

Senator Humphrey
Address at Breakfast Sponsored
by New York City Labor
Council, Manhattan Hotel
September 24, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. I see you have some rather enthusiastic rooters here. Senator Kennedy, we might just as well get used to it.

(Applause.)

Mr. Van Arsdale and members of the great union movement of Greater New York and many of our visitors from elsewhere, am very, very honored to be introduced by the distinguished Mayor of this City, one of the outstanding public servants not only of the State of New York but of the entire nation, a man that is honored throughout this nation.

(Applause.)

And I am very, very proud and pleased and honored to be sitting here at the same table with a gentleman who has served his country so well in one of the most important and difficult of all positions, as Attorney General of the United States, and served his great brother with such fidelity at a time of need and crisis for our country and the world, and one who has my unqualified support and help if he wants it and needs it, none other than Bob Kennedy the next Senator from New York.

(Applause.)

And, Bob, I think you said something about having been on both sides with Hubert. May I say having been on both sides with Bob, I am glad to join him right now.

(Applause.)

Well, it should be known by all of you that one of the most pleasing experiences of my life and one that will always live in my heart and memory was and has been the great honor and the great privilege of serving in some limited capacity as one of the legislative leaders with our late and beloved President John Kennedy. I shall always be grateful for that privilege, and also remember it.

We have quite a morning ahead if us. I didn't get around to doing much for the farm surpluses this morning.

(Laughter.)

My friend Orville will never forgive me, but I have had the opportunity of visiting with a number of friends and looking out over this room, this fine breakfast gathering, to see a number of other friends, and I see enough political power, enough political action in this room to win any election any place at any time if everybody will to to work.

(Applause.)

And there isn't a one of you here who has to have any problem about who you ought to support and where you ought to be. We really offer you some choices. We don't offer you some blurs and doubts. We offer you the choice of Lyndon B. Johnson for President and Robert Kennedy for the United States Senate. I come along with the package

(Applause and laughter.)

You know I used to be in the drug business. We had some sales we used to call two for one.

(Laughter.)

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By the way if you have any friends who have been misguided politically and either wearing any of those Goldwater buttons tell them they can turn in two and get one LBJ button.

(Laughter.)

This morning I hope to say just a few words that may be of some interest to you in terms of our political efforts, and then I want to take this moment because in a campaign such as this, I think we ought to utilize these platforms for purposes of the discussion of issues, and also for getting some clarification from those who are rather unclear as to where they seem to stand on the issues. I would like first of all to take just a moment to say that the gentleman that is our candidate for Senate in this State of New York, has been of inestimable help to everyone of us who have tried to carry forth the Kennedy-Johnson program, and when I read and hear about who helped whom, I do not want to deny those who have made a real contribution and it is a fact, that Senators who were Republicans as well as Senators who were Democrats, did contribute to the Kennedy-Johnson program, all but one. The one who seems to enjoy just hiding out under his No, No. Tree in the shadow of his own indifference, Barry Goldwater. He is always out there by himself.

But I think it should be known in this great state that legislation isn't an accident nor does it seem to just fall out of the heavens. It is presented generally in the form of a President's program, and that program is the product of the thinking, of the planning, of the consultation of many minds, and so there may be no doubt, so that you may know or may I say so that you may know it for certain, the gentleman who is with us this morning, who has spoken so well to you, and has again concisely delineated the issues, Robert Kennedy, had a great share of the responsibility in the Kennedy-Johnson Administration of designing the legislation that has actually stood as the hallmarks of this great period of four years, the 1,000 days of John Kennedy, and the now ten months of Lyndon B. Johnson.

When you look back over any of that legislation, remember that these Presidents consulted with trusted advisers, and remember that the great legislative programs whether it was in housing or manpower training, whether it was in education or in health, whether it was in conservation or unemployment compensation, whether it was in social security or hospital construction, or whether it was in Civil Rights or immigration legislation, that there was always at the right arm, as the right arm of the President, the man who is today our candidate for Senator in the State of New York, and I say to you that Bob Kennedy made great contributions to the fundamental legislative policy of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

(Applause.)

Bob, we are going to have some fun working together up here, and by the way, I might add that it is going to be wonderful to have Bob Kennedy in the United States Senate, because New York has always given to the Senate people of courage from our party, always given to the Senate people that were innovators, people that were creative.

The late and beloved Robert Wagner, Senator Wagner, gave to the people of America the most far-reaching, the most progressive program of housing, of labor legislation that America has ever known. He was a creator. He was an innovator, and the late and beloved Herbert Lehman stood like a giant in the United States Senate, a good party man, yes, loyal to his President, loyal to his party, but always loyal to his conscience. I think Bob Kennedy will be the same way.

(Applause.)

Well, I want to talk to you this morning about the national election. I come here to ask for your help. I don't want to believe all the election polls that I am reading. They sound good, they look good and when I am a little down in the mouth and feeling a little weary, it is always good to pick up the newspaper and read the latest poll. But let me warn you, elections are not won by Gallup polls. Elections are won by precincts won, elections are won by registration. Elections are won because you want to win them. Elections are won when you have a program and when you have a candidate and when you have workers who are willing to get out and do the job and I am talking to the people now who can put those workers in the precincts. I am talking to you that can see that the people are registered. I am talking to you to tell you that you have a platform, you have a program, and you have some candidates. We give you some choices, and you can see to it that America moves forward on November 3rd, if you will just get down to work and take nothing for granted and make up your mind that we are going to give this opposition a licking like its never had before in its life.

(Applause.)

I guess what I am really trying to say is, boys, take nothing for granted. The only time this Senator is going to feel safe and secure about this election is when the final tally is in, and when I hear on that television on election night that the great Empire State of New York has cast an overwhelming vote for Lyndon Johnson and has elected a new United States Senator. Then I will feel confident.

Well, now, friends the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, a militant and strident minority in a great Party, has been rambling around this country announcing that he presents the voters with a choice rather than an echo. I can't help but say time after time what a choice, better make it had been an echo. He offers himself as a man of conscience. Now, it is entirely proper that we should not inject personalities into this campaign. There is not need of attacking the character or the reputation of anyone. I doubt that there is any man that can really stand up before all of his fellowmen and say, "Here I am without sin. Here I am with never a mistake."

We have all a blemish or two upon us, and so before I say another word I want to make it perfectly clear that I consider the opposition to be men of ability, I consider them to be men of good character, I consider them to be men who love their families and love their country. But I also consider them to be politically misguided and I intend to show you why.

Now, I recognize that our opposition has indulged in a good deal of personal vituperation. I have sort of been the lightning rod, you know, for the opposition. I am serving some useful function, it appears, but I don't mind it at all.

As a matter of fact, I am sort of grateful to the opposition. As I said on that Meet the Press Program the other day, hardly anybody ever called me Horatio until Barry made up his mind that it was an honorable name.

(Laughter.)

As a matter of fact, I want to now bring together all those folks who have middle names that they wish nobody ever heard about, that will be a majority vote.

Well, what I am going to say to you this morning is a matter of discussion of the policies and of the statements of the opposition. Because I believe that at the present time the Senator from Arizona is giving us neither a choice nor an echo but rather a baffling, bewildering blur, confusion confounded. Now, to help him on a number of points, because he said he wanted to look the American people right in the eye, one advantage of the Senator from Arizona of looking people in the eye is he doesn't have any lenses in his glasses, he doesn't see anything when he looks at them.

I would just like to quote some statements of the Senator from Arizona. I want to quote what he said, not what I have said or what you have said, and I think then we ought to ask him what they mean. Now, I am not taking these statements out of context, and I am asking him to provide the missing contexts. No man asking the American people to elect him as President has the right to make cryptic, often ominous remarks and then leave the electorate to discover their meaning. We don't need to play any word games. A man that seeks to be President ought to say what he means and mean what he says. In other words, I think we ought to follow the principle that precision in the cause of political clarity is no vice.

(Applause.)

Because Senator Goldwater specializes in rather dark and obscure pronouncements, I can only today begin by questioning some of those pronouncements. The backlog of confusing utterances is considerable, and we don't have the time this morning to run through all of them, and the backlog is growing every day, but let us begin with just a few of the choicer ambiguities.

On June 30 of this year, Senator Goldwater gave a long interview to the German Magazine, Der Spiegel. Asked if he was impulsive he replied, "Now, I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip."

He went on to note that he was widely traveled, and he concluded by saying casually, "I have been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in details about them."

Now, my fellow Americans, I would like to -- the Senator to explain precisely what that means. All of us who have been in Congress over a period of years have traveled quite a bit, and we have been exposed to a number of problems, both at home and abroad. But for most of us the lesson that we learned was opposite, the more we learned the less confidence we had in anyone's snap judgments. Now, one can deal impulsively with complex problems only if he has closed his mind to complexity. The conduct of American foreign policy, which is the major responsibility of the President of the United States cannot be patterned on a western movie where the gunman shoots at high noon from the hip and asks questions later. That isn't the way you run a government.

The other day in Texas I was reminded of Sam Rayburn's remark. Whenever somebody rushed up to him in a high state of political hysteria, this old distinguished statesman of the House of Representatives would say, "Just a minute" and this is the best political advice that he could give. It illustrates the importance of considering a problem thoroughly, and of acting responsibly before referring a decision between alternative plans of action.

All day yesterday in the great state of Indiana where we had marvelous crowds, enthusiastic audiences, the best ever, I emphasized the theme of this Administration, of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the theme of responsibility, a responsible government, responsible President, a responsible Congress, responsibility with opportunity for more and more people. The theme of the Democratic Administration. When the faith of hundreds of millions of people hangs in the balance, when in a matter of minutes all of the achievements of mankind may become ashes, the American people can ask themselves and should ask themselves again and again, do we want as President a man who does not have to stop and think?

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I am making a request for clarification, not an attack. If Senator Goldwater did not mean what he said, we should hear what he did mean, and in his own words from his own lips.

Now, later on in that same interview with Der Spiegel the Senator was asked in connection with his demand for instant victory in the cold war "But would you go to the brink of war?" And here he gave an answer that defies rational understanding. He said, and I quote exactly from the magazine: "Yes, just as your country" -- that is Germany -- "has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Now, what does this mean? I think many Americans didn't know that this had been said. It is not only -- it has not only been said, it is the printed word. What does this mean? Twice in this century, irresponsible German leaders have taken the world over the brink. How can anyone with common sense, let alone knowledge of recent history applaud German brinkmanship, brinkmanship too in contrast to the responsible policies of the post-war German leaders, the men that we honor today as our allies, and the people of Germany that we respect and honor today because of their dedication to Democratic Government. In the first place, at fearful cost in human suffering imperial and Nazi German brinkmanship was disastrous for Germany, and indeed for the other nations of the world.

It would seem to me that Mr. Goldwater's reference was a very poor one. Again this is nothing but a request for clarification not an attack. If Senator Goldwater did not intend to hold that imperial and Nazi Germany, to hold them up as models for the conduct of our foreign policy we should learn what he did mean from his own lips.

Let's take one more excerpt from Senator Goldwater's interview with Der Spiegel. I give you his exact words, and I quote now, "and I say this with all due respect to our military: had not Germany in both wars been subject to the supreme command of men -- or a man in any case -- who didn't understand war, I think Germany would have won both of them."

Now, the charitable conclusion to be drawn from this remark is that the Senator was telling his questioner what the latter wanted to hear. I suppose that is pardonable for a man in politics at times and they he was being respectful of German sensitivities. But at what cost this courtesy? What this sentence infers is that American and allied commanders in both wars were inferior to their imperial and Nazi German counterparts. That Von Runstedt was the abler commander than Dwight Eisenhower, that German troops were better led than American, British or French.

Let me repeat, this is but a request for clarification. I quote his words. This is not an attack. Let us have the leader of the Goldwater faction give us the precise meaning of his words from his own lips.

Now, these statements were made on June 30 before the Arizona Senator had been nominated, and before he had been baptized in a solemn gathering at Hershey, Pennsylvania. That is where the two Republican Parties met up there, you know.

(Laughter.)

But those who had hoped for a new Goldwater must be dismayed by the obvious fact that his alleged policies are no less murky today than they were when he unveiled his convictions to the reporter of Der Spiegel. On September 9, for example, the temporary leader of the Republican Party went to Seattle, Washington, after this bipartisan meeting of the two parties, Republican Parties at Hershey, Pennsylvania, and he directed his attention in one instance at the

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aircraft industry and according to the Associated Press, the Arizona Senator told his audience as follows:

"You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies and you are going to do it again."

I was stunned, as I am sure you are, by this statement. Does Mr. Goldwater still believe in the inevitability of war, if so, he seems to share that negativist position only with the Chinese Communist leaders. I was reminded of a statement that he made in 1961 when he said, "Some day I am convinced, there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without war, real nuclear war. I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five or ten years from now."

How can any man successfully work for peace if he is resigned to the inevitability of war. Perhaps Barry Goldwater does not believe that was is inevitable, I hope he does not, and that the effort necessary to preserve the peace is not work done in vain. If so, he should make it perfectly clear what he means by such statements. Only he can set the record straight.

Finally, let us look at the great question of social security where Senator Goldwater seems to have given us another example of the power of negative, and I might add confused thinking. What is his policy on social security? I thought almost everybody had agreed on a policy on social security. What is the principle that can reconcile the following diverse commitments. First, quoting Goldwater, "I think that social security should be voluntary. This is the only definite position I have on it."

Now, that statement was made, my footnotes tell me, in the New York Times magazine on November 24, 1963.

And then there is the second statement, "Let welfare be a private concern." That comes from the Conscience of a Conservative on page 76.

"I have never advocated doing away with social security. I don't want to do anything about it." That comes from a speech on February 24, 1964 at Concord, New Hampshire.

I have only picked a few of the conscientious contradictions and ambiguities which mark the public record of this Senator. I shall raise others from time to time. I do this in the spirit of charity. The American people have been promised a choice, not an echo. Up to now they have been given a blur. It is not my task to clarify the views of the temporary leader of the Republican Party and I do not wish to distort his record or distort his views.

But unless he accepts his responsibilities to the electorate, it will be impossible for anyone to know what choices he is presenting. We will await with anticipation then to learn the precise meaning of Goldwater's idea, whether Goldwater believes that war is inevitable, whether Goldwater believes that imperial and Nazi Germany are examples to follow in the conduct of American foreign affairs

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or whether the Senator from Arizona believes that social security should be voluntary or private or just left alone, and while waiting, I am not sure there will be enough time between now and November 3 for me to clarify this backlog, but while waiting, President Johnson and I will continue to concentrate on presenting our positions in clear and unambiguous terms. If the American -- yes, indeed.

(Applause.)

You need have no doubt as to our views. We do not believe in the conduct of foreign policy like imperial and Nazi Germany. We do not believe in the inevitability of war. We believe that the noblest pursuit of a free people is the pursuit of peace.

(Applause.)

And we believe that social security is a working system of social insurance and should be maintained.

(Applause.)

Now, if the American people want a choice, and I believe they do, they have a right to expect candidates for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency to discuss the great issues of our age with clarity and precision, in the age where nuclear war could result from an imprecise statement or from an impulsive act. The American people deserve and need a President who knows what he means and means what he says. We have such a man in Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

End



news release

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR P.M.'s RELEASE
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24

B-3774

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 24

NEW YORK CITY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

A leader of the Goldwater faction has been rambling around the nation announcing that he presents the voters with a "choice" rather than an "echo." He offers himself as a man of "conscience."

I do not believe we should inject personalities into this campaign. I have no intention of attacking the character of my opponents. Although the leader of the Goldwater faction and his traveling companion appear to rely heavily upon personal vituperation, I still agree with Senator Goldwater's earlier statement made after the Republican National Convention that we should concentrate on issues, not personal attack.

My view is that leaders of the Goldwater faction are fine Americans, but disasters in their public utterances.

I am not now attacking the policies of the Goldwater faction. In the interests of developing a choice for the American people, I want to find out precisely what these policies are. And I think that Senator Goldwater owes the American people an explicit formulation of his views.

At the moment he is giving us neither a choice nor an echo, but a baffling, bewildering blur.

To help you on a number of important points, I would like today to have some statements to be read MORE than you will find them. I am not taking the point of context but asking you to provide the missing context. No more

To help him on a number of important points, I would like today to take some statements he has made and ask him what they mean. I am not taking them "out of context." I am asking him to provide the missing contexts. No man asking the American people to elect him as President has the right to make cryptic, often ominous, remarks and then leave the electorate to discover their meaning. Let us, in other words, follow the principle that precision in the cause of political clarity is no vice.

Because Senator Goldwater specializes in dark, obscure pronouncements, I can only begin the task of questioning today. The backlog of confusing utterances is considerable--and growing every day--but let us begin with a few of the choicer ambiguities.

On June 30th, Senator Goldwater gave a long interview to the German magazine Der Spiegel. Asked if he was "impulsive," he replied:

"Now I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip." He went on to note that he was widely traveled, and concluded by saying casually, "I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in details about them."¹

I would like the Senator to explain precisely what he means. All of us who have been in Congress over a period of years have traveled a good bit and been exposed to a number of problems, but for most of us the lesson was the opposite. The more we learned, the less confidence we had in anyone's snap judgments. One can deal impulsively with complex problems only if he has closed his mind to complexity. The conduct of American foreign policy can not be patterned on a western movie where the gun man shoots from the hip and asks questions later.

The other day in Texas I was reminded of Sam Rayburn's remark whenever somebody rushed up to him in a high state of political hysteria. "Just a minute," Mr. Sam would say--and that is the best political advice he could give. It illustrates the importance of considering a problem thoroughly and of acting responsibly before reaching a decision between alternative plans of action.

When the fate of hundreds of millions of people hangs in the balance, when in a matter of minutes all our achievements may become radioactive ashes, do we want as President a man who does not have to "stop and think?"

This is a request for clarification, not an attack. If Senator Goldwater did not mean what he said, we should hear what he did mean...and from his own lips.

Later in the same interview with Der Spiegel, the Senator was asked, in connection with his demand for instant victory in the Cold War, "But would you go to the brink of war?" And here he gave an answer that defies rational understanding. He said, and I quote exactly, "Yes. Just as your country--that is, Germany--has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."²

Now what does this mean? Twice in this century irresponsible German leaders have taken the world over the brink. How can anyone with common sense, let alone a knowledge of recent history, applaud German brinkmanship--brinkmanship so in contrast to the responsible policies of post-war German leaders. In the first place, at fearful cost in human suffering, Imperial and Nazi German brinkmanship were disastrous--for Germany and for the other nations of the world.

Indeed, Imperial and Nazi Germany in this century give us a perfect, and deeply tragic, example of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action without restraint or responsibility.

Again, this is a request for clarification, not an attack. If Senator Goldwater did not intend to hold Imperial and Nazi Germany up as models for the conduct of our foreign policy, we should learn what he did mean--from his own lips.

Let us take one more excerpt from Senator Goldwater's interview with Der Spiegel. I give you his exact words: "And I say this with all due respect to our military: had not Germany in both wars been subject to the supreme command of men--or a man in any case--who didn't understand war, I think Germany would have won both of them."³

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The charitable conclusion to be drawn from this remark is that the Senator was telling his questioner what the latter wanted to hear, that he was being respectful of German sensitivities. But at what cost courtesy? What this sentence infers is that American and allied commanders in both wars were inferior to their Imperial and Nazi German counterparts, that von Runstedt was an abler commander than Dwight Eisenhower, that German troops were better led than American, British or French.

Let me repeat. This is a request for clarification, not an attack. Let us have from the leader of the Goldwater faction the precise meaning of his words--from his own lips.

These statements were made on June 30 before the Arizona Senator had been nominated and baptized at a solemn gathering at Hershey, Pennsylvania. But those who hoped for a "new Goldwater" must be dismayed by the obvious fact that his alleged policies are no less murky today than they were when he unveiled his convictions to the German reporter. On September 9, for example, the temporary leader of the Republican party went to Seattle and directed his attention to the aircraft industry.

According to the Associated Press, the Arizona Senator told this audience: "You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies, and you are going to do it again."⁴

I was stunned by this statement: Does Goldwater still believe in the inevitability of war? If so, he seems to share this negativist position only with the Chinese Communist leaders. I was reminded of a statement he made in 1961 when he said, "Someday, I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear war...I don't see how it can be avoided--perhaps five or ten years from now."⁵

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Finally, let us look at the great question of social security where Senator Goldwater seems to have given us yet another example of the power of negative thinking.

What is his policy on social security? What is the principle that can reconcile the following diverse commitments?

- 1) "I think that Social Security should be voluntary. This is the only definite position I have on it."⁶
- 2) "Let welfare be a private concern."⁷
- 3) "I have never advocated doing away with Social Security...I don't want to do anything about it."⁸

I have only picked a few of the conscientious contradictions and ambiguities which mark the public record of Senator Goldwater--and I shall raise others from time to time. I do this in the spirit of charity. The American people have been promised a "choice not an echo"--and they have been given a blur. It is not my task to clarify the views of the temporary leader of the Republican party--and I do not wish to distort them. But unless he accepts his responsibilities to the electorate it will be impossible for anyone to know what choices he is presenting.

We will wait with anticipation to learn the precise meaning of Goldwater's ideas: whether Goldwater believes that war is inevitable, whether Goldwater believes that Imperial and Nazi Germany are examples to follow in the conduct of American foreign affairs, and whether Goldwater believes that social security should be voluntary, or private, or just left alone.

While waiting, President Johnson and I will continue to concentrate on presenting our own positions in clear and unambiguous terms. If the American people want a choice--and I believe they do--they have the right to expect candidates for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency to discuss the great issues of our age with precision. In an age where nuclear war could result from an imprecise statement, the American people deserve and need a President who knows what he means and means what he says. We have such a man in Lyndon B. Johnson.

Footnotes to quotes:

1. Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512.
2. Ibid., p. 1513.
3. Ibid.
4. AP story, Baltimore Sun, 9/11/64.
5. New York Post, 5/8/61, interview with Irwin Ross
6. NY Times Magazine, 11/24/63
7. Conscience of a Conservative, p. 76.
8. Speech at Concord, N. H., NY World Telegram, 2/24/64.

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P. M. release Sept. 24,
1964

New York
Thursday ~~the~~
Labor Breakfast

JPR
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(2)
so very, very successfully."

Now what does this mean? Twice in this century irrespon-
sible German leaders have taken the world over the brink.

How can anyone with common sense, let alone a knowledge of
recent history, applaud German brinksmanship--brinksmanship
so in contrast to the responsible policies of post war
German leaders? In the first place, at fearful cost in
human suffering, Imperial and Nazi German brinksmanship
was disastrous--for Germany, and for the other nations
of the world.

Indeed, Imperial and Nazi Germany in this
century gives us a perfect, and deeply tragic, example
of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action

without restraint or responsibility.

L Again, this is a request for clarification,
not an attack. If Senator Goldwater did not intend
to hold Imperial and Nazi Germany up as models for
the conduct of our foreign policy, we should learn
what he did mean--from his own lips.

L Let us take one more excerpt from Senator
Goldwater's interview with Der Spiegel. I give
you his exact words: "And I say this with all
due respect to our military: had not Germany in
both wars been subject to the supreme command of men--
or a man in any case--who didn't understand war, I
think Germany would have won both of them."
(3)

The charitable conclusion to be drawn from this remark is that the Senator was telling his questioner what the latter wanted to hear, that he was being respectful of German sensitivities. But at what cost courtesy? What this sentence ^{infers} ~~is~~ is that American and allied commanders in both wars were inferior to their/Imperial and Nazi German counterparts, that von Runstedt was an abler commander than Dwight Eisenhower, that German troops were better led than American, British or French.

↳ Let me repeat. This is a request for clarification, not an attack. Let us have from the leader of the Goldwater faction the precise meaning of his words--- from his own lips.

↳ These statements were made on June 30 before the Arizona Senator had been nominated and baptized

at a solemn gathering at Hershey, Pennsylvania.

↳ But those who hoped for a "new Goldwater" must be dismayed by the obvious fact that his alleged policies are no less murky today than they were when he unveiled his convictions to the German reporter. ↳ On September 9, for example, the temporary leader of the Republican Party went to Seattle and directed his attention to the aircraft industry.

↳ According to the Associated Press, the Arizona Senator told this audience: "You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies, and you are going to do it again." (4)

↳ I was stunned by this statement: Does Goldwater still believe in the inevitability of war? If so, he seems to share this negativist position only with the

Chinese Communist leaders. I was reminded of a
statement he made in 1961 when he said, "Someday,
I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll
be subjugated without war...real nuclear war...I don't
see how it can be avoided--perhaps five or ten years
from now." (5)

↳ How can any man successfully work for peace
if he is resigned to the inevitability of war.

↳ Perhaps Barry Goldwater does not believe that war
is inevitable and that the effort necessary to
preserve the peace is not work done in vain. If
so, he should make it perfectly clear what he means
by such statements. Only he can set the record straight.

↳ Finally, let us look at the great question of
social security where Senator Goldwater seems to
have given us yet another example of the power of
negative thinking.

SM
Ses

L What is his policy on social security? What is the principle that can reconcile the following diverse commitments?

1) "I think that Social Security should be voluntary. This is the only definite position I have on it." (6)

2) "Let welfare be a private concern." (7)

3) "I have never advocated doing away with Social Security...I don't want to do anything about it." (8)

L I have only picked a few of the conscientious contradictions and ambiguities which mark the public record of Senator Goldwater--and I shall raise others from time to time. I do this in the spirit of charity. The American people have been promised a "choice not an echo"--they have been given a blur. It is not my task to clarify the views of the temporary leader of the Republican Party--and I do not wish to distort

them. But unless he accepts his responsibilities
to the electorate it will be impossible for anyone
to know what choices he is presenting.

↳ We will wait with anticipation to learn the
precise meaning of Goldwater's ideas: whether
Goldwater believes that war is inevitable, whether
Goldwater believes that Imperial and Nazi Germany
are examples to follow in the conduct of American
foreign affairs, and whether Goldwater believes that
social security should be voluntary, or private, or
just left alone.

↳ While waiting, ^{President} ~~unlabeled~~ Johnson and ~~unlabeled~~ I
will continue to concentrate on presenting our own
positions in clear and unambiguous terms. If the
American people want a choice--and I believe they
do--they have the right to expect candidates for the

Presidency and the Vice-Presidency to discuss the great issues of our age with precision. In an age where nuclear war could result from an imprecise statement, the American people deserve and need a President who knows what he means and means what he says. We have such a man in Lyndon B. Johnson.

Footnotes to quotes:

1. Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512
2. Ibid., p. 1513
3. Ibid.
4. AP story, Baltimore Sun, 9/11/64
5. New York Post, 5/8/61, interview with Irwin Ross
6. NY Times Magazine, 11/24/63
7. Conscience of a Conservative, p. 76
8. Speech at Concord, N.H., NY World Telegram, 2/24/64

*Sp. New York
Sept. 24, 1964*

MAYOR WAGNER:and you and I know that that is how the selection should be made and you and I know that there are many men that could be considered and will be considered including a man who is here in this room tonight and who will address you in just a few minutes, my good and old and dear friend, the great senior Senator from Minnesota. And if he were on the ticket, I want him to know that I would work for him just as hard in the campaign as I would for myself and so would every other Democrat in this room. (Applause)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, _____ in a substantive sense. I've been serious with you in a political sense because you don't win elections by playing games. This is hard work; this is hard business. (Tape skips.) We will bring _____ before that Congress for a vote and I predict that this vote will result in victory. We will bring before that Congress hospital and nursing home care under Social Security for our elderly in America. The respectable way to treat people. We do not ask people to become paupers to enjoy the benefits of the good life. We do not ask people to degrade themselves or to demean themselves in order to share in the wonders of modern science and technology and good government. And we will have a better deal, Mr. Mayor, for our cities. It's men like yourself (tape skips) businessman in this nation. should

willingly line up and attend these dinners just out of gratitude for what this administration has done. I am tired of hearing that the Democratic Party is anti-business. We're not anti-anything, except in justice. We're against that. We can be friendly to labor and still be friendly to business because in America labor and management build what we call the free economy. There is such a thing as fairness and this administration has done more for American business, in fact, than all the Republican administrations put together. We've passed the greatest tax reduction in the Nation's history. We (tape skips)remain before us. Any one of these is a problem enough. But we are unafraid to tackle these problems ...

Our President Johnson.....Let me digress for a moment. I've heard many people say (tape skips) and some people have said, "Well, how do they expect to lick poverty with what has been proposed." I remind you that there will be work for yet generations unborn. The important thing about President Johnson's War on Poverty is that he called it to our attention. He served notice upon this ancient enemy of people called poverty that no longer would it be protected by indifference, that we would wage relentless war on it and we are. Noe merely economic poverty, but the poverty of frustration, the poverty of igncrance, the poverty of disease, the spiritual poverty, the hopelessness. And in that struggle against poverty comes the struggle against injustice. And may I say that they are tied together. Poverty is not new. What is new is the fact that we can do something about it.

Never again need there be hunger anyplace. (tape skips) which is the handmaid - which is the partner of poverty. Discrimination which is the seed bed of depression. Civil Rights must replace civil wrongs. And social justice must replace social inequality. The Constitution and all that it means must supercede violence. And these are the commitments, not only of President Johnson, but of every person who seeks to build a more united and a better America. I want to conclude my message tonight on this thought of what is transpiring in the Senate because I know of no state that is more interested in this. I am privileged to be the Floor Leader in the struggle for the enactment of the civil rights bill. And it is a privilege, but it is also a very heavy burden. It is a commitment of conscience, not a political assignment. But I want to say to this audience that while we may have to fashion a change here or there, as you have read, I say to this audience that this Senator will never be a part of nor will I have anything to do with any bill or any adjustment or modification or amendment to a bill that makes that bill meaningless, ineffective or a sham. I've given too much of my life to this cause to sell out or to give in and I am happy tonight. And I can come before this assembled audience of fine Democrats, of good citizens and tell you good news. We will pass a meaningful and effective civil rights bill and we will do it soon. We'll do it because it is politically right, because it is morally right and because it is internationally imperative. And if any city knows that, it should be the city of New York where the United Nations is housed. But I don't want to talk to you only about passing the bill because we're going to do that. I want to ask you what happens after we pass

the bill. Because you and I know that legislation is not the answer to all of our problems. The passage of this bill is just beginning and I am concerned about the future because this civil rights bill is going to bring a new dimension of freedom and a new area of economic opportunity. And so we have to start planning the new day - looking ahead - and that's what this Party is for. We need to start to create now a climate of tolerance and reason and of justice. You and I know that this is a national issue and not a sectional one. You remember the speech that was referred to here tonight. (tape skips) Backlash and the other dire results if we persist in fighting for a good civil rights bill. Oh, how many times have I heard people say to me, "Senator, don't you think this hurts your political future?" So what. (Applause) What is the political future of one man" It's certainly clear, isn't it? That many peddlers of panic are roaming the countryside. By voice and by pen, they seek to exploit the inner fears, doubts and concerns of many decent Americans. These peddlers of fear are clever. And they're calculating demagogues. They know that the average voter doesn't know all the details of the civil rights bill so they seek to misrepresent it. They prey on it - by sticking their grimy fingers into the very hearts of their fellow countrymen. They tell lies to frighten these people about what will happen to their children in school and what will happen to their homes and what will happen to their families. My good friend, in practically every known religion there is one common denominator. It is phrased differently but the same message is there. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." You don't need any new law for that. (tape skips) This is why I say to you so carefully what I am about to say.

We must make certain that the truth is known. We must not permit ignorance to grow. We must expose those who try to exploit ignorance and fear. And we must have the political courage to stand for what is morally right even if we know it is not universally popular. And as political leaders, you have a heavy responsibility. We've got to create a national climate that will respond to President Johnson's call for an end to hatred and rancor. And my fellow Democrats, don't forget it. It was hatred and rancor and bitterness spawned by these extremists of the left and of the right that cut down our President, that brought shame to this nation. A shame that we will never erase from the history books of our country for generations to come. If ever there was a people that should repudiate hatred, that should wipe from its countenance and its heart rancor and bitterness, it should be America. What more do we have to pay to know this curse and this evil. President Kennedy said in his Innaugural Address and I ~~read~~^{repeat} it to you: "I do not shrink from responsibility; I welcome it." And I ask you not to shrink from responsibility. And I ask you ~~to~~ not to shrink from responsibility. I ask you to welcome it - welcome the responsibility of leading this country into the paths of courage, of eliminating every vestige of bigotry and of discrimination even though it may cause you momentary discomfort, even though it may cause us temporary inconvenience. We have no other course. This is the payment that we must make for failing to do what was right for so long.

You know we've had some great leaders and, of course, the great task
of statesmanship is justice-- a government of the people is unworthy of

being a government of the people unless it promotes justice and promotes peace. And all of this is tied into this great quest for peace. Do you remember President Kennedy's speech on June 10, 1963? (tape skips)of the UN. But he died for peace and therefore he lives forever. Eleanor Roosevelt whose every word and every thought was for peace and harmony and justice--the lady of the world, loved everywhere. And she died for peace and she lives forever. And then there was that peasant priest who they thought would be the (?) caretaker--Pope John XXIII who gave us this great encyclical--Pacem in Terris--who told us of the ways of peace and who also told us of the evil of discrimination and segregation/ in the same encyclical. And this good man did more than any man in my memory. (tape skips) It takes more courage to stand up for peace in a period of tension and cold war than it does even to stand up for national defense in a period of war. And President John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave his life for peace. His was a human sacrifice for peace. And I say to my fellow Democrats that as we go into this election of 1964 we must conduct ourselves at the highest level of political conduct. We must keep in mind that we have unfinished business and above all we must never say or do anything that will demean America at home or abroad. And at all times we must think of building a Better America and of giving hope to the people of America for a better world. And if we do this, there isn't the slightest shadow of a doubt that (tape skips) there can be no doubt but what victory will crown our efforts because it will be victory for that which is right.

Thank you very much.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
in front of the Borough Hall of Brooklyn
New York City
September 24, 1964.

Senator Humphrey; Thank you, very much, thank you, very much, Mayor Wagner.

My fellow Americans, these wonderfully good people from Brooklyn, Brooklyn that cast more votes in 1960 for John F. Kennedy than 31 other States. What a borough. Weren't you proud of that Bob Kennedy and that fighting speech he gave us here today? (Applause)

My good friends, don't you be at all upset about the noise that you heard down there to your far right. (Applause) It is very, very, difficult, very difficult to drag somebody into the twentieth century when they have been hanging back in the nineteenth century for so long. And my dear friends, my dear friends, there is not a thing wrong with these dear friends over here, they are just trying to repent for their political sins, that is all. (Applause)

You had a great speech from a great United States Senator, and you have had an opportunity here to hear from a fine public official, your great mayor. I am very honored, I am very honored, to be on this platform with the leader here of King's County, with your County leader, Stanley Steingut, and I want to thank you and this organization for sending to the Congress of the United States such a distinguished Congressional delegation as we have here on this platform today in Manny Celler, a great Congressman; in Edna Kelly, and Abe Multer and in Hugh Carey. These are fine members of the Congress, and these are the members of the Congress that helped ease the load for John Kennedy as he advanced the new frontier. (Applause) And, these are the members of Congress that when Lyndon Johnson needed help to advance the program of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, everyone of them were there to help him. (Applause) And now all you have to do, what you have to do now, is to make sure that in the United States Senate you have a man that is going to be with him to help our President, because the next President of the United States is not going to be that noise from your right. It is going to be Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Isn't that right? (Applause) You don't want Barry Goldwater, do you? (Cries of "No") I don't hear you. (Cries of "No") Did you hear that, Barry? It's great. You've

got the right idea around here. These fellows, the only record they have got is scratched, can't you hear it?
(Applause)

Now, my friends, I want to just say a few more words to you because you are going to make the decision that is so important in a very few weeks, just a few weeks. In a few weeks on November 3rd, the people of this County, the people of this great city, of this State and this nation are going to decide whether America is going to say yes to the future or whether it's going to worship the past, and if they are going to say yes to the future, it means they elect a Democratic team of Johnson, Humphrey and Kennedy, and a Democratic Congress. (Applause) Let me tell you, you have had this team to work for you for a long time. It was the team, it was the team until that fatal day, that tragic day, in that history of Kennedy and Johnson and the man who is speaking to you now was one of the lieutenants of that team. It was then the team of Kennedy, Johnson and in part, Humphrey, and now it is going to be the team for 1965 of Johnson, of Humphrey and Kennedy, and we are going to make it work.

Yes, you know what you want to do. You want to make this country a better country. You want what President Johnson said, a better deal for America, better education for your young, better health care for our elderly, better jobs for our workers. Better cities for our people, a better America. The promise of the Democratic party is equality of opportunity, full opportunity for the American people, a better America for America of tomorrow and a peaceful world for all of humanity. (Applause)

Say, you know, I want to tell you, I would not be a bit surprised that when Senator Goldwater sees the pictures of the tremendous crowds of today in New York that he may want to return all his buttons and all those placards. (Applause) But I think we ought to be nice to him. If he does we'll buy them back at the original price, believe me. We will give him green stamps.

Now, friends, our task is very simple, and yet it is very important. I am delighted to see so many young people here. I like to see young people. (Applause) I like to see young people who are democratic. There is nothing worse -- you know, somebody once said, it is bad enough to be an old fogey, but it is worse to be a young fogey. So our job, our job is to go to work. There is only one thing that this opposition is going to understand. They are going to have to understand that you cannot preach division, you cannot preach

disunity, you cannot arouse bitterness, you cannot fan hatred, you cannot do these things, my friends and expect to lead America. What America needs is a President that unites the people, and America needs a President who will work for the people. America needs a President like Lyndon Johnson who will work for them. (Applause)

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Alexander's Department Store
Queens, New York City
September 24, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much. (To cries of "We want Humphrey.") You have him. Thank you, thank you, very much. Thank you, very much, Mayor Wagner, thank you once again for your generous and kind introduction. I have put your mayor to an awful lot of bother today. Every place we go he is called upon to introduce me. I hope this won't do him too much harm. I trust it may do him a little good. And, may I say, that in introducing me what he is really doing is asking you to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson for President on November 3. (Applause)

I am very honored to be in this wonderful country, this borough. I am pleased to be hear with June Carillo, I am very pleased to be here with the State Chairman of the Democratic Party, and I am particularly pleased to be here the gentleman who is going to be the next United States Senator from the State of New York, Robert Kennedy. (Applause) Bob, I notice that you surely have the enthusiastic support in the younger set and all I tell that younger group to do, these bright, fine young people, I tell them to get their mothers and their fathers to vote on election day for Bobby Kennedy for Senator and for Lyndon Johnson for President.

I am pleased to be on the platform today with Ben Rosenthal from the 8th Congressional District of New York, and I am very hopeful now that everyone of you who are here from the 6th District will keep in mind that this is one of the few districts in this area, I think it is about the only one, that has a Republican serving for them in Congress and you think that -- you can remedy that unfortunate set of circumstances by electing Emil Levin for Congress from the 6th District. Emil, my best to you. Take a good look at him, that name is not hard to remember. When you remember Kennedy, remember Levin, and you have them together. Give Lyndon Johnson some help in both the House of Representatives and in the Senate.

My greetings to your State senators. I always like to think of the good work these men are doing, Tom Mackell and Tom Duffy. Here we are, both of these men are here. They are the people who are serving so well. My best to you.

This is -- you know Bobby, if we could translate or transfer all that energy that I see over there into votes

this fellow that is running against you will wish he had never filed, and Goldwater won't have a chance.

(Cries of "We want Johnson.") Boys, you have got the right idea.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to give you a chance to join in on this happy occasion because what we are here to talk about for the few moments that are ours, is to talk about keeping this country on the forward path of progress on which it was set back in January 1961. On that day of January 20, 1961 a brave and courageous young President said to an America that was in trouble, an America that was asleep, an America that was in retreat, he said to America, let's get this country moving again, and he said to us, let us begin, begin the many programs, the progress, the many programs of forward movement that today characterize our great country, and we started. We made a good start, and in one thousand days a great record was established by a great President and Congress with a Democratic majority. And ten months since the loss of our beloved President, President Lyndon Johnson has given to America ten months of the most dynamic leadership that this country has ever had and we are ever indebted to him. (Applause) We don't intend, we don't intend to let this progress be haulted. We don't intend to let America be put in retreat.

I said to a group of students last night at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, college students, that it is a wonderful thing to study ancient history but don't live it, vote for the future, not for the past.

I was told just a little while ago, I was told just a little while ago, that the Republican candidate for president was initiating a whole new series of television programs, and I think you ought to tune in. They start at 7:00 o'clock and end at 6:30. This is the only way that I know of explaining to you in concise terms what would happen to America. Somebody said to me what do you think life would be like under Goldwater, and the friend said, brief. (Applause and laughter)

As I came down the street today somebody handed me a little note and he said, he said, "You know, we got our man nominated," and then I said to him, "Well now, what do you expect to do if you get him elected?" He said, "We will jump off that bridge when we crossed it."

Surely this is not what Americans want to do. What we want to do is to do more of what we have been doing, and what

have we been doing? We have been, for example, making possible for the residents of this great County, better living, better jobs, better income, better wages, better profits, better dividends, just a better time for the American people, and as I said, as I said from many a platform when it came to the tax cut in Congress, a tax cut that added billions of dollars of new purchasing power to the American economy, most Republicans and most Democrats, yes, most Americans, wanted it and voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

When it came to a housing program, a housing program that would help build apartments, that would help build homes, most Democrats, most Republicans in Congress voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause) And when it came to aid to higher education, to help our colleges, to help our schools so that we can have educational opportunity for the young Americans, most Democrats, most Republicans in the Congress voted for it. But not Senator Goldwater. (Applause) And, my dear friends, when it came to medicare, hospital and nursing home care for our senior citizens who needed, as all Americans need some attention from their Government, most Democrats and a few Republicans voted for it in the Senate, but not Senator Goldwater.

I say that a man that has a record of no, no, no, a thousand times no, that is the kind of a fellow that has got to go, and we don't intend to elect him to the Office of Presidency. What we intend to do is to see to it that the man who is presently our President is given another four years to lead this country forward as he has in the past.

One other thing to you. I was talking to your State senators and your Congressmen here, I was talking to your President of the Council of this Borough, and I know that there are many difficulties here, many problems. For example, mass transit. This great city because of the Democratic Congress, this great city, because of a Democratic President, has a mass transit program -- they are just going to pick up a Republican, he has some trouble. Don't pay any attention to those little interruptions. I understand that according to your people here that once in a while you have a little trouble with jet noise out at the airport. Well, I would like to tell you something. It is the intention of the man that you elect to the Senate, Robert Kennedy, and it is the intention of the President of the United States, and of the Democratic Administration, to try to do something about this. But the answer is, we don't know, but we are going to look for it and we are going to do something about it and we are going to ask your help to get the

job done. (Applause)

Well now, if you will just do as much work between now and November 3rd as you are doing here today, I haven't any doubt what's going to happen because I will tell you what I think is going to happen. On election day, most Americans on election day, most Americans, Democrats, Republicans and Independents on November 3rd are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and are going to vote for Bobby Kennedy and not Senator Goldwater.

Thank you, very much.

Press Conference
Senator Humphrey
Statler Hilton
New York City
September 24, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Senator Kennedy, why don't you go right ahead and ask any questions you may wish and I will attempt to answer them to the best of my ability. Yes, sir?

Q Senator, you said the other day that you did not believe in using children to accomplish social objectives.

Could you state again perhaps your position on the neighborhood school problem, school bussing.

Senator Humphrey. Well, I have stated it on two national networks, and I know that this is a matter that is being given very serious consideration, and in fact, programming by the local authorities here in the State of New York and in the City of New York.

It seems to me that this whole question poses the necessity for re-examination of our educational structure, and indeed our neighborhood structure. If ever there was a dramatic example of the need for better schools, more schools, better curriculum, and an entirely upgraded educational establishment, I think we see it in these instances such as we are discussing in terms of bussing.

Also it means better neighborhoods. What we are really doing is dealing with the side effects of neighborhood disintegration, and what we need to be doing is to, with the cooperation of the Federal Government, State and Local Government and private enterprise, build the kind of neighborhoods in which parents and children can have the kind of schools, school systems, that is worthy of our American people.

Now, this sometimes cannot be done by local authority alone. It is one of the reasons that I have strongly supported forms of aid to education because I do believe that the educational requirements of the large cities in the days ahead with their limited finance base or revenue base, that those educational requirements are going to require some greater Federal assistance as well as State assistance.

Q Sir, do you anticipate that you will go back to Washington today and vote on the Reapportionment Rider?

Senator Humphrey. No, I do not. I called this morning to Senator George Smathers of Florida, who on this issue would vote differently than I would, and on the issue to table the Dirksen Amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill, on that motion he would vote against tabling, I would vote for it so he will give me a live pair, and on the Mansfield substitute he would vote against it and I would vote for it so he again will give me a live pair.

In other words, my good friend from Florida is making it possible for me to be here in New York with Bob Kennedy and with my fellow Democrats and friends up here in the City of New York.

Q Senator.

Senator Humphrey. Yes, Mr. Kenworthy.

Q You have been in touch with the President. Has he said anything to you about the possibility of meeting Senator Goldwater's challenge on debates?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I recall recently that Mr. Goldwater asked for a debate with the President of the United States. Of course, last February he said that a President should not debate. But since the Senator from Arizona seems to feel that debates are very important, as I recall, there are a couple of invitations

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still outstanding, one from the Governor of New York who wanted to debate Mr. Goldwater. That would be a good warmup and a very interesting exhibition.

There is another debate invitation outstanding from the Governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Scranton, and after Mr. Goldwater completes his spring training, which he missed, with those two preliminaries, I would be more than happy to give him sort of a workout in an exhibition for clarity purposes, for the casualties of the Cow Palace and then after he has completed both his spring training and his preliminary training for the fall we will see whether or not he is prepared to meet the champ.

I think that will take care of the debates.

Q Senator, could we tie you down a little more closely on this bussing problem? You told us what you think might help in the future. Can you tell us under the present circumstances how you feel about the principle?

Senator Humphrey. I am not the Mayor of New York and am not a member of the school board. I have expressed myself two times on the general subject and since I have not been invited into the consultations with local authorities, being once a Mayor of a city, I think he has got enough problems without having the Senator from Minnesota advise him on municipal management.

I am perfectly willing to advise the distinguished Mayor on some of the Federal problems.

Q Senator, do you think we could get in this Congress Medicare passed through?

Senator Humphrey. The Senate has passed it, a firm effort is being made to accomplish a form of Medicare in the Conference Committee of the House and the Senate, and I believe that we will make it.

Q Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Q Senator, you went into what could be called hostile territory in Texas and in Arkansas. Would you tell us what your reaction was, would you assess the reception you got there, please?

Senator Humphrey. It was wonderful, it was simply grand.

One of the able columnists said when I came to Arkansas the temperature was about 40. When I left it was in the 70's, that is a good comfortable temperature for anybody.

Q Senator --

Senator Humphrey. He was speaking of the political temperature you might add.

Q Senator, may I ask a question?

Senator Humphrey. Just a minute.

In Texas there was a rousing welcome and I was most grateful for it. We had a fine reception at Wichita Falls. We had an even better reception at Waco, and we had a thunderous explosive

reception at San Antonio and I believe that even the most critical of the comments have indicated that we did, had a pretty good reception in Houston.

As a matter of fact, it was a very, very good reception in Houston. So, I came away feeling that not only had Senator Humphrey had a good reception but more importantly that President Johnson will carry Texas overwhelmingly, and Arkansas and Georgia have both exercised the best of political judgment for the Democratic Party. All through this history, they have never fallen into the paths of political transgression, by voting Republican. They vote Democrat all the time.

Q Senator, may I ask a question about Puerto Rico?

Your opinion about the political establishment of the island is what?

Senator Humphrey. It is my view that this matter is one that is to be settled by the people of Puerto Rico.

As you know, there is a study group already looking into it as to whether or not statehood or commonwealth status should be the future.

I think we should leave that up to those people and what they decide, I will have, of course, a very effective bearing upon the Congress.

Q Thank you, Senator.

Q Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota charged yesterday this is one of the dirtiest campaigns he had seen so far and also included President Johnson in his charge of hate.

Do you agree? Do you think it will get much cleaner or much dirtier as it goes along?

Senator Humphrey. I haven't heard any charges from President Johnson. President Johnson to date hasn't even mentioned the name of his opponents. President Johnson has talked about the record of this administration. President Johnson has talked about the programs and the policies that the Democratic Administration -- of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

I think the President has been as most of the cartoonists put him at a very lofty level. He has actually up until very recent days, been doing little or no campaigning. He will be doing some in the future, more extensively than in the immediate present.

As far as Senator Humphrey is concerned, I have attempted to talk about the issues. I have attempted to talk about what my Republican friends have said. I have only one thing to say in reference to the gentlemen of the opposition. I know both of them, I have known Senator Goldwater a long time. I consider him a gentleman, I consider him a patriot. I consider him misguided politically. I disagree with his points of view, very strongly. I haven't had the opportunity to know the gentleman from New York, the Congressman, as well but I am getting to know him.

Q Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Yes, ma'am. Excuse me.

Q Excuse me. Do you think corruption in labor unions could be curbed by additional legislation?

Senator Humphrey. I think we have plenty of legislation. I don't think one condones corruption in any area of American life wherever it may be found. But to get the brush out and say that one organization or one group of people is corrupt is not the way that one metes out justice. What we seek to do is find the specifics, the details where and if there are any such details and then take whatever action is necessary. I believe that the Attorney General, the former Attorney General, can tell you more adequately than I about the law but as I recall, the law is very, very comprehensive in terms of dealing with any misdoing or any corruption in any area of labor-management relations.

Q In its current issue, Time Magazine questions the campaign argument about control of nuclear weapons, and it says pretty flatly in that article that there is no doubt that under certain conditions our NATO commander does have the authority to use tactical nuclear weapons.

Is that true or can you tell us if it is true?

Senator Humphrey. It is my understanding that since the development of the atomic weapon the President as Commander-in-Chief has full control over that weapon, and full responsibility for its use. I am not going to indulge myself into any guessing games about our nuclear strategy or our defense, our defense policies in those specific terms that you have asked, and the reason I am not is that I think that this discussion is beginning to border upon endangering our security. We ought not to be telling the Soviet Union or Communist China or anyone else the intimate details of every conceivable plan that any President might have or that the Department of Defense might have, but let there be no mistake about it, the policy of the Government of the United States since the time of Harry S. Truman, who had the first responsibility relating to the nuclear bomb, nuclear weapon, is for Presidential control.

I noticed this morning that the Pentagon said that any commander will consult with the President if it is at all possible.

Now, you can draw your own conclusions from that, that this is an incinerated world and then you draw your own conclusion.'

Q Senator, in view of what you have just said about Senator Goldwater, about being a gentleman and a patriot and to aid our further interpretation who is the President speaking of when he speaks of a ranting, raging demagogue or a ranting, raving demagogue?

Senator Humphrey. Well, sometimes gentlemen get out of hand. You have been around. And in political campaigns it is entirely possible that people let their oratory get the better of their judgment. This is why I have felt that what you need in the White House is a man of responsibility, one who is firm and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent.

And that man is the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson.

Q Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q You spoke of the nuclear weapons being not a subject for perhaps national debate. But how about South Vietnam and the policies there, are they legitimate?

Senator Humphrey. Absolutely, and they are thoroughly discussed. There is more reporting on South Vietnam than there is on almost any area of the world. The President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense and other officers of government have repeatedly reported to the American people, as has the able American press. And it is surely a subject of discussion, sir, worthy of debate and discussion.

Q Senator, in your contacts with voters with the man on the street, are you getting more concern from the voter on matters of domestic policy or on concern about foreign policy -- what are their greatest matters of concern?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I imagine, sir, that in the final analysis the chief concern of every person in this country is the security of our nation, the danger of war through some unfortunate development or impetuous act or miscalculation, and the hope of our people and indeed the policy of this government, is to pursue the noble cause of peace with justice without appeasement.

So, the general issue, it seems to me is which of these two men can you-- are you best able to trust with the awesome responsibility of guiding this country at home and abroad in the policies that affect our domestic economy as well as our international relations. I think there is one word that can be embellished by a second, trust. Who do you trust?

Secondly, which of these men is most responsible, because this is a time when you can not afford to have anyone that is not responsible conducting the affairs of government.

Q Senator, the editorial writers in town are comparing the lofty level of President Johnson's campaign with that of Tom Dewey's in 1948. Do you think it is getting too lofty?

Senator Humphrey. Well, we surely had some expressions here that are slightly contradictory this morning. The Senator from South Dakota was worried about some of its other qualities, and the editorial writers are worried about its being lofty. I would say that between those extremes you may be finding what will ultimately develop, a campaign that is hardhitting and on our part cleanly fought, based upon issues that I think are -- that we think, the President feels and I hope that the American people feel are vital issues to our country.

There are many of them on the domestic front. In fact, never has there been quite such a clear choice on fiscal policy, on policies of social welfare, agricultural policies, monetary policies, trade policies, practically ever issue that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has forwarded or has fought for has been opposed by the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party.

So, I think the campaign will be -- will meet, let's say, the standards of American political life and American political history.

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Q Senator, one of the things you have been attacked on has been your association with ADA. Now, many of us know that ADA was originally formed as an anti-Communist organization. Do you think it is possible that your opponents don't know that or why do you think they have made these charges?

Senator Humphrey. Well, it is very difficult for me to read the minds or examine into the motivations of our opponents. But it is a fact that the Americans for Democratic Action was established as an effective, non-Communist, anti-Communist organization for the purpose of independent political action and to be of help to liberal and progressive movements in this country, to keep those movements clean of any Communist infiltration or tinge.

Our opposition seems to be enjoying some discussion of this organization. As a matter of fact, it is given the kind of publicity that must make the organization feel very strong, very powerful. I have never quite sensed that it was that strong, but I would be more than happy to discuss privately with the leaders of the Goldwater faction the facts of life about this organization and while I had a chance I would like to talk to them about a few other things, too.

Q Do you consider this ADA charge a low blow or do you think it is just a lack of information on their part?

Senator Humphrey. Oh, I just consider it a part of the general hoi poloi of politics. You know when you really don't have any good issues why you search around to find something. I wasn't quite sure that either one of the men of the opposition were serious about it. It seems to me they were just getting, as I said a while ago, getting spring training until they really found something they might want to talk about.

Q Thank you.

Senator Humphrey. Really, it hasn't been bothersome at all. As a matter of fact, out in Minnesota ADA stands for American Dairy Association.

(Laughter)

Q Senator, what is the policy of the United States regarding Castro Cuba right now?

Senator Humphrey. Unalterable opposition to the regime that currently controls Cuba and the Cuban people, and a consistent program of opposition to the continuance of that regime, working in partnership with our friends of the Western Hemisphere, and with other nations.

Q Senator, most of the polls show President Johnson and you are very far out in front. Does that make you feel comfortable or anxious?

Senator Humphrey. It depends upon how I feel when I wake up. I generally feel good about the polls. One always enjoys reading reassuring statements and comments and statistics, but I have said repeatedly and I want to say it once again that you do not win elections on the basis of polls. Polls do give you directions, trends, they give you some guidelines and polling has developed in America into a very scientific measurement of public opinion.

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But we have known them to be wrong. My advice to every person interested in the election of President Johnson, Robert Kennedy, is not to pay too much attention to polls but to get on out and get people registered and doing the precinct work, your organization work and talk it up, win the election on November 3.

Q That was the other part of my question. Have you encountered as you travel through the state any air of overconfidence in political organizations?

Senator Humphrey. No, I haven't.

As a matter of fact, I feel very encouraged about the degree of activity that is now under way, and just about the time that any of our people begin to feel slightly relaxed we can always rely on the opposition to say something or do something that incites them to further action for the public good.

Yes, ma'am.

Q I understand you were in conference with Mr. Wilbur Mills of the Committee, and you spoke to him about a number of topics. Ad far as you know reading between the lines, do you think he has somehow had a change of heart when it came to Medicare?

Senator Humphrey. Ma'am, I have not discussed this matter with Congressman Mills. I want to be very frank with you. My recent visit with Mr. Mills was in Arkansas at the State Convention, Democratic Convention. But I do know that the Senate conferees are instructed by the United States Senate to insist upon the Senate amendment which authorized Medicare under social security, that is hospital and nursing home care. I also know that some of the conferees of the House privately are sympathetic to it. I am hopeful that out of this conference will come something along the lines that Mr. Ribicoff has been suggesting, giving people an option, either to take the increased cash benefits under the social security bill that has been passed or to take the hospital and nursing home care benefits, and if we get that I think people will be able to make the proper choice, and since everybody seems to feel that free choice is so important, that is a real free choice for the American people.

Q Thank you, Senator.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you.

End

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
TO NEW YORK LIBERAL PARTY
SEPTEMBER 24, 1964

While I come from the wild West, having crossed the Continental Divide in Hackensack -- we of the Minnesota Democratic Farm Labor Party and you of the Liberal Party have a common bond.

Twenty years ago you in New York affirmed one of the basic principles of a democratic political movement. In 1944 the Liberal Party was founded because you would not tolerate communist extremism in the liberal movement. When you condemned extremism you set an example which the Republicans in San Francisco twenty years later regrettably ignored.

In 1964 everybody condemns Communism. But when you founded the Liberal Party in 1944, and we in Minnesota began our successful campaign to destroy Communist influence in our state in 1946, many Americans looked hopefully toward the Soviet Union, feeling that perhaps Communism would change its character as a result of our common struggle against Nazi Germany.

It was we liberals who stood firmly against this tide of sentimental nostalgia, who were denounced to the skies as "red baiters", but who established the point once and for all that totalitarianism - extremism - of any stripe is alien to the traditions of American democracy.

At a time when political hucksters and medicine men are smearing liberalism, we can stand up proudly -- on our record -- and tell them that we will not even listen to their charges until they purge their ranks of rightwing extremists.

With these hands we have destroyed Communist influence in American politics, with these hands we have laid the foundations of a good society, dedicated to freedom, justice, and equality; with these hands we shall continue under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson to the joyous task of building a "Great Society" worthy of our dreams.

We have come a long way together -- and you who know my strengths and my frailties must realize how deeply I am moved by your action. I accept the nomination of the Liberal Party for the office of the Vice-President of the United States.

Emerson once said that a speaker should try to call attention to his facts, not to himself. I have tried to do just that during this campaign. Sometimes audiences want to hear stories or be entertained. Sometimes they just want to hear about the Temporary Republican Spokesman and encourage me with shouts of "But not Senator Goldwater!" I enjoy this.

And it is tempting to analyze the statements, retractions, explanations and expurgations of Senator Goldwater. It is always a thrill to hit a moving target.

Consider what he said the other day in trying to compare himself with liberals. He said: "A lot of my enemies call me simple. The big trouble with the so-called liberal today is that he doesn't understand simplicity...I refuse to go around this country discussing complicated, twisted issues."

Is life really as simple as the Senator thinks? Are matters of life and death simple? Are the problems so simple and the answers so easy that they need not be discussed? Can a serious candidate for President actually be so fearful of the complexities of life that he blocks them from his mind-- and then has the gall to ask the people to follow him?

America's history is the dramatic story of a people fighting for independence, creating a government, settling a continent, engaging in a civil war, reuniting a nation, and emerging as a world power. Who truly believes that these were simple and easy tasks?

The story of America from Bunker Hill to Viet Nam is one of struggle, sacrifice, heroism, and courage -- but never simple, never easy.

The reality of America has always been complex. When my father was a young man, living on the frontier in South Dakota, he saw small-scale things in the middle of open spaces. Towns were small. Buildings were small. Factories were small. Roads were little more than a dent made by wagon wheels on the raw surface of the earth.

In its best aspects, that was an America that fostered virtues we justly admire -- self-reliance, independence, thrift, neighborliness.

But life was not simple. There was a dark and often brutalizing underside to this seemingly idyllic world. There was too often disease, illiteracy, poverty and loneliness-- even along the main traveled roads.

But independence and self-reliance alone were not adequate to deal with a complex and impersonal world.

Few workers could see beyond their immediate jobs when they exhausted themselves from dawn until dusk.

No single farmer could affect the price of grain on the world market.

Few talented youngsters could expect to carve out a successful career when they had to begin work after the eighth grade.

And in a day when most people were poor, it was almost impossible to hedge against family catastrophes or to save for a restful retirement.

People increasingly saw the need to mobilize the powers of the national government on behalf of individual opportunity. In an unbroken line, the New Freedom, the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier initiated programs which demonstrated that government is the servant of man, not his adversary.

Today we confront a far more complex world, one whose beckoning opportunities excite us, but whose acute needs torment us with their immediacy and their obstinacy.

This complex world is the work of man himself, with his science and his technology, and man himself has given it the name of the Metropolis. You know that Metropolis well -- and that is why I speak of it tonight.

The Metropolis is centered in New York City, and it stretches northward continuously into New England and southward along the Middle Atlantic Coast. Other parts of the Metropolis exist in the South and in the Southwest, in the region of the Great Lakes, and along the Pacific Coast.

Today more than two-thirds of all Americans live in the extended Metropolis. By 1980, eight of every ten Americans will live there. In fact, at that time, when the population is expected to reach 260, 000, 000, some 80, 000, 000 persons will be concentrated in a single urban strip extending from New England to Washington, D.C.

The figures I have just cited say two things: First, the modern American is the metropolitan man, blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic,

Second, these questions must be answered: How do we adapt those political and social arrangements which served Rural Man to the urgent needs of Metropolitan Man? How do we enlarge our vision to take in the whole nation and invent new ways of meeting the rightful demands of both the Metropolis and the rest of the country?

The answers to these insistent questions will decide whether we can deal successfully with the problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, policing and crime detection, and the nerve-wracking and costly congestion of traffic.

These problems would be enough. But how we adapt our political arrangements will determine whether we can cope with specific difficulties of the Metropolis: the crowded schools and hospitals, the degrading slums, the absence of open spaces for recreation, even the ordinary logistics of everyday living -- how to get back and forth to work.

Those problems alone would be enough.

But even as we try to adapt our private and governmental organizations to serving Metropolitan Man, we confront antiquated local tax structures, wasteful and overlapping agencies of local and state governments, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the tradition of inertia.

These problems are urgent and these complexities are critical because most of us today live in the Metropolis.

Throughout human history, the stages of culture have been marked by the names of great cities like Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, and New York. The things created by men working together in cities outlast the living generation. Cities carry forward, to be modified by time and by new men, the spirit of an age.

When men in cities have built meanly, without common purpose or a sense of the ideal, the probability is that they have lived meanly also -- that they have neglected the influences which make a civilization out of a collection of individuals. Leisure in such a city turns negative and sour, and men lose their self-identity as they endure anxiety, loneliness, and boredom.

But when men build cities in a spirit of community and with an eye for a nobility of line, they are reaching beyond the purely material satisfactions of

life which so quickly grow stale.

The Liberal Party's work shows that you have a vision of such a city, of a Metropolis that enriches the lives of its citizens, of an urban civilization that can become truly urbane.

President Kennedy had such an urban civilization in mind when he spoke of the New Frontier. President Johnson has this in mind when he speaks of the Great Society. And I have it in mind tonight.

During his all too brief 1000 days as President, John F. Kennedy was forced to concentrate most of his strength upon the international crises he inherited. But it is part of his supreme triumph that his success in averting foreign danger has won for us a margin of time in which we can shape the future of our Metropolis.

That is what President Johnson has been doing. He remains fully alert to every shift in the balance of world power. He is poised to deal prudently but resolutely with any danger or opportunity that presents itself on a day by day basis. But all the while, he has been using the margin of time President Kennedy won for all of us, to revive and renovate and strengthen the internal conditions of American life.

In everything he has done in his public career, President Johnson has lived by a principle of responsible power. This principle was once defined by President Theodore Roosevelt, that dynamic responsible Republican whose heritage has been so savagely repudiated.

"A man," Theodore Roosevelt said, "is worthless unless he devotes himself to an ideal, and he is worthless also unless he strives to realize that ideal by practical methods. A man must promise both to himself and to others only what he can perform; and what really can be performed he must at all hazards make good."

President Johnson needs the support of a united America. And I submit to you that he has fully earned your active support.

Our record is a good one. We have preserved and expanded those freedoms that constitute our priceless inheritance. And we have extended these rights to those members of the community who have been ignored and excluded.

We have faced up to the fearful perils of the nuclear age, rejecting both those who counsel appeasement and those who shout for reckless action.

We have lifted the economy of our own nation. And we have seen our faith in the American enterprise system vindicated.

We promised we would view success at any task we undertook as being no more than a down payment on new commitments toward even greater advances.

To guarantee that future, we must mobilize behind President Johnson in this campaign. He must win from the American people an overwhelming mandate to get on with the job.

Every citizen must know that the second half of this century will be an urban era. We must plan for a renaissance of cities.

It must be obvious even to those who take the simple view that we need a cabinet level department of urban affairs. The cities of the future will not neatly conform to present city lines. Regional planning is essential.

Those cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality. Life in interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, wisdom, and tolerance.

Those cities of the future must provide access to an abundant cultural life.

Those cities of the future must allow a variety of paths of human development to use the increasing leisure which will be ours.

Those cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slums, but the ugliness of intolerance -- create not only the beauty of design, but the beauty of spirit.

Those cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage we can muster. We must begin now -- and we must use every resource at our command.

In these, and in countless other ways, the city of the future calls for the closest cooperation between all the vital elements in the American political process -- private individuals, private groups, corporation, mayors, county commissioners, and governors; teachers, scientists, engineers, architects, leaders of the arts, and on up to the resources of the Federal government.

We cannot do this by avoiding our problems, by ignoring our challenges -- or by saying "No" to progress.

Liberals say "Yes" to life. President Johnson says "Yes" to life. I say "Yes" to life. And authentic Republicans say "Yes" to life.

The difference between the petulant "No" of the Goldwaterites and our massive "Yes" is the choice the American people must make in November.

It is the same difference Moses put to his people when he said to them: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day: I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse. Choose life."

###

Mayr Wagner

Mr Chaumon Sp: New York, N. Y.

A. M. Release

New York
Liberal Party

Sept. 24, 1964

I always love to come to New York to see my
Liberal Party friends: Alex Rose, Dave Dubinsky, Jim Costello and

the other stalwarts of New York liberalism. There
is something so reassuring about Dave Dubinsky--look at
him sitting here wrapped in sechel ~~sechel~~ saydel

It is marvelous to be with my kind of people.

(Note: Sechel is a Yiddish word meaning great wisdom.
It is difficult to put in phonetics, but is approxi-
mately sākel. Get Gus Tyler or some auf yiddishkeit
to check you out before you go on.)

and Jim proud to be on this platform with
a courageous, forthright, intelligent man--
(X) Bob Kennedy-- a liberal ~~man~~ and a
man with deep humanitarian
instincts. ~~He will represent NY in~~
~~the future of the forum and competence~~
~~and America with~~
Your NY U.S. Sen.
Bob Kennedy

New York
Liberal Party

~~_____~~
~~_____~~ *Wey* the Minnesota

Democratic-Farm Labor Party and you of the Liberal Party

have a common bond. *L* Twenty years ago, you in New York

affirmed one of the basic principles of a democratic

political movement, In 1944 the Liberal Party was

founded because you would not tolerate communist

extremism in the liberal movement. When you condemned

extremism, you set an example which the Republicans in

San Francisco twenty years later regrettably ignored.

L In 1964 everybody condemns communism. But when

you founded the Liberal Party in 1944, and we in

Minnesota began our successful campaign to destroy

communist influence in our state in 1946, *Some* many Americans

looked hopefully towards the Soviet Union, feeling that

perhaps communism would change its character as a

result of our common struggle against Nazi Germany.

It was we liberals who stood firmly against this tide of sentimental nostalgia, who were denounced to the skies as "red baiters", but who established the point once and for all that totalitarianism -- extremism -- of any stripe is completely alien to the traditions of American democracy.

At a time when political hucksters and medicine men are smearing liberalism, we can stand up proudly-- on our record--and tell them that we will not even listen to their charges until they purge their ranks of rightwing extremists.

|| With these hands we have destroyed communist || influence in American politics, with these hands we have laid the foundations of a good society, dedicated to freedom, justice, and equality; with these hands we shall continue under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson to the joyous task of building a "great society"

worthy of our dreams.

~~MY GOOD FRIENDS~~
 We have come a long way together--and you who
 know my strengths and my frailties must realize how
 deeply I am moved by your action. I accept the nomi-
nation of the Liberal Party for the office of Vice-
President of the United States!

Emerson once said that a speaker should try to call
attention to his facts, not to himself. I have tried
 to do just that during this campaign. I will do so
~~Sometimes~~

Again Tonight.

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 times they just want to hear about the temporary
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 "But not Senator Goldwater!" I enjoy this.~~

Part

- AND ENJOYABLE -

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retractions, explanations, and expurgations of Senator
Goldwater. It is always a thrill to hit a moving target!

Consider what he said the other day in trying to

compare himself with liberals. He said: "A lot of my
enemies call me simple. The big trouble with the so-
called liberal today, is that he doesn't understand
simplicity... I refuse to go around this country" - HE CONTINUED
"discussing complicated, twisted issues."

now \angle Is life really as simple as the Senator thinks?

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gall to ask the people to follow him?

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a continent, engaging in civil war, reuniting a nation,
and emerging as a world power. Who truly believes that
these were simple and easy tasks?

↳ The story of America from Bunker Hill to Viet Nam
is one of struggle, sacrifice, heroism, and courage--
but never simple, never easy.

↳ The reality of America has always been complex *and challenging.*
When my father was a young man, living on the frontier

in South Dakota, ~~he saw small scale things in the middle~~
~~of open spaces. Towns were small, buildings were~~
~~small. Factories were small. Roads were little more~~
~~than a rut made by wagon wheels on the raw surface of~~
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~~pendence, thrift, neighborliness.~~

~~But~~ life was not simple. There was a dark and often
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brutalizing underside to this seemingly idyllic world.

↳ There was too often disease, illiteracy, poverty, and
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- IMPORTANT VIRTUES WHICH MUST BE PRESERVED -

Independence and self-reliance alone were not

adequate to deal with a complex and impersonal world.

[

~~For workers could see beyond their immediate jobs
 when they exhausted themselves from dawn until dusk.
 No single farmer could affect the price of grain
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X

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- THEIR FREE AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT -

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has given it the name of the Metropolis. *ok* You know that
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single urban strip extending from ^{Boston in} New England to

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First, the modern American is the "Metropolitan
Man," blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life
wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the
American Republic.

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we adapt those political and social arrangements which
served "Rural Man" to the urgent needs of "Metropolitan
Man?" How do we enlarge our vision to take in the whole
nation and invent new ways of meeting the rightful
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country?

L The answers to these insistent questions will decide whether we can deal successfully with the problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, policing and crime detection, and the nerve-wracking and costly congestion of traffic.

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X

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x
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vision of such a city; a Metropolis that enriches the
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can become truly urbane.

L President Kennedy had such an urban civilization
in mind when he spoke of the New Frontier. President
Johnson has this in mind when he speaks of the Great
Society. And I have it in mind tonight.

Z During his all too brief 1000 days as President,
John F. Kennedy was forced to concentrate most of his
strength upon the international crises he inherited.

↳ But it is part of his supreme triumph, that his success in averting foreign danger has won for us a margin of time in which we can shape the future of our Metropolis.

↳ That is what President Johnson has been doing. He remains fully alert to every shift in the balance of world power. ↳ He is poised to deal prudently but resolutely with any danger or opportunity that presents itself, on a day by day basis. But all the while, he has been using the margin of time President Kennedy won for all of us to revive and renovate and strengthen the internal conditions of American life.

↳ In everything he has done in his public career, President Johnson has lived by a principle of responsible power. This principle was once defined by President Theodore Roosevelt, that dynamic, responsible republican whose heritage has been so savagely repudiated by the Goldwaterites.

~~A man," Theodore Roosevelt said, "is worthless unless he devotes himself to an ideal, and it is worthless also unless he strives to realize that ideal by practical methods. A man must praise both to himself and to others only what he can perform; and what really can be performed he must, at all hazards, make good."~~

President Johnson needs the support of a united America. And I submit to you that he has fully earned your active support. *He's so grateful for it.*

Our record is a good one. We have preserved and expanded those freedoms that constitute our priceless inheritance. And we have extended these rights to those members of the community who have been ignored and excluded.

We have faced up to the fearful perils of the nuclear age, rejecting both those who counsel appeasement and those who shout for reckless action.

↳ We have lifted the economy of our own nation. And we have seen our faith in the American enterprise system vindicated.

↳ We promised we would view success at any task we undertook as being no more than a down payment on new commitments toward even greater advances.

↳ To guarantee that future, we must mobilize behind President Johnson in this campaign. He must win from the American people an overwhelming mandate to get on with the job.

↳ Every citizen must know that the second half of this century ~~will be an urban era.~~ **is THE ERA OF METROPOLITAN FORMS**. We must plan for a renaissance of our cities.

↳ It must be obvious even to those who take the simple view that we need a cabinet level department of urban affairs. The cities of the future will not neatly conform to present city lines. Regional

planning is essential.

L ~~the~~ cities of the future must offer education
of the highest quality. Life in interdependent proximity
calls for knowledge, wisdom and tolerance.

L ~~the~~ cities of the future must provide access to
an abundant cultural life.

L ~~the~~ cities of the future must allow a variety of
paths of human development to use the increasing leisure
which will be ours.

L ~~the~~ cities of the future must remove not only
the ugliness of the slums, but the ugliness of intolerance--
create not only the beauty of design, but the beauty of
spirit.

L ~~the~~ cities of the future must provide an envi-
ronment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task
challenges whatever creativity and courage we can muster.

L We must begin now--and we must use every resource at
our command.

~~In these, and in countless other ways, the city of the future calls for the closest cooperation between all the vital elements in the American political process -- private individuals, private groups, corporations, mayors, county commissioners, and governors, teachers, scientists, engineers, architects, leaders of the arts, and on up to the resources of the Federal government.~~

↳ We cannot do this by avoiding our problems, by ignoring our challenges -- or by saying "No" to progress.

↳ Liberals say "Yes" to life. ↳ President Johnson says "Yes" to life. I say "Yes" to life. And authentic Republicans say "Yes" to life.

↳ The difference between the petulant "No" of the Goldwaterites and our massive "Yes" is the choice the American people must make in November. ↳ It is the same difference Moses put to his people when he said to them: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you

this day: I have set before you life and death,

blessing and curse. Choose life."!

Thank you

Address of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
before the Dinner of the Liberal Party
held in the Ballroom of the American Hotel
Thursday night, September 24, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Thank you, very much, Mayor Wagner, the next United States Senator, Bobby Kennedy. (Applause) I always love to come to New York, come here to see my Liberal Party friends, Alex Rose, Dave Dubinsky, and Tim Costello, and all the other stalwarts here of the Liberal Party and of New York Liberalism. There is something so very reassuring about Dave Dubinsky. Look at him sitting here wrapped in sachel wisdom, and I might add, I might add that I am very, very proud to be on this platform tonight with a most courageous and forthright, intelligent Liberal and a man with deep humanitarian instincts that is worthy of this great State and worthy of the traditions of Liberalism of this Empire State, your own friend who has spoken to you tonight, your new United States Senator-to-be Robert Kennedy. (Applause) It is nice to be working with him, together with him. (Applause) And, that we shall do for many, many years to come.

We of Minnesota of the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, and you of the Liberal Party, we have a common bond. Twenty years ago, you in New York affirmed one of the basic principles of a democratic political movement. In 1944, the Liberal Party was founded because you could not tolerate communist extremism in the liberal movement. When you condemned extremism you set an example which the Republicans in San Francisco 20 years later regrettably ignored.

In 1964, everybody condemns communism. But when you founded the Liberal Party in 1944, and we in Minnesota began our successful campaign to destroy communist influence in our State in 1946, some Americans looked hopefully towards the Soviet Union feeling that perhaps communism would change its character as a result of our common struggle against Nazi Germany. But it was the liberals, we liberals, who stood firmly against this tide of sentimental nostalgia, who were denounced to the skies as "red baiters," but who established the point once and for all that totalitarianism - extremism of any stripe is alien to the traditions of American democracy. (Applause) At a time when political hucksters and medicine men are smearing liberalism, we can stand up proudly on our record that we will not even listen to their charges until they purge their ranks of the rightwing extremists. (Applause.)

David, with these hands we have destroyed communist influence in American politics, with these hands we have laid the foundations of a good society dedicated to freedom, to justice, and to equality; and with these hands we shall continue under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson to the joyous task of building a great society worthy of our dreams. (Applause)

Yes, we have come a long way together, and you who know my strengths and my frailties must realize how deeply moved I am by your action. Members of the Liberal Party, I proudly accept the nomination of the Liberal Party for the office of Vice President of the United States. (Applause) And your good, humble and great Mayor, Mayor Wagner (Applause) with prophetic words indicated tonight that the joy of this occasion is only saddened by the thought if only my dear friend, Herbert Lehman were here to share this moment with me, what a happy moment that would be. (Applause)

Emerson once said that a speaker should try to call attention to the facts and not to himself. I have tried to do that during this campaign, and I am going to do it again tonight. But you know it is very tempting, and it is enjoyable to analyze the statements, the retractions, the explanations, the expurgations of Senator Goldwater. (Laughter) I have always found it a thrill to try to hit a moving target. (Laughter and applause)

Consider what he said the other day in trying to compare himself with liberals. He said, "A lot of my enemies call me simple. The big trouble, the big trouble with the so-called liberal today is that he doesn't understand simplicity. I refuse to go around this country," he continued, "discussing complicated, twisted issues." (Laughter)

Now, my fellow Americans, is life really as simple as the Senator thinks? Are matters of life and death simple? Are the problems so simple and the answers so easy that they need not be discussed? Can a serious candidate for President actually be so fearful of the complexities of life that he blocks them from his mind and then has the gall to ask people to follow him?

America's history is the dramatic story of a people fighting for independence, creating a government, settling a continent, engaging, yes, in a civil war, reuniting a nation, and emerging as a world power.

Now, who truly believes that these were simple and easy

tasks?

The story of America from Bunker Hill to Viet Nam is one of struggle, of sacrifice, of heroism, of courage, but never, never simple and never easy.

The reality of America has always been complex, and challenging. When my father was a young man living on the frontier in South Dakota, life was not even then simple. There was a dark and often brutalizing underside to this seemingly happy world. There was too often disease, illiteracy, poverty and loneliness, even along the main travelled roads.

Independence and self-reliance along, important virtues, which must be preserved, were not adequate to deal with the complex and impersonal world even of that day.

People increasingly saw the need to mobilize the powers of their government, their free government on behalf of individual opportunity.

So, in an unbroken line the new freedom, The New Deal, The Fair Deal, The New Frontier, initiated programs which demonstrated that government is the servant of man, not his adversary. (Applause)

Today, however, we confront a far more complex world, one whose beckoning opportunities excite us, but whose acute needs torment us, torment us with their immediacy, and their obstinacy.

This complex world is the work of man himself, with his science and his technology, and man himself has given it the name of the Metropolis. You know that Metropolis well -- and that is why I speak of it tonight.

The Metropolis is centered here in New York City, and it stretches northward continuously into New England and southward along the Middle Atlantic Coast. Other parts of the Metropolis exist in the South and in the Southwest, in the region of the Great Lakes, and along the Pacific Coast.

Today more than two-thirds of all Americans live in this extended Metropolis. By 1980, only 18 years from now, eight of every ten Americans will live there. In fact, when the population is expected to reach 260 million by 1980, some 80 million persons will be concentrated in a single urban metropolis or urban strip extending from Boston, in New England, to Washington, D. C.

The figures I have cited tell us two things: First, the modern American, the modern American, is the metropolitan man, blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic.

Second, important questions must be answered: How do we adapt those political and social arrangements which served Rural Man to the urgent needs of Metropolitan Man? How do we enlarge our vision to take in the whole of the nation and invent new ways of meeting the rightful demands of both the Metropolis and the rest of the country?

The answers to these insistent questions will decide whether we can deal successfully with the problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, police and crime detection, the nerve-wracking and costly congestion of traffic.

These problems alone would be enough. But there are others, other difficulties for the Metropolis: The crowded schools and hospitals, the degrading slums, the absence of open spaces for recreation, even the ordinary logistics of everyday living, how to get back and forth from work.

These problems alone would be enough. But even as we try to adapt our private and our governmental organizations to serving Metropolitan Man, we confront antiquated local tax structure, wasteful and overlapping agencies of local and state government, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the tradition of inertia.

Now, history is marked by the names of great cities like Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, New York. The things created by men working together in cities outlast the living generation. Cities carried forward the spirit of an age.

When men in cities have built meanly, without common purpose or a sense of the ideal, the probability is that they had lived meanly. They have neglected the influence which make a civilization out of a collection of individuals. But, when men build cities in the spirit of a community, and with an eye for a nobility of line, they are reaching beyond the purely materializations of life which so quickly grow stale.

The Liberal Party that I salute tonight has a vision of such a city, a Metropolis that enriches the lives of its citizens, an urban civilization that can become truly urbane.

And President Kennedy had such an urban civilization in mind when he spoke of the new frontier. President Johnson has this in mind when he speaks of the great society, and I have it in mind tonight as I speak and visit with you.

During his all too brief one thousand days as President, John F. Kennedy was forced to concentrate most of his great strength and talent upon the international crises that he inherited. But it is a part of his supreme triumph that his success in averting foreign danger has won for us a margin of time in which we can shape the future of our Metropolis, and that is why President Johnson -- that is what, I should say, President Johnson has been doing. He remains fully alert to every shift in the balance of world power. He is poised to deal bluntly but resolutely with any danger or opportunity that presents itself. But all the while, he has been using the margin of time that President Kennedy won for all of us, to revive and renovate and strengthen the internal conditions of American life. (Applause)

In everything he has done in his public career, President Johnson has lived by the principle of responsible power and President Johnson needs the support of a united America and I submit to you that he has fully earned your active support and he is eternally grateful for having received it. (Applause)

Our record is a good one. We have preserved and expanded those freedoms that constitute our priceless inheritance and we have extended those rights to those members of the communities who have been ignored and excluded.

And we have faced up to the fearful perils of the nuclear age, rejecting both those who counsel appeasement and those who shout for reckless action.

And we have lifted the economy of our own nation, and we have seen our faith in the American enterprise system vindicated.

We promised we would view success at any task we undertook as being no more than a down payment on new commitments toward even greater advances.

To guarantee that future, we must mobilize behind President Johnson in this campaign. He must win from the American people an overwhelming mandate to get on with the job. (Applause)

Every citizen must know that the second half of this century is the era of the Metropolitan Man. We must plan

for the renaissance of our cities.

It must be obvious even to those who take the simple view that we need a cabinet level department of urban affairs. The cities of the future (Applause) the cities of the future will not neatly conform to the present city lines. Regional planning is essential.

The cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality. Life in interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, wisdom, and tolerance.

The cities of the future must provide access for the abundant cultural life, and the cities of the future must allow a variety of paths of human development, to use the increasing leisure which will be ours.

The cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slums, but the ugliness of intolerance, create not only the beauty of design but more importantly the beauty of the spirit.

The cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage that we can muster, and we must begin now and we must use every resource at our command, and we cannot do this by avoiding our problems, by ignoring our challenges or by saying, "No" to progress. Liberals say "Yes" to life, and President Johnson says, "Yes" to life and I say "yes" to life. (Applause)

Authentic Republicans say "Yes" to life. The difference between the petulant "No" of the Goldwaterites and the massive "Yes" is the choice that the American people must make in November.

It is the same difference, my friends, that Moses put to his people when he said to them, "I call Heaven and earth to witness against you this day: I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse. Choose life." Thank you. (Applause)

Remarks of Senator Humphrey
Republicans and Independents
for Johnson Breakfast
Americana Hotel
New York City

September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, thank you very much, Mr. Mack. Thank you for arousing these fine citizens to a point where they are willing to forego the comfort and the pleasures of a breakfast, a breakfast at home, where you can possibly be a little more relaxed than you are on an occasion like this, and thank you for your very important contribution to what we hope will be the success of this campaign for the election of President Johnson for four more years in the White House.

I am very happy to see my old friend Jackie Robinson here again. We have been on the hustings before, and I have great admiration for this gentleman, and I have been enriched by the precious gift of his friendship, and I am delighted that he could be with us this morning.

Mr. Mack, we had a little visit out in the hallways before we came in here. I want you to know, ladies and gentlemen, that your chairman was up bright and early, he was at my room at some ungodly hour this morning.

(Laughter.)

You are one of the few people that has been able to visit me at such an early hour and to find me reasonably sociable. I am a night man myself. I am not very much of a morning man, but you got me off to a good start.

I am going to take just a very few minutes of your time today to visit with you. I am sure some of you know we had a rather busy day in the great metropolitan area of Greater New York, and the day before that I was out in the Hoosier State of Indiana and, by the way, Mr. Mack, they have got a lot of Republicans out around that way, they have had them regularly, and I found that a number of them were doing exactly what you were suggesting this morning, that they are putting their country above their party or should I put it this way-- that they feel that their party left them, that is the leadership of their party, and they are now attempting to do what they think is right to support on a non-partisan basis or on a bipartisan basis a man for the office of the Presidency or the office of President, and placing their faith and trust in him.

I am not unaccustomed to addressing meetings like this because I come from Minnesota and you do not get elected to the U.S. Senate from Minnesota by Democrats alone. It is impossible, there are not enough of them, and I have said a number of times when I have been quizzed about my partisanship, I said, "Yes, I am a Democrat." "But," I said, "some of the finest people that I have ever known are those Humphrey Republicans."

(Laughter.)

So, out our way, Mr. Mack, I have had my spring training, and fall training, too, because that is the way we are able to gain public office, by having a broad base of support.

This is a crucial election, and I think it is the most important election we have had at least in my memory and I say that because there are some very powerful and very unusual forces at work in this election.

This isn't an ordinary Republican-Democrat election. There are forces in America that have always been with us, but never before did they have what I call a respectable platform from which to operate, and those forces today are centering around a candidate and they are having a field day. If that candidate should win, the Senator from Arizona, I don't say that he represents those forces,

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but I say that he has a unique capacity to be able to bring them to his banner, that if he should win these forces of division, of disunity, of bitterness, and of intolerance that are again rearing their ugly heads, they will be in the ascendancy in American life, and I don't think that is what you want.

I do not believe that people want as the voice of America the Ku Klux, the Gerald L. Smiths, the Birchites, and others that are now speaking so openly and brazenly about what they want and what they are going to do and how they are going to do it.

So this election is important from that point of view. It is also important from the point of view of our national security, because this nation has had for the past 25 years at least a bipartisan foreign policy. We have been able to agree upon the fundamentals of our foreign policy.

One of the architects of that bipartisanship was the late Arthur Vandenberg, the great United States Senator from the State of Michigan. Wendell Willkie, a great candidate, a powerful voice for progressivism in America was also one of the, you might say, the pioneers of the bipartisan foreign policy, and we have had it all through these crucial post-war years.

For the first time since the end of World War II a leading candidate or a candidate of a major political party challenges the very tenets of that bipartisanship. I have served on the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate since 1952. I have been the Chairman of two or three of its subcommittees, and I know that I have my limitations. We all have our frailties. We are all at times in politics guilty of partisanship. But I can say before any audience with honor and with a deep sense of integrity that I have never violated in word or deed the support of a bipartisan foreign policy.

During the Administration of Mr. Truman for two terms of General Eisenhower, President Eisenhower, all during the Administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, I have worked side by side with prominent Republicans in the Congress of the United States to maintain a bipartisan foreign policy. That structure, well built, into which the lives of great men have been poured, is today threatened, and I think that is bad for America. I think it is bad for the whole free world, and if for no other reason this election must be won by President Johnson.

(Applause.)

Not long ago I was visiting with a group of young people in Washington, and they have a quality about them, you know, that is very disarming and also very disconcerting, very frank and open, sort of stimulating just by their sheer presence, and then they ask you these tough questions. They are not inhibited at all, you know, and one of the questions that was asked me was about, well, it was a profound and yet simple question -- what is it that makes us the way we are?

And I tried to find some answers.

I suppose we take it so much for granted that we never really try to articulate the answer. But we have developed for lack of better phraseology an amazing political social and economic system in this country, it defies any textbook definition.

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There are no people in the world that are more skilled in local self-government than we, the people of the United States. Our Constitutional system has been built by trial and error in a sense around certain basic principles. I have always reminded my students when I was a teacher about our Constitution that it was written in the present. It doesn't say we, the people of the United States did ordain and establish in such and such a year. It says we, the people of the United States do ordain and establish. At this hour, at this minute, as we live now, we are the founding fathers, every generation, and it doesn't say we, the people Caucasian, and it doesn't say we, the people Protestants or Catholic or Jew. It just says we, the people and, therefore, a oneness of people, a currentness, a contemporariness of constitutional principle is the living fact of our whole social-political structure. We are one people. We cannot afford any kind of second-class citizenship. It defies the Constitution of the United States. It, in a sense, defies the whole heritage of our country, and we built this great system.

Now, we are not the largest country in the world. There are others bigger. We are surely not the richest in terms of natural resources. When I visited the Soviet Union I remember going to one of their great universities at Moscow and I believe it is on the 7th floor of that central building that you find the geological survey of the Soviet Union -- fabulous potential resources. And while it is a fact, of course, that that nation has made progress in terms of material things, it is also a fact that it is far, far behind the United States of America and many other western nations in terms of economic development as well as political development, but it has a greater population, a larger land area, more natural resources and yet it runs a very, very poor second to what we have.

Then what is it? Well, first of all, it is free government. It is this unique Constitutional system of the separation of powers and yet not so fully separated that we are inoperative or the victim of conflict which paralyzes us.

I hear these, what I would call week end specialists in American Government discuss our Constitutional system. Well, the Constitutional system of this country does not provide for total separation of powers nor does it provide for total partisanship. It provides political parties as the lifeline to operate a government, and it provides for coordination of governmental activities.

But more importantly what is really the motivating force or should I say the spark, the heart of this system, is the emphasis upon individual initiative, and the partnership between government and people.

Lincoln said it is the duty of government to serve the people. In his simplicity and yet in his profundity he termed it a government of the people, by the people and for the people. We mouth it and we never really quite understand what he was really saying, because there he capsuled the whole thing. He told us about popular sovereignty, a government of the people. He told us about the rule of law, government by the people, and he told us of the purpose of government, government for the people, and yet he didn't set up and didn't believe in a paternalistic system. He believed in a system of government that encouraged and not discouraged people and economic institutions.

This is the pattern.

Our system, therefore, is an amazing one in which capital and labor, city and rural, Republicans and Democrats, rich and poor, can work for and find a way to build a better America, coordinate their efforts, and to have some hope about a future and a better future.

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Now, what is my view in reference to our economy? Well, first of all I am not a candidate for President, I am a candidate for Vice President. I want to make it quite clear so that there will be no misunderstanding.

(Laughter.)

I say that because I have people all the time asking me, "Well, where will you stand on this and where will you stand on that, Senator?"

I will have the privilege, as I have had in these recent years as one of the legislative lieutenants of government, to speak my mind within the councils of the White House.

I told a group one time who wanted me to be much more forceful, much more independent; I said I would rather have one hour inside the White House with the President than three months outside the White House with a picket sign. I said I think I will do more good.

(Applause.)

I will be privileged to express my point of view, and just as we do in business or as we do in any other organization where there is any form of teamwork, once that point of view has been expressed and others express their points of view we then develop what we call a policy or a program or a principle, and once that policy or program is developed and it becomes the policy and the program of the President of the United States, a man who is the Vice President has a moral and a political obligation to support the policy of the program of his President. That is where you start. You don't go running off here chasing rabbits in other fields. You are loyal, and you express your point of view at the time that it is asked, and following that you carry out to the best of your ability the policy and the program that is set down.

What has been the characteristic feature of the Johnson Administration with American business? There isn't a one of you here that does not feel comfortable in the presence of the President of the United States.. There isn't a businessman in America regardless of his political affiliation that doesn't know that he isn't -- that doesn't know but what he is wanted in the White House, that he can be comfortable there.

I have been in the White House when President Lyndon Johnson has had the leaders of American business sitting with him, and in the other door will walk a man from the American Federation of Labor -- CIO -- like George Meany. He doesn't try to get business out one door lest they meet Mr. Meany, and he doesn't say to Mr. Meany, "Will you please sit off in the room over here, I have got some business people." Not at all.

He says, "Gentlemen, here we are. I would like to have you meet Mr. Meany," or "I would like to have you meet Mr. Mack. I would like to have you meet" whomever is there.

President Johnson develops better than any man I know what we know as consensus. He is dedicated to national unity. He speaks for one country and one nation. He does not believe in the class struggle nor do I.

(Applause.)

President Johnson believes that a government should not act as if it is a gestapo. He believes that a government should be more

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than a policeman. He believes that a government should encourage enterprise, and so does Hubert Humphrey.

(Applause.)

The characteristic of this Administration is that government will not be in the position of harrassing or of harrassment of American business. It will be dedicated to the encouragement of the expansion of American business and of the American economy.

(Applause.)

We believe in an expanding competitive American economy. We believe that the men and women of industry, of finance and of commerce are better able to manage this economy than any people that we can select in government. We know that people in government can make a contribution. We know that government can be of help, government can supplement, but government has no right nor will we permit it to supplant the private institutions of the American economic system.

(Applause.)

And the best thing that I can say is that we have the evidence on our side that this works.

In recent years this economy has been moving ahead at an unprecedented pace. Not long ago we were talking about a two per cent growth. Today we are talking about a fiveper cent growth. Actually the United States of America has taken on such new vitality it looks like a youngster in terms of the economic thrust of the whole nation, and we are not content with what we have.

I think that is maybe one of the differences that we have with, one of the many differences we have with, the opposition. I told a group of students the other day, it is good to study ancient history, but don't vote it.

(Applause.)

We look upon the achievements of today as a solid basis from whence to work about tomorrow. It is sort of like exploring space. We make some success, and that only leads you to further successes. Each achievement is but a base upon which you start another series of events that will take you to yet a higher level, a higher plateau of accomplishment. We still have in America great opportunities for industrial and economic growth. The best market in the world is right here, and when we are able to develop that market through better purchasing power, through better production, through better efficiency, we help everybody; and when we are able to develop our foreign markets we help everybody.

So, I leave you this morning with the commitment on the part of the Johnson-Humphrey ticket which we hope will become the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, that the doors of the nation's Capital, of the White House, yes, and of Capitol Hill, that those doors will be open to men and women of good purpose, to those who seek to pursue the legitimate objectives of enterprise and commerce as well as social and political development. That when you walk through those doors you will not be met by a frown or a scowl nor will you be met by someone who looks upon you with suspicion and doubt, but you will be greeted by the hand of fellowship, and friendship.

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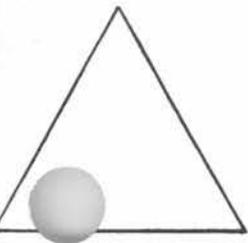
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You will be encouraged to do more for your country than you ever dreamed that you could do. You will be asked to take on new responsibilities not only for yourself but for the national good, and you will be called upon to set patterns of economic, political and social conduct that will inspire not only our own people but inspire the world.

I happen to believe that in this great contest with Communist totalitarianism, that the way we win it is not merely by the strong edge of our military defense and not only by the ability of our diplomats and by the largess of our foreign aid, but I believe that we win it by precept and example, and I would like to have the world know that in America where we have a system that believes in -- that is predicated upon human dignity, an America where we have a system of individualism with social responsibility, that in America where we believe in the motivation of personal initiative, and we believe in the profit system and we believe that profits are good and we believe that investments are good, and that we believe that capital and labor can work out their problems through collective bargaining and through mutual understanding, I would like to have the world see that system not only flourish, but I would like to have it see that system grow and grow and grow in every way so that by example, so that by example, we convince and persuade others to walk the same path, to follow the same course, and in so doing we will make a contribution not only to our economic well being but I think to the peace of the world and to human freedom.

Thank you very much.

End



"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to triumph in this world is for enough good men to do nothing."
EDMUND BURKE

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Mr. Robert Jensen
Press Secretary
Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
Room 1313
New Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jensen:

Enclosed, for your information and record, is a transcription of Senator Humphrey's remarks at breakfast at the Americana today.

Copies have been distributed to newspapers, wire services, news magazines, and to our offices across the country.

It was good to meet you Thursday night.

Sincerely yours,

Leon S. Theil
Leon S. Theil

LS T:hs

Continued on other side

EXCERPTS:

REMARKS BY SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TO: REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS FOR JOHNSON
AT: ROYAL BOX, HOTEL AMERICANA, BREAKFAST 9-25-64

TRANSCRIBED BY: REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS FOR JOHNSON
8 WEST 40 STREET WISCONSIN-7-4600 (Leon S. Theil)

I want to thank you all for coming here at this early hour in the morning, and I want to thank Walter S. Mack as chairman of the group for making this get-together possible. Normally I am a "night person," but Walter Mack and I had a very instructive visit at an hour today which made me a "day person" and I feel fine.

I wish to express my appreciation to this group for arousing these fine citizens to the point of making a very important contribution to this campaign. Mr. Mack asked me to include in my remarks a report on the feelings I had found among other Republicans around the country. Well, I was in Indiana the other day, and we found there a large number of Republicans who feel that they have not left their party but that the leadership of the party had left them. They are doing what they think right--they are supporting Lyndon Johnson for the presidency.

Some of the finest people I have ever known are those "Humphrey Republicans" in Minnesota. In Minnesota you do not get elected on Democratic votes alone, you need Republican votes as well. This is not an ordinary election of Democrats against Republicans and we need every Republican vote to put to rest for all time a trend that is dangerous for our country and for both of our parties.

There are forces in America that are always with us but which have never before had the respectability of an established party platform as an endorsement. This time, they have a candidate, as well. I do not say that he represents these forces but he has an unequalled facility for attracting them to his banner.

These are the forces of division and intolerance--the Ku Klux Klans, the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the John Birchers--who are speaking openly and brazenly of what they are planning to do.

It is important from the viewpoint of our national security that for 25 years this country has had a bi-partisan foreign policy. We have all been able to agree on this policy, and it will be remembered that the architects were the great Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and the great Republican leader, Wendell L. Willkie.

For the first time since the end of World War II we find a candidate of a major political party who challenges the tenets of a bi-partisan foreign policy. Now, I have served on the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and as chairman of several of the sub-committees, in the years since 1952 and I have never violated support of a bi-partisan foreign policy, not under President Truman nor under President Eisenhower nor President Kennedy nor President Johnson. This well-built structure into which the lives of all of these great men have been poured is now threatened. These threatening forces are a menace to us, and to the whole free world.

What distinguishes the United States from other countries?

We have developed an amazing political, social and economic system which defies any textbook of national politics. No other people have proved so skilled at developing local self government; or at constantly rewriting in terms of current times the basic law of the land. Remember, our Constitution is written in the present tense; it reads, "We, the people....do ordain..." And every generation, as we in our generation, are "the Founding Fathers." The one-ness of "we, the people" is current and contemporary, the living factor in this precious heritage. Second-class citizenship defies the Constitution and our heritage.

We are not the biggest or the richest nation in natural resources. Russia has greater land area and a larger population. At the University of Moscow, on the seventh floor, I saw a display of a geological survey which shows that Russia has a great potential for much more natural riches of mineral wealth, yet Russia today in its development is a very poor second.

What we have is: Free government; separation of powers, yet not so conflicting as to be inoperative. The Constitution does not provide for total separation of powers, nor for total separation of partisanship.

The heart of our system is individual initiative and the partnership of people and government. Abraham Lincoln expressed it all, in a subtle way that sometimes is not fully understood, when he spoke of "government of the people, by the people, for the people!" He described popular sovereignty and he described a rule of law and he described a government whose role was to encourage not to discourage initiative. Our system is one of coordinated efforts of government and of people; of capital and labor, rich and poor, city and rural resident, Democrat and Republican.

I have sometimes been asked by liberal friends why I do not take a more forceful stand than I have deemed appropriate, on this issue or that issue. I tell them that I would rather have one hour inside the White House with the President than three months outside with a picket sign. I believe in working together with people, and I will uphold the policy and program of the President of the United States. People wonder what I will support as Vice President; I believe a vice president has the moral and political obligation to support the policy decisions of the President in full. You express a viewpoint at the time a decision is being made, but you support a decision when it is made.

I want to say this: there isn't a business man in the United States who doesn't feel comfortable in the presidency of Lyndon Johnson. They know they are welcome to the White House, and they know that their welcome is open and public. President Johnson does not welcome the business man, and shunt him into a separate room as he welcomes labor's leaders from the A.F.of L.-C.I.O. He invites the business man and invites George Meany and he brings them together and he asks, "What can we accomplish together?" President Johnson develops a concensus better than any other man I know.

He does not believe there is or should be a class struggle and I do not believe in a class struggle. He does not believe in a role of government as policeman. He believes government should encourage free enterprise. So does Hubert Humphrey. We believe that government should be devoted to the expansion of American business and the American economy. We believe the leaders of finance and industry are better able to lead and to direct the economy than the government.

We seek to encourage, not supplant, in the leadership of the economy, and it has worked and we have flourished as never before. Formerly we talked of two per cent of annual growth; now we talk five per cent. Our government is revitalized, and it is in outlook a young government, and its new vitality has helped the economy.

Some students asked the other day whether they should study ancient history and I told them it is good to study ancient history but don't vote it! Our achievements today are a solid base to explore the success of tomorrow. We should develop our markets, local and foreign. The doors of the White House and Capital Hill are open to men and women of good purpose. When you walk through you are not met with a frown and a scowl, not with doubt and suspicion, but with the hand of good fellowship.

I believe that in the great contest between communism and our democratic system of free government, we will win by precept and by example. We want the world to know that we have a system of human dignity and the motivation of individual initiative which work for the benefit of all of the people of our country.

We believe in the profit system; we believe it is good for all of our people.

We believe in investments; we believe they are good for all of our people.

We want to see it grow; we want it to set an example for the peace of the world and for the realization of human freedom everywhere.



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