

Football
The Trojans

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California
October 2, 1964

Sp file: Oct. 2
Los Angeles, Calif
D. T. Oppen
Jesse - Unk
Kennedy
Mandrill
Dr. W. C.

Gov Brown
Sen Salinger

L As a spokesman for the politics of hope, and an admitted
optimist, I would like today to put to you an important proposition
about contemporary American life. I submit that choice -- and this is no
echo -- is the foundation of freedom, and that never in our history
has the individual American had the range of choices, and the
capacity to choose, that he has today. And I am not talking
about choice as an abstraction -- the choice which Anatole
France derided when he noted that "Rich and poor have an equal
right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges." I am talking
about choice in terms of the specific, concrete alternatives
that confront Americans, particularly young Americans in 1964.

Choice

They say we want Barry - what kind
Raspberry
Ancient History - but don't vote
at!
"Smog"

Let me be specific. In 1900 -- I have picked the year
1900 as a starting point because it seems to mark the continental
divide between Senator Goldwater's America and modern America-- four
young Americans in every hundred between the ages of 18 and
21 attended college. In 1920 this figure rose to eight; in
1940, to fourteen -- and in 1961 it was over thirty-two. Now
in 1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards
of that time, had the right to attend college. But how much real
choice did a poor boy, or worse, a poor girl have, no matter
how talented?

These are bloodless, formless statistics, but I want you to try to understand their human meaning. The function of an education is, indeed to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out dry historical abstractions, to visualize and internalize the hopes and sufferings of others.

Put simply, in 1900 seven-eighths of you would not be here, seven-eighths of you would not have the choice of attending this university, seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that are open to university graduates.

These opportunities are not merely materialistic.

L True, your standard of living will profit from higher education --
and this is not to be sneered at -- but above and beyond living
standards you will benefit from your ability to pursue excellence
in all its forms. Hopefully you will find the time-- as millions
of Americans do -- to continue your education so that the old
ideal of graduation as a "Commencement" will be realized in your
lives and in your children's lives.

L In the "Education of Henry Adams" is written the story that
our fathers studied husbandry and mechanics, so that we might
study Economics and political science, and our sons might
study philosophy and literature.

L Indeed, the ^{Pursuit} ~~pursuit~~ and advancement of educational opportunity
for all Americans has been a constant ideal and program of the
Democratic Party. And it is the top priority of the Administration
inaugurated by John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

We know that we live in a dynamic and changing world.

---A world in which men seek to eliminate the ancient enemies of man -- injustice, disease, poverty, and war itself.

--- A world in which science and technology have opened new vistas in man's unending drive to conquer his environment.

---A world in which there is opportunity to match the "meaning of our lives" with the "marvelous products of our labor."

↳ We have at this time and place been called upon by duty and by right to help build what President Lyndon B. Johnson has called a "Great Society of the Highest Order."

We must help build this society not just for the citizens of today but for the generations yet to come. Our duty is to ourselves and to mankind.

We have accomplished much in these lands, but we have much more to accomplish if we are to be true to ourselves, to our ideals, to social justice, and to concern for the rights of others.

It is altogether fitting and proper that the youth of America should help in building this Great Society.

The United States is a Nation of youth, both physically and spiritually. More than 10 million Americans will be eligible to vote for the first time in this Presidential election. More than 1/3 of the electorate is under 35 years of age and more than 1/2 of the population of the United States will be under the age of 25 by the end of 1966.

Think Ahead

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

University of Southern California

October 2, 1964

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- 9 -

I am confident the young people of America will reject the
typical gloom and doom philosophy of Barry Goldwater."

The political cynicism of the Goldwater faction of the
Republican Party has no appeal to a generation of hope -- a generation
inspired by the idealism of John F. Kennedy.

The Republican pretender to the Presidency reached the depths
of cynicism when he accused the Administration of Lyndon B. Johnson
of being soft on Communism. "Shades of Nixon"

This is the cry of a desperate politician. This is the cry of
a man who knows he faces a crushing defeat.

In fact, the Senator from Arizona conceded this at a press
conference on the day after he made the wild charge.

He admitted to reporters that he brought up the charge to wait
for reaction before deciding whether to exploit it for political gain.

In other words, he is desperately looking for an issue that will strike
lightening and win him votes.

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L Is this the kind of personal attack we should expect from a man running for President? Are these the kind of political morals we should expect from a man seeking the highest office in the land?

L I think the answer is obvious. But it should come as no surprise that the gentleman from Arizona would stoop to such tactics. Throughout this campaign he has been the pied piper of discontent, traveling about this great land preaching distrust and disunity seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the government and the people.

L I am confident the people will reject this " pied piper of discontent, distrust and deceit!"

L I am confident the American people will give an overwhelming vote to a man who seeks to unite America not divide it, to a man who seeks to bind up our wounds not open them, whose only goal is to be a President of all the people.

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The use to which you put your talents and opportunities will belie Communist accusations that Americans are demoralized, atomized materialists, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status-seekers.

It is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear an obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving to be truly meaningful; education must also involve giving -- *giving* one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith and compassion. We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged -- the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which he is a part.

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our national life. I think that when you do, you will realize that
yours is the generation of hope, the generation of fulfillment.

↳ In his historic inaugural address, President Kennedy spoke to
the youth of the Nation and the world when he said, "I do not believe
that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any
other generation."

I am sure that despite the senseless act which ended his days
amongst us, his spirit today echoes this gallant challenge to the
past, and to the future. Let us continue in the dedication with
President Johnson towards the achievement of the "Great Society."

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politics of despair and move joyously forward under the banner of
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Text Prepared For Delivery By Senator Hubert Humphrey
University of Southern California Los Angeles,
California Friday, October 2, 1964

As a spokesman for the politics of hope, and an admitted optimist, I would like today to put to you an important proposition about contemporary American life. I submit that choice--and this is no echo--is the foundation of freedom, and that never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices, and the capacity to choose, that he has today. And I am not talking about choice as an abstraction--the choice which Anatole France derided when he noted that "Rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges". I am talking about choice in terms of the specific, concrete alternatives that confront Americans, particularly young Americans in 1964.

Let me be specific. In 1900--I have picked the year 1900 as a starting point because it seems to mark the continental divide between Senator Goldwater's Utopia and modern subjugated America--four young Americans in every hundred between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920 this figure rose to eight; in 1940, to fourteen--and in 1961 it was over thirty-two. Now in 1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards of that time, had the right to attend college. But how much real choice did a poor boy, or worse, a poor girl have, no matter how talented?

These are bloodless, formless statistics, but I want you to try to understand their human meaning. The function of an education is, indeed, to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out dry historical abstractions, to visualize and internalize the hopes and sufferings of others. Remember that the opportunities, the choices, that you fail to appreciate could be your own. Put simply, in 1900 seven-eighths of you would not be here listening to me, seven-eighths of you

would not have the choice of attending this university, seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that are open to university graduates.

These opportunities are not merely materialistic. True, your standard of living will profit from higher education--and this is not to be sneered at--but above and beyond living standards you will benefit from your ability to pursue excellence in all its forms. Hopefully, you will find the time--as millions of Americans do--to continue your education so that the old ideal of graduation as a "Commencement" will be realized in your lives and in your children's lives. Hopefully, the use to which you put your talents and your opportunities will belie the communist accusation that the American is a demoralized, atomized materialist, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status-seekers.

And it is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear an obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving, to be truly meaningful, education must also involve giving--of one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith and compassion. We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged--the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which he is a part.

To conclude, then, I would like to ask you to compare the American as seen by Goldwater with the realities of your own lives, and the realities of our national life. I think that when you do, you will realize that yours is the generation of hope, the generation of fulfillment.

In his historic inaugural address, President Kennedy spoke to the youth of the nation and the world when he said, "I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation." And I am sure that despite the senseless act which ended his days amongst us, his spirit today echoes this gallant challenge to the past, and to the future. Let us continue in that dedication with President Johnson towards the achievement of the "Great Society". This is a vision which calls upon all of us to repudiate the politics of despair and move joyously forward under the banner of hope to the great creative task of building an America worthy of our dreams.

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
University of Southern California

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October 2, 1964

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Senator Hubert Humphrey said today he was confident the young people of America "will reject the cynical gloom and doom philosophy of Barry Goldwater."

Humphrey said "The political cynicism of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party has no appeal to a generation of hope -- a generation inspired by the idealism of John F. Kennedy."

Humphrey told a student audience at the University of Southern California that the Republican pretender to the Presidency "reached the depths of cynicism" when he accused the Administration of Lyndon B. Johnson of being "soft on Communism."

"This is the cry of a desperate politician," he said. "This is the cry of a man who knows he faces a crushing defeat."

"In fact, the Senator from Arizona conceded this at a press conference on the day after he made the wild charge."

"He admitted to reporters that he brought up the charge to wait for reaction before deciding whether to exploit it for political gain. In other words, he is desperately looking for an issue that will strike lightning and win him votes."

"Is this the kind of personal attack we should expect from a man running for President," Humphrey asked. "Are these the kind of political morals we should expect from a man seeking the highest office in the land?"

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Humphrey told the students at USC that the "use to which you put your talents and opportunities will belie Communist accusations that Americans are demoralized, atomized materialists, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status-seekers."

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Speech by
Senator Hubert Humphrey
at University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California
October 2, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Those folks who say they want Barry, I don't know whether it is strawberry or raspberry. (Applause)

Doctor Topping, Governor Brown, and Senator Salinger, and my good friend Jesse Unrun, I am very honored by the introduction that you have given me in this warm and enthusiastic welcome. I had been told of course by some of my academic friends when I came to the campus of the University of Southern California to speak to a gathering in one of their great assembly halls that I should speak in the tones and in the enlightenment of a college lecturer, that I should appear here as a professor, at least a visiting professor, and that I should keep my compliments entirely objective and non partisan. (Laughter and Applause) And, that is exactly what I intend to do because most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson (Applause) (Some Boos)

I thought we ought to clear the atmosphere right away; since apparently there was a Republican in town yesterday, I notice a rather heavy smog. (Applause) It is nice that they leave something, isn't it? (Applause)

Let me also pay my homage and respects to the great Trojan football team. This is the year when the Golden Governors are going to take second place and let their Senator be on the first place ticket with Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

You can't win everything and you shouldn't expect to and since you are going to help us, why we would kind of like to help you.

I also want to just say in passing there is going to be a wonderful drive in your campus next week. I would not want to forget. It is the Kennedy Memorial Drive and I hope that all of us who are deeply interested in the wonderful memorial library that is being established will see fit to participate in it.

Well, I gather from what I read and what I hear that there is a campaign on. I intend to make a slight contribution to it today. However, I truly intend to speak to you on something more than just a partisan matter, because I believe that a campaign ought to be something that is educational as well as

sensational. It ought to lend a little light as well as stir up some heat, and I have a feeling that possibly working together we can discuss some of these matters in an intelligent and informative matter. I do feel it would be a good idea if we had a little question period because in the process of doing that some of our friends of the opposition are able then to ask a question and in so doing confess their political sin and we can do something about it. (Applause)

I have appeared on this platform enough times to get a few graduate credits, Doctor Topping, and I did not have a chance to finish my doctor's degree because both starvation -- and I was one of the first members of the poverty program. (Laughter) They got around to passing it 30 years too late, that is all, but I have been here before, and I am always honored to be on this campus. This is a great university, and I want to talk to you a little bit about your responsibilities. I come here as a spokesman with the politics of hope and not of despair and I am an admitted optimist and I think I have a right to be because I live in a great country at a great time, and I would like to put one more question amongst the others, to this audience, an important question about contemporary American life.

I submit that one of the facts of American life is choice, and this is no echo. It is the foundation of freedom, freedom of choice, and I might add that never before in the history of America or of the world has there been as much freedom and as much freedom of choice, as we now enjoy. I say this with the backdrop of the constant charge being made that we have lost our freedoms, that somehow or another we are the slaves of a tyrannical government, and that all that our forefathers ever dreamed of or fought for is slowly but surely being taken away from us.

And yet I am sure that every thoughtful man and woman and surely every thoughtful student, undergraduate and graduate knows that there is greater choice available to you today, greater freedom of choice, than ever before in the history of the world.

Now Anatole France derided when he noted, derided this concept of choice when he noted that "the rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges."

I am talking about a choice, however, that is different from that, a choice in terms of specific or in terms of concrete alternatives that confront contemporary Americans, particularly the Americans that I look at right now.

Let me be specific. In 1900, and I pick that date deliberately, because it seems to mark the continental divide between Senator Goldwater's America and modern America. (Applause) In the year 1900 four young Americans in every one hundred between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920, this figure rose to 8. In 1940, to 14. In 1961, 32. One third of all Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college.

Now, in 1900, rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards of that time, had the right to attend college, but I ask you how much real choice did they have. How much real choice did a poor boy or worse, a poor girl, have no matter how talented, and I am sure that no one would say, particularly now in this campaign period that people in 1900 had less moral stamina, and less insensitive and less good solid substance of Americanism than we have today because I am constantly hearing that we ought to return to those good old days.

Well, there were colleges then, and there were boys then, too, even in Arizona. (Applause) But not very many attended college. (Applause)

Now, these are bloodless, formless statistics. But, I want you to try to understand their human meaning. The function of an education is indeed to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out the dry historical abstractions, and to visualize and to internalize the hopes and sufferings of others. To simplify it, the function of an education is to emancipate, emancipate mankind from his ignorance, his prejudice, his fears, his doubts, his suspicions, and you can generally tell how well one is enlightened by the number of doubts, fears and suspicions that he talks about.

The enlightened man is a man of confidence. The enlightened man is a man of optimism, and the enlightened man is a man of forbearance.

Now put simply, in 1900, seven-eighths of you in this hall would not have been here had you lived at that time. Seven-eighths of you would have had no choice of attending this university or any other university. Seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that come today to a college graduate, and these opportunities that I speak of are not merely materialistic. Of course, an education helps you with your standard of living. It is the best investment you will ever make, and by the way, education is the best investment America will ever make, and I think again you can pretty

well judge a candidate for public office by how much he complains about how much we are spending on human beings, because the whole purpose of government is to serve humanity, and a government that doesn't spend generously on education is a government that has failed in its first trust, particularly in America, which is to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare and surely in this day and age you know you can't provide for the common defense through illiteracy or ignorance, and you surely cannot promote the general welfare through a lack of education.

I compliment the great State of California through its many years, whether it was a Republican or a Democrat, for forwarding the cause of education. In fact, it is my view that men like Governor Warren, now Chief Justice, the late Hiram Johnson, yes, Governor Knight, Governor Brown, and men of that quality, Thomas Kuchel, and others, a good man, may I add, and others (Applause)-- Jesse Unruh, Pierre Salinger, these men are the product of a great educational system. Some of the great political leaders have come from this State.

Now, I can't say that everyone that receives an education in California or elsewhere turns out to be the kind of a political leader that I would like. But I will say they are informed, no matter of which party. So, education is important, and California today is one of the most prosperous States in the union because it has invested in education, and let that ring out to the rest of the nation.

Now, the other benefits outside of material blessings are the benefit that you receive from the ability to pursue excellence in all of its forms, in the arts, in the humanities, in science, in drama, in every field of human endeavor.

In the book "The Education of Henry Adams" which I am sure most of you have read either willfully or by compulsion, a good book, is written a story that our fathers studied husbandry and mechanics so that they might study economics and political science, and our sons might study philosophy and literature, because what we seek to build in America is not a State or a nation that is merely the product of mechanics and engineering. We seek to build in America, a society that loves the humanities, and the arts, a society of culture. We seek to build an Athens, and not a Sparta. I think that simplifies it once again in this age of where simplification seems to have such drawing power. (Applause)

I am very happy to say that one of the continuing ideals

of the Democratic Party since Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia has been the forwarding of education in every administration, and if there is one watchword or if there is one identification for the Kennedy-Johnson administration, above all others, it is that it has been an administration that has dedicated itself to the advancement of learning, to the advancement of education, in a host of activities: higher education, medical education, national defense education act, vocational education act, the library construction act, student loan programs, one program after another, some 13 of them passed at the request of two presidents, and by a majority of a Congress.

Now, we know very well we are living in a dynamic and changing world and I hope that that lesson will sink into most everybody's mind. It is really quite distressing in a campaign like this to have people talking about the world that we live in as if somehow or another it never quite broke through the barrier of the 20th Century. We are in the second half of that century and it is rapidly moving, and the velocity of change is beyond human comprehension, and any man that can only think of today has already lost tomorrow, and the yesterdays, --(Applause) -- and the yesterdays pass on into ancient history.

I must advise my friends of the university since I am a refugee from a classroom, I must advise you that it is well for you to study ancient history, study it well, but pray, don't vote it. (Applause)

Yes, we live in a world in which we have big ideas and big dreams, and a nation without these ideals and ideas and dreams is lost. (There was the popping of a balloon) That one went, too. (Laughter)

What kind of challenges do we have? Well, we live in a world in which men seek to eliminate ancient enemies of mankind and now for the first time in our lives, for the first time in the history of creation we have ability to eliminate these ancient enemies, injustice, disease, poverty, and war itself. These ancient enemies that have plagued God's creation since the first dawn of life, they are now within the reach of American manhood and womanhood of the science and the culture of this world so that we can defeat them. We are living in a changing world in which science and technology have opened up new vistas in man's unending drive to conquer his environment. A world in which there is an opportunity, as President Johnson put it, "To match the meaning of our lives with the marvelous products of our labor." And, I say that we have at

this time and place been called upon by duty, by duty as the inheritors of a great culture, and by those privileged with education, and by right, we are called upon to help build what our President has termed a Great Society of the highest order. (Applause)

I happen to believe that a nation that has a future for it is a nation that is inhabited by people who believe they can accomplish the impossible. I happen to believe that a nation that is worthy of world leadership must be one that has as its standard excellence of performance. I happen to believe that leaders of a nation should inspire and not conspire. (Applause) I think the President ought to educate and not negate. I think he ought to unite a people rather than divide them. (Applause) And above all, I think a President, whether its of a great nation or a university or of a civic club ought to always remind those with whom he works and to whom he owes leadership, he ought to remind them that the accomplishments thus far are but the launching platform from whence we take off to greater opportunities and greater achievements.

I know that there is some talk afoot in this land that all is bad, that our military is weak, that we are soft on Communism, and that we have lost the fight and that our moral structure is deteriorating and that the whole thing is all mixed up. There are those who say that -- (Applause and some Boos) -- and I generally find that is about the percentage of an audience that is mixed up -- (Applause)

But, the kind of America that the world needs to see is not one that recites its pains and its aches, it is not one that even is content with today but it is an America that is inhabited by a people and it is guided by leadership that asks us to be true unto ourselves, true to our ideals, true to our sense of social justice, and true to our concern fro the rights of others. It is an America, if you please, that will set the example of total emancipation of a people, emancipation from racial prejudice, religious bigotry, emancipation from illiteracy, from poverty, from frustration, and I think that we are on the road to building that kind of America. (Applause)

And I say that because this country is not old, it is neither old in age nor is it old in spirit, it is a nation of youth, youthful enthusiasm, youthful drive, and youthful spiritually as well as physically.

More than ten million Americans will be eligible to vote

for the first time in this presidential election, and more than one-third of the electorate is under 35 years of age, and more than one-half of the total population of the United States will be under 25 in the year 1966. This is a young nation, and this is a nation, may I say, that is becoming more metropolitan, more urban, more industrialized every hour of the day, and this nation of youth, of a growing population, of an urbanized society, this nation, I submit, needs the kind of leadership and sense of direction, it needs a calling that tells us that what we will to do we can do and what we promise to ourselves we can achieve. It needs leadership that looks ahead, and I am confident that the American people, young in spirit, and many of them young in age, will reject any political philosophy of doom and gloom, and I regret to say that that philosophy is being peddled from many platforms today in America by the Senator from Arizona.

The political cynicism, the political cynicism of that Faction of a fraction of the Republican Party has no appeal to a generation of hope, and to a generation, if you please, that was inspired by the life and the deeds and the spirit of John Kennedy. (Applause)

The Republican pretender to the presidency (Laughter) I said he reached the depths of cynicism the other day when he accused the President of the United States of being soft on Communism. (Applause) What an argument. What a statement. I think you folks in California have heard that before, and I will tell you what happens. I will tell you what happens. What's going to happen to the Senator from Arizona is exactly what happened to the man by the name of Mr. Nixon when he ran against Governor Brown. (Applause)

I know many a person that has said of our President in the past that he was a little too conservative. I know some who said he steered in the middle of the road, I have never heard a thoughtful man ever accuse Lyndon B. Johnson of ever being soft on Communism, not at all. He is a little soft on Republicans but not Communism. (Applause)

But my dear friends, he did not take it very seriously, I speak of the Senator from Arizona, so maybe we shouldn't, because in fact he conceded at a press conference on the day after he made that wild charge, that he had received some advice about this from a couple of his associates and counselors, that he had received some advice from Mr. Hoover and Mr. Nixon on that this was not a proper thing to do and then he said he would not repeat it again because he wanted to wait and see what

reaction there was to it. (Laughter) Are these the words of a man of principle? If a man believes that someone is soft on Communism, he should repeat it again and again, but he should not stand by and say, "I will try it today and we will wait for the public opinion poll." (Applause)

Is this the kind of an attack, personal attack, we should expect from the man who is running for President. Are these the kind of political morals that we should expect from a man who seeks the highest office in the land. I think the answer is quite obvious.

Throughout this campaign, however, the gentleman from Arizona has been the pied piper of discontent travelling about this great land preaching doom and gloom, distrust and disunity and suspicion, and seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the government of the people, and between the government and the people, and I say that is no service to the cause of this Republic. I am confident that the people of America will reject this pied piper of discontent, distrust, deceit and suspicion, and I am confident the American people will want to reach out and extend their hands and their hearts and their votes to someone who heals wounds, rather than opens them, to someone who unites people rather than divides them, to someone who tells us of the miracle of American government in its relationship to the people, rather than those who divide us by suspicion of that government. (Applause)

Now, I would like to ask you students who are privileged to have had an education as I was, attending a great university made possible by the gifts and the grants of thousands of people throughout the land, I would like to remind you that those of us who have had this privilege have a great obligation to a community. We have an obligation to help others. We have an obligation to be our brother's keeper. We have an obligation to be teachers of the full philosophy of democracy, and I would like to ask you to compare the American as seen by Mr. Goldwater with the realities of your own life, and the realities of our national life, and I think that when you do, when you make that comparison by yourselves, you will realize that yours is not a generation of despair, not a generation that has fallen from grace; that your America is not a country that is weak, that this prosperity is not artificial, but rather you will come to the conclusion that most Americans have already come to, that you are living in the promised land, that you are living in a country that has been blessed by a divine providence, that has been blessed by a great system

of government and economics, and that you are living in a country that is rich not only in material things, but is rich in culture and rich in spirit, and that you have an obligation as one of the custodians of that country to speak up for it, to be with it, and to help it, and to help more and more people enjoy the many benefits and privileges that are yours, that they may share in those benefits. (Applause)

John F. Kennedy in that great inaugural address stated it simply, directly and concisely, and I think he said it for you and I know he said it for me. Here are his words: "I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation."

I am sure you would not. I know I would not. In fact what I feel is a great debt of gratitude to this country of ours and all that it has stood for, and I feel that it is my responsibility to see to it that more and more people enjoy this nation, that wherever there are those that have not been given the opportunity of an education, that they may be brought within the framework of an educational structure, that wherever there are those who are sick from prejudice or from discrimination or bigotry that somehow or another we will be able to work with them; not to shunt them aside, not to reject them, but rather to bring them within the spirit of this great Republic and in one family of the American people.

People who are privileged to have a college education are the people above all that should be forward looking. I can forgive the man that has never had a break in life, I can understand the prejudice or the intolerance of a man who has lived a parochial existence, but I cannot ever understand or forgive one who has been brought into touch with the great literature of mankind, with the history of the world, with the humanities and the arts, these people above all, should be God's children, and they should have a sense of enlightenment, a sense of forbearance and understanding that tells them that they have a duty to their fellow citizens to be of help, and some of that help can be through their government, a government of the people, and by the people and for the people; not a government that is our enemy, but a government that is our partner; not a government that takes over but a government that helps those who are in need; not a government that ignores human need, but one that comes to grips with the problems that beset humanity.

And I ask college students today to think for themselves and not to think selfishly about themselves, to think of your moral social obligation, to think in terms of how you can

expand justice so that the blessings of justice may fall on more and more people, to think of how you can enlarge opportunity so that opportunity will come to more and more people, to think of how you can rid from our society the forces of bitterness and hate, the virus and the venom of intolerance, because mark my words, my fellow Americans, those forces are at work in this country, and one of the reasons that I think it is important to win this election is because some of those forces, not because they are wanted by any standard bearer, I make no such accusation, but I say that some of those forces today, the Ku Klux, the Communists, the Fascist, the Nazi, yes, the John Birch, they are at work in this land. (Boos and Applause)

They are at work in our America, and for the first time in the history of this Republic, they have been able to gain a respectable platform and these people must be defeated. America must show that it is a land of justice, that it is a land that believes in human dignity, that it is a land of compassion and that it is the land of opportunity, and the only way that I know that we can make that unmistakably clear, no matter how much it may hurt someone in the process, is in this election to rebuke those who would defile this country, to rebuke those who raise their voices in hatred and bitterness and to rebuke them in such a way that never again will that vile force have a standard or have a platform in American public life. (Applause)

(Question and Answer period following address)

Senator Humphrey. I want to go up to the Goldwater section on the extreme right here. (Applause)

Question. How can you have confidence in a party which has had a Billy Sol Estes and Bobby Baker?

Senator Humphrey. The gentleman said how can you have confidence in a government that has a Billy Sol Estes and a Bobby Baker and all of that, I believe that was your question. Of course, I am sure you recognize that in the instance of the Billy Sol Estes case that the Government lost not a nickel, and that the whole thing started under the administration of Mr. Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture. If I were a Republican I think I would quit talking about that one because you get deeper and deeper and deeper in. (Applause)

Might I add that in the instance of the other matter that you have spoken of, the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S.

Senate is making an investigation and that might be just a little bit more than happened when Mr. Sherman Adams went away with that persian rug. (Applause)

Question. Senator Humphrey, do you think that charges against the United States Supreme Court have any basis being found in a presidential election?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am sure that everyone of us feel that we have a right to be critical of decisions of courts, decisions of Congress, decisions of a President. But it is one thing to be critical of a court and it is another thing to attack the members of the court personally and contest their patriotism and their fidelity to the Constitution of the United States. And lest there be any doubt about it, let me say that one of the truly great men of American history is presently the chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (Applause)

Yes, the gentleman back here.

Question. Do you think that States should invest in education or do you believe that there should be Federal aid to education?

Senator Humphrey. I think you will need all you can get, private contributions, State aid, Federal aid. (Applause)

There is a man way up there, he is near the stars, he must be a Democrat, I want to hear what he has to say.

Question. Do you say that it is incumbent upon the Government to do everything it can to aid education?

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Question. Don't you feel then that it is possibly incumbent upon the Government to help us to travel to those other countries which our government has closed off to us, some as long as 15 years?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, I understand the question. It is my view that the government of the United States has a right to make a policy decision in terms of its own national security, which is a decision that it has made. I believe the gentleman is talking about whether or not for example, you should have the right to go to Cuba at a time when we are seeking through peaceful processes, through boycott both economic and political, to bring their regime down and to get the people of Cuba once

again an opportunity to give them once again an opportunity to be free, and I think the decision of the government of the United States in that matter to limit, indeed to prevent, the flow of students into Cuba is a decision that can be justified in the national security interests. (Applause)

Question. You said that this is a nation of youth that is to be emancipated through education. What can the Johnson administration do to motivate the poverty stricken children to stay and finish elementary school and high school much less go on to higher education?

Senator Humphrey. One of the things we have tried to do and, may I just say before I go to that, this is not just a government job as I tried to make it clear. In our society we do things in part by government, a great deal just by individual effort and sometimes by group effort on a voluntary basis and so we try to get a synthesis of these forces. One of the great problems we are having today are school dropouts. I think that to educators this should be a warning sign to re-examine the curriculum of our schools. Why is it that so many people drop out of school, why is it they have lost a motivation? Is the course of study what it ought to be?

Then there are other obvious factors involved. There are such things as the breakdown of neighborhoods, the inability of young people to have earned, to have income, to earn income. What do we propose for it? The Youth Opportunity Act, the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act, the Job Corps Program, much of this under the Poverty Program. I am the author of the Youth Conservation Corps Program and of the Youth Opportunity Act. I believe that these will be helpful, and then I think we have a greater job to do and when I see, for example, conditions that exist in Harlem, you have 250,000 people living in three square miles, and if the same density of population were to prevail in the rest of New York City that the entire population of the United States could be put in three boroughs in New York, and when you think about that then you can see what you mean by a lack of opportunity. So we have got a job here of building new neighborhoods. We have a task at all levels of government of trying to build, I say, a better society. I guess I have got to go but I surely want to thank you for a wonderful reception. I also want to thank those that did not agree with me.

Thank you, very much.

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news release

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

FOR P. M.'S RELEASE
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2

B-3799

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
LUNCHEON, BUSINESS EXECUTIVES
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 2, 1964

All of us agree there is an intimate relationship between business and politics. In fact, we could easily compare the election of 1964 to a business investment. Each American has an invaluable asset to invest: his vote. And there are two different enterprises urging him to invest in them. He can invest his assets in only one of them. Which shall he choose? Let's look at the balance sheet.

One of the two enterprises has a solid record of success. It has, in fact, the best economic record in history. It has steadily increased profits, reduced debts, raised living standards and helped to put more and more people to work. It has been modern yet moderate, prudent yet progressive. It has set unprecedented records for production and prosperity. This enterprise has enjoyed peaceful labor relations and stable prices. It is led by a man who has been in his line of business for more than 30 years, a steady professional who is recognized and respected around the world as a responsible leader.

Now let us look at the other enterprise soliciting the American voter. This enterprise is an old-line firm but it recently has suffered through a devastating proxy fight. Many of the respected leaders who lost out say that the new crowd in control is really a minority faction who got there by artful manipulation. More than a few of the oldtime officers--and millions of the stockholders--have already pulled out their investments, and they are shifting elsewhere. They are worried about the new man who has taken control of the enterprise. He has no demonstrated record of leadership. He greets modern methods with suspicion and a snort. And most remarkable of all is his advertising policy: he changes his sales pitch almost every time he gets up to speak.

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What really worries many investors is that he has also surrounded himself with a team of managers and assistants who are erratic, extreme, irresponsible. But he tells us: "Don't worry; just invest your votes in me, and when I'm in power, I'll get rid of those fellows."

If somebody came to you with that kind of a business proposition, what would you do? I believe you would place your investment in the enterprise that has a proven record of success, security, peace, progress and prosperity.

Businessmen often say that the government is their partner--for the simple reason that the government, until very recently, has taken 52 cents out of every profit dollar. I am happy to say that your administration has voluntarily relinquished its role as the senior partner in this arrangement by reducing its share of the profits from 52 per cent last year to 50 per cent this year and to 48 per cent next year. Let me stress that your administration is pleased and proud to have become the junior partner in American business.

In the years ahead, as our economy permits, we hope to steadily decrease our share in this partnership. But we expect to continue working toward common goals, preserving the most uniquely successful relationship between a free government and free enterprise in the annals of man -- the relationship of profitable partnership.

Our partnership is really quite simple. Business and government work together in the best interests of the entire nation.

You are not hesitating to borrow wisely to expand your facilities, to provide more jobs, and to keep goods flowing to the marketplace. Your government has pursued prudent fiscal and monetary policies to keep credit available for worthwhile purposes.

You are raising American standards of living to greater heights by turning out a phenomenal variety of products in your mills and factories. Your government is helping the unemployed, the poor, and the elderly -- those not yet fully able to enjoy our affluent society -- to avail themselves of the necessities of life: food, clothing and decent shelter.

You are contributing to the opportunities of every American to earn a livelihood for his family by hiring, and advancing, men and women regardless of the color of their skin or the place of their birth. Your government is assisting this process with appropriate legislation. You have increased

U. S. exports to record levels by offering American goods and skills throughout the free world. Your government is assisting you with tariff and trade agreements to stimulate trade and international commerce -- and with a determined effort to preserve the value of the dollar.

You are budgeting higher expenditures for new plants and equipment. Your government is encouraging you through such programs as the corporate tax reduction and the tax credit for capital expenditures.

You are employing more people and paying them higher wages and salaries than ever before. Your government is permitting them to take home a greater share of their pay -- to spend on goods and services and to save for their families' future.

On the subject of the tax cut, incidentally, I accept the sentiment that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery -- and I suppose we ought to welcome our improbable new conscript to the mainstream of contemporary economic theory as reported in a recent issue of Business Week. The conversion to modern economics certainly took a while -- but even as there is greater joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over the 99 who were saved, we celebrate Senator Goldwater's faltering steps forward toward a more enlightened view of the American economic system.

What are the results of this profitable partnership between business and government? Quite simply: for the past 43 months we have enjoyed the longest sustained period of peacetime economic growth in history.

Yet our recent convert has described this prosperity as artificial -- evidence of a tendency toward backsliding. I know his announcement came as a surprise to many members of the business community.

What is artificial about a continued rise in Gross National Product of about \$10 billion a quarter this year?

What is artificial about the record increase of \$15 billion in consumer spending in the first half of 1964?

What is artificial about the 13% rise in business investment in plant and equipment in 1964?

What is artificial about the 1.3 million new jobs added so far this year?

In fact, it really isn't surprising that an automobile dealer recently

wired Detroit with a terse appeal for help: HAVE ONLY HALF HOUR'S SUPPLY OF CARS. LEFT.

This is surely an impressive record compiled by the profitable partnership between business and government. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has sought a climate of trust and mutual understanding which is not exclusively pro-business, pro-labor, pro-farmer, or pro-consumer. We have sought a climate in which all Americans, regardless of income level, occupation, race or creed can prosper and move forward.

We recognize that problems remain: automation, unemployment, development of new foreign and domestic markets, job training, and many others. But I respectfully suggest that America can solve these problems more effectively where business and government work together in a climate of mutual trust and understanding. This is surely the lesson of the past four years.

I believe you share my conviction that President Lyndon B. Johnson is the one man possessing the sense of vision, the wisdom, and the understanding to preserve the profitable partnership between government and business. He is the one man capable of continuing to move America forward.

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Los Angeles, California
Businessmen's Lunch
Friday, Oct. 2, 1964
PM Release

THE PROFITABLE PARTNERSHIP

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news release

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 2, 1964

B-3821

HUMPHREY PLEDGES EXPORT FINANCING FOR U.S. AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY

Senator Hubert Humphrey issued the following statement today in Los Angeles following a conference with business leaders. A similar statement was issued in Seattle, also a major aircraft center, yesterday:

"I have a statement to make on behalf of the Johnson Administration which is of great importance not only to this area but to the whole Nation.

"As you know this area is one of the great aerospace manufacturing centers of our country -- an industry of vital importance to our economy and to maintaining our defense strength.

"I can announce that it is the intention of the Administration to help increase production in the aircraft industry by providing fully competitive export financing. We will attempt to accomplish this either through international agreement or by asking our own export-import bank to make its credit policies fully competitive.

"With this partnership help of your federal government, we are optimistic that the United States can substantially increase the exports of the fine products of our aerospace industry.

"We have been told by authorities in the aerospace industry that by supplying this financing, their exports could increase easily from the current level of 1.3 billion dollars a year to over 2 billion dollars per year by 1970.

"Our aerospace companies estimate that there is a potential overseas market in jet transport planes alone of more than 2 billion dollars from 1964 until 1969. If this estimate proves correct, we could see an increase of 50,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry.

"This policy of your government is an outgrowth of studies by the White House Committee on Export Expansion.

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"In today's world market place, it is not possible to realize the full export potential of a product -- no matter how superior it is -- unless suitable and adequate financing can be arranged on terms which are competitive with those offered by other nations. These terms sometimes are not available through ordinary commercial credit channels. Government can be of help in seeing to it that our products have an equal opportunity to compete in world markets, especially when those products are of superior quality. Through the Johnson policy we will be able to maintain the technical superiority of our aircraft for defense purposes, and the commercial competitiveness in the export markets."

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Address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Shrine Auditorium, Los Angeles
October 2, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much. Well, I knew the minute Mrs. Humphrey came here she would get you to hush up. She does it to me. (Applause)

Governor Brown, Mrs. Brown, our dear friend Pat Brown, just to call the Governor of this State governor is not adequate, because governor by no other title, does that explain the man and when you say Pat Brown, you are talking about one great man. (Applause)

Our generous and kind friends of stage and screen and television and radio, the people of entertainment in America, I deeply regret, that I wasn't here for all of your performance, but we had some work to do downtown to see if we could not garner a few more votes and save a few more political souls. (Applause) But, I want you to know that your generosity, your willingness to be of help, you always being willing to come to our rescue and to help us when we need you, is something that touches our hearts and it surely touches mine, and I like to feel that those of us in public life, in politics, are somewhat like those great entertainers, stars, who are in public life in the drama and in the arts, willing to give of ourselves for something that is good, and for something that would help America, and I want to thank you, very much. Besides that Democrats are a happy lot of people and you make us happier. We like it that way. (Applause)

I am pleased tonight to see on this platform old friends, many good Party officers that have carried the work of this party so long, candidates for public office, holders of public office. It is always dangerous to select out but let me say that there are at least two or three that I want to mention without in any way diminishing the honor or the great achievements of the others. But there is a Congressman here who has been a friend to Muriel and Hubert a long time, and I want Jimmy Roosevelt to know that we appreciate this. (Applause)

And I want another man to know how much we admire him because he put up a good fight. He is a great Democrat, thoroughly true progressive man, and he is a team player, and he is giving everything that he has for this Democratic ticket, and that is my old friend Alan Cranston. (Applause)

One should not select out clergy but I want you to know that that good preacher we had in Minneapolis who came out

here in North Hollywood has been such a good friend of the Humphreys for so long it is good to see him tonight. John Sims, I want you to know I am sorry we were not here when you opened this meeting. (Applause)

Now, let me talk to you about another man. ("Boo" from the audience) You don't know which one it is. (Laughter) I want to talk to you about another man that is going to be the next United States Senator from the State of California (Applause) Or, should I say you are just going to renew his contract and give him six years. (Applause)

Pierre, you are without a doubt one of the most gifted introducers of all time. When I am introduced by Pierre Salinger I just feel so good I am just looking around to see what kind of a job is available. This is indeed a gifted man, and I have watched him these weeks enter the Senate. For a while I watched him with a rather suspicious eye because he was only there about two days and I noticed him sitting up there in the Vice President's chair and I said to myself, is there no limits to this man's ambition? (Laughter and Applause) But, I can tell you that I found out after a while what he was really doing was just coming down to tell me once in a while that the chair would fit me perfectly. (Applause)

I think the best recommendation that I can give to you tonight for the election of Pierre Salinger to a full term in the United States Senate is simply this, that if this man was good enough to enjoy the complete and unqualified confidence of our late and beloved President Kennedy he is good enough for any State in this union. (Applause)

And I know he enjoyed that confidence. I was there. I saw this friendship, I saw this sense of devotion on the part of Mr. Salinger, I saw this spirit of fellowship between these two fine men, and California is mighty lucky to have one that is so knowledgeable in the affairs of this government, to have one that understands that the job is not just Senator from California, but it is the position of the United States Senator from California. (Applause)

Pierre, we will forgive you for having been born up north. After all we have a United Democratic Party. Of course, I am a southerner. And I am somewhat sympathetic with Southern California. I was born in South Dakota.

I notice tonight when you were proclaimed as being born in the northern areas of this great State there were no cheers

and for a moment you hesitated but I am delighted to see the great commonwealth of California is now united as one.
(Applause)

What I want to talk to you tonight -- I don't know, I believe that box is operating up there that Milton Berle said -- I want to talk to you tonight about the Republican pretender to the presidency. (Boos and Hisses)

And having said that I want to remind my fellow Democrats that you are sort of walking in on the exclusive jurisdiction of the Goldwaterites when you boo. We cheer, we don't boo.
(Applause)

I think I should tell you that our Republican friends, that is that fraction of a faction, that they have been sending around the country a team, yes, about four of them, in what they call a truth squad. Now that is a play on words, of course, GOP truth squad. I am telling you to put truth in charge of that crowd is like putting a fox in charge of a chicken coop. (Applause and Laughter)

Possibly I am being a little bit too critical. It may be they are just around to explain how wrong they have been. There was a time that GOP stood for the Grand Old Party, and it is a grand old party, at least it was before they worked it over up at the Cow Palace, and there are hundreds of thousands of good Republicans that have cast their lot with the Democratic Ticket in this election. These hundreds of thousands are hopeful to redeem the name of their party and they will be busily engaged in doing it after this election. In the meantime they are going to help us. GOP used to stand for Grand Old Party. Now, it stands for "Goldwater is Our Problem."
(Laughter and Applause)

Make no mistake about it, he is their problem, he is our problem, and it will take a few weeks before we can do something about this problem, but I think that on November 3rd, we will have solved the problem. (Applause)

Well now, let me talk to you about the future of our country, about its promise and its hopes, about where we are going and not where we have been.

Four years ago, as I recall, a courageous young Senator from Massachusetts, the Democratic Party's candidate for President, came to Los Angeles, and he came to this very same auditorium and he came here then to ask for your hands, to ask for your hearts, and to ask for your help in his

great effort to get America moving again, and you answered him. And I come here tonight to ask you to complete that answer and to give to the man that he selected as his Vice President your hands, your hearts, and your help so that the unfinished tasks of John Kennedy can be completed. (Applause)

Our beloved President Kennedy concluded that memorable address in this auditorium four years ago by paraphrasing the words of Abraham Lincoln, the words that Lincoln wrote to a friend in the year 1860, and John Kennedy said this, and he always spoke so beautifully, "Now, in 1960, we know there is a God, and we know he hates injustice, and we see the storm coming. We say, 'If he has a place and part for us, we are ready.'"

Indeed we are ready. We were ready that night that John Kennedy spoke and we are ready tonight for any part that we can play in building a more just and a better society. (Applause)

And God did have a place for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For 1,000 unforgettable days this man led America and he led the entire world. He took a nation that was mired in economic stagnation and status quo and he made it move forward once again. His love of life and his love of family, his love of people regardless of race, of color or of creed, that love captured the imagination of Americans everywhere, young and old, rich and poor, black or white. He truly made our America feel young again. (Applause)

And we will never forget these memorable words in his inaugural address. I think we can ponder on these words, because it seems to me in this campaign all too little is being said to inspire us, to elevate us, to make us worthy of this great precious gift of American citizenship.

President Kennedy's inaugural words that I recall so vividly and which I have written down here, "Now the trumpet summons us again -- not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need -- not as a call to battle, though embattled we are -- but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, -- rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, -- a struggle against the common enemies of man -- tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

Now those were inspiring words, and every man and woman and child that heard them was the better. This was a great moment in the life of America and it still is, because a message such as this does not die, it has a sense of immortality,

and those who are worthy to lead this nation will live by this message or else they are unworthy of the trust of the people. (Applause)

But this man of inspiration, this man of great leadership, was taken from us, just as Lincoln was taken from us, and the world, it seems stood still. For a few moments of time, violence shattered peace, fear cracked courage, and hate stood above reason. We had lost a President, our President. But we also lost someone that we loved, much as we loved a member of our own family. (Applause)

I doubt that ever before in America had there been such a sense of total involvement by all of the people in the life of one man nor had we ever been so united as we were on that moment or at that moment of unbelievable pain. Never before had we been so aware of our national identity, and never before had the young people been so moved and so touched.

I have been asked repeatedly why is it that so many young people seem to be interested in politics those days, and I think it is the fact that they are searching for some identity with a spirit of John Kennedy. They are trying to find that identity. (Applause)

We came through this tragic time with a renewed sense, as I said, of national unity and fortified by a common sorrow. We rededicated America then to the fulfillment of the hopes, of the plans, and of the commitments of our beloved and martyred President, and it was in that hour of our pain and grief, of our horror, there came another man, one who had been selected by the first, a man who spoke to this nation with fortitude, with understanding, with humility, but above all with courage, and there came a man who took command of America, and he said to us:

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

And this man is today our President, Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Now, President Johnson has kept America on course, he has kept this nation moving forward. Lyndon Johnson has finished so magnificently the four years which John Kennedy began, and Lyndon Johnson has preserved that priceless gift to us, an opportunity for a better life, and a more peaceful

world. (Applause)

I want you, my fellow Americans, to know that we do have some common objectives, and they are noble objectives, and those objectives are not merely to applaud for the accomplishments of the day, great as they may have been, nor are they merely the objectives of recitation of the achievements of yesterdays. But the objectives that are worthy of a people of youthful vitality and purpose are the objectives of a better life for more and more people, and of a peaceful world for all the people. (Applause)

Again, let me share with you what I consider to be the most important paragraph of any message given by our late President. I remember it as if it were given yesterday. It was delivered in American University in Washington, D.C. on the date of June 10, 1963, a commencement address, and I happen to believe that that address set the world on the course long and tortuous though it may be, a course in the pathway of peace, and I believe that historians will record that that was the turning point in this the 20th Century, the day that we turned away from the senseless pursuit of the arms race into the more noble pursuit of the peace race. (Applause)

"What kind of a peace do we seek, said our President. "I am talking about tenuous peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children, not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women; not merely peace in our time, but peace for all time." (Applause)

And then our President went on to tell us that the true men of courage were the peace-makers, and that peace itself was not something to be obtained instantly, but that peace was a process, an process to be engaged in by men and women for years to come with much of us making our contribution and slowly but surely building step by step and block by block the pathway and the cathedral of peace.

I believe, my friends, without the benefit of applause, I believe that this is the goal that America must place before the world. It is not good enough for us to merely talk about the material blessings. What mankind seeks today is the assurance that there will be the blessing of life itself. (Applause)

And one of the reasons that I threw myself so vigorously

into this election and into this campaign is because I do believe that the issue of peace is at stake. This is not to say that the candidate of the opposition does not want peace, but it is to say that to want it is one thing, and to know how to pursue it and gain it is another. (Applause)

The objectives that were outlined by John Kennedy in the pursuit of peace are in the heart and in the mind of the man that succeeded him. I know, I have been there with both of these men. I have talked with the late and beloved President on the evening of the Cuban crisis alone. I have been closeted with him, and I have been with the President of the United States of this hour alone, and I know what is in his heart and I know that when he says that he will go any place, any - where in this world to secure the peace, to find an answer to an honorable peace, I know that he speaks from his soul and not from his lips alone. (Applause)

But we know this path to peace is long and we know that it is slow, and we know that it is dangerous and tortuous, and it is this long difficult ordeal that seems to frustrate so many. It is this long ordeal that seems to befuddle and confuse those of lesser faith, but to walk that path in the nuclear age and the nuclear age, my fellow Americans, is different than any other age, far different, to walk that path we need all the brains, enlightenment, skill, wisdom, all the wit and courage and all the compassion and sense of justice that we can find within us. The world that we live in is a dangerous world, it is a world that is darkened by nuclear weapons, a world that is darkened by the sinister attempts of Communism to seize control of nations and their destinies and the minds of men, it is not a world for men of timid spirit and it is not a world for men who are rash or impetuous or reckless or irresponsible. (Applause)

But I say to you it is a world of promise, and it is a world that can be a better one. The same mankind that developed the weapons that can destroy this world is the same mankind that can develop the tools and the materials and the policies and the programs to remake this world and to make it a place fit for humanity. (Applause)

We are really at a threshold of history. We are at an age when mankind can feed for the first time in the history of the world its hungry. The ancient prayer of the prophets to have food for the hungry, bread on the table, is no longer a prayer. It can be a reality. We are in an age when mankind can truly clothe all the naked and house the needy, and bring

care and cure to the suffering and the sick, and we are at a time when we have developed systems of law, and I trust enlightenment of mind, where we can bring justice to the oppressed, and bring literacy and learning and opportunity to those who yearn for enlightenment. (Applause)

And it is these promises that should inspire us, and I would hope that in this campaign that we would never lose sight of these promises, and these commitments, because never in the history of the world has so much been given to so few as has been given to the American people, and those few of us, out of a total population of the world, have a tremendous obligation to the many. (Applause)

Yes, there are still many challenges, and I like to speak of the challenges, and the opportunities rather than the difficulties and the problems. I think you remember those famous lines that our late President used to love so much from the pen of Robert Frost. They are really beautiful and we, as Americans, ought to learn them and we ought to make them like a silent prayer:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep.
And miles to go before I sleep."

And having said that we ought to promise to ourself that we will walk those miles and we will walk forward not backward, and that we will reach to new frontiers, new horizons, and that we will look to the stars, and not stumble in the rocks of despair. I happen to believe that we are beginning slowly, carefully and painstakingly to walk those miles, to keep those promises, promises to the youth through education, promises to the sick through better medical research, promises to the mentally retarded and mentally ill, the vast programs of your government; promises to the elderly as we seek better ways to assure them of dignity. (Applause)

Yes, I think we have begun here at home to work towards that great society for which all men really yearn in their hearts.

I believe the people of America desire a saviour and a more peaceful world for themselves and their children, and I believe they are willing to make great sacrifices to attain it. I believe the people of America support the efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, yes, the efforts of both

political parties, to expand and to guarantee full and equal rights of citizenship to every American no matter who he is. (Applause)

May I suggest that it would be well for us not to calculate this decision that has been made in terms of votes. It is really unimportant whether there is backlash or frontlash. What is most important is did we do right and I think we did. (Applause)

I believe that the people of America want to provide security and dignity for our elderly. I believe the people of America desire to improve and expand our educational system, and to prepare every child for a wholesome and productive life, and I believe that the people of America seek to remake and transform our cities into places that are livable and pleasant and stimulating and decent communities.

But how shall we do these things? Part of the answer to that question, the American people must make on this election day. Shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who misrepresents the past, distorts the present, and slinks from the future, who curses the darkness and never asks for a candle? I hope not.

Or, shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who has been tested as few men have been in history by public service under four presidents, by leadership of a Congress of the United States and by sudden elevation under the most tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House? And to that I say, yes. (Applause)

Shall we choose a leader who specializes in driving away from him those with whom he disagrees, who scorns the path of modernization and accommodation, and who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party? I think not.

Or, shall we choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division, consensus from conflict, and who pursues duties as commander in chief with responsibility and restraint and who understands that compassion is not weakness and that concern for others is not socialism but good solid Americanism. (Applause)

These are the great questions, as I see them, which the American people in their own way must answer, and I have great faith in America and her people. We Americans are children of light, and we shall put from us forever the children of

darkness. We Americans are not haters nor do we wish to poison the wells of our main stream of American life, with the venom of bitterness and hate. (Applause)

I have a feeling that most Americans deep in their hearts know the kind of America that they want, and they have a very good idea of the kind of a man they want to lead their America. It is my view that we shall select on November 3rd the one man specially qualified to lead our nation and to lead our world towards those high and noble goals of peace and prosperity, and I appeal to my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans to make this election worthy of us.

I ask you to make this election a living memorial and tribute to the life of one that was taken from us, to make sure that the dreams and the hopes and the goals and the ideals that were laid down in message after message, in document after document, that those goals and those policies and that those ideals shall come to full fruition and how shall we do it?

We shall do it by campaigning with honor, by speaking forcefully but frankly and truthfully, and we shall do it by conducting ourselves with a sense of dignity so that when this election is over, whether we have won or lost, and I know that we shall win, when this election (Applause) -- when this election or this campaign is over, we will be able to say to ourselves we have done what was right. We have met the task of the day. We have fulfilled our responsibilities as citizens of a great Republic, and we have said to the President and to the Congress elected, proceed forward, march on, for the goals of peace and prosperity and the backing of Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

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For Ans of SATURDAY

Excerpts from the address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey,
Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate at Shrine Auditorium
Los Angeles, October 2, 1964. FRIDAY

The American people must choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division and consensus from conflict, who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint, and who understands that compassion is not cowardice and concern for others is not weakness.

We shall select the one man superbly qualified to lead our nation and the world towards the noble goals of the great society.

We shall select LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON.

For one thousand unforgettable days John Fitzgerald Kennedy led America and the world. He took a nation mired in stagnation and status-quo and made it move forward once again.

A better life and a more peaceful world--these were the objectives of John F. Kennedy. And these are the objectives which Lyndon B. Johnson seeks.

But we know that the path toward peace is long and slow and dangerous and tortuous. To walk that path in a nuclear age we need all the brains and skill and wisdom, all the wit and courage and compassion that we can find within us.

For Release A.M., Saturday, October 3, 1964, Address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate, at Shrine Auditorium, Los Angeles, October 2, 1964.

Four years ago in the campaign of 1960 a courageous young senator from Massachusetts--the Democratic Party's candidate for President--came to Los Angeles. And he came to this Shrine Auditorium. He came to ask for your hands and your help in moving America forward again.

Our beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy concluded his memorable address here four years ago by paraphrasing the words Abraham Lincoln wrote to a friend in 1860. John Kennedy said:

"Now, in 1960, we know there is a God, and we know he hates injustice, and we see the storm coming. We say, if he has a place and part for us, we are ready."

God did have a place for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For one thousand unforgettable days this man led America and the world. He took a nation mired in stagnation and status-quo and made it move forward once again. His love of life, his love of family, his love of people--regardless of their race, color, or creed--captured the imagination of Americans everywhere--young and old, rich and poor, black and white. He truly made this nation feel young once again.

Who can forget these memorable words from President Kennedy's Inaugural Address.

"Now the trumpet summons us again--not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need--not as a call to battle, though embattled we are--but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation--a struggle

against the common enemies of man, tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

And then, he was taken from us--just as Abraham Lincoln was taken from us.

The world--it seemed--stood still. For a few moments of time, violence shattered peace--fear cracked courage--hate stood above reason.

We had lost our President. But we also had lost someone we loved--much as we love a member of our own family. Never before in America had there been such a sense of total involvement by all the people. Never before have we been so united. Never before have we been so aware of our national identity.

With a renewed sense of national unity--fortified by our common sorrow--we rededicated America to the fulfillment of the hopes and commitments of our beloved, martyred President--John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

In that hour of grief and horror, there came another man who spoke to the nation with fortitude, understanding and courage. There came a man who took command of America and said to us.

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

And this man was Lyndon Baines Johnson.

President Johnson has kept America on course. Lyndon Johnson has finished so magnificently the four years which John Kennedy began. And Lyndon Johnson has preserved the priceless gift which John Kennedy gave to us - an opportunity for a better life--a more peaceful world.

A better life and a more peaceful world--these were the objectives of John F. Kennedy. In June 1963 he clarified this goal with these words.

"What kind of a peace do we seek. I am talking about genuine peace--the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living--and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children--not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women--not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."

And these are the objectives which Lyndon Johnson seeks. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has moved boldly forward in the pursuit of peace and in the pursuit of a better life for all mankind.

But we know that the path toward peace is long and slow and dangerous and tortuous. To walk that path in a nuclear age we need all the brains and skill and wisdom, all the wit and courage and compassion that we can find within us.

The world we live in is a dangerous world. A world darkened by nuclear weapons, a world darkened by the sinister attempts of communism to seize control of nations and their destinies, and the minds of men. It is not a world for men of timid spirit. It is not a world for the rash or the impetuous.

But it is also a world of promise. We are at the threshold as never before, of an age when mankind can feed its hungry, clothe and house its needy, bring care and cure to the suffering and the sick, bring justice to the oppressed, bring literacy and learning and opportunity to those who hope.

Yes, there are still challenges before us. You remember President Kennedy's favorite lines from the pen of Robert Frost.

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,

But I have promises to keep,

And miles to go before I sleep,

And miles to go before I sleep.

And we are beginning--slowly, carefully, painstakingly--to walk those miles, to keep those promises. We have begun here at home to work toward that great society for which all men yearn in their hearts.

I believe the people of America desire a safer more peaceful world for themselves and their children.

I believe the people of America support the efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to expand the full rights of citizenship everywhere in this country.

I believe the people of America seek an end to poverty and deprivation for all peoples everywhere.

I believe the people of America want to provide security and dignity to our elderly.

I believe the people of America desire to improve and expand our educational system to prepare every child for a wholesome and productive life.

I believe the people of America seek to transform our cities into pleasant, stimulating and decent communities.

How shall we do these things? That is the question which the American people must answer on election day.

Shall we attempt to do them under the leadership of a man who vilifies the past, distorts the present, and shrinks from the future--who curses the darkness and never lights a candle.

Or shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who has been tested as few men in our history? By public service under four presidents, by leadership in the Congress of the United States, by sudden elevation under tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House itself.

Shall we choose a leader who specializes in driving away those with whom he disagrees, who scorns the path of moderation and accommodation, and who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party.

Or shall we choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division and consensus from conflict, who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint, and who understands that compassion is not cowardice and concern for others is not weakness.

This is the great question which the American people must answer. And I have great faith in America and her people.

We Americans are children of light--we shall put from us forever the children of darkness.

We shall select the one man superbly qualified to lead our nation and the world towards the noble goals of the great society.

We shall select LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON.

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PROPOSED SPEECH

~~Los Angeles, California~~

16
In the "Education of Henry Adams" is written the story that our fathers studied husbandry and mechanics, so that we might study Economics and political science, and our sons might study philosophy and literature. Indeed, the pursuit and advancement of educational opportunity for all Americans has been a constant ideal and program of the Democratic party, *and it is the top priority of the* ~~as it has been of this Administration~~ inaugurated by John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

We know that we live in a dynamic and changing world.

---A world in which men seek to eliminate the ancient enemies of man -- injustice, disease, poverty, and war itself.

---A world in which science and technology have opened new vistas in man's unending drive to conquer his environment.

---A world in which there is opportunity to match the "meaning of our lives" with the "marvelous products of our labor."

↳ We have at this time and place been called upon by duty and by right to help build what President Lyndon B. Johnson has called a "Great Society of the Highest Order." ↳ We must help build this society not just for the citizens of today but for the generations yet to come. Our duty is to ourselves and to mankind. ↳ We have accomplished much in these lands, but we have much to accomplish if we are to be true to ourselves, to our ideals, to social justice, and to concern for the rights of others.

It is altogether fitting and proper that the youth of America should help in building this Great Society.

↳ The United States is a Nation of youth, both physically and spiritually. More than 10 million Americans will be eligible to vote for the first time in this Presidential election. More than 1/3 of the electorate is under 35 years of age and more than 1/2 of the population of the United States will be under the age of 25 by the end of 1966.

More relevant than ever is Goethe's dictum that the fate of a nation is decided by direction of its youth.

At the beginning of this Administration, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson sensed the winds of change in the world. They rejected the cries of those who would live in a different century.

In the midst of a tumultuous time, the orderly and calm transition made by President Johnson on that black day in November gave young people a renewed respect for our democratic system and the great man who so firmly took hold of its helm.

The world watched ^{us} at a time of unparalleled crisis. President Johnson united the American people ^{He moved to} to advance the cause of human freedom and dignity for which John Kennedy had lived and died.

The youth of America realize that the Jeffersonian concept of government and concern for the rights of man was not frozen to the time it was propounded. It has been advanced as a living philosophy by the "New Freedom" of Wilson, the "New Deal" of Roosevelt, the "Fair Deal" of Truman, the "New Frontier" of Kennedy, and the "Great Society" of Johnson.

Young Americans wish to continue the search for positive solutions to our Nation's and our world's problems. Youth looks for the ideas and the idealism, the intelligence and compassion which in the last four years has produced increased opportunity in education and employment. Youth rejects those with no programs -- only cynicism: those with no ideas, only reaction and obstruction. Responsible youth repudiates the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society. ^{American} Youth and you know in your heart ~~and mind~~ that extremism is wrong, all wrong.

^{have} The young people of this nation worked for positive measures to assure equal rights and equal opportunities for all Americans; have supported an attack upon the roots of poverty; aid to education and health research; the Peace Corps, the Tax Cut; the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; and the President's Space Research Program.

Although the Democratic Party is history's ~~longest~~^{oldest} continuous political party, it still embodies the youthful zeal which inspired its creation. Its leaders, the late President Kennedy and now President Johnson, possess the vital spirit with which youth associate. The Democratic Party holds with Ibsen that those in league with the future are in league with truth.

It is most appropriate that young Americans be active in the campaign of President Johnson, who himself became active in his nation's affairs at an early age. He was Texas state director of the National Youth Administration at the age of 27, was elected to the House of Representatives at the age of 29, and the United Senate at the age of 39. He was the youngest man who ever served as a Minority Leader of the Senate and he became the youngest Majority Leader in history. He is thus well aware and greatly concerned with the opportunities and problems of young citizens.

In the President's design for the Great Society, he has translated

the idealism of young America into sound and constructive programs.

His clarion call to all the young people to help in building this

Great Society stands as a challenge we gladly accept. In doing so, we

fulfill the prophecy of Ralph Waldo Emerson who said, "When duty

whispers low, 'thou must', youth replies, 'I can'."

In the spirit then of President Kennedy and ~~in the presence of~~

~~President Kennedy~~ in the presence of President Johnson, let

the young men and women of America, measure up to the high

standards which they have set and fulfill the destiny history has

placed before us.

Young Americans, President Johnson and the Democratic Party need

your continued support, your enthusiasm, your idealism, your interest

and your ideas, because it is you who are the leaders of the future

and the future of the United States and the free world will rest

largely in your hands.



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