

Senator Humphrey
Moultrie, Georgia,
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much. May I first of all thank the wonderful young people here in this band for their type music and for the wonderful way in which they have played our Minnesota rouser, thank you, thank you very much.

And then may I thank all these enthusiastic supporters here of the loyal opposition. My good friends of Moultrie, it is very, very nice to see you. I gather we have got a little static here today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to be in your wonderful community of Moultrie, and I am very pleased to see these charming young people who have been so courteous, so gracious as one would expect a fine young man or woman from the Deep South land to be. I am very honored by your welcome, by your Minnesota rouser, and by the kindness that most of you have demonstrated here to Mrs. Humphrey and myself.

(Applause.)

I have had a wonderful in from your great airport, and seen this beautiful countryside, much of it reminding us of our northern Minnesota with the cutover land and the pine trees, and beautiful farmland and the lovely homes. We have been privileged to be received by your great and distinguished and much respected, highly honored Governor of this State, Carl Sanders, one of the fine men.

(Applause.)

And by his very lovely wife, Betty, who surely is a great adornment to the State of Georgia and a great help to this wonderful fine dynamic Governor that has made such a splendid record for your state.

I was asked to bring the greetings of two great and distinguished Georgians to you today, two men I have served with in the Senate for many years, one your most able, honorable distinguished United States Senator who is a beloved friend of our President, who is loved by Mrs. Johnson and their daughters as if he were a member of the family, your own great Senator, Richard Russell. He asked me to bring his greetings to you.

(Applause.)

I am also very, very happy to bring you the warm greetings of your junior Senator, a gentleman that I have served with on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, one who is gaining ever new respect in the United States Senate for his leadership, not only for Georgia but for all of America, Herman Talmadge.

(Applause.)

And I am pleased to be in the District of that fine Congressman Congressman Pilcher who has done so much to represent this great area.

Now, my friends, you know I want to just say to a few of you here, you know I was born in the South, in South Dakota, and I have a very keen interest in all of you folks and I must say I am glad to come to a state that has never, never, never in all of its history ever left the Democratic Party, that has had a solid record of support for the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

And I am very proud to come to a state that has been able to understand that the Democratic Party has been the friend of the South and the South has been the friend of the Democratic Party, and I am

Senator Humphrey
Moultrie, Georgia,
September 29, 1964

Page 2

proud to come to a state that will understand that in 1964, because the Republican Party has never lifted a finger for the South for this County of Moultrie in the history of America and I am very proud to come to an area that is showing America the way for a prosperous and a progressive agriculture, a people that are making tremendous advances, and may I say that when you want to make advance, when you want to move forward you get behind the Democrats who look ahead, you don't get behind the Republicans who lead you backward.

(Applause.)

And now having said these few words, to you, may I say that I have always been of the opinion that when the friends of the opposition come to us, with their placards and their buttons what they are really doing, my friends, is to come to confess their political sin, to lay down their sign and to join with the Democrats.

Thank you very much.

End.

I am real happy to be down here in South Georgia with you today, along with Governor Sanders, Secretary Freeman, and our good friend, John Duncan.

I am especially happy that you invited me to come into your state during this campaign, so that I can get to know you better, and you can get to know me better.

I know that if you are anything like the Georgia friends I have made in Washington, I will like you - and, I hope, you will like me.

When I think of the Georgia friends I have made in Washington, I think especially of your two fine United States Senators and colleagues of mine - Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge.

It has been my great privilege and my real pleasure to serve in the Senate for 15 years with your distinguished senior Senator, Dick Russell. He has been my mentor and my friend. And, while we may not always agree on every question, I can tell you - and I can tell the world - that Dick Russell is universally regarded as one of the ablest and most respected members of the Senate by all his colleagues. And he is one of the finest Americans I know.

It also has been a great privilege and real pleasure to me to get to know your distinguished junior Senator Herman Talmadge during the last eight years and to work closely with him on farm legislation.

You know, when I first got to the United States Senate in 1949, I was considered as somewhat of a "Young Turk" in those days, and, I guess I sort of thought I could reform the Senate and change its rules to suit my own notions.

But you just don't do that in the Senate. And, being a rather talkative fellow, I quickly got slapped down and shut up and learned my lesson that a freshman Senator should be seen and not heard. It took me a little time to get back in the good graces of my elders.

But, I remember that Herman Talmadge did just the opposite when he first came to Washington in 1957. Up there we had been reading in the newspapers that "Huzzon" was some sort of a wild man, and we were prepared to see him come onto the scene and start raising the roof off the Capitol dome the first day.

But, Herman Talmadge didn't do that. He came into the Senate quietly, decorously, took his seat and listened and observed and kept his mouth shut until the time came for him to make his maiden speech.

When he did speak, he had something to say, and it was clearly thought out, well documented, well prepared and well delivered, and we listened.

That's the way it has been ever since. Senator Talmadge doesn't speak unless he has something to say and when he does it's worth listening to. And, he has become one of the most respected and influential members of the Senate, as well as one of the best liked members.

I particularly have enjoyed my association with Senator Talmadge on the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. We see eye-to-eye on most farm problems, and we have worked together in co-sponsoring farm legislation. I am proud of his friendship. And, all of us in the Senate have been impressed by Senator Talmadge's knowledge of agriculture and government in general, his quick mind and his skill in debate.

We respect him just as we all have an enormous respect for Senator Russell's skillful leadership in the Senate, his intellect, his vast knowledge of the defense and military security of the United States, his work on appropriations, and his

interest in agriculture and conservation.

No, my friends, Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge and I may disagree on some issues some of the time. But, I can tell you one thing - we agree on a lot more things than we disagree on. And I am very proud that we are on the same side of the aisle in the Senate of the United States.

And, I can tell you that one of the major things we do agree on is that the Democratic Party is the best for the farmer; it is the best party for the South and the North, the East and the West. It is the party best able to keep our country, strong, prosperous and at peace. It is the best party for America.

I don't have to tell you that the Democratic Party is the best for the South and the best for the farmer. You know this from long experience. Your head, your heart, your memory, and - yes, your pocketbook - tell you this.

Let's look at the record of the Republican and Democratic Administrations on farm policies and programs.

Forty years ago a Republican President - Calvin Coolidge - vetoed a farm bill designed to halt the disastrous farm depression of the 1920's which finally led to the great national depression of the 1930's.

Many of us here today remember those depression days, which resulted to a great degree from the callous indifference of a Republican Administration in Washington. Others of you, I am sure, have heard your parents talk about the hard times people went through all over America, particularly in rural areas.

I remember them, when I was working in my father's drug store in a South Dakota town about the size of Tifton. We were hurting economically up there, and so were you down here in South Georgia.

The price of cotton was down to 6.2 cents a pound at New Orleans. Flue-cured tobacco was selling for 6.4 cents a pound. Peanuts were down to \$32 a ton. Corn, if you could sell it, was bringing only 32 cents a bushel. Hogs were selling at \$3.25 a hundred pounds.

Farmers were riding "Hoover carts" to town. We were putting card board in our worn out shoes. We couldn't afford to smoke Camels, even if we were young enough to walk a mile for them. So, we rolled our own from Target and Ripple and Golden Grain - "Hoover dust", we called it.

Banks were closing all over this land, and businesses were failing everywhere in the small towns. You felt the hard times here in Georgia - in Tifton - down at Moultrie and Thomasville and Quitman - up in Fitzgerald and Cordele. Even Valdosta and Albany and Waycross didn't escape.

You felt it all over Georgia and the South, just as we did in the Midwest and all across the nation.

But, in 1932 along came Franklin Delano Roosevelt. And, we, the Democrats of America, threw off the yoke of eight years of Republican rule and elected Roosevelt as the first Democratic President since Woodrow Wilson.

Franklin Roosevelt electrified this nation and gave us confidence in ourselves again. He called Congress into special session, March 3, 1933, to enact a whole series of measures to bring us out of the depression and on the upward road to recovery.

A farm bill was the sixth piece of legislation passed in the famed "first hundred days" of that historic session of Congress that FDR convened. It was the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 - signed by the President on May 12.

This was the forerunner of a series of farm programs enacted by the Democrats to bring confidence and prosperity back to rural America and to replace the kerosene lamps in our farm homes with Alladin's magic lamp of electricity.

Franklin Roosevelt had yeoman help from Southerners in Congress in those hectic days. One of them was Sam Rayburn from Texas. Another was a young Senator from Georgia - Dick Russell. And, later on, another was a young Texas Congressman named Lyndon Johnson.

With Sam Rayburn spear-heading the drive in the House, Dick Russell was floor manager of the bill in the Senate to create the Rural Electrification Administration. Senator Russell was one of those who conceived the idea of price support payments. And he is the author of the school lunch program, which today is serving 16 million school children across our land, 525,000 in Georgia alone.

But, Republicans fought FERA and the Democratic farm programs in Congress, and they've been fighting progress ever since. Their farm policies haven't changed since the days of Cal Coolidge.

In the 1930's Republicans fought the establishment of a commodity storage and loan program. They opposed creation of a permanent rural credit agency.

Yet, these same programs helped farmers produce the abundance of food and fiber essential to victory in two wars for the Free World. Our farm families helped feed a starving post-war world and are now helping win the peace.

Most Republicans fought rural electrification. Yet, probably no single government program has produced more business, more permanent jobs or raised the standards of living for more people. Today, many Republicans still try to cripple, even destroy this program.

But, Republicans had to wait 20 long years - until 1952 - before they were given responsibility for handling farm policy and farm programs again. And what a mess they made of it!

Deliberately and systematically, Ezra Taft Benson and the Republican Congress set out to wreck most, if not all, the farm programs which made our agriculture the greatest in the world. Fortunately the Democrats regained control of Congress, and we prevented Benson from completely wrecking them.

But, eight years of Republican Administration of farm programs were eight years of misrule that resulted in disaster for many farm families.

When the Democrats took office again in 1961, we found that farm commodity programs had been severely impaired by eight years of unsympathetic and even hostile Republican Administration of them.

Net farm income had dropped from \$14.4 billion in 1952, the last year of the Truman Administration, down to a low of \$11.7 billion by 1957, the lowest level of the postwar years. Meanwhile, unrestrained production had choked the nation's warehouses with mounting grain surpluses.

But, under President John F. Kennedy, Vice-President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary Orville Freeman, the Democratic Administration began to change this dismal picture, with help and advice from men like Under Secretary of Agriculture Charlie Murphy of North Carolina, and the now former Assistant Secretary John P. Duncan from Georgia.

We have had help in Congress, too, from men like Senators Russell and Talmadge and the members of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives.

Let's see what we have done!

First and foremost, we have raised gross farm income from \$37.9 billion in 1960 to a record high of \$41.7 billion in 1963. Gross farm income - which is spending power on Main Street - is up by \$2.8 billion a year over the 1960 levels..

American farmers earned \$8.6 billion more in gross income during the first three years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration because under the Democrats farm income has been higher each year than the 1960 levels.

Per farm
Net farm income is up 18 percent over the Republican years, and government payments to farmers in 1961-62-63 were \$2.8 billion higher than the 1960 levels.

Increased farm income has meant 200,000 more jobs in industry as farmers buy more goods. Bank deposits in farm counties are up 22 percent since 1960.

Meanwhile, this Administration has cut wheat stocks from 1.4 billion bushels in 1961 down to 894 bushels, and feed grain surpluses have been reduced from 3 billion bushels to 2.3 billion bushels.

These smaller wheat and feed grain stocks mean savings of \$89 million a year to the taxpayer. Overall costs without the farm programs of this Administration would be \$3 billion higher.

In the last three years, six major bills affecting feed grains, wheat, cotton, food-sharing and rural area development have been enacted.

Now, what does all this mean to the farmers of Georgia and your income - to your families, the merchants in your towns and the economy of your state?

Here in Georgia, gross farm income climbed from \$873 million in 1960 to a record high of \$963 million last year.

Georgia farmers earned \$141 million more in gross farm income during the Democratic years of 1961-62-63 than they would have earned at the 1960 Republican level.

Government payments to Georgia farmers under a friendly Democratic Administration these three years were \$24 million above the 1960 levels.

Feed grain diversion payments alone to Georgia farmers will reach an estimated \$17.7 million this year.

A friendly Democratic Administration in Washington has bought nearly \$10 million worth of poultry, peanut butter, fruits and vegetables in Georgia for distribution in school lunches and to needy families.

A Democratic Administration friendly to Georgia has been expanding its research facilities in this state, including the \$9½ million Southeastern Utilization Research

Laboratory under construction in Athens.

Now, I call this progress in Georgia agriculture - progress under the Democrats. And, I don't believe the farmers of Georgia want to turn back the clock and reverse this trend of progress by turning their backs on the Democratic Party in November.

I believe the farmers of Georgia realize that their economic welfare, their progress, the gains in farm income are due primarily to the price support programs of the Democratic Administration.

I don't believe you, the farmers of Georgia, want to do away with those price support programs.

And, I don't believe the farmers of Georgia want to elect Barry Goldwater as President and let him take these price support programs away from you under another callous, reactionary Republican Administration in Washington.

But, that's what Barry Goldwater has said - and he has said it time and time again - that he would do if he were elected.

He has called for the "prompt and final termination" of all farm price support programs. It's down in black and white in his book, "Conscience of a Conservative."

This irresponsible man - this leader of the party of reaction - this man who would sell TVA and put an end to REA - has repeated over and over again in newspaper and magazine interviews his desire to do away with farm programs within five years.

He has advocated "placing agriculture back under the law of supply and demand."

Now, you know what would happen to you and to the economy of Georgia and the nation, if Goldwater were elected and proceeded to abolish price support programs.

You would soon be in the worst farm depression you have ever seen, and it would be a calamity to our entire national economy.

The cotton, peanut and tobacco farmers of Georgia and the South would be among the hardest hit.

In the most recent referendums on farm programs, 94 percent of the cotton farmers, 97 percent of the peanut producers and 98 percent of the flue-cured tobacco growers have voted their approval of production and marketing controls.

But that doesn't mean anything to Barry Goldwater. Although he once said in a speech in Dillon, South Carolina, that "I'm not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming", he seems to think he knows more than you do what is best for you.

Now, let's look at what would happen to you if Goldwater's policies were adopted.

Studies by Iowa State and Cornell University economists and by two committees of the Congress indicate that if all price supports were abolished net farm income in the U. S. would show a prompt decline of between 40 and 50 percent.

This would mean a drop of more than \$6 billion from the present level of \$12.5 billion net farm income a year down to between \$6 and \$7.5 billion.

Yet, this is what Goldwater advocates.

Let's see what this would do to the cotton, tobacco and peanut farmers of Georgia alone.

Georgia cotton farmers produced 605,000 bales last year at an average of 32½ cents a pound. Without a price support program, the return to the farmer would have been about 10 cents a pound or \$50 a bale less income - a loss of roughly \$30 million.

You tobacco farmers of Georgia produced 143 million pounds last year for an average return of 58 cents a pound for a total cash income of \$83 million. Without a price support program, production would have been about 160 million pounds for which you would have gotten only about 43 cents a pound for a cash income of \$68 million. This would have been a loss to you of about \$15 million.

Georgia farmers produced more than 745 million pounds of peanuts last year for a cash income of \$81,762,000. Without a price support program your cash income from peanuts would have dropped to \$44 million - a loss of \$37 million.

For these three crops alone, the 115,000 cotton, peanut and tobacco farmers of Georgia would have lost more than \$82 million if price support programs had not been in effect.

Based on the Cornell, Iowa State and Congressional studies, economists estimate that Barry Goldwater's "prompt and final termination" of all price support programs would bankrupt about one out of five farmers in the nation.

It would bankrupt an estimated 18,400 farmers in Georgia alone.

Ending these programs would cost all Georgia farmers an estimated \$212 million a year in loss of income.

This \$212 million lost by Georgia farmers would mean a total loss of ^{4.24}~~\$224~~ million to the state's economy, because each dollar lost by the farmer is another dollar lost by the merchants from whom he buys.

Farmers whose income would be wiped out by this situation would be driven out of farming and off the land. Bank solvency would be jeopardized and land values would plummet.

I don't believe the farmers, the small town merchants, the industrial workers or the bankers in the cities want this to happen to Georgia.

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I certainly don't think you want this to happen.

This is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote in November to reject the careless, the callous, the reckless, the reactionary theories of Barry Goldwater who would force you off the land to root, hog or die in the cities.

This is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote for Lyndon Johnson for President - the first Southerner to sit in the White House in more than a hundred years.

In Lyndon Johnson you have a friend - not an enemy in the White House. He is a friend of the South and he is a friend of the farmer. He is a man of compassion for the poor and the needy of this country.

He is the most effective champion of farm programs in the nation - a man who wants to build and not tear down. ~~In the White House he is in a position to bring even greater support to farm legislation than when he was a member of Congress.~~

~~I am proud to stand the farm record of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey up against the farm record of Barry Goldwater and William Miller any day of the week.~~

We have done much to improve farm economy and the rural economy of America during the last four years. But there is much more to be done. So, let's keep Lyndon Johnson in the White House for another four years so that we can continue the job.

There are more jobs to be done for America. Let us strengthen our farm programs not abolish them. Let us improve our REA programs, not dissolve them as Barry Goldwater would have us do.

Working hand in glove with Senator Talmadge, we have passed this year a cotton bill that protects the income of the small cotton farmer, increases cotton consumption by our domestic mills and enhances the jobs and the income of the cotton textile worker. But we can still improve on it.

In cooperation with Senators Russell and Talmadge and your Georgia members in the House, we have increased agricultural research and expanded our school lunch and food distribution programs. We have given new vigor to rural areas development. We have increased our farm exports to record high levels of more than \$6.1 billion a year. We have strengthened our forestry and conservation and other agricultural programs.

Let us continue for another ~~four years~~ four years!

The proud banner of the great State of Georgia has never deserted the ranks of the Democratic Party, I am happy to say, and I am confident it will not desert the Democratic Party in November of 1964.

So, let us march forward together. Let us build a Great Society, upholding and protecting the constitutional rights of all our citizens -- white and black -- North and South and East and West -- rural and urban -- Catholic and Protestant and Jew.

United behind a strong and courageous President -- a man of prudence and a man of vision -- a man of firmness and a man of compassion -- a leader of men -- let us build together in brotherhood, Americans, all.

Let us preserve and protect liberty at home and freedom abroad and build together toward that great day when we can end poverty in our land, ease hunger around the world and become -- as our forefathers intended us to be -- a nation truly great in the eyes of our Lord!

Senator Humphrey
Tifton, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much. I thank you very much, Mr. Harrison for that wonderful generous introduction, and I do want to thank this wonderful generous introduction, and I do want to thank this wonderful group of people for your hospitable and kindly and friendly reception. Both Mrs. Humphrey and I are most grateful and we want to thank you very much.

Now, friends, I notice one of our gentlemen out here has one of those old-fashioned horns that sort of call in the wandering sheep. I gather that -- he has got a good LBJ-HHH sign on there which indicates that he is thinking right and he is going forward but he has apparently witnessed a few folks who are not thinking right and going backward and he is lifting that horn to the heavens to call in those who have strayed from the fold.

(Applause.)

I surely want to thank you. You have done a great deal already. I have noticed two or three are starting to repent for their political sins.

May I thank your distinguished and much honored and respected progressive Governor of this State, Governor Carl Sanders.

And I surely want you to know that Mrs. Humphrey and I are extremely grateful for their reception, for their freception, for their welcome but more we are grateful for more than that. We are grateful for the fact that Georgia has this remarkable man as the leader of this great state, that has a reputation that I wish that my own State of Minnesota could have had, a reputation along with the State of Arkansas, of having exercised the best political judgment of any State or any people in the Union. You have never failed the Democratic Party in the past, and you are not going to fail it in the future. You are going to vote on November 3, I know you are, because of your sense of, your common sense, your good judgment, and your faith in America, you are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States.

(Applause.)

By the way, I was very honored to have with us today our Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Olville Freeman and one of your fine fellow statesmen down here, John Duncan, who is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture representing so well the great agricultural interests of our country. I also note that some reference has been made to the fact that the Republican Truth Squad is around. Now, that is a play on words if I ever heard it. I hope that they will be around because I want them to tell you the truth of how they voted against everything that would have helped Georgia. I want them to tell you that truth.

(Applause.)

And if they don't get around to telling you about it I am going to tell on them, because they need to be told on. The Republican Truth Squad, a play on words, a conflict of interest, a joke if I ever heard one, but an expensive one for the South, and don't forget it.

(Applause.)

As I came by here, Mr. Gillis was saying to me, he said, "You know the Republicans are spending a lot of money down here in this campaign."

Well, I thought it is about time they did something good for Georgia, they never helped you out before, and if they are willing to come down here and keep the printing shops busy, I imagine most of those signs are printed up North, not here. If they are willing to come down here and spread around through these countrysides and all through these wonderful counties of Georgia and the South their propaganda, if they are willing to say they are paid workers, if they are willing to bring down here everybody they can possibly get their hands on to tell you about the Republican Party, and the Republican candidate, more power to them. Frankly, I think you deserve a little help from them. They have never helped you before and if they can help you now, take it and then vote against them on November 3.

(Applause.)

I see we have some signs here by some of our young people and I am so delighted to see them, people down here from Val Dosta State College for LBJ and Humphrey.

May I say, I am very delighted to be here in the home of the Abraham Baldwin College -- (applause) -- one of the truly great educational institutions and one that has done so much in promoting these fine adult vocational education programs that have meant so very, very much to the farmers and the homemakers of this State. I know how much these college programs mean, and what a great source of strength this has been for your wonderful area.

Well, I am glad to meet at Tifton and I want to thank the editor of the Tifton Daily Gazette. I like that kind of editorial, that is the kind of gentleman I like. He isn't on our side, but he is a gentleman.

(Applause.)

Let me just say a word to my fellow democrats. You know we were over at Moultrie a little while ago, we had some mixed emotions, I might add. There were a few folks there carrying on from the Cow Palace out at San Francisco, yes, they were, they were still booing.

Let me say the Democrats don't boo. Democrats cheer, because we have got something to be happy about. We have got a great country, we have got a great Party, we have got a great leader so Democrats never boo anybody, just cheer and raise your voice in happiness for this country.

(Applause.)

So, I come to Tifton. Some people said, "I will bet that Humphrey won't dare to come down there." Well, here I am. Other people said to me, "I know you won't come down, Humphrey, because they think you have got horns."

I said, "It is not horns at all, I have just been worried about what the Republicans have been doing and my hairline is receding. There are not horns there."

Friends, we are neighbors, this is a small world we live in today. This is one great country, and we ought to think about our country as America, as America. As Sam Rayburn once said about the Democratic Party, speaking of himself, he said, "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix. I am a Democrat without apology," and that is the kind of a Democrat that Hubert Humphrey is. He comes to you today as a Democrat, delighted to talk to Georgia Democrats, delighted to talk to Georgia citizens and I come to you today speaking as an American, not an American from the North, not from the East or the West or from the South, but an American, if you please, who sees one United States of America, one Republic and one people, united in one purpose, to make this country strong and prosperous and progressive and to make this country a force for good at home and abroad, and I think that is our goal.

(Applause.)

I come here after having spent many years in the Congress of the United States with a distinguished United States Senator from your great state, who is Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the leading member on the Appropriations Committee, one who has possibly done more for the security of our land and for the farm people of America than any man that I can think of, your own great Senator, your senior Senator, Richard Russell, whom I can call friend, and who is a friend of the President of the United States.

(Applause.)

And I am proud to say I have served with the junior Senator, one that is carving out for himself a splendid record of achievement in the Senate of the United States. Oh, Georgia has done much for this land, Georgia has given to us these two Senators, Senator Russell and that fine Senator that you sent there a few years ago, Herman Talmadge, these are men that you can be proud of and your own Congressman Pilcher, too, from this District who has done so much for your great area.

(Applause.)

You know I could tell you one thing that we Democrats, one reason you are a Democrat is because you don't have to agree with somebody all the time. If you want to agree with somebody all the time you are going to have to join that very little fraction of a faction that was hatched out there at the Cow Palace at San Francisco. They agree on everything, namely, to agree on to do nothing.

It is very easy to get people to agree to stop the clock but it is a little bit difficult to get everybody to agree as to how far we are going and where we are going and what the pace will be. So, we Democrats occasionally have our differences, but there is one thing I can tell you, that one of the major things that we agree on is that the Democratic Party has been the friend of the South and that the South has been the friend of the Democratic Party, and I submit that there is no person living in this area that can show you what the Republican Party has ever done for a farmer or for a worker or for an American or for a school teacher or for a child in the Southland.

The Republican Party has never helped you.

This Party is best for the North, this Democratic Party is best for the South. It is best for the East and best for the West, it is a national party, and it is the best party for America, too, and it is the party that is best able, and you well know it, to keep America strong, and it is strong today; to keep America prosperous, and it is prosperous today; and to build towards those conditions that will make possible peace in this world of ours, and that is the objective of the Party of Wilson, of Roosevelt, and of Truman, and of Kennedy and of Lyndon B. Johnson, namely better servants of the people.

(Applause.)

Mr. Harrison, you were kind enough to remind us a moment ago of what Bob Kerr had to say, cool under Coolidge, hard under Harding and hunger under Hoover; don't forget, the only difference now is that the Republican Party is just a little older. It is like those old French kinds, they never learn anything and they never forgot anything. Not for you but what to do to you.

I would like to remind this audience of days gone by, of cotton at six and a half cents a pound at New Orleans, of flue-cured tobacco at a little over six cents a pound, of peanuts down to 32 dollars a ton and hogs at three and a quarter a hundredweight if you could get anybody to haul them to market. Up our way it used to be they would say corn is nine cents on the cob and ten cents less shucked, that is the way it was back in those wonderful Republican days.

Now, of course, they changed a little bit. We had eight years of Republicanism under Benson. We had it, and I thought possibly they would come up with something new. The only thing that was new was shoes, faces and a necktie, not another thing. They came up with no new programs, same old philosophy, same old economics, same old lack of concern about the people of this country.

So, I want to talk to you now a little bit about your part of America, which is so similar in many ways to ours, agriculture. Agriculture is kingpin in your economy, and you can't do without it and you can't afford a political party that doesn't understand that. You are the peanut capital of the world, the seed bed of the nation, and your tobacco goes to the world markets and your pecan or chard are without equal, your watermelons have a national reputation, we love them in Minnesota, too, and your ham and your fried chicken grace the tables the world over, your livestock ranks among the best of our nation, winning blue ribbons in every one of the 50 states of this great Republic, and your cotton, cotton remains a powerful factor in the agricultural economy of the South, of the agricultural economy of America, and surely of this great State of Georgia.

Your farm products are a class to themselves, and I frankly marvel at this wonderful section of America, and what it has meant to

America. I marvel at this section and what it means to Georgia. Right here in this area, and what Georgia means to our nation. I am sure all of us are familiar with these facts but maybe we ought to just re-examine them for a moment because the campaign ought to be a period of education and we don't get much education, my friends, when those who do not want to hear the truth shout "boo" or those who just want to applaud, merely cheer.

What we need is some thoughtful consideration of our country, and what the respective political parties stand for, and what the candidates stand for.

Now last year, you spent here in Georgia 81 million dollars for fertilizer on your farms. You paid out 41 million dollars for machinery, and motor vehicles.

In 1963 lubricants and maintenance cost you about 47 million dollars, and feed alone, you spent 150 million dollars. That is a lot of money. When you total it up it is quite a sum. However, you marketed products last year valued at 800 million dollars. 800 million dollars of marketed products from Georgia's farms. So you are really involved in agriculture, and you in Georgia last year had, income from poultry and livestock was up, 7 million dollars over what it was a year ago and far up over what it was in those days of the last years of the Republican Administration.

Income from Georgia broilers was the highest in the nation totaling over 168 million dollars, and Georgia's billion dollar wood-using industry is supplied with over half of its timber, stumpage right out of Georgia, by Georgia farmers.

Georgia's 106,350 farms are the lives and the fortunes of so many of you, and by the way, your number of farms are just about the same as in my own state, and these farms, I say, deserve attention, and they deserve the best that the minds of our country can give to them, because when agriculture prospers America prospers. When agriculture is in depression America is in depression. I want to remind every boy and girl in this audience and every senior citizen that farms, the depressions are farm-led and farm-bred, and don't forget it. You can't have a prosperous America in Philadelphia or Cleveland or San Francisco if you have depression and recession on the farms of America.

Therefore, we need a prosperous agriculture.

Now, there are, regrettably, those among us in this nation who do not know of the importance of agriculture, some of them carry signs, and they don't realize the value in the lives, they don't realize the value to the lives of men of agriculture, and I say there must be some knowledge, some understanding and some appreciation of the relationship of soil and water and trees to a healthy society before a person can really be a good citizen.

Now, the standard bearer of the opposition party, my Republican friend that seeks your votes, what did he say when he was down speaking in Dillon, South Carolina? Well, I will quote his exact words, and this is the man who wants to help the farmers of Georgia, that is what he says. He is down here whistling Dixie, well, let me tell you it is the most expensive whistle you will ever hear in your life, if you pay attention to it.

(Applause.)

That Republican candidate for the Presidency said, "I am not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming." I take him at his word. He surely has demonstrated it. And I am going to show you what that lack of knowledge means to you. You know it is an interest-

ing thing, our friend that is on the opposition ticket, the Republican spokesman in this election, goes around telling the American people in the big cities 'You have got to get rid of these farming programs.'

I am going to quote his own words. He wrote a book, the Conscience of a Conservative, a very expensive publication if you follow it, I will tell you. He goes around the country saying, 'I don't know anything about farming.'

Mr. Harrison, he says, 'We ought to liquidate REA.' He says 'I think the R is useless in most states,' and he comes down here in the great Southland, the economy of which is so deeply involved in agriculture, and he comes down here and pleads for your votes, not pleads, he says, 'I am your friend.' Of course, he prints pamphlets up North that are slightly different than what he says down here, and before I am through in the State of Georgia today you are going to hear about that pamphlet.

One up North says, 'Hurray for Barry, the Champion of all the People.' and down here he says 'Follow me, I know what to do, I am only for some of the people and you know who I am against, and you know who I am for.'

Up North he is the Champion of equal rights. Down here he is the Champion of Goldwater, period.

(Applause.)

It is kind of hot around here. I am going to take my coat off. When you get to talking about the Republicans and how they mess things up you get sort of warm. I think it is about time we started talking about them.

I didn't come on down here, may I say, to pick magnolias. I came down here to expose this great Republican fraud that is being perpetrated on the people of this Southland and we are going to talk about it.

Let's just talk about cotton. I voted for every bill that has ever been brought in Congress that was sponsored by your Senators to help cotton. That is something that the Senator from Arizona can't say. Not on your life. Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, when the role was called in the United States Senate on bill after bill, that meant something to your farmers, they voted for the farmers of Georgia but not Senator Goldwater.

(Cries of 'Not Barry Goldwater.')

Now surely there is a program that means a great deal to every man, woman and child in the world as well as America, it is our Food for Peace program. More than eight million bales of cotton have moved in consumption channels abroad because of that program. Under that program 400 million pounds of tobacco have been programmed for export. Eight million pounds of fats and oils, your cotton seed oil, your soybean oils. Without this the cotton seed producers would have received sharply lowered prices.

Exports, farm exports, right here in Georgia, 13 cents out of every farm dollar and every farmer's farm, 13 cents.

And yet my good friends, what do you think happens? On every one of these programs the Food for Peace program, which means acreage for the cotton farmer, which means acreage and price for the tobacco farmer, the Food for Peace program which means a good price for the

cotton seed producer and processor, on everyone of those programs the man that comes down here and sings "Dixie" to you and says "Vote for me," he voted against you, in the United States Senate on every occasion.

(Applause.)

Now from the inception of this Kennedy-Johnson Administration we put food to use, we haven't gone around complaining about our farmers. We haven't told the farmers, "If you can't make it, go to the city" and that is what has been said time after time by the spokesmen of the opposition. We haven't told you you are unneeded, that you are unwanted and that you are inefficient and that you produce too much. No, we have said thank God Almighty for the abundance of our land and thanks for the efficiency of our farmers, thanks for the productivity of our agricultural establishment, and we have backed up those words of thanks with sound policy and program.

We established the food stamp plan to improve the nutrition of the people who were on poor diets. We used, if you please, the surplus food to feed our hungry all over America, and we put school lunch programs at an all-time high, and everyboy and girl in Georgia appreciates the school lunch program, and we have increased our special school milk program. Goods produced in America today is available to the school children of America, because a Democratic President asked for it, because a Democratic Congress supported it, because Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge supported it, but not Senator Goldwater. Now, my friends, there are forces at work in this country that want to do away with all these programs, and I mean every one of them. You know they have been up to Hershey, Pnnnsylvania, up to that hotechocolate town, the two Republican Parties have been up there, the one out of power and the one in power.

They got together up there, and the Senator from Arizona took a little Republican baptism. It didn't stick very long but he had it for a few days and he got up there and he said, "Well, I am not really against these farm programs all at once."

Now, I am a Pharmacist, and I want to tell you, friends, there are a lot of ways to poison a person, and there are a lot of ways! to die. You can die quickly, you can get a little shot of atropine and you are dead in a second or you could take a little arsenic and you can linger on for weeks and months but when you are dead you are dead, and that is exactly what this proposal means.

No, the standard bearer of the Republican Party says to the farmers, "I am not against you, I want to know where you want to be buried. I don't really want you around. But let me quote you what he said, because I tell you that he is at work and he is at work to do away with these farm support programs, for the Food for Peace program, for the REA, the school milk and the food stamp, voted against them all. Ye shall know them by their deeds, and I have been there when that roll was called up yonder.

(Applause.)

And I have been there when the roll was just called on the Senate floor, too. And that is the one that is worrying me right now. In the Saturday Evening Post of August 31, 1963 this new-found friend of the South who asks for your vote as he votes against you, here is what he said: Reporter Stuart Alsop says, "Senator Goldwater, you were quoted some time ago as favoring 'the prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies.' Do you still believe that?"

Goldwater; Yes, I believe that. Oh, it might take three years, it might take five but I believe that."

In other words you may have just a few more years, my friends, he said it might take three. Well, if he will get elected he will be in office for four and he will get you, he will get you, he will turn off the lights in the countryside. They still have got kerosene lamps back in that department store back in Phoenix that he wants to sell you.

I quote the man's own words. He says, "I know nothing about farming and I am not a farmer." He then goes on and says that he favors the prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies. And that means every one of the programs that we have talked about.

Now, I ask you, do you want to see farm commodities or farm communities, I mean, shrink to ghost towns. Do you want to see the nutrition of our children adversely affected? Do you want to withhold good and fiber from our Food for Peace program which is supported by every church, every religious faith in America?

I ask every Godfearing person in this audience to remember that the Food for Peace program was asked for by every religious faith in America. They have asked for it. They say, "Give us the food to help feed the hungry, let us carry out some of the great work we are asked to do."

Mr. Goldwater said, "No, no, that costs too much. We can't afford that." We can afford a billion dollars for the central Arizona project for Arizona but we can't afford a hundred million dollars for hungry people abroad.

I guess you know what would happen if these support prices were promptly terminated. You would have the worst farm depression since the 1920's, by the way, I never heard a Republican candidate since the time of Hoover advocate the end of farming programs, not one. That is why I say I can't hardly call this fellow a Republican, it is hard to tag him. I think he just sort of got a little program of his own.

Well now, let's see what would happen down here if these support prices were taken out. Let's talk a little bit about dollars and cents, bank accounts. Let's talk about how much we have in assets and liabilities because when you get all through with it, my friends, it doesn't make any difference whether you are Republican or Democrat, when you go to the bank to borrow some money they don't ask you about your politics they want to see your collateral and when you can't pay your bill, if you can't pay them they don't give you better terms because you are a Goldwater Republican. Oh, no. You might feel a little better if you are a Democrat because they know you are a little more reliable.

Tobacco: According to your land grant colleges, this is the estimate, if the support prices were taken off, would drop from 60 to 40 cents. It averages out now about 67.

Cotton would drop from about 23 to 24, and peanuts from \$220 a ton to \$120. This would mean a drop in net farm income from 12-1/2 billion a year to about 7 billion, a drop of nearly 6 billion dollars and that spells one word, "depression" -- maybe I should say two words, "Goldwater depression."

Where is my coat here, I have a little something I want to tell these folks about. I have an item in my inside pocket if I can find it. Yes, I have it right here. Oh, me, oh, my.

Senator Humphrey
Tifton, Georgia,
September 29, 1964

Page 8

I will tell you what it was, on September 24, there was a date lined story out of Grand Rapids, Michigan. You know they have been trying to sell what they call Goldwater pop. Pretty flat stuff, didn't have any effervescence in it, didn't have any Democratic juice at all. And in Michigan the state officials of Michigan, they condemned all the 350 cases that were in Michigan, and the Associated Press sotry said that they refused to permit the sale of Goldwater pop, and then they said the reason was because it was misbranded and that its ingredients were only artificial flavoring and preservative. That is the best concise statement of the Goldwater program I have ever heard.

Friends, when you look over the program it is pretty thin, and what it is is an appeal to emotion. It is not an appeal to your sense, it is not an appeal to your needs, it is not a genuine appeal to your economics. It is an appeal to emotion, and let me just say right now that I happen to believe that when the people of Georgia face the facts that that farm program of Mr. Goldwater would cost you about 20,000 farmers bankrupt, that they are not about ready to sacrifice that many good people because Mr. Goldwater can come down here and say some things down here that he doesn't dare say up where I live in order to get your vote. That is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote November to reject these careless, callous, reckless, reactionary theories of Mr. Goldwater who would force you off your land to root, hog or die in the cities and that is just about what it boils down to.

Force you off your land to root, hog or die in the cities, and you can boo it or not, that is what would happen to you, and generally the boosers are the ones that don't understand it.

This is why, my friends, I feel more confident every day that despite all the noise and all of the clamor, despite all this new Republican money that finally finds its way down South, to sell this phoney package of false promises, and that is what it is, that the good people of Georgia that sent to the United States Senate a Walter George, and a Dick Russell and a Herman Talmadge, the good people of this state that have elected a Carl Sanders, that have a record for democracy and support of this country that is second to none, I think that when the chips are down on November 3, they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson as President, the first Southerner to sit in the White House in more than 100 years.

(Applause.)

Lyndon Johnson -- in Lyndon Johnson you have a friend, not an enemy in the White House. He is a friend of the South, he is a friend of the farmer, he is a man of compassion for the poor and for the needy, he is a President for all the Americans, he wants a United America, he wants our people working together, so I ask you let's keep Lyndon Johnson in the White House so that we can continue with the job for you and for the nation, and Georgians, I ask you now, don't you want Johnson as your President for the next four years?

(Cries of "yes.")

Thank you.

End

Press Conference
Tifton, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Q I have a question.

Mr. Vice President, can you tell us about a pamphlet that I understand was issued by the Republican Party, what that pamphlet contained and why it was withdrawn?

Senator Humphrey. I have prepared, sir, a little statement on the way coming down, if I may just -- I want to -- they are very hard to find, may I say.

Q If I may identify myself, I am a Thomas Jefferson Democrat.

Senator Humphrey. I want you to take a look at this. This is a pamphlet, "What about Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater," is that right, is that the one you are referring to?

Q That is right.

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am going to give this to your Governor after I leave here because it is about the only one in captivity.

Now, my dear friends if you would permit me, I had intended in the press conference to make an opening statement and I am going to make this statement because I don't travel under any false covers.

You are well aware of my views on the issue of constitutional guarantees and equal opportunities for all Americans. This is a matter of public record, and I realize that in this area it is very controversial. But I can tell you this: the views I state in Georgia are the same views I state in Minnesota. I don't have one speech for you and one up there, and I will not speak out both sides of my mouth and I am not going to try to deceive you.

I am sorry to say, however, that some politicians masquerading as national candidates cannot make the same statement. I have with me a copy of the Wall Street Journal, that is here with me, and I want to read to you something from its Washington wire which is its central news story, the Wall Street Journal, capital bureau, here is what it says:

"Goldwater nears a campaign crossroads," the item begins. "Will he soften his stance?"

The Wall Street Journal goes on to point out that the Republican candidate tempered his criticism of President Johnson in Wisconsin last week and praised the late President Kennedy in Boston. And -- quote now from the Journal -- "many Republicans expect he'll regularly sound less conservative now, as he speaks more in the urbanized Midwest and Northeast ... some politicians figure he simply had to take a strong conservative line in the South and the West."

We come a little further. In other words, quoting from the Journal, "tell the people only what you think they want to hear. Don't level with them. Don't dare reveal your real beliefs, your honest convictions."

Now I'd like to read you another article, this one written by two nationally syndicated columnists, Mr. Novak, and Mr. Evans, it is entitled "The Missing Pamphlet," and "The Missing Pamphlet" my friends, is right here, and if your Governor will step up here I will give this pamphlet to him because I know he will want it.

I would like to read from this. The column begins:

"The most ironic incident -- and in many ways the most embarrassing -- in the Presidential campaign thus far is the incident of a disappearing Republican pamphlet called 'What about Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?'"

Now, he comes down here, I speak for myself now and tells you what he is against, he tells you about Johnson and about Humphrey. You know about us. He doesn't have to tell you, and some of you don't like what you know, but some of you are understanding and willing to give us the benefit of your doubts and of your support. The column points out, and here I would like to quote it directly:

"The title page of the eight-page brochure quotes the Republican Presidential nominee as follows: 'I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color or creed or any other basis.'

"Inside, an elaborate defense of the Senator's civil rights record stands side-by-side with an elaborate attack on President Johnson's civil rights record, with these highlights:

Goldwater -- "'I believe completely in vigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill for I believe in majority rule ...I believe it is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same schools as whites and that to deny them this opportunity carries with it strong implications of inferiority.'"

Then they quote Johnson: "'Lyndon B. Johnson has fought vigorously against civil rights legislation and voted against it," says Mr. Goldwater, "39 times out of 050."

"To document this charge, the pamphlet claims that the President said during the 1956 Democratic National Convention: 'I am not now and never have been an advocate of civil rights. I don't think I ever will be.'

"Financed by the Republican committee of the District of Columbia (Headed by Washington Attorney Carl Shipley), the pamphlet was unveiled with appropriate local hoopla about two weeks ago. From an initial publication of 50,000 copies, party workers distributed hundreds to Negro homes in the capital.

"Then came the great awakening.

"Out of the Republican National Committee crackled an order: 'Stop distribution immediately, track down every single pamphlet already distributed and cancel the operation forthwith.

"The reason for this sudden about-face is known in the political trade as 'The risk of reverse circulation.'

"The National Committee was scared stiff that while the pamphlet might help the Goldwater ticket in the North, it would help the Johnson ticket even more in the South...

"It is still possible that the National Committee will rescind its drastic order to the local committee two or three days before the election, and plant millions of copies of the pamphlet in Negro neighborhoods all over the country. It is said that three days would not be enough time for the South to catch up with the Goldwater civil rights record."

I think the lesson here is obvious.

I know I for one would never put any trust in a candidate or a political party that tries to have it both ways.

I think the American people and the people of Georgia are more intelligent than that.

And I would like to remind Senator Goldwater of the words of one of the Great Leaders of the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln:

"You can fool some of the people some of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I would also remind many of this, remind this audience of that old saying, fool me once, shame on you, fool me twice, shame on me.

(Applause.)

Q Senator, we think for that you deserve a plate of barbecue.

Senator Humphrey. I am going to have a coke, they make coke in Georgia.

Q Senator Humphrey, I would like to ask one question. The Republican Truth Squad said today they quote the Americans for Democratic action as wanting to abolish the House Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Just what is your position on this?

Senator Humphrey. The question was that the so-called Republican Truth Committee, that is quite a title, that thing sort of floors me, but anyway that committee, that that committee said the ADA was for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and --

Q And the Senate Internal Security Committee.

Senator Humphrey. Senate Internal Security Committee, what is my view. My view has been quite clear, I voted for the Senate Internal Security Committee and voted for its appropriations. I have not asked for the abolishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I believe the Congress has the duty to investigate, I don't think it ought to abuse people, I don't think it ought to enter into reckless charges but I think the Congress of the U.S. has that responsibility and, may I say, that the Republican so-called Truth Committee or Squad knows what my record is, and I am rather surprised that a fellow member of Congress that reads the Congressional Record even if they don't contribute to it might make such comments about one of their colleagues.

Q Senator Humphrey, Senator Goldwater has voted every time for the Adam Clayton Powell amendment. You remember that amendment was attached to the appropriations bill. I think you voted against the Adam Clayton Powell amendment.

Senator Humphrey. I did.

Q Well, last summer when the Civil Rights bill was before the Senate, he said that he supported Title VI on taking away Federal funds wherever there was discrimination, and he told us that the way to stop the South from discriminating is take away from them road funds.

Do you think that he would do this if he was President?

Senator Humphrey. The question from Mr. Kenworthy of the New York Times is a matter of record.

First of all that Senator Goldwater did vote for the so-called Powell amendment on every bill in Congress that that amend-

ment was attached to. There was a special amendment that was attached to a bill that would relate, for example, to health or soil conservation or to housing or whatever it was, saying that if there was any discrimination in any part or in any jurisdiction in any part of this program that the funds would be withheld.

Now, I felt that was wrong to pick on each program like that. I thought that it wasn't the way to legislate, and I voted against those amendments, as did the majority of Democrats. Mr. Goldwater voted for them. Then along comes the Civil Rights Act. I voted for that Act, and I make no apologies. I felt that the Act that we wrote was a balanced and a proper Act.

Mr. Goldwater, however, said that in Title VI of that Act, which relates to Federal funds coming to the southern states or any other state, that he was for that because he said, "That is the way that we can bring you to heel," if you cut off the funds, the road funds, the school funds, the farm funds, just cut off the money from American citizens. We didn't provide for that. We provided a process wherein if funds were to be cut off, they could only be after a proper hearing, and there had been notice to the committees of Congress, after there had been long delay and after the President himself had found that these funds needed to be cut off because of the refusal of local government jurisdictions to make any effort to comply with the law. That wasn't Mr. Goldwater's position.

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I can simplify it, my friends. You know my record, I don't parade under false colors and that is one of the reasons that occasionally we get a boo or two, but let me tell you this, I don't have much time for a fellow that is hot on Civil Rights in the District of Columbia and comes down here and whistles Dixie with you, that is what I was trying to tell you today.

There is only one better barbecue that I know and that is in Texas.

Q Senator Humphrey, may I ask a question?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, sir.

Q What is the Democratic Party going to do about textile imports. We have six hundred people in this area on a four-day work schedule directly attributed to textile imports.

Senator Humphrey. May I say the Democratic Administration working with the textile industry, working with the textile worker and their unions, working with the cotton producers designed a bill that we thought would permit the American textile industry to compete in world markets, this is the payment bill, the so-called cotton bill, that we passed just this last year, and there is no Administration that is more conscious of the threat to the textile industry from foreign imports than this one. But we also believe that we must have foreign trade and we don't want to set up tough barriers that prevent the flow of commerce, so what we have sought to do is through a system of payments to the textile mills themselves and back then to the farmer to provide a system where our mills can compete, where the price of the raw cotton to the textile mill here is no more than it would be to Japan or to France or to England or anybody else, and where we can have a competitive situation for our own textile factories, and I think if given a chance for this bill to get to work -- by the way, it has only had a couple of months to be at work -- it will be able to solve the problem.

Q Senator Humphrey --

Q Speaking primarily of the woolen and worsted industry, --

Senator Humphrey. Yes, sir. The wool bill as you know is another payment program. That bill is up now for re-examination next year. I think recently it has worked pretty well but it may well be that the payment program under that is too little because of our foreign competition and those of us -- by the way, we have a lot of sheep, may I -- you understand this, in Minnesota. We are concerned with our domestic wool industry and manufacturers of domestic wool products.

I can assure you that the Secretary of Agriculture who is here with us is very sympathetic to the need of re-examining that wool act for the purpose of providing a more competitive position for our wool processors.

Q Senator Humphrey, Mr. Miller has made a great deal in the last few weeks about your connection with the ADA.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q Is the ADA on anybody's subversive list to your knowledge?

Senator Humphrey. Not at all. Not at all. Up my way, if you will just permit me a little joke, up in Minnesota ADA, they call it the American Dairy Association. They don't know much about the other and even though, may I say, the ADA was organized as a militant anti-Communist organization to clean out commies and left-wingers out of liberal movements and that is why Hubert Humphrey became a part of it. And my record is second to none in that area, and the only ones, the most rigorous opposition to ADA are the commies, and the Birchites and the Goldwaterites and if they want to be in that company that is their privilege. I don't want to be.

It supports the Constitution, it supports our defense program, it supports NATO, it supports education. It supports law and order, and it isn't a conspiracy. It is more like a civic organization.

Q Senator Humphrey --

Senator Humphrey. One more, we have got to go.

Q -- would you comment on the statement that Senator Goldwater, if elected, which I doubt would name Mr. Nixon as the Secretary of State?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I want to tell you, my friends, that just about broke up my day when I read that.

O.K., I think we have had enough here.

Mr. Harrison. On behalf of the peanut growers of Georgia I want to present to you a symbol of a great commodity which we hope you will be able to preserve the price structure and the continued production of this very heavy edible nut.

Senator Humphrey. I sure want to thank you. Let me say if everybody ate as many peanut as Hubert Humphrey you would never need to worry about the price of peanuts. You know all of us family folks, we know kids like peanutbutter and jelly. That is what you start life with when you get a little older you just like peanuts. I want to tell you that Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey like peanuts enough to make sure the peanut economy is worth more than just peanuts and it is going to be a good and prosperous economy and we are going to back it. So don't worry. You have got a friend in the White House.

That is the best press conference we ever had.
End

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Tifton, Georgia

September 29, 1964

You are well aware of my views on the issue of constitutional guarantees and equal opportunities for all Americans. This is a matter of public record.

I can tell you this -- the views I state in Georgia are the same views I state in Minnesota. I will not speak out of both sides of my mouth.

I'm sorry to say, however, that some politicians masquerading as national candidates cannot make the same statement.

I have here a copy of the WALL STREET JOURNAL and I'd like to read you something from its "Washington Wire" -- a special weekly report from the Wall Street Journal's capitol bureau."

"Goldwater nears a campaign crossroads," the item begins. "Will he soften his stance?"

The Wall Street Journal goes on to point out that the Republican candidate tempered his criticism of President Johnson in Wisconsin last week and praised the late President Kennedy in Boston. And -- quote -- many Republicans expect he'll regularly sound less conservative now, as he speaks more in the urbanized Midwest and Northeast...some politicians figure he simply had to take a strong conservative line in the South and the West. End quote.

In other words, tell the people only what you think they want to hear. Don't level with them. Don't dare reveal your real beliefs, your honest convictions.

Now I'd like to read you another article, this one written by two nationally syndicated columnists. It's entitled "The Missing Pamphlet."

The column begins:

"The most ironic incident -- and in many ways the most embarrassing -- in the Presidential campaign thus far is the incident of a disappearing Republican pamphlet called 'What about Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?'"

The column points out and here I'd like to quote it directly:

"The title page of the eight-page brochure quotes the Republican Presidential nominee as follows: 'I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color or creed or any other basis.'

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Goldwater -- "I believe completely in vigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill for I believe in majority rule...I believe it is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same schools as whites and that to deny them this opportunity carries with it strong implications of inferiority.'

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"You can fool some of the people some of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I would also like to remind this audience of an old saying:

"Fool me once -- shame on you."

Fool me twice -- shame on me."

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Background memo:

TIFTON, GEORGIA

September 29 (Tuesday)

Agriculture: This is what Tifton is for. It's a pleasant, reasonably prosperous tree-shaded town. Compare to Dolan, if possible. Then remind them what the depression did to Dolan -- and what the Democrats do for the farmers.

Tifton is wholly dependent on agriculture. It's Georgia's largest tobacco market and a big shipping center for tomatoes and other farm products.

Refer to the Agriculture section in the Georgia Overall memo.

Pay special tribute to the advances made at the Tifton Agriculture Experiment Station, the biggest and most important station in the state. Tifton developed Coastal Bermuda, a prolific drouth-resistant grass which is making it possible to open new grasslands for grazing.

Politics: Last week the Georgia 2nd District (Tifton) held a run-off primary between Goldwater-backed Harry Wingate, former staff director of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Maston O'Neill, former solicitor general of the South Georgia District. O'Neill signed the LBJ loyalty oath at Atlantic City. 57,000 votes were cast in the run-off, and O'Neill won by 600. This made him nervous and he may plead exhaustion to keep from appearing with you.

This is red-neck territory. State Party boss strongly recommends you do not attack Goldwater here. Refer to posture section in Georgia Overall memo because it was written with Tifton especially in mind. Make pretty cloth out of Humphrey-Talmadge cotton bill partnership. Supply anecdotal material here if possible which underlines your respect for Talmadge.

Stay away from civil rights and apportionment.

Praise outgoing Congressman J. L. Pilcher, a strong LBJ supporter.

Good luck.

Republicans - Fought REA - AAA - 75A

and, I can tell you that one of the major things we do agree on is that the Democratic Party is the best for the farmer; it is the best party for north and south; East & West. It is the best party for America. It is the party best able to keep America strong, prosperous, and at peace.

Republican Record - Coolidge to Benson

Cotton down to 6 1/2¢ @ New Orleans

Free cured tobacco 6.4¢ @

Wool down to \$32 a ton

Wool - \$3.25 Per cwt.

Farmers Riding to town in "Hoover Carts"

Roll your own Cigars - Bull Durham,

target & Ripple & Golden Grain - "Hoover

Dust" we called it. - Then 7 D.R

- AAA - act 9/1933 - Dick Russell Sam Rayburn LBJ

I want to tell you that I share your pride in your Abraham Baldwin College. I first heard about it in the years when Pete Donaldson was it President. He has helped shape the lives of so many young people. When I think of your college, I think of the fine adult vocational program.

TIPTON REMARKS

~~I always think of your fine college -- Abraham Baldwin --~~

~~It~~ ^{these} has been so successful in sponsoring adult courses, meaning much to farmers and homemakers.

~~and~~ I recall, your college was named for one of your first two United States Senators, Abraham Baldwin. ~~and of~~ I recall

my history right, he was one of the two who signed the

United States Constitution for the State of Georgia, and

also helped design your great university system, of which

this college is a part. And your Georgia vocational program

is known throughout the nation -- a program which was

^(in another era) actually launched in this nation through bills introduced

into Congress by two able Georgians, Congressman Dudley M.

Hughes and Senator Hoke Smith, who was also a member of

Cleveland's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior.

A Georgian -- Dr. M. D. Mobley, from Dallas, Georgia,

has for years now ably steered the American Vocational

Association. Your program, with its expansion under the

1963 Vocational Education Bill, will continue to serve your

people, and this college and the rest of Georgia.

Tifton, Georgia
September 29

Tifton Daily Gazette
maultrie

Being with you today in Tifton affords me a great deal of pleasure. It is a great opportunity for us to get to know each other better.

It has been my great privilege and pleasure to serve in the Senate with your distinguished Senators, Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge. They are my good friends. And they are universally regarded as two of the ablest and most respected members of the United States Senate. They are two of the finest Americans I know.

Senator Russell, Senator Talmadge and I know that the Democratic Party is the best party for American and for American agriculture. We know this in our hearts, as I am sure you do. (See next page)

Cotton has been a mainstay of Georgia agriculture for more than a century and a half. It has brought in about \$100 million in new wealth to your state each year.

REMARKS FOR TIFTON, GEORGIA

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

September 29, 1964

Agriculture is a kingpin in your economy --
one you cannot do without.

⌞ You are the peanut capital of the world.

⌞ The seedbed of the nation.

⌞ Your tobacco goes out to the world markets.

⌞ And your pecan orchards are without equal.

⌞ Your watermelons have a national reputation.

⌞ Your ham and your fried chicken grace tables
the world over.

⌞ Your livestock ranks with the best in the
nation -- always winning blue ribbons on the
national level.

⌞ And your cotton remains a powerful factor in
the agricultural economy of this state.

Your farm products are in a class to themselves.

I marvel at what this wonderful section means to Georgia and at what Georgia means to the nation.

└ You spent \$81 million for fertilizer in 1963.

└ You paid out \$41 billion for machinery and motor vehicles.

└ In 1963 lubricants and maintenance cost you \$47 million.

└ And for feed alone you spent \$150 million.

Folks, that's a lot of money.

However, you "marketed" farm products in 1963
*
"valued at" \$800 million.

So, you really are involved in agriculture -- it is a way of life for so many, many people.

└ For you in Georgia last year your income from livestock and poultry was up \$7 million over 1962.

* Figures concerning Georgia agriculture furnished by Georgia Crop Reporting Service, the Division of Vocational Agriculture, and the Georgia Experiment Station, Experiment, Georgia.

Income from Georgia broilers was the highest in the nation -- totaling over \$168 million.

Georgia's billion dollar "wood-using industry" is supplied "with over one-half of its timber stumpage" by Georgia farmers.

Georgia's 106,350 farms are the lives and the fortunes of so many of you. And these farms deserve the best that mind of man has to offer.

When agriculture prospers, you - *all of america* - prosper *A*

There are those among us in this nation
who do not know the importance of agriculture.
Nor do they realize its value in the lives of
men. There must be some knowledge, some
understanding, and some appreciation of the
relationship of "soil and water and trees" to a
healthy society before a person can be a really

good citizen.

~~The Republican Candidate~~
Our Republican friend - The Rep. Candidate for the
Presidency said - "I'm not a farmer and
I don't know anything about farming -
Speaking at Clinton S.C.

cotton mainstay of Geo Agric
\$100 million a year in new wealth
to your state each yr

Under the Food for Peace Program, more than 8 million bales of cotton have moved into consumption channels abroad. Without it, there would have been considerable pressure for sharply reduced cotton acreage.

Under Food for Peace, 400 million pounds of tobacco have been programmed for export, enabling tobacco producers to plant larger acreages than otherwise would have been possible.

About 8 billion pounds of fats and oils have moved under the Food for Peace program. Without this, soybean and cottonseed producers would have received sharply lower prices.

Exports account for the output of one out of four acres of farm land. They are the source of 15 percent of the income of farmers. Since 1961, we have moved vigorously to expand farm exports -- and have raised them from \$4.8 billion to over \$6 billion a year.

↳ This Administration will continue to seek to export
farm commodities commercially as well as under the great
Food for Peace program. ↳ On the other hand, the temporary } X
spokesman of the Republican Party has voted against } X
extension of the Food for Peace program — Against Georgia! } X

↳ From its inception, this Administration has been
guided by a sense of compassion for the less fortunate
of this land. In 1961, President Kennedy's first
Executive Order directed that the amount and quality of
food being made available to our own needy people be
doubled. It actually was tripled and, in addition to
this, protein foods were provided. This was followed by
the Food Stamp program. What better results can be
achieved than to expand the markets for farmers, improve
the business of retailers, and extend to every American
the opportunity to obtain an adequate diet?

Food
for
needy

Food
Stamp

↳ This is what can happen when the power and force of
American agriculture is released in constructive channels --

when the promise of abundance is used as a ~~feasible~~ *a means*

~~instrument~~ for greater prosperity and sharing.

Look at the school lunch program which has grown from 12.8 million students in 1960 to 17 million this school year. In the special milk program, an estimated 2.9 billion half-pints of milk were consumed this year.

More than 5 percent of all the fluid milk consumed off farms in this country is directly related to the School Lunch and School Milk programs.

As one of the thirteen original colonies, Georgia recognized that opportunity is the real promise of America. We who are so dependent upon the productive capability of our farm people must learn how to help the farmers share more equitably in the abundance they create. This is a matter of simple justice and good conscience.

If there is a cost involved in maintaining our power of abundance, it truly is a national cost, not a

cost that should be absorbed by farmers alone.

The national need to protect our great agricultural producing plant and to conserve the God-given resources of the soil is fundamental. But the farmer bears expenses which do not produce income in the short run, while the Nation derives both short and long run benefits from the achievements of the American farmer.

Unfortunately, there are forces at work in this country determined to terminate all farm programs. Price support programs, Food for Peace, REA, the Special Milk Program and Food Stamp Program would be victims of such action.

Do you want to see billions of dollars of the capital structure of U. S. agriculture wiped out overnight?

Do you want to see farm communities shrink into ghost towns?

Do you want to adversely affect the nutrition of the American school child?

L Do you want to withhold food and fiber under the Food for Peace program?

L Of course, the answers to these questions are "no!"
But, these would be the results if the farm programs were "promptly terminated", as advocated by ~~that~~ Republican candidate

L You know what would happen to you, the economy of Georgia, and the economy of the Nation if farm programs were abolished.

L We would soon be in the worst farm depression since the 1920's.

L The cotton, peanut and tobacco farmers of Georgia and the South would be among the hardest hit.

L Reliable studies indicate that if all farm price supports were abolished, net farm income in the United States would show a prompt decline of between 40 and 50 percent.

60
Drops { Tobacco to 90¢
Cotton to 24¢
Peanuts from \$2.21 - \$1.20

This would mean a drop in net farm income from \$12.5 billion a year to about \$7 billion a year -- a drop of nearly \$6 billion. -- Depression.

For cotton, tobacco and peanuts alone, the farmers of Georgia would lose more than \$80 million a year if price support programs were not in effect.

It would bankrupt an estimated 20,000 farmers in Georgia.

I certainly don't think you want this to happen.

This is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote in November to reject the careless, the callous, the reckless, the reactionary theories of Barry Goldwater who would force you off the land to root, hog or die in the cities.

This is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote for Lyndon Johnson for President -- the first Southerner to sit in the White House in more than a hundred years.

In Lyndon Johnson you have a friend - not an enemy in the White House. He is a friend of the South and he is a friend of the farmer. He is a man of compassion for the poor and the needy of this country.

I don't believe the farmers, the merchants, the industrial workers or the bankers in the cities can afford to let this happen to Georgia or any other state.

President Lyndon Johnson is the most effective champion of farm programs in the Nation -- a man who wants to build and not tear down. He does know farming!

Working and planning together we can get needed farm program improvements, but only if the Chief Executive is sympathetic to the needs of American agriculture.

So, let's keep Lyndon Johnson in the White House, so that we can continue the job, for you and the Nation.

DRAFT FOR WEEKLY EDITORS, TIFTON AUDITORIUM, TIFTON, GEORGIA

SEPTEMBER 29, 1964

I have just finished speaking to a farm audience about Georgia agriculture and American agriculture today -

Perhaps before leaving Tifton you won't mind if I recall a little history - history that emphasizes the vastly different record of the Republican and Democratic Administrations on farm policies and programs.

Forty years ago a Republican President - Calvin Coolidge - vetoed a farm bill designed to halt the disastrous farm depression of the 1920's which finally led to the great national depression of the 1930's.

There are now a whole generation of Americans who ~~are not~~ were not around at the time Franklin D. Roosevelt came into office. They cannot really appreciate how things were for farmers at that time. But in January of 1933 - just a few weeks before FDR was inaugurated - the nation had this ~~very~~ ominous warning from the president of the Farm Bureau:

"Unless something is done for the American farmer we will have a revolution in the countryside within less than twelve months."

That is a strong statement. But it came from a very realistic and practical man - a southerner - Mr. Ed O'Neill of Alabama. What Mr. O'Neill was saying was that farmers were in desperate circumstances, and that unless their situation improved they would seek radical answers.

Many of us here today remember those depression days, which resulted to a great degree from the callous indifference of a Republican administration in Washington. Others of you, I am sure, have heard your parents talk about the hard times people went through all over America, particularly in rural areas.

I remember them, when I was working in my father's drugstore in a South Dakota town about the size of Tifton. We were hurting economically up there, and so were you down here in South Georgia.

The price of cotton was down to 6.2 cents a pound at New Orleans. Flue-cured tobacco was selling for 6.4 cents a pound. Peanuts were down to \$32 a ton. Corn, if you could sell it, was bringing only 32 cents a bushel. Hogs were selling at \$3.25 a hundred pounds.

Farmers were riding 'Hoover carts' to town. We were putting card board in our worn-out shoes. We couldn't afford to smoke Camels, even if we were young enough to walk a mile for them. So, we rolled our own from Target and Ripple and Golden Grain - 'Hoover dust', we called it.

Banks were closing all over this land, and businesses were failing everywhere in the small towns. You felt the hard times here in Georgia - in Tifton - down at Moultrie and Thomasville and Quitman - up in Fitzgerald and Cordele. Even Valdosta and Albeny and Waycross didn't escape.

You felt it all over Georgia and the South, just as we did in the Midwest and all across the nation.

Fortunately --- help was not long in coming. It came in the form of an Administration that cared about people - cared about farmers. It came in the form of new leaders in Congress who brought with them a new recognition of farmer needs. Many of these leaders were Southerners - and their names are indelibly inscribed in the progress farm legislation of the times.

Names like John H. Bankhead of Alabama - Marvin Jones of Texas - John Kerr of North Carolina - Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina - and Sam Rayburn of Texas.

~~(?)~~ Franklin Roosevelt electrified this nation and gave us confidence in ourselves again. He called Congress into special session, March 3, 1933, to enact a whole series of measures to bring us out of the depression and on the upward road to recovery.

Franklin Roosevelt had yeoman help from Southerners in Congress in those hectic days. One of them was Sam Rayburn from Texas. Another was a young Senator from Georgia - Dick Russell. And, later on, another was a young Texas Congressman named Lyndon Johnson.

With Sam Rayburn spear-heading the drive in the House, Dick Russell was floor manager of the bill in the Senate to create the Rural Electrification Administration. Senator Russell was one of those who conceived the idea of price support payments. And he is the author of the school lunch program, which today is serving 16 million school children across our land, 525,000 in Georgia alone.

But, Republicans fought FDR and the Democratic farm programs in Congress, and they've been fighting progress ever since. Their farm policies haven't changed since the days of Cal Coolidge.

In the 1930's Republicans fought the establishment of a commodity storage and loan program. They opposed creation of a permanent rural credit agency.

Yet, these same programs helped farmers produce the abundance of food and fiber essential to victory in two wars for the Free World. Our farm families helped feed a starving post-war world and are now helping win the peace.

Most Republicans fought rural electrification. Yet, probably no single government program has produced more business, more permanent jobs or raised the standards of living for more people. Today, many Republicans still try to cripple, even destroy this program.

But, Republicans had to wait 20 long years - until 1952 - before they were given responsibility for handling farm policy and farm programs again. And what a mess they made of it!

Deliberately and systematically, Ezra Taft Benson and the Republican Congress set out to wreck most, if not all, the farm programs which made our agriculture the greatest in the world. Fortunately the Democrats regained control of Congress, and we prevented Benson from completely wrecking them.

But, eight years of Republican Administration of farm programs were eight years of misrule that resulted in disaster for many farm families.

When the Democrats took office again in 1961, we found that farm commodity programs had been severely impaired by eight years of unsympathetic and even hostile Republican Administration of them.

Net farm income had dropped from \$14.4 billion in 1952, the last year of the Truman Administration, down to a low of \$11.7 billion by 1957, the lowest level of the postwar years. Meanwhile, unrestrained production had choked the nation's warehouses with mounting grain surpluses.

~~But,~~ ^The Democratic Administration began to change this dismal picture, with help and advice from men like Under Secretary of Agriculture Charlie Murphy of North Carolina, and the now former Assistant Secretary John P. Duncan from Georgia.

We have had help in Congress, too, from men like Senators Russell and Talmadge and the members of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives.

In the last three years, six major bills affecting feed grains, wheat, cotton, food-sharing and rural area development have been enacted.

Now, what does all this mean to the farmers of Georgia and your income - to your families, the merchants in your towns and the economy of your state?

Here in Georgia, gross farm income climbed from \$873 million in 1960 to a record high of \$963 million last year.

Georgia farmers earned \$141 million more in gross farm income during the Democratic years of 1961-62-63 than they would have earned at the 1960 Republican level.

Government payments to Georgia farmers under a friendly Democratic Administration these three years were \$24 million above the 1960 levels.

Feed grain diversion payments alone to Georgia farmers will reach an estimated \$17.7 million this year.

A friendly Democratic Administration in Washington has bought nearly \$10 million worth of poultry, peanut butter, fruits and vegetables in Georgia for distribution in school lunches and to needy families.

A Democratic Administration friendly to Georgia has been expanding its research facilities in this state, including the \$9-1/2 million Southeastern Utilization Research Laboratory under construction in Athens.

Now I call this progress in Georgia agriculture - progress under the Democrats. I don't believe the farmers of Georgia want to turn back the clock and reverse this trend of progress by turning their backs on the Democratic Party in November. And if you will just help tell them these facts, I don't think the merchants of Georgia will want to turn back the clock either. I don't think they will want to turn off the increased flow of better farm income into the cash registers of main streets in Georgia.

Page 6 - Tifton draft

I am not asking you just to vote your pocketbook. I am simply asking you to use commonsense. Georgia has always been better off under national Democratic Administrations. It has suffered economically under the Republican Administrations. It will do better in the future under the great leadership of Lyndon Baines Johnson. You can help assure that leadership - for peace and prosperity.

The proud banner of the great State of Georgia has never deserted the ranks ~~the~~ of the Democratic Party. I am confident it will not desert the Democratic Party this November.

Let us march forward together. Let us build for mutual confidence and progress, not stir disunity and distrust. Let us build a great society, upholding and protecting the Constitutional rights of all farm citizens - white and black - North and South and East and West - rural and urban - Catholic and Protestant and Jew. United behind a strong and courageous President - a man of prudence and a man of vision - a man of firmness and a man of compassion - a leader of men - let us build together in brotherhood - Americans all!

Let us preserve and protect liberty at home and freedom abroad and build together toward that great day when we can end poverty in our land, ease hunger around the world and become - as our forefathers intended us to be - a nation truly great in the eyes of our Lord.

United States Department of Agriculture
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

September 28, 1964

QUESTION: Has it been necessary for USDA to provide "disaster" aid for farmers in Georgia this year-including Hurricane Dora?

ANSWER: Action has been taken to provide temporary grazing for livestock in six Georgia counties affected by the hurricane. The counties are Echols, Lanier, Lowndes, Pierce, Ware, and Wayne.

The temporary grazing privileges will give farmers in these counties probably the only means of salvaging corn. As much as 30 percent of the corn in these counties was scattered on the ground, even after allowing for mechanical and hand-picking. Salvage of the scattered corn would be difficult if temporary grazing were not made available on the portions of land diverted from feed grain production.

Floods caused by heavy rains in the spring of 1963 and again in the spring of 1964 caused damaged farm lands so that there was need for cost-sharing restoration work under the 1963 and 1964 Agricultural Conservation Programs. The work of restoration, begun in 1963, was extended this year to permit completion in three designated counties---Haversham, Lumpkin, and White.

This year, because of flood damage last spring two more counties---Grady and Seminole---were designated for cost-sharing assistance under the 1964 program. Allocations in emergency funds made to the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee for helping farmers in the restoration work needed, amounted to \$117,000 this year.

GEORGIA

QUESTION:

What progress has been made in strengthening family farms and rural communities in Georgia?

ANSWER:

Loans totaling \$29,153,680 were made in Georgia by FHA in 1964 as compared to \$10,892,617 in 1960.

Approximately 42,390 rural people in Georgia benefited from Farmers Home Administration programs in 1964 as compared to 28,520 in 1960.

Payments on loans in 1964 were approximately \$18,949,000 as compared to \$10,299,000 in 1960.

Farm ownership loans totaling \$6,746,382 were made to 565 farmers as compared to \$1,500,856 made to 112 in 1960 to enlarge, develop and buy family farms, and to refinance debts.

Rural housing loans totaled \$6,871,260 in 1964 as compared to \$1,797,312 in 1960.

A total of 2,969 farmers in 1964 borrowed \$13,035,569 in operating funds as compared to 2,278 who borrowed \$7,464,336 in 1960 to pay for equipment, feed, seed, livestock, for other farm and home operating needs and to refinance chattle debts.

Farmers Home Administration advanced \$1,788,250 to Bibb County, Georgia, to help finance construction of a multiple purpose reservoir for flood prevention, industrial water storage, and recreational purposes.

(More)

GEORGIA continued:

ANSWER;

Bibb County will be able to attract more industries with the additional water sotrage provided by the reservoir. The project will also result in a greatly increased fish and wildlife population.

- - - - -

*Sp file: Sept. 29
Tifton, Ga.*

TIFTON, GEORGIA

SEPTEMBER 29, 1964

You are well aware of my views on the issue of constitutional guarantees and equal opportunity for all Americans. This is a matter of public record.

I can tell you this -- the views I state in Georgia are the same views I state in Minnesota. *Yo*
I will not speak out of both sides of my mouth.

I'm sorry to say however that some politicians masquerading as national candidates cannot make the same statement.

I have here a copy of the WALL STREET JOURNAL and I'd like to read you something from its "Washington Wire" -- a special weekly report from the Wall Street Journal's capitol bureau."

"Goldwater nears a campaign crossroads," the item begins. "Will he soften his stance?"

The Wall Street Journal goes on to point out that the Republican candidate tempered his criticism of President Johnson in Wisconsin last week and praised the late President Kennedy in Boston. And -- quote -- Many Republicans expect he'll regularly sound less conservative now, as he speaks more in the urbanized Midwest and Northeast....some politicians figure he simply had to take a strong conservative line in the South and the West." End quote.

In other words, tell the people only what you think they want to hear. Don't level with them. Don't dare reveal your real beliefs, your honest convictions.

Now I'd like to read you another article, this one written by two nationally syndicated columnists. It's entitled "The Missing Pamphlet."

The column begins:

"The most ironic incident -- and in many ways the most emarrassing -- in the Presidential campaign thus far is the incident of a disappearing Republican pamphlet called 'What about Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?'"

The column points out and here I'd like to quote it directly:

"The title page of the eight-page brochure quotes the Republican Presidential nominee as follows: 'I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color or creed or any other basis.'

"Inside, an elaborate defense of the Senator's civil rights record stands side-by-side with an elaborate attack on President Johnson's civil rights record, with these highlights:

Goldwater -- "'I believe completely in vigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill for I believe in majority rule ... I believe it is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same schools as whites and that to deny them this opportunity carries with it strong implications of inferiority.'

Johnson -- "'Lyndon B. Johnson has fought vigorously against civil rights legislation and voted against it -- 39 times out of 50.'

"To document this charge, the pamphlet claims that the President said during the 1956 Democratic National Convention: 'I am not now and never have been an advocate of civil rights. I don't think I ever will be.'

"Financed by the Republican committee of the District of Columbia (Headed by Washington Attorney Carl Shipley), the pamphlet was unveiled with appropriate local hoopla about two weeks ago. From an initial publication of 50,000 copies, party workers distributed hundreds to Negro homes in the capital.

"Then came the great awakening.

"Out of the Republican National Committee crackled an order: 'Stop distribution immediately, track down every single pamphlet already distributed and cancel the operation forthwith.

"The reason for this sudden about-face is known in the political trade as 'The risk of reverse circulation.'

"The National Committee was scared stiff that while the pamphlet might help the Goldwater ticket in the North, it would help the Johnson ticket even more in the South....

It is still possible that the National Committee will rescind its drastic order to the local committee two or three days before the election, and plant millions of copies of the pamphlet in Negro neighborhoods all over the country. It is said that three days would not be enough time for the South to catch up with the Goldwater civil rights record."

I think the lesson here is obvious.

I know I for one would never put any trust in a candidate or a political party that tries to have it both ways.

I think the American people and the people of Georgia are more intelligent than that.

And I would like to remind Senator Goldwater of the words of one of the Great Leaders of the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln:

"You can fool some of the people some of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I would also like to remind this audience of an old saying:

"Fool me once -- shame on you."

"Fool me twice -- shame on me."

###

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much, thank you very much, Miss DeDee Sharpe. All I can say is if I want a good introducer to really put me over even before I had a chance to say anything which may be the best way to be put over is to ask Miss Sharpe to do the introducing. I am going to take her along with me and I hope the professors will excuse her from the classes for a little while. Thank you, Miss Sharpe, for your gracious and very generous introduction.

I am very honored to be greeted here today by the President of your University, Dr. Ederhold and by Neal Ray, the President of the IFC, and indeed to be joined on this platform with one of the graduates of this great university, who is a personal friend of mine, and has served for many years in your state legislature, comes from that great city nearby, Commerce, Georgia, Jay McBarber, many of you may know him, and I am so pleased that he has seen fit to take time from his very busy professional life and his family life to be with Mrs. Humphrey and myself on this campaign tour. He was up north with me only recently, we were up pitching bundles in North Dakota in a day that was a lot colder than this one.

Dr. Ederhold, when I came through the door out here a while ago, one of your students looked at this sunburned face of mine and said, "It looks to me like he has had a drink of bourbon."

(Laughter.)

I know that is a good southern phrase, but the truth is the only thing that has been warmer than the reception that we have received today has been the sunshine of Georgia. I want to thank the people of Tifton who were so kind a short time ago, to welcome us enthusiastically in one of those great outdoor rallies. I want to express a personal note of thanks to Dean Wilson and Dean Waters of the Pharmacy School for taking me into that fine new building and permitting me to once again look at a prescription counter and at least see a prescription. I wrote out sort of a formula on a prescription blank. I know it is a violation of professional ethics to have done that but I want to confess it right now.

One of the young ladies as I left the pharmacy school handed me a prescription blank and said, "Write something on here," and it had that RX on there, you know, and so I said, "The prescription is vote Democratic," says Dr. Humbert H. Humphrey.

(Applause.)

I hope to emphasize that somewhere along the line today (laughter) most of the ills that beset this complex society of ours can at least be alleviated and in due time, I think corrected if we but exercise some sound political judgment. And since I am a man of great academic objectivity I would inform you that that sound political judgment requires that every man and woman of voting age and thank goodness in this state it starts at 18, should cast a vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and all other Democrats.

(Applause.)

I think I should confess that the opinion hasn't been unanimous, however, as I travel around this area. There are -- (applause) -- a few that yet have not seen the light -- (laughter) -- if I can get President Johnson just to turn on those lights for one month I think they will see it.

I have been so impressed by your community; I know your university. I have been told many times by my two colleagues in the Senate, Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge, I have surely heard a

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 2

great deal about it from your very distinguished and much respected, highly honored Governor of this State, Carl Sanders, one of the finest men I know.

(Applause.)

Even the County Sheriff here, Tom Huff told me that this University was the best University in the country. But as I came through, I saw your beautiful stadium, your new coliseum. I am fully aware of your science center. How could anyone that works in government today not be aware of the remarkable science center that is being established here in this great campus. Your outstanding work in the field of agriculture, agricultural research particularly. This is an area in which I have had great interest over a long period of time, so, Dean, or Dr. Ederhold, may I congratulate, and as a graduate of a land grant college, University of Minnesota, and LSU, I am very happy once again to be on the campus of a great land grant college, a land grant college, I believe one of the first chartered colleges in our country.

You know it is kind of difficult moving from speaking to 900 top businessmen in Houston on one night, and moving to New York and speaking to the AFL-CIO labor leaders the next day, and then out to the national plowing contest of the farmers in North Dakota a day or two after, and then back down to Southern Georgia to speak to a group of people in a great agricultural area and then ending up here on a college campus, these other meetings keep you pretty close to the ground, and I have actually asked my staff to permit me in their scheduling, in fact, to schedule me into some university meetings.

I want to come to the environment of the university, not only because I am a refugee from the classroom myself, having been a teacher, but because I truly love to talk to students. I hope that today we may have a little time if you may want, to ask some questions because then I think you will have a chance to probe a little more deeply into one's thinking.

Anyway, I think every red-blooded American ought to have the right to take a bite at a real live U. S. Senator once in his life and I am perfectly willing to be chewed on a bit.

I come here, however, to discuss not every little topical issue of the day, but to get a little deeper into some of the more profound and broad issues of the campaign. Some of the commentators have said that this campaign regrettably has not produced what we would call far-reaching thought moving out beyond where we are. I hope that before it is through with it will, because a campaign ought to be a period of education as well as a period of vote solicitation.

It ought to be a time to refine ideas, as well as to work over old ones, and I find the campus such as this great university campus, a splendid place in which to talk about some ideas, reflect on the meaning of words,

I come to this campus that has done so much for the new South. There isn't any hope for this nation of ours until we have enlightenment, we have built America not because it has more minerals and more land and more water than any place else, because it doesn't have that. There are other countries that have more of these resources. I think America is what it is today because of a unique political system, because of popular government, because of our emphasis upon individual initiative and voluntary cooperation, because of the partnership between government and the people, and above all, because

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 3

of the great system of public education, education, the enrichment of the spirit and the mind; education, the power of the people, a nation that is educated not only in science and technology but in the humanities is a nation that is rich. There is no way to stop it. It has an unlimited future and, as I see these great universities swelled at the moment, as I see the people pouring their substance, their resources into these universities, then I realize that the future of America is bright.

I notice that your slogan or motto is "Tradition with Progress," if I am correctly informed, and I want to talk about tradition, and I want to talk about progress.

The Bible warns us, you know, against the corruption of the Word, and for a politician this warning has particular force. In an election year the rhetoric just flows like a mighty stream and you must begin to wonder if words have any meaning at all or any true meaning.

Today I would like to take a few minutes to examine the corruption of one word, and ask for your thoughtful consideration of this analysis, and the word is "conservatism."

Take the definition of "conservatism" is tradition with progress. You have defined it, but I sense that there are other definitions being written, and one of the dangers in the world today is the corruption of the word. The Communist talks about the People's Republic. Everybody knows that a Communist society has little interest in the people. Everyone knows that it is not a republic. The Chinese Communists talk about the Democratic people's republic. This without a doubt is the worst corruption of the word. There is no such thing as Democracy in a totalitarian state. There is no such thing as respect for human dignity or the people, and there isn't a republic.

So, we have to understand the lexicon of Democracy and we have to understand the meaning of such words as "conservatism" and as "liberal" and I want to talk to you a little bit today about these words, and particularly about this word "conservatism, because it is my contention, and I lay this proposition before a thoughtful faculty and student body, that the Goldwater forces have kidnapped the conservative tradition and indeed the control of the Republican Party, and are using both to mask a radical assault on the very fabric of the American community.

Let's see if I can document that case. In 1780 the men of Massachusetts set out to write a Constitution for their Commonwealth, and the opening statement of that document was written by that true realist, John Adams, a real conservative, and the father of American conservatism.

What did he say? He said in that statement, "The end and purpose of the institution, maintenance and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body-politics, to protect it, to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquility their natural rights and the blessings of life."

Now, the statement of John Adams echoes, of course, the sentiments of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, in the declaration of Independence when Jefferson penned those immortal words "that all men have been endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights and that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and if Adams was the father of American conservatism, and I think he is, then Jefferson was the father of American liberalism, and yet these two great stalwarts of American history never disagreed on

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 4

fundamentals, never disagreed on purpose or objectives or goals.

Here at the very outset of our national history conservatives and liberals were in full agreement on the responsibility of the government to the people, and the duty of the government to nourish and to buttress the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

No, there was no talk of a government of negation, of a government in paralysis, or of a government in absentia. There was talk of the positive role of government with people, to secure the blessings of life and of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and, of course, this great philosophy was written directly into the Constitution of the United States.

The only two mandates of the Constitution, may I say as a political scientist, that the only two instructions of the Constitution of the United States to the Government of the United States and to the people of this Republic, are to provide for the common defense, and to promote the general welfare. The rest of it is optional, but these are mandates, and this means positive government, not negative government.

Now, it is tragic that this year, the spokesman of a great Party who claims to be a conservative, in his consistent denunciation of the role of the Federal Government, has renounced the fundamental consensus of history about government and has denounced the rollof Government as an instrument for facilitating the good life, for implementing the age-old Judeo-Christian ideal, which is both conservative and liberal, of community responsibility.

Liberals and conservatives may differ on tactics. We do. We differ on methods and on the pace of public policy, but liberals and conservatives, my fellow Americans, share and have always shared the common objective of government helping to secure the blessings of liberty and the blessings of life.

Now, in 1964 we find ourselves working with responsible conservatives, and there are many, to preserve, to conserve the essentials of our national tradition from a group of radical adventurers, historical wreckers who would repudiate that tradition, who repudiate tradition with progress.

This is why, may I say most respectfully, from this honored platform of a great university that men who have, men and women who have, for years been what would be called conservatives in American public life, leaders in the Republican Party, have today come over to the other Party, at least for a moment, because they feel that their traditions and their principles and their party has been captured not by the authentic conservatives, not by someone who represents this great tradition of conservatism which is tradition with progress, but by adventurers, people who are out of the main stream as Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania put it, out of the main stream of American life, or as the Saturday Evening Post put it, a leader who is astray, who is away from the great multitude of the American people in their common purpose and common objective.

Now, in the best traditions of this college platform and college term paper, I could document this thing until you became weary with fatigue but I am not going to do it. I shall highlight only a few conspicuous points to proof or at least to authenticate my case.

Let's take the Presidency for a starter. What our opposition calls conservatism in the case of the American Presidency is diametrically opposed to the thinking of authentic conservatives from the time of Alexander Hamilton up to Robert Taft and up to this very hour. It is diametrically opposed to the office of the 1861 Confederal Constitution, and I wonder, I wonder, as I hear some of the voices here in this area of America that speak up for states'

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 5

rights, that speak up for Mr. Goldwater, I wonder if they have ever read the Constitution of the Confederacy. I have seen the Confederate flag on display many places today. I listened to one of my colleagues for a moment on the radio who was in Moultrie, Georgia, Senator Strom Thurmond, I wondered if these men really have read the documents of their forefathers. To listen to our opposition their so-called conservatism requires a passive and a weak President.

In fact, we have been told repeatedly that the Federal Government is imposing a tyranny upon the people. Only one other place have I heard that language, from the Politburo. I have heard no other responsible freedom-loving person say that this Federal Government imposes a tyranny upon our people.

Their conservatism means destroying the powers vested in the President by the Constitution, and by Congress.

But listen to what Alexander Hamilton had to say on the subject and he is supposed to be the granddaddy of the Republican Party. In the 70th Federalist paper he wrote, "Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks. It is no less essential to the steady administration of the laws to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and the assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy."

And Hamilton concluded the 70th Federalist paper with these words, "A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the Government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a Government ill-executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad Government."

These are the words of the Mr. Conserver of his time, the brilliant young Alexander Hamilton, the Federalist who asked this Government to have an executive of will and of power, and of competence, because he saw what had happened under the articles of Confederation. He saw what had happened to a Republic that drifted where there was no sense of common purpose, no sense of direction, no sense of leadership from the highest office in the land.

Now, what about the authors of the Confederate Constitution when they met in Montgomery, Alabama? They reached precisely the same conclusion. If anything, they went far beyond the Federal Constitution in their arrangements for a strong pPresidency. The Confederate Constitution provided for a single 7-year term for the office of President, instead of four years. It provided that members of the President's Cabinet could sit on the floor of the Confederate Congress and could take part in debates to defend the position of the President of the Confederate states. It gave the President the power of item veto to offer appropriation bills, passed by the Confederate Congress, and most important of all, I wonder what Mr. Goldwater or Mr. Thurmond or someone else would think of this, it provided that when a President submitted his budget to the Confederate Congress nothing could be added to or subtracted from the President's budget except by a two-thirds vote of the Confederate Congress.

Now, this is the doctrine and the document of a Constitution in this country of 1861, one to which this state once adhered.

Our opponents' concept of conservatism stands in direct opposition to what is meant by the great American conservatives from the first days of this Republic. Frankly, it is out of the main stream of American life, it is almost un-American. It has no relevancy whatsoever to the American tradition of conservatism. Yet although he is completely alien to American conservatism it may be that the Senator from Arizona has some resemblance to English conservatism.

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 6

Let's look around the world a bit. So, to be fair, I took a look at English conservatism, I am a student of political philosophy, particularly of American and English philosophy, and it is sad to relate that Senator Goldwater's views are as much a caricature of English conservatism as they are irrelevant to the realities of American life.

English conservatism was not a reactionary force. It was no money-grubbing force. It was not anti-government. English conservatism in the most dreadful years of the industrial revolution, made common cause with the industrial worker, passed a vast number of social welfare measures. It was English conservatism under the leadership of men like Benjamin Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain, both of whom would turn over in their graves if they could hear once now how some people are defining conservatism, it was this conservatism which helped curb the exploitation of the industrial workers by factory owners, and well before their day Edmund Burke, the philosopher of English conservatism, known to every student of government, in every land in the world, proclaimed the existence of a "perpetual charter" or a social contract binding successive generations of Englishmen to the kind of spiritual partnership that makes for orderly progress, and here is what Burke said:

"As the end of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are about to be born."

Burke knew that the task of governing was not something that was accomplished overnight. He knew there were no simple solutions to even the problems of his day and, may I say at this point, that one of the things that defies all reason is for any person seeking high public office to preach to the American people that life is simple, and that all you need are simple, just down to earth, little answers. Life is never that simple. It was not simple for the cave-man. It wasn't simple for the days of the prophets of old in the old Testament. It never was simple and it never will be, and what we need are people who understand that enlightenment, that education, is necessary to do something about these complicated and difficult problems that have plagued humanity since the birth of man and the birth of civilization itself.

Senator Goldwater is a self-styled conservative, has stumbled upon, and seized and given currency to a corrupted version of conservatism whose acceptance defies history and the accepted conservative philosophy. In fact, may I respectfully say he ignores history, if he has given any attention to it at all.

Now, he has made that corrupted version of conservatism the very foundation of his political posture and political venture and is misleading thousands upon thousands of people with this noble title of conservative. It provided the strategy for his drive for the Republican Presidential nomination. They said, "Give us a conservative." It has supplied the organizing principle in every speech that he has uttered in his campaign when he says the conservative believes in less government, the conservative says that the Federal Government must be trimmed down to size.

Oh, if Alexander Hamilton and John Adams could hear that, and nowhere has he more zealously tried to win a public acceptance of his corrupted version of conservatism than amongst the Americans who reside right here in the Southern states. Directly or indirectly, the leader of the Goldwater faction has told you and your families and your people, that conservatism means an attack upon the Supreme Court, and upon the legitimacy of judicial review, though it was a

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 7

Southerner and it was a conservative by the name of John Marshal, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that first established the doctrine of the court's right of judicial review which from the day he established it has never been denied by any responsible American citizen.

(Applause.)

Senator Goldwater has told us and told you, told me, that conservatism means the repeal of much of the social legislation that has been enacted in the last 30 years, and he means it. And let every voter weigh that. What would he repeal? Let them ask themselves that question.

Yet the far greater body of the very legislation he now denounces and that he now asks you people to join him in repealing was piloted through the Congress by Southern leaders who knew how vitally important it was to the health and the well-being of all Americans, North and South, Southern leaders, Joe Robinson of Arkansas, Sam Rayburn of Texas, Lister Hill of Alabama, Richard Russell of Georgia, Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and many other like them.

(Applause.)

Senator Goldwater has told us that conservative envisages a military establishment independent of civilian control. Yet it was a Southerner, your own Senator, Richard Russell, who, at the time of General Douglas MacArthur's recall from Korea, performed a service for Constitutional government none of us can ever adequately repay. It was Senator Russell beyond all other men, I would add with him John Stennis of Mississippi, who in the confusion surrounding General MacArthur's recall, bravely, fairly, brilliantly conducted Senate hearings the net effect of which was to reconfirm and reassert the Constitutional principle of civil supremacy over the military.

Conservatism doesn't mean letting Generals running loose in this country. Conservatism above all means civilian control.

(Applause.)

What is more, most Generals don't want it that way. Thank the good Lord for the fact that in America we have in the main been blessed with a military that is people-oriented, that respects the traditions of our democracy and that are dedicated to Democratic principles. I think of such men as General Omar Bradley, General Marshall, General Eisenhower, men who are civilians at heart, while Generals in terms of their professional training.

Now, Senator Goldwater has told us that conservatism means a government must not seek to promote the general welfare, he denounces the efforts of the Federal Government in these respective fields, despite the fact as I said in the beginning of my remarks that one of the two mandates of the Constitution, not a suggestion, not an option, but an order, a command, to the Government by the people through their Constitution to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

This is the duty of a government worthy of the respect of the people. This is what we mean by government being a servant of the people.

Yet the South, like all other parts of the nation, has urgent needs that cannot be met alone by state and local sources unaided by the Federal Government. May I be very frank with you? No section of America has been more richly benefitted by the Federal Government, than the area in which I now stand. All over our great land --

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 8

(Applause.) -- I met today the author of the George Dean Vocational Education Act, Mr. Dean. It hasn't hurt education. The land grant college system didn't hurt education. The social security system hasn't broken down the morale fiber of our people. The Securities and Exchange Act hasn't ruined the stock market. The Public Utility Holding Company Act did not hurt private enterprise. It The Wage and Hour laws didn't make American workers slaves of the state. The farm programs didn't injure our farm economy, they helped it.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federal Government has poured out from the resources of this land because we are one people, one United States of America, one Republic, hundreds of millions, yea, billions of dollars which have been shared throughout America by Americans, by the Federal Government of the Americans.

(Applause.)

Now, Mr. Goldwater tells us that conservatism means sharpening the ideological differences between our political parties, and their fundamental realignment among clear-cut ideological lines. Here on this point, I think we have the greatest danger to a breach in the perpetual charter between generations of Americans, a breach that once led to a terrible war between the states. The genius of American politics and the source of its true conservatism is that it has stayed close to the realities of life, and has understood that life, and the realities of life is larger than logic. It is the conservative and the liberal who insist on a union between thought and action, between theory and practice. It is the conservative and the liberal who insist on a union between power and responsibility, and it is the conservative who is the enemy of a utopian approach to political questions. It is the conservative who skeptically questions the panaceas of those who spin abstract political theories and then insists that reality be altered to fit their formulations.

(Applause.)

If I have ever seen a radical in my life or read a radical book, it is the radicalism of the Senator from Arizona who insists upon twisting and carving and molding American life to his theories, whether it does any good or not.

(Applause.)

All of these marks of the authentic conservative that I have documented from the pages of history of this Republic are missing from Senator Goldwater. He issues ringing theoretical manifestos. He says to the Communists "Drop dead," and he says that is the answer to Communism.

(Applause.)

A distinguished learned columnist, a great political scientist and philosopher of contemporary America, Walter Lippmann, has said he is ultimatum-happy. He insists all you need to do to solve these serious problems of a world in which the power structure has changed, a world in which there is revolution and evolution, a world under the impact of science and technology, a world in which colonialism has broken apart, a world in which the power structure itself changes literally by the year, all that you have to do, says Mr. Goldwater, is to tell those bad boys to get in line, serve them an ultimatum and they will do it.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 9

Well, my dear friends, you can't even bring up a family that way, much less a world. You can't run a university that way, much less a country.

(Applause.)

With these theoretical manifests that ring so clearly, where is the follow-through? He says, "Widespread poverty can only be solved by providing good paying jobs and greater opportunities for all our people who are willing and able to work." Splendid. Hurray. But then we listen and we await to see for him to say precisely how he intends to help provide good-paying jobs and greater opportunities in areas like Appalachia, in areas in America that for better than ten years have become pockets of unemployment and of poverty. What is his answer? "Well, some of these people just don't want to work."

Now, there may be some but may I say that it is a strange thing that when opportunity is provided and when training is provided and when investment capital is there, somehow or another these folks seem to work despite the manifestos of Mr. Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater as a self-styled conservative has no specific program in mind to implement his ringing manifestos. His manifestos and proposal is "My aim" -- and I quote him, here is his manifesto and here is his proposal. "My aim is not to pass laws but to repeal them."

(Applause.)

That is a very interesting statement. My question is which ones, Mr. Goldwater? The Higher Education Act that you didn't vote for? The poverty bill that you didn't vote for? The cotton and wheat bill that you didn't vote for? The Vocational Education Act that you didn't vote for? The Youth Conservation Corps that you didn't vote for? Social Security that you think ought to be voluntary? The TVA that you think ought to be sold for a dollar? Are these the laws you want to repeal?

(Applause.)

May I add most respectfully, that this Senator that speaks to you, of course, is known for his position and stand upon the great issue of Constitutional rights commonly called Civil Rights. I never travel under false colors. I don't believe in coming to Georgia and saying one thing to you and going back to Minnesota and saying another thing because somehow or another people find out, don't they?

(Laughter.)

It just doesn't work any more. (Laughter and applause.)

Yet I have never heard the Senator from Arizona who voted against that Act say he was going to repeal it. I do know, however, that if he is elected President he must take an oath of office to "enforce it, despite all of the whistling of Dixie that has gone through these many states. Ah, my friends, let's be very frank about it, we have entered a new day, and what we need today are people who think ahead, who recognize that the promise of America is not to turn back but the promise of America is to reach out for a better future. The land of a man who says, "My aim is not to pass laws but to repeal them," that is not the language of a conservative. It is the language of a nihilist.

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 10

It reminds me of that chapter in American history of the Know nothing Party in the middle 1800*s, and to all men dedicated to the American tradition, whether liberal or conservative, nihilism is the politics of catastrophe, it is the approach, is an approach to community problems which renounces our common ideals and substitutes bitterness and suspicion for compassion and trust.

In short, what we Americans have in common is far greater than the things that divide us, and I submit to you that what we need in the Presidency today is not one who reminds us of every little division, who seeks to broaden it, broaden the gaps of our misunderstanding, but what we need in the Presidency today is an educator, is a leader, is in a sense a philosopher who seeks to bind up the wounds, heal the wounds, not scarify them, who will treasure what is best in our past, and not repudiate our achievements in the name of right wing radicalism.

We need a President who can unite America, and who speaks of one America, not the America of the North or of the South, or of the East or of the West, but one who has read the preamble to the Constitution that says, "We the people of the United States of America," and then the pledges of justice and tranquility and freedom that are there, to preach this doctrine, if you please, of a United community, of a community living in respect and in brotherhood, of a community that is dedicated to the proposition of the extension of opportunity, of a President who seeks to emancipate America, to emancipate it from its poverty, to emancipate it from its areas of illiteracy, to emancipate it, if you please, from its apathy as to social problems, to emancipate it from its bigotry, from its discrimination or from its prejudice. We need in the White House, a man, yes, a great, potential man, and one who can see a horizon, and beyond it, one who reaches out to a future, rather than trying to guide America by viewing this nation through a rear view window or a mirror, that takes his looking through the window of the past.

Yes, I think that we have got such a man, and that is why I am proud to be at this university.

I think that in President Lyndon Johnson, a man born in the South, who today is President of this entire nation, that we have one who has as his purpose a consensus of the American people for common goals and objectives, who seeks to preach the doctrine of tolerance and understanding, who asks us to be better, who says that the achievements of today are but a plateau from which we work for tomorrow, who appeals to the best in us.

I say to the college students that are here, beware of people that only preach to us of the evil that is in us. We all have got some problems, we all have some prejudices but what we need above all today is a leader that will teach us to do better, one who will tell us that we can do the impossible, one who will call from us excellence, not mediocrity, and one who will make us proud of the fact that in this great Republic of ours there is but one citizenship for one people, for one country, for one goal, namely the welfare of this Republic and its contribution to a peaceful and a more just world.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

Questions and Answers

Q Sir, I would like to know if you think the people of Georgia are entitled to the right of trial by jury since you voted against Herman Talmadge's amendment to have a jury trial in the Civil Rights bill?

Senator Humphrey: The fact of the matter is that I was one of those who helped to work out the arrangements, my good friend, that the Civil Rights bill trial by jury is in the law and that is a matter of record.

(Applause.)

Q How could you possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party because he was selected by such a large majority, is that correct?

Senator Humphrey: Well, I just took the word of Governor Scranton, and Governor Rockefeller who stated that.

I never attended a Republican Convention in my life but I will tell you this, my dear friends, that Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller were much more unkind in their comment and I would say much more cutting in anything they said about Mr. Goldwater than anything Senator Humphrey has said today. I think it is fair to say that a substantial number of people in the Republican Party today are leaving that Party to come to the Democratic Party to support President Johnson, and they are doing it not because they are Democrats, not because they want to join the Democratic Party.

They are doing it because they feel, as they have said and as Governor Scranton said and as at that time Mr. Lodge said and as Governor Rockefeller said, that Mr. Goldwater was out of the main stream of American life, he was away from the mainstream of the Republican Party.

Is there another question out there?

Q Senator Humphrey, I just wonder if you believe in the American free enterprise system since you voted to take freedom of choice away from such a large segment of American businessmen through the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(Hissing from audience.)

Senator Humphrey: I think that is a very fine question. By the way, I want to say one thing -- that I hope one thing no man who supports President Johnson will ever do and that is to "boo" anybody else. I think that is a monopoly of our opposition.

(Applause.)

May I say most respectfully to my friends that asked the question, I surely do believe in the American free enterprise system. I don't only believe in it, I live in it and I practice it. I think Senator Goldwater believes in the free enterprise system, too. He inherited the Department Store and I haven't yet inherited our drug store but I am close to it. But we both believe in the profit system. I think I may believe in it a little more than he does because I voted to give it some tax relief here in the last Congress and he voted against it but I give him credit in believing in the free enterprise system.

You asked me whether or not I believe in freedom of choice. Of course, I believe in freedom of choice but I believe when you run a public business you let the public come into that business. If you run a private club then it is a private matter. And I know exactly what you are talking about. We might just as well come to it, it is this matter of public accommodations and may I say most respectfully to you that 35 states of this union -- most of them under Republican governors and Republican legislation -- have already passed public accommodation statutes that were far more severe than anything that ever went into the Federal Civil Rights statute, and they

Senator Humphrey
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 12

didn't think they were violating private property, may I say. A Republican state like Vermont that has only had, I think, two Democratic Governors in a hundred years has got one of the toughest of such a statute. California got one under a Republican Governor.

In fact, I think that most every state with the exception of a few in the South have those statutes, and many of the cities now of the South have them without any violation of private rights or private property. This question, by the way, as you know, is now in the courts and may I say that whatever that court decision is this Senator is going to respect it and I am not going to denounce either a court that says my vote was wrong or praise it by saying that my vote was right. I am going to live by the law of this land and when I hear a candidate for public office talk about lawlessness and disorder in the streets I would suggest that he could help preserve law and order, help preserve peace in the streets by asking people as your Senators have done, as your own Senators have done, to abide by the law, to live by the law, to observe the law, I think that is a fine standard for everyone to rally to.

I have just been told they -- many times that I have to go. I hate to run away from here because someone might have a question here and they will say, I didn't get a chance to take a bite at that fellow. If you would let me come back sometime, and I would like to come back, by the way, I would like to come back when I have much more time. And they tell me when you are Vice President you don't have nearly as much to do as a Senator.

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Questions and Answers following Speech at University of Georgia.

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(Applause.)

Q How could you possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party when he was selected by a majority?

Senator Humphrey. I believe the question was how could I possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party because he was selected by such a large majority, is that correct? Well, I just took the word of Governor Scranton, and Governor Rockefeller who stated that.

I never attended a Republican Convention in my life I will tell you this, my dear friends, that Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller were much more unkind in their comment and I would say much more cutting in anything they said about Mr. Goldwater than anything Senator Humphrey has said today. I think it is fair to say that a substantial number of people in the Republican Party today are leaving that Party to come to the Democratic Party to support President Johnson, and they are doing it not because they are Democrats, not because they want to join the Democratic Party.

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Senator Humphrey. I think that is a very fine question. By the way, I want to say one thing, that I hope one thing no man who supports President Johnson will ever do and that is to "boo" anybody else. I think that is a monopoly of our opposition.

(Applause.)

May I say most respectfully to my friends that asked the question, I surely do believe in the American free enterprise system. I don't only believe in it, I live in it and I practice it. I think Senator Goldwater believes in the free enterprise system, too. He inherited the Department Store and I haven't yet inherited our drug store but I am close to it. But we both believe in the profit system. I think I may believe in it a little more than he does because I voted to give it some tax relief here in the last Congress and he voted against it but I give him credit in believing in the free enterprise system.

You asked me whether or not I believe in freedom of choice. Of course, I believe in freedom of choice but I believe when you run a public business you let the public come into that business. If you run a private club then it is a private matter. And I know exactly

Questions and Answers following speech at University of Georgia - 2

what you are talking about. We might just as well come to it, it is this matter of public accommodations and may I say most respectfully to you that 35 states of this union most of them under Republican governors and Republican legislation yourself had already passed public accommodation statutes that were far more severe than anything that ever went into the Federal Civil Rights statute, and they didn't think they were violating private property, may I say. A Republican state like Vermont that has only had, I think, two Democratic Governors in a hundred years has got one of the toughest of such a statute. California got one under a Republican Governor.

In fact, I think that most every state with the exception of a few in the South have those statutes, and many of the cities now of the South have them without any violation of private rights or private property. This question, by the way, as you know, is now in the courts and may I say that whatever that court decision is this Senator is going to respect it and I am not going to denounce either a court that says my vote was wrong or praise it by saying that my vote was right. I am going to live by the law of this land and when I hear a candidate for public office talk about lawlessness and disorder in the streets I would suggest that he could help preserve law and order, help preserve peace in the streets by asking people as your Senators have done, as your own Senators have done, to abide by the law, to live by the law, to observe the law, I think that is a fine standard for everyone to rally to.

I have just been told they -- many times that I have to go. I hate to run away from here because someone might have a question here and they will say, I didn't get a chance to take a bite at that fellow. If you would let me come back sometime, and I would like to come back, by the way, I would like to come back when I have much more ~~xx~~ time and they tell me when you Vice President you don't have nearly as much ^{are} to do as a Senator.

Senator Humphrey
Pharmacy School,
University of Georgia
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much, Dean Wilson, and may I also thank our friends from the American Pharmaceutical Association, the student chapter.

Dean, you have given me a wonderful book, "Drugs and Pharmacy in the Life of Georgia from 1733 to 1959," which indeed represents 226 years of very great achievement and contributions to the healing arts of the United States and of the world.

Now, I have got a book here, too, Dean, it is not nearly as good as yours and it isn't nearly as big. You can plainly see who is the scholar in this book. The book on "Drugs and Pharmacy in the Life of Georgia" represents the great contributions of a very distinguished scientist, and a great research scholar and one of the most eminent scholars of our country, your own Dean Emeritus, and your great Dean Wilson.

I have a little book here called "The Cause is Mankind," by a chap by the name of Hubert H. Humphrey that was written in between prescriptions, filling prescriptions, Dean. However, the prescriptions we were trying to fill at the time were those that were given to us by Doctor Kennedy and Doctor Johnson, and while I was attempting to first of all find out just how -- what they had written on that prescription, knowing how most doctors write, and then trying to compound the product that the doctors at the White House had prescribed, I found a little time in between prescription filling and customer-greeting to write a book entitled "The Cause is Mankind," and while it is a poor substitute for the wonderful work that you have completed, may I say that it won't take long to read, and I have looked it over.

There isn't much in there to hurt anybody and there is a little in there that may be provocative and I want to present this to you as sort of reciprocity, Dean.

Dean Wilson. Thank you very much, sir, I will read yours if you will read mine.

(Laughter.) (Applause.)

Senator Humphrey. May I say, Dean, that there is only one way to make sure that I will have time to read this, they say that Vice Presidents don't have much to do but Senators are very busy, and if you can get enough folks around here in Georgia and elsewhere to give me that soft job of being Vice President I will read this difficult book, -- (laughter) -- and find the time to do it.

(Applause.)

Mrs. Humphrey. I just want to say thanks to you all for having us here in this lovely state. We are very, very thrilled to be here to visit our friends in Georgia.

Thanks for having us.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey. Dean before I go, I want to say this, your suggestion of me to come here and take a refresher course is appreciated because this business of politics is an uncertain and precarious business and I want everybody in Georgia to know I am a good pharmacist, I know how to operate a drug store, even fill a prescription and I would be more than happy to take this refresher course. I can honestly say I am the only man on the ticket that really understands how to fill these political prescriptions. So, with good luck to all of you friends here for your kindness and thoughtfulness to us, may I assure you that you are in a noble profession, the pharmaceutical profession. It is one of the finest that we have, and as you

Senator Humphrey
Pharmacy School,
University of Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 2

know recently the Federal Government passed a bill that included aid to pharmacy schools as a part of the higher education facilities aid program. I want to encourage everyone of you to go about your work and to pursue this great profession of pharmacy with the zeal which it requires, which is required in these days.

Thank you very much.

Dean, do they use that old pharmacy yell here, physio bring them here and we will dose them.

Physio Stigma BenoNosum, bring them here and we will dose them.

End



news release

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

FOR P.M.'S RELEASE
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29

B-3798

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA
SEPTEMBER 29, 1964

In the midst of a hectic campaign--where one finds himself talking to businessmen in Houston one day and labor leaders in New York a day or so later--a candidate is inclined to stay pretty close to ground level. It is refreshing, therefore, to greet a university audience and take the opportunity to reflect a bit on the broad issues of the campaign. It is particularly pleasant for me to speak here at the great University of Georgia, in that enlightened state which is leading the South toward a new era, both in economic development and race relations.

The Bible warns us against the "corruption of the Word." And for a politician this warning has particular force. In an election year, as the rhetoric begins to flow, one must often wonder if words have any meaning. Today I would like to take a few minutes with you to examine the corruption of one word: "Conservatism". The Goldwaterites claim to be the authentic spokesmen for American conservatism--to reflect the "conscience of a conservative." It is my contention that they have kidnapped the conservative tradition and are using it to mask a radical assault upon the very fabric of American community.

In 1780 the men of Massachusetts set out to write a constitution for their commonwealth. It might be well to recall the opening statement of that document, written by that wonderful realist who is the father of genuine American conservatism, John Adams.

"The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of

government, is to secure the existence of the body-politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life."

I have quoted this excerpt from Adams' great document because it echoes, of course, the sentiments of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence that all men have been endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And if Adams was the father of American conservatism, Jefferson was the father of American liberalism.

What is important for us today is that here, at the very outset of our national history, conservatives and liberals were in full agreement on the responsibility of the government to nourish and buttress the "blessings of life" or the "pursuit of happiness."

It is tragic that this year the temporary leader of the Republican party, who claims to be a conservative, has renounced this fundamental consensus, has denounced the role of government as an instrument for facilitating the good life, for ~~implementing~~ ^{supplementing} the age-old Judeo-Christian ideal (which is both conservative and liberal) of community responsibility.

Liberals and conservatives in America may differ on tactics, on methods, and on pace of public policy, but they share, and have always shared the objective of securing the blessings of liberty and the blessings of life.

Indeed, ⁱⁿ the case of Georgia, this tradition goes back beyond the establishment of the nation. Georgia was the setting of the first anti-poverty program in the world. The King's Charter of 1732 put the matter explicitly: "Whereas we are credibly informed, that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to

provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage, and other expenses, incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America where by cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase trade, navigation and wealth of these our realms."

In 1964, we find ourselves working with the responsible conservatives to preserve, to conserve, the essentials of our national tradition from a group of radical adventurers, historical wreckers, who would repudiate it. In the best traditions of a college term-paper, this could be documented until the listener collapsed from fatigue, but I shall only highlight a few conspicuous points.

Let us take the presidency for a starter. What our opposition calls conservatism in the case of the presidency is diametrically opposed to the thinking of authentic conservatives like Alexander Hamilton and the authors of the 1861 Confederate Constitution.

To our opposition, conservatism requires an inert, weak President. It means destroying the powers vested in the President by the Constitution, and by Congress. But listen to what Alexander Hamilton had to say on this subject. In the 70th Federalist Paper, he wrote:

"Energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprizes and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy."

And Hamilton concluded:

"A feeble Executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for

a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government.¹⁸⁷²

When the authors of the 1861 Confederate Constitution met in Montgomery, Alabama, they reached precisely the same conclusion. If anything, they went far beyond the Federal Constitution in their arrangements for a strong Presidency. The Confederate Constitution provided for a single seven year term of office for a President, instead of four years. It provided that members of the President's Cabinet could sit on the floor of the Confederate Congress and take part in the debates. It gave the President the power of item veto over appropriation bills passed by this Confederate Congress. Most important of all, it provided that when a President submitted his budget to the Confederate Congress, nothing could be added to or subtracted from the President's budget except by two-thirds vote of the Confederate Congress.

Our opponent's concept of conservatism stands in direct opposition to what it has meant to great Americans Conservatives from the first days of the Republic. Yet, although he is completely alien to American conservatism, he might possibly bear some resemblance to English conservatism. So--to be fair--I took a look at English Conservatism, and sad to relate, Senator Goldwater's views are as much of a caricature of English conservatism as they are irrelevant to the realities of American life. English conservatism was not a reactionary force. It was not a money-grubbing force. It was not anti-government. English conservatism in the most dreadful years of England's Industrial Revolution made common cause with the industrial worker who was being brutalized by ruthless money-grubbers. It was English conservatism, under the leadership of men like Benjamin Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain, which helped curb the exploitation of industrial workers by factory owners, which helped win for industrial workers a place under the English sun.

And well before their day, Edmund Burke, the philosopher of English conservatism, proclaimed the existence of a "perpetual charter" or a social contract binding successive generations of Englishmen to the kind of spiritual partnership that makes for orderly progress.

This is what Burke said:

"As the end of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are about to be born."

Has Senator Goldwater, as a self-styled conservative, respected the existence of such a perpetual charter among generations of Americans? On the contrary, he has stumbled upon, seized and given eager currency to a corrupted version of conservatism whose acceptance by any sizeable number of Americans can bring to an end the "perpetual charter" that has existed among generations of Americans since the founding of our Republic.

He has made that corrupted version of conservatism the very foundation of his political posture. It provided the strategy for his drive for the Republican Presidential nomination. It was the acid that eroded the Republican platform. It has supplied the organizing principle of every speech he has uttered in this campaign. And nowhere has he more zealously tried to win a public acceptance of his corrupted version of conservatism than among Americans who reside in our Southern states.

Directly or indirectly, the leader of the Goldwater faction has told you that conservatism means an attack on the Supreme Court and the legitimacy of judicial review--though it was a Southern and a conservative, Chief Justice John Marshall, who first established the Court's right of judicial review.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means the repeal of much of the social legislation that has been enacted in the last thirty years. Yet, far the greater body of that legislation was piloted through Congress by Southern leaders who knew how vitally important it was to the health and well-being of all Americans, North and South.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism envisages a military establishment independent of civilian control. Yet it was a Southerner, your own Senator Richard Russell, who, at the time of General Douglas MacArthur's recall from Korea, performed a service for constitutional government none of us can ever adequately repay. It was Senator Russell, beyond all other men, who in the confusion surrounding General MacArthur's recall, bravely, fairly and brilliantly conducted Senate hearings whose net effect was to reconfirm the constitutional principle of civil supremacy over the military.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means that government must not seek to promote the general welfare. Yet the South, like all other parts of the nation, has urgent present needs that cannot be met by state and local sources unaided by the Federal government.

Above all, Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means a sharpening of the differences between our political parties, and their fundamental realignment along clear cut ideological lines. Here on this point, we have the greatest danger to a breach in the perpetual charter between generations of Americans--a breach that once led to a terrible war between the states.

The genius of American politics, and the source of its true conservatism, is that it has stayed close to the realities of life, and has understood that life is larger than logic. It is the conservative who insists on a union between thought and action, between theory and practice. It is the conservative who insists on a union between power and responsibility. It is the conservative who is the enemy of a Utopian or an apocalyptic approach to political questions. It is the conservative who skeptically questions the panaceas of those who spin abstract political theories, and then insist that reality be altered to fit their formulations.

Yet all these marks of an authentic conservative are missing from the picture of Senator Goldwater. He issues ringing theoretical manifestoes on every subject. But where is the follow through? He says, "Wide-spread poverty can only be solved by providing good paying jobs and greater opportunities for all our people who are willing and able to work." Splendid! But then we listen for him to say precisely how he intends to provide good-paying jobs and greater opportunities. And we wait in vain.

If Senator Goldwater, as a self-styled conservative, has any specific program in mind to implement his ringing manifestoes, it is contained in his dour comment: "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them."

This is not the language of a conservative. It is the language of a nihilist. And to all men dedicated to the American tradition--whether liberal or conservative--nihilism is the politics of catastrophe; is an approach to community problems which renounces our common ideals, and substitutes bitterness and suspicion for compassion and trust.

In short, what we Americans have in common is far greater than those things which divide us. And I submit to you that Lyndon B. Johnson deserves the support of the American people as a President who will heal wounds, not scarify them; who will treasure what is best in our past, not repudiate our achievements in the name of right-wing radicalism; who will pursue the vision of a Great Society, not lead us into a wilderness of desolation and despair.

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Background memo:

ATHENS, GEORGIA

September 29 (Tuesday)

Education: The University of Georgia is here and education is the industry of Athens. "The University of Georgia is giving wings to the Soaring South."

Compare to Senator Goldwater, the well-known drop-out: "I may not be a Ph. D., but I hire them."

Refer to education statistics in Georgia Overall memo written with Athens in mind. Registration at the university last week totalled 11,000 students, the highest in school history.

President of the University is Dr. O. C. Aderhold, a staunch LBJ supporter.

Praise Governor Carl Sanders, a University of Georgia graduate, for his courage and foresight in raising taxes to bolster State education. His broad program includes pay raises for teachers, new buildings and a state-wide TV network to bring top teachers into every classroom.

The school is especially proud of its science complex. Recent AEC contracts include \$272,000 to the University of Georgia, \$214,000 to Georgia Tech, and \$57,000 to Emory University (Atlanta). There is a strong attachment to the Savannah River project just across the river in South Carolina.

The Southeastern Nuclear Power Study Group is studying the possibility of converting an un-needed plutonium production reactor at Savannah River to the production of electric power. "Beating swords into plowshares."

The scientific climate in the Athens of America is attracting new industry, such as Westinghouse and General Time, Inc.

Heap praise on the School of Agriculture, which boasts a national reputation.

Athens is also the center of state government reorganization under Georgia Professor Morris "Bill" Collins. He has drawn on Brookings and others to give Georgia a modern streamlined progressive government.

Incidentally, Georgia has a fine School of Pharmacy if you want to whip up an Rx here.

Politics: The 10th District (Athens and Augusta) incumbent is Democrat Robert "Bob" Stevens, a former law Professor with no problems in keeping his seat. He is an LBJ-NHH supporter.

Education dominates Athens, but there are enough red-necks in the district so that state party boss suggests no attack on Goldwater. Instead concentrate on the "opposition."

Mayor Julius Bishop deserves praise for his work. He, too, is a supporter.

J. Mac Barker - Commencement - Carl Sanders ^{U 864}

University of Georgia
September 29, 1964

Dr. Aderhold, Pres.

- Neil Ray - Pres ^{JPR} ^{2 FC} ^{Inter-7th} ^{Comm}
- Dee Sharp - Y.O.S.

~~Mayor Julius Bishop~~
~~Mayor Julius Bishop~~

Mayor - Julius Bishop - Sheriff Tom Huff

In the midst of a hectic campaign--where one finds
himself talking to businessmen in Houston one day and
+ Georgia farmers a few days
labor leaders in New York a day or so later--a candidate
is inclined to stay pretty close to ground level. It is
refreshing, therefore, to greet a university audience and
take the opportunity to reflect a bit on the broad issues
of the campaign. It is particularly pleasant for me to
speak here at the great University of Georgia, in that
enlightened state which is leading the South towards
a new era, both in economic development and in race
relations.

South
to new
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Tradition with Progress
four motto

The Bible warns us against the "corruption of the

Word." And for a politician this warning has

particular force. In an election year, as the rhetoric

begins to flow, one must often wonder if words have

any ^{True} meaning. Today I would like to take a few minutes

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Tradition
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"Conservatism." The ^{Sen from Ariz} Goldwaters claim to be the

authentic spokesmen for American conservatism--to reflect

the "conscience of a conservative." It is my contention

the Goldwater force the GOP
that they have kidnapped the conservative tradition and

the are using it to mask a radical assault upon the very

fabric of American community.

In 1780 the men of Massachusetts set out to write
a constitution for their commonwealth. It might be well

to recall the opening statement of that document, written

by that wonderful realist who is the father of genuine
American conservatism, John Adams.

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L "The end of the institution, maintenance, and
administration of government, is to secure the existence
of the body-politic, to protect it, and to furnish the
individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying
in safety and tranquility their natural rights and the
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The Statement of John Adams
L ~~I have quoted this excerpt from Adams' great~~
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of his friend Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of
Independence that all men have ^{been} endowed by their Creator
with certain inalienable rights, that among these are
life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. L And if

Adams was the father of American conservatism, Jefferson
was the father of American liberalism.

What is important for us today is that here, at
the very outset of our national history, conservatives
and liberals were in full agreement on the responsibility
of the government to the people, and the duty of
government to nourish and buttress the "blessings of
life" or the "pursuit of happiness."

It is tragic that this year the temporary leader
of the Republican Party, who claims to be a conservative, *in*

his consistent denunciation of our Federal Court,
has renounced this fundamental consensus, has denounced

the role of government as an instrument for facilitating

the good life, for implementing the age-old Judeo-Christian

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Let us take the presidency for a starter.

~~All students of American history will agree~~

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Confederate Constitution.

Let ^{their so called} To our opposition, conservatism requires ^{a passive,} ~~weak~~ President. It means destroying the powers vested

in the President by the Constitution, and by Congress.

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in the definition of good government. It is essential
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appropriation bills passed by the Confederate Congress.

Most important of all, it provided that when a President submitted his budget to the Confederate Congress, nothing could be added to or subtracted from the President's budget except by a two-thirds vote of the Confederate Congress.

I wonder how Strom Thurmond & Barry Goldwater would like this!

Our opponent's concept of conservatism stands in direct opposition to what it has meant to great American conservatives from the first days of the Republic. Yet, ^{although} ~~while~~ he is completely alien to American conservatism, he might ^{possibly} bear some resemblance to English conservatism. So--to be fair--I took a look at English conservatism, and sad to relate, Senator Goldwater's views are as much of a caricature of English conservatism as they are irrelevant to the realities of American life.

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And well before their day, Edmund Burke, the philosopher of English conservatism, proclaimed the existence of a "perpetual charter" or a social contract binding successive generations of Englishmen to the kind of spiritual partnership that makes for orderly progress.

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He has made that corrupted version of conservatism
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Joe Robinson
Sam Rayburn
Lester B. Hill
Richard
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to the American tradition--whether liberal or conservative--

nihilism is the politics of catastrophe; is an approach

to community problems which renounces our common ideals,

and substitutes bitterness and suspicion for compassion

and trust.

L In short, what we Americans have in common is far
greater than those things which divide us. And I submit

to you that Lyndon B. Johnson deserves the support of the

(which?)
Sec Sec
Educ
Income
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Wm

American people as a President who will heal wounds,
not scarify them; who will treasure what is best in our
past, not repudiate our achievements in the name of
right-wing radicalism; who will pursue the vision of
a Great Society, not lead us into a wilderness of
desolation and despair.

Opportunity for all
Responsibility

Senator Humphrey
En Route to and in Atlanta, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, thank you very, very much.
We are going to hold up until that drum corps down there dies down.

My dear friends, your wonderful Mayor was telling me that I would have a very fine reception when we came here to this area of Atlanta with this great Atlanta University Center where all these many institutions of higher learning are gathered together and I just want everyone of you to know what a joy you have brought to me and Mrs. Humphrey who is here with me.

Now, when I was trying to convince President Johnson that I was the logical choice for his candidate for Vice President, I told President Johnson, I said, "Look, you need a man of experience,"-- (applause)-- and I said, "You know in my house, in the Humphrey house, I have been Vice President all my life."

And that is really what sold President Johnson on the whole idea. I want you to know that.

We are here in Atlanta to carry on the campaign for what we believe is the best interest of our country, and I want you folks to just listen to me just these few moments.

We have a big dinner on downtown tonight. I have been in the southern part of your state today, I have been at the great University at Athens, Georgia. We had a wonderful reception. We met a few folks who were misguided, you know. But do you know something, this great State of Georgia has given an awful lot to our country and one thing it has exemplified is awfully good political judgment. I was checking back and I find that in Georgia, through all of its history that Georgia has never failed to support the Democratic Party and the Democratic nominee for President and I don't think Georgia is going to get in any bad habit in 1964.

(Applause.)

You know the other day, friends, I was up in Michigan and I was talking up there to a group of our young student friends up in Michigan, and when I got there on the way out picked up the New York Times and the New York Times had a story in it that read like this, it says, "Grand Rapids, Michigan. September 24, Associated Press. Stat officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"-- now just listen, you haven't heard the best yet, it says, "A new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withdrawn from distribution on the grounds that the 'pop is grossly misbranded,'" and it says it lists "as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative."

(Applause.)

Well, friends, I just gave the Republican platform, that is all. Now, what is the Democratic platform? We are a political party and we have a President that believes that this country can do better than it has done even though we have done well. We believe, my dear friends, that America's future is ahead of it. We believe this is a land of opportunity and the President of the United States for whom I speak to you today and tonight, the President of the United States has told me time after time, he said, "Hubert, when you go out to the people tell them this, we have done well, yes. Our country is relatively prosperous, yes. We have made great

Senator Humphrey
En Route to and in Atlanta, Georgia
September 29, 1964

page 2

progress, yes. But all that we have done is only the beginning of what we intend to do. We are interested in the tomorrows. We are interested in a better America. We are interested in a more just America. We are interested in an America where every person can have all the opportunity that he is willing to give of himself.

"If he will educate himself, if he will train himself, there will be no limits to what we can do. We are going to open up the gates of opportunity to every man, woman and child in America, regardless of where they come from, regardless of race, color or creed."

(Applause.)

We must go, and I want to say you have a wonderful Mayor here. By the way, I have got a friend here I want you to know about, too, Mr. Mackey, who is going to be your next Congressman from the Fourth District right here.

And don't you forget that wonderful Congressman Charlie Weltner.

Now, folks, here is my prescription for you, study hard, work hard. Remember November 3, vote for Johnson and Humphrey and the Democratic ticket.

End.

Senator Humphrey
Outside Dinkler Plaza Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Thank you very much, thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. Thank you, folks, for that rousing enthusiastic welcome. You stay with us here. Mr. Mayor, Mr. Mayor, I want to thank you as the Mayor of this great thriving progressive city of Atlanta for your welcome, for the enthusiastic welcome, of your fellow citizens. It is simply marvelous. We thank you very, very much.

Friends, I noticed that there are a few signs around here, I also notice that there are a few signs around here that show a couple of your constituents are misguided. We have to do something about that.

All right, I want you to know that all of us in Washington are ever mindful of the fact that the State of Georgia has set an example for the nation when it comes to political judgment that is the best, it is tops, it is superior. You know only have a fine Governor in Carl Sanders, you not only have a fine Congressman in Charlie Weltner, but you are going to have another good Congressman in Congressman Mackey.

(Applause.)

And you have a couple of good Democratic United States Senators up there that are working with us, Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge. But what I really wanted to tell you is that Georgia has been good to the Democratic Party and the Democratic has been good to Georgia and Georgia has -- (applause.) -- Georgia has never failed to vote for the Democratic nominee for President and I don't think you are going to get in any bad habits in 1964.

So, as they say everywhere all the way with LBJ, and, listen, friends, vote for Humphrey, that comes in the package. There is a young Democrat right there, atta' boy.

Now, my friends, most Americans, most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike and Independents, too, most Americans on November 3 are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

Thank you very much. It is great to see you.

End.

Senator Humphrey
Jefferson Jackson Dinner
Dinkler Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Governor Sanders, our good friend, Carl Sanders and his charming, lovely lady Betty, members of the Georgia delegation that are here with us tonight, my friends Phil Landrum, Charlie Weltner, I see Congressman Pilcher is still with us, he has been with us all day, and that new man you are going to send down to Congress, because we need him so bad, James Mackey, -- (applause)-- and that fine young friend of mine from that great center of commerce and industry, Jay McBarber, I am so delighted to be here I simply can't tell you how much Mrs. Humphrey and I have enjoyed this wonderful day of southern hospitality.

The only thing that was warmer than the reception we received was the sun that was beating down on my brow at Tifton this afternoon. But it was a wonderful fine reception.

I want the Governor to know that I am fully aware of the activities of this Republican Truth Squad. If there ever was a play on words, that is one. This is like asking a fox to take charge of a chicken coop.

(Applause.)

One of the Congressmen in that Truth Squad is from Minnesota, he is down talking to these southern Georgia farmers. The only thing that he has got that looks like a farm in his district is a petunia plant.

(Applause.)

But I think the folks around here will see through them because there is one thing that I found out a long time ago is that Georgians have an uncanny capacity for being able to get at the truth when it comes to politics.

First of all, they elect a fine man like your Governor here and that is within itself, that is a fine thing. You have two fine United States Senators that I have served with, Senators Russell and Palmadge. These good men in the House of Representatives that can serve you so well, but then may I add that Georgia has a record that is only equalled by one other state, that is the State of Arkansas.

How I wish I could say it was true of Minnesota. Georgia has always demonstrated unique, unbelievable political judgment by voting democratic in every Presidential election.

(Applause.)

Now, speaking about that GOP Truth Squad, you know what GOP stands for now, don't you? "Goldwater is our problem."

(Applause.)

That is what they are out explaining.

The other day I was up in Michigan, I had an opportunity to speak at Grand Rapids, Michigan, supposed to be Republican territory but I have never seen so many happy people in my life turned out for a democratic rally and while I was there I read a little newspaper clipping that came to my attention and I want to read it to you because I think you ought to share in this bit of wisdom and political analysis that was given to us.

Here it is, Exhibit A.

It isn't very big, one column inch, about an inch and a half long. It appeared in the New York Times, it was a little larger in Michigan, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Associated Press, September 24, "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater."

(Laughter.)

Now, folks, I didn't even know anybody wanted to buy him. But I stopped too soon there. It says, "Goldwater, 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.)

--"and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative."

Now folks, there you have it, one column inch, the whole platform of the Republican program, all at once. I knew that you would understand exactly what I was getting at.

Well, I want to talk to you tonight about the Democratic Party. I am like old Sam Rayburn, one of the greats of all times. I am a Democrat, without prefix or suffix and without apology. I just come to Georgia as a full-blooded Democrat, that is all, with Democrats in Georgia.

(Applause.)

And, Mr. Mayor, I came through Georgia to come to Atlanta so I could celebrate in this great big wonderful progressive, thriving, enterprising city, the new South, which this city of Atlanta typifies more than any other place that I know in all of this great area.

(Applause.)

And I come here not only with the blessings of the President of the United States but I come here with his greetings and I come here to tell you that he needs you, he wants you and he asks you to give him your hands and your heart for November 3 that great election victory that we will have.

(Applause.)

If you will let me reminisce just a little bit. I don't want Republicans to think they are the only ones that reminisce. We reminisce for a purpose. We reminisce to learn, not just to present. We reminisce to have a base from which we can move forward. You will -- you all remember, of course, your own great Henry Grady, the orator second to none and the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who more than 75 years ago so eloquently advanced the theme of which I speak tonight, the case of the new South. Henry Grady was a wonderful story teller. Most of the good southern politicians are, they can make a good story and make a point.

One of his favorite stories was about that old preacher who on Saturday night informed some young friends about the ceremony planned on making the next morning and since the boys were pranksters, that is Democrats at heart, they found the place marked in the old preacher's Bible and proceeded to glue some pages together when he wasn't looking, and the next morning at the service

when the preacher was reading from the scripture to the congregation saying, "When Noah was 120 years old he took unto himself a wife who was," -- and then turning a page, -- "142 cubits long, 40 cubits wide, wood-covered with pitch inside and out."

Well, now, the old preacher was puzzled and he read it again and his eyes did not deceive him, and then he looked up at his congregation, and he said steadily, "My friends, this is the first time I have ever met this in the Bible, but I accept it as evidence of the assertion that we are faithfully and wonderfully made."

(Laughter.)

Now, my friends, I know that here in Georgia, like Harry Grady, the old preacher, you have faith, you have shown faith. You have faith in yourself because you have demonstrated that by everything I have seen today in this wonderful state. You have faith in America and rightfully you should. You have faith in the South and indeed you should, and you have faith in the Democratic Party, which is exactly what I was referring to by your constancy, your constant loyalty to this great party that belongs to you, is of you, been good to you and you have been good to it.

(Applause.)

I don't think I need to remind a single Georgian that Woodrow Wilson spent his formative years here and, that this is the state that that beloved great President Franklin Delano Roosevelt loved so much, where he came to live and to work and to rest and play and where he died. It was at Warm Springs.

Yes, it was at Warm Springs that President Roosevelt conceived the idea of a rural electrification administration, when he discovered that his electric bill -- (applause.) -- when he discovered that his electric bill was four times higher than it was at Hyde Park -- a prudent and frugal man, that Democrat.

Now, it is not surprising, is it, that Franklin Roosevelt felt at home in Georgia? I see people here in this audience tonight that knew him well, and that knew how much he loved this great state.

For the past 25 Presidential elections as I have said you have proven your faith.

In 1960, I was surprised when I found this the other day because I had forgotten it, Georgia returned a higher percentage of votes for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson than even in Massachusetts and Texas and, believe me, that is a wonderful record.

(Applause.)

I might add we gave them a majority in Minnesota, too, I don't want to be left out. And the speech that Franklin Roosevelt was working on at Warm Springs when he died included this phrase "The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow is our doubts and fears of today."

I think that is the theme of a party that believes in progress. The only limits to our realizations of tomorrow, and it is tomorrow that we think about, the only limit is our doubt or our doubts and fears of today, and if I could take a moment to characterize the difference between the two great political parties in this election or should I say the two men that lead these parties, President Johnson that leads a United Democratic Party, and Mr. Goldwater that leads a faction and a fraction of a broken Republican

Party, the difference, I would say is this: That Mr. Goldwater comes here and he goes there, to play on doubts and fears, emotions, but Lyndon Johnson speaks to you of the New Frontiers, of the better America and of the grand and glorious tomorrows that can be ours if we but stand together and work together as a people.

(Applause.)

In 1960, John Kennedy banished the doubts and fears which prevented a man of his religion being President of the United States. That is behind us, thank God, and this November when Lyndon Johnson is elected President of the United States he will banish another form of fear and doubt, the prejudice which in recent years has barred a man of southern origins from being taken seriously and considered seriously for the Presidency.

From here on out a man can come from any place in America if he is a good man and be President of the United States.

My dear friends, I cannot imagine the people of the South, I cannot imagine that they, would turn their back upon one of their own, one who has demonstrated the qualities of leadership that mark him already with the great of American history and I ask all of you good people who love your area so much not to forget this, your native son from Texas who belongs to you as he belongs to America, and give him a victory in this state the likes of which no one has ever seen so that the opposition will understand the lesson that they have long needed to learn.

(Applause.)

Henry Grady would have loved to have seen a southern as President of a United people. He was a wonderful and a wise man. He inspired so many people. Today the South is changed, as has all of America and all of the world. It is no longer an undeveloped area within a developed nation. It is an energetic, creative and productive region. I see it everywhere.. This great city of Atlanta that your wonderful Mayor has told me about has a rate of employment that exceeds any other major city in America, and you ought to be proud of it and tell the whole of America about it. But Grady's dream was a long time coming. It was more than 40 years after Mr. Grady's death that Franklin Roosevelt justified in calling the South the nation's number one economic problem.

Today it is not that at all. Today the South is America's number one economic miracle, it is forging ahead with the pace of development that is the envy and the wonder of every section of this country, and don't you lose it. You can lose it. Don't you do it.

(Applause.)

We now see a South that produces 40 per cent of our nation's forest products, half of our nation's minerals, 53 per cent of its petroleum, 76 per cent of its natural gas, 100 per cent of its natural sulphur and bauxite. That is the South of the -- of 1964.

We see a South where the unemployment rate is lower and the growth in production and income is higher than the national average and the nature of the economy is change. This is no longer an economy of low income, cheap labor and one crop. It is the economy of diversification, it is the economy of working people who are building fine homes. It is the economy of farmers who are having a higher income, and it is the economy of industries and services that serve all of America. And since the recession period

running around that doesn't resemble a bollweevil but has peculiar qualities that resemble certain national figures. The creature goes around burying its head in the sand, shoves out the facts that it does not want to know, those facts it does not wish to see, and those sounds that it does not wish to hear, and it creates for himself a world of unreality. I guess they call it an ostrich but there is another name to call it, too, just a Goldwaterite.

(Applause.)

My friends, Franklin Roosevelt understood the south and its problems, and he said to you there is no simple solution. The solution must be part political with the Federal Government participating along with state, county, city, town and township government, but there must also be participation by industry, business and schools, by citizens, north and south, and the south and Georgia, in particular, knows that there is no conspiracy in your Federal Government, knows that there is no conspiracy in a partnership of all of the units of government working at every level together, so that we can all do better.

What is desirable in the south and throughout the United States, for that matter, is not a planned region, but a region that plans, a region that plans as this region has, to utilize its resources, and to capitalize on the great opportunities now open to it, and regional agencies such as your own Georgia port authority established by Governor Talmadge, cooperating with the Federal Government, are a fine example of the partnership which brings this about.

Now, my friends, let me conclude in this television broadcast by just citing a few things of the partnership that we can have which some people don't want you to have. I want to, for example, tell you of the days in the Senate where certain of your leaders in the Senate had been working together to make a better south.

Senators Russell, Talmadge and I, virtually every member of the House of Representatives, of your delegation, voted for a Trade Expansion Act, because Georgia depends a great deal on trade, and what happened? All of your members, with at least one exception, almost every member of Georgia's delegation in the Senate and the House voted for foreign trade, voted for better trade, but not Senator Goldwater.

Senator Talmadge, Senator Russell and I and virtually every member of the House of Representatives voted for the 1962 farm bill that raised Georgia's farm income, but not Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I fought against the efforts to impair the 1962 act giving the President power to regulate textile imports, but not Senator Goldwater. And Senators Russell and Talmadge and I and virtually every member of your delegation supported the 1963 water projects legislation that included Federal aid for the Flint River flood control project here in Georgia, but not Senator Goldwater. And we voted for the Urban Mass Transportation Act for the City of Atlanta to help this great city, your whole delegation, but not Senator Goldwater.

Well, my friends, we voted for Federal aid to construction of medical schools. Your Senators, your House members, but not that Republican spokesman.

(Laughter.)

And may I add finally, that most of the members of your delegation voted for the tax cut that gave industry in this state a shot in the arm, so to speak, that gave consumers additional purchasing power, that have put America forward in the economy of this nation, yes, almost all Senators, and Congressmen, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for a better America, with a better economy for a tax cut, but not Senator Goldwater.

And may I add just as a little extra that your two Senators voted for social security amendments to increase social security benefits and so did Senator Humphrey, and to provide programs of medical assistance to our elderly, but not Senator Goldwater.

So, finally, my friends, may I say that the record of cooperation on the part of the leader of the Republican Party with the members that you have elected to Congress is a record, may I say, that deserves your careful examination, it is a record that will show that the only time Mr. Goldwater appears to be your friends is when he is down here on the speaking stump but when he is in the Senate he votes against Georgia, he votes against the South, and believe me he votes against the economic well-being of the vast majority of Americans.

(Applause.)

Well, I want to talk to you a little while more. You are a good audience -- (applause.) -- I have been asked time after time what is the central issue in this campaign, and I think I can tell you. The central issue in this campaign is which of these two candidates can you believe -- can you trust; which of them can you put your trust in. Who is it? Is it Senator Goldwater? Is it Lyndon Johnson upon whom you can rely? The President of the United States, my fellow citizens, is no longer just the President of this country, a big enough job for any man to be sure, but the President of the United States today as the leader of the free world.

He must be a man of great vision. He must be a man that understands the international developments, he must be one that has the respect of and the confidence of nations abroad. He must understand the thrust of the Communist aggressor. But he must also understand the art of negotiation.

I have said repeatedly that the thing that worries me about the Republican candidate more than anything else, he wants simple solutions for complex problems. He gives us child-like answers for man-sized problems. And he constantly spreads amongst us doubt and suspicion and fear.

You do not build a great America by dividing it. You do not build a strong America by downgrading it. You do not make a lawful America by telling people that a law incites them to bitterness and hostilities. You do not build the kind of America that we want by constantly berating your Federal Government, a government, if you please, of the people, by the people and for the people, and a government that has played a distinct role of benefit right here in this sovereign state of Georgia.

I ask Georgians, any Georgian, to ask themselves how well off would his economy have been had it not been for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal, for Harry Truman and the Fair Deal, for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, ask yourself that question.

(Applause.)

Ask yourself this question. What kind of a man do you want in charge of the great national security apparatus of this country? What kind of a man by experience, by temperament, by background do you want, with his hand on that nuclear trigger? Ask yourself whether or not the man that you have in the White House has demonstrated to you the kind of purpose, of calm, resolute spirit that gives you the sense of confidence in him. I think we need a President who is firm and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent. I think we need a President who is strong without being bellicose, who is fair without being an appeaser, and I think we have that kind of a President.

I also think we need a President who knows how to unite us, and not divide us. And if anything bothers this Senator in this campaign, it is that somebody is trying to win an election not by a program of construction, but by a philosophy of division and destruction.

I have yet to find out what the program is of the opposition. The program that we offer you is the program that was fashioned by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party. It is a program we have enacted in part in the Congress but upon which we can build in the 89th Congress. President Lyndon Johnson doesn't try to divide city from country, worker from farmer, Federal government from state government, state government from city government.

Lyndon Johnson doesn't try to divide people on the basis of religion or race. Lyndon Johnson speaks to the American people as their President. He calls upon them to be good people, he calls upon them to be law-abiding people, he calls upon us to be people that are educated, that seek enlightenment. He asks us to work together. He is trying to make out of America a great positive progressive brotherhood, and you and I know that in the kind of world in which we live that is the only kind of America that can survive.

An America divided and torn apart cannot live.

(Applause.)

I respect and admire our President for many things, but above all I respect him because even as we see this unprecedented prosperity in which so many of us share, he has the insight, yes, Reverend, he had the spiritual quality that saw that amongst those who had so much there were some who had so little, and this President had the courage at a time when he could have just talked about prosperity, when he could have just painted a beautiful picture of what most of us are enjoying, this great President had the courage to say, "Yes, but amongst us there is a brother or a sister, there is a family or there is a community that is not enjoying the full fruits of the American economy."

And this President called upon the American people to wage war on poverty, and in this audience tonight sits Phil Landrum who led the fight in the House of Representatives for a program that was designed to help the poor, to help the needy, to help the little guy.

(Applause.)

What would this program do? Will it hurt the rich? No. Will it overtax us? No. Will it weaken America? No.

What it will do is to help some people help themselves. It will strike mighty blows against ignorance and illiteracy, it

will attack these pockets of economic poverty, it will permit us to raise our sights, to lift ourselves, because remember this, none of us are any better than the total of us. And I admire President Lyndon Johnson for the fact that he has had the courage to seek out these injustices and to wage war against them.

The difference between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater is Lyndon Johnson wages war on poverty, Barry Goldwater wages it on progress. That is the difference.

(Applause.)

I want a President, and I want a country, that wants the best out of every American. I do not want a President that tells us that we are failing. I do not want a President who tells us that we are weak. I don't want a President that tells us that our government is a tyranny because it is not. I want a President that inspires the young, and offers to the young of America the opportunity that they deserve. I want a President that understands that this country should have compassion for the afflicted, and I want a President that understands that people who are elderly should be able to live in dignity.

Let me tell you, my good friends, compassion is not weakness, and concern for the afflicted is not socialism. It is good wholesome today Christian Americanism, and I am proud to support it.

(Applause.)

And I want a President that tells me of a better day, that inspires the young to look ahead, that encourages them in the pursuits of learning, that understands the importance of something more than brick and mortar, that understands that America is more than its industries or its banks or even its farms or its buildings; that America, after all, is a spirit of human dignity.

And what have we been trying to do during these turbulent days? What is the struggle all about with the Communist world? It isn't over just means of production. It isn't only economics. It is over something that is much more fundamental. It is over this great spiritual concept of human dignity. God did create man in his own image, and the reason that we are believers in Democracy is because we believe that mankind is entitled to a dignified existence. We do believe as a people in human dignity, the Communist does not.

The Communist sees government as the master. We see it as the servant. And I want a President, if you please, that makes young people understand the heritage of our country and also the promise of it. I want him to inspire me to excellence, I want him to tell my sons and daughter to do better, and anything they will they can have if they will work for it.

We Americans have always been able to do the impossible, and if ever we needed to do the impossible, it is in the second half of the 20th Century. We are not going to win this struggle for a free world, we are not going to win the struggle for peace, my friends, by half-hearted efforts, and we are not going to win it by having our vision in a rear view mirror. We will only win it if we look to the stars, if we have ideals, if we can think big, if we have the bigness of heart and the bigness of mind and the bigness of character that America should so much symbolize, and that is why I am for Lyndon Johnson, he is a big man.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey
Jefferson-Jackson Dinner
Atlanta, Georgia
September 29, 1964

Page 10

I have been told that these folks of the opposition have a crusade. I have been told that they are fanatical in their zeal. Possibly that is so. But I ask you not to be fanatics. I ask you only to be dedicated. I ask you to be sacrificial, I ask you to give of yourself, I ask you to help.

I remind you that there are vicious forces at work in America. There are forces of bitterness, there are forces of hatred, there are forces of prejudice, there are forces of reaction, there are forces of retreat and they parade themselves as being super patriots. They are not. They knowingly or unknowingly are doing this country a great disservice, and I ask you to win this election not only for Lyndon Johnson, I ask you to carry this state not only for the Democratic Party, I ask you to win this election and carry this state for the future of this nation, for all that it stands for, for its wholesomeness, for its decency, for its liberty, for its opportunity, for its dignity, yes, for its great responsibility for peace and justice in this world, and I know that if you put yourselves to the task we can do it.

I am going to give everything that I have to it. I am proud to be on this ticket with President Johnson, and I am here to tell you that we are going to win this election. We want your help in the process of doing it. I want to hear on election night that Georgia once again demonstrated its love of America, its faith in the Democratic Party, its belief in the future by voting with an overwhelming majority to give its electoral votes to Lyndon B. Johnson, your friend, and to Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party.

(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.'S RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

B-3800

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SEPTEMBER 29, 1964

I come to Atlanta today to celebrate the New South and to talk with you about its place in the Great Society.

In so doing, I want to give full credit to that man of extraordinary vision--Henry W. Grady, orator and editor of the Atlanta Constitution--who more than 75 years ago so eloquently advanced the theme of which I speak tonight: the cause of the New South.

Henry Grady was a magnificent story-teller. One of his favorite stories was about the old preacher who, on Saturday night, informed some young friends about the sermon he planned for the next morning. Since the boys were pranksters, they found the place marked in the old preacher's Bible and proceeded to glue some pages together when he wasn't looking.

The next morning the preacher was reading from Scripture to his congregation, saying, "When Noah was one hundred and twenty years old, he took unto himself a wife who was.."--and turning the page--"140 cubits long, 40 cubits wide, built of gopher wood, and covered with pitch inside and out."

This puzzled the old preacher. He read it again--and his eyes did not deceive him. Then he looked up at his congregation and he said steadily. "My friends, this is the first time I have ever met this in the Bible. But I accept it as evidence of the assertion that we are all fearfully and wonderfully made."

- more -

I know that you here in Georgia--like Henry Grady's old preacher--have faith. You have shown faith in America, faith in the South, and faith in the Democratic Party.

Indeed, the relation between the South and the Democratic Party has been very special. It has been warm, long and historic. It is neither new nor transitory.

I need not remind you that Georgia is the state where Woodrow Wilson spent his formative years. This is the state which Franklin D. Roosevelt loved so much, where he came to live and work, and where he died. It was at Warm Springs that President Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Rural Electrification Administration when he discovered that his electric bill was four times higher than at Hyde Park.

It is not surprising that Franklin Roosevelt felt at home in Georgia. For the past 25 Presidential elections the citizens of Georgia have supported the Democratic ticket. In 1964, for example, Georgia returned such a high percentage of votes for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson that it surpassed even Massachusetts and Texas.

The speech that Franklin Roosevelt was working on at Warm Springs when he died included the phrase: "The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow is our doubts and fears today."

In 1960 John F. Kennedy banished the doubts and fears which had prevented a man of his religion from becoming President of the United States. President Kennedy's victory established the fact that a man's religion is not to be a factor in electing a president, that a man is to be judged by his personal qualifications, by what he is, and not by what prejudice whispers about him.

This November--when Lyndon B. Johnson is elected President of the United States--he will banish another form of doubt and fear--the prejudice which in recent years barred a man of Southern origins from being considered seriously for the Presidency. Like John Kennedy, President Johnson is proving

that a man can be true to his own heritage and conscience-- and be a faithful president of all the people. And never again will regional prejudice prevent a man from serving his nation.

Henry Grady would have enjoyed seeing a Southerner as President of a united people. He was a wonderful and wise man whose central theme was forgiveness and love--love of people and love of country. Henry Grady has his dream of a New South, a land of "surpassing beauty, a South the home of fifty millions of people, her cities vast hives of industry, her countrysides the treasure of which their resources are drawn, her streams vocal and shirring spindles."

Grady knew how remote his dream was back in the 1880's. His best known story is about the Georgia farmer who was buried in Pickens County, his tombstone was made of Vermont marble, his pine coffin came from Cincinnati, its nails from Pittsburgh. He wore shoes from Boston, a suit from New York--and all that the South contributed to the funeral was the corpse and the hole in the ground.

Today the South is no longer an undeveloped enclave within a developed nation. It is an energetic, creative, and productive region within a modern, dynamic America.

But Grady's dream has been a long time in coming. More than forty years after Grady's death, Franklin Roosevelt felt justified in calling the South the nation's number one economic problem--and he sought to do something about it. Today, we can see all about us the evidences of an authentically new South. Henry Grady's dream is now being realized in our lifetime.

Look how far the South has come. We now see a South that produces forty per cent of our nation's forest products; half the nation's minerals; 53 per cent of its petroleum; 76 per cent of its natural gas; and 100 per cent of its natural sulphur and bauxite. We see a South where the unemployment rate is lower and the growth in production and income is higher than the national average.

And the nature of the entire economy has changed. No longer is this a low income, cheap labor region, nor is it primarily a source of raw materials. The South is now a solid producer of industrial goods. It has a secondary level of industries and services to supply the primary industries, which is the mark of a mature economy.

Since the boom year of 1929, the real income of the United States has risen 56 per cent, but here in Georgia it is up to 140 per cent. That is progress!

But progress in the South is not simply a matter of economics or of statistics. Progress can be measured by the contributions of the South in science, in literature, in art, in the humanities, in education. The New South today has a mature cultural life and a mature economy--and for both, we are proud of you.

There are, however, those who would go back. There are those who think the American dream is behind us, not ahead of us. There are those who seek to recall the good old days that have gone with the wind.

Would you really go back?

Would you go back to the good old days that the Republican standard-bearer of the moment seems to cherish?

Would you go back to the days when many children of the South were afflicted by Rickets, the days of Pellagra and Hookworm and all the other stigmas of poverty and inadequate food?

Would you go back to the days of bank foreclosures, of lost farms, to the days when old age was looked to with dread and insecurity, when youth was a time of despair and lost opportunity?

Would we, as a nation, go back thirty years, when infant mortality was three times higher than it is now; when life expectancy was ten years less for every man than it is now--sixty years instead of the Biblical allotment of three score years and ten that it is today?

Would we go back thirty years to those days before a compassionate and enlightened government helped bring these advances to the people?

There is a small town in one of your neighboring states which has erected in its town square a monument in the form of-- and in honor of--the boll weevil. The town raised this statue to recognize the part the boll weevil played in forcing the local economy to turn necessity into a virtue. When the weevil destroyed the cotton crop, the community was forced to shift away from the traditional single-crop economy, and thereby saved itself.

That is an expensive way to learn a lesson--too expensive. Let us resolve today that towns of the future will not feel impelled to erect monuments in the form of an ostrich--that creature, who by burying its head in the sand, shuts out those facts it does not wish to know; those sights it does not wish to see; those sounds it does not wish to hear; and creates for itself a world of unreality.

As John Stuart Mill said a century ago: "Great economic and social forces flow like a tide over half-conscious people in accordance with the most constructive change..."

The people of Georgia and of Atlanta have been demonstrating to America their understanding and appreciation of John Stuart Mill's message. Atlanta is a city of new buildings, new industrial might, new financial resources, a rich cultural life, and bright young people. There will be no monuments to ostriches on Peach Tree Street!

We have problems today, but we have left the problems of stagnation and status quo behind. The problems which we face today are the problems of a society in progress--the frictions and gaps created in a dynamic growing region.

President Roosevelt understood the South and its problems, and knew that "there is no simple solution. The solution must be part political, with the Federal government participating along with state, county, city, town, and township government. But there must be participation also by industry, business and schools--and by citizens, North and South."

The South, and Georgia in particular, knows there is no conspiracy, in the partnership of all units of government at

every level working to do together what none could do apart.

What is desirable in the South--and throughout the United States, for that matter--is not a planned region, but a region that plans. State and regional planning must be done if the South is to utilize its resources and capitalize on the great opportunities now open to it.

Regional development agencies such as the Georgia Port Authority established by Governor Talmadge, cooperating with the Federal government, are a fine example of a partnership which brings results.

But it is the caliber of your elected officials in this state which demonstrates most dramatically your claim to a bright and rewarding future. Carl Sanders surely stands today as one of this nation's most successful governors.

Charles Weiner has won for himself respect and admiration seldom accorded a freshman Member of Congress. And Ivan Allen has rightfully been called one of the most enlightened and progressive Mayors in America.

Of course, I treasure particularly my friendship with your two United States Senators--Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge. No two men command greater respect and affection from their colleagues in the Senate. And Georgia can take full pride that Carl Vinson--one of the greatest members of Congress in our nation's history--was among those honored at the White House this month with a Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Today the Republican Party is making a strong appeal for the votes of the New South. The temporary Republican leader has often been charged with being outside the "mainstream" of Republican thinking. In my acceptance speech at Atlantic City, I pointed out that the leader of the Goldwater faction is not in the mainstream of anybody's thinking. He is most certainly not in the mainstream of Georgia thinking.

Let me recite to you a few facts:

In 1962, Senators Russell and Talmadge and I, along with virtually every member of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives, voted for a new foreign trade law. It enables Georgia's textile industry to compete favorably in selling its products abroad. Georgians in Congress voted for that bill--but, not Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I--and virtually every Georgian in the House--voted for the 1962 farm bill that is so important to Georgia farmers. But not Senator Goldwater.

Last year Senators Russell, Talmadge and I--and virtually the entire House delegation --voted for a water projects bill that included Federal Aid for the Flint River Flood Control Project here in Georgia. We voted for the Cotton Act of 1964, of vital importance to the cotton farmers and the cotton industry of this state. But not Senator Goldwater.

Most of Georgia's Congressional delegation and I voted to lower taxes by \$11 billion in order to increase take-home pay and boost the economy. We voted for better medical schools. We voted for the Wilderness Bill to preserve wilderness areas throughout the country, including those in Georgia. But not Senator Goldwater.

The contrast between the enlightened leaders of Georgia and the Temporary Spokesman of the Republican Party is both stark and revealing. Your leaders have faced the problems of the New South with open minds and courageous hearts. The Temporary Spokesman has relied upon empty slogans and the wishful thought that somehow modern life--with its complexities and difficulties--will conveniently vanish.

The New South faces one problem of special difficulty, as does every other section of America. Until we, as a nation, solve the problem of equal opportunity for all our citizens, our hopes for a Great Society cannot be obtained.

I firmly believe that our goal of equal constitutional rights for all citizens--our goal of equal opportunity--will be reached. We must all dedicate ourselves to this attainment.

You in the New South are building an environmentⁱⁿ which

the economy flourishes and cultural life quickens. And you know that every citizen can contribute to this effort, if he has the opportunity.

The quality of your understanding, the vigor of your enterprize, and the boundlessness of your vision can be a guide and model for us all. In that spirit of the New South, Henry Grady observed: "...We await with confidence the verdict of the world."

One hundred years ago, our ancestors were engaged in a struggle which was--in retrospect--as much a drain upon the nation's spirit as it was a tragic waste of manhood.

Let us so conduct ourselves today that when our descendants look back--one hundred years from now--they will see a generation which faced the facts of life in Twentieth Century America.

This is precisely the pledge which the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Johnson makes to the American people. This is the promise which will enable America--and the New South--to "await with confidence the verdict of the world."

#####

ATLANTA -- Fulton County -- DeKalb County
(Atlanta is located in 2 counties)

County Chairman -- Hamilton Lokey
(Fulton County)

Eugene Branch
(DeKalb County)

✓ Mayor Ivan Allan (Dem.)

Incumbent Congressman Charles Weltner
is in the 5th Congressional District, which
forms part of Atlanta.

✓ James Mackey, Dem. Cand. for Congress
in the 4th C.D., also making up part of
Atlanta.

Industries:

Financial and commercial center of
the Southeast.

1,850 manufacturers producing
3,500 different products.

4,000 national firms maintain
Atlanta branch district offices.

Great wholesale and retail center.

Population = 1,117,000 (metro)
510,500 (city)

Negro = 22.8% (state avg. is 33%)

DeKalb County went Dem. in '60 ** 50.1%

Fulton County went Dem. in '60 -- 50.8%

STATE CHAIRMAN - J. B. FUGIA --
(FEWKWA)

ALSO JOHNSON-HUMPHREY
COORDINATOR.

Background Memo:

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September 29 (Tuesday)

Business picture: Atlanta is ambitious. All economic indicators in the state are up (see Georgia overall memo). Unemployment in the city is down to 2.8%, one of the lowest; if not the lowest rate of any major city in the country.

The people there want to hear about uninterrupted progress and prosperity under JFK-LBJ, and more to come under LBJ-HHH. Barry Goldwater doesn't believe it. He says the Democratic Party is leading the country into socialism and slavery. "But I don't hear the clank of chains in Atlanta -- I hear the jingle of money in people's pockets."

Federal Help: Urban Renewal has piped more than \$40 million into Atlanta to date. Public Housing has provided more than \$92 million for more than 11,000 low-cost living units.

Education: Federal college housing loans in Atlanta amount to more than \$15 million, providing over 4,000 living units.

Civil Rights: Congratulate Atlanta on quiet, efficient progress. Cite John Sibley, ex-Coca Cola general counsel and ex-chairman of the Trust Company of Georgia, on his accomplishments. As head of Sibley Commission he conducted televised hearings on civil rights all over the state, so effective that there was no need for a commission report. "I think John Sibley deserves headlines twice as big and twice as black as the kind we see when somebody closes a motel."

Politics: Atlanta covers three districts.

The 5th District incumbent is Democrat Charles Weltner, a young man (age 37) with a fight on his hands. You might quote Sam Rayburn: "Pick out a young, effective candidate and re-elect him again and again and again, because the longer he stays the more good he can do the district." In this respect cite Senator Russell, elected 1933 and now No. 2 in seniority, and Representative Vinson, since 1914, the longest in history, and No. 1 in seniority.

Congratulate Weltner for his excellent work on the Banking and Currency Committee, and relate this to Atlanta's business-minded atmosphere.

Weltner's opponent is Jim O'Callahan, a Democrat who left the fold several years ago. He is a Goldwater Republican and he has been beaten by Weltner before. A good title for him might be "Jim O'Callahan, comma, loser."

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 2

The other half of Atlanta is the new 4th District. Democrat Jim Mackie, a state senator for 14 years, is up against Goldwater Republican Roscoe Pickett. "Over a hundred years ago the South gloried in Pickett's charge, and now you have to put up with Pickett's charges. This year we're going to call it 'Roscoe's Ride,' and this time it's going to be a one-way ride."

Roscoe Pickett was a key figure in the Goldwater take-over of the GOP. "Mr. Pickett helped to hand Senator Goldwater over to the Republicans and now it looks like the GOP would like to hand him back. I hear that up North they're even starting a 'Republicans for Goldwater' movement."

Part of the 7th District (Rome) sticks into Atlanta. The incumbent is Democrat John Davis. His fine work on the Space & Astronautics Committee ought to be related to the community's aspirations in space represented by Lockheed in suburban Marietta.

His opponent is Ed Chapin, another Goldwater Republican.

You might want to give honorable mention to Mayor Emeritus Bill Hartsfield who served Atlanta for 22 years. Present mayor is his protege Ivan Allen, who is very popular.

Newspapers: The Journal and the Constitution (Ralph McGill) are both owned by the Cox chain out of Dayton, both for LBJ. The newly founded Times is all-out for Goldwater. "You might say that the Times is behind Goldwater and of course Goldwater is behind the times."

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GOP
Goldwater
our
Problem

• God
Truth Squad

ATLANTA

Russell
+
Talmadge

Happy

Rev. Chas. G.
- Carl & Betty
J. MacBarkin
Landrum
Chas. Meltner
Don Mackey
with you the rule of

I come to Atlanta today to celebrate the New South
and to talk with you about its place in the Great Society.

In so doing, I want to give full credit to that man
of extraordinary vision -- Henry W. Grady orator and
editor of the Atlanta Constitution -- who more than 75
years ago so eloquently advanced the theme of which I
speak tonight: the cause of the New South.

Henry Grady was a magnificent story-teller. One
of his favorite stories was about the old preacher who
one Saturday night, informed some young friends about
the sermon he planned for the next morning. Since the
boys were pranksters, they found the place marked in the
old preacher's Bible and proceeded to glue some pages
together when he wasn't looking.

The next morning the preacher was reading from scripture to his congregation, saying, "When Noah was one hundred and twenty years old, he took unto himself a wife who was . . ." -- and turning the page -- ". . . 140 cubits long, 40 cubits wide, built of gopher wood, and covered with pitch inside and out."

This puzzled the old preacher. He read it again -- and his eyes did not deceive him. Then he looked up at his congregation and said steadily, "My friends, this is the first time I have ever met this in the Bible. But I accept it as evidence of the assertion that we are all fearfully and wonderfully made."

I know that you here in Georgia -- like Henry Grady's
old preacher -- have faith. You have shown faith in
America, faith in the South, and faith in the Democratic
Party.

Indeed, the relation between the South and the
Democratic Party has been very special. It has been
warm, long and historic. It is neither new nor
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← I need not remind you that Georgia is the state
where Woodrow Wilson spent his formative years. This
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It is not surprising that Franklin Roosevelt felt
at home in Georgia. For the past 25 Presidential
elections the citizens of Georgia have supported the
Democratic ticket. In 1960, for example, Georgia returned

such a high percentage of votes for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson that it surpassed even Massachusetts and Texas.

The speech that Franklin Roosevelt was working on at Warm Springs when he died included the phrase: "The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow is our doubts and fears today."

In 1960 John F. Kennedy banished the doubts and fears which had prevented a man of his religion from becoming President of the United States.) President Kennedy's victory established the fact that a man's religion is not to be a relevant factor in electing a President, that a man is to be judged by his personal qualifications, by what he is, and not by what prejudice whispers about him.

L This November -- when Lyndon B. Johnson is elected President of the United States -- he will banish another form of doubt and fear -- the prejudice which in recent years barred a man of southern origins from being considered seriously for the Presidency. Like John Kennedy, President Johnson is proving that a man can be true to his own heritage and conscience -- and be a faithful president of all the people. ~~And never again will regional prejudice prevent a man from serving his nation.~~

L Henry Grady would have enjoyed seeing a southerner as President of a united people. He was a wonderful and wise man whose central theme was forgiveness and love -- love of people and love of country. Henry Grady had his dream of a New South, a land of "surpassing beauty, a South the home of fifty millions of people, her cities vast hives of industry, her countrysides the treasures

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But Grady's dream has been a long time in coming.

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Roosevelt felt justified in calling the South the nation's
number one economic problem -- and he sought to do something

about it. Today, we can see all about us the evidence of an authentically New South. Henry Grady's dream is now being realized in our lifetime.

Look how far the South has come. We now see a South that produces 40 percent of our nation's forest products; half the nation's minerals; 53 percent of its petroleum; 76 percent of its natural gas, and 100 percent of its natural sulphur and bauxite. We see a South where the unemployment rate is lower and the growth in production and income is higher than the national average.

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Atlanta

Since the boom year of 1929, the real income of the United States has risen 56 percent, but here in Georgia it is up 140 percent. That is progress!

But progress in the South is not simply a matter of economics nor of statistics. Progress can be measured by the contributions of the South in science, in literature, in art, in the humanities, in education.

The New South today has a mature cultural life and a mature economy -- *These are substantial accomplishments.*

There are, however, those who would go back. There are those who think that the American dream is behind us, not ahead of us. There are those who seek to recall the good old days that have gone with the wind.

Would you really go back?

L Would you go back to the good old days that the
Republican standard-bearer of the moment seems to cherish?

L Would you go back to the days when many children of
the South were afflicted by rickets, the days of pellagra
and hookworm and all the other stigmas of poverty and
inadequate food?

L Would you go back to the days of bank foreclosures,
of lost farms, to the days when old age was looked to
with dread and insecurity, when youth was a time of
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L Would we, as a nation, go back thirty years, when
infant mortality was three times higher than it is now;
when life expectancy was ten years less for every man
than it is now -- sixty years instead of the biblical
allotment of three score years and ten that it is today?

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L There is a small town in one of your neighboring
states which has erected in its town square a monument
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L That is an expensive way to learn a lesson -- too
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The people of Georgia and of Atlanta have been demonstrating to America their understanding and appreciation of John Stuart Mill's message. Atlanta is a city of new buildings, new industrial might, new financial resources, a rich cultural life, and bright young people. There will be no monuments to ostriches on Peach Tree Street!

We have problems today, but we have left the problems of stagnation and status-quo behind. The problems which we face today are the problems of a society in progress -- the frictions and gaps created in a dynamic growing region.

L President Roosevelt understood the South and its
--and I quote--
problems and knew that [^] "there is no simple solution."

The solution must be part political, with the Federal
Government participating along with state, county, city,
town and township government. But there must be
participation also by industry, business and schools --
and by citizens, North and South." *Unquote.*

L The South, and Georgia in particular, knows there
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government at every level working to do together what
none could do apart.

What is desirable in the South -- and throughout the United States, for that matter -- is not a planned region,

but a region that plans ~~State and regional planning~~ *top plans and looks ahead. This paragraph would*

~~must be done if the South is to~~ utilize its resources

and capitalize on the great opportunities now open to it.

Regional development agencies such as the Georgia

Port Authority established by Governor Talmadge,

cooperating with the Federal Government, are a fine

example of a partnership which brings results.

But it is the caliber of your elected public

officials in this State which demonstrates most

dramatically your claim to a bright and rewarding future.

Carl Sanders surely stands today as one of this nation's

most *respected* ~~successful~~ governors ~~and also possesses the~~

~~rather unique distinction of having been my only contender~~

Charles Weltner has won for himself respect and admiration seldom accorded a freshman Member of Congress.

And Ivan Allen has rightfully been called one of the most enlightened and progressive mayors in America.

Of course, I treasure particularly my friendship with your two United States Senators--Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge. No two men command greater respect and affection from their colleagues in the Senate. And Georgia can take full pride that Carl Vinson--one of the greatest Members of Congress in our nation's history--was among those honored at the White House this month with a Presidential Medal of Freedom.

L I want to pay special tribute to one of my
dearest personal friends, and one of the finest
statesmen who ever served his country--the late and
beloved Walter George.

When I came to the Senate in 1949, I became
his student. Seldom a day passed when Senator George
did not counsel me, encourage me, and teach me in
the ways of legislating and fulfilling my responsi-
bilities as a senator. He brought me into the
activities of the Senate and I am forever in his debt.

L Here, truly, was a man of greatness. Here, truly,
was a man I loved.

L Today the Republican Party is making a strong
appeal for the votes of the New South. The temporary Republican

leader has often been charged with being outside the "mainstream" of Republican thinking. In my acceptance speech at Atlantic City, I pointed out that the leader of the Goldwater faction is not in the mainstream of anybody's thinking. He most certainly is not in the mainstream of Georgia thinking.

Let me recite to you a few facts:

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I, and virtually every Georgia member of the House of Representatives voted for the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, a bill that enables American industry, including the key Georgia textile industry, to compete with common market countries. But not Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I and virtually every Georgian in the House voted for the 1962 farm bill, a bill of critical importance to Georgia farmers.

L But not Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I fought
against efforts to impair the 1962 act giving the
President power to regulate textile imports. L But
not Senator Goldwater.

L Senators Russell and Talmadge and I, and
virtually every member of the Georgia delegation
in the House supported the 1963 water projects
legislation that included federal aid for the Flint
River flood control project here in Georgia. L But
not Senator Goldwater.

L Senators Russell and Talmadge and I and virtually
every member of the Georgia delegation in the House
voted for the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964
to assist cities large and small to meet their

increasingly serious traffic congestion problems
through improved public transportation. But not
Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I and
most members of the Georgia delegation in the
House voted for federal aid to assist construction
of medical schools. But not Senator Goldwater.

Most of Georgia's representatives in Washington
voted for the 1964 tax cut to put \$11 billion of
additional purchasing power in the hands of the
citizens of our country and to boost our economy.

But not Senator Goldwater.

Yan Senators ~~Russell and Talmadge~~ and I voted for
the 1964 social security act amendments to increase

social security benefits and to provide a program of medical care for the elderly. But no Senator Goldwater.

Finally, ^{you} Senators ~~Russell and Talmadge~~ and I and virtually every member of the Georgia delegation in the House voted for the Cotton Act of 1964 to assist the cotton farmers and textile manufacturers of this country. But not Senator Goldwater.

The contrast between the enlightened leaders of Georgia and the Temporary Spokesman of the Republican Party is both stark and revealing. Your leaders have faced the problems of the New South with open minds and courageous hearts. The Temporary Spokesman has relied

upon empty slogans and the wishful thought that somehow modern life -- with its complexities and difficulties -- will conveniently vanish.

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The quality of your understanding, the vigor of your enterprise, and the boundlessness of your vision can be

a guide and model for us all. In that spirit of the New South, Henry Grady observed: ". . .We await with confidence the verdict of the world."

One hundred years ago, our ancestors were engaged in a struggle which was--in retrospect--as much a drain upon the Nation's spirit as it was a tragic waste of manhood.

Let us so conduct ourselves today that when our descendants look back--one hundred years from now--they will see a generation which faced the facts of life in Twentieth Century America.

Lyndon Johnson is a President who does not see America divided into regions and races. He

sees one Republic--one people--united in their quest of the Great Society.

Lyndon Johnson loves the South--he comes from the South--he understands the needs and aspirations of the South. But he also understands the needs and aspirations of the entire nation--and he seeks to lead America and her people toward a brighter, more meaningful tomorrow.

This is precisely the pledge which the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Johnson makes to the American people. This is the promise which will enable America--and the New South--to "await with confidence the verdict of the world."



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