

Speech of  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at Memphis, Tenn. Airport  
September 26, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much. Thank you, very much for that good southern hospitality, that wonderful Memphis cordiality and good friendship. Oh, it is so nice to be here with you tonight and I just can't tell you how much I appreciate your outpouring of friendship and enthusiasm. It was great to come here and see my old friend who has been working so hard for you down there in the U.S. Senate and taking care of things while I was away, that wonderful Senator Albert Gore, your grand Senator.

And I might add it is awfully nice to see Pauline, too. We are mighty glad to see you.

I know that the gentleman that is our candidate for the United States Senate could not be here with us tonight because he is off, as his wife said, doing a little politicking elsewhere but I want to tell you anytime Ross Bass wants to leave Memphis and leave Mrs. Bass here it is o-kay with me.  
(Applause)

And we also have with us another charming lady that is here representing her husband, and again I might say I am not complaining even though I would like these men very well, Mrs. Dick Vought, it is awfully nice to see you here too. (Applause) You have been having a lot of elections around this place. You are all tuned up for the main event, I can plainly see and I am just delighted to be here and say just a brief word this moment in behalf of sending to the Congress from this, the 9th Congressional District, I believe I am correct, the 9th District from Tennessee, that new young man who is going to represent this district so ably in the Congress of the United States and to help Lyndon B. Johnson get his program through Congress, George Grider. George. And, we also have with us Mrs. Grider. We want to see her, too. (Applause)

I will let you folks in on a secret. I don't think a single one of these Tennessee politicians really get elected on their own. It is their pretty and intelligent wives who do the job. I was particularly honored to see one of the fine gentlemen of this State we have heard so much about over the years, and a distinguished patriot of your wonderful State of Tennessee, and I am delighted that Gordon Browning was out there at the airport just to say hello to us. Governor.

It is good to see you.

Your fame has spread far and wide, Governor, and I am delighted also to see my old friend, Buford Ellington here too, Buford.

Well, we are going to have some fun tonight, I hope some of you can be out to the fairground, I have a few choice remarks to make about that Republican pretender to the presidency, we would like to have you out there. (Applause)

You know, the other day, every once in a while I see one of these Goldwater signs around at one of these meetings. We never, we Democrats never boo, all we do is cheer because we are happy folks, we leave the booing to the other folks, you know. (Applause) But, I will tell you what they are doing, don't you ever be impolite to them, be very considerate, in fact be forgiving. (Laughter) Why, these dear souls haven't seen the light yet; and you know what they are doing, they are bringing their badges and their signs to these meetings because they want to turn them in and it takes two Goldwater buttons to get one Lyndon Johnson button. (Applause)

The other day I was, well just yesterday, as a matter of fact I was in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the same morning I had left New York City and there was a little bit of a story in the New York Times, and if my staff member doesn't find that, David, if you can't find that story, you are fired pretty soon, I have got to get it soon. But, there was a little story, about one column and a half long, datelined September 24, Grand Rapids, Michigan, AP, it says here, "The State officials of Michigan, this is a Republican Administration I want you to know, "The State officials in Michigan have confiscated 350 cases of Gold Water Pop." That is how they start out and they said the reason was that "It was misbranded," I read, and then secondly they said, "Its contents included only artificial coloring and preservative." (Applause) That is the most concise, the most, really the most definitive explanation that I have ever heard of the Republican Platform and the candidate, misbranded, artificial flavoring and a preservative. (Applause)

But, we are going to talk to you tonight about not the mistakes of the other people or even some of the mistakes that all of us may have made. But a little later I want to talk to you about where we go from here. The kind of America that we really want, and the kind of America that we can really have, and the kind of America that we are busy building. As President Johnson said one time when he was asked this question,

he said a commentator said to him, "Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had his New Deal, Harry Truman had his Fair Deal, and John F. Kennedy had his New Frontier. What are you going to call your Administration?" And very quietly and thoughtfully the President said, "Well, we are going to try to do just one thing. We are going to try to give a better deal to all Americans and all of humanity." (Applause)

And you know what, I find that that is what most Americans want. Here is one nice thing I have learned in this campaign. We have been now into 34, 35 major cities of this country. We have been out on some of the rural areas of America. You know what I find out that most people in America today are very happy. They are looking ahead, they are not looking back. They want to do something. I find that people are very congenial, and I think they want a President that unites them and doesn't divide them. I think they want a President that points the way ahead and doesn't keep motioning backwards. They want someone that is looking through the windshield down the road, rather than in the rearview mirror and putting the car in reverse, and they have got the man that they want. (Applause) So now, if all of you good folks will come on out to the fairgrounds, I am going to tell you about the man. I am going to tell you about the program but in case some of you don't get there I want to remind you of something. I want to remind you, you have got some obligations here in Tennessee.

First of all you have one of the finest U.S. Senators that ever came to the Congress of the United States and you had better re-elect him, Albert Gore. And you surely better send down to Congress a man that you have nominated here in your primary election, Ross Bennett in the United States Senate, Ross Bass, and you also want to make very sure that you send this good man, Mr. Grider down there to do a job for you. (Applause) And may I suggest that when you do all of these tasks that you keep one thing in mind, we Democrats have a special obligation this year, we have lost two very great people among others, and in these past months yes, indeed, these last ten months, 11 months. We first lost a great President who was taken from us. He did not have a chance to finish his task so we have got a job to do to complete those tasks for him under the leadership of the man that he selected as his Vice President and that we are now going to select as our President, and then we have another task, particularly in Tennessee. I happen to be a personal friend of the late and beloved Senator from this State, as many of you were his friends, and we want to make sure that the kind of honest Government and progressive Government and decent wholesome Government that Estes Kefauver stood for, that that kind of Government can be continued in America. (Applause)

So, let's get on with our work. I will see you out to the fairground, in the meantime, God bless you. It has sure been wonderful to see you.

Thank you a lot.

####

Remarks of Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. Well, thank you very much my good friend and colleague of the United States Senate, Albert Gore, and my sincere thanks to that hearty friendly outgoing welcome of your distinguished Governor Clement who is a fighting Democrat if I ever met one in my life and a fine Governor for this Volunteer state. I am singularly honored by the presence of so many of your public officials, so many of your municipal county and state officials, I regret, of course, that our good friend, Ross Bass cannot be with us tonight, but he is out on the political hustings, and Governor, the people of this state do love you enough to want to keep you here as their good Governor. I don't blame them a bit.

(Applause.)

They also want to send down to Congress a man that is going to work for them and fight for them in the House of Representatives, and I know that the people here of the great Tennessee 9th Congressional District are not going to disappoint President Lyndon Johnson. They are going to send him a man to help him and that man is none other than George Grider.

(Applause.)

I am so pleased, Governor Clement that two of your predecessors, very prominent men in the affairs of our nation are on this platform with us tonight. I have already mentioned earlier this evening my high regard and esteem for that great patriot of your state, the great Governor Gordon Browning, and I also want to add to that your great Governor Buford Ellington. One thing about Tennessee politics, when you have a man in public office we hear about him, and we know that he is doing things, and now having said that, may I say that my heart is somewhat saddened tonight because when I come to Tennessee, I always think of a dear friend that so often came to my state, so often played an important role in the life of our nation, and I say that it is a sad loss for Tennessee and a sad loss for America when that wonderful fine gallant, courageous Senator Estes Kefauver was taken from us.

(Applause.)

By the way, I want to commend the authorities of this city and of this state, and I might add because the Federal Government had a little something to do with it, the Federal authorities, on that magnificent airport, this Memphis Municipal Airport that you have here. I don't believe I have ever seen one that equalled it and it surely represents the thriving, progressive spirit of this great commercial center, the heartland and the gateway, I should say to the south and indeed one of the great commercial centers of America.

So, to those that are responsible I salute you and may I say in a few year from now it is going to be too small because this community is going to grow so fast that you will have to extend the runways and enlarge the Administration building, at least we hope so.

Now Albert, Albert Gore, we have been working together on so long there is little new that Senator Humphrey could ever say to you and I doubt that there is much knew that I can say to anyone here tonight.

I do want to start out by saying, however, that I come here in the spirit of that great former Speaker and late Speaker of the House of Representatives. I come here as a Democrat. Speaker Rayburn said, "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology."

And that is where I start, just that kind of a Democrat.

(Applause.)

And I come here to speak for a man that is giving this country great leadership, and one that understands not only the North and the East and the West, but who comes from the South, who understands the South, and who has the welfare of the entire nation at heart, Lyndon B. Johnson, our President.

We in the North Star State of Minnesota, you in the Volunteer State of Tennessee, we have a bond that binds us together, and if it were nothing more than just the fellowship that is ours, and the fact that we are in this great Federal Republic it would be enough, but as I came into your city tonight, I looked down and saw the mighty Mississippi, which is the great arterial highway of commerce for this vast area of America, that affords this great city transportation, gives it the opportunity to become one of the great commercial centers of the world. But the Mississippi River which is your mighty stream of commerce has its head waters at Lake Itaska in Minnesota, so Tennessee and Minnesota are bonded together by God's good clean water that starts up there in Lake Itaska in Minnesota and comes down here to Memphis to give you the mighty Mississippi, Old Man River that just keeps rolling along.

(Applause.)

And as I traveled around this country these past few weeks, I find something about America that apparently has escaped the observation of the Senator from Arizona. I find my America and our America a happy country. I find it a prosperous country. I find it a going country. I sense as I see the people that even though this is a country that they love with all their hearts, and that they know it is a great country, they want to love it more, and they want it to be even greater. I wish that more people would speak up as has been said tonight, for a United America, for a country that stands together and lives together and works together and plays together and enjoys what John Adams said that sense of public happiness which ought to be the sense of the American people.

I come to Memphis and I come to this warm hospitable friendly area called the South, to discuss with you some things openly and frankly, and I want to discuss with you the human side of government. A democratic government is not something set against the people. I think it is about time we took some basic lessons in American government, because there are some false prophets traveling across this land. This government is not your enemy. A Democratic Government is a friend of the People, it is a part of the people, and it is an extension of them, and you are, along with every other citizen in this land, a part, and a very important part, of the Government of the United States. It exists for you.

(Applause.)

It exists for you, it exists because of you, and it is answer-

Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964

Page 3

able to you. It is a Government of the people and by the people and for the people, and anyone who says to the contrary does a disservice to the heritage of this great Republic.

(Applause.)

Now, the Republican Pretender to the Presidency and the temporary spokesman of a great party preaches a different doctrine. Yes, he preaches a much different doctrine, to him our Government appears to be some kind of a foreign agent. Here is what he said. Mind you a man that seeks to be President, a man that seeks to occupy the White House, and guide this Republic, here is what he says of our Government:

"Government is the greatest threat to freedom." A man that can make that statement has not understood the great spirit of America and the spirit of this Republic, and he is not equipped to be President of the United States.

(Applause.)

I respect your judgment and your common sense more than to make such a ridiculous statement, and therefore I will speak to you to night as a Democrat, both with the big "D", and the little "d" our country has progressed further and prospered more when your President and your Congress cared for the people identified with them and when the President of the United States who is the spokesman of all the people, used the power and the authority of his office to help the people; we Democrats are not ashamed to say that we believe Government should have a good hear, and we are not at all ashamed to say nor do we apologize for the fact that our philosophy of Government is one, a government that cares, and cares deeply for the people. The Senator that graces the platform with me tonight has again and again raised his voice in the halls of Congress to demonstrate that great principle of government, that government is the servant of the people, government should care for the people, and only recently in the Senate, Albert Gore led the fight successfully to see to it that those who are our elderly, that those who are in the twilight of life may have the great opportunity for adequate hospital and nursing home care under social security, the Medicare program.

And this Senator follows in good steps. I have been to the Hermitage. I have visited the home of the great Andrew Jackson, the Tribune of the people. No one illustrated this concept of government, of a President that cared for the people more than Tennessee's own great gift to the American Presidency, Andrew Jackson.

Now, the Jacksonian era is apparently one that has escaped the attention of the limited historical knowledge of the man who tells us of history and knows little or nothing about the future.

The Jacksonian era got America moving in another day. Jackson was the John Kennedy and the Lyndon Johnson of his time.

The laboring man and the farmer achieved for the first time their full and rightful place in American Democracy with Andrew Jackson as their spokesman. Free discussion has extended :

Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964

Page 4

the very lifeline of freedom. The number of elected officials was expanded. State Constitutions were revised. Industry and commerce boomed and blossomed in general economic growth throughout the land. Government was brought close to the people in a spirit of confidence reflected in Andrew Jackson's statement, "There are no necessary evils in Government. Its evils exist only in its abuses."

Now, that same spirit, that same enterprise, and trust has characterized this democratic Administration. Under this Administration the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the United States has begun to move again, and we are moving in the right direction. We are moving forward.

(Applause.)

And with four more years of Democratic Administration under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, this great Republic and this great economy of ours, which is at unprecedented heights of prosperity today will continue to move forward to break new ground for even greater days in America.

Lyndon Johnson is a people's President. He is a President of all of the people of this country.

You know the other day I noticed where the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party said that this great era of prosperity that we were living in was an illusion. He said that it was artificial, artificial. The largest gross national product in our history, 43 months consecutive months, of growth and prosperity, compare that, if you please, to three recessions under the previous Republican Administration in eight years.

The only thing artificial about what Mr. Goldwater says are the glasses that he wears.

(Applause.)

Of course, one shouldn't expect too much from a person who has a calendar with no months or years, who has a watch with no hands, and who has glasses with no lenses.

(Applause.)

But most of us can see better than that, and we know that this is the second half of the 20th Century.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this prosperity is not just general. It is also specific and regional. The Tennessee economy, right here in this great state, Governor, is sharing in the prosperity and setting new records, setting new records because of the close cooperation between Washington and Tennessee, between Government and private enterprise.

Industry today has confidence in the Government, and that is why some of the greatest industrial and financial leaders of America today are betting on Lyndon Johnson, and supporting Lyndon Johnson and leaving Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

Let's take a look at the factors or the facts in Tennessee. Governor, correct me if I am wrong, but your employment in this great state as of now is at an all-time high, your retail sales in your merchants on Main Street have set new records, your automobile sales are at a record peak, and I find that in sales of life insurance in construction contracts, in industrial power consumption, and at other economic indicators, Tennessee is moving ahead and in a sense is pacing the nation. Tennessee has a record to be proud of. It contributes immensely to the prosperity of this great economy.

Let Mr. Goldwater come here and tell your people who are at work and tell your captains of industry who are having high production, let him come and tell them that it is all a fake, that it is all artificial. You know everybody in the country is feeling good, but Senator Goldwater goes around and tells them, "You are sick. You just don't know it."

(Applause.)

And then he comes up with some pretty, pretty, let me say, risky remedies. You know I am a pharmacist, and I know a quack remedy when I see one.

(Laughter.)

Now, just a word about your agriculture, because agriculture means so much to Tennessee just as it does to my state and to this nation. Your Democratic Administration this year passed a cotton bill which was not only in the interest of your cotton farmers even though it was very helpful to them, but also in the interest of the textile industry. It was in the interest of the workers, it was in the interest of the bankers, it was in the interest of the total economy. It provided increases in employment, it made possible increased competitive power for your growing textile and apparel industry.

But ask yourself, ask yourself tonight, Mr. Textile Manufacturer, Mr. Worker in these plants, Mr. Cotton farmer, ask yourselves tonight what would have been the result from the proposal of the temporary Republican spokesman, Mr. Goldwater for a prompt and final termination of all farm price support programs. What would have happened. Mr. Goldwater voted "no." He voted "no."

Maybe I can detail for you what would be the result of the lack of policy of the lack of policy of Mr. Goldwater. Mr. Goldwater who says that the farm programs must be brought to a prompt and final halt. We had something like that once before, but it was a long time ago. We had that under Harding and Coolidge and Hoover. I thought we outlived those days.

(Applause.)

Well, Mr. Goldwater is a very expensive luxury for Tennessee, if he were elected, perish the thought. But let's consider that for the moment as a theoretical possibility. This would bankrupt a quarter of a million southern farmers, and cost the South more than three billion dollars a year if the cotton program alone were stopped as Mr. Goldwater says it should be. And yet this man goes up and down the South telling the South that he is the friend of the South.

Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964

Page 6

I will say he is a friend. He would put you in the poor house if he had his way with this program.

The loss on this program, this lack of program, this Goldwater prompt and final end of agricultural programs from cotton, about 350 million dollars the first year, from tobacco about 250 million dollars, from livestock about 400 to 500 million dollars, from other crops 500 to 700 million dollars. This adds up to nearly two billion dollars. But every dollar lost by a farmer is a dollar, there must be more than another dollar added as loss to the merchant from whom the farmer buys. So the entire region of the South that Mr. Goldwater loves so much, that he goes to and says, "Follow me" the false prophet that he is, that kind of leadership would cost these great states of the South that have meant so much to America, would cost them not less than three billion dollars. I don't think you can afford it, even under a Democratic Administration that is giving you prosperity.

Senator Gore, I had the record checked by some of our great land grant colleges, and I find that if the Goldwater prompt and final determination or ending of the farm programs would come about, one out of five farmers, two fifty thousand of them, would have no income at all. They would be driven out of farming, but as Senator Goldwater says, and he has a program for those poor souls, too, they would have to "work for somebody else or become mechanics."

"Hurray." Of course, he votes against the training program that can even make them mechanics.

(Applause.)

And then mind you to add insult to injury he votes against the anti-poverty program so they will just have to stay poor.

And then, ladies and gentlemen, if the high tariff policies of the Republican platform were put into effect it would wreck our export markets, and every cotton merchant, every tobacco merchant, every person that farms in the South knows that the export market is the life blood of this economy, and yet the man that goes up and down the South trying to get a Southern accent tells you that he is your friend. I tell you he is not. Your friend is Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, let's take a look at another little program. If Senator Goldwater's proposals on REA were adopted, and by the way he has got a proposal for that, too, get rid of it. This is a great program. It starts out by saying no, and it repeats it a thousand times no. This is a man who sits under the No, No Tree and sits there in the shadow of his own indifference.

Mr. Goldwater's program for the farmers rural electrification, eliminate the REA Administration. We are going to have a clean sweep. Start by doing it by reducing loans and raising the interest rates.

I didn't say it, that is what he says. The Rural electric cooperatives should get out of business. Rural families, apparently for Mr. Goldwater, to go back to the kerosene lamp. I gather they have got a little extra inventory of Kerosene lamps back in that Goldwater Phoenix Department Store they have got to clean them out.

Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1946

Page 7

Well, Senator Gore, we used to have kerosene lamps in Humphrey's drug store but we sold the last one in 1935.

We came to the conclusion then that electricity was here to stay. Senator Goldwater isn't sure, isn't at all sure. He thinks it may be short circuited.

Now, I must say, however, that one shouldn't be too unkind about this. Because the distinguished Senator that seeks to be President has made a very frank confession. There is one thing I will say about this good man, and he is a good man. He is just misguided. I will say this about this man. He is a man of his word. Now, sometimes he changes it but he is a man of his word.

(Applause.)

This depends upon which week you are reading the word. One thing he said, though, and he stuck with it. He insists that it is true. I quote him. He said, "I know nothing about agriculture."

Well, we accept that. It is pitiful but we accept it. It makes his proposals however for agriculture not only a poor choice, but a dismal echo of the views of some other Presidents back in the 1920's. Senator Goldwater offers you another choice of importance to this region. Just a Jim Dandy.

He says "Let's sell TVA even for a dollar."

(Cries of "boo".)

Oh no, my friends, wait a minute. He said that in his book, then somebody talked to him and said, "you know maybe you ought not to sell it for a dollar" so he said "I don't know whether we will sell it or not" and then he came back into this very region, I believe it was at Knoxville, and Memphis and said, "No, I meant every word of it. Let's sell it and get rid of it." What a friend of the South. What a friend of the South.

Oh, you had better be sure, you had better be sure in this election my friends. This one isn't any game. This one is the most serious election you have ever faced. You had better be sure that you elect a Democratic Congress as well as a Democratic President for this is the only safe answer to Goldwater's proposals.

(Applause.)

Now, Lyndon Johnson is for the TVA and he has been for it ever since he came to Congress, and Hubert Humphrey is for TVA and has voted for it on every opportunity he had in Congress.

In fact, may I say that when I was Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, back in 1945, three years before I went to the Senate, I came to the Senate to testify as a public official on behalf of this great program and let me read you what I said.

"TVA did not injure business, it created it. TVA did not deny Democratic right, it gave meaning to the term Democracy. River development has proven to be successful, has proven to be democratic,

Senator Humphrey  
Fair Grounds, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964 Page 8

and has proven to be a creative force for business, for labor, for agriculture. It has brought government on an economic and political level close to the people. It is the middle way in a world that is now caught between the forces of the left and the forces of the right."

That is Hubert Humphrey, 1945 and I repeat every word of it on this night in 1964.

Now, some people feared that after 30 years of TVA you took it for granted. I don't believe it. Here in Shelby County you fought hard to save yourself from the Dixon-Yates power grab. Right on this platform tonight in your senior Senator is the courageous man that exposed that power grab, your own great Senator Albert Gore.

You temporarily left TVA, you got a little vaccine of Goldwaterism there, but I understand that you are returning back to the home of your father on January 1st, 1965, and incidentally, I understand you are going to save about ten million dollars a year in power costs the first year. That is not bad. That ought to make the Senator from Arizona happy.

Now, with characteristic inconsistency, to put it charitably, Senator Goldwater thinks what is not good for you is good for Arizona. Apparently the people of Arizona will not be turned into slaves of the Federal Government by the expenditure of over a billion Federal dollars on the Central Arizona irrigation project. "Oh, no," the Senator from Arizona says, "one billion dollars for Arizona, but not one nickel for Tennessee." And he says he is your friend.

Well, may I say that I want Arizona to have their project. I think that the power project, the Arizona irrigation project is necessary. I think the investment is worthwhile and I think TVA is worthwhile and I think the development of the Missouri River in my part of the -- my part of America where I live is worthwhile and I think the development of the Columbia River is worthwhile, it has made America a better country.

We are neither so poor nor so narrow minded that we have to rob Peter in one region to pay Paul in another. What is good for Tennessee is good for America, and what is good for America is good for Tennessee.

But you good folks here know a lot about cooperation between Federal and State Government and local Government. Your growing universities are a shining example, your great medical center here in Memphis is the pride of the nation. Your scholars are pushing back the frontiers of ignorance on disease, with research grants from the United States Public Health Service, and I might add this hasn't in any way impaired our great medical profession.

To the contrary, it has made American medicine the finest medicine in the world, and we are justly proud of the great healing arts of this country. At all levels, at all levels, my fellow Americans, it is your government, and your initiative that is accomplishing these things. But let's take a look ahead. The full power of this great people and nation has yet to be tapped. It is not fully developed or unleashed. In the midst of the greatest prosperity

any people has ever known there still are pockets of poverty. There are still some people who have been left behind, and in your heart you know that is not right.

(Applause.)

Now, sometimes Senator Goldwater appears to believe that the poor do not exist. He asks questions, "Do you know of anyone who is living in such abject poverty that they are miserable?"

Unfortunately, Mr. Goldwater, I believe there are families in Tennessee in nearby Mississippi, in Kentucky, in Arkansas, in Minnesota, Missouri, and elsewhere who can answer that question, families which have failed to adopt the Goldwater remedy for combatting poverty and what is his remedy? Inherit a department store.

(Laughter.)

But again he says, "That if a family has as much as \$2,000 a year they should count their blessings in comparison with many people in the world."

Now, isn't that a fine standard. The Democratic Party and Lyndon Johnson believe that in America we measure things according to American standards. We are not going to compare the economic lot of America with a Chinese laborer in a Communist commune camp in China. nor are we going to compare them with the poor people of Asia and Africa and Latin America. Our standards are our own.

(Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, our President and the Democratic Party has seen fit to do something about this, and we have launched an all-out war on poverty through the economic opportunity act. Lyndon Johnson wages all-out war on poverty, Senator Goldwater wages all-out war on progress. That is the difference, and that is the choice.

Now, let me just briefly call to your attention one other item. If poverty is a national problem, and it has been so, for its pockets are scattered in many areas, so is this problem of Constitutional rights and equal rights for all regions must face it, and we must solve it as a nation and we must solve these problems within the framework of public law and order, and we need as a President one who seeks to unite us not divide us, one who seeks to encourage us, not discourage us, one who asks us to observe the law, rather than to ridicule it, and that is why I think you need Lyndon Johnson for a United America.

(Applause.)

I stand here tonight to congratulate the City of Memphis for giving to this nation a splendid model of enlightened progress. You have done well, and somebody ought to come to this community, yes, not somebody, but many, to congratulate you and commend you on the tremendous strides that you have made in providing equal opportunity to all Americans regardless of race, color or creed.

(Applause.)

But the greatest responsibility of America today comes from its role as the world's best hope for freedom and peace. Once again we are the arsenal of democracy. We have military power beyond that of any nation or any combination of nations in the world, and don't you listen to anyone who tells you that we don't. Our military power is the most unbelievable reservoir of strength that mankind has ever known, and we have a right to be proud of it.

In Millington nearby you have the Naval Technical Training Command, the largest station of its kind in the world and men were trained here who gave the appropriate as well as the prompt replies in Tonkin Gulf. Like Sergeant York in World War I, the United States Navy with men trained here in Tennessee at the Naval Training Station, once again fought for freedom and did their job well under a great commander in chief.

In a day when nuclear war can mean instant annihilation there is no such thing as instant victory, and it is of overriding importance to all mankind that we have both the means and the judgment not to use nuclear weapons as a panicky response to provocation. Serving nuclear ultimatums is dangerous diplomacy, and may I say that there is nothing more dangerous than having a President that is ultimatum happy. This we cannot afford.

As President Johnson has said, we must not only be strong enough to wage war. We must be wise enough to prevent it. Indeed we must have the Presidential leadership with courage and responsibility. We must have as a President one who is strong and resolute, but not arrogant or belligerent. One who is patient and firm but not appeasing or impulsive, and I submit to this great audience tonight that you have that man and that you had better keep him and his name is Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

(Applause.)

Men who are truly strong, men who are truly strong don't talk tough nor do they advocate policies of bluff and belligerence and brinkmanship. This is no time to play Russian roulette with a nuclear revolver. This is a time for firm and calm leadership, and as the great Senator from this State said, a mighty blow was struck for peace and for a better world one year ago this week when the great nuclear test ban treaty was signed and sealed so as to guarantee to future generations that the air that we breathe shall be free of radioactive pollution and that the milk that we drink shall be free of Strontium 90, and that the earth that we depend upon for our food and fiber shall not be contaminated by radioactivity.

(Applause.)

Most Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, voted for the ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty because they believed it was a step forward in peace. Most of them did, a majority of Republicans, an overwhelming majority of Democrats, but not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of opportunity for all. We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of a just peace for all, and we believe in this Party and in this nation that our tomorrow can bring greater justice for all. Ours is an age which demands our best efforts, not our worst. Our finest thoughts, a determined spirit of unity, and ours is an age when we must give all of our heart and all of our courage for that in which we believe.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party are willing to accept that challenge, and we pray to God Almighty for guidance in our pursuit of happiness and in the achievement of this great dream of our fine President, who asks Americans all, regardless of party or region, wherever you may be or whomever you may be, asks us all to work with him in the achievement of a better America, and in the achievement of what he calls and what I like to call the great society.

Thank you, my friends of Tennessee.

(Applause.)

End



# news release

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

FOR A.M. RELEASE  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

B-3785

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 26  
MID-SOUTH FAIR  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

I come to Memphis--and to the South--to discuss with you openly and frankly, the human side of government. A democratic government is not something set against the people. It is not an enemy. A democratic government is a part of the people--an extension of them. You are--along with every other citizen in this land--a part of the government of the United States. It exists for you, because of you, and is answerable to you.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party preaches a different doctrine. To him, government is a kind of foreign agent. "Government is," he says, "the greatest threat to freedom."

I respect your judgment and common sense more than that. Therefore I will speak to you as a Democrat --both big "D" and little "d."

Your government has progressed farther and prospered most, when your President cared for the people, identified with them, and used the power of his office to help them. No one illustrated this better than did Tennessee's own great gift to the Presidency--Andrew Jackson.

The Jacksonian era got America moving in another day. The laboring man and the farmer achieved their full and rightful place in the American democracy. Free discussion was extended. The number of elected officials was expanded. State constitutions were revised. Industry and commerce bloomed in general economic growth. Government was brought close to the people in a spirit of confidence reflected in Jackson's statement: "There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses."

---more---

The same spirit, enterprise, and trust has characterized this Democratic Administration. Under it the United States began to move again. Under Lyndon Johnson it will continue. As independent and strong in spirit as Andrew Jackson, he has the same sensitivity for the people--all of the people.

Our national economy is growing. After three recessions in eight years of Republican management, the United States is now in its longest sustained period of growth in all our history. You know that and also your Tennessee economy is sharing in it and setting new records:

- your non-agricultural employment is at an all-time high
- your retail sales have set new records
- your automobile sales are at a record peak
- in sales of life insurance, in construction contracts, in industrial power consumption, and other economic indicators, Tennessee is growing with the nation.

Your agriculture is also a concern of the nation. Your Democratic administration this year passed a cotton bill which was not only in the interest of your farmers. It also made possible an increase in wages, an increase in employment and increased competitive power in your growing textile and apparel industry.

The most important question to you, however, is what would result from the proposal by the temporary Republican spokesman for a "prompt and final" termination of all farm price support programs. This would bankrupt a quarter of a million southern farmers and cost the South more than \$3 billion a year.

In gross income, Southern farmers would lose:

- from cotton, \$350 million--at 20 cents a pound.
- from tobacco \$250 million--at 42 cents a pound.
- from livestock, \$400-\$500 million.
- from other crops, \$500-\$700 million.

This adds up to nearly \$2 billion. But every dollar lost by a farmer is also one lost by the merchant from whom he buys. So the entire region would lose closer to \$4 billion.

One out of five farmers--250,000 of them--would have no income at all. They would be driven out of farming. As Senator Goldwater says they would have to "work for somebody else" or "become mechanics."

In addition to this, the high-tariff policies of the Republican platform would wreck our export markets, as similar Republican policies did in the 1920's. This would not only be disastrous to the economy of the South, but also to our international balance of payments.

If Senator Goldwater's proposals on REA were adopted--to force rural electric cooperatives to turn profitable areas over to private companies, and pay higher interest rates for their loans--the co-ops would have to charge prohibitive rates or go out of business. Rural families could go back to the kerosene lamp. I understand that a certain department store in Phoenix carries a large supply.

Senator Goldwater says he does not know anything about agriculture. His ignorance is indeed a fact, but it makes his proposals for agriculture not only a poor choice, but a dismal echo of the views of Presidents Harding Coolidge and Hoover.

Senator Goldwater offers another choice of importance to this region--to sell the TVA for one dollar, or to turn it over to Congress and the public for disposition. Here I take it, he wants to make sure you elect a Democratic Congress as well as a Democratic President, for this is the only serious answer to his proposals.

I would like to quote myself, in testimony before a Congressional committee in 1945--three years before I went to the Senate. I have not changed my mind on what I said then about the TVA:

"TVA did not injure business; it created it. TVA did not deny democratic rights; it gave meaning to the term 'democracy'...River development has proven to be successful, has proven to be democratic, and has proven to be a creative force for business, labor and agriculture." It has brought "government on an economic and political level close to the people. It is the middle way in a world that is now caught between forces to the left and to the right."

Some people fear that after 30 years you take the TVA for granted. I do not believe that. Here in Shelby County you fought hard to save yourselves from the Dixon-Yates power grab, and indeed left the TVA. But you are returning on January 1, 1965, and incidentally you are going to save \$10 million in power costs the first year.

With characteristic inconsistency--to put it most charitably-- Senator Goldwater thinks what is not good for you, is good for Arizona. Apparently Arizonans will not be turned into slaves by the expenditure of a billion federal dollars on the Central Arizona Irrigation Project. Our reply to this double standard is that the United States is one nation. We are neither so poor not so provincial that we have to rob Peter in one region to pay Paul in another.

But here in this region you know of many other areas where you have been in creative partnership with your national government. Your growing universities are a shining example. Your great medical center in Memphis is a pride of the nation. Your scholars are pushing back the frontiers of ignorance on disease with research grants from the Public Health Service. At all levels, it is your government, and your initiative that is accomplishing this.

However, the full power of this great people and nation is yet to be developed and unleashed. In the midst of the greatest prosperity any people has know, there is still poverty in the land. And in your heart you know that is not right.

Sometimes Senator Goldwater appears to believe that the poor do not exist. He questions: "Do you know of anyone who is living in such abject poverty, they are miserable?" Unfortunately, I believe there are families in Tennessee, and in nearby Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri who can answer that, families which have failed to adopt the Goldwater remedy for combatting poverty: inherit a department store.

But again he says that if a family has as much as \$2000 a year they should count their blessing in comparison to many people in the world. The Democratic Party and Lyndon Johnson believe that in America we measure such things by American standards. The level of an emaciated Chinese laborer in a Commune is not a good enough benchmark.

--MORE--

If poverty is a national problem--for its pockets are scattered--so is the problem of equal rights, for all regions must face it. We must solve it as a nation, and within the framework of public law and order. I congratulate the city of Memphis for giving to the nation a splendid model of enlightened progress.

Perhaps the greatest responsibility of America today however comes from its role as the world's best hope for freedom and peace.

Once again we are the arsenal of democracy. We have nuclear power beyond any nation or combination of nations in the world. We have equal superiority at intermediate levels. At Millington nearby, you have the Naval Technical Training Command--the largest station of its kind in the world. Men were trained near here who gave the appropriate--as well as the prompt--replies in the Tonkin Gulf.

In a day when nuclear war can mean instant annihilation, there is no such thing as instant victory and it is of overriding importance to all mankind that we have both the means and the rationality not to utilize nuclear weapons as a panicky response to provocation.

As President Johnson has said: "We must not only be strong enough to wage war; we must be wise enough to prevent it." Indeed we must have presidential leadership with courage and responsibility, and above all, a President who would not reverse the chair of command and pass the back of his constitutional responsibility down to field grade level. We need a Commander-in-Chief--not a Chief Buck-passer--and this is no joke.

Men who are truly strong do not talk tough, nor advocate policies of bluff, belligerence and brinkmanship. This is no time to play Russian roulette with a nuclear arsenal.

---MORE---

We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of opportunity for all, peace for all, and justice for all. Ours is an age which demands our best efforts, our finest thoughts, a determined spirit of unity, and all of our heart and courage.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party welcome that challenge, even as we pray to God for guidance.

#####

Sp: Memphis: Tenn.  
Sept. 26, 1964

X Mississippi Starts in Minnesota

We are joined together by this  
mighty River

We are Happy People!

Memphis

I come to Memphis -- and to the South -- to discuss

with you openly and frankly, the human side of government.

A democratic government is not something set against the

people. It is not an enemy. A democratic government is

a part of the people -- an extension of them. You are --

along with every other citizen in this land -- a part of

the government of the United States. It exists for you,

because of you, and is answerable to you. This is the meaning of Govt of the People.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party

preaches a different doctrine. To him, <sup>our</sup> government is a

kind of foreign agent. "Government is," he says, "the

greatest threat to freedom." - Listen to that!

(Estes Kefauver)

I respect your judgment and common sense more than  
that. Therefore I will speak to you as a Democrat --

both big "D" and little "d".

*Low Country*  
~~our government~~ has progressed farther and prospered  
*men*  
~~not~~, when your President cared for the people, identified

with them, and used the power of his office to help them.

No one illustrated this better than did Tennessee's own  
great gift to the Presidency -- Andrew Jackson.

The Jacksonian era got America moving in another  
day. The laboring man and the farmer achieved their full

and rightful place in the American democracy. Free

discussion was extended. The number of elected officials

was expanded. State constitutions were revised. Industry

and commerce bloomed in general economic growth. Government was brought close to the people in a spirit of confidence reflected in Jackson's statement: "There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses."

The same spirit, enterprise, and trust has characterized this Democratic Administration. Under it the United States began to move again. Under Lyndon Johnson it will continue.

As independent and strong in spirit as Andrew Jackson, *Pres. Johnson* has the same sensitivity for the people -- all of the people. !

*This is a Peoples President!*

Our national economy is growing. After three recessions in eight years of Republican management, the United States is now in its longest sustained period of growth

in all our history. ~~You know that and also that~~ *you* Tennessee economy is sharing in it and setting new records:

L--your ~~non-agricultural~~ employment is at an  
all-time high.

L--your retail sales have set new records.

L--your automobile sales are at a record peak.

L--in sales of life insurance, in construction  
contracts, in industrial power consumption, and other  
economic indicators, Tennessee is growing with the nation.

L Your agriculture is also a concern of the nation.

L Your Democratic administration this year passed a cotton

bill which was not only in the interest of your farmers;

*in the interest of the textile industry. It*

~~it also~~ made possible an increase in wages, an increase

in employment and increased competitive power in your

growing textile and apparel industry.

*Cotton  
bill*

# But ask yourselves

~~The most important question to you, however, is~~ what

would result from the proposal by the temporary Republican

Mr Goldwater

spokesman for a "prompt and final" termination of all

farm price support programs. This would bankrupt a quarter

of a million southern farmers and cost the South more than

\$3 billion a year

*in lost income - and he  
trip to parade as a friend of the South!*

In gross income, Southern farmers would lose:

- about*  
--from cotton, \$350 million--~~at 20 cents a pound.~~
- about*  
--from tobacco \$250 million--~~at 42 cents a pound.~~
- from livestock, \$400-\$500 million.
- from other crops, \$500-700 million.

This adds up to nearly \$2 billion. But every dollar

lost by a farmer *over \$100 is* is also one lost by the merchant from

whom he buys. So the entire region would lose closer

to \$4 billion.

One out of five farmers--250,000 of them--would  
have no income at all. They would be driven out of  
farming. As Senator Goldwater says they would have  
to "work for somebody else" or "become mechanics." !

In addition to this, the high-tariff policies  
of the Republican platform would wreck our export  
markets, as similar Republican policies did in the  
1920s. This would not only be disastrous to the economy  
of the South, but also to our international balance of  
payments.

If Senator Goldwater's proposals on REA were adopted--

~~to force rural electric cooperatives to turn profitable~~

~~areas over to private companies, and pay higher interest~~

*eliminating the REA administration  
reducing loans, + raising  
interest rates,*

REA

*many REA Coops would*  
rates for their loans--the coops would have to  
*go out of business!*  
charge prohibitive rates or go out of business. Rural

families could go back to the kerosene lamp. I understand  
that a certain department store in Phoenix carries a  
large supply.

*Kerosene  
lamps.*

L Senator Goldwater says he does not "know anything  
about agriculture." His ignorance is indeed a fact, but  
it makes his proposals for agriculture not only a poor  
choice, but a dismal echo of the views of Presidents  
Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. !

L Senator Goldwater offers another choice of importance  
to this region--to sell the TVA for one dollar, or to turn  
it over to Congress and the public for disposition. Here

*TVA*

*Get rid of it - he says!!*  
~~it over to Congress and the public for disposition. Here~~

~~you~~ *You better be*  
if ~~take it~~, he ~~wants to~~ make sure you elect a Democratic

Congress as well as a Democratic President, for this  
is the only ~~answer~~ answer to his proposals.

I would like to quote myself, in testimony before a Congressional committee in 1945--three years before I went to the Senate. I have not changed my mind on what

White  
Mayer  
impl.

I said then about the TVA:

“TVA did not injure business; it created it. TVA did not deny democratic rights; it gave meaning to the term 'democracy'...River development has proven to be successful , has proven to be democratic, and has proven to be a creative force for business, labor, and agriculture.”

It has brought “government on an economic and political level close to the people. It is the middle way in a world that is now caught between forces to the left and to the right.”

Some people fear that after 30 years you take the TVA for granted. I do not believe that. Here in Shelby County you fought hard to save yourselves from the Dixon-Yates

*You temporarily, I understand,*  
power grab, and indeed left the TVA. But you are  
 returning on January 1, 1965. *And* incidentally you  
 are going to save \$10 million in power costs ~~xxxx~~ the  
 first year.

With characteristic inconsistency--to put it most  
 charitably--Senator Goldwater thinks what is not good for  
 you, is good for Arizona. Apparently Arizonans will not  
 be turned into slaves by the expenditure of a billion federal  
dollars on irrigation! the Central Arizona Irrigation Project!  
dollars on irrigation! Our reply to this double standard

*Not Good*  
*Central Ariz. Proj.*

is that the United States is one nation. We are neither  
narrow minded  
 so poor nor so provincial that we have to rob Peter in  
 one region to pay Paul in another!

*What's good for Tenn.  
 is good for Ariz & Vice  
 Versa!*

But here in this region you know of many other areas  
 where you have been in creative partnership with your  
national government. Your growing universities are a

*Univ - Educ*

shining example. Your great medical center in Memphis  
is a pride of the nation. Your scholars are pushing back  
the frontiers of ignorance on disease with research  
grants from the Public Health Service. At all levels,  
it is your government, and your initiative that is  
accomplishing this. !

U.S.

# But lets look ahead.

However, the full power of this great people and  
nation is yet to be developed and unleashed. In the  
midst of the greatest prosperity any people has known,  
there is still poverty in the land. And in your heart  
you know that is not right. !

Sometimes Senator Goldwater appears to believe that  
the poor do not exist. He questions: "Do you know of  
anyone who is living in such abject poverty, they are  
miserable?" Unfortunately, I believe there are families

*Kentucky*

in Tennessee, and in nearby Mississippi, Arkansas, and

Missouri who can answer that; families which have failed

to adopt the Goldwater remedy for combatting poverty: *namely,*

*to-* inherit a department store.

But again he says that if a family has as much as \$2000 a year they should count their blessing in

comparison to many people in the world. The Democratic

Party and Lyndon Johnson believe that in America we

measure such things by American standards. The level of

*a* ~~an~~ *Chinese Communist Commune,* ~~an~~ *Chinese laborer in a* ~~country~~ *, is not a good*

enough *standard for Americans!!*

If poverty is a national problem--for its pockets are scattered--so is the problem of equal rights

*- Constitutional Rts*

*for all* regions must face it. We must solve it as a nation, and

Moody!

and we need a President one who  
seeks to unite us - to encourage  
law observance! We need everyone!!

within the framework of public law and order, I congratulate

the city of Memphis for giving to the nation a splendid

model of enlightened progress.

!! you have done well!  
#

Perhaps the greatest responsibility of America today

however comes from its role as the world's best hope

for freedom and peace.

Peace  
&  
Freedom

Once again we are the arsenal of democracy. We

have ~~nuclear~~ <sup>military</sup> power beyond any nation or combination of

nations in the world. ~~We have equal superiority at inter-~~

~~mediate levels~~ <sup>Millington</sup> At Millington nearby, you have the Naval

Technical Training Command--the largest station of its

kind in the world. Men were trained near here who gave

the appropriate--as well as the prompt--replies in the

Tonkin Gulf.

Like Sgt York in world war 1,  
the U.S. Navy - with men trained here at the  
Naval Technical Training Command, fought for  
freedom.

Perusing nuclear ultimatums is  
dangerous diplomacy - and Senator  
Goldwater is 1<sup>st</sup> ultimatum. Happy!

↳ In a day when nuclear war can mean instant  
annihilation, there is no such thing as instant victory  
and it is of overriding importance to all mankind that  
we have both the means and the judgement use  
personality not to use  
nuclear weapons as a panicky response to provocation.

↳ As President Johnson has said: "We must not  
only be strong enough to wage war; we must be wise enough  
to prevent it." ↳ Indeed we must have presidential  
leadership with courage and responsibility, and above all,  
a President who would not reverse the chain of command  
and pass the buck of his constitutional responsibility  
down to field grade level. We need a Commander-in-Chief--  
not a Chief Buck-passer--and this is no joke.

one who is strong & resolute, but not  
arrogant or belligerent. One who  
is patient and firm, but not  
appeasing or impulsive!

We have had men in LB5!

- 14 -

Men who are truly strong do not talk tough, nor  
advocate policies of bluff, belligerence and brinkmanship.

This is no time to play Russian roulette with a nuclear  
arsenal.

Nuclear Test Ban Treaty - Core!  
Tomorrow

We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of  
opportunity for all, peace for all, and justice for all. !!

Ours is an age which demands our best efforts, our  
finest thoughts, a determined spirit of unity, and  
all of our heart and courage.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party welcome  
that challenge, and we pray to God for guidance in the

our pursuit of happiness and  
the achievement of the 'Great Society'

#  
Shirley's election - a memorial to Kefauver  
to John Kennedy?



# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)