

Press Conference of
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Airport at Grand Rapids
September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. I am very happy to be here with my good friend, Neil Staebler, who I am confident will be the next governor of the great State of Michigan, succeeding a fine Democratic Governor of just two years ago, John Swainson, and I am pleased, also, to be with our candidate for Congress in this important Michigan District, Mr. Reamon, whom we know will lend support to the President, and the 89th Congress when it convenes next January. All right, let's proceed.

Question. Senator Goldwater says in a speech in New England today that the Johnson administration shows no disposition to enforce the civil rights law. How about that?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Senator Goldwater is apparently a very poor student of the Civil Rights Act. Civil Rights Act is primarily based upon compliance on a voluntary basis with the law, the community regulation is service being under the direction of Governor Leroy Collins of Florida. Governor Collins reported only recently to the nation that there had been amazing compliance with the law in practically every city and county throughout the nation. The public officials, local organizations, voluntary and public were working together to bring observance of the law. The second stage in the Civil Rights Act is that of local and State enforcement of the law. These provisions are provided specifically and distinctly within the Act. Since I was one of the architects of the Act I feel somewhat familiar with it, and finally, where compliance is not obtained and that compliance is sought patiently, there is even a time period built in to the Act, and where local and State enforcements is inadequate, if needed, then Federal enforcement comes.

I should like to say to Mr. Goldwater if he will help us encourage observance of the law, compliance with the law, by support of the law, by encouraging people to be lawful instead of lawless, we won't need to have much enforcement. Most people want to do the right thing unless they are told not to or encouraged not to. Mr. Goldwater would be well advised since he seeks the highest office in the government of the people of the United States, to encourage the people of this country to do that which is right, to obey the law just as he will have to do if he by some unfortunate accident should become President of the United States. He too, will

have to take an oath to uphold the law. Next.

Question. Senator Humphrey, what about the auto strike? Do you have any effect on how that might effect the campaign?

Senator Humphrey. I just heard, sir, as I left the plane there was underway now a dispute between the General Motors and the United Automobile workers. I am confident that these two responsible organizations will be able to work out their difficulties just as did Chrysler and UAW and Ford Motor and UAW. I will place my faith and trust in their ability to work these matters out through sincere and effective collective bargaining.

Question; Senator Mundt has taken both the Republican and Democratic party to task for some of the name calling. Do you have any comment?

Senator Humphrey. I read that and saw a number of articles about it. It appears that Mr. Mundt's technique is to say a plague on both your Houses in order to fumigate one, namely the Goldwater House. President Johnson has, I believe, conducted a rather high level and lofty campaign. In fact he has been criticized for being as some people say above it, above the battle. I don't think that's right. I think he has been doing what he ought to do. He is President of the United States. It is a fact, of course, that the President, occasionally becomes a little disturbed over what he considers to be irresponsible statements of the opposition. But Mr. Mundt should have leveled his sights upon the target and not upon the landscape.

Question. Senator, four of our colleagues were in here this morning just ahead of you, Republicans in a truth squad and they claim you were running a very low level campaign, that you were basing it plainly on fright. And they brought up the television spots about the little girl and her ice cream cone and what not. What kind of a squad did you say that was. (Laughter) They called themselves the truth squad.

Senator Humphrey. Something ironical and paradoxical about that, but it seems, there seems to be a conflict of interest there. I am delighted that my colleagues who are here, they are pleasant and affable gentlemen, and I gather what they are really trying to do is to help Senator Goldwater explain what he said since the Senator doesn't have enough time lately to explain and re-explain, what he said and what he meant to say and if he needs a little extra help on that I think it is proper for good Republicans that support Senator Goldwater

to help him out because it is quite a task.

I don't think I would say any more except I hope they enjoy the countryside. It is nice for them to come to Michigan. Of course, they have got some of those apples.

Question. Have they followed you before, Senator?

Senator Humphrey. No they haven't but I want to tell you that they will never get ahead of us. (Laughter) Next.

Question. Senator, Dean Sayre of the Washington Cathedral has made the following statement which was picked up in both the major news magazines this week. "The one a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty, the other a man whose public house is splendid in every appearance but whose private lack of ethic must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation." Would you comment?

Senator Humphrey. I have never engaged in an argument with the clergy. Other clergymen of members have made comments upon Dean Sayre's statement. I want to say quite frankly, I have a very high regard for Dean Sayre, he is a fine Christian gentleman, a very wonderful spirit. I prefer that you read what the clergymen have had to say in reference to Dean Sayre's statement. I will only say this that I know President Johnson, now speaking for Hubert Humphrey, and I know his family, and I know him to be a man of high purpose. I know him to be a good man. Neither President Johnson nor Hubert Humphrey claims to be saints. We recognize our limitations, and I get a little weary sometimes of hearing politicians pretending they are saints. They are not. They need to go to church too and spend a lot of time there as a matter of fact, all of us, both parties. I think that is about right. Yes, sir.

Question. You just said the President was particularly disturbed by some of the opposition charges. Could you cite one or two of the charges that particularly disturbed the President?

Senator Humphrey. I think maybe at the right time you ought to ask the President that. I know some of them that kind of leave me aghast. I indicated one here this morning that when a presidential nominee such as Mr. Goldwater says that the Civil Rights Act incites to violence and hatred and bitterness, that bothers me. And there are charges made that our country is weak, we have lost 90 per cent of our nuclear megaton power, all these sort of things that are really quite

beyond the realm of truth. They are really what you might call on the outer fringes.

Question. Has the President ever discussed with you any particular charges by the opposition?

Senator Humphrey. No, I think the President will discuss that with the public and he will do it forthrightly. He has been doing it and he will do more of it in the weeks ahead.

Question. Senator, there has been some difficulty here in Michigan about reapportionment of the State legislature, just what effect would the Mansfield Resolution that was approved yesterday have upon this situation?

Senator Humphrey. Frankly, I don't know, Mr. Ken Worthy, Mr. Staebler could indicate that. I frankly don't know all the details of it and it would be better not to muddy up the waters. Neil.

Mr. Staebler. No change, no affect.

Senator Humphrey. No affect. Do I understand correctly that the act had already, the reapportionment order had already been laid down for Michigan?

Mr. Staebler. And let me say that the lieutenant --

Senator Humphrey. Right up here.

Mr. Staebler. We happen to have an expert on the subject with us, the candidate for the lieutenant governorship, Bob Derengoski, as you know has been the solicitor general of the State, and has handled the States' appeals to the Supreme Court in all these matters. If any of you would like some very expert advise we have it.

Senator Humphrey. By the way we also have one of the successful leaders of the opposition to the Dirksen Mansfield proposal which became ultimately just Dirksen proposal. I am delighted to see my good friend and one of the most able, intelligent, marvelous members of the United States Senate that I have ever known, Phil Hart, right here. Phil, it's good to see you here.

Senator Hart. It sounds very partisan, Hubert. But it sounded very true. (Laughter)

Senator Humphrey. You are wrong, it wasn't partisan at all. It is just an objective judgment from a friend. Those are the best kind, by the way, Phil. Anyone else. All right.

Question. You haven't seen what we did yesterday?

Senator Humphrey. Oh, yes, I did. When I really got out of the Senate they did business in a hurry, very rapidly.

Question. Senator Humphrey, this matter of restrictive covenants came into the news again. Yesterday, Congressman Miller acknowledged the fact that the area in which he lived had restricted covenants. He said it was actually outdated because of the courts' decision. He also said that the neighborhood in which you lived had restricted covenants.

Senator Humphrey. He is right.

Question. Did that bother you?

Senator Humphrey. I did not know about it, anything more than the Congressman did. Except I have taken steps, may I say, as the Congressman from New York said covenants are not binding because they are unenforceable.

Secondly, Mrs. Humphrey and I in the purchase of our home were assured by the builder of our home that no such covenant did exist, and thirdly, we have taken the necessary steps through lawyers and through legal -- through the lawyers, to affix to said deed which we, of course, never did see until we had an audit made of our assets, that our -- that we will not consider it binding since it is not binding in a court of law, and it is distasteful to us. In fact it is onerous, and we would not have our home cluttered up with such an ugly business as a restrictive covenant. Yes, sir. Thank you.

Remarks by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
During Motorcade to Grand Rapids
Friday, September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. I am very honored to be in the company today of your, one of our fine United States Senators, a gentleman that you know very, very, well. He is your Senator Phillip Hart. (Applause) There he is right there. Give him a great vote of confidence here in his campaign for re-election and so on November 3rd all you need to do is to have a heart campaign and vote for Phil Hart.

We are also very pleased to be in the company of a dear old friend of mine who has made such a fine record in Congress but he gets so lonesome for Michigan that he wants to come back here and work for you again and again in a very high and important position, and that is Niel Staebler, the Democratic candidate for Governor. (Applause)

I, also, want to call to your attention the need of a good Democrat of the Congress of the United States, Mr. Reamon, so you vote for him.

We have with us a fine good looking man that is your candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and I present to you Mr. Derengowski. (Applause) By the way, I forgot to introduce myself, my name is Hubert Humphrey. (Applause) I am getting the word, we have a live television broadcast downtown but before I go, that I wanted to say that anybody who attends Aquinas College should indeed be a supporter of Lyndon B. Johnson and of the Kennedy-Johnson program and administration. Why do I say this, because this great Church man, this great philosopher, this great theologian and this first great political scientist of course is Thomas Aquinas, he was the one who discovered Aristotelian thought. I think if you will study your philosophy you know I tell you the truth. He represented the renaissance of political freedom, that is the fact. He taught us the doctrine of divine law, natural law. As a matter of fact, the Declaration of Independence could not be what it is, it never would have been written with the word that we hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal. It never would have been so written had it not have been for that great philosopher, Thomas Aquinas, who gave us that truth as political fact as well as the spiritual truth. So, I (Applause) -- You see, I am a refugee from a classroom. (Laughter) I am a teacher of political science, I used to teach an introductory course of political philosophy.

That is all I know about it, I should tell you. So, I will leave you with some practical politics now.

We need your help. We need the help of young people. We not only need your help in this election but morally we need your faith and we need your enthusiasm and we need your sense of idealism. I never want America to become rich only in worldly goods. We are pretty rich in those goods. I want our America to become rich in spirit, rich in ideals, rich in the practice of democracy, rich in the concept of justice and rich in the belief for the dignity of man and if we are rich in those important philosophical tenets we will be all right in terms of automobiles and homes and clothing and bank accounts and everything else, and the college students of America have a responsibility second to none other because you are privileged, you are privileged to have the benefits of an education. You are the inheritors of a great cultural, a great cultural heritage, a great cultural background and because you have been given this privilege you owe much to your contemporaries and to the future, and may I say that I believe that I represent here today a program and a policy that believes in the future.

John Kennedy told the American people that we should move ahead. He said, "I accept responsibility." He believed that there were better days for America and we built on that belief and we have better days now than we had four years ago. But the days we have now are not as good as they ought to be and I ask the young people to join with me in the discovery of new days, in the achievement of what some people call the impossible, and one of the ways you could be of help is to, when if you are 21, cast a vote yourself, and if you are not, get your mother and your father, your aunts and your uncles, your grandfather and your grandmother and your neighbors to cast a vote on November 3rd and since I am up here, let me give you some advice and I will advise you, vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic ticket.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Cambau Square, Grand Rapids, Mich.
September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much, thank you.
Thank you.

Thank you, very much, Governor Staebler.
(Laughter) I see no reason you shouldn't get used to it,
for example.

Senator Phillip Hart, my esteemed colleague in the United States Senate, Bill Remon, and the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Derengoski, and my fellow citizens, and the fine good people of Grand Rapids, Michigan: I have been told just a moment ago that it was from this very spot and this very place in this great city that Harry Truman in 1948 launched his successful campaign for election to the Presidency of the United States. (Applause) I have, also, been told it was from this very spot, in this very city, that our late and beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy launched his campaign for the Presidency of the United States. (Applause) And, may I say that if the ticket of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey can be as successful as the ticket of Harry S. Truman and Alben Barkley in 1948, and John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1960, we shall be eternally grateful to the people of this community. (Applause)

Michigan is a great sister State to my State of Minnesota. We have many things in common including a very healthy and wholesome rivalry on football days, and this Fall season, I hope that this campaign may be as cleanly fought and as hard fought and as honorably fought as a Big Ten contest between the University of Minnesota and either of the great Big Ten teams from the great State of Michigan, and I want to say (Applause) -- I want to say that this year, according to what I read, that my alma mater, the University of Minnesota, is going to have just about as much luck in the Big Ten race as Goldwater is in the national campaign. (Applause) I am sorry to have to say that but that was what the coach told me.

I am, however, going to let you in on a secret, I am sort of praying for an upset in the Big Ten, and I am hoping that what I have been reading in the polls is right in the fifty states of this union, namely Johnson on November 3. (Applause)

In this morning's press as we left New York City, looking in one of the great Metropolitan newspapers, I found an

associated press dispatch that read as follows with dateline Grand Rapids, September 24 AP" "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater --" Wait a minute I did not finish the sentence, "a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is "grossly misbranded" because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." I agree.

I don't know of any time that I have seen a more succinct concise and appropriate platform, a candidate and a program, than just what I have read.

I have always been of the opinion when we engage in these political campaigns, that while we must always seek to discuss the issues, it is not a bad idea as fellow Americans that we sort of smile at each other. We are going to live together after November 3 no matter who wins. Somebody said to me the other day, "How do you think life would be under President Barry Goldwater?" and the other fellow said, "Brief." Now, I don't believe that. I don't believe that at all. But, I don't think I want to take a chance. (Laughter) And, that is why I want to come here today and talk to you and see whether or not I could get you to agree with me that the way to continue the forward progress of this America, the way to fulfill our responsibilities, as a great people and a great nation, is to continue in leadership one who has proven that he can be trusted, one who has proven that he understands the dynamics of the American society, one who has proven that he has the experience and the ability to guide this nation during these difficult, during these difficult years, none other than Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause and cheers)

You know it is an amazing thing, every time I hear somebody in the audience speak up for Goldwater they are always over on the far right. (Applause)

Well, friends, I want to talk to you today about what I believe are some of the issues in this campaign. I said that in 1960 America made a choice, just as it is going to make a choice in 1964. In that famous inaugural address of President Kennedy, one that is accredited with being one of the greatest State papers of our time, President Kennedy said, "I do not shrink from responsibility, I welcome it."; and I say to my fellow Americans that if there is one key word that characterizes the administration of one thousand days of John Kennedy as President and ten months of the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson as the successor to our late and beloved President, if there is one single word that stands

out that is the hallmark, it is the word "responsibility." And, America cannot afford to have anyone in the office of president that lacks that quality of responsibility. I say that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has kept faith with America.

A few weeks ago another Senator came to Michigan and he, too, came as a candidate for president, but he did not come here to seek your help in meeting the challenges that are before us. He did not ask for that. He came here to threaten, to warn, to impugn, and to accuse, and to say, if I may repeat it, "No" to the challenges of the 1960's. What a contrast that is with the vision of a gallant young President who asked us to look ahead, to begin, to get this country moving again and who expressed his faith in the great capacity of the American people to meet any challenge. What a contrast to all Americans, Democrats or Republicans, who believed that this generation has a, say, credit obligation to make freedom in diversity prevail in these difficult and dangerous times.

Contrast the confused empty words, if you please, the blurred vision of Senator Goldwater, with the words of John F. Kennedy, that he had planned to say on that fateful day in Dallas, and I found these words only but yesterday, but they seem to me to be so appropriate for this occasion and permit me to read them to you.

"We in this country," said President Kennedy, or he was planning to say, "We in this country and this generation are by destiny rather than by choice the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and our responsibility, that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, good will towards men."

These are words of commitment, of courage, and of inspiration and of greatness. They are not the words of a carping critic. They are not the words that ask us to return to some never-never land. They are not the words that ask us to about face and retreat into the yesterdays. They are the words of a man that asked us to come to grips with the challenges of the tomorrow, who had great faith in our capacity to deal with the future.

Now, let me add that these words should be of some special significance to the people of Grand Rapids, because in this community, and from this community came a very great American, and I speak of Arthur H. Vanderberg, a great Republican, and a

great statesman, who possibly more than anyone else, helped build the foundations of a bipartisan foreign policy. Arthur Vandenberg is no longer with us. I knew him as a friend. I had the privilege of that man putting his arm around me as a freshman United States Senator and encouraging me. I shall never forget it. I had the privilege of that man saying to me, "Senator Humphrey, we would like you on the Foreign Relations Committee" which was an assignment that only a few months after his death, it was my privilege to receive. Vandenberg is no longer with us but his spirit is, and his voice lives on, and let me assure you that Americans of both parties, that is, Americans of both parties who have a responsibility to those parties, are determined to see his legacy preserved despite the ominous threat to all he held dear from the present temporary spokesman of the Republican Party.

So, we stand today here committed to the continuance of the basic tenets of that bipartisan foreign policy which today is under assault. But, may I say it will weather this storm as it has others.

So, I come to Grand Rapids not to spread the doctrine of fear or distrust or suspicion. I come here to preach the doctrine of unity and to ask the American people to stand as one and to believe in one another. I come here to speak the doctrine of equality and human dignity because America is only as strong as its people united and committed, to the ideals of this republic.

I said that the hallmark of this Administration was responsibility, and let me outline what I mean by it. Responsibility is more than talk, and it is revealed by deeds, and it is on the basis of the deeds that President Johnson and the Democratic Party come to you, and it is on the basis of those deeds that we say we have demonstrated our capacity to move America. Responsibility is converting a limping recession-ridden economy which Michigan experienced in three recessions in eight years from 1952 to 1960. The automobile industry of this State knows it. But you know, responsibility in Government with a program to get America moving again, that responsibility has resulted in the most dynamic economy that the world has ever known, with a rate of economic growth unprecedented until today throughout this land there are more people employed than ever before, profits are higher than ever before. The gross national product is up a hundred twenty five billions of dollars. That is responsibility and it came under the Administration of Kennedy and Johnson. Is it any wonder that Mr. Ford supports him?
(Applause)

Yes, my friends, it is no mystery why some of the captains of finance and industry today have joined under the banner of Lyndon Johnson. I will tell you why. Because they see in him a responsible man. They see in him someone who wants to literally unleash the tremendous creative capacity, productive capacity of America.

I met this morning in New York City with Republicans and Independents for Lyndon Johnson headed up by one of the great campaign directors of the late and beloved Wendell Wilkie and what did he say? He said, Republicans who have responsibility for the management of finance and the direction of industry cannot afford to take the chance with an irresponsible man who has made no commitments to the progress of American industry. So they stand with Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Responsibility is guaranteeing the workers a fair and decent wage, and we kept that responsibility in the Minimum Wage Act. And responsibility is reducing taxes, individual and corporate, in order to release in America tremendous purchasing power so as to expand this economy and yet at the same time, improve Federal revenues. Isn't it interesting, my friends, that most Republicans and most Democrats in the House and in the Senate voted for a tax reduction, but not Senator Goldwater.

Responsibility is insuring that America will be first in military power, and also first in the pursuit of a just peace.

Responsibility is the signing of a nuclear test ban treaty, and we celebrated its anniversary only yesterday. That treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States one year ago and, ladies and gentlemen, it was that treaty which gave America the first glimmering hope of a more peaceful world. It was that treaty which spared future generations from atmospheric pollution of radioactive debris, and most Senators charged with responsibility for the ratification or the rejection of a treaty, most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for peace, voted for the progress of peace, voted for the nuclear test ban treaty, voted for it because they knew it was morally right, they knew it was politically right, they knew it was militarily right. Most of them voted for it. Over two-thirds voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

This great city is known for its sense of idealism, and I believe that one of the characteristics of this Administration and one that we will forward is the continuation of that idealism, an idealism that gave us a Peace Corps which really exhibits to the world the genuine spirit and the true image

of America, an idealism, if you please, that calls upon the American people to help feed the hungry in other lands, to help heal the sick and to help teach the illiterate. These are not merely expressions of spirit or of spiritual truth. They are expressions of reality by the Government of the United States and the people of the American Republic. We have made them into law. In area after area, in program after program, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party has demonstrated responsibility.

I say to this audience today that we cannot afford impetuosity, we cannot afford recklessness, we cannot afford the uncertain trumpet, we cannot afford indecision. We need in a President a man who knows what he says and says what he means, and doesn't have to explain it and re-explain it and re-re-explain it time after time. (Applause) We need a President who above all recognizes that we are a great nation and asks us to be greater, who lifts our sights to the new day and doesn't ask us to view America through a rearview window and through a mirror that tells us only of that which we have passed.

I said to some students the other day that it is a wonderful thing to study ancient history and it is. But, may I give you some advice, don't vote it. (Laughter and Applause)

We are a great nation, and we strive to be greater, that is our goal. We are proud of our accomplishments, but they are but a platform from whence we will proceed to greater achievements. We must strive for greater freedom. We must be a just nation, but we must strive for greater justice. We are a compassionate nation, but we must strive for greater compassion. So, I return to Michigan four years after John F. Kennedy stood in this place to again ask for your help, ask for your hands, ask for your hearts. Let us join together therefore in seeking the election of a man for America and for the world that we can trust and one in whom we can place our reliance, and I believe that that man is, and I believe that you know he is, and I think you are going to demonstrate that you know he is the man on election day, and that man is Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States. Thank you.

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Wayland, Michigan
September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thanks very much. May I first of all extend my thanks to this fine community for greeting us with so much fine hospitality and this gift. I want first of all to again thank the band for their wonderful reception of us. We are just so pleased that you have the band out, the school band, to welcome us, and I am glad to know that in Michigan as I come along these many communities that they are playing the Minnesota Rousers, because already in Michigan we have that football season on and it is hard to get a Michigan band to play the Minnesota Rousers. They want to cheer the Michigan band on. We are good friends in Michigan and Minnesota and I want to think all of us can be good friends.

There is a great campaign going on, a tremendous campaign, and I want to say I am very privileged to be right in the middle of it, and the campaign I am talking about is for the President of the Student Council at Wayland High School. (Applause)

Now, I believe that everybody is entitled to equal time and equal opportunity and I think right now what we ought to do is to ask these candidates to say why they should receive a majority vote. Do you think that is right? (Cries of "Yes") I think we have got to let President Johnson and Senator Goldwater to know they are not the only two running forces. Right here we have Jerry Parks (Applause) and here we have Tom Consel. I have just been informed what their platform is. Their platform is easier grading and better and more student activities. But truthfully, Jerry and Tom, I am honored by your presence, the fact you would make this presentation. May I say that we don't carry along with us cow bells but this one was presented to me by these two distinguished young fellow citizens of yours, and it is 125 years old, and it really and truly is what you might call an antique. I am glad my wife isn't along, she might want to buy it. This way I get it for nothing. But it is the sort of bell that calls all good men and women to the aid of their country, and if you don't mind my saying so since this is a political campaign, I want every good person when he hears this bell tolled and he hears that familiar old sound that he will remember that what he is supposed to be doing is voting for that Texas Rancher, that knows what a cow bell is for and how to ring it, Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

We have to get along very shortly.

First of all I want to say that I hope you find that your interest in politics is not the most unhappy experience of your life. I call my airplane, the plane we charter to fly on these trips, I call it the Happy Warrior because I am of the opinion when you are engaged in something as important as representative government, and politics is what makes possible representative government, you ought not to go around complaining and grouching and being mean and ugly, you ought to go around at least with a sense of happiness and hopefully with a sense of confidence. I don't mean to say that politics must always be fun in order to be enjoyable. I always felt a person when he enjoyed his work he felt good. Sometimes some of the men and women who travel with us in the news media from radio, television and press will say to me, "How come you always feel so happy?" Because I like what I am doing, that is why; because I believe in what I am doing. I have always enjoyed public life. It is sometimes very demanding, there are times when it becomes a little unhappy for you. There are things said and things done that you wish did not happen. I think it is harder on the youngsters, if you are the son or a daughter of a man running for office, it is tougher on them than a person who is aspiring for that office.

But, I want to leave this message with the young people here of Wayland School and of St. Theresa's, I want to say -- St. Theresa, I imagine, isn't that right, Grade School -- I want to leave this message with you: American politics is a part of your life. I know many times people say politics is dirty. I used to be a teacher and I said to my classes, "If you think it is dirty, get a bar of soap and go in and clean it up. Don't stand on the sidelines criticizing, everybody get in and do something about it."

One of the most rewarding experiences I have had in this campaign, and I say this to the parents that are here, is the presence of so many young people wherever we go, there are hundreds and hundreds of young people that are interested in American political life. I think that one of the greatest things that our late President, beloved President John Kennedy, did for America, as a young man, was to interest young people in their country. I think when he was taken from us, that the group that wept the most, and that felt the saddest were the young ones, and I am so happy now to see so many young people that want to learn more about their government, no more about the candidates. They get very excited, we all do.

I ask you, however, to study your government, to learn about your candidates, to learn about the issues, and as I said to some grade school students here just a moment ago I am

going to make two requests of you. When you go home you ask your parents and your neighbors of 21 years and over, "Are you registered," because if you are not registered, you can't vote, and if you are not registered, you really are not doing a good job as a citizen.

I found when I was Mayor of Minneapolis that the people who complained the loudest were the people who never took time to vote in an election.

You know one time I remember a group came in to see me, they were complaining, and I asked them this question: "Did you vote?" And of that group of ten there were only three that had voted, and I said to them, I said, "Listen, if you did not have ten minutes to vote either for me or against me, I haven't got ten minutes to listen to your gripes."

And the truth of the matter is that you must have people who are willing to do something about their country, and you can't all be in public office, we don't have that many offices at the same time. You can aspire to them. But you ought to have people that are willing to cast a vote for or against, for their favorite candidate, for their program, for whatever is on that ballot or against it, however you may feel.

So, ask your parents, ask your neighbors, "Are you registered," and then would you ask one other thing and I mention this particularly to young teenagers because I am a parent, I am not just a Senator and candidate, I am a husband, I am a father, I am a parent and I give a lot of advice to my family, you know -- most fathers and mothers do -- and sometimes we have a little trouble about getting our young ones to abide by it, I guess when we were young we had some of the same troubles. When you get home you go and give your folks some advice, and this is a chance of a lifetime to sort of get even, you know. You go home and ask a simple question, "Mother, Dad, are you registered?" and if they say, "No," then you say, "Well, you have a few more days to prove whether or not you are a good citizen because if you don't register you really are not fulfilling your obligations of citizenship," and if they are registered then you say to them, "I hope you are going to take time on November 3rd to vote." Encourage them to vote.

I am going to give you some advice, and if you want to believe me and I hope you will, you can even go a little further on the advice that you give your folks, first you advise them to register; second, advise them to vote, and then if you just really want to nail it down so you are really doing the right thing, you advise them to vote for Lyndon

Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and a Democratic Congress.
(Applause)

We have got to run along now. I want you to know this man here. This is Niel Staebler, Congressman and candidate for Governor. (Applause) Right here along side of me is one of my close and dear friends, as is Mr. Staebler, we have been working together for years. He has worked in the United States Senate, he is considered one of the most brilliant and able and, may I say, one of the kindest and humblest members in that body. We are so proud of him. I might add he is also the father of eight wonderful children. He gives them a lot of advise too. (Applause) And, they are going to give him some, too, and this man is your United States Senator from the State of Michigan. He is up for re-election this year and there isn't a shadow of a doubt what you are going to do. You are going to keep him there because he is doing such a good job for you and that is my friend, Phillip Hart. (Applause)

And, we, also, have with us another young man, Mr. Erendowski, where are you here, here you are, this is your candidate in the State of Michigan on the Democratic ticket for Lieutenant Governor, a fine young man. (Applause) This father, this young man has six children, age five to twenty-one. He gives them a lot of advice, too, and they give him some. All right. Right down there is the candidate for the Michigan legislature (Applause) and listen, we never want to forget the county officials here and Mr. Stoddard, a fine looking healthy man, just the kind you need for Senator. I have completed my part of the program except to tell you, you have been so wonderful. I thank you, very, very much and when I get back to Washington I am going to tell President Johnson that no matter how you vote -- and that is your privilege, nobody will ever know, you keep that a big secret -- but no matter how you vote, I am going to tell him I was in such a town where the people were the most considerate, polite and most generous people I have been in. (Applause)

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Western Michigan State University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. First of all, my greetings to an old friend, a fellow student, a gentleman who now has the honored position to be the President of this great Western Michigan University, your own Dr. James Miller, but to me, just my friend, Jim Miller. Mighty happy to see you, Jim, and mighty happy to see you doing so well, may I say.

(Laughter)

Secondly, may I express my thanks to Mike Bellind for his courtest and hospitality in his introduction; and thirdly I am happy to report to this excellent student body and faculty at the administration of this university that Mr. Kenneth Gray, the Legislative Assistant to the great Senator from Illinois, Paul Douglas, whose wife is my secretary, is a graduate of this university in 1953, and now is sort of in charge of our airplane and our tour. Come on, Ken, stand up there.

(Applause)

If every one of you turn out as well as Kenneth Gray, there will be a job waiting for you on some senatorial staff in Washington.

(Laughter)

Well, this is indeed a wonderful audience, and I must say that I am singularly honored by not only the size of it but also by its quality. Today we will have a little give and take. I have always believed that every good red-blooded American ought to have an opportunity to take one good bite at it, a live United States Senator. I am going to give you that chance because today we are going to have at the request of your student president, and also at the request of your president of the university, a question and answer period. I have a feeling that the questions will be better than the answers but at least we will have some fun.

So lean back, open up your minds, think out those tough questions, my friends of the Goldwater faction (applause), and I am glad to know there are so few of you, it's very reassuring (applause), and all of you of the Johnson-Humphrey faction, prepare to do battle from this moment on.

You know, there is an old phrase about, "Well, what's new?" And I suppose that we have asked ours a thousand times through our lives, what's new, and most say there is nothing new under the sun. In fact, they say history is a report of new things to come but I believe that when you think of the word "new" and you think what that word means that it has a deep application to our own country.

Yes, it's called a new world, at least it was in its period of discovery, and in fact America is always new because it seems to revitalize itself in every generation. America is a continuous discovery of better ways to do things, and in many ways America was a discovery of how a people could translate the spiritual concept of human dignity into political reality. That is in fact what the Constitution of the United States seeks to do, and the purpose of representative government is to make this truth, which is, when it's a spiritual truth, of the importance of the individual, this concept of human dignity, to make that a living fact in the lives of our people and of our Nation.

The desire for human freedom is not new. It's as old as man himself, and it surely is as old as recorded civilization. And the desire to change is not new. People always want a change. And the definition of a liberal is a person who can accept the fact of change and to guide those forces of change within the standards of the ideals and the commitments of a Nation or of a society.

Now America did not grow by turning inward. We grew by extending ourself, by reaching out, reaching out for new frontiers. In fact, reaching out for opportunity. The American dream was not conceived in the "conscience of a conservative" but in the hope of the visionary. In fact, it is true that those who are the dreamers, those who are the idealists of today, those who are the prophets of the present hour are in fact the only practical people in the world because if you hesitate or fail to dream, if you lack the capacity of imagination, if you fail to have that great strength of hope, then it is fair to say that you are dead without knowing it.

The theme of America, and I think the theme of our current society, is ingenuity, and its innovation -- and when I hear people constantly reminding us to return to some nostalgic past, I can't help but feel that they have been cheating the calendar. They don't realize it but they have run out of life, except they are still physically with us.

Now what was new in America, might I add, after a decade of Hardy, Coolidge and Hoover? Very little happened during that decade. But what was new was the New Deal. What was new was the Good Neighbor Policy, a new deal for our people at home and a good neighbor policy as an expression of our attitude toward people abroad.

What was new in America and the world after the destructive years of World War II? I'll tell you what was new, not reciting merely the Pledge of Allegiance, not merely referring to days gone by, not merely reminding Americans of old virtues, but what was new was coming to grips with the kind of the world which we faced which was a changed world, a world that required rebuilding, a world that required rehabilitation and leadership. And what was new was the Marshall Plan; what was new was the United Nations, the Charter of the United Nations representing the hope of mankind. And what was new was the Point Four Program where Americans for the first time decided to take the promise of America not only to our own shores but to take it to people throughout the world.

And what was new in the Americas after the lull of the 1950's? I'll tell you what was new, the call of John Kennedy for a new frontier, to get America moving once again, the willingness of a young man to stand up and say, "I welcome responsibility. I accept it." The willingness of a great young President, valiant and vigorous, to say to the American people, "Let's get moving. Let's get this country on the move once again." That is what was new.

(Applause)

I fully agree with the late President Kennedy who said that this generation of Americans would not willingly change places with any other generation, and I agree with President Johnson who has had the vision, who has had the vision of a great society of tomorrow, not the sort of a recitation of the history of yesterdays.

May I say to every student in this body, study ancient history, it reminds you of the past, of the goals of yesterdays. Study it and learn it well, but don't vote it.

(Applause)

Now what should be the goal of our efforts in this generation? It was expressed, I believe most aptly and

appropriately by a noted historian, Arnold Toynbee. Arnold Toynbee said, "Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which men dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

Yes, he said we would be remembered because we had the vision to want to take what science and technology and education had given to some of us and to make it available to all of humanity. He knew that what would make this generation known and remembered was not a riot or as some say the crime in the streets, but rather, may I say, the humanitarian impulses that have led the American people in these post-war years to do more for their fellow human beings than any people in the history of the world has ever done for anyone else (applause) and we are going to continue to do that. We will make available the full benefits of our civilization, first, to our own, to our own war, in our war on poverty, in our efforts in education, to our own under-privileged but at the same time we are going to make these benefits available to other peoples of the world in their requests for self-fulfillment, and I warn young people to beware of those voices that tell you that we can't do it. There are so many of the cannot-doers, the people who view with alarm, and speak of doom and gloom; there are so many that tell us, "Don't do it now. Don't start it."

What we need in this world are some people who look up ahead and when they see the traffic sign, it says go, not stop, not halt. People who see the signs of life and say yes to it; people who look to the future and accept it, and embrace it.

Now I am one of those who believes that helping others we help ourselves. I am one of those that believes that the way you build a strong and a better America is not only to show concern for our own, but also to show interest in others that are not of us.

Americans have always been willing to meet challenges. That is one of the great qualities of our people. That is, if the challenges are made aware to us. But if all we talk about are our problems, if all we see are our difficulties, then we will never get around to understanding that challenges and opportunities are available.

I think the difference between a man that believes in the future and one that is addicted to the past is the one of the past sees nothing but problems and difficulties, and the man

that believes in the future sees every problem as a challenge and every difficulty as an opportunity and it's on that side that I stand.

I come here today as a spokesman for the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, an Administration to which I have given the best of my efforts, limited as they may be.

It has been my privilege to sit at the conference table with these two Presidents, to hammer out and help hammer out, I think, the most important and dramatic and the most comprehensive legislative program that has ever been designed or passed in our years of American Government.

(Applause)

We saw the problems and we made them challenges, and the challenge has been presented and it's being accepted. We have witnessed a resurgence of America and particularly of American youth in accepting that challenge, and I think the most dramatic evidence of what I speak, one should present evidence when he presents generalities, he should present a bill of particulars, so let me particularize.

I believe that we have demonstrated in America that we do accept challenges and that we are unafraid, that we do understand the world in which we live, that we are going to do something about it.

The Peace Corps: This is our answer to one of the challenges. When first launched, however, it was greeted with cynicism and skepticism. In fact, it was greeted with skepticism of a leading candidate for the presidential office of a fraction or faction of a major political party.

(Applause)

I am happy to report that nowadays practically everyone agrees that the Peace Corps is a success. I am particularly happy to report it because when I first offered it in the Senate, I was accused of being one of those far out liberals. I was accused of being way out there with all this so-called New Frontier-New Deal idealism. It was said that it wouldn't work, it was said if you turn these young people loose in the world all they will do is get in trouble. All the old fogies had their word and had their say.

(Applause)

By the way, it's bad enough to be an old fogie, but to be a young one is intolerable and unforgiveable.

And President Kennedy put the weight of his office behind the launching of the Peace Corps. And President Johnson has maintained that support. And truly, it's not Presidents and Senators that ought to be given praise for it, in fact, the people who bear the primary credit for the Peace Corps are the volunteers themselves, and if I am not mistaken, President Miller, I believe that this great Michigan Western University is one of the leading training places or one of the leading institutions for volunteers for the Peace Corps, and I want to salute you on that wonderful record of service to country and mankind.

(Applause)

If the Kennedy-Johnson Administration had done nothing more in the field of national security and foreign policy than to have advanced the idea of a Peace Corps and brought it to fruition, it would be deserving of high honor and respect.

Now the volunteers are returning and new ones are going out into the field, and the volunteers that return come back citizens, mature and responsible, come back to be teachers, come back for public service, for foreign service, for community development. We have helped others, we have served others, and in the process we have served ourselves so that America today has been enriched by a whole cadre of trained and competent, mature people of the Peace Corps that are prepared to do better things, to give America for Americans.

(Applause)

I might add that something else has happened that I think is new and worthwhile. We have strengthened our foreign service and our diplomatic service. I encourage young people at this great university to look forward to a career in the service of your nation. You can do that many ways, indeed in private work, private enterprise, community institutions, education, but we are going to need better people all the time in government, because the government of America has such tremendous responsibilities, and I have very little patience with those who seem to work their way through a rather unhappy and miserable life by going around condemning the government of the United States. We expect this from our enemies. We expect this from people who do not believe in or understand democratic

institutions. But to spread rumor and doubt, to spread suspicion about the Government of the United States, to put it as the enemy against the people, to put it against the State and local government is to do a disservice to representative government, and those who are guilty of it should be rebuked by being denied the opportunity of public trust.

(Applause)

I mentioned that we have been able to recruit and equally important to keep, good men, good personnel, in high positions because President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life a spirit that was best described by John Adams as "one of public happiness."

Now what's that spirit? Well, it was the spirit, said Adams, "that possessed the American Colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought. It's a spirit which is reflected in the life, in participation of public discussion and public action. This spirit of public happiness is a joy in American citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, in dedication." And I have said from every platform that I have been permitted to use or to speak from, that I believe that the cause of American politics, efforts in the political campaign ought to be undertaken in a spirit of happiness. American politics ought not to be a grimey, miserable, gloomy business. We are talking about the business of a great people, and American people essentially are optimistic, they are outgoing, they are enthusiastic, they are idealistic, and they are happy and I think that is what differentiates them from any other people in the world. Public happiness is a state of mind, but it is also a state of conscience and of spirit, and those that go around peddling the virus that politics is bad, that those who are in it are worse than anyone else, and that somehow or another the only way to be sanctified or purified is to remain aloof from it, I say they are the enemies of representative government and democracy, and I have little or nothing to do with them if I can help it.

(Applause)

Well, it was ten years ago that another great effort was started. Some of us were told repeatedly that America was in serious trouble, in terrible trouble. The bounty of our fields and of our orchards, of our farms, what a terrible thing. Some of these prophets of doom and gloom said we have too much to eat, too much in our warehouses, too much in our graineries

in a world of hunger, in a world of hunger. And there were too few people with vision to see that divine providence had blessed this earth with enough to eat if but man knew how to use it and distribute it.

America came out of World War II unscathed, its cities intact, its fields unblemished, its agriculture improved, its industry war-proof, and of all the segments of our economy that have demonstrated efficiency and have used technology and scientific research, agriculture is at the top of the list.

The miracle of America today is not its factories, important as they are; the miracle of production in America today is America's agriculture, the family farm. With all of Mr. Khrushchev's satellites, with all of his sputnicks, with all of his propaganda there is one thing he has never been able to claim, and that is agricultural success, and there is one thing they haven't got in the Soviet Union, a single family-owned, family-operated farm, and I think that is why his agriculture is a mess.

(Applause)

Some of us had a dream, yes, we were dreamers. Some of us had an ideal, we had imagination. We were called far out liberals. But we dreamed of putting food to use, the abundance of our agriculture to use, and I am happy to say in this instance there were dreamers in both parties, and together we designed the beginning of a program. First it was nothing but a surplus disposal program, and it was my view that if all we had in mind was attempting to dispose of surpluses which made the rest of the world sort of a disposal unit, that we were losing much of the moral value of what we could do with food. So we re-created the program, we re-designed it and I had a hand in it, and we designed what we called Food for Peace Program and what have we been able to do with the Food for Peace Program? More people in this world are hungry than fed. More people in this world are sick than healthy, and more people in this world are illiterate than educated.

We, the well-fed, we, the healthy, we that are educated, we that represented the privileged minority, and it's always been my view that those who embrace great spiritual concepts as we do in our respective religions that we had an obligation, a moral obligation to translate those concepts and those beliefs into practical action, and so we set forth a great program known as Food for Peace, and we began to use the abundance

of our farms and of our soil, and today millions of people have been saved, their lives saved, because of America, because of you, because of your parents. We used the production of our farms to feed the hungry, to heal the sick. We used the production of our farms through Food for Peace not only to feed people but to build hospitals, schools, roads, ports, to provide payment for work. Food for Peace, it is like in the days of the Medieval Age, when the duke or the king would think he found a scientist of a sort, and he would put this man up in the tower, I guess they called them alchemists, and they would ask that man to produce from base metal gold, and if he couldn't, off his head. Needless to say many heads were lopped off and with very little gold to be found.

But in our time, in our generation, within your life time we have been able to take wheat from Michigan and Minnesota and in Kansas and we have been able to use wheat to feed the hungry, to take the proceeds from that wheat to build schools, to educate the illiterate, to train scientists, to build roads, to build homes, to build community centers. We in turn have made food life and how did we do it? By worshipping the past? By asking us to look through a rear view mirror at the yesterdays? Not on your life. We did it by having some vision of a better tomorrow, by being dreamers, by recognizing America is dedicated to the new, that America is a nation of innovation, a nation of creation, a nation of inventiveness, and a government of the United States, your government, a good government, a wholesome government, a government of the people, and by the people and for the people. That government today is feeding over 100 million people in other lands and 40 million school children under Food for Peace. I am proud of it.

(Applause)

Let me just conclude on this note. We have had many problems, and I know we have people today who say this is a terrible thing, we haven't settled them all. But there are problems of this world which are not to be settled in your life time or mine. The mark of maturity is patience. A government worthy of respect is one that pursues relentlessly the cause of justice, and leaders that merit your confidence must be responsible. The only way that I know that America will lose its role of leadership, the mantle of leadership, the only way that I think the Free World can lose to the totalitarian is if we become too impatient, too impetuous, if we yield to our frustrations, if we fail to think it through.

Let me give you some real ray of hope. We are not losing. The Free World is not in retreat. A whole world that was demolished by war has been rebuilt. Freedom is stronger in Europe today than it has ever been in the history of the world. The Alliance for Progress is beginning to take hold in Latin America. Millions of homes are being built. Thousands of classrooms are being constructed. Millions of school books for the first time are being made available to the young. Ten countries in Latin America have already exceeded the goals of the Punta Del Este Conference. More people today have heard the message of freedom than ever before. People that lived under the boot of an imperial power are today struggling with the first experiences of freedom. Freedom does not come easy. Independence isn't something that is guaranteed. It is fought for today. And when I hear loud voices in America telling us that America is weak, when I hear those voices telling us that the communists are winning, I say to myself, "You are doing unwittingly and I know unknowingly the work of the enemy." America is not losing nor is the Free World. The burdens are heavy, the costs are high, but the stakes are high, too, and this American has no intention by his vote, by his word or by his deed aiding and abetting or adding any comfort to the enemies of freedom, to those who are espousing the cause of totalitarianism.

And I say to those who preach from political platforms that when you spread doubt about your government, when you say that our military power is weaker today than it was some years ago, when you say we are losing the Cold War, all you are saying is what the enemy wants to hear, and I think it is too high a price for political victory at home.

(Applause)

And there is another price that is too high, the price of negative thinking. Oh, what a future ahead of us, a whole new world to explore. The age of discovery is ours, it didn't belong to Magellan and/or Columbus, it belongs to us. What we have done thus far is but a launching platform for greater accomplishments. We are not content with today. Today is better than yesterday. It should be, but tomorrow needs to be better than today.

I am supporting the candidate for president that has made as his declaration of war, war on poverty. I have no intention of helping a candidate for president who wages war on progress.

(Applause)

Unless there be any misunderstanding, I am unwilling as a

price of our victory to fan the flames of prejudice and intolerance in this country. I am unwilling to preach one doctrine in the South and another in the North, to print pamphlets on civil rights for northern audiences and to deny them in North Carolina and South Carolina. I am unwilling, if you please, to spread the virus of hate, the virus of hate and bigotry. I am unwilling to divide America, and that is why I support a man as President of the United States whose very life, whose very life is a symbol of a united America, a life that knows no North or no South, no East or no West, a President, if you please, that speaks of national unity and means it, a President who asks us in the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "Come let us reason together." A President that knows that America, if it is to survive in the coming decades and generations, must be an America that has common goals and common objectives, and above all an America that symbolizes for the world opportunity in freedom, full opportunity for every man, woman, and child that wants to participate in the dream of American life and the hope that is America, as Lincoln said, the last best hope on earth. Thank you. (Applause) Thank you very much.

Where are those tough questions?

Question. Senator Humphrey, this question has two parts. President Johnson has implied that he cannot and should not delegate the authority to field commanders to use nuclear weapons. Has not President Johnson delegated just such authority during his Administration and in view of the fact that the Democratic platform states "Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the President," does President Johnson intend to delegate such authority --- (balance of question could not be heard).

Senator Humphrey. This question of nuclear power policy or nuclear weapons policy is one that has had, I think, far too much free and open discussion at the expense of national security. The President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief has sole responsibility for the control and the use of nuclear weapons. That responsibility is his and only his, and for us to get into the details of every possible condition that might exist in this world as to how the President will use that authority it seems to me is bordering upon exposing ourselves to revealing classified important defense information.

I have a suggestion on nuclear power and nuclear energy. My suggestion is this: that we accept what is the known fact since the time of Harry S. Truman, that the President of the

United States and only the President has that responsibility for the control of that weapon; and how that weapon is deployed, or how and when it is used, is a matter of the highest importance to the security of this nation, and I repeat once again, that if the price of election victory is bickering over every little exigency, every little possibility that might come in some faraway or some unknown place, then the price may be the price of American security. I think it is too much. I won't pay it. I think the policy is mistaken clearly and from here on out the best thing to do is to maintain a supremacy of civilian control of the Presidency over that weapon.

(Applause)

Question. Senator Humphrey, what is your interpretation of states rights as outlined by Senator Barry Goldwater, and how does it in principle differ from segregation in principle?

Senator Humphrey. You heard the question. There is some sort of a myth running through this country that state governments are a thing of the past. But they are not. The figures are not here with me but let me say that the increase in activities of government has not been at the federal level except in defense. It has been at the state and local level. 200 to 300 percent increase in personnel, 400 percent increase in state indebtedness or local indebtedness. The Federal Government is not paralyzing state government. As a matter of fact, the state governments have a lot of vitality. But more important, let's have a little lesson in American government. American government is not at Washington alone nor is it at a state capital alone. American government is government from the independent commission or political subdivision, a township, a village, a town, a city, a county, a state government and a Federal Government. It is a total picture of government each having its respective role to play. There isn't any natural born enmity between federal and state government. Government is used where it is best able to be used for a particular purpose. What Mr. Goldwater sought to do is to try to tell the people of America that somehow or another state government is no longer a viable force in America today. Of course, that is not true. There are 50 state governments, and they are bigger than they have ever been before. They tax more than they have ever taxed before. They spend more money than they have ever spent before. They hire more employees than they ever hired before. They do more things than they have ever done before, and why? Because it is a bigger country, because there are more needs, because there are more people. State governments haven't died.

State governments aren't out of date. What is out of date is the thinking of Mr. Goldwater. He is a poor study of American government.

(Applause)

Question. Senator Humphrey, this question concerns the ADA. (The question could not be heard.)

Senator Humphrey. I hope the audience heard that question fully. It was in reference to a favorite topic of fiction and of happiness for the unhappy fraction of the Republican Party known as the Goldwaterites. It is related to what they call ADA. Now may I have the question so I can repeat it because of its length.

Concerning the ADA with its present support, with its support of proposals such as the recognition of Red China, let's start with that one: what ADA has suggested is that there be exploratory negotiations as to the possibility with our allies of recognition of Red China provided that Nationalist China was still recognized and maintained as an independent national entity with its membership in the United Nations on the Security Council. Now they didn't go as far as John Foster Dulles who advocated open recognition of Red China. Now there are many people who agree with this position. I don't. I do not happen to believe in a recognition of Red China. Many of my friends are very critical of me because of this. I do not want Red China to be admitted to the United Nations. But I think it is a disservice to ADA to say that it has asked immediate recognition. It has not. It didn't go nearly as far as the former Secretary of State, the late Secretary of State of the Eisenhower Administration, before he became Secretary of State.

Now the next question is their admission to the U.N., that is Red China; I discussed that. Loans and easing of pressure on Castro. Never been suggested at all. What has been suggested is that if the Castro regime became representative of the people, if the Castro regime no longer exported its revolution, if it ceased its communist activity, may I say, is a highly improbable set of circumstances, and my friends in ADA occasionally get into that situation, if that happened, then ADA should be -- then Castro and his regime should be brought into the Organization of American States. Now what is Humphrey's position. My position is that Castro's regime is a communist regime in this hemisphere, established here for the purpose of infiltration, of subversion, and that every means possible should be used outside of open

military aggression to bring that regime down, and that every means should be used to weaken it, and everything should be done to isolate it, and believe me, a pretty good job of isolation has been accomplished in the most recent meeting of the Organization of American States.

The next is ADA's proposal of loans to Yugoslavia and Poland. That was the Eisenhower proposal which I voted for. That was initiated in 1952 and '53, and every time a Democrat voted for aid to Poland and Yugoslavia at the request of the Eisenhower Administration he was immediately branded by every Republican out of the hustings as soft on Communism. By the way, Yugoslavia hasn't always been the best little pal of the Soviet Union, and some of us believe that the best policy to pursue is to try to split off from the Soviet Union these Eastern European states, to break up this monolithic body, to try to press forward for greater autonomy. Yes, I have supported foods and loans to Yugoslavia, food to Poland and, may I say, that it has been a very, very good policy. I wonder what the Republican spokesman has to say about the Holy Father, the Pope, negotiating with the Hungarian Government. Does he think that is soft on communism. I don't. I think the Catholic Church knows what it is doing, and I think the Pope knows what he is doing, and he has a special responsibility to his people, to the people of his faith, he has a special responsibility in Christianity, and communism and Marxism in Hungary and Poland of less than 20 years duration is no match for 2,000 years of a great church and a great faith. I am not worried.

(Applause)

Senator Humphrey. Finally, by what reasoning do you declare that the communists are against the ADA? The reasoning is they are. They say so. ADA was established to be an anti, non-communist organization, an anti-communist, militant non-communist liberal organization. When? At a time when the CIO was infiltrated, at the time that many a liberal movement was infiltrated, and this organization was established to cleanse them, and it did a job. May I say the loudest critics of this organization are the communists, are the Birchites, and are these misguided candidates of the Republican Party.

(Applause)

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Has anybody else in the audience got a question. How much time do we have? Well I am very sorry that I can't take more, but I gather you put up your

three best pitchers, and I know this great university is known for its baseball teams, and I want to thank you very much; I have enjoyed this hour with you greatly. Thank you.

Grand Rapids
September 25, 1964

sp: Grand Rapids, Mich.
Sept. 25, 1964 NO Release
1948 - Truman
1960 - Kennedy

Neil Staebler
Phil Hart
Bud Plamen

The Pattern of Responsibility

Four years ago this month, a brave and determined young Senator from Massachusetts came to Michigan to seek your help to get America moving once again. He expressed his belief that this nation could no longer afford to stand still -- that America faced a choice between progress under a Democratic Administration, or stagnation under a Republican administration.

America made its choice. In 1960 we elected John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, to our Nation's highest offices. And in his historic Inaugural Address, our beloved President Kennedy set the tone of this Administration: "I do not shrink from responsibility," he said, "I welcome it."

For a dynamic and unforgettable thousand days, John F. Kennedy kept his promise to America. And when he was taken from us, and the whole world faltered, it

was Lyndon B. Johnson who stepped forward. In our hour of grief, he spoke to the condition of every American:

"This is our challenge -- not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that has been set for us."

During the past ten months, President ~~Lyndon B. Johnson~~ Johnson has given America one of the most productive ^{periods} ~~periods~~ in her history. He has forged and secured the passage of a legislative program that is unparalleled in its sound and compassionate approach to the problems that beset our Nation.

∟ The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has ~~indeed~~ kept faith with America. #

∟ A few weeks ago another Senator came to Michigan. He too came as a candidate for President. But he did not come to seek your help in meeting the challenges of

the future. No, he came to threaten, to warn, to impugn,
to accuse -- and to say "no" to the challenges of the 60's.

What a contrast to the vision, the faith of Presi-
dents Kennedy and Johnson! What a contrast to all

Americans -- Democrats or Republicans -- who believe that
this generation bears a sacred obligation to make freedom
in diversity prevail in these difficult and dangerous
times.

Contrast the confused, empty words, and the blurred
vision of Barry Goldwater with the words that John F.

Kennedy had planned to say in Dallas:

"We in this country, in this generation,
are -- by destiny, rather than choice -- the
watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask,
therefore, that we may be worthy of our power
and responsibility -- that we may exercise our
strength and ^{wisdom} wisdom and restraint -- and that we
may achieve in our time and for all time the
ancient vision of 'Peace on Earth, Good Will
Toward Men.' "

These are words of commitment, of courage and of *inspiration,*
greatness -- a greatness that dwarfs the ideas and

attitudes that prevail among the Goldwater ~~friction~~ ^{fringe}

Let me add that they should be words of special significance to the people of Grand Rapids. For they echo the ideals and vision of a man Grand Rapids gave to America and the world at the end of World War II -- an architect of peace and a champion of freedom.

I speak of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg -- a great Republican and a great American whose achievements are the foundation stone of our bipartisan foreign policy.

Arthur Vandenberg is no longer with us, but his works live on. And let me assure you that Americans of both parties are determined to see his legacy preserved -- despite the ominous threat to all he held dear from the present Republican candidate for the highest office in the land.

I come to Grand Rapids today to reaffirm the conviction that we need not fear the future nor retreat to

the past. I come to ask each of you to join your hands
and hearts in our quest of a better America.

↳ In this quest, the American people must consider
the fundamental question of this campaign: what candidate,
and which party, possesses the sense of responsibility
needed to guide this Nation safely through the turbulent
sixties.

Responsibility is the hallmark of the Kennedy-
Johnson Administration, and responsibility is that
quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from
the leader of the Goldwater faction.

Responsibility is more than talk, and deeds are more
revealing than rhetoric. It is on the basis of deeds
that the Democratic Party has demonstrated its capacity
to lead America forward.

Responsibility is converting a limping, recession-
ridden economy into an economy which has produced 43

consecutive months of record-breaking growth and prosperity.

Responsibility is starting a downward trend in the unemployment rate, ~~which for the last 3-month period was the lowest 3-month average in five years.~~

Responsibility is guaranteeing to workers a fair, decent wage -- the Democratic Administration and Congress have enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25, and broadened coverage too.

Responsibility is reducing taxes to provide individuals and corporations with additional funds to invest for the future.

Responsibility is declaring war on poverty, ~~in recognition that 20 million men, women and children do not participate adequately in the prosperity of this land.~~

Responsibility is guaranteeing the rights of citizenship to every American, regardless of race,

color, creed, or national origin.

Responsibility is providing the American farmer
with ^{an} equitable share in our national prosperity. Farm
income has increased by over \$1 billion each year; sur-
pluses have declined; and exports have risen. But
responsibility is recognizing that much more remains to
be done -- and the Johnson Administration intends to
do it.

Responsibility is insuring that America will be
first in military strength and first in the pursuit of
peace. Today we possess a more powerful military force
than any nation in history ^{and} and the nuclear test-ban
treaty proves that no nation will surpass ^{us in} ~~our~~ determi-
nation to create a safe world for our children.

Responsibility is providing each American child
with an opportunity for an education adequate to develop
his talents to the fullest. And this Democratic Congress

has enacted the most meaningful, comprehensive program of education legislation in our nation's history.

↳ Responsibility is fighting disease and sickness.

And this Administration has established programs to build new health facilities, medical schools and to provide new *research* and scholarships for the training of doctors and nurses.

↳ Responsibility is having the vision to combine the missionary spirit of America ^{with} ~~and~~ the idealism of our youth to help the disadvantaged peoples of the world.

I refer ~~of course~~ to the Peace Corps, which every day is bringing the peoples of the world closer to the true meaning of democracy.

↳ America's idealism and our missionary spirit, however, are not limited to the Peace Corps. The fine people of Grand Rapids themselves have demonstrated the Peace Corps spirit at home -- in your outstanding efforts and achievements in providing housing, education,

and assistance to 250 Cuban refugee families. The
entire nation can be proud of your initiative. Moreover,
this is the kind of spirit which sparked the idea of a
domestic peace corps in the Poverty Program -- a program
to use volunteers, both young and old, to assist the
deprived and afflicted in our own country.

In area after area -- in program after program --
the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic
Party have demonstrated what responsibility in govern-
ment really means: namely, assuring that every citizen
may have the opportunity to participate fully in the
blessings of America.

And what of the words and deeds of the leader of
the Goldwaterites? What of his sense of responsibility?
What has been his answer to the awesome problems which
test our people and our system of government?

To the \$11.5 billion tax cut -- he said "No".

To the Civil Rights Bill -- he said "No".

To programs to educate our youth -- he said "No".

To the re-training of our unemployed workers -- he said "No".

To the test-ban treaty -- he said "No".

To the Trade Expansion Act -- he said "No".

To the Wilderness Bill -- he said "No".

To the Anti-Poverty Program -- he said "No".

To the expansion of Social Security -- he said "No".

To programs to provide equitable farm prices and reduce surpluses -- he said "No".

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction said "No" to virtually every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past four years. This record of retreat, reaction, regression, and "No, no, no," is the very repudiation of responsibility.

Responsibility is not the deliberate and calculated

advocacy of extremism -- however it may be defined and redefined, or explained and re-explained. Responsibility is not an endless stream of confusing, contradictory public statements which befuddle Republicans and Democrats alike.

It is in the conduct of the American President -- in domestic affairs as well as military and foreign affairs -- that responsibility is an absolute prerequisite to national survival. And a capacity for responsibility and sound judgment did not prompt the following statements of Senator Goldwater:

"Now I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip . . . I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them." (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512.)

"The Government has no right to educate children. . . The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get

But

along very well without it." (Speech at Jacksonville, Fla., October 3, 1960, quoted in Louisville Courier Journal, July 8, 1962.)

"I have advocated giving control of nuclear weapons to the supreme commander of NATO." (Press Conference, Reno, Nevada, February 13, 1964.)

"Someday, I am convinced, there will be either a war or we'll be subjugated without war. . . real nuclear war. . . I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five, ten, years from now." (New York Post interview, May 8, 1961.)

~~"Defoliation of the forests (in Southeast Asia) by low yield atomic weapons could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover."~~

"We are told, . . . that many people lack skill and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. . . the fact is that most people who have no skill have had no education for the same reason -- low intelligence or low ambition." (New York Times, January 16, 1964).

These are his own words -- and these words speak louder about his qualifications for the Presidency than anything I could say.

The Presidency demands the highest levels of responsibility and wisdom at times of greatest stress -- the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin -- when one misstep, one rash action, one shot from the hip could ignite the nuclear holocaust which

would incinerate most of the world's population.

This nation has no choice but to elect as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated his ability to bear the immense burdens of this office, and who understands the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper.

↳ We need a President who recognizes that we are a great nation -- but ^{that} we must strive to be greater; that we are a free nation -- but ~~we~~ must strive for greater freedom; that we are a just nation -- but ~~we~~ must strive for greater justice; that we are a compassionate nation -- but ~~we~~ must strive for greater compassion.

So I return to Michigan -- four years after John F. Kennedy -- to again ask for your help and your hand.

Trust Let us join together in seeking the election of the one man ^{that} ~~who~~ America -- and the world -- can trust as President, ~~the one~~ ^a man who profoundly believes in the

Trust

destiny of America and in her people, ~~and the one~~^a man
who will continue to move America forward to greatness --

Lyndon B. Johnson.

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
SEPTEMBER 25, 1964

What is new under the sun?

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, this nation was new, but it was founded on ancient ideas of popular government and equal opportunity. What made it new - what made it ring with hope and promise - what made it America was the new energy, the new faith, the new dedication that men brought to an old dream of freedom.

It is the new energy that constantly renews this weary world. It is the new imagination that energetic men bring to old ideas that keeps the world going and gives it renewed hope.

The pioneers of this nation were not content with the old - they sought the new on the farthest reaches of our continent. America did not grow by turning inward on what it had, but by reaching out for new frontiers of opportunity. The American dream was not conceived in the conscience of conservatives but in the hope of visionaries. Its theme was ingenuity and innovation.

What was new in America after the decade of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover was the New Deal, with its compassionate and realistic social programs for Americans, and its Good Neighbor policy for the nations of the world. This was certainly one of the great eras in the history of our political leadership.

HUMPHREY/political leadership.'

What was new in America - and the world - after the destructive years of World War II was the creative force of the Marshall Plan and Point Four which helped restore dignity and optimism to a world which sometimes seemed without hope.

What was new in America after the lull of the fifties was the New Frontier with its infusion of talent, youth, and vigor into our own national life.

It is a lucky generation of students that is enjoying university life in the 1960's - when the national Administration is fully committed to bringing the vigor and enthusiasm of youth into the mainstream of Public affairs.

I agree with our late President John F. Kennedy that this generation of Americans would not willingly change places with any other generation. I agree with President Johnson that we can take giant steps toward creating the Great Society in our time.

Best What should be the goal of our efforts in this generation? I think it should be the same as that expressed by the noted historian Arnold Toynbee when he said, "Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which man dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

We will make available the full benefits of civilization, first to our own poor and under-privileged, but at the same time to other peoples of the world in their quest for self-fulfillment.

I am not one who believes that in helping others we will deprive ourselves. In fact, I think human understanding and self-knowledge often result most vividly from confrontation with the real problems of others.] *end!*

A few years ago, we heard many complaints about the complacent and self-indulgent generation of the 1950's. But the charge was ill-directed. Americans have always been willing to meet a challenge if they are made aware that the challenge is directed to them. It is one of the functions of our political leadership

HUMPHREY/political leadership.

to properly define and present the challenge.

Under this Administration, the challenge has been presented and accepted. We have witnessed a true resurgence of American youth in accepting this challenge. The most dramatic evidence of this is seen in the response to the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps, when first launched, was greeted with more skepticism than many would care to remember - including the skepticism of a Republican Presidential nominee. I am happy to report that everyone agrees that the Peace Corps is a resounding success. I am particularly happy because I introduced the Senate bill to establish the Peace Corps in 1960.

President Kennedy lent the weight of the Presidential office to the launching of the Peace Corps, and President Johnson has maintained this strong support. But the people who bear primary credit for the success of the Peace Corps are the volunteers themselves - those Americans who realize that there is a moral imperative to service beyond that of mere self-service. And this ideal of public service continues to touch the lives of the returned Peace Corps volunteers. For many returning volunteers, the Peace Corps is a training ground for future careers in the Foreign Service, in the foreign aid program, or in community programs at home designed to deal with culturally deprived young people.

In addition to new programs abroad, this Administration has new standards of vigor and excellence, and brought them into our established diplomatic structure. We have up-graded the role of the ambassador, placing in his hands full responsibility for direction of the multi-agency team that we maintain in many countries. In our recruitment and placement of men and women abroad, we have insisted upon and obtained a greater knowledge of relevant foreign languages. We have demanded and obtained a greater sensitivity to the problems of the new nations.

In choosing non-career ambassadors, for instance, this Administration made the greatest effort in history to seek out the

HUMPHREY/out the

man who could do the most for our country - and not merely give the job to the man who had done most for his political party. This Administration has realized that the Ambassadorship to Brazil, to India, or to Japan is an assignment that is parallel in importance to the post in Britain or France.

To Brazil we sent as Ambassador a distinguished political economist, an expert in the Brazilian economy - a man who has now served with distinction in this giant of the Americas - Lincoln Gordon. To India, a bulwark of democracy in Asia facing staggering economic problems, this Administration appointed one of the world's leading development economists, John Kenneth Galbraith. To Japan, this Administration appointed a leading authority on Asian affairs, a man fluent in Japanese and highly respected in the country to which he is accredited, Edwin O. Reischauer.

Although Presidential elections tend to focus too exclusively on the candidates for the two top offices, the quality of our government depends equally on the calibre of people appointed to key positions in the government, both at home and abroad. No Administration since 1933 has attracted more able, imaginative people to positions of responsibility, Ability, ~~and~~ party affiliation, has been the criterion for appointment.

We have been able to recruit and - equally important - to keep good men in high positions because President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life the spirit described by John Adams as one of "public happiness." It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the

~~American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought, a spirit~~ which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action, a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication.

In using new resources at home to meet new needs abroad, no program has made a greater impact than the Food for Peace Program. It was ten years ago that I proposed and saw enacted the law which has made available to the millions of hungry people across the globe the bounty of America's agricultural miracle. Under this Administration the Food for Peace Program has been expanded both in scope and in volume. Today, Food for Peace feeds more than 100 million people, including 40 million school children.

Instead of viewing this program as a mere means of disposing of our farm surpluses, this Administration has used the local currencies engendered by Food for Peace sales as a lever to build schools, highways, hospitals, and irrigation projects. And, in helping to develop the stability necessary to preserve freedom of choice, we have not hurt ourselves economically. The market development programs under Food for Peace have been one of the causes for a 35% increase in farm exports in the last three and a half years.

In confronting the new challenges to U.S. ingenuity abroad, we have not rested on the conventional approaches to aiding foreign countries. We have re-organized our foreign aid program world-wide and have brought all facets of it within one agency, the Agency for International Development. In our own hemisphere, President Kennedy launched a bold new program of hemispheric cooperation with the nations of Latin America, the Alliance for Progress. Through the Alliance for Progress, which enjoys President Johnson's strong support, we hope to assist our friends in achieving social justice, and economic development, and free constitutional government.

Historians will also note another forward step in the conduct of our foreign affairs -- our renewed effort to tame the atom before it maims us. During this Administration, we and the Soviets have agreed on a resolution prohibiting the orbiting of nuclear weapons in outer space; we have established a "hot line" to avert the accidental miscalculation which might result in all-out nuclear war, and we have achieved a test-ban treaty -- the greatest victory of all. This treaty, now a year old, serves to halt dangerous radioactive fallout, to retard

the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons to other nations, and to reduce the international tensions caused by continued testing.

While we work to help eliminate the possibility of the atom being used to destroy mankind, we also struggle to bring to mankind the benefits of peaceful use of the atom under Operation Flowshare. Plans are underway to dig a new Panama Canal at sea level, to control two great Asian Rivers, the Indus and the Mekong, to create lakes and canals bringing irrigation and electricity to the Sahara -- and to achieve a goal of which man had dreamed about for centuries; to change sea water into fresh water and spread it upon the arid regions of the earth.

Let us continue to tame the atom and to explore the stars. On earth, let us continue to bring people to America, and send our students and teachers to foreign lands, so that we can better understand each other and break down the barriers of nationalism and ideology which lead men to war with one another.

All these great plans require only creative ideas and willingness of the spirit -- the very qualities that have built the United States into the great nation it is today. These are the qualities that we must continue to demand of our leaders -- and of ourselves.

We need an America with the wisdom of experience. But we must not let America grow old in spirit.

Let us continue to be an America of new faith in old dreams. Let us continue to be an America eternally vigorous and creative. Let America continue to be an arsenal of ideas and hope for this weary planet. Let us retain compassion in the midst of indifference, ideals in the midst of cynicism, belief in the midst of despair.

Let America continue to be what it was meant to be by its founders -- a place for the renewal of the human spirit.

If there is anything new under the sun, let it be America.

President James Miller - Sp. Kalamazoo, Mich.
P.M. Release

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
September 25, 1964

Sept. 25, 1964

Ken Gray 1957

INNOVATION AND RENEWAL: AN AMERICAN TRADITION

What is new under the sun?

Mike Galanter

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Peace Corps

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Young Service

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break down the barriers of nationalism and ideology
which lead men to war with one another.

↳ All these great plans require ~~of~~ creative ideas
and willingness of the spirit *Yes to life & to the future,* the very qualities

that have built the United States into the great nation
it is today. These are the qualities that we must
continue to demand of our leaders -- and of ourselves.

↳ We need an America with the wisdom of experience.
But we must not let America grow old in spirit.

↳ Let us continue to be an America of new faith ~~and~~
~~old ideas~~. Let us continue to be an America eternally
vigorous and creative. Let America continue to be an
arsenal of ideas and hope for this weary planet. / Let
us retain compassion in the midst of indifference,
ideals in the midst of cynicism, belief in the midst
of despair.

Sp: Bay City, Mich.
Sept. 25, 1964

Bay City

It's good to be back in MacNamara land -- the state
that has given the nation a great Senator and a great
Secretary of Defence. And if that were not enough,
Michigan has given us another great Senator in Phil Hart,
who will be coming back to Washington next year. We shall
miss Neil Staebler, because we shall need men like him
in the Congress -- but in this case Michigan's need is
greater, and we gladly relinquish him to serve as your
Governor.

And Michigan has still other claims to greatness.
It was in this state, let me remind you, that the American
labor movement and American management first came to

maturity and their leaders learned how to handle their
several and mutual needs in a spirit of good-will. It
was in this state that economic statesmanship came of
age.

✓ Labor and management have grown up and learned
peaceful negotiation, as the nations of the world have
slowly and painfully learned that peaceful negotiation
and compromise pays better in the end than total victory--
for whichever side seems to win in total victory, both
sides lose.

Thanks to many Americans --- to clergymen who insisted
upon social justice, to responsible labor leaders who fought
against tremendous odds, to responsible businessmen concerned
with the public welfare, to political leaders who viewed

government as having a moral responsibility toward
its citizens, and to ordinary citizens who have tried
to live fairly and justly with each other -- we live
today in a country of unparalleled opportunity for
everyone.

The leader of the Goldwater faction places

great emphasis upon the concept of freedom. But every loyal American citizen appreciates fully the importance in a democracy of preserving and extending freedom--the Senator from Arizona surely exercises no monopoly in this regard.

Quite to the contrary. The policies of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society are directed precisely towards the objective of extending freedom and opportunity to all persons in America. Unfortunately the leader of the Goldwater faction fails to understand that the exercise of freedom by any person is directly related to the opportunities which are available for a full and productive life.

--When women and children labored 18 hours
a day for a dollar and a half, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When most Americans knew that a high school
education lay beyond their reach, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When Americans stood in bread lines for
food and lived in hobo jungles, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When employees and employers settled labor
disputes with clubs and bombs, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When our people were constantly exposed
to sickness and disease, how much freedom did they enjoy?

The answers to these questions are self-evident. The essential role which government performed in eliminating these so-called "freedoms" cannot be denied--not even by the Senator from Arizona. Let us never forget--in the words of Lincoln--that the responsibility of government is to serve the people. And that is a responsibility which Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson took most seriously.

Freedom, rightly understood, must mean opportunity for the unlucky--as well as the fortunate; for the poor--as well as those born to wealth; for the average man--as well as those endowed with genius.

The view of freedom espoused by the leader of the Goldwaterites is the underpinning for a whole new set of freedoms: the freedom to remain ignorant, the freedom to be sick, the freedom to stay unemployed, the freedom to be hungry. Some philosophy! Some freedom!

But this is surely not the philosophy of President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party. In the words of our President, "We will not turn our back on those who through no fault of their own can no longer sustain themselves...This nation will never again fall into indifference toward the distressed and the despairing."

I believe an overwhelming majority of Americans agree that freedom is meaningless without opportunity--

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that freedom for all means opportunity for all.

But not Senator Goldwater.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Bay City, Michigan
Friday, September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Thank you very much, Sandy Brown. I want you good friends from Michigan to know I was enjoying all of that applause. I know that we are not on live television so I wasn't trying to hush you up because I thought if we were paying for the time even though generally that is what I do when it happens being a prudent and frugal man.

(Applause) But I looked out the door here a moment ago, and I saw my staff with the St. Vitus's dance out there wondering whether or not we were going to get over to Flint, Michigan, and since we do have another meeting tonight I thought I would get right down to business even though, may I say, I am enjoying this immensely. It is simply wonderful.

I want to first of all thank Charlie Moskowitz and Charlie Brower, 8th and 10th District chairmen, for their sponsorship of this meeting, for their direction and all county officers. I do this because I understand there are 23 counties, is that right, Charlie, 23 counties represented in this hall tonight, and I know what it takes to win elections. I have had a little winning and some losing, and I like winning better than losing and I know what it takes to win, and it takes organization.

(Applause)

I am mighty proud to be a Democrat. I looked out here and saw Millie, our good friend, and John Swainson. We have been up and down the husting of this State so many times that there isn't anything new that I can state that they haven't heard. One thing about Millie Jeffreys, she always looks interested. I thank you a lot. You are really wonderful.

(Applause)

I come here tonight to help our cause, if we can. I think our cause is good. I think our case is just. I think our cause is right, and I come here as a Democrat with no apologies for the Democratic Party or for the cause that we represent, and I come here tonight to speak to you about the people, the American people, and the progress of those people, the prosperity which we enjoy for most of the people, and some of the difficulties that some of our people encounter, and I come to you to talk to you about what we are doing about those difficulties, and also about the greatest challenge of all, the pursuit of peace or as President Kennedy said, peace is a process. I shall do this within the limits of reasonable time because we all have things to do tonight. But before I get on with it, I want

to express the thanks for these Johnson-Humphrey girls out here. You have been so nice to me in this city, out at the Tri-City Airport and here as we came into the community, I want to thank you for the warmth of your reception, and for the kindness which you give to us. Sometimes those of us who are in the headlines, we forget the people who are behind the line doing the real job. I never want to have that happen to me, because when that happens to you I think you get to be less than useful in politics and become somewhat of a burden, and I would like to be helpful to you, to my country, to our President, and I hope to the people of this great nation.

(Applause)

It's good to be here along side of my friend Phil Hart. We miss Pat McNamara tonight. What a wonderful state that gives such two fine senators to the country and to the Senate. (Applause) I could get all wound up in a speech telling all the wonderful things about your fine Senator who stands for re-election this year. But I have a feeling that you know him as well as I do, and I have a feeling that you are so proud of him, that you are so honored by his wonderful work in the Congress, that you are going to get out there and work for him as you have never worked before in your life, and I say that because it would be nothing short of a national calamity if this man that has represented so honorably every good thing of this State, and every good principle of government were not to be returned to the Nation's Capital, and so I just challenge you tonight to make the majority for Phil Hart the greatest majority that any man has ever had in the State of Michigan.

(Applause)

While you are busy doing that, well, you need a new governor so you had better elect Neil Staebler, too.

(Applause)

What I said about Phil goes for Neil. We are sort of a trio. We have been working together for a long time. I sort of feel half Michigan anyway, you know, I have been over here so much. But it is wonderful to come to a state where the candidate for governor, and the candidate for re-election to the Senate know who they are for and who they are against. That is a refreshing thing.

(Applause)

I just left New York, I spent yesterday afternoon with Bobby Kennedy, and he was getting on the platform up there and he said "I am the only senator, only candidate for the Senate, in the State of New York that can honestly say and is willing to say that I am for Lyndon Johnson and against Barry Goldwater." (Applause) I guess the Governor of New York is sort of for Barry, not much, but sort of, just enough to sort of get a slight amount of contagion but not enough to really get, you know, the fever.

In this state, I know that there has been some problem here as to just who is for whom. I hope that before this campaign is over, that we will be able to find out. I have been reading the paper, that headline was pretty interesting. It says "Romney is with, not for Goldwater." That is a Goldwaterism if I ever heard of it. It is as confusing. (Applause) You read the darndest things these days.

(Applause and laughter)

Well, I want to also tell you that when you elect the President, and I think I know how Michigan is going to vote, I believe that Michigan will do in 1964 what it did in 1960 only it will do it in a bigger and a more generous and in a more overwhelming way. I expect you folks to do just that. (Applause) In fact the President of the United States expects you in this important election in this pivotal state to give to the Democratic ticket the most overwhelming majority that a Democratic ticket has ever received from the State of Michigan. Now that is your work, it is cut out for you, and let's get out and get the job done.

(Applause)

You know I saw something today -- before I go to that I want to say just a word. I mentioned if you are going to elect the President, and you know before I forget it, I am on the ticket, too. You get two for one in this job. (Applause) I just thought I would mention it in case some of my friends would forget.

(Laughter)

And we need also members of Congress. I seldom come into a district to speak against someone. I like to speak for someone. In this instance, I am proud to speak for a gentleman who has served this State well and faithfully for I believe ten years, and that is your State Treasurer, that is Sandy Brown who ought

to be, who will be, if you get out and get busy, will be the Congressman from Michigan's 8th Congressional District. (Applause) And I have a very special reason for you to elect a new congressman in the 10th District. There are only a few of us by the name of Hubert. (Applause) And whenever a man has a monicker like that he deserves some special treatment, so I think you ought to elect Hu Evans as your Congressman from the 10th District. (Applause) By the way -- (cries of "give 'em hell") -- I am going to start doing it in a minute. I don't do that; I never give anybody that. It's just that I tell the truth and they think it's that way.

(Applause)

By the way getting back to this name business, I wonder if you realize that November 3rd, November 3rd is St. Hubert's Day. (Applause) Absolutely, it is St. Hubert's Day, the Feast Day. Now, no other candidate can claim sainthood. (Applause) And I want to be very honest about this, I don't claim it. I claim it for Hubert Evans. (Applause) So Father Burkhardt and Reverend Kahlberg, may I pay my respects to you distinguished men of the clergy. Thank you for your presence here tonight.

Well, I saw something in the paper this morning in New York City that has just been bothering me all day. It's been so interesting, I must share it with you. I have shared it along the route. A few of the folks didn't read it because it wasn't very large. There it is. It was just a small little news story, but you would be surprised the wallop that it packs. Now listen. I want to read it, and if I got it out here, you know I am getting a little older, I have to adjust a little bit here. It is datelined Grand Rapids, Michigan, September 24, A.P., Associated Press. It says "State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water." (Applause) I want to make it, I want to be perfectly clear about this. I didn't say he was for sale. That is just what it said here. It said "State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded'." (Applause) But bear with me, bear with me. "And because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." (Applause) I want to say that is without a doubt the most significant capsule of political fact that I have read over the years.

There really isn't much more to say, and if I were a lawyer,

and I were preparing my case to a jury, and in a sense we are because it is the jury of the American people, I would say that is the summation of the argument; yes, the summation of the argument that it is grossly misbranded, and it lists as its ingredients only artificial coloring, and preservative.

Now you preserve the things that are just really not with much life, and I think that the story speaks for itself.

Well, let's see if we can't be a little more serious.

Senator Hart spoke to you about the possibilities of what could happen in this country. I think most of us just take it for granted we are going to win this election and win it big. But I want to raise a note of warning and caution. No one enjoys reading the polls when they are favorable to our cause, no one enjoys it more than the man who is now speaking to you, and I must say that a great deal of effort has gone into public opinion sampling to make these public opinion surveys as accurate as man is capable of doing. But it is a fact nevertheless that they can err, and it is also a fact that they act somewhat like an opiate. They tend to calm you down, slow you down, put you in a state of semi-paralysis, if you believe everything that you read.

I talked about this to former President Mr. Truman when I visited Kansas City not long ago. We had a wonderful evening together, and I asked him a question about polls, and he said, "I never pay any attention to them." He said, "The only thing to do is to get out to work, work, work," and as he put it, "to do your damndest to win an election," that is exactly the way he said it.

(Applause)

Now I say that because it is possible, it is possible, I don't think it is probable, but it is possible that we could lose this election, and if we do, I want to tell you whose fault it will be. It is like an old friend of mine who worked for the steel workers when he came up on the iron range back in 1948 he was talking to us then about the election and he spoke with an old country accent. He is a wonderful man, he still lives, thank God. He is not too well; I talked to him on the phone the other day. I guess the happiest moment of his life was when I was nominated by the Democratic Convention for the office of Vice-President. He has been my friend for 20 years, and he said to these people, "If we lose this election I will

tell you whose fault it will be. You go to the dime store and buy yourself a mirror and look in it. That is whose fault it will be." (Applause) And my good friends, that is exactly whose fault it will be. If we lose this election, which we are not going to lose, because we dare not, but if we do, it will be because we failed in organization, failed to carry through, failed in registration, failed to take our case to the people. You cannot rely all the time on Barry Goldwater making mistakes. He may change somewhere along the line. (Applause) In fact he is making some effort at it now. I must say that this has been, this campaign has had some worthwhile aspects to it. I think we will term this in the pages of history the prolonged education of a United States Senator who was a candidate for President. Senator Goldwater seems to be occasionally getting in tune with the first half of the 20th Century. We are making progress. (Applause) But I remind you again that many of the gains we have made could be jeopardized.

What are those gains: Well, your Senator mentioned some of them to you. It seems incredible at this stage of American history that any candidate for high public office, any candidate for any party, for any office, would ever even contemplate much less say that Social Security should be voluntary. Why Social Security is as accepted in America as a part of the American system as Mother's Day, except for Barry Goldwater. He doesn't. (Applause) And I want every person in this room that has a mother or father that is eligible for Social Security to remember that Mr. Goldwater does have commitments, does have convictions, and I worry about those convictions. He didn't say it once, he said it a dozen times. He is doubtful as to whether or not the present system of Social Security should be sustained. Let every person aged 62 and 65 remember that because there are people who believe, limited in number, but in this instance very vocal, and now in strategic positions of power in the Republican Party, there are people who would change it. One of the reasons that some of us are out fighting as hard as we are is to see that doesn't happen and it can only happen if we let it happen. It won't happen because of what he does. It will happen because of what we fail to do.

I can't imagine with people unemployed, the victims of technological unemployment, the victims often times of an industry leaving a community and going elsewhere, I simply can't imagine one that would veto or vote against manpower training, so that men and women could be trained for new jobs and new occupations, so that management and capital could have skilled and trained workers. I said I couldn't imagine it. But I have

served in a body of the government where I have witnessed it with my own eyes. I have watched the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, I have watched him vote against it, and yet every businessman, every worker, every local government official, anybody that is concerned about America knows that manpower training is a sound program, sound economically, sound morally, sound educationally, and it has been needed and it has proud results.

(Applause)

It seems incredible to me knowing the problems that we have in education, particularly in higher education, where within the next 30 years we will have to double the classroom space of our colleges and universities -- in the next 30 years, my dear friends, we will have to build more classroom space than we have built in the last 300 years. Now you can't do this without some forward planning, and we need our private colleges as well as our public colleges. We need our schools that are supported by charitable contributions, by religious organizations as well as the great public colleges and universities, and so the Congress of the United States, with the help of this Senator, Senator Hart, and with the help of Senator McNamara, initiated legislation for aid to higher education. It is constitutional, it is desirable, it is needed, it is in the national interest, and most Democrats and most Republicans voted for it and it became law. Yes, most of them voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. Oh no, he didn't see the need of it. And yet he talks about freedom. He talks about opportunity; he talks about the moral tone of American life. Well let me say right now lest we forget it for another moment, that the commitment of the Democratic Party and the commitment of President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey is to see to it that every boy and girl that wants an education and has the ability to get that education, has the desire, I should say, for that education, that that boy and girl will be given an opportunity to have the best education that modern education can provide. That is our commitment. (Applause) This is what we mean by opportunity.

There is no opportunity for a person that is the victim of poverty, the poverty of illiteracy. There is no opportunity for the person that is the victim of the poverty of the spirit, of hopelessness; and when President Lyndon Johnson launched his War on Poverty, he wasn't launching a war merely upon the poverty of the purse because that poverty is easier to overcome than many others. He was launching a war on the poverty

of the spirit, people who have become frustrated and feel a sense of being unwanted and hopelessness because there seemed to be no place for them in society, and above all he was launching a war upon poverty that comes from ignorance and illiteracy and prejudice, and yet when the Anti-poverty Bill came before us which is better known and should be known as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the gentleman today who seeks to be President on the Republican ticket was there and present to vote against it, to vote against the poor, to vote against the helpless, to vote against the children, to vote against the school dropout, while he lectures you on lawlessness, and lectures you upon violence. None of us condone lawlessness or violence. You can never condone it. Those of us who are public officials and have been mayors or governors have had responsibility for law enforcement. We know that the law must be enforced, but let me also say that the law must be just. (Applause) And a just law means opportunity for those who live within the law and under the law.

So we see a whole series of programs to which this man who today asks the American people to make him President, a whole series to which he has said no, no, no.

All this record, opposition to medical facilities, and he wants better medical care, he says, for the American people, and yet doctors and deans of medical schools knew and know and asked the Congress for aid to medical schools, the training of more nurses, medical technicians, and the Senator from Arizona said "no."

He even said "no" to rural electrification. I didn't think there was anybody left in Congress who had ever been there and ever wanted to be there who was against REA. REA has been good for the farmers. It has been good for the appliance dealers, it has been good for everybody. But apparently they still had some kerosene lamps left over in Goldwater's department store.

(Applause)

I am getting conflicting reports; one says, "Stay here, Hubert;" the other one says, "You had better hurry," so I guess I had better hurry. What do you want me to do? (Cries of "stay here" and applause) Well I will tell you, some of my friends think I should stay; some of my friends think I shouldn't, so I will stay with my friends.

(Applause)

Well let me just summarize then my message to you. Whether it is a tax cut that was designed to stimulate this economy or whether it was a bill to expand our medical facilities and our hospitals or whether it was a program to get at the root causes of poverty or whether or not it was a program to train workers so they could once again be productive, or whether or not it was a program to help our farm people or our city people, the record of opposition is there.

Now my fellow Americans, this country didn't get where it is by saying no. This country got where it is today by saying yes, yes to the problems, yes to the challenges, and yes to the opportunities, and what America needs today is not a man in the White House that tries to guide this nation by looking through a rear view mirror but what America needs today is someone who has a clear vision of where America should go, that has a vision of a great society, that has a vision of a new frontier and has a vision of the kind of America that we can really say is America the beautiful, where our cities are more modern and where they are livable and where our people in rural areas have the same opportunities as their cousins and brothers and sisters in the big cities. Where our young have opportunity for an education. Where our afflicted and our sick can have the compassion of a government that cares and where our elderly can live in dignity.

Now how do you get that kind of a society? Well you don't get it by supporting or backing someone that wants to turn off all of progress, that wants to turn back, that wants to retreat. You get it by supporting a party and a program and in this instance may I say a President who in ten months has demonstrated almost unbelievable ability as a leader of this country. You get it by backing a man that wants to take America forward and that man, you know who he is and so do I, and on the day of November 3rd let's have the whole world know where we stand. Let's vote for progress, let's vote for people, let's vote for peace, and the way we get it is to vote for the man that symbolizes it, and in America today that man is none other than Lyndon B. Johnson and his Administration.

(Applause)

Thank you.



news release

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FOR A.M.'S RELEASE

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

FLINT, MICHIGAN

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 25

I have been giving some attention these past two weeks to a subject that has long fascinated me -- political quackery.

As most of you know, I began my professional career as a pharmacist. I had some opportunity to see quacks at work, and found they came in two brands.

The journeyman quack had to find someone who was really ill before he could peddle his nostrum. The really accomplished quack, however, could take a man who was fit as a fiddle, scare him into thinking he was gravely ill, and sell him a useless remedy for a disease he didn't have.

Well, when I got into politics, I found that there were quacks at work in it as well.

Some years ago, there were people telling us that we were on the verge of fascism, and only Communism could save us. Now other people are telling us that we are on the verge of Communism, and only a stiff shot of John Birch beer will save us.

Recently the American people have been exposed to a new brand of economic and political quackery.

We have been told -- in the face of all the facts -- that there is something drastically wrong with our economy. The prescribed nostrum? A five per cent cut in personal and corporate income taxes every five years.

I don't know where this idea came from. Maybe the leader of the Goldwater faction is harking back to that

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old jukebox tune, and wants to be known as "Mr. Five-by-Five."

Of course, he doesn't -- he can't -- deny that times are good. He just thinks we shouldn't feel good about it. He says that what we are enjoying is an "artificial boom."

If he means that there is something phoney or fly-by-night about the prosperity that we are enjoying, he is talking nonsense. It has gone on for 43 straight months -- the longest period of peacetime expansion in our history.

Everyone remembers that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office in the middle of recession -- the third in eight years.

Working in close cooperation with free enterprise and free labor, this administration succeeded in halting and reversing that recession. Since then, by growth-promoting budgetary, tax and monetary policies it has kept expansion going and accelerating.

Surely, by now, we know that recessions don't just happen, and sustained economic growth doesn't happen. Recessions are the result of defects in a man-made system; the sustained economic growth of the past three and a half years is a proof that we can do better if we really try.

These are facts, and every thoughtful American recognizes them -- but not Senator Goldwater.

Like the maps of the ancient geographers, the blank spaces in his knowledge of the 20th century are filled with imaginary monsters.

He speaks, for example, of a "wild spending spree" begun by this administration.

The best measure of spending is the ratio of Federal purchases of goods and services to our gross national product. That averaged 12.3 per cent during the eight Eisenhower years and was down to 10.7 per cent in 1960.

It has averaged 11.1 per cent in the four years of this administration and is down to 10.8 per cent this year.

It is true that, when President Kennedy entered the White House and took immediate inventory of the condition of our defenses, he had to spend some money to make up for past neglect.

That was a sound investment in our nation's survival -- and the fact that we were able to meet and master the Berlin and Cuban missile crises showed how sound it was. And today our defenses are in better shape -- and more soundly and economically administered -- than ever before in our history.

Yes, there is nothing wrong with our economy -- and the remedy that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party has prescribed is sheer fiscal quackery.

He has labeled his nostrum as "safe, sane and regular" -- like a patent medicine huckster -- and called this year's tax cut "impulsive, massive, politically motivated gimmickry ... designed to drug the economy into an artificial boom that would carry it at least past election day."

What, I ask, is impulsive about a measure that was carefully deliberated in Congress for more than a year?

Why was an alleged election-day ploy proposed to Congress 22 months before election?

Why did two-thirds of all Republican senators vote to enact it? Senator Goldwater's own "no" was, he has subsequently said, nothing more than a "nickle-flipping" decision.

You could say, of course, that the Senator has seen the light since then, -- but he hasn't seen it very clearly.

He has seen that a tax cut can be good medicine -- but he hasn't yet understood that it has to be used at the right times and in the right measure.

I have already warned that this five-by-five plan, piled on top of all the other tax cuts and boosts in spending that the Goldwater platform promises, would result in a deficit for 1966 of \$16 or \$17 billion -- enough to curl George Humphrey's hair into corkscrews.

It may be that he has plans to cut that deficit -- plans he hasn't yet revealed to us in the course of this campaign.

He has told us that "the government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its Constitutional mandate -- from social welfare programs , education public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal ..."*

Since he became a candidate he has begun to hedge a bit. He has said that: "We must proceed with care in our task of cutting the government down to size."

I still say, whose size? Senator Goldwater's? Or the size the American people want and need in this year of 1964? And I think we are entitled to straight answers from the Senator to these questions.

How rapidly are you going to eliminate aid to education?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate social welfare?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate public power?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate the farm programs?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate public housing?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate urban renewal?

I think that we are entitled to these answers -- and I believe that, when we have them, we shall find that this 5 x 5 tax cut is the sugar coating on a very bitter pill.

At best, what the leader of the Goldwater faction offers is reckless adventure in economic clairvoyance -- a proposal to freeze tax policy for five years to come, without regard to changing business conditions, military and civilian needs, and the total shape of the domestic and international challenges which may confront us.

At worst, it looks like a covert effort to rewrite the Preamble of our Constitution, which sets forth as one of ~~the~~ the great purposes for which this government was established: the promotion of the general welfare.

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* The Congressional Record, September 3, 1963, p. 15360

The Democratic Party is proud of the economic growth which has taken place in the past four years. We are proud of our efforts to serve the people of America who seek the assistance of government in a variety of areas. And we are proud that after eight years of stagnation and status quo, America is now moving forward again.

With your help and support, we can guarantee four more years of prosperity, progress, and justice. We can keep America moving forward. We ask your help.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Flint, Michigan
September 25, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you. May I say to my enthusiastic young supporters you have Humphrey, here I am.

(Applause)

Senator Hart, my good friend of the 7th District, Bob Collins, your Chairman, and to all the many county officials and candidates for county and state offices, I want to bring you some good warm friendly Democratic greetings, and I want to wish every last one of you the greatest success that you could possibly have in this election, namely a great victory for the Democratic Party in this area. (Applause) And I sure want to join with the many friends of Neil Staebler who has served so ably in Congress, whom you know so well as a great Democrat and a great citizen out here, and wish, with you, his success in the coming election, and ask you to make that wish come true by working day and night to see to it that Michigan gets a Governor who knows who he is for, a Governor who is for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause)

And you ought to have a Lieutenant Governor also who knows who he is for, and Robert Derengoski does know just who he is for.

I see here on the platform with us tonight, and he was out in the entryway to greet me as we came here from Bay City, the man that undoubtedly, unquestionably, will be in Washington next January, when the 89th Congress opens its first session, and I want right now since I may be kind of busy over in the Senate, at least I hope to be presiding there at the time, I want to extend -- (Applause) -- I want to extend right now a warm cordial welcome to a big Democratic majority in the House of Representatives to your new Democratic Congressman from the 7th District, John Mackie.

Yes, folks, it sort of looks good out here in Michigan for Democrats this year and it is going to look a lot better when you folks go to work and make this we see ahead of us a reality.

We have had a wonderful day in your State and as we draw this day to a conclusion starting very early this morning in New

York City, actually since 7:30 this morning, I want to take this moment, if I may, to express my personal thanks and gratitude to the people of Michigan for their hospitality, for their enthusiastic reception and for the inspiration that they have given to me, an inspiration that I hope that I can carry for these next few weeks all over America, because we have a big job to do, my fellow Americans. We are in a very, very crucial election, an election, as I told a reporter as we walked into this hall tonight, when he asked me what does this election mean to young people, and what can young people do, I said this election possibly means more to boys and girls of school age than any election in the memory of any of us in this particular hall tonight, because we are going to decide in this election the future course of America. We are going to decide whether or not America says "yes" to the future, whether America looks forward with optimism and confidence to a future or whether America is going to spend its time teaching the history books of the past, and I think I know enough of our wonderful country to know it is so filled with vitality, so filled with the love of life that Americans are going to reach out and they are going to say "yes" to life, they are going to say "yes" to the future, and they are going to say "yes" to the Democratic Party, and they are going to vote "yes" for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

I must share with you just a few personal and little intimate thoughts on matters of some concern. You know the new 1965 cars are now on display, and if there ever was a state in the Union that should be thinking about being up to date it is Michigan. I understand that here in Flint they are having the display of some of the new 1965 models. Well a city and a state that is displaying 1965 models ought not to want to vote for a 1905 political model.

(Applause)

Now, may I say lest anybody be critical of my remarks, I want to say I think I was rather generous. (Applause) Because as I recollect I believe I am the first spokesman of either party that ever claimed that Senator Goldwater had entered the 20th Century.

(Applause)

I am going to talk to you tonight about a subject that has always fascinated me, and I haven't talked about this subject along the campaign trail at all, and I am going to refer to a

few notes so that we can really talk scientifically about it, because I am going to talk to you about a subject that is so interesting, it is called "political quackery." Now many of you know that I started my career, my professional career as a pharmacist, so I have had an opportunity to see some quacks at work, and I find they come in two brands at least. As a matter of fact, when I came into Michigan today, even before I left there, I found a little item which I have shown around the state today in the newspaper in New York City, the New York Times. I want you to know Michigan made it in the Times big today and it says, it is from Grand Rapids, Michigan -- our first stop by the way today was in Grand Rapids -- it is datelined September 24th, Associated Press, a very reliable press service, reports objectively, and here is what it says, so that all of you may know. It says "State officials" -- and by the way this is a state in which there are currently temporarily some Republican officials, so this cannot be partisan, it must be objective -- it says "State officials have outlawed the sale of goldwater" -- (Applause) -- you interrupted me, you didn't let me finish the sentence. "Outlawed the sale of goldwater, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater." I continue to read "Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." (Applause) Now I want the record clear again, I only read what was in the paper. You draw your own conclusions. And I think you drew the right ones. So let me go on and talk to you a little bit about quackery and nostrums. You know the journeyman quack had to find someone who was really ill before he could pedal his fake medicine. The really accomplished quack, however, the fellow who put on the medicine show, he could take a man who was as fit as a fiddle and scare him into thinking he was sick, and sell him a useless remedy for a disease he didn't even have.

Well, you know when I got into politics I found there were quacks at work in there as well. In fact some years ago, they were telling people that we were on the verge of fascism, and only communism could save us. Now other people are telling us that we are on the verge of communism and only a stiff shot of old John Birch beer will save us.

(Applause)

Well, I thought for a while we were going to be able to get a good shot of Barry Goldwater, that goldwater stuff they were telling about but you folks in Michigan ruled it out. You can't

even have that.

Recently the American people have been exposed to a new brand of economic and political quackery. We have been told in face of all of the facts, and people in Flint, Michigan, should surely know it, because this City has been zooming ahead with unbelievable economic growth and progress. The wage levels in this community are very good, and because of the great labor-management program in this community over the many years, there has been a constant rise in the standard of living, but despite this we have been told that there is something drastically wrong with our economy. Oh, yes, even if you are not sick you have got to believe it because Doctor Goldwater says so, and what is the prescribed nostrum?

Well, he came up with a quick one the other day, almost as phony as that new pop that was taken off the market here in your State. He came up as he was flying through the clouds, and you know there is something about, exhilarating about, that experience, when you are up there, you know, way above reality, and you are going there in one of these jets about 600 miles an hour, and the Senator from Arizona decided that this was the time to write a tax program. Oh, yes, he conjured up some real economic medicine for us, a five percent cut in personal and corporate taxes every year for five years, whether you need it or not.

Now, I don't know where this idea came from. Maybe the leader of the Goldwater faction is harking back to that old jukebox tune, some of you older folks will remember it, I am afraid our younger element here tonight will not, but let me just acquaint them with it, an old jukebox tune that he wants to be known as "Mr. Five-by-Five."

Now of course he doesn't, he can't, deny that times are good. He just thinks we shouldn't feel good about it. That is all. And he says that we are enjoying an artificial boom. If he means that there is something phony or fly-by-night about the prosperity that we are enjoying which is the highest level of production, gross national product, wages, profits, dividends, the highest level that we have ever enjoyed in all of our history, if that is what he is trying to tell us, that it is artificial, then I say he is full of beans, he is full of nonsense, and he knows better.

(Applause)

It isn't phony. That prosperity has been going on for 43 straight months, going up, up, and up in terms of all the factors that indicate a more prosperous economy. We have had the longest period of peacetime expansion in our history.

Everyone remembers that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office in the middle of a recession, the third recession in eight years, and the people of Michigan and the people of Flint, Michigan, remember it, because they remember some four, five years ago what the employment levels were in this community, and in this district. I remember going to the great automobile center of Detroit, Michigan, and hearing of the high rate of unemployment four years ago, and when John F. Kennedy came into this state four years ago, he promised the people of Detroit, he promised the people of Flint, he promised the people of Grand Rapids, he promised the people of this State that if you would give him your confidence, and if you would give him your hands, your help, and if he became your President, that he would do everything within his power to get America moving again, to get people employed, to get industry growing and expanding, and I say to you that John Kennedy kept his word and Lyndon kept it, too. (Applause) And all of the explanations and all of the scarecrow talk of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party won't change this a bit. The facts are the facts.

Now, recessions don't just happen, and sustained economic growth doesn't just happen either. Recessions are the result of defects in a man-made system, and sustained economic growth of the past better than three and a half years, these 43 straight months that I speak of, that straight economic proof is proof that we can do better. We the people of the United States in cooperation with our government, we can do better if we try.

Now these are the facts, and every thoughtful American recognizes them. Indeed I might say that one of the reasons, and I think one of the primary reasons, that so many great captains of industry, so many bankers, so many men of influence in finance and corporate structure in America are supporting Lyndon Johnson, I think the reason for it is because they know in supporting Lyndon Johnson they are supporting a program of economic progress in America that means more business, more jobs, more profits, more wages, a higher standard of living for every American, and when that happens, it means better things for every American.

(Applause)

Now, of course Dr. Goldwater, he speaks of a wild spending spree begun by this Administration. We could take the time tonight to analyze this statistically. Let me just give you one little measurement. The best measure of a spending or of spending is the ratio of federal purchases of goods and services to the gross national product. In other words, how much is the Federal Government expending as compared to how much we are producing. Now that ratio during the eight Eisenhower years was 12.3 percent, and it is now down to 10.7 percent, and it has averaged, I should say, down to 10.8 percent. It seems to me that the man that is talking about a wild spending spree should have discussed it up at Gettysburg last week when he was visiting with Mr. Eisenhower.

(Applause)

Let me be very clear about this. I don't think General Eisenhower was on a wild spending spree, and I never made any such ridiculous charge. I think the former President of the United States, while I was in the other party and disagreed with him on many occasions, I think he tried to the best of his ability to see that the expenditures of this government were related to the needs of our people, and to the needs of our security, and all of these charges out of the wild blue yonder, which the reserve general brings to our attention of these wild spending sprees, are generally nothing more or less than just a little clear air turbulence that he has run into.

(Applause)

But I might add that when John Kennedy became President, one of the first things he did was to take a look at our defenses, and he took an inventory of our national security, and he found that he had to spend some money to see to it that America was strong, and I say tonight that was a sound investment in our nation's survival, and the fact that we are able to meet and master the Berlin or the Cuban missile crises showed how right John Kennedy was. And tonight, my fellow Americans, when you leave this hall, you can walk out of here knowing that your country is stronger than any nation that ever lived, stronger than any power on this earth today, and stronger than any combination of powers, and I say that the money that we had to spend for that defense was a wise investment in freedom and in the survival of this republic and in the freedom of the entire world.

(Applause)

Now there is really nothing that is basically wrong with our economy. We have some soft spots, but those are the very ones that the Senator from Arizona seems to ignore or not be able to see. He has labeled his nostrum or his political medicine as "safe, sane, and regular." This is the way that you used to be able to sell those old patent medicines. and he called this year's tax cut, the one that you are getting the benefit of right now, the one that is going to plow back into this district \$27 million, John, of released free capital for your business people, and for your individual citizens, he labeled this year's tax cut, the largest tax cut in our nation's history, a product of 22 months of study, a product of many months of hearings, a product of two presidents, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, supported by the AFL-CIO, and supported by an overwhelming majority of the members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, Doctor Goldwater called that as he indicated about it, he called it nothing but a gimmick. He gave it a nice pat on the back, of course. He found himself voting no when the rest of the country was saying yes. He called this year's tax cut impulsive -- that is the only thing that worried me about my statement because he has such an expert knowledge of being impulsive. (Applause) He said the tax cut was an "impulsive, massive, politically motivated gimmickry ... designed to drug the economy into an artificial boom that would carry at least past election day."

(Laughter)

You are right, laugh good and loud my friends, because that is the biggest joke of the year.

(Applause)

There isn't a single banker, a single investment specialist, not a single corporation, or a single responsible, respectable businessman that would say that this great boom and this growing prosperity of our country wouldn't go much longer than beyond election day. In fact people are investing by the billions. Americans are looking ahead with confidence. The pages of the Wall Street Journal, the pages of every economic journal in America tell us that America is just now beginning to move forward with the kind of speed and the kind of determination that a great economy ought to have. Everybody is going forward except the man who looks at things through a rear view mirror and puts the car in reverse and goes backwards.

(Applause)

Well, I must say that we have convinced the Senator from Arizona, however, that a tax cut can be good medicine and as I said he came up with his own prescription, but he hasn't yet understood how it is to be used, and as an old pharmacist, may I say when you get a prescription, follow the doctor's advice, and don't go around just sipping out of the bottle or chewing the pills. Take them according to the directions at the right time and in the right measure.

What Senator Goldwater did, he came to a conclusion that a tax cut must be worthwhile, so he got behind the prescription case and he compounded some kind of political concoction that he called a tax program and then he said "take large doses of it, and I hope you live through it.

(Applause)

Now, he has told us that government must begin, and listen to this, every one of you particularly that are concerned about our welfare programs, he told us that "government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal," and then he continues to list them. What Mr. Goldwater seems to be proposing is that we stop the government. He has got the stop sign on for the nation, and for the government. Since he became a candidate, however, he has begun to hedge a bit. He has said that "we must proceed with care in our task of cutting the government down to size."

Well, my dear friends, whether it is sudden death or slow death, when you are dead you are dead.

(Applause)

Now I say to the Senator from Arizona, whose size shall it be cut down to? Senator Goldwater's or the size the American people want and need in this year of 1964, and in the years to come? And I think we are entitled to some straight answers from the Senator on these questions, so I pose questions because I understand that they have a Republican "Truth Squad" which is a play on words and a conflict of interest, I might add, within these precincts.

Senator, how rapidly are you going to eliminate Social Security? Since that is one of the basic social welfare programs, I think every person in this room has a right to know.

There are people in this hall tonight, people in this great State and throughout this nation, that depend on Social Security, not depending on a diminishing Social Security but depending, if you please, upon a sense of justice in Congress to give you additional Social Security.

(Applause)

Mr. Goldwater, how soon are you going to cut out the hospital construction program because I think the people of this community would like to know? Hurley Hospital in this City received \$67,000 in federal grants. Other hospitals have received money and more will get it under a federal aid program.

I think the people of the State of Michigan and the people of the City of Flint, Michigan, have a right to know, Senator Goldwater, when are you going to do away with that program if you get to be President. This is an exercise in theory, my friends, because he is not going to get to be President.

(Applause)

Then I ask this question: how rapidly are you going to eliminate rural electrification, and the great public power systems? How rapidly are you going to eliminate the farm programs? How rapidly are you going to eliminate the housing programs, public housing, middle income housing, how rapidly are you going to eliminate aid to our cities, urban renewal, how rapidly are you going to eliminate manpower training and aid to higher education. I think people have a right to know.

When a candidate for President made the statement that I quoted, and it is from his own book where he tells us about the conscience of a conservative, and he says "the government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate" and then he lists what he thinks is outside the Constitution, social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal, when a candidate for President tells you that he is going to do away with those programs, I think you ought to ask him what the time schedule is.

(Applause)

Now I must say that Mr. Goldwater's economic nostrums, his five-by-five economic tax program, is a reckless adventure in economic clairvoyance. It is a proposal to freeze tax policy

for five years to come without any regard to changing business conditions, military or civilian needs or the shape of the domestic economy or the international challenges that we face. At worse it looks like a covert effort to rewrite the Preamble of the Constitution which sets forth as one of the great purposes for which this government was established the promotion of the general welfare. I wonder whether or not it wouldn't be a good idea for every candidate for public office to testify that he has read the Constitution and knows the mandates of that Constitution, and two of the mandates are to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

(Applause)

Now my fellow citizens, let me say this, that one of the most encouraging notes of our time is the fact that many people are concerned about what I have talked to you about tonight, thoughtful people, conservative people, middle-of-the-road people, Republicans, Democrats, and independents. Most Americans are fair-minded, most of them are just, most of them want to see this country advance, most of them accept the gains that we have made, and many of them want to go further, and I wouldn't want my message tonight to be concluded with just this criticism because it ought to be something more than criticism of an opponent. It ought to also give a ray of hope.

The Democratic Party is not a party of criticism. It is a party of construction. The Democratic Party in your life time and mine for most of us at least has had the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of that fighting Democrat Harry S. Truman, and the New Frontier of that valiant, brave, fine man that served as our President for 1,000 days.

And now it has the promise and it has the vision of the Great Society that is being outlined step by step like an artist paints a beautiful portrait of Lyndon B. Johnson, his dream for a better America.

(Applause)

Not long ago a TV commentator asked President Johnson what he would call his Administration, and he said to the President, "You know, Mr. President, Roosevelt had his New Deal, Harry Truman his Fair Deal, and John Kennedy his New Frontier, what will you call your Administration."

Very quietly and thoughtfully, the President looked at this TV commentator who asked that interesting question and he said, "Sir, I have but one objective and one aim, and that is a better deal for all Americans," and that is what we are seeking to do. (Applause) And that better deal, my friends, includes better schools for our young, it includes hospitals and nursing care under Social Security for our elderly, and it includes a guarantee as best we can of the peace, and I remind you tonight that the main responsibility of a President of the United States is to safeguard this Republic, see to it that America and the world if possible can live in peace. This is the noblest of all aspirations, and I am of the opinion that when we vote for a president and a vice-president, but above all when we vote for a president, what we are really doing is placing our trust in him. We want to be sure he is a man that is responsible, we want to be sure that he is a man who understands America, its hopes and its aspirations, and we want to be sure that he is a man of vision and, my fellow Americans, I can say to you tonight that millions and millions of people across this land trust Lyndon Johnson. They have faith in him, and they have faith in the Party that he leads and above all they have faith in the promise that he gives to the American people. I ask you to join me tonight in placing your trust in a man who has proven in his ten months since that tragic day in Dallas that he understands the people, that he works for the people, that he pursues the process of peace, and that he is a giant of a man in these difficult days. Stand with me, will you tonight, and pledge your support, pledge everything that you have, to the election of Lyndon B. Johnson as President on November 3rd.

(Applause)

①

John Mackie L 27th
Stables
Hart

Sp: Flint, Mich.
Sept 25, 1964
A. M. Release
Bob Collins

Flint, Michigan

I have been giving some attention these past
two weeks to a subject that has long fascinated me--
political quackery.

1965

As most of you know, I began my professional
career as a pharmacist. I had some opportunity to
see quacks at work, and I found they came in two brands.

The journeyman quack had to find someone who was
really ill before he could peddle his nostrum. The
really accomplished quack, however, could take a man who
was fit as a fiddle, scare him into thinking he was
gravely ill, and sell him a useless remedy for a
disease he didn't have.

Well, when I got into politics, I found that there
were quacks at work in it as well.

Some years ago, there were people telling us that
we were on the verge of fascism, and only Communism
could save us. Now other people are telling us that

we are on the verge of Communism, and only a stiff
^{old}
shot of John Birch beer will save us.

↳ Recently the American people have been exposed to
a new brand of economic and political quackery.

↳ We have been told--in the face of all the facts--
that there is something drastically wrong with our economy.

The prescribed nostrum? A five percent cut in personal
and corporate income taxes every ^(year for) five years.

I don't know where this idea came from. Maybe the
leader of the Goldwater faction is harking back to that
old jukebox tune, and wants to be known as "Mr. Five-by-
Five."

↳ Of course, he doesn't--he can't--deny that times
are good. He just thinks we shouldn't feel good about it.
He says that what we are enjoying is an "artificial boom."

Prosperity

If he means that there is something phony or fly-
by-night about the prosperity that we are enjoying, he is
talking nonsense. | It has gone on for 43 straight months--
the longest period of peacetime expansion in our history.

Case
Everyone remembers that the Kennedy-Johnson
Administration took office in the middle of recession--
the third in eight years.

Working in close cooperation with free enterprise
and free labor, this administration succeeded in halting
and reversing that recession. Since then, by growth-
promoting ~~history~~ tax and monetary policies it has
kept expansion going and accelerating.

Surely, by now, we know that recessions don't just
happen, and sustained economic growth doesn't ^{just} happen.

Recessions are the result of defects in a man-made system;
the sustained economic growth of the past three and a half
years is a proof that we can do better if we really try.

L These are facts, and every thoughtful American recognizes them, ~~but not Senator Goldwater.~~

L Like the maps of the ancient geographers, the blank spaces in his knowledge of the 20th Century are filled with imaginary monsters.

L He speaks, for example, of a "wild spending spree" begun by this Administration.

Fact
The best measure of spending is the ratio of Federal purchases of goods and service to our gross national product. That averaged 12.3 percent during the eight Eisenhower years and was down to 10.7 percent in 1960.

It has averaged 11.1 percent in the four years of this Administration and is down to 10.8 percent this year.

Its true that, when President Kennedy entered the

White House and took an immediate inventory of the condition of our defenses, he had to spend some money to make up for past neglect.

That was a sound investment in our nation's survival--and the fact that we were able to meet and master the Berlin and Cuban missile crises ^{showed} how sound it was. And today our defenses are in better shape--and more soundly and economically administered--than ever before in our history.

Yes, there is nothing wrong with our economy--and the remedy that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party has prescribed is sheer fiscal quackery.

He has labeled his nostrum as "safe, sane and regular"--like a patent medicine huckster--and called this year's tax cut "impulsive, massive, politically motivated gimmickry..designed to drug the economy into

an artificial boom that would carry at least past
election day." *nonsense!*

What, I ask, is impulsive about a measure that
was carefully deliberated in Congress for more than

a year? *Indeed, the tax cut was proposed to*

~~Why was an alleged election-day ploy proposed to~~
Congress 22 months before election? *\$27 million
savings + his
best*

L Why did two-thirds of all Republican senators
vote to enact it? Senator Goldwater's own "no" was,
he has subsequently said, nothing more than a
"nickel-flipping" decision.

L You could say, of course, that the Senator has
seen the light since then--but he hasn't seen it very
clearly.

L He has seen that a tax cut can be good medicine--
but he hasn't yet understood that it has to be used at
the right times and in the right measure.

↙ I have warned already that this five-by-five plan, piled on top of all the other tax cuts and boosts in spending that the Goldwater platform promises, would result in a deficit for 1966 of \$16 or \$17 billion-- enough to curl George Humphrey's hair into corkscrews.

It may be that he has plans to cut that deficit-- plans he hasn't yet revealed to us in the course of this campaign.

↙ He has told us that "the Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its Constitutional mandate--from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal..."*

↙ Since he became a candidate, he has begun to hedge a bit. He has said that: "We must proceed with care in our task of cutting the Government down to size."

* The Congressional Record, September 3, 1963, p. 15360

L I still say, Whose size? Senator Goldwater's? [?]

Or the size the American people want and need in this

year of 1964? And I think we are entitled to straight answers

from the Senator to these questions.

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate social welfare?

*Hosp const - Harley Hosp
2nd Add \$ 67,000*

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate aid to education?

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate ^(rural electric and) public power systems?

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate the farm programs?

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate public housing?

L How rapidly are you going to eliminate urban renewal?

eliminate training

L I think that we are entitled to these answers--and I believe that, when we have them, we shall find that

this 5 x 5 tax cut is the sugar coating on a very bitter pill.

At best, ~~that~~ what the leader of the Goldwater faction offers is a reckless adventure in economic clairvoyance--
~~_____~~
a proposal to freeze tax policy for five years to come, without regard to changing business conditions, military and civilian needs, and the total shape of the domestic and international challenges which may confront us.

L At worst, it looks like a covert effort to ~~_____~~
rewrite the preamble of our Constitution, which sets ~~_____~~
forth as one of the great purposes for which this Government was established: the promotion of the general welfare.

L The Democratic Party is proud of the economic ~~_____~~
growth which has taken place in the past four years. ~~_____~~
We are proud of our efforts to serve the people ~~_____~~
of America who seek the assistance of government in a variety of areas. [~~And we are proud that after eight years of stagnation and status quo, America is now moving forward again.~~]

With your help and with your support, we can guarantee four more years of prosperity, progress and justice. We can keep America moving forward.

We ask your help.



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