

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Des Moines Airport
September 30, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much, Thank you, Governor, thank you, very much. Governor Hughes, thank you for your gracious and warm welcome once again. We have been together over at Davenport and now we are here at this great City of Des Moines, Iowa, and I am so happy to be back once again with my good friends from Iowa. I want you to know it is a rare privilege for a Minnesotian to hear an Iowan band playing to Minnesota Rousers, it is such a joy when I hear an Iowa band playing the Minnesota Rousers after you have given us a licking on the gridiron. We remember those days, Governor, we remember them very, very much. May I thank those fine young people who are here with us today for their presence. There is nothing more gratifying or more pleasing to President Lyndon Johnson and to Hubert Humphrey and to Governor Hughes than to see so many wonderful fine young people and particularly so many pretty girls as I see over here. (Applause)

May I say this is the first time that I have ever seen anything to my far right that I like so much. (Applause)

Then I want to thank this very fine group of young musicians that are over here just a little bit to your right and my left that have given us this good music. Every place we go we find young people who are with us and that are helping us and I want them to know that this is deeply appreciated. I want them to also do me a favor, and for themselves. I want everyone of these young students of high school or college age to ask their parents, to ask their neighbors twenty-one years of age and older, to please register and to vote, because if you don't do that then all we have had is a party. We really haven't done very much for America or for the politics of our country.

Now the Mayor, Mayor Isles, was kind enough to give me a key to the City of Des Moines and the key is as big as the heart of the people of Iowa and it is a wonderful, wonderful key. I think that it looks sort of like gold, and as I said, it is a whole lot better to have a gold key than gold water. (Applause)

By the way, I want you to know that the good people of Iowa will never need a key to get into the White House. The door will be open in the front, in the back, on the sides, the east gate, the west gate, the southwest gate. It will be open to you just as your hearts have been open to us.

Well, we are going to have a wonderful meeting tonight in Des Moines, it is going to be a joyful meeting and I want to just leave these words with you.

Four years ago, this very month, I was here in Iowa with a wonderful, gallant, courageous young man, the gentleman at that time who was aspiring to be President of the United States. I said then and I say it again that I knew him well. In fact, I gave him his spring training. We were in the presidential primaries together, and I knew that once he had trimmed me that he would not have too much trouble with Nixon, that I knew. (Applause)

Well, we had a great time here right in this marvelous City of Des Moines, it was our farm conference, some of you may remember it, and that young man went on to become the President of the United States, and I think that John Kennedy's, one of John Kennedy's great contributions to America and to the world was that he inspired the young people to take an interest in their government, and I believe that when he was taken from us that the people that grieved the most, and that felt the loss the greatest, were the young, the young men and women, not only of America but throughout the whole world because they had lost a friend and they had lost a leader. One of the reasons we are in this campaign and one of the reasons I am in it is because I want to help carry on in that tradition of loyalty to the ideals of the young people. I want to see our young people still believe in their country, in this system of government, in this great system of our social structure, and I want to help carry on the heritage of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and I want to help our President who was selected by Mr. Kennedy as his Vice President which, by the way, I think was Mr. Kennedy's greatest and most important decision, I want to see our President, Lyndon Johnson, go on to finish the task that was set out for us in 1961. I want him to go on on his own, and to build from the great platform of achievement that we have made thus far, and may I say to you now that the Administration of Johnson and Humphrey will be dedicated to the young of America. It will be dedicated to the future of America, it will be dedicated to the concern for the unfortunate. It will be dedicated to the dignity of the elderly and it will be dedicated to the opportunity of our youth, and it is in that spirit that we are going to carry on this campaign.

Now, I am getting somebody to tap me on the leg every two minutes and say, "Let's go." Well, you can always leave. I came here to see you, and I am so honored by your presence that I would not want to rush away without letting you know that my heart is filled with gratitude and my spirit is happy. I ask

everyone of you to enter into this campaign with a zest and a zeal. Be of good cheer. I tell you we are going to win, and on November 3, we are going to have a great victory.

(Applause)

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Speech of
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at the Iowa Veterans Memorial Auditorium
September 30, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much.

My goodness, Governor Hughes, when you introduce a fellow you can't stop them from reintroducing out there, the way they are clapping tonight. (Applause)

Governor Harold Hughes, and Mrs. Hughes, Muriel and Hubert Humphrey are honored beyond words to be present at your testimonial dinner when the good people of Iowa salute a truly great and outstanding Governor. How proud you must be. (Applause) This fine man's humility, his sense of decency, his dedication to the public interest, his love of the people of this State, and his constant allegiance to all that is good in this country are exemplified by his presence, by his word, and by his performance and, Governor Hughes, I am proud to share in the precious gift of your friendship. (Applause)

We miss our friend Neal Smith tonight from this great district in Iowa, but he is back in Washington. They have some important votes coming up in the House of Representatives, one, Tom, I understand, on medicare and he wants to be present for that important roll call, but he does have here with us, as was indicated earlier, his wife, and I want to salute this Congressman for the great work that he has performed in behalf of the people of this State and of this Nation. Neal Smith is truly a Congressman of the United States of America. (Applause)

Now, may I suggest since you have done so well with one Democrat, why don't you try it in the rest of the districts?
(Laughter) (Applause)

I was so pleased tonight to hear Forest Evashevski speak to you, and indeed speak to me. He has spoken to we Minnesotians on other occasions (Laughter) and my how he can speak. The friendly rivalry between our two States is something that we all respect and sometimes we occasionally regret depending on which side we are, but I have admired for many years this outstanding teacher, educator, civic leader that I predicted could have any kind of future he wishes in American public life, Forest Evashevski. (Applause)

You are loaded with talent in Iowa, and we are mighty proud of you.

My special greetings to you, Lex, and to Sherwin Markman, to all of these good officers of the Party here, I am so honored tonight that the National President of the Young Democrats of America is with us today. Al House. (Applause) I want you to know that those YD's are at every airport. They are at every meeting and I think one of the most encouraging signs is the number of young people who are present with us on all these political occasions.

Well, Muriel -- that is my president. I told President Johnson I was the most experienced Vice Presidential candidate he could get, I had been vice president in our house for 28 years. It was that plus the support of Governor Hughes that got me the nomination. (Applause) Governor, I want you to know that I shall never forget your kindness to me, your early support, and your continuing support and, Governor, I want you to know that I shall never forget your kindness to me, your early support and your continuing support. (Applause)

I understand she has been doing some campaigning down around these parts. Several people came up to me tonight and said, "We have been thinking about a woman for Vice President, why don't you just resign and put Muriel on the ticket?" Well, we are mighty proud of you, Muriel. We have had a good time here and I guess you ought to know that she has been so effective and she has been stealing the headlines from me so much I suggested that she should take the next trip to Alaska, and she ended up by putting Hawaii on the schedule, too, that is a fact. She's going to both places. (Applause)

Remind me to go along myself.

You know these Republican friends of ours are having quite a time. Every place that we go they have a little airplane, they are the biggest practical jokers I have ever seen in my life. I come down and walk off the plane, and I look over there and there is a plane that says, "GOP Truth Squad." If that isn't a play on words, I never heard of it. (Applause) I want to tell you that GOP in charge of the truth squad is like putting a fox in charge of a chicken coop. (Applause)

I got to thinking that as long as they are sending that crew around, that maybe we ought to have a follow-up plane and we will have what we call a consequence squad (Applause) just to follow Mr. Goldwater around so that we can tell the folks the consequences of all that will happen if they believe a word that he is saying. (Laughter)

I have been having quite a time in this campaign. Frankly, I have enjoyed every minute of it. Every place I go, I find people looking very happy, with the exception of a few misguided souls, but as I said to this group over at Moline today, I looked out there and saw four or five fine people carrying the signs of the opposition and they had a smile on their faces and I say, "You know in your heart you are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson." (Laughter) And I have sort of a one-man crusade to ask all these good fine kind folks, both Republicans and Democrats alike, that simply can't find it within their heart to support the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater Faction of the Republican Party, I have asked all of the good friends that we have to be very charitable and understanding, because the real truth is that before election day, many of these people are going to see the error of their ways, they are going to come back home. They are going to join us, and all we ask of them to do is to turn in three Goldwater buttons for one LBJ bumper sticker, and that will decide that.

But what I really wanted to tell you about is that I have been reading on the stand, on the stump signs I have been examining, a little newspaper clipping, I don't know how much longer I will do this, it is getting sort of beat up but I will go at it as long as it lasts, it isn't very big, it is about a column inch, an inch and a half long, it is dated Grand Rapids, Michigan, September 24. I have gotten to be very careful of what I say about this because when you hear the whole story tonight you will see why. It says, "Officials have outlawed the sale of gold water, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the grounds that the pop is "grossly misbranded" and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative." That is the shortest description of the Goldwater Platform that I have ever read. (Applause)

Now let me tell you what is beginning to happen. I have a Chicago tribune article, that paper was really not on our side. (Laughter) But, it's come a long way. They are printing something about us anyway, and it says in this article under Tower Ticker by Herb Lyone, a good column, by the way, "The Chicago Backers of the Goldwater pop are consulting attorneys to see if legal action is possible against Senator Hubert Humphrey for his mocking assault on the product." (Laughter)

I am not against the pop. I am sure that the pop is as harmless as can be, I am against what the pop describes, that

is all, the candidate, and the platform, so call the attorneys off. My goodness, we will take care of the problem through the election box. We don't need any lawyers. (Applause)

Governor, I noticed your initials RHH, I did not get your middle name. You don't really make it, you know, until they start talking about that middle name. My name is HHH, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, and I am so pleased that the candidate of the opposition has found something good to talk about at long last. And I thought you ought to know, Governor, that I am the only candidate to claim that on November 3rd there is a feast day for him, because November 3rd is the Hubert's Feast Day. (Laughter and Applause)

Now, I disavow that too because I am not a saint, but I ran into one the other night up in Michigan, his first name was Hubert and he had not been elected yet so he could claim to be a saint because nobody could prove that he wasn't.

I Like to come to Iowa. Your Governor has told you whenever they could not find anybody else they would call on Hubert. Darned if he would not come. Well, you Democrats are faithful and loyal to the people, and in fact just the people of this State have been that way to us. I like to come to Iowa because well, first of all, we are neighbors, and I like to come here to talk to you because I think that we in the Midwest have some big responsibilities ahead of us, responsibilities to the rest of our country and responsibilities to the world, and Governor, I believe, that out here in the Midwest we will be able to develop and build political parties that understand the primary responsibility of politics which is to serve the people, and to serve them honorably, to serve them responsibly and to serve them effectively, and the Governor of this State typifies just that, honor, effectiveness and responsibility. Those are the hallmarks of Governor Hughes. (Applause)

I would like to think and I believe they also apply, those same characteristics, to the Democratic farmer labor party in the State of Minnesota where we have tried and, I believe somewhat successfully, built a party that is progressive without being radical, that is constructive without being reactionary, and that is honorable and faithful to the public trust. But we have never felt that we were separate from the rest of the country. I never believe in separatism. There is a great passage, you know, in the literature of the English speaking world. John Donne's famous passage, "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."

We ought never to forget that. This is another way of saying that there is a brotherhood of humanity, it is another way of saying there is only one United States of America. It is another way of saying that we are all children of God. However you wish to define it or describe it, we are one people.

Now this image of our involvement with one another as individuals also applies to States and to nations. But we of the Midwest have known that lesson for a long, long time.

Long ago the Midwest became a part of, became what you might call the heart of, the continent, not an isolated part of it but the heart of it, and today our horizons, like those of this nation, are as wide as the world. We are a part of the strength of this nation, and indeed this nation's strength is a part of ourselves, and we are inseparable, indivisible, and we ought never to forget that.

One hundred and two years ago this month your legislature here in Iowa was the first to accept the provisions of the Morrill Land Grant Act, a great piece of legislation in the Civil War period for the promotion of education. As a result you received some Federal aid early, 250,000 acres of fertile Iowa land from the Federal Government to support your agricultural and mechanical college, which at that time was already four years old. You Iowans pioneered the movement which linked agricultural colleges with the experiment stages of the United States Department of Agriculture, to give us the most productive, the most scientifically advanced agriculture any place in the world.

Today you have achieved a remarkable balance between farming, on the one hand, and industry on the other.

Many people think of Iowa primarily as agriculture. But we know it to be a State of many different occupations and industries. You are a diversified and well-balanced manufacturing State making everything from fountain pens -- and good ones, too -- to washing machines, good ones, too, and fine farm implements and electronic equipment, and on top of this, you have one of the, you are one of the major insurance and publishing centers in the United States. What a great diverse economy, but all interdependent.

Nor have you forgotten that ancient admonition that man does not live by bread alone.

You are active and creative in the world of art, of letters, and statesmanship. For many years Iowa has justifiably prided itself in leading the nation in literacy. I commented upon this in your sister City of Davenport today, the remarkable record of education in this, the State of Iowa. In many ways this is your source of strength and riches. Your colleges and universities are among the finest. They pioneer today in atomic energy and nuclear science and space exploration as they once did in agriculture. The first educational television station in the nation began right here in Iowa.

Your artists and your sculptors are visible in the great galleries. Your actors and playwrights and musicians go to Broadway and the world, and students come from all over America, indeed from all over the world, to study creative writing in Iowa City. A steady stream of public servants, too, has come from this great State to serve America, to serve the world in a variety of capacities.

You know it is most interesting when you study about America to realize that you are studying the richness of this great country of ours, to see how in each of our 50 States there is something unique, something different, but something that not only stands on its own feet but contributes to the strength of others.

I did not come here just to compliment you even though you deserve it, and I compliment this State in the presence of its distinguished Governor because to be a governor of a great State such as Iowa is indeed a high honor, and to be governor of a State that has such a splendid record in the arts, in industry, in agriculture, in science, in letters, in statesmanship, is indeed a rare privilege.

But I come here tonight as I have to other parts of America, to ask your help, and I come here to talk to you about the future and its necessities. I am not here to review ancient history or to ask you to vote for it. I want you to think about the tomorrows, where do we go from here. And I have come to ask your help in conserving and extending the heritage and accomplishments of this great heart land of America.

As I recall the broad white center panel of your State flag, it symbolizes the unwritten pages of Iowa's history, and it expresses the concern for the future and the willingness to accept its challenges.

Our flag, Governor, has the north star which doesn't

point to the yesterdays, but lights up the way for new discovery, points the way for people who seek new achievements, and how fortunate it is and how symbolic of the vitality of this area that your flag with its white panel is like the unwritten pages of a history yet to be written, and we in our north star State of Minnesota have that symbol of the explorer, that symbol of the navigator, that light that directs people to new horizons and new frontiers and new achievements. Is it any wonder that we of this part of America feel so strong and so vital, so optimistic and so confident about the future of America?

I wish that the man from Arizone could spend a little more time with us. He might then have had a little better perspective on where we are going rather than where we have been. (Applause)

President Johnson has spoken to us of the Great Society. Every great man should have a goal, and surely every great nation must have a vision because, as the poet has said, "A Nation without vision shall perish."

Now, that Great Society is really an old American challenge but one that, as President Johnson said, "is constantly renewed, and beckoning us towards an estimate where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labors." I find those lines a source of inspiration.

This Great Society is one rich in both its material and its spiritual substance. It is a national community which seeks the continual improvement of the quality of life, guided by such goals as justice, prosperity, peace, progress. How much better it is to have a leader and a President that points to the goals of more justice, more prosperity, more progress, and the great goal of peace rather than to have one that tells us of your evil, that divides us, that spreads doubt and suspicion and bitterness. I don't believe the Americans of the second half of the 20th Century want to live in an atmosphere poisoned with distrust and suspicion.

Now, Iowa has unwritten pages of history to write in this Great Society, and yet you have your own problems just as everybody else has. For example, there is this whole matter of the shift of population which concerns some of us, and which, by the way, has been given far too little attention in this campaign. Many people have said that there has been too little thoughtful consideration of the future. Well, let me think with you a little while about the future because I

believe the campaign ought to have more to it than heat. It ought to also shed some light. It ought to have more to it than rhetoric. It ought to also serve the function of education, and we see this America of ours growing by leaps and bounds, the population of this great land growing evermore, and yet a land that can absorb so many, many, many more. But then there is, as I said, this shift. This whole region of the great heart land of America, unless something is done about it, will have an exodus of people, people who will gravitate to the giant cities along the coasts and the Great Lakes. This is the population projection for the next 20 years, the heart land of America losing its population, the coasts, east and west and the Gulf, and the cities of the Great Lakes with exploding populations.

But this can be resisted. In fact it can be lessened but the effort cannot be negative. It requires initiative, and it requires planning. It requires economic enterprise to expand whole industries and to attract new ones. Even as you continue to train in your great colleges and universities superbly trained people to serve the nation and the world, I submit that we must find challenging activity to keep many of these young men and women right here to make their own contributions. You must use your pioneering talent as you never have before, to reinvest in Iowa, and in America, and I believe that under the Administration of this Governor, and under the Administration of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, that we have been able to do this to reinvest, to revitalize, to invigorate this great heartland of America so that its future will be bright. (Applause)

As you know, this does not happen by simply stating it ought to be done. That is easy and that is what some people are doing. The initiative, the motive force, the energy and the effort must come from your own leaders and from your own people. Iowa, along with the rest of America, long ago rejected the idea that Government should go out of business or it is an evil to be avoided. I thought most everybody had rejected that idea until I started to read some of the comments of the present tender of the Republican present tender to the presidency. I was amazed to find him saying that our government was feasting upon the people a tyranny, seeking to reduce its effectiveness, cut down on its obligations of responsibility. But thank goodness you out here, and we in Minnesota, and others throughout America, have decided in our own way how to put Government to good use at all levels in the service of the people, because possibly once again we need our basic lessons in American government. This is a government of the people, representative government. It is a

government by the people, and it is a government that has as its only obligation to be for the people, to serve the people, and let no one ever doubt that fact of American public life. (Applause)

Federal-State cooperation, has achieved a great deal and it can achieve more. I comment today about education. Well Governor, you know as well as any man in America, and you have told your people about it, that in the next few years, in fact in the next 30 years, my fellow Americans, we will have to double the classroom space of American colleges and universities. We will have to build more college classroom space in 30 years than we have constructed in three hundred. Otherwise, American youth will be denied the key to opportunity, and the key to opportunity today is not to inherit a department store but to get an education, and we ought to remember it. (Applause)

So your President, first President Kennedy who had to leave unfinished tasks because of the assassin's bullet, and then President Johnson who pledged to continue to complete these unfinished tasks, your two presidents presented to the Congress of the United States a broad program of educational assistance and, my fellow Americans, everyone of those bills was passed by the 87th and the 88th Congresses. The list is too long for me to repeat tonight but let me say it covered everything from assistance to mathematics and arithmetic and foreign languages to higher education facilities and teacher training, to libraries and training of manpower for new jobs, and in every single case without exception, the man who today wants to lead America as the spokesman of the Goldwater Faction of the Republican Party, in every instance he voted, "No" against, "No" against education for the American people.

I submit to you that his vote denied this nation, were it the popular vote, had it been the majority vote, it would have denied us one of the wisest investments we could have made, because aid to education, money for education, is not spending. Education and the cost of education is investment, producing again and again dividends that cannot be calculated by any accounting machine or any computer. The dividends are the good life, and the Good Society. (Applause)

Governor, whether it is in education or in highways or hospitals or local sanitation facilities or social welfare programs or conservation or airports or hundreds of other services, they have been benefitted by a partnership between Federal, State and local governments and between the people,

between business and labor and farmer. This great cooperative effort has built America, and I do not believe that the American people want to have the wrecker take over. This has been a marriage based on mutual trust and cooperation and understanding, and let no man put this union asunder.

Now, in light of progress in the past which you know, and the promise of the future which we surmise, how strange it is to hear this pied piper of discontent travelling about America, preaching distrust and disunity, and seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the government of the people and the people.

I am confident that the people of Iowa will reject this doctrine. I am confident that they will reject this evil music, and the pied piper of discontent, distrust, and doubt, and I am sure that Iowa will lead the Midwest this fall and give an overwhelming victory vote to President Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party and Governor Hughes as well.
(Applause)

Iowa has been a bellweather State, and Iowa farmers have had an uncanny sense of what was going to happen politically. You know in 1948 Harry Truman's victory came as no surprise to the Iowa farmers. It came as a surprise to some others, but not to them. They knew that Harry Truman was a friend of the farmer and they knew the Republican candidate was not.
(Applause) I have a feeling that the farmers of Iowa have very much the same choice this year, a choice between a man who says with great candor, and I think with great honor and truth, "I know nothing about farming."--Mr. Goldwater, and a man who understands, who understands the problems of agriculture because he is a rancher, he is a farmer, and he has lived close to the soil and he understands the problems that affect American agriculture and the farm families.

Senator Goldwater by his votes in the Senate has already shown very little understanding or little concern for American agriculture. Again that rollcall need not be repeated, but I can say this to this -- in this State of Iowa where the feed grain program, Governor, has meant millions of dollars of cash for farmers and millions of dollars of business for merchants on Main Street and millions of dollars of deposits in the banks of this State, that the Senator from Arizona has voted against every feed grain program, 1961, 1962, 1963. He has voted against the economic interests of the overwhelming population of this State (Applause) And he voted against the

Food for Peace program extension which is the arm of American compassion abroad and which is the extension of American commerce for agriculture abroad. He has voted even against loan authority for the Rural Electrification Administration.

I said a number of times and I suppose we ought not to be too critical of that. There were 35 roll call votes, he voted right on two, both of them for Arizona projects. But more importantly, I just discovered recently they had a carry-over of an inventory of kerosene lamps out there in his department store, and they feel they need time to get rid of them. (Applause)

He voted against programs to expand America's exports which have become ever increasingly important to the American farmer. But one virtue that the Senator can claim however is consistency, a consistent record of opposition, a record of "no," "no," "no," against, against, against and it is consistent with his opposition to the host of other programs.

But there are many subjects more important than this and there is one that is far more overriding and a reason for voting for the Democratic candidates and against the opposition.

I call to your attention that this unreal voice of the opposition commands us to shout and threaten the rest of the world rather than to seek ways of communicating with it. Your State motto says "Our liberties we prize; our rights we will maintain." And your government has acted in that spirit. We have spent billions for defense to maintain our liberties and we have a military power greater than any country has ever known, and he who draws the sword against us will surely perish by it.

But if nuclear war can be prevented by negotiations, by persuasion, and by patience, then I say we must not abandon such alternatives. If trade can build bridges to captive peoples who are dominated by Communist regimes, and strengthen them in the pursuit of their freedom, we must never abandon such an alternative. And if other nations continue to seek a more peaceful world through the United Nations, we must not abandon such alternatives while even one last opportunity remains for maintaining peace with justice.

We must not adopt the alternative of threatening the world with nuclear annihilation.

Yes, the Midwest and this nation has been presented with a choice in this presidential election, and the choice is not difficult to discern. It is between responsibility and rashness, between opportunity and negation, and between unity and division.

With malice towards none, said the great emancipator, and with charity for all, surely this is the spirit of Lincoln, and it is the spirit of America, and who would have ever imagined that the Party of Lincoln could have been captured by those so opposed to this spirit of love and forgiveness, who would have ever imagined that the spirit of America would find itself so assaulted and so attacked in these grave times in this the second half of the 20th Century.

There is one central fact of life, and that fact is that we are living in a nuclear age where one ill-informed decision, one hastily-formed decision, one irrational or nervous act, could annihilate our planet. There is no instant peace, and there is no instant solution to our problems but, my fellow Americans, if we ever err in our judgment or if we ever become trigger happy, there can be instant annihilation, and all thoughtful people know that.

So I say to you there really is only one basic issue in the campaign: Which man by training, by intellect, by temperament is best suited to lead the United States and the free world during this dangerous nuclear age? That is the issue. The times call out for a man who can be trusted, for a man who has been tested, for a man of reason, and for a calm leader. I believe that we have such a man, and I believe his name is Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause) And, my fellow citizens, I am confident that the American people believe he can be trusted, the American people know him to be responsible, the American people know him to be a patriot, the American people know him to be a leader, and I think the American people on Tuesday, November 3rd, will elect him as their leader and as their President for four more years.

Thank you.

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Remarks of

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at the Savery Hotel Reception
September 30, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much, Governor. Thank you, again for your generous and wonderful hospitality. What a Governor Iowa has. (Applause) And I am sure that everyone of you knows one of the reasons that I was privileged to be selected to be on this ticket with President Johnson is because your Governor, Governor Harold Hughes of the State of Iowa spoke to the President of the United States and says, "Humphrey is the man I want now." (Applause)

We are really looking forward to a wonderful evening with you. The Governor told me on the way here from Davenport; he met us there today at Moline, when we came in, he said, "I want you to meet the real party workers of the Democratic Party in Iowa," and I know that I am -- (Cries of "Hurray") you have got the spirit. You are pretty, too. (Laughter) But, we have had such fun. Yesterday we were in the great Democratic State of Georgia, which, by the way, has never gone anything but Democratic in a hundred years. They have got good judgment down there, and we met a few folks off and on that had been politically misguided (Laughter) we were able to weather the storm, and come through, and last night we had the largest Jefferson-Jackson day dinner that they have ever had in the State of Georgia at Atlanta, Georgia, last night. (Applause) We got there 6:00 o'clock and got on the plane about -- we were up pretty late last night, I forget about that. This is one way to lose sleep, I assure you. We flew to Detroit and there addressed the National Guard Association. A little later in the day we had a large rally at Kennedy Square in Detroit, and then we left there and came on to Moline, did a little handshaking around the airport; went on to Davenport where we had a wonderful meeting, an enthusiastic meeting and then came back and had a large crowd at the airport at Moline again tonight. Then we arrived here at Des Moines with a splendid reception at your airport, hundreds of people out there, and then here to your party out here in Des Moines, Iowa.

I want you to know we are depending on you, we are depending on you very, very much in this election. We have got to have your help. I read somewhere where the election might be a little bit close in Iowa. Well now, let's not have any of that nonsense. (Applause) It is tough enough for a Minnesotian to have Iowa to beat the Golden Gophers, for goodness sakes. Don't let Goldwater get any place around here. Oh, please don't.

Well, Governor, I think maybe your people have got the right spirit here. We are going to have a little dinner tonight, isn't that the general idea? You do the eating, I am going to do the speaking. We are going to tell the truth on the Republicans tonight. (Laughter) But brace yourselves, that will be quite an event. And besides that we are going to have some fun just talking about our fellow Democrats, and that is going to be a great joy, because things are looking good and they are going to look a lot better with your help.

We want to see Iowa in the Democratic column on November 3rd and we want to see it not only for Johnson and Humphrey but we want to see it for Governor Hughes and the State Ticket all the way down the line.

Thank you, very much.

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COPY
SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DES MOINES, IOWA

SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

Iowa will lead the Midwest this fall and give an overwhelming vote to President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party.

Iowa traditionally has been a bellwether state for the Midwest and Iowa farmers have long pointed the way politically.

Harry Truman's victory in 1948 came as no surprise to Iowa farmers. They backed President Truman overwhelmingly -- as did other farmers in the Midwest -- because they knew Harry Truman was a friend of the farmers and the Republican candidate was not.

The farmers of Iowa and the farmers of the Nation are faced with the same type of choice this year -- a choice between a man who says he -- quote -- knows nothing about farming -- and a man who understands the problems of agriculture because he is a rancher and a farmer himself.

COPY

The farmers of Iowa and the farmers of America have a choice between a man who has consistently and enthusiastically supported legislation to help the farmer and a man who has never in his Senate career voted for a bill that would help the farmers.

Senator Goldwater, by his votes in the Senate, has already shown that he has little understanding or little concern for farm problems. Senator Goldwater voted against the feed ~~gain~~ programs in 1961 and again in 1962 and again in 1963.

He voted against the Agriculture Act of 1962. He voted against any expanded authority for the Food for Peace program.

He has voted consistently against efforts to support and strengthen the rural electrification loan program.

COPY

He has voted against programs to expand America's exports, which have become increasingly more important to the American farmer.

The only virtue the Senator from Arizona can claim with such a record is the virtue of consistency.

This record of opposition, this record of no, no, no -- against, against, against -- is consistent with his record of opposition to progress and his consistent refusal to face up to the problems and the realities of the 20th Century.

Senator Goldwater's record on agriculture, by itself, is enough reason for any Iowan, any Midwesterner, any American to vote against him.

But there is a far more overriding reason for voting against the gentleman from Arizona.

COPY

In this second half of the 20th Century there is one central fact of life. We are living in the nuclear age -- when one hasty ill-informed decision, one irrational or nervous act could annihilate our planet.

So I say to you there is really only one basic issue in this campaign: which man -- by training, by intellect, and by temperament -- is best suited to lead the United States and the free world during this dangerous nuclear age?

The times call out for a man who can be trusted -- for a man who has been tested -- for a man of reason -- for a calm leader.

We have that man in Lyndon Baines Johnson. And I am confident the American people will present him with an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3rd.



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
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1

B-3801

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
DES MOINES, IOWA
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

I am always glad to come to Iowa to visit my next-door neighbors. I have come to talk with you as one friend to another and to suggest what we who live in the Midwest can do to carry out our responsibilities toward the rest of the country and the world.

John Donne's most famous sermon begins: "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."

This image of our involvement with one another as individuals, applies also to states and nations. But we of the Midwest have long known this. The isolation of our early communities, which gave them self-sufficiency, was typified also by hardship and difficulty. The neighborliness and spirit of cooperation which those isolated communities and families found both necessary and desirable led to an active search to strengthen their bonds and to widen their horizons.

Long ago in the Midwest we became the heart of the continent--not an isolated part of it. Today our horizons, like those of the nation, are as wide as the world. We are part of the strength of a national government, as indeed its strength is part of ours.

I have always been astonished at how the agricultural advances in Iowa have contributed to the life of the whole nation.

One hundred and two years ago this month, your legislature made Iowa the first state to accept the provisions of the Morrill Land Grant Act. As a result, you received 250,000 acres of land from the Federal government to support your agricultural and mechanical college, which was already four years old. At the same college, you Iowans pioneered the movement which linked agricultural colleges with the experiment stations of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Agriculture -- in which you have played such a leading role -- has not only fed this nation. America's exports of food and fibre have earned funds on which American industry has been built.

(more)

Humphrey/B-3801
page 2/has been built.

Today you have achieved a remarkable balance between farming and industry in Iowa. You are a diversified and well-balanced manufacturing state -- making everything from fountain pens to washing machines, from farm implements to electronic equipment, and so on through a long list of products. And you top this diversity by being one of the major insurance and publishing centers in the United States.

Nor have you forgotten the ancient admonition that man does not live by bread alone.

You are active and creative in the worlds of art, letters, and statesmanship. For many years Iowa has justifiably prided itself in leading the nation in functional literacy. Your colleges and universities are among the finest. They pioneer today in atomic energy and space exploration as they once did in agriculture. The first educational television in the nation began in this state. Your artists and sculptors are visible in the great galleries. Your actors, playwrights, and musicians go to Broadway and the world, and then return here to perform on the largest legitimate stage in the world. Students come from throughout America to study creative writing in Iowa City. A steady stream of public servants has gone from Iowa to serve America in a variety of capacities.

But I have not come here to compliment you for your achievements of the past. I have come to talk about the future and its necessities. I have come to ask your help in conserving and extending the heritage and accomplishments of this great heartland of America. As one of you, I believe our Middle West has valuable contributions to make to the Great Society.

The broad white center panel of your state flag, symbolizing "the unwritten pages of Iowa's history," expresses this concern for the future and the willingness to accept its challenges.

President Johnson has said that the Great Society is really an old American challenge, but one "constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labors."

The Great Society is one rich in both its material and its spiritual substance. It is a national community which seeks the continual improvement of the quality of life, guided by such goals as justice, prosperity, peace, and progress.

Iowa has "unwritten pages" of history to write as it contributes to this Great Society -- and yet you have your own special problems, as does every state.

(More)

Iowa, along with much of the Middle West, is being buffeted by the national shift in population. This whole region must resist the exodus of people from the heartland of America, people who gravitate to the giant cities along the coasts.

This effort cannot be negative. It requires initiative and planning. It requires economic enterprise to expand old industries and to attract new ones. Even as you continue to train and export superbly trained youths from your schools to serve the nation and the world, you must find challenging activities to keep many of them here. You must use your pioneering talents you never have before, to reinvest in the future of Iowa and of America.

This does not happen by stating simply what has to be done. The initiative, the motive force, the energy, and the persistent effort must come from the people, and there is no substitute that government can provide to replace the people's vitality.

But Iowa, along with the nation, long ago rejected the idea that the government should go out of business. You have decided, in your own way, how to use government at all levels in the service of the people. You long ago abandoned -- if you ever held -- the idea that the Federal system is a layer cake, with the Federal level on top pushing down all the rest.

The actual pattern of Federal-state-local cooperation far more resembles a marble cake -- and Iowa's won a blue ribbon.

Consider what Federal-state cooperation has achieved in the field of education. In the past 15 years, the enrollment in Iowa colleges and universities has increased more than 70 percent. It is still going up.

Federal partnership has been essential for scholarships and loans to students. Recent legislation to help expand college facilities to handle this tidal wave of students has come none too soon. This is investment in the future of America -- not spending. And as you know so well, the Federal government's investment in agricultural colleges has been repaid many times.

Highways, hospitals, local sanitation facilities, social welfare programs, airports, and hundreds of other services have been benefited by the partnership among Federal, state, and local governments, on behalf of the people.

This has been a marriage based upon mutual trust, cooperation, and understanding -- and let no man put this union asunder!

In light of the progress of the past and the promise of the future, how strange to hear a piper of discontent travelling about America -- teaching distrust and disunity -- seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion between the government and the people. It is stranger still to hear a voice so lacking in confidence in our ability to cope with the complexities and problems of our times.

This unreal voice also commands us to shout at and threaten the rest of the world, rather than to seek ways of communicating with it. Your State motto says, "Our liberties we prize; our rights we will maintain." And this surely has been the policy of our entire nation. We have expended billions to provide us with the greatest military power ever known to man. And he who draws the sword against us will surely perish by it.

But if nuclear war can be prevented by negotiation, by patience, and by persuasion, we must not abandon such alternatives. If trade can build bridges to captive peoples and strengthen them in their pursuit of freedom, we must not abandon such alternatives. While even one last opportunity remains for maintaining peace with justice, we must not adopt the alternative of threatening the world with nuclear annihilation.

I have been nurtured on this faith in the heartland of America. I recall that the Des Moines Register and Tribune ignited the spark which produced the agricultural exchanges between the United States and Russia nearly ten years ago. I know that Des Moines hosts an international students' weekend and festival which is a model of community action. I know that Iowa has maintained its faith in the United Nations and applauded its successes, while remaining perfectly aware of the many shortcomings and difficulties which affected this organization.

This is the faith in America which Lyndon B. Johnson possesses. He is a man of the soil who knows the dedication and faith which are required to sustain life. He knows what effort is required to obtain an education, and, as a teacher, he knows what energy is required to help others along the same path.

Lyndon Johnson will spend every ounce of his unbounded energy in the pursuit of peace and freedom throughout the world. His immense dedication -- his unparalleled experience -- are offered in the service of his nation and the world.

I seek your support of Lyndon B. Johnson on election day. I ask you to reaffirm overwhelmingly Iowa's tradition of progress and opportunity for all men -- regardless of their race, color or creed. I ask you to join President Johnson in his quest for the Great Society, thereby making all of us creditors of the future, even as we are indebted to the past.

The Midwest -- and the nation -- have been presented with a choice in this presidential election. And the choice is not difficult to discern: it is between responsibility and rashness, between opportunity and negation, between unity and division.

With malice for none -- with charity for all: surely this is the spirit of Lincoln and it is the spirit of America. Who would have imagined that the party of Lincoln could be captured by those so opposed to this spirit of love and forgiveness. Who would have imagined that the spirit of America would find itself so assaulted and attacked in these grave times.

We have been given a choice. And we must make our choice with courage and determination. Let us uphold the spirit of America. Let us say "yes" to Lyndon B. Johnson.

#

GOP Inuit Squad
"Play on words"
"Conflict of interest"
DES MOINES
"Insequences Squad"
to follow "Goldwater"
around!

Gov. Harold Hughes - ^{700 in place} ^{conflict} ^{at}
Neal Smith in Wash

Best BANDSTAR former
Admin. Asst. to Neal Smith
+ Candidate from 47, died
here with his wife, Fressa.

I am always glad to come to Iowa to visit my ~~next~~
neighbors. I have come to talk with you as one
friend to another, and to suggest what we who live in
the Midwest can do to carry out our responsibilities
toward the rest of the country and the world.

Friend

John Donne's most famous sermon begins: "No man
is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece
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102
1902
1904

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cut

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Today you have achieved a remarkable balance between
farming and industry in Iowa. You are a diversified
and well balanced manufacturing state -- making everything
from fountain pens to washing machines, from farm implements
to electronic equipment, and so on through a long list.

~~www~~
of products. And you top this diversity by being one
of the major insurance and publishing centers in the
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Nor have you forgotten the ancient admonition that
"man does not live by bread alone."

You are active and creative in the worlds of art,
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functional literacy. Your colleges and universities
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energy and space exploration as they once did in

too good
at
your job

agriculture. The first educational television in the
nation began in this state.

Your artists and sculptors
are visible in the great galleries. Your actors,
playwrights, and musicians go to Broadway and the world,

~~and then return to perform on the largest legitimate~~
~~stage in the world.~~ Students come from throughout
America to study creative writing in Iowa City. A
steady stream of public servants has gone from Iowa
to serve America in a variety of capacities.

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about the future and its necessities. ^{and} I have come to
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Futuring

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put

The effort cannot be negative. It requires initiative and planning. It requires economic enterprise to expand old industries and to attract new ones. Even as you continue to train and export superbly trained ~~people~~ *people* from your schools to serve the nation and the world, you must find challenging activities to keep many of them

here. *↳* You must use your pioneering talent as you never have before, to reinvest in the future of Iowa and of

America. *And under Gov Hughes, you are doing all this!*

and as you know

This does not happen by stating simply what has to be done. *↳* The initiative, the motive force, the

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and the

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L You have decided, in your own way, how to use government at all levels in the service of the people. You long

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but

Keep

K

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Education, Highways, hospitals, local sanitation facilities, ~~airports~~
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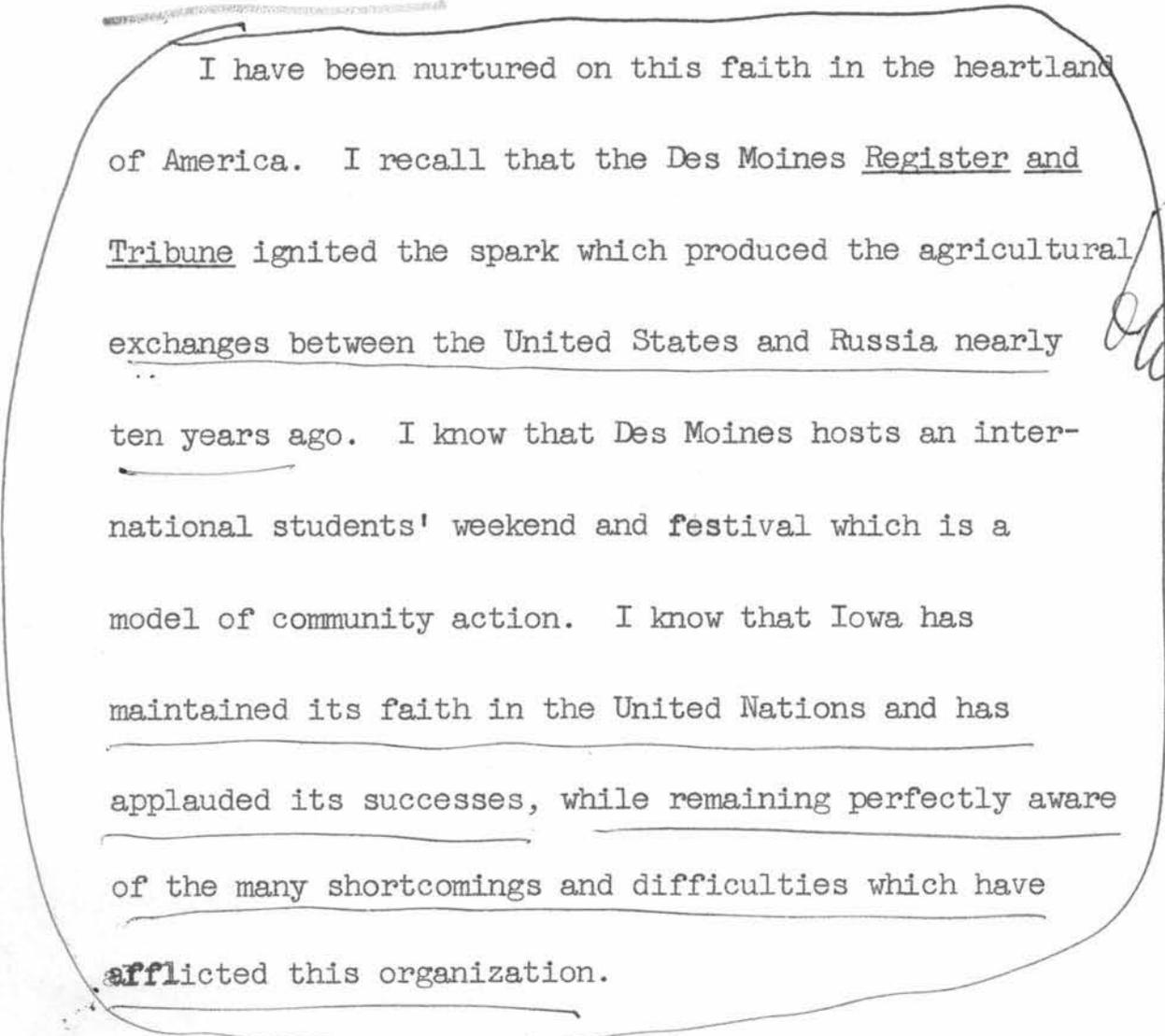
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∟ If other nations continue to seek a more peaceful world through the United Nations, we must not abandon such alternatives. ∟ While even one last opportunity remains for maintaining peace with justice, we must not adopt the alternative of threatening the world with nuclear annihilation.

I have been nurtured on this faith in the heartland of America. I recall that the Des Moines Register and Tribune ignited the spark which produced the agricultural exchanges between the United States and Russia nearly ten years ago. I know that Des Moines hosts an international students' weekend and festival which is a model of community action. I know that Iowa has maintained its faith in the United Nations and has applauded its successes, while remaining perfectly aware of the many shortcomings and difficulties which have afflicted this organization.



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#

I'm confident that the people of Iowa will reject this

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DES MOINES, IOWA

SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

"Proud people of discontent, distrust and doubt"

I'm sure Iowa will lead the Midwest this fall and give an

overwhelming vote to President Lyndon B. Johnson and

the Democratic Party.

Reelect Gov. Hughes, too!

and, Iowa traditionally has been a bellwether state

for the Midwest and Iowa farmers have long pointed the

way politically.

Harry Truman's victory in 1948 came as no surprise

to Iowa farmers. They backed President Truman overwhelmingly --

as did other farmers in the Midwest -- because they knew

Harry Truman was a friend of the farmer and the Republican

candidate was not.

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A program that means millions of dollars to Iowa farmers

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REA

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*These are votes against
Business & Labor too!*

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We have that man in Lyndon Baines Johnson. And I am confident the American people will present him with an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3rd.

Keep

Senator Humphrey
Moline Quad City Airport
Moline, Illinois and
Davenport, Iowa
September 30, 1964

Thank you very much, Governor Kerner. I surely want to agree with all these wonderful kind and beautiful sentiments that have been expressed about you. I would be prepared to agree you were the most handsome Governor in all of these 50 states but then Harold Hughes reached over and said, "Don't you believe a word of it."

I don't want to get into any fight between the Governor of Iowa, Governor Hughes, and the great Governor of Illinois, Governor Kerner. I will just say this, that there isn't any Republican that can compare with the quality of either one of these two governors.

(Applause.)

May I just say how pleased I am to see these signs here in behalf of Gale Schisler, the candidate for Congress in Illinois 19th Congressional District. I hope that victory will reward this man's efforts and I ask all of his good supporters to redouble their efforts to give Lyndon Johnson the kind of a Congressman that he deserves to have from this district in the House of Representatives.

(Applause.)

A few moments ago one of our friends up here at the platform said to me, "Senator, I hope you won't mind if we introduce these local candidates."

I said, "Not on your life. Not only don't I mind, I am all for it." I have been a local candidate, too and, whenever you see over three people you want to be introduced.

(Applause.)

I want to wish each and every one of them all possible success and I want to tell them that they are mighty lucky, because they are running in the year 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, is going to have the greatest victory in the State of Illinois and in the State of Iowa, and in the other states of this great union that any man has had since 1936, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt swept the nation.

(Applause.)

You know I was just looking around here a moment ago and I saw some of these signs go up of the misguided opposition.

(Laughter.)

I noticed one think that I think you want to observe. There are several of them here, and some of them say, "Goldwater in '64," they are not sure which century, but there is one which says -- (laughter) -- I want to be very nice -- there is one fellow here that has a sign here says "1964," I don't suppose he will really keep that sign very long because we welcome him into the Democratic Party and extend a hand of fellowship and friendship to back Lyndon Johnson for he is the candidate for 1964.

I don't think these folks are really dedicated Goldwater-ites, because they are smiling. It just really touched my heart, I want them to join with these happy Democrats and all these good happy citizens we have here. One of the characteristics of the supporters of President Johnson and the Democratic Party in this campaign is whenever you see them they have a smile on their face. They have a sense of confidence and optimism and of joy, and whenever you see a man carrying a Goldwater sign or a woman carrying a Goldwater button that has a smile on their face you know that in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Well, I always feel that when you get to this point in the day in a campaign that you want to really, you really ought to enjoy it, and one of the great privileges we have as Americans is the chance to get out here together and to really and truly -- (plane noise) -- you don't suppose that is my plane, do you? They are just getting it warmed up, that is all.

Among the privileges that we have is the privilege to be out here regardless of our political point of view looking at each other and talk to one another and to have an opportunity to discuss some of the great political issues. (Plane noise.) I believe it is my plane.

(Laughter.)

I am delighted to be in Rock Island county, in this great industrial center of Moline, Illinois. I want to thank the local committee for the arrangements that they have made here. We had a perfectly wonderful day. We left Atlanta, Georgia, early this morning, traveled through Detroit where I addressed the National Guard Association. A little later we had a splendid meeting down at Kennedy Square in Detroit, Michigan, and then we came here and over to your neighboring city of Davenport and from here -- (applause) -- from here we will go to Des Moines, Iowa, tonight.

Tomorrow morning we take off for North Dakota, Montana, out to the State of Washington and into Los Angeles. So, we have a busy time ahead of us, but I find that despite what seems to be a rather heavy schedule, that it is an enjoyable one. I have been given a privilege given to very few, to get to know our country a little better, to see the most wonderful people in the world, the American people, become acquainted with public officials and private citizens, to see the opposition as well as to see those that support us, and what greater privilege could one have and greater opportunity than to be on a national ticket of a great political party, standing alongside of a fine and big man, and truly a gifted and talented and great President. I must say that the highest honor that has ever come to me in my public life was on that occasion in the Democratic Convention when the President of the United States came before that Convention and asked the delegates of that Convention to give him Hubert Humphrey as his running mate, as his Vice President. I shall never forget that.

(Applause.)

And I have but one desire and that is to be worthy of the confidence that was placed in me by the President to do good for my country above all and to be of help to my party and to the President of the United States in this election, and I shall attempt in every occasion, and on every occasion, to be worthy of the high office of Vice President because the office of the President and Vice President are the highest gifts within the power of the people of the American Republic. We ought to look upon those offices as placing a special responsibility upon us to speak frankly, to speak openly, and to speak respectfully to the American people.

You know there is a difference between hitting low and hitting hard, and you can hit hard in a campaign and be clean about it. And this campaign insofar as President Johnson is concerned, and Hubert Humphrey, will be a hard-hitting campaign, hard fought but it will be cleanly fought and there will be no low blows.

I do not come here to contest the loyalty or the patriotism of the Republican candidates, and I don't speak from this platform to tell you they are evil men because I don't believe they are.

I think they are misguided in their political views, very misguided. I think they are wrong in their political program.

(Applause.)

But even in our own families we have differences of point of view on politics, and we have many other differences on occasion, but that doesn't mean that we should lose respect for one another.

My theme in this campaign, not only in this campaign, in my life, is to try to bring people closer together, not further apart, to try to unite our country, not to divide it, to try to appeal to Americans to do better, not to do worse. To ask this great country of ours to set its own standards and to live up to its standard, to give our own people the leadership that this great nation deserves and then to set a standard of public duty, and of public service that will commend itself to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, that is what we ought to be doing, and we can do it in a campaign as well as in public office.

Now, my good friends, let's not take anything for granted, let's not take for granted for one single minute this wonderful prosperity that is ours, and it is wonderful, and it is going to last if we will it, if we work at it, and we can make it even better. There are many things that can be done in America yet, many new schools are needed, new hospitals are needed. Our cities need to be rebuilt in many instances. There are so many great tasks ahead of us, and we have the power if we want to, to do all of these good things that need to be done, but we can't do it if we falter, if we doubt, if we spread suspicion, if we spread fear.

Fear is a disease that consumes a nation. Hate is a toxin that will devour you. What we need above all is to have confidence in one another, to have a sense of dignity about our personal performance, and to have faith in this Republic and in this system that is ours, in this great system of private enterprise, working side by side with government, and to have faith, if you please, in one another, and the things for which this nation stands.

So, I leave you tonight to go on to the great City of Des Moines, Iowa, not with a message of fear and division, not to tell you that our nation is weak and divided, because it isn't; not to tell you that your government is wrong and corrupt, because it isn't; and not to tell you that America is sick, because it isn't. America is healthy. We seek to make it healthier. America is rich, we seek to make it richer. America is strong, and we seek to make it stronger. America is just, and we seek to make it more just; and America is great but we seek to make it greater, and I know that the young people in particular want to set the standard for their generation, not on the basis of what we did yesterday, but what they do today and what they are going to do tomorrow.

And I have a lot of faith in these young people. I have a lot of faith in them.

(Applause.)

I leave you with this message of encouragement. Let's leave nothing undone that needs to be done. Let's never yield for a single minute to the temptation of idleness. Let's make up our mind that this is an important election, too, and it is. It is an important election to make sure that the gains that we have made we sustain,

on that high plateau of those gains that we seek to go further, when President Kennedy said to us, "Let us begin"; what a message. When he said to us, "Let's get America moving again," this wasn't just a conversation. This was a mandate. This was a charge to the American people, and I want President Kennedy to know that we have kept the faith. We have begun to move, and we did move America.

He in those one thousand miraculous days of his Administration moved America, and his Vice President, Lyndon Johnson, continued to move America.

(Applause.)

Now, may I just make this appeal to the people of Illinois, keep in office a man like Governor Kerner who has worked side by side with our President.

(Applause.)

Don't turn your back upon a faithful public servant. Make it possible for those of your public servants that give all that they have to you, make it possible to reward them by your sense of confidence and by your vote of confidence. So, on election day, November 3rd, be a good citizen. I know we are going to have many arguments between now and then, but I want to say this, regardless of what may be your political view, no matter who you are going to vote for, please be a good American, be a bulwark, because the man in this country or woman that is of voting age and does not take on his or her duty of responsibility of voting is not fulfilling the requirements of American citizenship, and we need the best citizenship in the world if we are going to lead the world and lead the world we must.

Either we lead it to freedom or others will lead it to slavery, and I want the world to be free and I want America to be the leader of the free world.

(Applause.)

End

Senator Humphrey
Iowa State Federation of Labor
AFL-CIO Convention
Black Hawk Hotel,
Davenport, Iowa
September 30, 1964

Governor Hughes and President Davis, members of the Iowa AFL-CIO, this great Federation, and my young friends who are from these colleges and universities, -- (applause) -- I didn't know so many of you were going to be here but I am going to talk about you today and it is all going to be good, too.

(Applause.)

While I have this moment I want to say a word for a fellow political scientist, one who like Senator Humphrey, has taken temporary leave from his academic duties, John Schmidhauser, who is a candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket. My, I am glad to see the Democrats have such zip and pep and push as they have here today.

(Applause.)

Governor Hughes, every place that I have traveled in these wonderful states of our United States of America, I have found our people, the people of this great nation, with a sense of optimism, with a countenance of happiness, and with a feeling of confidence in the future. And that is the kind of a people that makes one feel proud of his country. The American people are not listening to the doom and the gloom, they are not listening to the fiction and the myths, they are not listening to the nonsense of that limited faction of the Republican Party that is presently presided over by the man who will be there only a short time as the presiding officer, Mr. Goldwater.

(Applause.)

I know that in this great State of Iowa there are literally thousands and thousands of people that ordinarily might vote for a Republican candidate, that are not going to do so this time, because Republicanism in the Midwest, whatever some of us Democrats may have thought about it or however we may have fought against it, at least it was a Republicanism that was within the tradition of the Republican Party and it was a responsible Republicanism, and this Republicanism of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party is a Republicanism that was repudiated by the Governor of New York, the Governor of Pennsylvania and a host of other Republicans throughout America, and I make the appeal here in Iowas for people who love their country more than they love their Party to join Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Governor Hughes.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, there is nothing that the American people can do this November that would be of more positive value to our country than sending the Goldwater faction down to a thundering defeat. We are not confronted this time by what is a responsible opposition but we are confronted by a radical, yes, an extremist, assault, on the things which you and I and most Americans regardless of Party, take for granted in our great country.

For the first time since Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the United States from the depths of depression and presided over the establishment of a national government, which represented all of the people, a significant political movement, has emerged which would seek to drag us once again into the dim and dreary past, and I do not believe that the good people of the State of Iowa want to go back.

I think the people of this State want to go ahead.

(Applause.)

Now, it is relatively easy for us to take an inventory of the gains that we have made since the days of Roosevelt. We have just reached an all-time high in employment, with more than 72 million people at work. Never in history have we had such a sustained period of prosperity. 43 consecutive months, my fellow Americans, of improved income, expanded production and expanded economy. Never in the history of this great Republic has there been such a long sustained period of economic growth and progress. But these, important as they are, and they are surely important matters with high profits, big dividends, reasonably good wages, with high productivity, with a gross national product of over 625 billions of dollars, all of this is important, but in truth these are surface matters. Beneath them lies a reality, that we overlook at our peril. The whole nature of our community has been strengthened by the policies of the Democratic Administrations over the past 30 years, and it is this new American unity, this new American consensus, that the Goldwater-ites, the rear guard of a defeated past, wish to destroy, and that is why I come here to call you into action to see that they do not destroy what we have gained. To see, indeed, that they are defeated as never before in any election.

(Applause.)

Now, let me repeat, let me repeat, this is not a normal election and if we rest on our laurels, we may imperil all the great achievements of this century. The Goldwater rights have drawn the dagger, they have drawn the dagger against everything that we cherish. Their pet solution for revitalizing the 19th Century labor relations, and I repeat the 19th Century labor relations, the so-called right to work laws, which should be called wrong to organize laws, constitute nothing less than a death sentence on effective honorable American trade unionism.

(Applause.)

I ask any fair-minded American regardless of your attitude on labor or capital, regardless of your politics to listen to this statement that I am about to read from the Senator from Arizona. It was Goldwater himself who said that Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers were "a more dangerous menace than the sputniks or anything else that Russia might do."

("Boos" from audience.)

This is why-no, Democrats do not boo. That is a monopoly of the Goldwater-ites.

(Applause.)

Having heard the statement and I have quoted it accurately, is it any wonder that responsible editorial writers and journalists, men who are generally of conservative persuasion, say that this Goldwater movement is an extremist movement, an irresponsible movement, because it is. A man that can make that charge against a fellow American, who is respected by the leading captains of industry of this country, is one who is unworthy of the confidence and the vote and the support of the American people.

(Applause.)

Make no mistake about it, my friends, no one can sit at home on November 3 without risking everything that you have won in the long hard struggle, the struggle that has built a better America, a

struggle which has substituted the National Labor Relations Act in our labor management relations for the law of the jungle. So, I come to you today, here in this great City of Davenport, to ask you to make November 3 V-Day, "V" for Voting, and "V" for victory and victory for the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

Now every generation has had its share of complex problems and crises. Read any period of our history and the lesson is always the same. Democracy, government of the people, representative government, is a difficult business. It requires a sense of self-discipline. It requires a citizenship interest, yes, an abiding interest in the affairs of politics. It is in fact the most demanding of all pursuits, and in fact, man's eternal struggle to govern himself requires the best that is in us.

In seeking the answers to today's difficult problems, one fact I find stands out above all others. The respective levels of government, our government, our governmental structure from top to bottom, that these levels of government in the American system are partners. They are partners in a common enterprise. Government and the people are cooperators, collaborators, in the common cause of securing the national interest. They are not, as Mr. Goldwater would have you believe, and he says so, mutual antagonists contending against one another for power and glory.

No one advocates running everything from Washington, but all of us who believe in government of the people, by the people and for the people, know that the government in Washington has a moral and a political duty and responsibility to serve the people, and that is what we intend to make it do.

(Applause.)

My fellow Americans, a few weeks before school opened this year, President Lyndon Johnson said that we, the American people, are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times, and the first work of our society is education, because education is but another word, my friends, for opportunity. There is no opportunity in the days ahead for anyone without an education.

Education is the new source of strength and power for this great Republic and Democracy of ours. Education, yes, indeed, advanced enlightened brain power, is the power of a modern Democracy and we need to do everything we can to strengthen that power.

(Applause.)

Now, Iowans have known this back for a long time. Mr. Governor, you are very rightly proud that Iowas has the highest literacy rate in the United States. You are justly proud that your great universities and colleges, public and private, are amongst the finest institutions of higher education in the country, and you know that as Americans we have an obligation to assist all parts of America, because we are all Americans, to increase their intellectual and educational resources.

Mark my words, ladies and gentlemen, a weak educational structure in any part of this nation weakens the total nation. Those who may be denied the opportunity for learning in any part of America, tend to pull down and lower the levels of educational opportunity in all parts of America. This Senator speaks to you not as a Senator just from Minnesota, but I speak to you as a United States Senator, interested in every county and every district, every town, village

and city, every state in America because I am an American.

(Applause.)

The recent Congress or should I say the Congresses of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the 87th and 88th, speaking for the American people, have passed more educational legislation than any other Congress in our history. In fact, the Congress has become, as President Johnson called it, our education Congress. And the President in leading the way and in signing more legislation for education than any President before him, can well be called our education President. He was a teacher, proud of it, and he still is a teacher, as every good President ought to be.

Now, for all Americans concerned with American education, this has been a time of great achievement. It symbolizes the will and the determination of Americans to respond to the sweeping social and economical challenges of our time. Because, you see, education changes problems and difficulties. Education when brought to bear upon problems and difficulties makes possible opportunities and challenges. The only way that I know that you can meet a problem is to know something about it and to have the intelligence to find an answer, and the only way that I know that you can face a difficulty is to have the know-how and the sense of self-confidence that comes from learning, so that a difficulty becomes a challenge, and we Americans, we love challenge and we make opportunities.

(Applause.)

Yes, my fellow Americans, never was more demanded of education than now. Within this past year the majority of Congress, Democratic and Republican, has passed new and expanded programs to meet education's essential needs, to strengthen our educational structure in every state and community in this land. Listen to the roll call of what was achieved. It has passed legislation for vocational and technical training, manpower development and retraining, higher education facilities, community libraries, graduate schools and teachers institutes, science, mathematics and foreign language teaching, college loan and graduate fellowships, aid to college dormitories for every college in this state, medical and nursing education, teaching the handicapped children and reaching out to the poor. Educational research to improve the whole process of teaching and learning. This is the record of a Democratic majority in Congress and of two Democratic Presidents. That is why I feel you can place your trust in this kind of an Administration.

(Applause.)

By these actions that I have just listed, we are making it possible for our young people to become true individuals, to achieve that intellectual and economic self-sufficiency which makes freedom of choice possible. This is what we mean by freedom, not the freedom that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party talks about, not the freedom to remain illiterate. Not the freedom to remain untrained, not the freedom to remain ill-prepared for the duties of citizenship, because that is not freedom. That is a form of oppression. Freedom means emancipation from ignorance, and illiteracy, freedom means, may I say to our young people, learning. Freedom means coming to grips with the problems of our day through intelligent answers, and that is available in education.

Freedom and education, the creed of the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

Now, the leader of the Goldwater faction has consistently rejected education's needs. He talks a lot about freedom but he does very little to foster genuine freedom. In almost every instance he has parted company with the wisdom of the majority of his own party as well as the wisdom of the American people. He has repeatedly raised the bogeyman of Federal control of education in every effort of our government to aid our states and communities and educational institutions. His prescription for American education has been the tranquilizer and the sleeping pill. He has voted against the Higher Education Facilities Act which will help build college classrooms for the several hundred thousand more students in this decade of doubling college enrollments which will help to build up to 30 new public community colleges every year, which will help to construct graduate schools in every major academic center, which will help to create new technical institutes, to accelerate our training of vitally needed technicians. Yes, he has voted against the National Defense Education Act and its extension and amendments which will enable up to 90,000 students -- 90,000 more students to attend college each year under its expanded loan program, which will strengthen the teaching of science, of mathematics and modern foreign languages throughout our schools; which will improve our school guidance and counselling services and enable us to identify and encourage exceptionally able students. This man has voted against the Vocational Education Act which will enable our states to expand and modernize our vocational and technical schools for our young men and women, which will help young Americans to learn employable skills in a ceaselessly changing world of work. He has voted against amendments to strengthen the manpower development and training law, which will expand our ability to deal with the problems of unemployment and under-employment resulting from automation, which will help this nation to meet the growing national challenges of untrained, unemployed school dropouts.

He has voted against the library services and the Construction Act, which will provide public libraries in cities and counties across this country to bring the culture of civilization to millions and millions of people, which will help to modernize our libraries, which have been long neglected, and create some new ones where none exists.

Yes, this man who asks for your vote has voted against the health professions and Educational Assistance Act which will help expand our teaching facilities for doctors, for medical and nursing education, which will increase the number of medical school graduates, and which will relieve the growing shortage of physicians and nurses and dentists and other trained custodians of American health.

He has voted against the Economic Opportunity Act which provides in our broad scale assault on poverty in our states and communities a means of raising the educational opportunity and attainments of the children of poverty, and my fellow Americans, it is the children of the poor who need the best education, and ever so seldom receive it, and yet this man who lectures us on the moral tone of America, this man who tells us of lawlessness, who says that America somehow or another is going down the drain through immorality, this man doesn't seem to understand that people who have been deprived culturally, that people who have never had a chance, have -- that these people above all others need the help of the American people to help themselves, to live a better life. I have little time for this kind of talk.

(Applause.)

Oh, so often I have heard this false prophet tell the American people about their young. I wonder whether he thinks about the problem of the school dropout. I wonder what he thinks about the rising tide of unemployment among our teen-agers. I wonder what he

thinks about the rising tide of unemployment among our teen-agers. I wonder what he thinks about those in Harlem, for example, where 40 per cent of the youth, colored, are without jobs. Is his only answer to their problem a lecture? To tell them how wrong they are, to tell them how lawless they are, or does he have another program. My friends, one thing that I have noticed in this campaign is the opposition is telling everybody throughout the world how bad America is, how corrupt, how evil, how weak, how it falters and stumbles, what a way to portray this, the mightiest, the richest, and I say the best nation on the face of the earth.

(Applause.)

Well, we think it is better and we seek to make it better. Senator Goldwater stands alone and apart from a Congress that has seen and recognizes and enacted on the judgment that education is truly the first work of these times and the first work of our society. He stands alone and apart from the main stream of American wisdom and American progress, and my friends, he will stand alone and apart in November when the American people say again that our future lies ahead of us, not behind us, and that it is time for us to get on with our work of building a better future. Americans want to go places, and they don't want to return to some past.

Americans want to discover new worlds. Americans want to build a better world and we want to build a better America and the way you do it is to have a leader, a President who believes in America, who speaks for America, and who asks America to go ahead.

(Applause.)

My good friends, just one word. Let me say if you have got a choice between Goldwater and a gold key, take the gold key from the Mayor.

(Applause.)

Governor, we have to be on our way to Des Moines and I just want to leave you with this thought. I expect everybody in this room to do a job twice what you expected to do before you came here - make sure and get out of here to make sure Iowa gets back into the Democrat fold.

Do for Lyndon B. Johnson what you did for Harry S. Truman in 1948.

End

ERT input data

IOWA
Davenport

Scott County is strong Republican country and predictions are it will remain so, but outside the city of Davenport, which is full of Birchites, the Humphrey line that Goldwater-Millerism is a far cry from Iowa's Republicanism will go over.

Republican leaders in Iowa have handled labor reasonably well, so attack on state Republican forces won't help or change. Davenport is home of Fred Schwengel, friend of HHH, am advised, and one of more progressive Republicans. Local people say proper treatment for Schwengel would be very much appreciated and respected.

Iowa Federation of Labor has been conservative but will go all out for Democratic ticket, both national and for Governor Hughes.

Indications are no outstanding issues in Iowa-- farm problem always worrisome but Iowa farmers realistic.

Main line should be Humphrey forward look, America's opportunity, our problems are problems of dynamic democracy. Urban problems are not minority or racial, they are economic as the productive capability goes up, educational requirements in industry go up, number of people requirement goes down. Farmers understand this-- and Iowa farmers are not anti-urban.

Iowa has highest literacy rate in U.S., and has had for many years. Democrats know that the literacy rate for the rest of the U.S. has to go up. Iowa's great universities -- at Ames and Iowa City -- have contributed significantly and singularly to both the atomic energy program and the space program, under contract with federal agencies.

Republican friend who will vote for LBJ recommends "soft sell." America's future line, and old Iowa verities have proved to be the base we build on -- faith in God and America, hard work, vision, education, compassion.

Most important, in view of fight within Iowa delegation, is to separate Goldwater Republicanism from Iowa Republicanism.

ERT input

IOWA
Davenport

Davenport is Iowa's third largest city, and largest of the four-city complex of Rock Island, Moline, and E. Moline, the last three being across the river in Illinois.

Diversified industrial complex, wholesale distribution center, transportation (river and rail), agricultural marketing and food processing, cement, farm equipment, appliances.

Founded 1836 by Colonel George Davenport and associates who bought land from Antoine Le Claire, half-Indian half-French interpreter in U.S. negotiation of Black Hawk Treaty of 1832. U.S. had deeded land to LeClaire at request of the chiefs, Keokuk and Wapello, aided by LeClaire.

Starting with lumber mills, town grew rapidly, especially with extensive settlement of German refugees in 1848. It was important western headquarters during Civil War because of rail and telegraph facilities.

First bridge across the Mississippi River was built at Davenport and the first railroad starting west from the river was from Davenport. The first national bank, under the National Banking Act of 1863, was in Davenport.

First washing machine factory was in Davenport.

Davenport Public Museum has outstanding Indian collection and unusual Far East, Latin American, and Egyptian exhibits.

Davenport Municipal Art Gallery has significant collections.

Iowa City, 50 miles west, site of Iowa State University, has made substantial contributions to space program. Dr. Van Allen (Van Allen Belt) was from Iowa State.

Note: State Labor Federation of Iowa speech contains three parts:

- (1) a get-out-the-vote section;
- (2) a Goldwater and right-to-work laws section;
- (3) a section on the accomplishments of the 88th Congress in the field of education. If greater brevity is desired, this latter section can be deleted. It begins on page 4. It contains a detailed analysis of Goldwater's votes against education.

The education pitch was suggested as being good in Iowa.

Should repeal

Section 14 B - Taft-Hartley
authorizing states to pass right-to-
work laws.

Emphasize Lawa registration
and get-out-the-vote.

Davenport, Iowa
State Federation of Labor

Gov Harold Hughes ^{John} Schmidhauser
1st Dist Cong
State of Iowa Pol. Sec

There is nothing the American people can do this November that would be of more positive value than sending the Goldwater faction down to thundering defeat. We are not ~~in this election~~ confronted by a responsible opposition, but by a radical assault on the things which you and I, and most Americans, take for granted. For the first time since Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the United States from the depths of the Depression and presided over the establishment of a national government which represented all the people, a significant political movement has emerged which would seek to drag us once again into the dim and dreary past.

It is easy to recount the material benefits which have come to you, and to all, as a result of the re-constitution of the American economy in the Roosevelt years -- and in the years since. We have just reached

an all-time high in employment with more than 72 million
at work ~~and~~ never in history have we had such a sus-
tained period of prosperity. But these are surface
matters. Beneath them lies a reality that we overlook
at our peril: the whole nature of our community has
been strengthened by the policies of the Democratic
Party over the past thirty years.

↳ It is this new American consensus that the Gold-
waterites, the rear guard of a defeated past, wish to
destroy.

↳ Let me repeat: this is not a normal election,
and if we rest on our laurels we may imperil all the
great achievements of this century. The Goldwaterites
have drawn the dagger against everything that we cherish.
Their pet solution for revitalizing 19th century labor
relations, the so-called "right to work" laws (which
should be called "wrong to organize" laws) constitute
nothing less than a death sentence on trade unionism.!

It was Goldwater himself who said that Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers were "a more dangerous menace than the sputniks or anything else Russia might do."

↳ Make no mistake about it, no one can sit at home on November 3rd and ~~contemplate the~~ contemplate the without risking everything he has won in the long hard struggle

~~which has substituted the National Labor Relations Act for the law of the jungle.~~
which has substituted the National Labor Relations Act for the law of the jungle.

↳ Let us make November 3rd "V" day -- "V" for voting and "V" for victory !

↳ Every generation has had its share of complex problems and crises. Read any period of our history and the lesson is always the same: Democracy in America is a difficult business. In fact, man's eternal struggle to govern himself is the most demanding of all.

4

~~question is: Will each segment of our federal system
be prepared to allocate the human and economic resources
necessary to get the job done? These are questions
worthy of a free people determined to make democracy
work.~~

to today's difficult problems,

In seeking answers [^] one fact stands out above all

others: the respective levels of government in the

American system are partners in a common enterprise.

Government and people are collaborators in the common

cause of securing the national interest, not mutual

antagonists contending against one another for power

and glory. No one advocates running everything from

Washington.

But L

Let us be specific!

L

A few weeks before school opened this year,

President Johnson said that we, the American people,

"are learning that it is time for us to go to work --

and the first work of these times and the first
work of our society is education."

↳ But Iowans have known this fact for genera-
tions.

↳ You are justly proud that Iowa has the highest
literacy rate in the United States. You are justly
proud that your great universities -- ^{colleges} ~~at Ames and~~

~~Iowa City~~ -- are among the finest institutions of
higher education in the country. And you know ^{that} _{as}

Americans we have an obligation to assist other
states to increase their intellectual and educational
resources.

↳ The present Congress, speaking for the American
people, has passed more educational legislation than

any other Congress in history. It has become, as
President Johnson has called it, our "Education
Congress." And the President, in leading the way
and in signing more legislation for education than
any before him, can well be called our "Education
President." *a teacher*

For all Americans concerned with ~~the state and~~
~~status of~~ American education, this has been a time
of *great* ~~pedigree~~ accomplishment. It symbolizes the
~~sound~~ will, the ~~knowledgable~~ determination of Americans
to respond to the sweeping social and economic chal-
lenges of our time.

Never was more demanded of education than now.

Within the past year, the majority of the Congress,

Democratic and Republican, has passed new and expanded programs to meet education's essential needs, to strengthen our educational structure in every state and community in the land. It has passed legislation for:

- L--vocational and technical training;
- L--manpower development and retraining;
- L--higher education facilities;
- L--community libraries;
- L--graduate schools and teacher institutes
 - L--science, mathematics, and foreign language
- L--teaching;
- L--college loans and graduate fellowships;
- L--medical and nursing education;

~~8~~

--teaching the handicapped children and reaching
the poor;

--educational research to improve the whole process
of teaching and learning.

L By these actions we are making it possible for
our young to become individuals -- to achieve that
intellectual and economic self-sufficiency which
makes choice possible. This is what Democrats mean
by ^{more} ~~extending~~ freedom to our citizens.

L The leader of the Goldwater faction -- in contrast--
has consistently rejected education's needs. He talks
a lot about "freedom" but does little to foster it.

L In almost every instance, he has parted company with
the wisdom of his own party as well as with the wisdom

of the American people.

↳ He has repeatedly raised the bogeyman of Federal control of education in every effort of the ~~the~~ ^{our} Federal government to ~~strengthen the control-~~ ^{aid} ~~ling hand of~~ our states and communities and educational institutions throughout America. His prescription for American education has been the tranquilizer and the sleeping pill.

↳ He has voted against the Higher Education Facilities Act, which will help to build college classrooms for several hundred thousand more students in this decade of doubling college enrollments ... which will help to build up to 30 new public community colleges every year... which will help to construct

graduate schools in major academic centers... which

will help to create new technical institutes to

accelerate our training of vitally needed technicians...

↳ He has voted against the National Defense Education Act and its extension and amendments, which will enable up to 90,000 more students to attend college each year under its expanded loan program... which will strengthen the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages throughout our schools... which will improve our school guidance and counseling services and enable us to identify and encourage exceptionally able students...

↳ He has voted against the Vocational Education Act, which will enable our states to expand and modernize

our vocational and technical schools... which will help young Americans to learn employable skills in a ceaselessly changing world of work...

He has voted against ~~amendments~~ to strengthen the Manpower Development and Training Law, which ~~will expand our ability to deal with problems of unemployment and underemployment resulting from automation... which will help this Nation to meet the growing national challenge of untrained, unemployed school dropouts...~~

He has voted against the ~~Library Services and Construction Act~~, which will provide public libraries in cities and counties across the country... which will help to modernize libraries which have been long

neglected and create them where none exist...

L He has voted against the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, which will help us to expand our teaching facilities for medical and nursing education... which will increase the number of medical school graduates... which will relieve the growing shortage of physicians and nurses and dentists and other trained custodians of American health.

L And he has voted against the Economic Opportunity Act, which provides in our broad-scale assault on poverty in our states and communities, a means of raising the educational opportunity and attainment of our children of poverty... those who ^{need} ~~require~~ the best education and ever so seldom receive it.

L Senator Goldwater stands alone and apart in
a Congress that has seen and recognized and acted
on the judgment that education is truly "the first
work of these times and the first work of our society."

} Educ

L He stands alone and apart from the mainstream
of American wisdom and American progress.

L And he will stand alone and apart in November
when the American people say, once again, that our
future lies ahead of us, not behind us, and that
it is time for us to get on with our work.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

JFK speeches --

Moline, Ill,
Rock Island, Ill.

Oct. 24, 1960

immediate adjournment. The speaker of the house, one Colonel Davenport, came to his feet and he silenced the din with these words:

The Day of Judgment is either approaching or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for adjournment. If it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish, therefore, that candles may be brought.

I hope that all of us in a somber time in the life of our country may bring candles to help illuminate our country's way. Thank you. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, STREET RALLY, CATERPILLAR PLANT, EAST PEORIA, ILL., OCTOBER 24, 1960

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you. [Applause.] I know you are all going home so I won't hold you up. But I do come here today as the Democratic standardbearer and come and ask your support in moving this country forward. This administration has stood still and so has Richard Nixon for 14 years that I have been in the Congress with him. On all the great issues which disturb our country, minimum wage, social security, unemployment compensation, houses, roads, schools, hospitals, our parties have divided and we have divided, and the great questions for the 1960's are how is it going to be possible to move this country forward, build its economy, provide employment for its people. And there are 4½ million of them out of work today. Our steel mills work 50 percent of capacity and the Caterpillar lays off 4,000 in the fall of 1960. [Applause.]

We can do better than that.

The Republicans have stood still on every great issue which affects our times and affects our country. I believe as in 1932, the United States is going to decide to move into the sixties, to provide work for our people, to strengthen our country, and set an example of what freedom can do around the world. I come here today and ask your support in this campaign in building this country of ours. Thank you. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, NEW FIELDHOUSE, MOLINE, ILL., OCTOBER 24, 1960

SENATOR KENNEDY. I want to thank Judge Kerner, who I am confident will make a distinguished Governor of the State of Illinois. [Applause.] My friend and colleague, Senator Paul Douglas, who has served Illinois and the country [applause] in war and peace, John Watson, who will be a distinguished Congressman from this congressional district and speak for it, and for the United States [applause]; our neighbor from across the river, Lieutenant Governor of Iowa and the next Governor, Nick McManus [applause]; ladies and gentlemen, we have come to Illinois, which Mr. Nixon keeps insisting he is going to carry, because we have a different view of it. [Response from the audience.] We have come to Illinois because here in the heartland of the United States this election may well be decided, and I believe Illinois and the United States are going to choose to move forward in 1960 and are going to support the Democratic Party on this great

occasion. [Applause.] This is not merely a contest between Mr. Nixon and myself. In a real sense, it is not merely a contest between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. It is a contest between the comfortable and the concerned, between those who say what we are now doing is good enough, and those who wish to move this country in the 1960's. [Applause.]

I believe that here in this State of Illinois, and in the neighboring State of Iowa, all of the problems which the United States has are incarnated in this State, education, the decline in agriculture, unemployment, layoffs at farm implement machinery, civil rights, better housing, a stronger State, a growing State, a growing country, a stronger country, the cause of freedom around the world. They are all linked together. When farm implement workers in this community are laid off it is tied to a decline in agricultural income, which is tied to a decline in steel production, which is tied to a decline in national strength, which is tied to a lack of leadership in our country. [Applause.]

They are all tied together. There are no domestic issues and foreign issues. There are issues which are tied together, tied together to bring a stronger America, and if this country is strong then we are strong around the world. All of the speeches, all of the statements, all of the propaganda that we send around the world means nothing next to our own record. What we are speaks louder than what we say, and if we are moving here at home, if we find imaginative solutions for the problems that disturb us, if we are providing full employment for our people, if we are providing the best educational system in the world, if we are developing our natural resources, if we are holding out a hand of friendship to people who look to us for help, then we are not only secure but freedom, itself, is strong and growing. Mr. Khrushchev's power in the world rests on the economic productivity of the Communist system. The strength of freedom in the world and its vitality rests upon the economic productivity of the United States, and one of the great issues of this campaign, an issue which up to now Mr. Nixon has not discussed, is how this country is going to provide full employment for our people in the sixties, how we are going to find 25,000 new jobs a week every week for the next 10 years; how we are going to find a rising income for our farmers; how we are going to build a stronger America. I believe the record of our party and the record of the candidates in this great question is on our side. We have committed ourselves as a political party for the last 25 years to progress. The Republican Party nor Mr. Nixon have made that their best known products. [Applause.]

Now, as a voter in the United States, and your obligation comes on November 8 when you must make the decision yourselves, as to what kind of State and what kind of country you want, all of the things that we now argue about, all of the facts that the two sides bring out, I believe you, yourselves, can make the judgment upon, and it depends really on what kind of a country you want, what kind of a State you want, whether you believe that this country must pick itself up again, whether you believe that we are sliding, whether you believe we are doing enough. Your answer to that question determines which candidate and which party you will vote for.

Now, in making your judgment, I would listen to more than the campaign speeches of all the candidates. As Governor Smith used to

say, I would look at the record. The Bible said it even more eloquently. "By their fruits you shall know them."

Mr. Nixon's record is written in 14 years in the Congress and so is mine. We have voted time and again on the great issues which now disturb us. And I believe it a matter of public importance that that record should be spread out alongside the speeches of this campaign. [Applause.]

First on the question of agriculture, Mr. Nixon now puts the blame on Mr. Benson's lack, and I quote him, "of ability and success." But only a few years ago he called Mr. Benson one of the best Secretaries of Agriculture in our history. He proposes in his new farm program a substantial expansion of the conservation reserve, and yet as the Republican Senator from California, and as Vice President, he voted six times in 3 years to cut Democratic appropriations for soil conservation. He says now we should accelerate our efforts in underdeveloped nations to stimulate commercial markets for our farm people. But when in 1952 the Department of Agriculture sought funds for this very purpose, Mr. Nixon voted to cut it. By their fruits you shall know them. [Applause.]

Secondly is the Nixon gap. As an amateur student of American history I know very few candidates for office whose speeches and record are so far apart. [Applause.] A second important problem for the people of this country is how we can maintain the best educational system in the world. Democracy demands more of us than any other system of education, character, self-restraint, self-discipline. How are we going to get the best education in the world? One of the ways is to have the best-trained teachers. The Vice President defeated funds for higher teacher salaries only a few days after he made a speech in Chicago calling for higher teacher salaries. His campaign position on paper supports Federal grants to school districts, burdened by Federal employees or Federal installations. But as a Senator he voted to cut the heart out of the program. He calls now for matching grants to private colleges and universities so that every talented student can go to college. But when that fight was being waged a few years ago he termed such a program, and I quote him, "undesirable." He calls now for a program of loans and grants for college classrooms and dormitories. And we are going to have to build more dormitories and classrooms in the next 10 years in this country than we have in our history. In 10 years we are going to have to build as many classrooms and dormitories as we have built in 170 years in order to take care of the number of boys and girls who will be applying for our colleges in 1970. And yet when this very proposal to provide loans for this purpose passed the Congress, this administration vetoed the bill twice, and Mr. Nixon never said a word. [Applause.]

The third area of concern to us all is the Nation's health, and Mr. Nixon has an interesting experience in that regard. His new position paper calls for matching grants to expand medical schools, dental schools, and medical research facilities, and help for our medical students as well—a wonderful program. But as Republican Senator he voted against that very same program. He calls for increased appropriations for medical research, but he never lifted his finger when that program was slashed for the last 8 years. He insists now

that our older citizens have medical care, but he called the bill which Senator Douglas and I fought for in the Senate in August, he called it extreme to provide medical care for the aged under social security, and it was voted against by 32 out of 33 Republicans. He now talks about improving social security coverage, but as a Congressman he voted against it every single time. [Applause.]

This State of Illinois depends upon REA power and so does the United States to light our farms. Mr. Nixon now says we must produce the power we need at the lowest possible cost. But the record shows that as a Congressman and Senator, he voted four times against the appropriations for REA, four times against the TVA, and consistently against the power development and transmission lines in the Missouri Valley, the Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

The housing—if there is any State in the Union that needs housing more, it is Illinois, unless it is my own State of Massachusetts. [Applause.] There are 15 million American homes, according to the last Bureau of the Census, which are substandard. Mr. Nixon has issued a paper on housing, and this, I think, is most revealing of all and one of the most endearing qualities of the Vice President. In his position paper issued in New York within the last 3 weeks, he says that the Housing Act of 1949 has worked very well, and do you know as a Congressman he voted against it? [Laughter and applause.] In that position paper he called for greater emphasis on middle-income housing and he voted against that in 1950. He calls for a greater flow of housing credit so that the American people can buy homes at low rates of interest. But he neglects to mention his vote as Vice President to increase the interest rates on the GI housing bans.

High interest rates never built a single home and one of the reasons why we are building 200,000 less homes each year than we should to keep up with our population increase is because of the high interest rate policy of this administration. [Applause.]

Seventh, and finally, is the gap between his promise and performance in the field of civil rights. We hear a good deal in the winter and the fall of 1960 about civil rights. Do you know in 1953 and 1954 the Republicans controlled the House, the Senate, and the White House, and do you know no civil rights bill ever came to the floor of either body? It was not until 1957 that we passed the bill on voting, and again this year. Mr. Nixon's own record—he sends Senator Goldwater to campaign in the South and says he does not mean any of the promises he makes, and sends Senator Scott of Pennsylvania, an erstwhile member of the truth squad, who flunks his test, to travel through the North and say he means it all. [Laughter and applause.]

Senator Scott was removed from the truth squad because he told the truth in one of the visits and they could not stand it. [Laughter and applause.]

I must say the Vice President does show some signs of tension. Now he blames me for the increase in the cost of gold on the London market.

Mr. Nixon, if you are listening, I did not do it, I promise you. [Laughter and applause.]

Well, there is the record and I think the people of this country ought to know the record. When I drive by in Washington down

Pennsylvania Avenue on the way to the Capitol, you pass the Archives Building, and there is carved in stone the words "What is past is prologue," and I believe the people of this country, the people of this city, the people of this State who are about to make a decision to entrust the leadership of this country to one of two candidates should know the record, and they are entrusting the job of President of the United States in the most difficult and dangerous time in the life of our country, and as a citizen of this country who has served in the Congress for 14 years, I can say not as a Democratic standard bearer, but as an assured citizen, that this country cannot possibly afford to drift in the next few years, cannot possibly afford to stand still. It affects not only our own security—it affects the hope of freedom of all those who look to us for hope. This is an important election, involving a high office, involving the future of this great country, and I come here tonight and ask your help in this campaign. I ask you to join us. [Applause.]

I can assure you that if we are successful on November 8, we will set before this State and country the unfinished business of the American society and this country will move again. Thank you. [Applause.]

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY AT ROCK ISLAND, ILL., ON OCTOBER 24, 1960

*** I want to talk with you this evening not about the missile gap, which represents the difference between Russian striking power and our own in the years to come—not about the economic gap, which represents the difference between our standard of living and that in the underdeveloped countries—but the "Nixon gap," the difference between Mr. Nixon's campaign promises and his actual record.

The Republicans are fond of saying: "Experience counts." I agree with that—and I think the American people are entitled to know exactly what Mr. Nixon's experience is in all the areas which affect us so vitally. At a later date, I shall discuss Mr. Nixon's experience in foreign affairs. Today I want to discuss his experience and record on domestic issues.

For here the gap is especially large. Any resemblance between Mr. Nixon's promises for the future and his performance in the past is purely coincidental.

When Mr. Nixon talks about his experience, he mentions his trips abroad, his positions in the executive branch, and the ideas he contributed to this administration—although President Eisenhower could not think of a single one, even when given a week to do so.

But Mr. Nixon never mentions his votes in the House, his votes in the Senate, or his votes as vice president. He did not have many votes these last 8 years.

But his voting record is there, whether he mentions it or not. Perhaps he is counting on what he once cited in advising Maine Republicans—his belief that "the public memory is short." Perhaps he is counting on voters not being allowed to take notes into the voting booth.

But the Bible tells us to judge a tree by its fruits. For "what is past is prologue"—and any American who is concerned about Mr. Nixon's attitude in the future would do well to inform himself of Mr. Nixon's attitude in the past.

1. First on the list is the agricultural gap—the complete contrast between Mr. Nixon's promises on the farm problem today and his votes on the farm problem over the last 14 years. Today he puts the blame for the farm mess on the fact that Secretary of Agriculture Benson has lacked the necessary "ability and success." But only a few years ago he called Mr. Benson "one of the best Secretaries of Agriculture in our history." He proposes in his new farm program a "substantial expansion" of the conservation reserve—and yet, as a Republican Senator from California and as Vice President, he voted six times in 3 years to cut Democratic appropriations for soil conservation. He says now "we should accelerate our efforts in underdeveloped nations" to "stimulate commercial markets for our farm people"—but when in 1952 the Department of Agriculture sought funds for this very purpose, Senator Nixon voted to cut them. He now says he favors the other services provided by the Department of Agriculture—but in 1951 it was a Nixon amendment which would have eliminated the annual yearbook and other research bulletins. Mr. Nixon downgrades support for our farmers—and our farmers are not likely to support Mr. Nixon.

2. Second is the Nixon gap on education—a gap highlighted by his vote as Vice President defeating funds for higher teachers' salaries only a few days after he made a speech in Chicago calling for higher teachers' salaries. His campaign position paper on education supports Federal grants to school districts burdened by Federal employees or installations—but as a Senator he voted to cut the very heart out of these funds. He calls now for matching grants to private colleges and universities, so that every talented student can go to college—but, when that fight was being waged a few years ago, he termed such a program "undesirable." He calls now for a program of loans and grants for college classrooms and dormitories—but he never said a word when that very bill was twice passed by the Democrats and twice vetoed by the Republicans.

This Nation needs better educated citizens—but they are smart enough now not to fall for these promises again.

3. Third is the Nixon gap in the field of health and social security. His new position paper calls for matching grants to expand medical schools, dental schools, and medical research facilities, and help for our medical students as well—but as a Republican Senator he voted against the bill which would have built these facilities by this time and relieved the doctor shortage. He calls for increased appropriations for medical research—but he never lifted a finger when the party he leads was slashing this budget during the last 8 years. He insists now that our older citizens are entitled to decent medical care—but he called the bill which Senator Douglas and I supported, achieving this goal under social security, an "extreme" measure—because it was defeated by 32 out of 33 Senate Republicans. He now talks about improving our social security program—but as a Congressman he voted against expanded social security coverage and increased social security benefits and as Vice President he defeated a measure to pay

only \$5 a month more for the aged, the blind, and the disabled who must receive public assistance. I believe this country can do better by its retired citizens—and we can start in November by retiring Mr. Nixon.

4. Fourth, the Nixon gap on REA and public power is equally striking. He says now that we must “produce the power we need at the lowest cost”—but the record shows that he has voted four times against adequate appropriations for REA, four times against the TVA, and consistently against power development and transmission lines in the Missouri Valley, Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and the Bureau of Reclamation. He calls for “greater emphasis on new starts for sound multipurpose projects” for reclamation, power, and flood control—but only last February he called the administration’s “no new starts” policy “sound.” I call it folly—and ask your help to get our resource development moving again.

5. Fifth, the Nixon housing gap should concern everyone who lives in our cities and suburbs, everyone who wants someday to buy their own home. His new position paper on housing praises the Housing Act of 1949—but it neglects to mention that Congressman Nixon voted against that very bill. It calls for action on middle-income housing—but it neglects to mention his vote against this in 1950. It calls for a greater flow of housing credit so more Americans can afford more homes—but it neglects to mention his vote as Vice President to increase interest rates on GI housing loans. Higher interest rates never built a single house, but the new Democratic administration will.

6. Sixth, there is a Nixon gap on matters affecting labor and employment. He told a labor convention this fall that, if he is elected, “labor will have a friend in the White House.” But his voting record as Congressman, Senator, and Vice President has been consistently antilabor. He says he supports the minimum wage—but as a Congressman he voted to eliminate from its protection a million workers already covered; and as Vice President he opposed our efforts to expand coverage and raise the minimum to \$1.25 an hour. He makes campaign promises to help our distressed areas and our unemployed workers—but as Vice President he has consistently opposed our party’s efforts, sparked by Senator Douglas, to get such measures enacted. Our unemployed workers only wish he loved them in May as he does in November.

7. Seventh is the gap between promise and performance in the field of civil rights. In the big Northern States, at least, Mr. Nixon makes a great show of supporting Federal action to implement the full constitutional rights of every American—but both as a Congressman and as a Senator, he voted time and time again against effective legislation for equal job opportunities. He boasts now about his experience as Chairman of the Executive Committee To Eliminate Discrimination in Government Contracts—but the facts are that in 8 years he did not invoke a single sanction to enforce the clause (in every Government contract) that prevents racial discrimination in hiring. As a result, millions of skilled and professional jobs are denied to talented Negroes. I think a nation that holds itself out as the champion of democracy has an obligation to do better by all Americans.

8. Finally, the voters ought to be aware of the Nixon gap on the subject of inflation—for here he has had some real experience. Last

year, having broken every campaign promise ever made on holding down the high cost of living, the Republicans finally decided to do something about it. They appointed another committee—a committee to study the problem. Mr. Nixon was the chairman; and he filed a report that was supposed to tell us how to stabilize prices and increase our economic growth.

The Washington Post called Mr. Nixon's report "one of the most redundant, uninspired, and generally useless documents lately to come off the Government's mimeograph machines."

The New York Herald Tribune, a Republican paper, said it was like something you wrote in high school.

The Wall Street Journal said it was fine except it had no recommendations on what it was appointed to do.

I do not believe that this is the kind of experience this Nation will want to reward with the White House. As Otto Kerner can tell you, no judge is impressed by the experience of a driver whose record is full of accidents.

I believe the American people prefer their experience under the Democratic Party. Our experience is written in the Social Security Act, the minimum wage laws, the FHA, the REA, guaranteed bank deposits, TVA and a host of other programs.

The Bible tells us that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Mr. Nixon has sown the seeds of negation. Time after time, he has said "No" to the American people. And on November 8, the American people will say "No" to Mr. Nixon. The Democratic Party has sown the seeds of accomplishments and progress; and on November 8, we shall reap a great harvest of victory.

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, O'HARE INN, DES PLAINES, ILL., OCTOBER 25, 1960

Senator KENNEDY. I want to express my thanks to Tyler, and I hope that he is going to be elected the Congressman from this district, and I want to also say it is a pleasure to be here with Otto Kerner, who is going to be the Governor of the State of Illinois. [Applause.] And Senator Paul Douglas, who is going to continue to represent Illinois and the Nation in the United States Senate. [Applause.] You met my sister, Eunice. [Applause.]

Let me say that Mr. Nixon and I have one thing in common and that is that he just campaigns in Republican districts. I looked at his schedule in Pennsylvania, and he goes where all the Republicans live. That is what we are going to do; we are campaigning where the Republicans live. [Response.] I can't believe that any Democrats live in Lake Zurich—do they? Or Barrington, or Milldale? What about West Dundee? [Response from the audience.] Well, we are going to take the Democratic message out to West Dundee and Libertyville, because this election ought to be won in these areas surrounding the great cities, the suburbs, suburbia, or whatever you may call it, people who make an independent judgment on what is best for their State, their families, their country, the cause of freedom. Those are the issues they must decide upon. Where can they get a government, a President, a Congress, which will be responsible, progressive, which will strength the United States, strengthen our influence around the

Background Memo:

Wednesday, Sept. 30

ILLINOIS OVERALL

General economy: Personal income in Illinois went from \$26.5 billion in 1960 to about \$30 billion last year.

In the same period per capita income rose from \$2,636 to almost \$3,000.

The average weekly manufacturing wage rose from \$97.70 in 1960 to \$108.71 last year.

Meanwhile, unemployment dropped from 5.9% to 4.4%.

The tax cut will save Illinois residents \$835 million in 1965 over 1963.

The tax cut will save residents of the quad city area (Davenport, Rock Island, Moline, E. Moline) \$20 million in 1965 over 1963.

Education: The Democrat Administration pumped \$36 million into Illinois college construction, research and fellowships in FY64, almost as much as the \$37.8 million which the GOP provided in three fiscal years 1958-60.

The Democrat Administration will put \$6.7 million into the Illinois college student loan program in FY65, almost double what the GOP provided in three fiscal years 1958-60.

The Democrat Administration will pipe \$6.4 million into Illinois vocational education in FY65, more than the \$5.6 million which the GOP provided in three fiscal years 1958-60.

Federal public assistance: APW has piped \$23 million into the state to date. ARA has provided \$2.6 million to date.

Agriculture: Gross income per farm rose from \$13,500 in 1960 to \$16,300 last year. Net income jumped from \$3,600 to \$4,500.

Government payments to farmers went from \$18 million in 1960 to \$104 million last year.

Agricultural exports went from \$292 million in 1959-60 to \$466 million in 1962-63. Total U.S. agricultural exports hit around \$6 billion in FY64. This is important to Illinois farmers, who rely on foreign markets for 15¢ of every dollar they make.

REA: Total electric loans amount to \$148 million to date, benefitting 156,000 consumers.

Background memo:

MOLINE, ILLINOIS

September 30 (Wednesday)

This is one of the quad cities, along with E. Moline, Rock Island and Davenport, Iowa.

Moline is sometimes known as "Plow City" because of the heavy concentration of farm equipment builders here. They include John Deere, Minneapolis-Moline and International Harvester. Nearby Rock Island has the Farmall Division of International Harvester and J. I. Case.

The farm equipment business is doing very well. The traditional summer lull in this industry did not occur this time around.

Needless to say, farmer machinery exports contribute heavily to Moline's economy. You might want to remind audiences that Senator Goldwater voted against reciprocal trade.

Exports

Politics: The Illinois 19th Congressional District is represented by Republican Robert McLoskey, a Goldwater follower. As a matter of fact, McLoskey recently lined up with Goldwater on weapons policy. You might pick him up on this. The people in this district have got a lot to lose.

The challenger in the 19th is young school teacher Gale Schisler, who needs to be promoted.

History: Dred Scott, servant to a doctor in Moline, based his claim to freedom on this Illinois residency.

See Illinois Overall memo.



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