norm Clapp and Dick Dell out here so that you can tell them your problems.

Norman, you stand in the corner under the shade of one of these beautiful trees and listen to any of these complaints and resolve them. Don't bring them to those of us in Congress.

I wonder how many of you recall it was almost within this very spot on the steps, I believe, of the park, that a great statesman from Arkansas made his acceptance speech for the office of Vice President. As I recollect, Joe Robinson, a truly great Democrat, a great American, in 1928, received the notice of his nomination and made his acceptance speech -- not like we do at this time under the lights of television but right back home with the people that he loved

so much and the people that had given him such generous support, and I must say that I feel that this is a historical moment for me to be the second candidate for Vice President, not to make an acceptance speech in this great national part but to follow in the footsteps of one of the outstanding statesmen of the New Deal period, Joe Robinson, the former and late majority leader of the United States Senate, a great citizen of this great state, the Land of Opportunity.

(Applause.)

I regret that the Governor of this commonwealth, this state, is not with us this morning. I know that we shall see him this afternoon but let me say that it is a matter of public record that Governor Orval Faubus of the state of Arkansas has done a great deal, in fact, has championed the development of rural electrification in the state of Arkansas, and rural and industrial development in this state, and for these achievements, those of us that want to see light brought to the countryside, opportunity brought to rural Americans, salute him for this worthy endeavor.

(Applause.)

You know, when people come to talk to you about agriculture, they generally put on ashes and sackcloth. That is particularly true about the members of the opposition, who frankly admitted they know nothing about it, and I shall get to that in a moment but I come to you today to talk about one of the great miracles of our time, a great success story.

First of all, I believe American agriculture in itself is a miracle. It is a success story second to none and when I hear these people who bewail what is happening to our country -- and we have some now out on the stump that make it sort of their political business to tell us of the woes and the tribulations of American, and of our weakness and of our failures and of our faults, as if this was the way to encourage the people to greater effort -- when I hear all of this, I can't help but think of one thing. It may be true that the Soviet Union and Mr. Nikita Kruschchev were able to put Sputnik in orbit. It may be true that they are able to have great space development. It may be true that they have powerful armies, but let me tell you it is not true that their countryside is electrified, and what is more, with all of their boasted achievements and all of our alleged troubles that are told to us day after day by a certain spokesman of a certain political party, let the record be clear that there is one thing above all that the Soviet Union doesn't have, and that

is a famil farm, privately owned and operated by good, free people.

(Applause.)

The success story of REA is marvelous and I am delighted with the people who have made this accomplishment possible. Over the years, I have been very proud of your accomplishment and as your officers know and as Mr. Ellis knows and these great leaders of the Arkansas delegation in Congress know, I worked side by side at home in Minnesota and in the Congress to help you solve some of the problems and meet some of the challenges and opportunities.

In fact, I almost feel that I'm one of you and I do, now that I got my tie clasp this morning, and I want you to take a look at it.

That tie clasp with that hand lifted high, that's the hand of the arm of optimism and confidence, and I believe he's got his fingers parted, which is the victory sign for the Democratic party.

(Applause.)

And since I'm a member of the family, I hope that you will share this feeling and continue to include me in the family and remember your kinfolks on November 3rd.

(Laughter and applause.)

Now, rural electrification is a partnership and it's one of the most successful partnerships in this country, and a successful one between the Federal government and the people for it is the people who own and operate these REA's, and these are the same people, the rural Americans, who literally lived in darkness for so many years before the Rural Electrification Administration said, almost with scriptural prophecy, "Let there be light."

And these are the same people who pleaded in vain for years for electricity that the cities and towns took for granted.

How was that need met? How did we get at it? How did electricity finally come to rural America. Oh, I know; you know, but you know there are millions of people who don't know. Millions of our young people do not realize how these battles were fought, and one of the purposes of reciting the

accomplishments of the American people is to instill into our young a respect for the achievements of our democracy and of our people.

Well, I can tell you, to make one point perfectly clear, this electricity didn't come from Senator Goldwater and it didn't flow from the philosophy of Goldwaterism, either. Rural America got electricity because a Congress and a Democratic Administration believed that the government should work for the people, and the people believed, and the people called upon their government.

The philosophy of Goldwaterism holds that people should be suspicious of their government, that they should mistrust their government, that the government is your enemy, and that you, the people, should fear your government, and you should fear the people who work for your government.

Well, I do not agree with that philosophy. I think it does a disservice to a nation that is called the United States of America -- "we, the people". I think it does a disservice to the pledge of allegiance that we take to this republic and what America needs today are not spokesmen that seek to divide us. What America needs today are people who seek to unite us for common purposes and common goals.

What America needs today are men in public office that you can trust, people that seek to lead us to common goals as one people, not as Northerners or Southerners, not as farmers or city folks, not as workers or farm and rural families, but one people united in the cause of human freedom.

(Applause.)

We do not claim that REA is the child or the achievement of just one. Fortunately, for rural people, there have been great Republicans and there are today, who put their country far above their party. This is why there are hundreds and thousands, yea, millions of people in every state in this land who are not going to follow the false leadership of the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican party. Not on your life. They're going to be like George Norris of Nebraska. He didn't share the belief that the government could not be trusted or that it was the enemy of the people, nor did that young Democratic Congressman from Texas, Sam Rayburn, nor did President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who made rural electrification a personal crusade.

These are the great men who fought for the legislation

that created REA, and who brought rural America out of the darkness. Norris, Rayburn, Roosevelt -- these are the men that saw the promise of America. They looked to the future; they didn't divide America; they united it.

That's the kind of leadership we need.

(Applause.)

These men and their names are associated with strength and progress, not fear and retreat, and because of these men and the thousands of others who have carried on this great crusade, darkness and despair has disappeared from rural America.

Today, fortunately, many of our rural people have the same conveniences and tools that city people have taken for granted for generations, but lest we relax and become apathetic and indifferent, the great danger is that rural America itself may begin to take rural electrification for granted, and if it does, Clyde, if your REA's and these great associations of free people who own and operate their own great rural electric co-operatives, if you take this program for granted, you will lose it, because the very people who take it for granted and have built it can lose it quickly and it can collapse and disappear.

Anyone who doubts this possibility should take a hard look at the record and the philosophy of Senator Goldwater, who has said, pointedly, in 1963, that the Rural Electric Administration should be abolished. That's his promise to you, the conscience, if you please, speaking -- not of a conservative but the conscience of one who has lost faith in the ability of the American people to govern themselves and to point to the future.

Senator Goldwater has consistently voted against rural electrification. I can stand on any platform without fear of any contradiction and say there has never been a record of a man in public life who sought high national public office that has such a dismal, negative record of opposition to everything that you, as officers and directors and members of REA, stand for, as the Goldwater team of 1964.

(Applause.)

Now, I know it is a bit difficult to keep up with where a man stands. It's hard to hit a moving target.

(Applause and laughter.)

And I might add that the Goldwater-Miller team of depression and disaster for agriculture has just as consistently voted against all the related programs that make rural electrification possible. I'm talking about TVA. When he wrote a book, he said we ought to sell it. When he got down in the TVA area, he said we ought to keep it, and the other day, he got someplace else and he said, "Well, I think we ought to sell it. I've found a fellow who'll pay \$2.00."

(Laughter.)

And the other great wholesale powers, he said we ought to sell, too. About transmission lines and multiple purpose dams -- that's what I'm talking about, about all the programs which have built the strength of rural America.

The spokesman, the Republican pretender to the Presidency, says, "Get rid of them. Sell them." And where will you be, my fellow Americans?

In 12 years in the United States Senate, Barry Goldwater voted the positions taken by the rural electric cooperatives no less than 35 times -- 35 times. Now, I want to be frank with you.

His record is not completely negative. On two occasions, he voted for REA proposals, but both times, they were projects that were directly related to Arizona. He knew he needed to get elected.

Well, REA is not just Arizona or Arkansas. REA is the entire union, the whole of America, and one of the great, gratifying experiences of my life is to find men and women who have fought the good fight to build these REA cooperatives, to find that they have an interest in every part of America and in everything that's going on in America. In other words, citizens of the United States of America, not just in Arizona.

This is his record. It's one of inaction. It's one of opposition to REA, and he has supported this record by public statement. Goldwater has said, and I quote him exactly: "REA has outlived its usefulness and it ought to be dissolved."

They must have some kerosene lamps left in that department store.

(Laughter and applause.)

Well, I can come clean with you. In Humphrey's drug store,

we sold them out a long time ago.

(Laughter and applause.)

As a matter of fact, we made them as an up-to-date donation to the Goldwater faction of the Republican party in South Dakota.

He said that electric cooperatives should fold up and get out of the areas, that the commercial power companies find them profitable enough to take over. In other words, you folks get in there, clean out the land mines, be the vanguard, get yourself worked over, blown to bits, and after everything is safe and nice, turn it over to Barry and his boys. Not on your life.

(Applause.)

Yes, he said the TVA, the power authorities and agencies, should be sold "even if the government got only \$1.00 for them." You know, this man is really becoming quite free with the public resources. The other day, he proposed a program that expanded Federal outlays by over \$30 billion. He reduced taxes -- when he didn't have to vote on them -- by 25 per cent, and then just yesterday or the day before, he gets into the Federal treasury and decided to divide up what was left amongst anybody around the country that needed it.

Unbelievable. Unbelievable. Is it any wonder that people worry? He said the government should be phased out of public power and agriculture programs on a rigid timetable.

Well, I've got a suggestion for you. When he wants to phase things out, I suggest you phase Goldwater out of public office on a rigid timetable -- November 3rd.

(Applause.)

Now, this is the record, and it is a dismal one. This is the philosophy, and he can't run away from either one. You cannot change the philosophy of a lifetime in one wild night at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, and you can't change the philosophy of a lifetime by drinking hot chocolate in Hershey, Pennsylvania, when the two Republican parties met there under the Eisenhower tent in one afternoon, and I don't think Senator Goldwater wants to change. I give him credit for this. Once in a while, he's tempted. Once in a while he's led into the

20th Century for just a moment. Once in a while he peeps through the door of the portal of progress. He sees just a little light at the end of the tunnel, but it frightens him and he goes back, closes the door.

(Applause.)

And I suppose one ought to respect a man who takes his firm stand -- his firm stand -- of turning aboutface and retreating into never-never land; no matter how hard he tries, and what he attempts to say, whenever he attempts to say something good about social security, or TVA, or REA, the words just catch in his throat.

I ask this question today in this beautiful city of Hot Springs, Arkansas, as I look at some of the finest citizens of our land -- is this the man that rural America wants for the President of the United States?

CHORUS OF VOICES: No. No. No. No.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Is this the man rural America wants to appoint the next Secretary of Agriculture?

CHORUS OF VOICES: No!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Is this the man you want to appoint the next REA Administrator?

CHORUS OF VOICES: No!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The next Secretary of Interior?

CHORUS OF VOICES: No!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And the next Federal Power Commissioner?

CHORUS OF VOICES: No!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think I know the answer. I have heard it, but do you want -- but you don't have to, by the way, accept Goldwaterism, with its negative echoes of the past. You do have a clear choice.

The temporary spokesman for the Republican party is against REA, TVA and the other programs you believe in. And President Lyndon B. Johnson has been and still is in complete support of these programs.

The choice is no more complicated than this. It's a choice between "Yes" and "No", and I think you're going to vote "Yes for Johnson" and "No for Goldwater."

(Applause.)

Lyndon B. Johnson is one of you. He is for you. He came out of the rural electric program, just as you did. Like many of you, he helped organize the electric coop that serves his ranch in Texas today, and the lights are on at the ranch, even if he turns a few of them off at the White House, I can assure you.

(Applause.)

And as a Congressman, a United States Senator, and the Senator Majority Leader, and Vice President, and as President of the United States, he has not only supported REA. He has been appressive in that support, a proud and a fighting champion of your case. That's the kind of a man that rural America needs to help rural Americans live a better life in this great country.

You have come a long way. You have still a long way to go. Through your deeds and your example, most of the homes and the institutions in rural America now have electricity, but to say that the rural electrification program has outlived its usefulness -- as Mr. Goldwater says -- is like saying that highway construction should be stopped after the first narrow roads were built.

The demand for power in rural areas is doubling about every seven years, and the electrical and the electronic advances in rural America are still in the initial stages.

The rural coops, therefore, must constantly improve their lines, and service, and build bigger and better and more economical facilities, just as the commercial utilities do. The objective of the rural electrification program, therefore, must be to continue both service and rates which compare favorably with those in the towns and cities.

This program has been good for everyone. It's been good for the farmer, for the rural people, townspeople, and business men and the farmers. The government has never lost a dime on a loan to a rural electric cooperative. The repayment record has been the finest in the history of banking. You know that. The Federal government knows that, even if Senator Goldwater doesn't.

Where once there was darkness and drudgery, there is now light, and electrically assisted labor. Where once there was only need, there is now a billion dollar market for appliances and electrical equipment.

REA has done more for private enterprise in America than almost any other single action of the Federal government and yet this spokesman for free enterprise says, "Kill it." How foolish can you be?

(Applause.)

Now, let me take just one or two more moments of your time. The other day up in Des Moines -- a wonderful community in the great state of Iowa -- one of the representatives of the Goldwater-Miller team for disaster and depression in agriculture made some observations on agricultural policy. It's nice to get observations from people who frankly confess in the beginning, "I'm not a farm expert and I don't know anything about farming." That's great.

Now, having said this, I want to call attention to the Democratic platform of 1960, because in that platform, the Democrats pledged to raise farm income and reduce surpluses and increase consumption of food at home and abroad, establish a food stamp plan to protect the American consumer, increase farm credit, expand research, encourage cooperatives and protect our natural resources, and expand the farmers' protection against natural disasters and protect the family farms.

We said those things. We meant them, and we have kept our pledge and kept our promise.

It's pretty hard, however, for a man who admits he's no expert and who has joined with one who says he knows nothing about farming, and who has glasses without lenses, and has calendars without years and has watches without hands -- it's mighty hard, may I say, to really evaluate the seriousness of the charge that may be made, but I think that if the Republican spokesman would really just take a good look and read the platform, he'd find that the pledges were fulfilled.

For example, we have protected the consumer who now pays only 18 per cent of his disposable income for food, compared to 20 per cent in 1960. We have complimented the American farmer on his accomplishment, rather than berating him.

These spokesmen are concerned about things like farm mortgage indebtedness. So am I. If you have a debt of \$10,

and \$20 in the bank, I think you're a whole lot better off than if you have a debt of \$10, and \$5 in the bank.

In the last four years, farm assets have gone up four times faster than the farm debt. Now, anybody that knows anything about bookkeeping knows that's a pretty good ratio. These temporary farm spokesmen from the deserts of Arizona, and from the cool banks of the Niagara, they are worried about the number of employees in the Department of Agriculture.

Well, let me say that one-fourth of them are taking care of our forests. A large number of these employees are engaged in meat inspection, poultry inspection, at the will and at the command of the Congress.

Another group are engaged in soil conservation to protect the heritage of God-given land to the future generations of the American people.

Now, maybe these men want to have our forests rot, our meat and poultry go uninspected, or our soils washed down the river. I don't, and I don't intend to vote for any program that does, and let me say this.

While this is not a great wheat producing area, it is a cotton area, the great state of Arkansas, and it raises rice and it raises soy beans, and the simple fact of the matter is that when the wheat bill came up that meant millions of dollars to wheat producers throughout American, millions of dollars to men and women on Main Street, an overwhelming majority of Democrats and Republicans voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater.

And when the cotton bill came up that meant so much to so many people in the Southland, where Mr. Goldwater now seeks to press his campaign, when dollars and cents, when economic security was on the line for hundreds of thousands of cotton producers, the majority of Democrats and a number of Republicans voted for the cotton bill, but not Senator Goldwater.

And this is the fact all the way through, and now, ladies and gentlemen, this is the record. That record needs to be brought to the people of America. My plea to you today is that as you look at this record, balance it off, because what you need is a program, not only for yourselves, but a program for all of America.

And I think that we, in the Democratic party, have that program. This is the kind of a program, kind of activity that

you have here in REA, the kind of local initiative that most member of Congress and most Americans believe in, but as I have said repeatedly "Not Senator Goldwater", and it is my view that on November 3rd, that most Americans, Democrats and independents and Republicans, are going to cast their votes for Lyndon B. Johnson, and not Senator Goldwater.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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(End.)

TRANSCRIPT

PRESS CONFERENCE

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
Little Rock, Arkansas
TV Stations KARK and KATV
September 18, 1964

"MEET THE STATE PRESS"

ANNOUNCER: It is indeed Channel 11's privilege to bring before the state tonight Senator Hubert Humphrey, candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States.

Questioning Senator Humphrey will be Lloyd Hobeck, UPI; Bob Starr, Associated Press; Pat Owens of the Arkansas Gazette; and Babby Foster. Your moderator is Bob Hicks.

MR. HICKS: Senator Humphrey, may we, too, welcome you to Arkansas and thank you for appearing on Face the State Press. We have four of Arkansas' top reporters here who are anxiously waiting to question you, so with your permission, will Miss Foster of the Arkansas Gazette ask the first questions?

MISS FOSTER: Senator, I wonder what your reactions were to the statement that was made recently in Arkansas, and this was the statement that any laying down to be done in the streets to block off traffic of legitimate business should be run over?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would hope that no one would want to run over anybody. There is a necessity, however, of maintaining the public order and in maintaining public peace. It would be the responsibility of local officials to see to it that traffic was not interfered with.

At the same time, people should abide by the law but violence does not get law, and law and order is the only way I know of to prevent violence.

QUESTION: Senator, on the subject of these riots, such as disturbances in our northern cities this summer, how should they be handled or is there a prevention for them?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, we must all recognize that civil disobedience and civil lawlessness does not mean civil liberty or civil rights.

I think we should also recognize that it is the primary duty of government to maintain the peace and maintain law and order and therefore, measures must be taken to prevent looting, to prevent arrests, violence, and people who engage in violence and disorder and promote general community chaos.

Stern law enforcement, fair law enforcement is the first requirement of a local or state official. I don't believe that we ought to have Federal, should I say, Federal police. I do feel, however, that the investigating services, such as the FBI, can be of help to see whether or not there is a pattern in these acts of violence and disorder and if there is, such a pattern then, of course, there is a possibility of Federal action.

Now, having said all of this, asking for prompt, efficient law enforcement and law observance, I think we also have to recognize that in some instances, there are many social injustices which promote these matters, taking the instance of Harlem, if you will permit me the time.

There are 50 thousand people living in an area of three and one half square miles. If that same density of population were

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applied to the rest of New York City, the entire population of the United States could be put in three boroughs -- three boroughs in what we call Metropolitan New York.

When you have such density of population, school drop-outs, when you have large unemployment among the youth, when you have illiteracy and tenements, crowded housing conditions, inadequate parking space -- all of that, I think, tends to lend itself toward violence.

This does not mean you condone the violence. It means take law enforcement and seek to enforce a better society, to get on with the job of cleaning up cesspools of infection; that is what they are.

QUESTION: Again on civil rights, in the southern states, children go to schools near their homes. In New York City, I am sure you are aware, children are being forced to go further away from their homes. This seems to be inconsistent. Wonder what you think?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have expressed myself earlier, and I am not for this long range bussing, using children, in other words, to accomplish a social objective and bussing these children from one end of the city to another. What we need to do in America is to build better neighborhoods and it is still true, at least it is in my conviction, that neighborhood schools are better schools because you have closer parental-student-teacher relationship, so we, as we put in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we said that that act shall not permit, insofar as any enforcement procedures under that act is concerned, school bussing of children long distances.

QUESTION: Again, on civil rights, do you think, Senator, Fulbright's vote against the Civil Rights Bill will prevent his being appointed to the Cabinet?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would hope not. I consider Senator Fulbright to be one of the most enlightened, one of the most able Senators in the history of our country. And his knowledge of foreign relations, his knowledge of our economy, his basic sense of fair play and social enlightenment, qualifies him for any office from the President on down.

QUESTION: We have quite a few rumors that he might be appointed Secretary of State. Have you heard any?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have heard that many times and I don't have anything more to say than I have said. I can say that he is the great Senator from Arkansas and is the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He is one of the most important and powerful men in the government of the United States.

MR. HICKS: Mr. Owens.

MR. OWENS: Senator, the quotation about running over people that Mrs. Foster read you was made by Governor Faubus who, I believe, has said that nobody else would run a lying demonstration; he would get behind the wheel and do it himself. Now, you are saying that you and the Governor have had past differences.

Do you have differences now with Mr. Faubus and are you, in fact, endorsing his candidacy for Governor of Arkansas?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I didn't come down here to get into a squabble about what Governor Faubus may or may not have said. I heard somewhere along the day -- and a very busy day I had -- that he made some correction of that alleged statement.

But be that as it may, my purpose in coming here is to

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campaign for a Democratic ticket, Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, as candidates for President and Vice President, respectively. I think Governor Faubus has done some very good things in your state in terms of industrial development, in terms of agricultural progress.

I spoke earlier today to the Rural Electrification Cooperative and it had among them, particularly from the State of Arkansas, enthusiastic support for your Governor on the issue of rural electrification.

The Governor has not asked me to endorse him. I am afraid if I did, it might not help him, so I think about the best thing to do is just ride along.

QUESTION: You expect to see the Governor while you are here?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would hope to. I don't know just what the plans are. It is possible that they can be defined.

QUESTION: Senator, you said if you did endorse the Governor, you are afraid it might not help him. Would you clarify that, sir?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think that in certain instances being left alone is sometimes a help.

QUESTION: That might because of the civil rights fame. You spent the last two days in states that theoretically are against your position, yet you seem to have gained a new respect in the matter. I wonder if you feel the rights issue will be against you--

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I find that most Americans are not of a one-track mind, and the civil rights issue is an important issue but it is not the only matter we are concerned about. What is more, it is now the law of the land and whoever is President of the United States will have to enforce that law. I would prefer to encourage people to observe it, to make the necessary community adjustments that will help bring respect for the law and I think this is being done. Quite frankly, I am deeply impressed by the progress that has been made in the South.

Sometimes we of the North fail to see what is being done someplace else. We have our own problems in our own areas. Now, the enthusiastic reception that I have had -- and it's been just that -- I think is due to the fact that people are concerned about many things.

We have been in Texas. They are concerned about agriculture. They are concerned about jobs. They are concerned about the attitude and and Senator Goldwater on the matters of nuclear policy and foreign policy. Besides that, I like people and I'd like to think that people like me, and I think that the South has a great future.

In fact, I think that it is developing faster than any other part of America. I am here to encourage that development and I think it is developing educationally, socially, economically, and politically. And anything I can do to help that along, I want to do.

QUESTION: Senator, I understand you yourself have something of a southern background and spent some time, I believe, at Louisiana State University.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Do you think that your youthful experience gave you some understanding of the South?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I haven't heard much about this --

QUESTION: What do you remember?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: I know it was a very useful experience. Louisiana State University, at the time I attended there, had a very fine School of Government. Mrs. Humphrey and I lived there for a year. Our little daughter, who today is married and has two daughters of her own, was a little baby there at that time.

I met many people I saw on the political campaign. I traveled around the state, but I would like to believe that as an American citizen and as a Senator that has studied his country, traveled widely in our country, that I do have some understanding of the economic and social and political problems, not only of my own state but of other states.

What we really need to do here is try to promote a kind of change of ideas and also a respect for the manner in which we deal with our respective problems. A bit of tolerance and a good bit of understanding, I think, is bringing us a long way.

This is a much better country than it used to be and it is going to get better as we go along.

QUESTION: Senator, when Governor Faubus announced that he would support the national party, was this a surprise to you and President Johnson? Do you feel that would in any way alienate the northern Democrats?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't think it will alienate any of the northern Democrats. Arkansas and Louisiana, as I remember, are the two states that have never voted Republican.

Now, from my point of view, of course, that shows a kind of indigenous political wisdom to commend themselves to the attention of the whole nation. We are very pleased to have a unified support in Arkansas, and I think this will help a great deal in the rest of the South.

Let's just say this. The Democratic party and the Democratic Administration, since the time of Franklin Delano Roosevelt have gone very good for the South and the South has been very good to the Democratic party. We also depend on the South.

When I look at what has happened in Arkansas, I see a partnership here between the Federal government and the state government and private industry and the rural economy that has literally lifted this state to new levels of economic growth and progress.

The Republican party never tried to help this part of America. It is much more of a restrictive, withdrawal type of governmental philosophy. It does not sense that the government can be a partner, can be a great help in releasing the capacities of a country or a state or of an individual.

MR. HICKS: Miss Foster.

MISS FOSTER: Question: I noticed in your Hot Springs' speech you kept referring to Goldwaterism. What is the distinction you draw between Goldwaterism and conservatism?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I consider conservatism to be to be a responsible political philosophy that has respect for tradition, that also has a recognition of current problems.

I consider Goldwaterism to have a kind of fictional understanding of our heritage, without any regard to the facts of history, and literally no foresight and a heavy dose of irresponsibility in dealing with contemporary matters, and little or no vision about the future.

To put it simply -- Goldwaterism is just not reality. It's a kind of politically never-never land. I think the Saturday Evening Post said of the Senator that he was sort of a "stray".

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By that, he is not in the main stream of the Republican party and he surely isn't in the stream of the main or the tributaries of the Democratic party.

There are thousands of Republicans in any part of the country and I am sure this is true all over everywhere, that they are going to Johnson, not because they are enthusiastic about the Democratic party but because they just worry about their country.

They just feel they cannot trust the judgment of Senator Goldwater and they feel that they can trust the judgment and the experience and the knowledge of the government of President Johnson. They are putting country before party.

QUESTION: Senator Dirksen has described you as a modern liberal. What is the "modern liberal"? What is your definition of a liberal?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That has always been a little hard to define. We all get tags on ourselves. I guess it's easier to deal with somebody if you could put a tag on him or at least identify him.

I would say that a liberal is someone that accepts the facts of change, but seeks to bring these facts of change within a framework of ideals and convictions. And those ideals and convictions are personal liberty of representative government, of the maximum freedom, both political and economic, and of the government being a servant of the people.

I would identify my kind of liberalism as one that supported for example, the broad objectives of the New Deal. I believe strongly in free enterprise; I believe it needs to be competitive. I believe in the profit system. I believe in open political parties.

I oppose conspiratorial apparatus, wherever it may be, domestic or foreign. I consider communism a totalitarian philosophy that debases human dignity. I believe that the difference between the totalitarianism and democracy is the respect for human dignity.

I think that tells what my thoughts and philosophies are. I think I am modern because I know what year it is and I know that we have serious problems ahead of us and a great challenge ahead, and I am not afraid of these problems. In fact, I kind of welcome them. It is with a kind of optimistic desire to get at the problems and do something about them.

QUESTION: I take it from what you said, Senator, you are not afraid of the realignment of departers, such as the matter of Senator Thurmond's defection, and so on.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: As I said about Senator Thurmond, we do believe in freedom of choice in this country, and what I think Senator Thurmond did was to make his votes in the Congress and his political philosophy, which is surely his privilege to hold. He made it legitimate. He went over to, as he said, the Goldwater Republican party.

I call that to your attention because the Republican party in my state would find very little accommodation with the views of Senator Thurmond. The Goldwater faction of the Republican party, and it is a minor faction, that faction or fragment of the Republican party, is temporarily in control of the apparatus of the

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Republican party, and that is why I think Senator Goldwater must be defeated.

I believe in the two-party system and I believe that a two-party system must begin upon basic objectives. They must agree upon goals. They may disagree upon the approach to those goals or the means but they must agree upon ultimate objectives. And it is my view that most Republicans and most Democrats have common objectives.

It is also my view that the forces that support Senator Goldwater do not have those common objectives and common goals.

QUESTION: Are you saying the Democrats are going to take Senator Thurmond back in December or January if he wants to come?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would seriously doubt that. I hope that I will have a position in the Senate as the presiding officer and therefore will not be privileged to participate in the senatorial caucus but since Strom Thurmond has made his choice, I think he is entitled to move real estate, his desk, over to the Republican side. There is a lot of room over there. I feel there will be more later.

QUESTION: Do you think it is possible there are other Democrats in the Senate and in the House who take roughly the same views as Senator Thurmond does? Do you think it is possible that the Democratic party will ever move -- sort of shove those people?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I have not endorsed the concept of sort of trying to make our party a monolithic thing, structuring the Democratic party as a national party and we have to face up to this fact, that there are different stages of different types of development, economic and social, throughout this great country of ours. I'd like to think I am somewhat a student of government. I have heard many people say, "Well, we ought to have it like they have it in Britain, a Conservative party and Labor. In Norway, you have Labor, a Conservative party and Socialist. Of course, it isn't that simple because in the Scandinavian countries, they have many, many parties. But what we seek to do here is to bring within the basic framework of the Democratic party a rather broad spectrum of political views."

Now, sometimes people stay within the Democratic party because it is convenient for them and in there -- I mean, in this immediate regional or state politics, but I tend to find that many of these people bend towards the platform and the objectives over the long period of time, so I do not endorse the simplified methodology of saying, "Let's have a Conservative or let's have a Liberal party." I think the two parties do quite well.

QUESTION: Do I infer properly from the remark you made a few moments ago, you do hold a fear that if Goldwater is elected, it might mean the end of the two-party system in this country?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say it surely would mean the end of the kind of two-party structure we have had. What I worry with more than anything else with the Goldwater movement is that there are those in the advance guard of that movement that are anything but tolerant, anything but flexible. They don't seek to adjust it or compromise or to cooperate. They seek to dominate and they have proven this in state after state and I think the demonstration at the Cow Palace was the evidence that anyone needed, when you watched that on television, the insistence of the Goldwaterites that you do it my way.

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Now, there's been some change or two last, in the last meeting of the two Republican parties at Hershey, Pennsylvania, the Eisenhower party and the Goldwater faction, but I noticed that after Mr. Goldwater got far enough away from Pennsylvania so that he had crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, he went right back to the primitive type, went right back to where he was before.

When he was in Pennsylvania, he wasn't sure he wanted to sell FVA but when he got down in the area where FVA doing the greatest good -- so help me -- he's going to sell again.

QUESTION: Do you think there is also reason for concern about the tenets you Democrats are going to go by? It seems to me you were worrying that one-party government or destruction of the two-party system indicated ill mental health in the Republican party was the problem and what do you think they ought to do about that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, generally, if one is in somewhat ill health, he really ought to do a little self-examination because his habits may not be too good; his attitude may not be too good; he may well be, in a sense, oh, getting out of line a little too often for his political and economic health.

I think that the Republican party has failed to win elections, primarily because it has failed to sense the role of government in modern society, that it has failed to sense that the American people look upon their government as one of the forces in the life of the nation that gives them a chance, a better chance. It opens up the pathways of opportunity.

I have been trying to analyze what it is what we in politics have tried to do for people. For example, I don't believe that I owe you a living. I mean, I do not believe that a government of this country ought to make sure that you are well off.

I do think, however, that I owe it to you, if I can possibly do anything about it to see to it that you have an opportunity for a job. I think I owe it to you to see that you have an opportunity to train yourself for that job.

No, I can't instill within you the incentive to get up and go, to want to make something out of yourself but I can, through the use of the government, remove these boulders of inhibition, of resistance, so there is a clear track for you to drive on or walk on, if you have a willingness to do this.

I guess that is about as simplified a way as I can think of to speak of it.

QUESTION: Do you see anything unusual -- well, did you ever get an endorsement from the Hurst newspapers for high office?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, the Hurst newspapers, in earlier days, were real crusaders for much of the social legislation for the working man. The Hurst newspapers have shown a great concern over foreign policy. Bill Hurst, Jr. is very concerned about our foreign policy in Latin America.

For example, I think whatever the Hurst newspapers have really decided -- I mean, the decision they made -- it appears to me was based upon, not that they agreed with everything Lyndon Johnson, President Johnson did, and surely not everything that Hubert Humphry may stand for --

but you have to make choices. We don't have the perfect candidate for you and for I and for me, and for somebody else. We have, in a sense, two candidates, two forces at work now in American public

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life and on the day of November 3rd, most people ought to go, and I think all people that are eligible to vote ought to go and cast an intelligent vote on those choices.

And what Hearst newspapers have done, like others, is to make that choice and I think that, naturally, America is in better hands with Lyndon Johnson as President and Hubert Humphrey as Vice President than it is if Senator Goldwater and Mr. Miller were in similar positions. I think that they have balanced it off. I imagine that the Hearst newspapers could give us a whiplashing on some of our views and maybe we could respond in one case but you make the choice, and you have to make the choice.

QUESTION: Now, Senator --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I say we thank the Hearst newspaper for that endorsement. We want to thank all

QUESTION: Do you think the full details of the Bobby Baker case will come out or have they come out?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think that the most recent action of the Senate will surely permit a full explanation of the last allegations that were made in all seriousness to you. The Bobby Baker case is being checked and re-checked by the Internal Revenue Service, by the Justice Department, by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I think it is well known that anytime that the FBI develops sufficient information for a grand jury, that appropriate -- that it will go before that grand jury and seek an indictment.

The Committees of the Congress, the Committee of the Congress handling this has carried on a good investigation. I know some people would like it to be outright razzle-dazzle but this is a political year and he knows that the other day, someone said that we were sweeping it under the rug.

Now, if I were a Republican, I don't think I would take about rugs because the last rug that any one got his feet on was one in the office of the White House, was a Mr. Adams. And it just seems to me that we ought to kind of keep these in reasonable perspective.

This is a political year. I have been in politics a long time. If there is any wrongdoing, it should be exposed and if there is any action, that has been a violation of the law, and it should be prosecuted. It's just that simple.

QUESTION: Would you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I surely would. In fact, I voted for the Bi-partisan Committee of Equalness of Republicans and Democrats as a sort of committee of surveillance, committee of ethics, a committee of discipline over the entire United States Senate but I don't believe it does very much good to go around shaking in fear every Senator somehow or other is engaged in nefarious activities. Most of us are too busy.

QUESTION: Senator Goldwater in Memphis charged this week that there were various issues which he felt that the Kennedy Administration should answer. The Bobby Baker case was one, Viet Nam. He also mentioned Presidential policy and postures about Cuba. What do you think that this country should do about Cuba, but to what extent that we should, as a government, either officially or unofficially, do to aid Cuba in any overthrow of

Press Conference, Little Rock

-9-

of the Castro government if it appears the people may want it?

ISENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe what we are doing about Cuba is

the possibility that it should be continued. Mr. Goldwater has made fastastic charges about Cuba in his speech in Seattle, Washington. A short time ago, he charged that President John Kennedy used the whole strife of the missile crises of 1962 for political purposes. This is a shameful statemtnt. ~~It is outrageous~~

He knows it is false. It was outrageous, also to the Committees of Congress that examined all the evidence. All the evidence was pursu ed about what to do about Cuba. We pursued the Cuban case in the Organization of American states. Every single Latin American country, save Mexico, has broken relations with Cuba.

We imposed an embargo on Cuba. I think we ought to aid wherever they take any clandestine operations, just really activities within Cuba. I think we ought to prevent shipment of arms from Cuba to Latin American countries. I think I have said this on the Senate floor. I think we ought to agree that it is more than a nuisance. It could well be a subversive threat to the entire Latin American hemisphere.

THE ANNOUNCER: We have run out of time. We want to thank you very much, Senator Humphrey, for Meet the State Press.

- - -

PREPARED TEXT
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Little Rock, Arkansas
September 18, 1964

Today this great convention is meeting in an auditorium named for one of Arkansas' greatest Democrats -- Senator Joe Robinson -- the able, the courageous, and wise Senate Majority Leader during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

When America was floundering after 12 years of Republican normalcy, Franklin Roosevelt called on Joe Robinson to help him rescue this nation from economic and social chaos. And this former schoolteacher, country lawyer, Congressman, Governor, and Senator became the New Deal's old reliable in the United States Senate.

Joe Robinson died in harness...fighting for the Democratic Party and the American people. And Joe Robinson has been followed in Congress by one of the most remarkable and able group of men to represent any state in this Union.

John McClellan and Bill Fulbright -- Chairman of the Government Operations and Foreign Relations Committees respectively -- are among the most highly respected members of the Senate. The Chairman of this Convention, Wilbur Mills, has more to say about tax legislation than any other man in Congress. Jim Trimble is an able and effective member of the House Rules Committee and works unstintingly in behalf of his district. Oren Harris has made an immense contribution to the nation and to Arkansas as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. And no member of Congress knows better or champions more faithfully the interest of the cotton industry than Took Gathings.

The late President Kennedy was absolutely right when he said last October: "Pound for pound Arkansas has the most influential delegation in Congress."

Finally, I want to take this opportunity to thank Governor Faubus for his hospitality here. We Democrats are a tumultuous lot, and it is no secret that Governor Faubus and I have had some differences in the past. Mr. Dooley once saw his friend Hennessey shining up a set of brass knuckles and asked where he was going. "To a Democratic unity meeting," said Hennessey, "I always go prepared." Well, I am pleased to know that this year no one has to take brass knuckles to a Democratic unity meeting. Confronted by the absurdities, and the reckless attitude toward national interest, of the Goldwater faction, we Democrats stand united as never before. So I want to say how glad I am that Governor Faubus and I are standing together here tonight united in the cause of Arkansas and the cause of America.

And what a cause it is! Could there possibly be a greater contrast than the one we confront in 1964 between the bitter, angry pessimism of the Goldwater faction and the joyous enthusiasm and hope of the Democrats? Between the reckless impetuosity of Senator Goldwater and the responsible patient statesmanship of Lyndon B. Johnson -- the ALL American party for all Americans.

The founder of the Democratic Party -- Thomas Jefferson -- once said:

"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties; those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes; and those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as honest and safe...."

It has been the salvation of the Democratic Party -- and this nation -- that we have drawn our strength from the people; that our policies manifest our concern for the people; and that our party refuses to betray its confidence and faith in the people.

Our opponents in this election have cynically set out to divide America. Set North against South, East against West, city against farm,

(MORE)

rich against poor, young against old, and black against white.

What America needs is understanding and tolerance. What a strong America needs is unity, not division. What a prosperous America needs is opportunity for all, not just for some. What a just America needs is equal protection of the laws for every citizen.

As President Johnson said recently;

"We must not lock ourselves in with our prejudices. We must be prepared to learn, to be able to change our minds, to demonstrate compassion and humility towards others of different faiths, different origins, different sections, different professions."

We Democrats are not living in the past with old hates and prejudices, we are living in a dynamic present which will hopefully put an end to antiquated strife. Our basic pledge is to provide responsibility in government and opportunity for all our people.

American government is more than Washington. American government is Washington, the State Capitol, the county court houses, the city and village halls, the town meetings and the thousands of commissions and local school boards.

This great system of government requires cooperation and partnership. Government and people are partners in the common cause of securing the national interest, not mutual antagonists contending against one another for power and glory. Without bothering to wrap all of this in fancy political theory, we Americans have achieved a sound and workable federal system. This is truly a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Today there is greater freedom in American, not less; more opportunities, not fewer. America is stronger, better, richer and mightier than ever before. Despite what Senator Goldwater says, you know it in your heart and...so does he. And you know that a government that cares about the unfortunate and the afflicted is a government that deserves your respect. You know that compassion is not weakness and that concern for the unfortunate is not socialism.

The people of this fine state have every reason to know that the federal system has been a great instrument of liberation, that the national government, far from being an engine of oppression, has aided in the growth of the economic and political health of this community.

It is a curious thing, isn't it, that when a billion federal dollars are appropriated for the Central Arizona project, the Goldwater faction cheers a triumph of local initiative. Yet somehow the funds spent for the Arkansas River Navigation Project are an invasion of states' rights, a violation of the Tenth Amendment, and an effort to corrupt the people of this state and turn them into pawns of the wicked bureaucracy.

Similarly they attack the poverty program, President Johnson's imaginative effort to make the United States truly a land of opportunity for all, suggesting -- I guess-- that no one should be poor, since everyone has an equal opportunity to inherit a department store.

And the issue in this campaign is whether the people of America can join together, living and working together for the common good. The alternative is the slippery slope of distrust, hatred and disaster.

Our Party says it is not wrong to be concerned about farm income in Arkansas and about urban problems in New York. Our Party says the development of Arkansas water resources is in the national interest. Our Party does not talk of dividing jobs among the unemployed but of building a strong economy which can absorb the talents of all Americans.

And our words are not hollow. The past four years have been years of solid achievement. The Federal government has invested in Arkansas not only for the sake of Arkansas but because investment in Arkansas is investment in America's future. All of America must prosper.

Many federal programs rest on this principle. Through them Federal dollars are being invested in Arkansas in the form of roads, airports, libraries, college dormitories, dams and other facilities. Federal agricultural programs help farmers improve their lands, produce more and get a fair price for their crops. Small business and area redevelopment loans help to create new industries and expand old ones. Vocational education, public welfare, veterans benefits, school lunches, and many other programs contribute to a steadily improving standard of living in the State. Only last week the Congress approved \$113 million for Corps of Engineers projects in Arkansas in Fiscal 1965 (including \$87.8 million to keep the Arkansas River program on schedule, thanks to a special request by President Johnson). In Fiscal 1964 total Federal expenditures in Arkansas were \$904 million. The extent to which the Federal Government is investing in your State can be readily understood when one considers that the total Federal taxes collected in the State in the same year was \$359 million.

The most tangible and easily appreciated return on the investment which the Federal Government has made in Arkansas over the years is the increase in personal income that has accompanied the economic diversification and expansion of the State. In 1940 per capita income in Arkansas was only \$256 -- 43 percent of the national average. By 1963 per capita income had reached \$1598 -- 65 percent of the national average and your present rate of increase is one of the highest in the Nation. And, as the economy of the State improves you are more and more paying your own way. In 1936 Federal outlays in Arkansas totaled over \$77 million while Federal revenues collected in the State were only slightly more than \$3 1/2 million -- a ratio of 22 to 1. Now over two Federal dollars are spent in Arkansas for every one collected in Federal taxes. I have no doubt that as the State continues to develop this gap will close further.

Here is what we mean by partnership. What has happened between Washington and your state is good policy, sound economics, and good government. As one of your Senators said in a report to his constituents, this is not charity, it is sound investment. A healthy, prosperous Arkansas makes a great contribution to a healthy, prosperous America.

We have a legislative record of which we Democrats can all be proud.

Over the persistent but futile opposition of the Republican nominee who advocates "the prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program," we have enacted legislation to strengthen the position of agriculture in our economy. Arkansas farm income is up 21 percent over the last days of the disastrous Eisenhower-Benson farm policies. Realized income per farm in your State is up 57 percent.

The Goldwater line on agriculture echoes another illustrious leader of the Republican Party, Calvin Coolidge, who said, "farmers never made much money, I doubt there is much we can do about it."

Well, we Democrats do not believe that agriculture must be at the bottom of our booming economy. We believe the farmers -- the farm families -- of America should share in America's prosperity and should not be relegated to last place at the table by a don't know, don't care Republican Administration.

While most of the things the Republican nominee says require many explanations, on rare occasions he is perfectly clear. He was absolutely right when he said, "I am not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming."

Over Goldwater's futile opposition this Administration working with a Democratic Congress enacted the Area Redevelopment Program to help local people develop the industries of tomorrow today. Above all, this has been a program for the South and the Southern states have used it well. And here in Arkansas through your work, your efforts, your initiative and with the Federal assistance available through ARA you have created 5,000 new jobs to add to the growing prosperity of Arkansas.

You can take special pride in your spokesmen in Washington. They have spoken and fought for you while Senator Goldwater has fought against you.

(MORE)

When your Congressional delegation led by John McClellan was fighting -- along with the late Bob Kerr of Oklahoma -- to get the Arkansas River project off the ground, where was the Senator from Arizona -- opposed.

When earlier this year Took Gathings, Bill Fulbright and others were working for a sound cotton program to insure the future of Eastern Arkansas, where was the Senator from Arizona -- opposed.

When Wilbur Mills was working to develop the tax bill for the relief of Americans at all economic levels, where was the Senator from Arizona -- opposed.

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When Wilbur Mills and Oren Harris were leading the fight for the Trade Expansion Act and when it was being fostered in the Senate, where was the Senator from Arizona? Opposed.

When the Congress of the United States was enacting legislation to provide much needed classrooms and libraries for our colleges and universities and legislation to strengthen and expand vocational educational courses in our public schools, and job training for unskilled and unemployed, where was the Senator from Arizona? Opposed.

And now we are asked by the Republicans to give this persistent naysayer our votes. Senator Goldwater whose program boils down properly to an exercise in futility.

We have a choice. It is between the Republican chaos of dissension and Democratic unity. It is between Republican retreat and Democratic progress. It is between the past and the future.

The gospel of fear and distrust must not prevail. It is our task -- yours and mine -- in this election to see that it does not. It is our task to see that sound, wise, proven leadership remains in the White House. It is our task to unify America to meet the challenges of her future.

In this city almost a year ago the 35th President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, said:

"This great new South contributes to a great new America, and you particularly, those of you who are young, I think can look forward to a day when we shall have no South, no North, no East, no West, but one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is what we are building in this country today." To this task we of the Democratic Party must devote our total energies in this election year. I pledge myself to this goal. I ask your help.

####

Sp. Little Rock, Ark.
Sept. 18, 1964

Pine Bluff to Fort Smith

~~From~~

Township — Russellville,
Ozark, Morrilton, Van Buren.

ARKANSAS STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

SPEECH

RANDOM NOTES FOR ARKANSAS STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

States' rights as cover-up for individual wrongs. Cover up a reactionary economic policy.

There will be more money put into the Arkansas River project by your Federal government than was invested in the St. Lawrence Seaway or the TVA.

GREAT ISSUES:

ARA, public works, Arkansas River Project, Pine Bluff to Fort Smith, Conway, Morrilltown, etc.

Transportation desperately needed for industrial development. Arkansas long victim of high transportation rates. These dams are multi-purpose. Provide power, flood control, transportation, and recreation. With an America with more leisure, a growing America, with larger families, recreational facilities integral part of community life.

FOUR ISSUES: 1) social security: Republicans ^{fought} ~~voted~~ it when it was born; harrassed it during its infancy; and continue to fight it in its maturity.

2) Arkansas River Project; 3) agriculture; 4) peace.

IDENTIFY YOURSELF. Small town man. The President is also a small town man, your neighbor. Attendance at Louisiana State University. We can work together. We have some understanding of problems you face; not easy problems in period of great change.

ARKANSAS & GEORGIA have always voted Democratic. Preserve that high honor.

Ch William Mills

Little Rock

John Mc
a little trouble
w. the m
but patient
& tolerant

*
Flowers for
Mrs H

75 Counties

- ✓ Gov. Faubus
- ✓ Sen Mc Clellan
- ✓ Sen Fulbright
along with
mills
- ✓ Oren Harris
- ✓ took Gathings
- ✓ Jim Trimble

Arkansas
"Land of opportunity"

State Ch Leon Catlett

- Tom Harper not comm
- Mr Jack Carnes

Leon Catlett

Tom Harper

Mr Carnes

① Georgia + Arkansas - When your children children
speak of the Senate party
they will remember Arkansas
Ha

Today this great convention is meeting in
an auditorium named for one of Arkansas' greatest
Democrats -- Senator Joe Robinson -- the able,
SENATE
courageous, and wise ~~state~~ majority leader
during the administration of Franklin D.
Roosevelt.

When America was floundering after 12

years of Republican normalcy, Franklin

Roosevelt called on Joe Robinson to help him

rescue this nation from economic and social

chaos. And this former schoolteacher, country

lawyer, congressman, governor, and senator

became the New Deal's old reliable in the United

States Senate.

Joe Robinson died in harness...fighting

for the Democratic Party and the American

people. And Joe Robinson has been followed

in Congress by one of the most remarkable

and able group of men to represent any state

in this Union. #

John McClellan and Bill Fulbright --

Chairman of the Government Operations and

Foreign Relations Committees respectively --

are among the most highly respected members

of the Senate. The Chairman of this Convention,

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of the House Rules Committee and works

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Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. And
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more faithfully the interest of the cotton industry
than Took Gathings.

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3rd DIST

Faubus

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~~So I want to say how glad I am that Governor Faubus and I are standing together here tonight united in the cause of Arkansas and the cause of America.~~

I wish to compliment your Governor on this Program of Economic Growth & Agric Progress.

~~And what a cause it is!~~ Could there possibly
be a greater contrast than the one we confront in
1964 between the bitter, angry pessimism of the Goldwater
faction and the joyous enthusiasm and hope of the
Democrats? Between the reckless impetuosity of Senator
Goldwater and the responsible patient statesmanship of
Lyndon Baines Johnson? The Democratic Party of 1964
is a political ~~vessel~~ ^{instrument} for the aspirations of all the
people. It is the party of the North and the South,
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great President Lyndon Baines Johnson--the ALL American
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and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands
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2nd Cont

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LBS - wage war on Poverty
B.G. - " " " Progress.
- 10 -

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~~In recognition of the principle that the lowest level of government able to do a job should take responsibility for it, many Federal programs work through State and local governments. Municipalities, housing authorities, soil conservation districts, and other institutions of local government develop the plans and~~

Business - ~~no~~harass - Encourage
Labor Educ
Agriculture Health

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new
Jobs

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indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.
That is what we are building in this country today."

To this task we of the Democratic Party must
devote our total energies in this election year. I
pledge myself to this goal. I ask your help.

Give to our President and to
our America your hearts, your hands,
your faith and work.

TRANSCRIPT

A D D R E S S

Julie

1

Robinson Auditorium, Little Rock, Arkansas
Friday, September 18, 1964

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you,
thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Thank you. Thank you very much, Chairman Wilbur Mills, Senator John McClellan, Senator William Fulbright, all of the members of this great delegation from the Land of Opportunity, the State of Arkansas -- indeed, your Chairman here today, Congressman Mills, and Congressman Harris, and that friend of the farmer, Congressman "Took" Gathings, and Jim Trimble, and each and every one of you responsible for this party.

My heartiest greetings to the Democrats who, throughout all of their years, have demonstrated that wisdom, and that prudence of judgment which commends the State of Arkansas to every thoughtful American, because Arkansas has never failed the Democratic party, and I want to compliment you on your good judgment.

(Applause.)

Now, you folks have started me off in a manner here which is going to be rather difficult for me. You have given to Mrs. Humphrey a beautiful bouquet of roses, a lovely corsage, and this lady is apt to be getting used to these things, and I have told her that this just doesn't happen, particularly that she shouldn't expect them as a regular diet, but now that you have started it, we will come back to Arkansas as many times as you will let us.

(Applause.)

We will always be so appreciative and grateful of your warm, generous hospitality.

We had a wonderful morning in Hot Springs -- beautiful city. I can see why the political leaders of Arkansas are always so vigorous. I can see why they are always so effective.

My gracious, if we had had Hot Springs in Minnesota, I would never have known what defeat ever was.

(Applause.)

I really can't sympathize with John McClellan and Bill Fulbright any more when they come back to me and tell me about the hard work they go through in these state-wide campaigns. I have always wondered why these two Senators looked healthier than any other two members of the United States Senate.

(Applause.)

And I found out today. I have found out that they spend as reasonable amount of time out on the huskings in the 75 counties of this great state, and an unreasonable amount of time down at Hot Springs just getting rejuvenated.

(Applause.)

I have a confession to make. I hope that John McClellan will listen to me now in this.

John, I have caused you a lot of trouble during my 15 and a half years in the United States Senate. I have served in John McClellan's committee under his chairmanship almost every day of my period of service in the United States Senate, and I have never known a man that was more patient, more forebearing.

John, I'm going to do you a big favor now. I know the trouble I've caused you. I know the worry that you have had. I know the patience you have exercised, and now you've got the chance of a lifetime. If you will elect Lyndon B. Johnson President of the United States, he'll take me with him to the Vice Presidency and I won't bother you on the committee any more.

(Applause.)

And I look back, and I see Senator Fulbright smiling and laughing out loud and saying, "Oh, twice blessed. Hubert won't even be on my committee any more."

Well, we Minnesotans have served under good leadership. My distinguished colleague in the United States Senate, Senator Eugene McCarthy, was one of the most faithful and one of the most effective members of the House Committee on Ways and Means under the chairmanship of one of the greatest men of the United States Congress, Wilbur Mills.

(Applause.)

And I know that the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, who has been in this state many times, would want me to convey his greetings to you because you folks have been so gracious, so considerate, to all of us.

Well, I've got a lot of things I want to talk to you about. I want to talk about how we Democrats are doing things and I want to talk about how those Republicans will do things to us if we just let them. So, if you'll just lean back, we're going to get acquainted.

I remember what Sam Rayburn said. Sam Rayburn said, "I'm a Democrat, without any prefix or any suffix, and without any apology." And that's what Hubert Humphrey is, just a Democrat.

(Applause.)

This great convention, to which I was invited by your distinguished Governor -- and by the way, I want to thank the Governor for his invitation. I am most grateful.

(Applause.)

This great convention is meeting in an auditorium that is named after one of Arkansas' greatest Democrats, and most distinguished public servants, Senator Joe Robinson, the able, courageous, late Senator Majority Leader during the administration of Franklin Roosevelt.

(Applause.)

I think the first Majority Leader that I ever remember was Senator Joe Robinson. I was but a visitor in the gallery, but then as now, the voice of Arkansas, the leadership of Arkansas, was important to the welfare of the nation and important to the welfare of the Democratic party. We are indebted to you.

(Applause.)

And when this great nation of ours was floundering after 12 years of Harding and Coolidge and Hoover, and Republican normalcy -- you know, these Republicans have got a car that has four shifts, all in reverse. It just depends upon which speed you want to take.

(Applause.)

After those 12 years of returning to normalcy, Franklin Roosevelt called upon your Joe Robinson to help him rescue this nation from economic and social disaster, and this former schoolteacher, country lawyer, Congressman, Governor, and Senator became the New Deal's old reliable in the United States Senate.

He died in the harness, fighting for the Democratic party, just exactly as that great man from Kentucky -- such a wonderful Democrat -- Alben Barkley, died in the harness fighting for democracy.

(Applause.)

But your Joe Robinson was followed in the Congress by one of the greatest delegations that I've ever heard of, or that represents any state. I know you might suspect this praise but when it's deserved, it ought to be said clearly and unmistakably.

John McClellan and Bill Fulbright, Chairmen of the Government Operations Committee and Foreign Relations Committee --

(Applause.)

-- I say to you that these are two of the most respected, the most able, the most distinguished United States Senators who have ever served in the Congress of the United States.

(Applause.)

The Chairman of this convention and to whom I have already referred, Wilbur Mills. Wilbur Mills has more to say about what goes on in that Congress than almost any man I know of, save possibly the Speaker and the Majority Leader, and he has more to say about tax legislation than any other man in the Congress -- in fact, than in the United States, and I wish Barry Goldwater would remember that as he talks around the country.

(Applause.)

My friend, Jim Trimble, is an able, very able, and effective member of the important House Rules Committee, and he works unstintingly on behalf of his District. In fact, Jim, the way it looks you've been backing up a truck to the Treasury. I want to compliment you on what you do for your District.

(Applause.)

And then there is Oren Harris, with whom I spent a very pleasant morning today. Oren Harris, Chairman of an important committee. He's made an immense contribution to the nation and to Arkansas as the Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce; and no member of the Congress knows better or champions more faithfully the interests of one of the great agricultural products of this state and one of the great industrial areas -- no member champions more faithfully the cotton industry than "Took" Gathings -- what a man, "Took" Gathings.

(Applause.)

In fact, if you even mention any other fiber than cotton, "Took" gets kind of angry with you.

The late President Kennedy, speaking here in your state --

(Applause.)

-- yes, that late and beloved man was absolutely right when he said last October, just a month before that tragic day, and here's what he said: "Pound for pound, Arkansas has the most influential delegation in Congress."

(Applause.)

Now, let me say a word about your Governor. I have already thanked him for the invitation, and I regret that he is indisposed today, and I want you to convey to him, the Governor and his wife, the greetings of Mrs. Humphrey and myself.

We Democrats, you know -- we're a tumultuous and sometimes a bit of a noisy lot, and I guess it's no secret to you and surely not to many others that, on occasion, Governor Faubus and I may have had a difference or two in the past, but Mr. Dooley -- yes, that's right -- Mr. Dooley, who is the philosopher of the Democrats, so to speak, once said of his friend, Hennessey -- he saw his friend Hennessey shining up a set of brass knuckles -- and Dooley said to Hennessey, "Hennessey, where are you going?" And Hennessey replied, "To a Democratic unity meeting."

(Applause.)

Hennessey said, "I always go well prepared." Well, I'm pleased to know that this year, no one has to take any brass knuckles to a Democratic unity meeting.

Confronted by the absurdities and the reckless attitude toward national interests of the Goldwater faction of the Republican party, we Democrats stand united as never before.

(Applause.)

So that I want to say to your Governor and to your delegation, to your Governor my congratulations for your program of economic progress in this great state of opportunity and for your constant effort to improve the welfare and the economic lot of the farmers of this great state and the rural areas of your state; for these, above all others, he deserves immeasurable credit.

(Applause.)

Now, let's talk about our party for a moment. It's kind of difficult to talk about the other one because you're not sure which one you're talking about, the Eisenhower Republicans or the Goldwater ones, but right now, I guess we'll have to take that little faction over here that seems to be temporarily in charge.

Could there possibly be a greater contrast than the one that confronts us in 1964 between the bitter, angry pessimism of the Goldwater faction and the joyous enthusiasm and hope of the Democrats? For between the reckless impetuosity of Senator Goldwater and the responsible patient statesmanship of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the Democratic party of 1964, is the political instrument for the aspirations of all the American people.

It is the party of the North and of the South. It is the party of the East and of the West.

(Applause.)

It is, in the words of our President Lyndon Johnson, as he said at Atlantic City, and those words are more meaningful today than ever before, "It is the All-American party for all Americans that believe in progress."

(Applause.)

Thomas Jefferson -- great Democrat -- one that we revere, once said, and I quote him:

"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties; those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher

classes; and those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as honest and safe."

Oh, what a prophet that man Jefferson was! He knew a Republican when he saw one, and he knew a Democrat, too, and it has been the salvation of the Democratic party, and of this nation that we have drawn our strength from the people, and that our policies of government manifest our concern for the people, and that our party refuses to betray its confidence and faith in the people. That's the record of the party to which we belong.

(Applause.)

Now, our opponents in this election are hoping to win this election by cynically setting out to divide America, to set the North against the South, or the South against the North, the East against the West, the city against the farm, the rich against the poor, yes, even the young against the old, and the black against the white.

But what America needs is not division. What America needs is understanding, that needs tolerance. What a strong America needs is unity, and not division.

(Applause.)

And what a prosperous America needs is opportunity for all and not just for some, and what a just America needs is equal protection of the laws for every citizen.

Our President put it, I think, as simply and yet as profoundly as anyone. Here's what he said:

"We must not lock ourselves in with our prejudices. We must be prepared to learn, to be able to change our minds, to demonstrate compassion and humility towards others of different faiths, different origins, different sections and different professions."

Those are the words ---

(Applause.)

Those are the words of a man that loves America, that looks upon America as one great community of united people. He doesn't seek to divide; he seeks to bind us together into a mighty force for a mighty purpose.

(Applause.)

Now, we are not going to live in the past, with old hates and prejudices. We are living in the dynamic present, which will hopefully put an end to antiquated strife. Our basic pledge now and in the future, as it has been in the past, our basic pledge is to provide responsibility in government and opportunity for every American. That's our commitment to this nation.

(Applause.)

I have been listening to these rather sharp and shrill voices attacking our government, attacking our system, spreading doubt as to our nation, even casting doubt upon our military might and our purpose. Well, let me say this, that American government is more than Washington. American government is Washington, the state capitol, the courthouse, the city hall, and the village hall. This great system of government doesn't work by having people tear it apart.

It works through cooperation and partnership; government and the people are partners in the cause of securing here in this land of ours the national interests. We are not mutual antagonists choosing up sides, contending against one another for power and glory.

Without bothering to wrap this all up in any fanciful, political theory, let me put it this way. We Americans have achieved, through our own design, a sound and a workable Federal governmental system, and this is truly then a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." That is our government.

(Applause.)

I have heard how we have been losing our freedom and may I say that I don't think this is the way that you combat the Communist attack upon this nation, by telling the whole world from every platform that in America people are losing their freedom. I think that freedom is greater in America today than ever before.

There is more freedom for a child who can go to school than one that can't. There are more opportunities in America today, not fewer, and America is stronger, not weaker, than ever before.

America is better, not poorer. America is richer, and mightier, than ever before, and as long as I am permitted to

carry the message of my party, I am going to speak about the America that is the one that I love, the one that I work for and I am not going to spread doubt and suspicion about our form of government or our achievements.

(Applause.)

So I say again, we are freer, we are stronger, we are richer, we are mightier, we are better. People know this, despite what Senator Goldwater says, and you may remember his words, You know it in your hearts, and so does he, and you know that a government that cares for the unfortunate and the afflicted is a government that deserves your respect, and you know those of us that worship in our cathedrals, our churches, and in our synagogues, you know that compassion is not weakness and that concern for the unfortunate is not socialism.

You know that it is decency and that it is the best of Americanism.

(Applause.)

The people of this State, like my State, have every reason to know that this partnership between our levels of government -- Federal, national and state -- between government and the people has been a great instrument, not of oppression, not of tyranny, but of liberation, and that the national government, far from being that engine of oppression, has aided the growth of the economic and political health of this very community where I now speak.

It's a curious thing, isn't it, that when a billion federal dollars are appropriated for the Central Arizona project, the Goldwater faction of the GOP shares this as a triumph of local initiative and Americanism. Yet, somehow, when the funds that are spent for the Arkansas River Navigation Project from Pine Bluff to Fort Smith, are an invasion of states' rights, a violation of the Tenth Amendment --

(Applause.)

-- an effort to corrupt the people of this state and to turn them into pawns of the wicked Washington bureaucracy. Baloney! Bunk! And you know it.

(Applause.)

Similarly, these Goldwaterites attack the poverty program, President Johnson's imaginative effort to make the United States

truly a land of opportunity for all.

You know, I have heard so many times about that we need a choice. Well, you've got one. Lyndon Baines Johnson wages war on poverty. Senator Barry Goldwater wages war on progress.

That's the choice.

(Applause.)

Yes, the Senator from Arizona attacks these programs, particularly this program on poverty, suggesting, I guess, that no one should be poor, since everyone has an equal opportunity to inherit a department store.

The issue in this campaign is whether the American people can join together, living and working together, for the common good. The alternative is the slippery slope of distrust, of hatred and of disaster, and I know of no surer way for the defeat of this republic in every area of the world and for everything for which it stands.

Our party says that it is not wrong to be concerned about adequate farm income in Arkansas, and about the urban problems in New York. Our party says that the development of the Arkansas water resources -- as your Senator John McClellan and your Senator William Fulbright and your Congressmen said -- is in the national interests.

Our party does not talk of dividing up the jobs among the unemployed but rather of building a growing, strong economy which can absorb all who want to work and all the talent of every American willing to do a job for this country.

(Applause.)

And these aren't just words. The past four years have been years of solid achievement. The Federal government has been at work. John Kennedy asked this nation to get moving again. He called upon us to make some beginnings. He asked us to bestir ourselves and become once again the bright hope of the world, and the Federal government has a role to play in this, not the whole role, but a part of it. And the Federal government has invested in Arkansas, not only for the sake of Arkansas. It's invested in Minnesota, not only for the sake of Minnesota. It has invested because investment in Arkansas or in my state is an investment in America's future.

All of America must prosper together or Americans will

not prosper at all. It's just that simple.

(Applause.)

Now, when you hear these voices that tell you that we should do less and that this terrible thing that befalls the Federal government should be withdrawn from the picture, remember this. Federal dollars are being invested in Arkansas in the form of roads and airports and libraries, college dormitories, dams and other facilities.

Federal agriculture programs, Mr. Farmer, help farmers improve their lands, produce more and get a better price for their crops. Small business and area redevelopment loans have helped create new industries and expand old ones. Vocational education, public welfare, veterans' benefits, school lunches, and many other programs contribute steadily to the improving of the standard of living in this state and every one of the other 50 states in this union.

Only last week, as I have indicated earlier, Congress approved \$113 million for the Corps of Engineers projects in Arkansas -- I should say, last month -- for Fiscal 1965, and in that \$113 million, there was an item of \$87.8 million to keep the Arkansas River program on schedule, thanks to the request of your delegation and of the President of the United States.

(Applause.)

And listen to this figure, my friends, before you listen to what Mr. Goldwater tells you to do. In Fiscal 1964, total Federal expenditures in this wonderful state -- much of it for the defense of this republic and we are grateful to you for what you do -- Federal expenditures in this state last year were \$904 million. The extent to which the Federal government is investing in your state can be readily understood when one considers that the total taxes collected was \$359 million.

But this is as it should be. Arkansas is making a great contribution to the common defense. This nation is providing tremendous economic growth for this, a part of America. The most tangible and easily appreciated return on the investment which your government has made in Arkansas over the years is the increase in personal income that has accompanied the expansion and diversification of industry in this state.

In 1940, per capita income in Arkansas was only \$256, 43 per cent of the national average. In 1964, only after two years of the help of a friendly administration, per capita income had reached \$1598, or better than 65 per cent of the

national average, and your present rate of growth is the fastest in the nation. I salute you.

(Applause.)

This is what we mean by partnership, what has happened between Washington and your state, between your Congressional delegation and your Governor. It is good policy, sound economics, good government.

One of your Senators said in a report to one of his constituents, "This is not charity. It is sound investment."

A healthy, prosperous Arkansas makes a greater contribution to a healthy, prosperous America, and I want more of it, not less, and President Johnson wants more for Arkansas, more for your elderly, more for your youth, more for your industry, more for your agriculture, more for the state, not less, and America will be the richer for it.

(Applause.)

We have developed quite a legislative program these years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. We have had some opposition, most of it futile, thank goodness. A Republican nominee who advocates -- and, may I ask every farm producer of Arkansas to listen to this -- he advocates "the prompt and final termination of the farm price support program". Oh, yes, that'll be the day when Hoover and Coolidge disaster overtakes us once again.

And I don't intend to let it happen. That's why I'm out here on this platform. I want to remind you here, as I did farmers at Hot Springs this morning, don't take these things for granted. You can lose them. This man could win and if he does win, you can kiss these program goodbye.

We have enacted legislation to stimulate that farm income. Arkansas farm income is up 21 per cent over the last disastrous days of the Eisenhower-Benson farm policies. Realized farm income in this state, according to your own records, are up 57 per cent, since President Kennedy and President Johnson took the helm of government and extended a helpful hand from the friendly, Federal government working with your delegation to make Arkansas a better place.

The Goldwater line on agriculture echoes that illustrious leader of the Republican party, Calvin Coolidge, who said, Farmers never made much money. I doubt there is very we can

do about it." What a philosophy.

Well, we Democrats do not believe that agriculture must be at the bottom of our booming economy. We believe the farmers, and farm families, of America can and should share in this prosperity and should not be relegated to the last place at the table by a "don't know and don't care" Republican administration.

While most of these things that the Republican nominee says require many explanations, on rare occasions he is very, very clear. He was absolutely right when he said only recently, "I am not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming." I agree, Mr. Goldwater; you have said it.

(Applause.)

Over the Arizona Senator's futile opposition, this Administration went on to enact the Area Redevelopment to promote local people, local industry, for a better tomorrow, and this program within itself is resulting in your state in 5,000 new jobs for Arkansas people who wanted to work and didn't have a job.

You can take pride in your spokesmen in Washington. They have spoken and fought for you while the Republican pretender to the Presidency has fought against you.

When your Congressional delegation, led by John McClellan was fighting along with the late Bob Kerr of Oklahoma, to get that Arkansas River project off the ground, where was the Senator from Arizona, that comes here and wants your help. He was opposed; not only did he vote against it, he chastised you for even thinking about it.

When "Took" Gathings, Bill Fulbright and others were working for a sound cotton program to assure the future of Eastern Arkansas, where was the Senator from Arizona. He was opposed.

When Wilbur Mills, after better than one year of study and hearings were attempting to develop a tax program that would reduce our taxes, stimulate our economy, give American business the money to invest, to help release the dynamics of a free enterprise system which would develop the tax bill for the relief of Americans at all economic levels, where was Senator Goldwater? Goldwater was opposed to it.

That's the kind of Republican ticket we would get, and now he comes out and says, "Let's reduce taxes by 25 per cent."

Well, you don't reduce taxes on the road in the cabin of a jet. You reduce them by votes in the Congress of the United States.

What Barry Goldwater should have been doing was listening to Wilbur Mills, and what Barry Goldwater should have been doing was listening to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. What he should have been doing was having some faith in the free enterprise system of this government, giving our business people courage to increase it, to move ahead, instead. "No, no, a thousand times, no."

But now a new tax program, bigger than ever before, he is safe in advocating because he will never have a chance to do anything about it.

Then when Bill Fulbright was fighting for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to take us a little farther from nuclear disaster, where was the Senator from Arizona. Opposed.

Now, he advocates, contrary to this, to establish as the policy of this government, that the President of the United States should not maintain control of the nuclear weapon. Oh, no, but those little tiny nuclear weapons were of such magnitude as destroyed Hiroshima, they should be given to the field commanders on the front. This is what worries me.

This is why Republicans by the thousands are turning to Lyndon Johnson. They are turning to Lyndon Johnson because he is a man with prudent judgment. He is a man that you can trust, and they are not about ready to put the fate of this land into the impulsive, untested, nervous hands of the Senator from Arizona.

Now, my friends, just one more. When Wilbur Mills and Oren Harris were fighting for the Trade Expansion Act that helps this state, that promotes the export of cotton, that promotes the export of soy beans, that promotes the export of your industries, and when that bill was receiving overwhelming support of Republicans and Democrats alike in the Congress, where was the Senator from Arizona? In his traditional dark closet, voting no.

(Applause.)

Now, when the Congress of the United States was enacting legislation providing for much needed classroom and libraries for our colleges and universities, and legislation to strengthen

vocational education for your children in our public schools, legislation for our medical schools for nursing training, job training for the unskilled and unemployed, where was this temporary spokesman of the Republican party? He was where he ordinarily is. He was locked up in the dark room of negative opposition. He was opposed.

Is this the way to help Arkansas? Is this the way to help America? America's youth deserves the best of education. Our colleges are today needing more classrooms and more teachers, more libraries, more scientists.

If we are to be the leading nation of the world and the defense of this republic, rescue the brain power that youth training can develop, the future of this world rests in that brain power.

Let me say for the record. No one needs to fear Federal instruction. The great land grant colleges of America, that have been the backbone of our industries, were federally endowed. It has helped make America the strongest nation in the world, but in that, they would never have received Senator Goldwater's vote. He would have voted no.

Now, you are asked -- and he is going to make his big play, I think, in the South because here he thinks he can divide us -- he thinks he can play on old sores -- this man comes to you to give support. You are asked to give this Republican pretender to the Presidency your vote.

As him how many votes he ever gave you and give him just as many, and that will mean none.

Yes, sir, we have a choice. It is between action and inaction, between paralysis and vitality. It is a choice between two men, say, from the West or from the Southwest, one of the 19th Century, and one of the 20th Century, and I suggest we all take a look at the calendar.

Of course, I am not intrigued because this man from Arizona seems to have such a good time, more or less, just revising his remarks.

(Applause.)

As a student, he has a calendar with no years, as an observer of the contemporary scene, he has a watch with no hands, and as one who seeks to give America leadership with vision, he has glasses with no lenses.

May I suggest that you'd be better off to have a school-teacher who to share the burden, who carries a watch and knows the time of day, and wears glasses with lenses and has vision, and that will be Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

It is our task, therefore, fellow Democrats, regardless of what differences we may have, to unite, stand together, learn to count on one another, adjust our problems, and face the common adversary.

It is our task to see that the sound, wise and proven leadership that you have had in these last nine months under Lyndon Johnson remains in the White House for four more years.

It is our task to unite and unify this country to meet the challenge this year at home, and to meet the enemy abroad, and in this city almost a year ago, the 35th President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, said these words -- and I know of no better way to conclude a message to Democrats that by reciting these prophetic and these meaningful words of faith and substance given to us by a vital, intelligent, courageous, fine, young man that became our President.

Here is what he said: "This great new South contributes to a great new America, and you particularly, those of you who are young, I think can look forward to a day when we shall have no South, no North, no East, no West, but one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is what we are building in this country today." So said John F. Kennedy to the people of America.

And to this task, we of the Democratic party have an obligation, now as never before, to devote our total energies in this election year.

I pledge myself to that goal. I pledge myself to help finish the unfinished task. I pledge myself to continue from the beginning we have made. I pledge myself wholeheartedly, enthusiastically, to stand alongside one of the giants of our time, the President of the United States, and I ask you to give our President -- a man who needs you -- I ask you to give to the President and to your America, to give your hearts, to give your hands, to give your faith, and to give your work and to give your dedication, now and in these weeks ahead, to help the Democratic party and the cause for which it stands.

Thank you very much.

(End.)

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