

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
TVT, 11:30 p.m.  
Walt Whitman Hotel  
Camden, New Jersey  
October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. The United States is a young country and more and more the population of this country is youthful. With our growth in population there is an ever larger number of people under the age of 21, and frankly a majority of the people under the age of 30. So that it is fair to say that just looking at it on the basis of the age of contemporary society or of the citizens now with us, that America is young.

But it is young in many other ways. It is a nation of vitality and of ingenuity, of creativeness, of adventure.

Our Constitution, while the oldest written Constitution in the world, actually is a modern Constitution. It is a living document. It says "We the people of the United States do ordain and establish." It doesn't say "We did." We constantly do new things. Each day we reaffirm our sense of justice. Each day we reaffirm our sense of freedom and of individual liberty and opportunity.

Now, I am pleased that in this campaign so many young people are taking an active part. There are the Young Democrats and there are the Young Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, and there are many other young people in other independent groups, and they are attending our meetings in large numbers, and I want to say to these young people that you are needed.

The first thing that you can do that will be of vital importance is to make yourself like a minuteman of Concord and Lexington to see that freedom prevails on election day. See that your parents get out to vote. As I have said many times, parents give young people lots of advice. I have given my three sons and daughter all sorts of advice. And once in a while I think it is their turn to advise the parents. And in this instance on election day I want every young man and woman, every boy and girl of high school age, yes, of elementary school age, of college age, to advise their parents that on that day these parents have the obligation to protect the future of the young people, the children of America. And they can do that by their vote.

Now, if we can get young people to see to it that their parents vote and that their older brothers and sisters, their aunts and uncles and members of the family of voting age vote, I haven't any doubt but what America will be stronger and the better.

One other point I should like to make is that young people can do a great deal in the campaign by working at headquarters, attaching themselves to candidates, being available for the many little chores that come with politics.

Politics ought to be fun in America. That is, good wholesome activity. It ought to be creative, it ought to be friendly, and it ought to be informative. And I think young people by their sense of enthusiasm, their

wholesomeness, add a depth of decency and of cleanness to American politics.

Now I advocate also that our young friends be of good cheer and when you are of good cheer, you ought to be of good manners. Let the other fellow have his chance to say his speech, to appear and make his case.

Now, I know of no better way to win an election than to win it by a free exchange of ideas, to permit not only our own candidates to state their views and to state them forcefully and to state them in whatever time is needed, but to permit the opposition to do so too.

I have advised the young people who support the Democratic candidates to be happy people, to pursue this great sense of happiness, and to cheer and not to jeer, to applaud and not to boo. Booing in American politics is really unfortunate. It is not needed. It doesn't prove anything except that you are unwilling to listen. But to cheer and to listen I think is the -- well, they represent the signs of maturity and of friendliness and responsibility.

Well, with that I believe that it might be a good idea if we turn this program over to some of the young people that are here with us, and see if we can get some questions.

I want to thank the young people for their active participation.

All right, Howard.

Mr. Mitchell. I am Howard Mitchell.

Senator, we have heard during this campaign and during many years about the Russian question or some call it the Red threat. We hear that we are soft on Communism or Khrushchev is conciliatory or we are on the brink of war or he is fighting for his life with Red China. In all this fact and fancy, sir, what do you feel is the true issue of relations with the Soviet Union, and how will you and President Johnson deal with it?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I think one of the great issues in this campaign is this whole question of our foreign policy, of our programs of national security, and you have put your finger right upon one of the most difficult and complex of all the issues. The difference between the two candidates on the issue of communism is that President Johnson recognizing that communism is a threat, recognizing that its spread is a danger, that he follows the course that has been established since the time of Franklin Roosevelt up through Truman and Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy of firmness, of strength, but also of flexibility, of wisdom, of judgment, of negotiation, recognizing that the power of the Free World, if brought to bear, peacefully, and perseveringly upon the communist areas, that that tends to change the communist areas and tends to splinter them and tends to weaken their position.

The task of statesmanship is not to involve America

in a war, Howard. The task of statesmanship is to win this struggle over the long road without a war. There are no instant answers to the complex problems between ourselves and the communist bloc. There is only instant annihilation if you get into a nuclear war.

So a brave man and a courageous man and a wise man is the man or leader that pursues a course that on the one hand seeks to weaken the communist bloc, and we surely have, and on the other hand doesn't cross the case so far and so hard that it explodes.

We can't afford to have a nuclear holocaust because there will be no Howard Mitchell. There will be no future. There will be no schools. There will be no freedom if that should happen to us.

So we believe in firmness and resoluteness without being belligerent or arrogant. We think that wisdom and reason and responsibility backed by strength and the capacity of our nation to constantly build that strength in the long run will build for peace and for our own security and freedom.

Mr. Greenberg. William Greenberg.

Do you think in the long run, say ten to fifteen years, we have more to fear from Red China than from Russia, sort of the old idea of the have-countries versus the have-nots?

Senator Humphrey. Yes. I think so. And that goes right back to the question asked by your friend there, Mr. Mitchell. There is a split today in the communist bloc. We used to talk about communism as if it were one just solid, you know, piece of granite, so to speak. They called it a monolithic bloc. Well, that has been broken today. There is a serious split between Red China and the Soviet Union. Even the Soviet Union today can't control its own satellites; as Khrushchev said they are getting too big to speak. So each of these countries, Rumania, Albania, Poland Czechoslovakia, and other countries that had been under the iron grip of the Soviet Union, today are really enjoying some sort of semi-autonomy. They are trying to have a little independence of their own.

The force of nationalism is greater than the force of communist internationalism and there is today a very serious split between Red China and the Soviet Union, and I do believe that in the future, Bill, that we will have more to fear in terms of aggression, of rash and irresponsible action, from the Chinese than we have from the Russians and actually the Russians themselves are deeply concerned over this. Right at this present moment they are deeply concerned.

Yes; now we ought to get over here and see what we have.

Miss Stenzler. Terry Stenzler.

Senator, one of the things which disturbed me in the Goldwater nomination was how serious men would support one particular view, policy, and then it was the idea of maintaining their position in the Party, completely reversed their views, and it appeared that their politics -- I am using the term in a rather derogatory sense, was ruling their policy.

Now, I am sure, I am aware of the same thing happening to many degrees in the Democratic Party.

How will you and President Johnson deal with something like this in that policy should be more important than politics alone?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Miss Stanzler, it is a fact that we do have a good deal of Party unity. There is an attempt to try to bring it back together and both political parties are somewhat guilty of this. We fight hard in primaries.

But I do think in the Republican Party you have seen a basic split over fundamentals. Mr. Goldwater does not follow the traditional national Republican position. He repudiates bipartisanship, for example. He really is not a conservative. He is a radical. He is as Mr. Scranton of Pennsylvania put it, out of the mainstream of Republican thought and the Saturday Evening Post put it I think more bluntly. They said he was a stray -- I mean, he was alone by himself.

I don't think it holds a political party to try to get unity at the expense of basic policy. Now, little differences, that is one thing, but where there is a basic policy difference, I think it is very dangerous, and I believe you are going to find that large numbers of Republicans, millions of them, will not support Mr. Goldwater because they cannot go along with what they consider to be his radical and extreme views.

John?

Mr. Lacy. John Lacy.

Senator, in Atlantic City, you called Senator Goldwater a temporary spokesman of the Republican Party.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Mr. Lacy. And downstairs just now you called him a fraction of the faction of his party. Now --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Mr. Lacy. Now, could you tell us why you think he is temporary? His office as the leader of the Party and whom do you see as replacements?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I can't give you any predictions as a replacement. But, John, I can say this,

that he does not represent the majority view of his Party. He does not follow within the tradition of President Eisenhower. He certainly is not within the tradition of the late Arthur Vandenberg in foreign policy. He does not carry on what I consider to be the middle-of-the-road type of R-publicanism which has been so characteristic of a large number of Republicans. So that he is, I think, a temporary spokesman.

I believe he will be defeated in this election, and then I think that others in the Republican Party will come to reclaim their Party later on.

John, I do believe that Senator Goldwater is but a temporary spokesman because I am convinced that while his group was able to move in and sort of capture the organizational department of the Republican Party that there are millions of Republicans in the country that do not agree with his extreme views because he has repudiated whole areas of Republican policy over the past 30, 40 years, and I go right back to the question that Miss Stenzler asked, your friend Terry here, earlier. Some of the Republican spokesmen today, governors, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Scranton and others, have been campaigning for Senator Goldwater despite their vast difference on issues. I think one of the reasons they are doing it is to sort of keep contact with the Republican organization in the knowledge that Mr. Goldwater is going to suffer a smashing defeat and somebody ought to be around to pick up the pieces.

But I also think that this is rather dangerous on the part of, let's say Governor Scranton who opposed Mr. Goldwater very vigorously, not on just detail but on basic fundamental principles.

Now, it is one thing to be able to make peace with a man who disagrees with you on one issue or two issues or even three, but when you have as Mr. Goldwater did, he repudiated 25 separate points in the Republican platform of 1960, right down the line. The record is in the Congress. He just voted against 25 commitments of his platform.

Now, Mr. Scranton comes along and disagrees openly with Mr. Goldwater, not on one or two issues. Not just on civil rights or not just on federal spending but on a whole category of issues. I think that is very dangerous for a man to go on out and support a candidate who is in such complete opposition to his philosophy. I think you are sacrificing your principle and philosophy for political expediency and I believe that is a most unfortunate thing to do.

Well, now, let me just summarize this and say that the program that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are trying to present to the American people is one of continuity within the programs of the past 30 years of the Democratic Party. In foreign policy it is the continuation of our bipartisan foreign policy. In national security it is the building of the strength not only of our own country

but also of our allies.

At home we are committed to a program of opening up new paths of opportunity for our young and I might say that we consider that to be primarily in the field of education, of retraining workers that are victims of automation and change in industry. We are seeking, in other words, to have a government that doesn't take over the responsibilities of other people but helps people fulfill their responsibilities.

Lincoln said the duty of government is to serve the people. I think Mr. Goldwater repudiates that great principle of Lincoln's philosophy, and I believe that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey feel that government can be an effective helper, can be a partner with industry and labor and agriculture, with young and old, in the building of what President Johnson considers to be the great society.

\*\*\*\*\*

Students  
Senior citizens @ Lab in South Jersey

Camden Address to Labor Leaders

Minorities  
Run this  
country

General Background: Unemployment in Camden has risen from 6% in 1960 to about 11% today. Principal factor has been defense cut-backs in RCA missile and radar complex in Camden and half-capacity operations at New York Shipbuilding Yards (chief competitor with Norfolk Ship Yards.)

ⓧ  
Rt. to  
work  
laws

Camden has young and dynamic mayor, Albert Pierce, who is a non-organization Democrat and something of a maverick at times. Suggested points for speech follow:

Speech points for Labor Breakfast:

1.) (Praise local workers for their contribution to defense of the United States and stress determination of this Administration to lick unemployment problem.)

Camden possesses a highly skilled and experienced labor force. You have made a major contribution to the winning of armed conflicts in which the United States has been engaged and in maintaining the defense of the free world.

We realize that this area is undergoing a difficult period of unemployment and readjustment. We appreciate fully the many personal problems, the family problems, and the community problems which unemployment has brought to Camden.

One of the challenges which our nation still faces is to extend the general prosperity of America to all cities and regions. We cannot tolerate pockets of poverty or depressed areas. We have the resources to banish unemployment from our land. We must exercise the

Gen'l  
Prosperity

Bill Proccacci for LAB 5

determination and the vision to accomplish this objective.

X I believe that President Johnson and his supporters in Congress possess the understanding, the courage, and the concern which are essential if Camden -- and other cities like Camden -- are to be restored to full economic prosperity. We know that the answer is not to expect families to move from this area in search of employment

X The answer is to bring more business and more industry to Camden -- for this city already possesses an abundance of skilled labor, experienced craftsmen, and willing workers.

not more families!

Economic Opportunity Act

President Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act -- the anti-poverty program -- is a major step forward towards this objective. This legislation creates a Job Corps and a Youth Conservation Corps to help idle youths learn the discipline of hard work and acquire the training necessary to find steady employment in this age of science and technology.

The legislation also creates community action programs to assist local governments and local private groups break the cycle of poverty on the local level. The Federal government will support and encourage plans developed in the local community. Also created are programs to assist in basic education for adults, provide employment and investment incentives for small

Keep

businesses, and create work experience programs for the unemployed.

We do not pretend that the Economic Opportunity Act, or the Area Redevelopment Administration, or the Accelerated Public Works program will solve these problems overnight. But we do know these programs have helped. We know unemployment is falling nationally. And we know the battle is not won until prosperity is ~~res~~ restored to every community and every region in America.

2.) (Emphasize need for Federal assistance to local school systems. New Jersey relies heavily upon local property taxes for schools -- little State assistance. Thus areas like Camden have very difficult time in providing adequate school budgets.)

We know in particular the urgent importance of massive assistance to local communities in providing outstanding schools for our children. Many communities simply cannot afford the comprehensive educational systems which are necessary today if graduates are to be prepared fully in terms of today's job opportunities. In particular, vocational educational opportunities must be expanded and improved --- and the 88th Congress passed such an extension last fall.

Lyndon Johnson and I believe that we must move ahead in the fight to conquer unemployment and poverty and provide better education for our children.

But not Senator Goldwater. He voted against the anti-poverty program, minimum wages, medicare, area redevelopment, manpower development and training, unemployment compensation, public housing, youth conservation corps, scholarships for medical students, aid to school construction, and vocational education.

This is a record of reaction, regression, and retreat which would mean the doom of American labor, the American economy, and American communities from coast to coast.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at Dillon Gymnasium  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey  
October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Senator Williams. May I thank the student body. Both for those that cheered, those that hissed and a couple that booed. I want to thank all of you.

It is wonderful to be on this platform today with the Chief Executive of the State of New Jersey, to be here with my esteemed colleague in the United States Senate, Senator Pete Williams, and also to be here with the gentleman from the House of Representatives that has a record of outstanding service, one of the most able and one of the most gifted members of the House of Representatives, Frank Thompson.  
(Applause)

I have looked forward to this unique privilege of speaking in Princeton at this great university. (Applause)

Some years ago, I believe it was around 1953 or 1954, I was fortunate to be invited to speak at one of the meetings of the great Clio Society, and I have recalled it all of my public life, and I had a good time, I might add, too. There were a few misguided souls there, but we were able to convert them.

And I am delighted today to be here with our chairman of the Young Democrats, Mr. Coulser, and with Mr. Etten, the president of the Whig-Clio Society, and I gather that the vice-president, as well, and I want to mention him because I am strong on vice-presidents, Charles Whitebread. (Applause)

I understand that you have had some sort of a poll taken here, and at long last the effects of higher education are taking place. (Applause)

I want to say I have never had any doubt as to the competence and the intelligence of the students, but I have also been somewhat worried about the factuality when I find that those who have been privileged to have a higher education fall into the paths of political sin by voting for reactionary Republican candidates. It is most unfortunate but you are entitled to transgress a bit. Now that you have learned the error of your ways, you can return to the home of your fathers.  
(Applause)

Ordinarily a man seeking public office or as a candidate ought never to enjoy the friendliness and the hospitality of a good home before he makes a speech. But today I was privileged to be the guest of the Governor and Mrs. Hughes and they were kind enough to give me the first good meal that I have had in several months and like most people, when you have such good Democratic food, you start to feel like a Republican, a little dead and a little lazy. I am not sure that I am up to my task today. (Applause)

Of course, there is another way of saying it; vote Democrat so that you can live like a Republican. (Applause)

I should forewarn the student body that has been kind enough and solicitous enough to gather here today to tell you I am a refugee from a classroom, and one of the reasons that I seek these opportunities of speaking at universities or colleges is because politics is a precarious enterprise and I would sort of like to just keep my employment blank in, sort of, you know, in living status all the time. I want any members of the faculty that are here and the administration to take note of the fact that I am a student of government. And if things should go from bad to worse or should I say from bad to unbelievably worse -- (Applause) -- I might very well apply.

I would like to put in a plug with the students. I am an easy grader. (Applause)

I have taken the privilege of using this platform today to talk to you on a subject that I believe should be of some interest to all of us. I want to talk to you on the subject of the American presidency. Now, I am not going to spend too much time reviewing ancient history, or even the American past. I have said from every platform, with few exceptions, that it is very appropriate and proper for every student of either high school or college level, undergraduate or graduate school, to become knowledgeable in ancient history. It is an interesting pursuit. It adds to one's understanding of culture, civilization. Study it. Learn it well. But for goodness sakes, don't vote it. (Applause)

And I don't think you will. I think you are contemporaries and I think you are interested in the future.

But to come to Princeton, one of the truly great universities of this land, and just to give an ordinary political speech, I think would do a disservice to this great campus and this great institution of learning. So I come to you today not to arouse your emotions, not to make you more partisan, but may I say to add to some understanding of a better -- some understanding of the Constitution of the United States, of the role of the President of the United States, in the affairs of this nation, and the development of the Presidency of the United States as an institution of government.

Since the day when James Madison, the class of '71, that is 1771, at Princeton, took the road from Orange County in Virginia to attend that Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Princeton University, your university, has loomed large in the annals of American Government and American constitutionalism. The father of the Constitution was James Madison. The late Edward S. Corwin, whose scholarship and incandescent learning illuminated this campus for generations, set the standards for all scholarly discussions of the Constitution and of the office of the presidency. So there is no more fitting and appropriate place for a public figure who is on the national scene to discuss this important office, the most important office in the world, which by the way has not been adequately discussed in the campaign or in recent years.

I am here not to talk to you abstractly about the presidency. Politics in the last analysis always comes down to a choice between human beings. Two men confront each other on election day. We are going to have to make that choice. Some say only a choice of personalities is involved, but while personality is important and it always is in a democracy, hidden behind a personality is a body of ideas, a whole set of attitudes toward politics, towards political ideals. Indeed, towards the nature of our society. And the proper relationships which should exist between its members.

I hear all too many people say, "Oh, I think he is a good fellow." The world is full of good fellows. That is not enough for being President of the United States. We cannot afford to indulge ourselves in mediocrity. Mediocrity is commonplace. The presidency requires excellence, and therefore, I think it is proper that we should review the qualities of the office of president and the demands upon the individual who occupy that office.

The American people on November 3rd are not merely choosing between Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater, President and Senator. They are choosing between two philosophies of government, between two attitudes towards modern American life, and between two concepts of the office of the American presidency.

Now, one of these philosophies could be described as the Princeton tradition of responsible nationalism. James Madison saw that if absolute power in government can corrupt absolutely, Lord Acton's law as we put it, then the absence of power in government can corrupt just as thoroughly. And this seldom is mentioned.

Time after time we are told about the use of power as a corrupting influence but how many people have told you of the cities, of the states, of the villages, and of the nations that have collapsed because of the failure to exercise responsible power? Or because of the absence of responsibility in office?

Now, Madison, not your contemporary but surely of your tradition, realized that corruption rising from weakness was precisely the result of the Articles of Confederation. A government without a head, a government where each state in the name of its own rights was free to strike at all other states, a government where all states were linked together as architects of their common ruin, the first extreme position of states rights at the expense of national unity and of national respectability and responsibility.

But Madison also saw the remedy, a feeble grouping of self-centered states must be transformed into the living tissue of a federal union.

This is the work of James Madison. Each state would contribute to and draw strength from the totality. There must also be in the constitutional tradition of our country a national chief executive chosen by the nation, the only representative of all the people, might I add, not a president

chosen by states but chosen by all the people, responsible to the courts in his legal character, responsible to the Congress and the nation in his political character, but always working for a national interest larger than the sum of state and local interests.

Later it was your great President and ours, Woodrow Wilson, who translated this philosophy into terms relevant to the 20th Century America.

I have said on a number of occasions when I have been interviewed by our esteemed journalists, they have asked me who is your political hero. Well, it is difficult to select one. But I would say in the 20th Century it was Woodrow Wilson.

My father, not privileged to have all the higher education of some, but a man of great insight, brought me up on the works of Woodrow Wilson. I longed to attend this great university because Woodrow Wilson was its spirit and gave it new meaning in the 20th Century. And Woodrow Wilson understood as few have the Constitution of the United States in its present day application. He understood that it was a living document and not a dead one. He understood that it was a contemporary document and not of the past. And every student of government would be well to remember that the Preamble of the Constitution is not written "We the people of the United States did ordain." It is written "We the people of the United States do ordain." This hour, this day, this moment, this week, this month, this year of 1964. Not 1864, Senator, 1964. (Applause)

Woodrow Wilson saw an America. He saw an America in the throes of industrialization and urbanization. He saw an America gripped by new problems, and he wrote of the New Freedom, problems which were national and international in scope and could no longer be solved by the habitual responses of rural America. It was Woodrow Wilson who wrote the last definitive work on congressional government. It was Woodrow Wilson who defined once again, as Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln had, the power of the presidency and its importance, and it was Woodrow Wilson who understood America's responsibility to the world. He was, they said, ahead of his time. He was not. His enemies were behind the times, and we paid a terrible price because of the shortsightedness of those who had political power in the 1918 to 1920 period.

I pray to God Almighty that America will never have to pay that price again, and yet there are voices today, loud voices, irrational voices, that would ask us to return even further back than the days of the 1920's.

Now, these novel conditions of urbanization and industrialization pose great problems to our governmental system, but Wilson argued our system could prove equal to these challenges if the presidency became not only an administrative office but as he put it, "the vital center of action in the government." This is the same theme that Adlai Stevenson talked to the American people about when he sought to talk sense to our people, "the vital center of action." The presidency is not an administrative office

alone. It is the center of a nation. Education, persuasion, inspiration, action. And it needs to be understood in those terms.

Listen to Wilson's credo -- and these words could have been spoken as of this hour.

"A great nation is not led by a man who simply repeats the talk of the street-corners or the opinions of the newspapers. A nation is led by a man who hears more than those things; or who, rather, hearing those things, understands them better, unites them, puts them into a common meaning; speaks, not the rumors of the street, but a new principle for a new age; a man (to whom) the voices of the nation... unite in a single meaning and reveal to him a single vision, so that he can speak what no man else knows, the common meaning of the common voice. Such is the man who leads a great, free, democratic nation."

My fellow Americans, those are the words of a prophet. Those are the words of greatness. Those are the words of a man of vision. And Woodrow Wilson will be known as having inspired not the people of his generation alone but the people of a century yet to be born, and even today we are inspired by this man's intellect, his courage, his spirit.

Now, what of the other concept of the presidency, because there are other views? This other concept sees the president as passive, inert, weak, lacking the authority to serve as the heart of the Republic, lacking the driving force to give definition and meaning to America's sense of national purpose. This is the concept of the presidency which tells us that the government should get out of many activities. This is the concept of the presidency which tells us that the job is to repeal laws, not to pass them. Perish the thought. We lived through that and almost lost a nation.

Now, this position as it is set forth in the present campaign echoes the debates on the Constitution of 1787 and '88, and I mention this because I notice how the opposition loves to wrap itself in the history of America as it rewrites it, as it distorts it. (Applause)

I did not spend many years in my life in studying, in undergraduate and graduate school, to rewrite the history of this country. I spent my time in study to learn the history of this country and I would say that those who seek to be national leaders in America know their country and not try to redefine it and rewrite the history of peoples that have lived before us.

It is tragic to hear people who say they speak for a great party to be so completely oblivious of the facts of our national life. (Applause)

This position of the glorification of states rights at the expense of national unity, of a weak president at the expense of national purpose, was repudiated decisively by the founding fathers of this Republic and it lives on now only as an exhibit in the museum of constitutional oddities. (Applause) And might I add that Senator Goldwater is the

curator of this museum. (Applause)

Even though I might paraphrase to say he even voted against museums.

For this reason amongst others he is clearly unqualified to be the President of the United States. Now, I do not rest this judgment on personal grounds. I repeat, he is a good man. He is a fine, sociable human being. He is a patriot. He loves his family. He is a moral man. I don't make any personal accusation against this man at all. I would like him as my neighbor but not as my president. (Applause)

His whole attitude towards government and specifically towards the American Presidency which he seeks is totally out of step with the Constitution, with the constitutional debates on the Constitution, with the record of his own party, with the interpretation of the Constitution by that first great Republican, John Marshall, the Chief Justice, Abraham Lincoln, any Republican that anyone can think of.

His record and his attitude is completely out of step. Is it any wonder that Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania said that he is out of the mainstream of the Republican Party and that the Curtis Publishing Company, in the Saturday Evening Post, said that he was a "stray," from American tradition. (Applause)

I don't think I would have gone that far. But I have said and I repeat this man is neither a conservative nor a Republican. He must stand on his own. I would have to say that in light of our constitutional history, he can be classified in only one category, a radical in the sense of departure from what we know to be our system. (Applause)

Now, his concept of the presidency, I repeat, is out of step with American traditions. It is out of step with the realities of the present, and I believe that it is out of step with the needs of the future. Indeed, the only American Government in which the Senator from Arizona would feel at home is the Articles of Confederation which expired with a whimper in 1789. (Applause)

Now, let me move along. A man is not qualified to be president because he merely wants the job. Or because he is put up to it by his friends. He must understand the presidency. He must know its responsibilities, its complex and frustrating dimensions, and it is my conviction that Senator Goldwater does not understand the office. He has no sense of history and no feeling for our constitutional traditions. He is a rigid and at times a resentful radical in full revolt against the 20th Century and the traditions of his Party.

His glorification of extremeism, his readiness to rip the fabric of our community, demonstrates beyond doubt that he lacks a responsible spirit, the inner controls, that are indispensable to a chief executive vested with enormous discretionary powers.

175 years ago George Washington inaugurated the presidency of a new, a weak, and a contentious Republic. In 1964 Lyndon Johnson presides over the destiny of the greatest nation on the face of the earth. Although we are still relatively a young country, the President of the United States holds the world's oldest elective office of political leadership. It is an office which has grown in authority, responsibility, and prestige without any sacrifice of that responsibility to the people, which gives democratic leadership both its strength and its legitimacy. Elsewhere in the past 175 years one nation after another has been racked by revolution and turmoil, confronted by the emergence of a new civilization built around industries and cities. Many systems of government in these 175 years have faltered and collapsed. So trying to establish an executive with power adequate for their needs has created a Leviathan. That mortal god whose total power Thomas Hobbes hoped would bring peace and security. Others fleeing the Leviathan have fallen into an abyss of anarchy. Many have veered from one polar position to the other, leaving a community torn by conflict with no established principles of public order, no standards of legitimacy, in short, no real constitution.

The American Constitution and the office of president that it established have in contrast stood throughout these tumultuous years, providing energy without tyranny, flexibility without autonomy, responsibility without dependence.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Wilson's heirs in the White House, understood that the American Presidency is our principal link binding the past to the present and the present to the future. They understood that the presidency is the only office in our constitutional system that holds together the many divided parts of the executive, that connects the executive with the legislative and judicial branches, that binds the government to the people and that represents the nation as a whole at home and in the international arena. They understood that if there was any slack in the executive energy, the contagion of weakness, or should I say the corruption of weakness, would spread from the person of the president through the nation and the world. They understood that a man called to the presidency must cast from his heart and mind all narrowness of spirit. He must be the natural enemy of those men who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people; let me repeat it: he must be the natural enemy of those who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people--(Applause) -- only to betray their highest interests.

Presidents in the Wilsonian tradition understood, in short, that the very word "president" was a summons to greatness.

Now, will the man elected president this year understand the fearful obligations of a president? Will he understand why the framers of the Constitution broke with the presidents of their time and established a strong executive? Why in this perilous world of 1964 their wisdom has been confirmed a thousandfold. Will he understand why above all

a great people and a great nation need a strong president?

I think these are the questions that need to be asked. With all the shouting and all the booing and all the cheering, we are dealing with the most serious business of our times, the nature of our government, the responsibility of government, whether or not America will be up to the demands of international leadership because, make no mistake about it, what Lincoln said in his Second Inaugural is still true. America is the last best hope on earth, and that American cannot falter because of weakness in its people or in its government. (Applause)

I come here today to say that Lyndon Johnson's entire career demonstrates that he surely understands these questions and their answers. He has been in public life for over 30 years. The first of his mentors was President Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt. From Roosevelt -- (Applause)--Lyndon Johnson learned in close intimate detail the nature of the modern presidency, its capabilities, its limitations. More important, he learned how the limitations can best be met and the capabilities best realized.

Lyndon Johnson's next great mentor was the Senate of the United States, and his Democratic colleagues in the Senate elected him their leader while he was still in his freshman term. If there was anything wrong with Lyndon Johnson, and my how we now hear how wrong he is, if there was any flaw in his character, any weakness in his nerve, any pettiness in his heart, any miopia in his vision, any stammer in his thought processes, I can assure you from firsthand knowledge that Lyndon Johnson would not have been acknowledged by his Senate colleagues, jealous of their rights, on both sides of the aisle, as one of the greatest legislative leaders that America has ever produced in the United States Senate. (Applause)

If Lyndon Johnson had not practiced the responsible exercise of political power as the Senate Majority Leader, our political history during the Eisenhower years would have been far different than it is and was. Lyndon Johnson was in a position to harass the Eisenhower Administration if he had believed in an irresponsible, anarchistic, nihilistic jungle doctrine of opposition for the sake of opposition.

Instead, he taught me and he taught others, he taught the Senator from this State, Pete Williams, he taught us to be responsible and not to be opposition for the sake of opposition.

Often at the expense of cloakroom criticism by certain members of his own Party, Lyndon Johnson used his strength as the Majority Leader to brace the Eisenhower Administration when it faltered, to indicate to it better courses of action, to buttress it when our national interests were at stake in a world raked by urgent crises. (Applause) And I might add we saw another aspect of Lyndon Johnson when he served as Vice-President under President Kennedy. We saw Lyndon Johnson despite his long years of prominence as the head of the Senate, as a scrupulously faithful lieutenant to a man who had been his junior in the Congress, for this was another thing Lyndon Johnson always knew: the President of the United

States is not a committee but one man and this one man is captain of the ship of state, and this one man is the captain on the bridge. The second in command must support the captain, lighten his burden, counsel him, but he must never forget who is president and who is captain.

And then we all bore tragic witness to the sensitive but quietly authoritative manner in which Lyndon Johnson assumed the office of President of the United States when our beloved late President, John F. Kennedy, was the victim of the assassin's bullet. No man, no man except a born leader could have done what Lyndon Johnson did in those critical days following President Kennedy's death. No man could have guided and sustained us except one who knew by heart, by experience, the meaning of the presidency, who knew all of the intricacies of our government, who knew all of the subtleties of our Congress, and who had an affection for the members of Congress of both parties and who understood their individual problems. No man except one who understood all of this could have made the 88th Congress what it has become under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson, one of the most productive, one of the most responsible and farseeing Congresses since Woodrow Wilson took the helm of government after the election of 1912. (Applause).

Now, let me summarize this by saying to you, we have in President Lyndon Johnson a president who will continue John Kennedy's policy of making this world safe for diversity, who understands that there cannot be an American solution to every world problem but who also understands the need to oppose totalitarian and communist aggression and subversion with strength, with determination, with wisdom, with flexibility and strength and a clear sense of priorities.

We have in Lyndon Johnson a President who realizes that mankind is walking down an uncharted road into the future with destruction lurking at every crossroads -- who appreciates the appalling responsibility that rests upon the judgment of the President of the United States, a responsibility not only to the American people but to the world community.

For the first time in history, my fellow Americans, and we must remember this, because this is a unique era, a unique period, for the first time in history one man in our country possesses the ability to destroy the past, the present and the future, literally to bring time to an end, and that man, because he is Commander-in-Chief, because he is in charge in this nuclear age, is the President of the United States.

And I submit to you that on the basis of both reason and experience, Lyndon Johnson has shown himself eminently qualified for those awesome responsibilities. I know him, not just as a politician, not just in public life, I know him as a friend, as a father, as one that has been in my home, and I have been privileged to be in his. He is courageous; he is, no one doubts, experienced. And he has demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt to any fair-minded American that he is responsible, a responsible President who has earned the right to America's continued trust and support. (Applause)

I say to this audience, to this distinguished audience at

this great center of learning, from whence should come leadership, you should set the pattern. You have been privileged, may I say, to sup at the table of civilization's culture. You have an obligation second to none. You as undergraduates of this University or as students, you cannot take a narrow minded partisan view. You have an obligation to your country, to your Constitution, to the history and the heritage of this country. And I say that in the knowledge of that heritage, because you are learning, because you have been privileged to know, because you are students, you cannot possibly, you cannot in your heart possibly turn your back upon the realities of our time. You can't do it. (Applause)

And may I say that as a President, as a President, Lyndon Johnson will not only uphold and defend the Constitution as it is, historically, as it is in contemporary life, but he will also sustain the vision of an Abraham Lincoln who said that government's duty was to serve the people. He will sustain the vision of a Woodrow Wilson who envisaged a League of Nations' international peace. He will sustain the vision of Franklin Roosevelt who saw government as a helper and as a partner to a people that needed help. And he will sustain the vision of a Harry S. Truman who had the courage of a giant to meet the problems of his day. (Applause)

And Lyndon Johnson will sustain the vision of the man that selected him, that really in fact gave him the awesome responsibility that he now holds, the vision of John F. Kennedy who saw the presidency -- (applause) -- as the moral nucleus of the American community.

I say that students of government, those who are privileged to have a higher education, cannot possibly turn to the past. You cannot accept the leadership of retreat. You cannot accept the leadership of discontent, doubt and suspicion. You must indeed by your moral commitment to your country give the leadership to one who wants to lead America forward as a united people and a united Republic in the future. (Applause)

#####  
#####



*File*  
**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 9

B-3849

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMBREY  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9

Since the day when James Madison (Princeton, 1771) took the road from Orange County, Virginia to attend the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Princeton University has loomed large in the annals of American constitutionalism.

There is also an old Harvard story about the Cambridge lady who announced that the President had gone to Washington to see Mr. Wilson. But Princetonians know they sent their President to be the President. And the late Edward S. Corwin, whose scholarship and incandescent teaching illuminated your campus for generations, set the standards for all subsequent discussions of presidential power.

I am not here today to talk abstractly about the Presidency. Politics, in the last analysis always comes down to a choice between human beings.

Two men confront each other on election day. The simple-minded often say that only a choice of personalities is involved. But while personality is important, hidden behind a personality is a body of ideas, a whole set of attitudes towards politics, towards political ideals, indeed, towards the nature of a society and the proper relationships which should exist between its members.

The American people on November 3rd are not merely choosing between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Senator Barry Goldwater; they are choosing between two philosophies of government, between two attitudes towards modern American life, between two concepts of the Presidency.

One of these philosophies could be described as the "Princeton tradition" of responsible nationalism.

-more-

James Madison, '71, saw that if absolute power in government can corrupt absolutely, the absence of power in government can corrupt just as thoroughly.

Madison realized that corruption rising from weakness was precisely the result of the Articles of Confederation--a government without a head--a government where each state in the name of its own rights was free to strike at all other states--a government where all states were leagued together as architects of their common ruin.

But Madison also saw the remedy. A feeble grouping of self-centered states must be transformed into the living tissue of a Federal Union. Each state would contribute to, and draw strength from, the totality.

There must also be a national chief executive chosen by the nation--responsible to the Courts in his legal character--to the Congress and nation in his political character--but always working for a national interest larger than the sum of state and local interests.

Later it was your great President--and ours--Woodrow Wilson, who translated this philosophy into terms relevant to 20th Century America. Wilson saw an America in the throes of industrialization and urbanization. He saw an America gripped by new problems--problems which were national and international in scope and could no longer be solved by the habitual responses of rural America.

These novel conditions posed grave dangers to our governmental system. But, Wilson argued, our system could prove equal to these challenges if the Presidency became not only an administrative office, but the "vital center of action" in the government.

Listen to Wilson's credo:

"A great nation is not led by a man who simply repeats the talk of the street-corners or the opinions of the newspapers. A nation is led by a man who hears more than those things; or who, rather, hearing those things, understands them better, unites them, puts them into a common meaning; speaks, not the rumors of the street, but a new principle for a new age; a man (to whom) the voices of the nation...unite in a single meaning and reveal to him a single vision, so that he can speak what no man else knows, the common meaning of

the common voice. Such is the man who leads a great, free, democratic nation."

What of the other concept of the Presidency?

This approach sees the President as passive, inert, weak--lacking the authority to serve as the heart of the Republic, lacking the driving force to give definition and meaning to America's sense of national purpose.

This position--as it is set forth in the present campaign--echoes the debates on the Constitution in 1787-88. It was repudiated decisively then--and lives on only as an exhibit in the museum of constitutional oddities.

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, George Washington inaugurated the Presidency of a new, weak, and contentious Republic. In 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson presides over the destinies of the greatest nation on earth.

Although we are still a relatively young country, the President of the United States holds the world's oldest elective office of political leadership. It is an office which has grown in authority and prestige without any sacrifice of that responsibility to the people which gives democratic leadership both its strength and its legitimacy.

Elsewhere in the past 175 years, one nation after another has been racked by revolution and turmoil.

Confronted by the emergence of a new civilization--built around industries and cities--many systems of government have faltered and collapsed. Some, trying to establish an executive with power adequate for their needs, have created a Leviathan, that "mortal God" whose total power Thomas Hobbes hoped would bring peace and security. Others, fleeing Leviathan, have fallen into the abyss of anarchy.

Many have veered from one polar position to the other, leaving a community riven by conflict with no established principles of public order, no standards of legitimacy; in short, no real Constitution.

The American Constitution, and the President it established, have in contrast stood throughout these tumultuous years providing energy without tyranny, flexibility without autonomy, responsibility without dependence.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson--Wilson's heirs in the White House, understood that the Presidency is our principal link binding the past to the present, and the present to the future.

They understood that the Presidency is the only office in our Constitutional system that holds together the many divided parts of the Executive--that connects the Executive with the Legislative and Judicial branches of the government--that binds the government to the people--and that represents the nation as a whole in the international arena.

They understood that if there was any slack in executive energy, the contagion of weakness would spread from the person of the President throughout the nation and the world.

They understood that a man called to the Presidency must cast out from his heart and mind all narrowness of spirit. He must be the natural enemy of those men who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people only to betray their highest interests. Presidents in the Wilson tradition understood, in short, that the very word "President" is a summons to greatness.

Will the man elected President this year understand the fearful obligations of a President? Will he understand why the framers of the Constitution broke with the precedents of their time and established a strong executive?--why in the perilous world of 1964 their wisdom has been confirmed a thousandfold?--and why, above all, a great people and a great nation need a strong President?

Lyndon Johnson's entire career demonstrates that he surely understands these things. He has been in public life for over thirty years.

The first of his mentors was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. From Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson learned in close, intimate detail the nature of the modern Presidency, its capabilities, and its limitations. More important, he learned how the limitations can best be met, and the capabilities best realized.

Lyndon Johnson's next great mentor was the Senate of the United States. His Democratic colleagues in the Senate elected him their leader while he was still in his freshman term.

If there was anything wrong with Lyndon Johnson--if there was any flaw in his character--any weakness in his nerve--any pettiness in his heart--any myopia in his vision--any stammer in his thought-processes, I can assure you from first-hand knowledge that Lyndon Johnson would not have been acknowledged by his Senate colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, as one of the greatest legislative leaders America ever produced.

If Lyndon Johnson had not practiced the responsible exercise of political power as Senate Majority Leader, our political history during the Eisenhower years would have been far different than it was.

Lyndon Johnson was in a position to harass the Eisenhower Administration mercilessly if he believed in the irresponsible, anarchistic, nihilistic, jungle doctrine of opposition for the sake of opposition.

Instead--often at the expense of cloakroom criticism by certain members of his own party--Lyndon Johnson used his strength as Majority Leader to brace the Eisenhower Administration when it faltered, to indicate to it better courses of action, to buttress it when our national interests were at stake in a world racked by urgent crises.

We saw another aspect of Lyndon Johnson when he served as Vice-President under President Kennedy. We saw Lyndon Johnson, despite his long years of pre-eminence at the head of the Senate, as a scrupulously faithful lieutenant to a man who had been his junior in the Congress. For this was another thing Lyndon Johnson always knew: the President of the United States is not a committee but one man--and this one man is the captain on the bridge. The second-in-command must support the captain, lighten his burdens, counsel him, but never forget who is captain.

And then we all bore tragic witness to the sensitive but quietly authoritative manner in which Lyndon Johnson assumed the office of President of the United States when John F. Kennedy was murdered.

No man, except a born leader, could have done what Lyndon Johnson did in the critical days following President Kennedy's death. No man could have guided and sustained us except one who knew by heart the meaning of the Presidency, who knew all the intricacies of our government, who knew all the subtleties of Congress, who had an affection for the members of the Congress of both parties and understood their individual problems. No man except one who understood all this, could have made the 88th Democratic Congress what it became under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson: one of the most productive Congresses since Woodrow Wilson took the helm after his 1912 election.

We have in Lyndon Johnson a President who will continue John Kennedy's policy of making the world "safe for diversity"--who understands that there cannot be an American solution to every world problem--but who also understands the need to oppose Communist aggression and subversion with strength,

determination, wisdom, flexibility, restraint, and a clear sense of priorities.

Finally, we have in Lyndon B. Johnson a President who realizes that mankind is walking down an uncharted road into the future with destruction lurking at every crossroads--who appreciates the appalling responsibility that rests upon the judgment of the President of the United States--responsibility not only to the American people but to humanity.

For the first time in history, one man possesses the ability to destroy the past, the present, and the future--literally to bring time to an end--and that man is the President of the United States.

I submit to you that on the basis of both reason and experience Lyndon B. Johnson has shown himself eminently qualified for these awesome responsibilities--he is a courageous, experienced, responsible President who has earned the right to America's continued trust and support.

As President, he will not only uphold and defend the Constitution, but also sustain the vision of Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy who saw the Presidency as the moral nucleus of the American community.

###

Study American History  
Don't vote it!

Hess -  
B00

Gov Hughes  
- Sen Williams  
Frank Thompson

Princeton

It is particularly pleasant to come here to  
Princeton to talk about the Presidency.

Since the day when James Madison (Princeton, 1771)  
took the road from Orange County, Virginia, to attend the  
Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Princeton  
University has loomed large in the annals of American  
constitutionalism.

There is also an old Harvard story about the Cambridge  
lady who announced that the President had gone to Washington  
to see Mr. Wilson. But Princetonians know they sent their  
President to be the President. ~~And~~ the late Edward S.

Corwin, whose scholarship and incandescent teaching  
illuminated your campus for generations, set the standards  
for all subsequent discussions of presidential power.

I am not here today to talk abstractly about the  
Presidency. Politics, in the last analysis always comes  
down to a choice between human beings.

Two men confront each other on election day. ~~Some~~  
~~single minded~~ Some say that only a choice of personalities  
is involved. But while personality is important, hidden  
behind a personality is a body of ideas, a whole set of  
attitudes towards politics, towards political ideals,  
indeed, towards the nature of a society and the proper  
relationships which should exist between its members.

The American people on November 3rd are not merely  
choosing between President Lyndon B. Johnson and  
Senator Barry Goldwater; they are choosing between  
two philosophies of government, between two attitudes  
towards modern American life, between two concepts of  
the Presidency.

↳ One of these philosophies could be described as  
the "Princeton tradition" of responsible nationalism.

↳ James Madison, ~~clearly~~ saw that if absolute power  
in government can corrupt absolutely, the absence of  
~~power~~  
power in government can corrupt just as thoroughly.

↳ Madison realized that corruption rising from  
weakness was precisely the result of the Articles  
of Confederation--a government without a head--a  
government where each state in the name of its own  
rights was free to strike at all other states--a govern-  
ment where all states were leagued together as architects  
of their common ruin.

↳ But Madison also saw the remedy. A feeble grouping  
of self-centered states must be transformed into the

living tissue of a Federal Union. Each state would  
contribute to, and draw strength from, the totality.

↳ There must also be a national chief executive  
chosen by the nation--responsible to the Courts in his  
legal character--to the Congress and nation in his  
political character--but always working for a national  
interest larger than the sum of state and local interests.

↳ Later it was your great President--and ours--Woodrow  
Wilson, who translated this philosophy into terms relevant  
to 20th Century America. ↳ Wilson saw an America in the  
throes of industrialization and urbanization. ↳ He saw an  
America gripped by new problems--problems which were  
national and international in scope and could no longer  
be solved by the habitual responses of rural America.

↳ These novel conditions posed grave dangers to our governmental system. But, Wilson argued, our system could prove equal to these challenges if the Presidency became not only an administrative office, but the "vital center of action" in the government.

↳ Listen to Wilson's credo:

"A great nation is not led by a man who simply repeats the talk of the street-corners or the opinions of the newspapers. A nation is led by a man who hears more than those things; or, who, rather, hearing those things, understands them better, unites them, puts them into a common meaning; speaks, not the rumors of the street, but a new principle for a new age; a man to whom the voices of the nation...unite in a single meaning and reveal to him a single vision, so that he can speak what no man else knows, the common meaning of the common voice. Such is the man who leads a great, free, democratic nation."

L What of the other concept of the Presidency?

L This approach sees the President as passive  
inert, weak, -- lacking the authority to serve as the  
heart of the Republic, lacking the driving force to  
give definition and meaning to America's sense of  
national purpose.

L This position -- as it is set forth in the present  
campaign -- echoes the debates on the Constitution in  
1787-88. It was repudiated decisively then -- and  
lives on only as an exhibit in the museum of constitutional  
oddities.

L And Senator Goldwater is the curator of this  
museum. L For this reason, he is clearly unqualified to  
be President of the United States. L I do not rest this  
judgment on personal grounds, but because his whole

attitude towards government and specifically towards

the presidency is totally out of step with American

traditions of the past; the realities of the present,

and the needs of the future. Indeed, the only American

government in which he would feel at home -- the Articles

of Confederation -- expired with a whimper in 1789.

A man is not qualified to be President because he wants the job, or is put up for it by his friends. He

must understand the presidency, its responsibilities,

its complex and frustrating dimensions. Senator Goldwater

obviously does not understand the office: he has no

sense of history, no feeling for our constitutional

traditions. He is a rigid, resentful radical in full

revolt against twentieth century. His glorification of

extremism, his readiness to rip the fabric of community,

demonstrates beyond a doubt that he lacks the  
responsible spirit, the inner controls, indispensable  
to a chief executive vested with enormous discretionary  
power.

h One hundred and seventy-five years ago, George  
Washington inaugurated the Presidency of a new, weak,  
and contentious Republic. h In 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson

↳ presides over the destinies of the greatest nation  
on earth.

↳ Although we are still, <sup>relatively</sup> at young country, the  
President of the United States holds the world's oldest  
elective office of political leadership. ↳ It is an  
office which has grown in authority and prestige  
without any sacrifice of that responsibility to  
the people which gives democratic leadership both  
its strength and its legitimacy.

↳ Elsewhere in the past 175 years, one nation after  
another has been racked by revolution and turmoil.

↳ Confronted by the emergence of a new civilization--  
built around industries and cities--many systems of  
government have faltered and collapsed. ↳ Some, trying  
to establish an executive with power adequate for their

needs, have created a Leviathan, that "mortal God"  
whose total power Thomas Hobbes hoped would bring  
peace and security. Others, fleeing Leviathan, have  
fallen into the abyss of anarchy.

Many have veered from one polar position to the  
other, leaving a community ~~in~~ <sup>tom</sup> by conflict with  
no established principles of public order, no standards  
of legitimacy; in short, no real Constitution.

The American Constitution, and the President it  
established, have in contrast stood throughout these  
tumultuous years providing energy without tyranny,  
flexibility without autonomy, responsibility without  
dependence.

L Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson--Wilson's heirs in the White House, understood that the Presidency is our principal link binding the past to the present, and the present to the future.

L They understood that the Presidency is the only *in our Constitutional system* office ~~which~~ that holds together the many divided parts of the Executive--that connects the Executive with the Legislative and Judicial branches of the government--that binds the government to the people--and that represents the nation as a whole in the international *arena.*

They understood that if there was any slack in executive energy, the contagion of weakness would spread from the person of the President throughout the

*President is the only officer of Govt elected nationally. He is the spokesman of the people.*

nation and the world.

h They understood that a man called to the Presidency  
must cast out from his heart and mind all narrowness  
of spirit. He must be the natural enemy of those  
men who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people  
only to betray their highest interests. Presidents  
in the Wilson tradition understood, in short, that the  
very word "President" is a summons to greatness.

h Will the man elected President this year understand  
the fearful obligations of a President? Will he  
understand why the Framers of the Constitution broke  
with the precedents of their time and established a  
strong executive?--why in the perilous world of 1964  
their wisdom has been confirmed a thousandfold?--and why,  
above all, a great people and a great nation need a strong  
President?

Lyndon Johnson's entire career demonstrates that he surely understands these things. He has been in public life for over thirty years.

The first of his mentors was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. From Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson learned in close, intimate detail the nature of the modern Presidency, its capabilities, and its limitations. More important, he learned how the limitations can best be met, and the capabilities best realized.

Lyndon Johnson's next great mentor was the Senate of the United States. His Democratic colleagues in the Senate elected him their leader while he was still in his freshman term.

L If there was anything wrong with Lyndon Johnson--  
if there was any flaw in his character--any weakness  
in his nerve--any pettiness in his heart--any myopia  
in his vision--any stammer in his thought-processes, I  
can assure you from first-hand knowledge that Lyndon  
Johnson would not have been acknowledged by his Senate  
colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, as one of  
the greatest legislative leaders America ever produced.

L If Lyndon Johnson had not practiced the responsible  
exercise of political power as Senate Majority Leader,  
our political history during the Eisenhower years would  
have been far different than it was.

L Lyndon Johnson was in a position to harass the  
Eisenhower Administration mercilessly if he believed in

the irresponsible, anarchistic, nihilistic, jungle  
doctrine of opposition for the sake of opposition.

↳ Instead--often at the expense of cloakroom  
criticism by certain members of his own party--Lyndon  
Johnson used his strength as Majority Leader to brace  
the Eisenhower Administration when it faltered, to  
indicate to it better courses of action, to buttress  
it when our national interests were at stake in  
a world racked by urgent crises.

*and* We saw another aspect of Lyndon Johnson when he  
served as Vice-President under President Kennedy.

We saw Lyndon Johnson, despite his long years of pre-  
eminence at the head of the Senate, as a scrupulously  
faithful lieutenant to a man who had been his junior in

**Congress.**

the ~~legislative~~. For this was another thing Lyndon

Johnson always knew: the President of the United

States is not a committee but one man--and this one

man is the captain on the bridge. The second-in-command

must support the captain, lighten his burdens, counsel

him, but never forget who is captain.

And then we all bore tragic witness to the sensitive but quietly authoritative manner in which Lyndon Johnson assumed the office of President of the United States when John F. Kennedy was murdered.

No man, except a born leader, could have done what

Lyndon Johnson did in the critical days following

Could have guided and sustained us,  
President Kennedy's death. No man <sup>^</sup> except one who

knew by heart the meaning of the Presidency, who knew

all the intricacies of our government, who knew all  
the subtleties of Congress, who had an affection for  
the members of the Congress of both parties and  
understood their individual problems. No man except  
one who understood all this, could have made the 88th  
Democratic Congress what it became under the leadership  
of Lyndon B. Johnson: one of the most productive  
Congresses since Woodrow Wilson took the helm after  
his 1912 election.

*Continue* We have in Lyndon Johnson a President *who will continue*  
John Kennedy's policy of making the world "safe for  
diversity"--who understands that there cannot be  
an American solution to every world problem--but who  
also understands the need to oppose Communist aggression

and subversion with strength, determination, wisdom,  
flexibility, restraint, and a clear sense of priorities.

Finally, we have in Lyndon B. Johnson a President who  
realizes that mankind is walking down an uncharted road  
into the future with destruction lurking at every crossroads--  
who appreciates the appalling responsibility that rests upon  
the judgment of the President of the United States--responsi-  
bility not only to the American people but to humanity.

For the first time in history, one man possesses the  
ability to destroy the past, the present, and the future--  
literally to bring time to an end--and that man is the  
President of the United States.

I submit to you that on the basis of both reason and  
experience Lyndon B. Johnson has shown himself eminently  
qualified for these awesome responsibilities--

he is <sup>a</sup>/courageous, experienced, responsible President  
who has earned the right to America's continued trust  
and support.

As President, he will not only uphold and defend  
the Constitution, but also sustain the vision of Abraham  
Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John  
F. Kennedy who saw the Presidency as the moral nucleus  
of the American community.

Remarks of Senator Hubert Humphrey  
War Memorial Auditorium  
Trenton, New Jersey  
October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. I am going to say just a word. I just hear my good manager and my assistant say to me, he said, "There is no mike." I think maybe we ought to save this voice because I have got to make a speech at Jersey City.

I want to say that it is a real pleasure to come to Mercer County. It is a real pleasure to be introduced by Thorn Lord, and it is a great honor to be here in the State where a Governor was kind enough and considerate enough to me to give me a very helpful boost when I thought maybe that it might be good if President Johnson heard a kind word from New Jersey. And he went all the way with us. And your great Senator, Pete Williams, is one of my personal close friends. I want to make it crystal clear. This man is needed in the Senate and you fight like you never fought before. Put a tiger in the tank when it comes to this one. I mean it. (Applause)

I don't think I have to remind you that Frank Thompson is one of the finest members of Congress. (Applause)

I have got the man right up here that you are going to elect, too, Reverend Woodson.

By the way, I forgot something. Don't forget Johnson. President Johnson. (Applause)

And if you elect President Johnson and Pete Williams and Frank Thompson and Reverend Woodson, you get me tossed in for nothing. (Applause)

#####

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at State House  
Trenton, New Jersey  
October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Well, thank you very, very much, Governor Hughes, for your warm reception, your fine and gracious introduction, and may I also say thanks to that wonderful orchestra down here, and all these good singing, happy people.

By the way, Governor, I saw a person back there carrying a Goldwater sign with a smile on his face, and deep down in his heart he knows he is going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause.)

Now, don't send them home. We want to give them a few of the political facts of life, a little truth.

These good folks are here just to put down their sword. They know the fight is all over. They have come here to surrender, that is all. (Applause)

Yes, my good friends and Governor, we must be very, very charitable these days. Everyone in America is entitled to feel like we do. Everyone is entitled to feel happy. Make them happy, too. You can do it by just electing Lyndon Johnson President of the United States. (Applause).

And may I say to my young enthusiastic friends down here that we can also -- you know, that poor fellow down there is going to hurt his voice if he keeps shouting like that. We can also make them even more happy if we just back up that election of President Lyndon Johnson by giving him the support in the Senate and the House that he needs, and I know that the people of New Jersey are not going to let themselves down. I know that they are going to send back to the United States Senate one of the most respected, admired and able members of the Senate, their own Senator Harrison "Pete" Williams. (Applause)

And when they are doing that, they know full well that they have got the finest Congressman that you could ever get at any time, any place, in any district, in any state, and they are going to send back to the Congress of the United States that good man from their district, Frank Thompson. (Applause)

And then they are going to do a little job here in the state, too, by seeing to it that Reverend Howard Woodson is also elected, and, Reverend, we want to wish you the best in your endeavors here in this campaign. (Applause)

Governor, I know that Trenton is your hometown. I know that this great city of Trenton bears the mark of American history. As you have indicated to us, this great city of Trenton was a battleground in the Revolutionary War and indeed was the turning point in our fight for Independence, and I have a feeling that the State of New Jersey will be a very crucial and critical state in this election, and I say right here that the State of New Jersey starting right here in Mercer County, in Trenton, can be the turning point in this election to make sure that Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic

Party is elected with an overwhelming vote. (Applause)

Now, if you keep those signs down so I can look back at those misguided souls -- (applause) -- they are getting back further and further. They are going right through that building the next time.

Now, it is a joy to be in this, the great Garden State of the Atlantic Seaboard. Just about an hour ago I visited the campus of one of the greatest universities in the world, Princeton University. (Applause) Your state is known for its many fine educational establishments. Your state is known for its great industry. The State of New Jersey is known not only for its educational establishments, its universities, its colleges, its public, private, and parochial schools, it is known for its industry, it is known for its cities, and it is known for its agriculture.

This great state is a blend of what makes up America. It is a state that represents the many different nationalities and ethnic groups. It is a state that represents in its makeup of people every known religion and faith. It is a state that has been a part of the great American dream and a part of our heritage. And because it has been a part of the great America of progress, because this state has symbolized throughout its whole history, progress, because it has represented opportunity, because it has symbolized hope for the future and because it is a part of the great history of this Republic, accurately represented and accurately portrayed, because it is all of these things, this great state cannot possibly find itself voting for a man that has forgotten or does not know our history, cannot possibly find itself voting for a man for President that has left his own Party, repudiated the principles of our bipartisan foreign policy and one, if you please, who threatens by his voice and by his action 30 or more years of social progress in America.

I know that the great State of New Jersey with its fine Governor, Governor Hughes, with its excellent Senator, Senator Williams, with its Congressman from this District, Frank Thompson, with the kind of people that represent you in the Halls of Congress and in your State House right here, I know that the State of New Jersey is going to vote for the future, it is going to vote for progress, it is going to vote to continue our prosperity. It is going to vote for the people of America, and it is going to vote for the peace of the world and in doing that, it is going to support Lyndon Johnson as President. (Applause)

It is so good to have these young folks with us, and I mean it. I want them to know -- (Applause) -- I want our young people to know this, that in this election, your enthusiasm, your vitality, your sense of idealism, your willingness to help these candidates, your willingness to give us encouragement, and you do, and your willingness to stand by us during these days of the campaign, all of these things mean so much to the President of the United States and to the man that is speaking to you.

These campaigns are not easy. At times they are

fatiguing . At times they are very trying. At times they are very distressing, particularly when the opposition reaches down into the barrel of mud and muck and fails to discuss the issues, but seeks only to divide us, seeks only to spread suspicion, seeks only to spread doubt, and in these days let me tell you that the bright and shining faces and the clear eyes of young people that believe in America, that think that their President and that think possibly that this candidate for Vice-President is worthy of them, that these young people give me faith, give me hope, and I want you to know that I am deeply grateful to you. (Applause)

You will be happy to know that one young man took off his Goldwater button out there right now. (Applause)

Now, let me say to this audience -- that is two of them -- good -- it is a slow process but it is working -- let me say to this great audience that we have during these years of the 1900's since the time of Franklin Roosevelt been attempting to build in our country, in its government, a sense of social consciousness, a sense of social justice. The duty of government is not what the opposition in this campaign says, namely, to withdraw from responsibility. The duty of government is as Abraham Lincoln put it--a great man and a great Republican -- he has repudiated the principles of the Republican Party, of that great Abraham Lincoln, this great emancipator, this great man who stood for equal rights, this great man who said that government's duty is to serve, this great man who said it is the duty of government to do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or nearly so well for themselves. This philosophy of Abraham Lincoln has been embraced, has been accepted and made a part of the American life. It is a part of the Government of the United States. It is a part of your life. And Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson have lived by that philosophy. (Applause).

Now, this is not a philosophy that says that government guarantees you success. This isn't a philosophy of government that says that government will do it for you. It is a philosophy of government that says that it is the duty of government to blaze the pathways clean so that young people can have opportunity and if they will work, if they will try to make something out of themselves, then opportunities will be there without impediment, without hindrance. It is a philosophy of government that says that compassion is not weakness. It is a philosophy of government that says that concern for the afflicted, the disabled, the sick, is not socialism.

My dear friends, let the opposition call it what they will. Let them say their ugly words about those of us that believe that those who are maimed and afflicted and crippled and disabled, that those who through no fault of their own cannot stand on their own feet, that those people should have the help of government, let them call it socialism if they will, but I call it good solid Americanism, and I am proud of it. (Applause)

I would hate to think of the day that a man was in the White House who thought that this government should stand

idly by while people were without work. I would hate to think of the day that a man should be President of the United States who thought that our elderly should not have an opportunity to live in dignity. I would hate to think of the day that someone may be elected President of the United States who would even contest, who would even have doubts, about the value and the importance of social security for our people. (Applause)

And let me say that this month of October sees such a man asking for the people's support. There are voices in this land today, my friends, who say that the government should turn back, who say that this great partnership between a government of the people, by the people and for the people should be broken with the people. There is a voice in this land that says education is not the responsibility of government. There is a voice in this land that says that some children would be better off without it. And that man seeks to be President.

There is a voice in this land that says the Peace Corps is a haven for beatniks. There is a voice in this land that says the duty today is not to pass laws but to repeal them. And that man from Arizona asks you for your support.

I say to you never, never, never. This man must never be President of the United States. (Applause)

It seems to me that what we ought to expect from a candidate who aspires to this high office is a discussion of the issues. What does he propose to do about our growing cities? A city like Trenton, for example, that is now in the throes of urban renewal. A man that votes against it. And a man that has no thoughts whatsoever -- if he has ever had any of them, he has not expressed them,-- on this subject of the growing city with all of its problems. Here is a man that says he is for free enterprise and cries socialism and says America has gone socialistic at a time when America is more prosperous, has a greater gross national product, has more people employed in private industry than ever before, when business has greater profits and more dividends than ever before, and yet here is a man who asks the people of the United States to support him for President when he screams the false words of the false gods, of the false prophets, socialism. Bunk, hogwash, and you know it. (Applause)

America deserves better. Is it any wonder, my friends, that great segments of the great Republican Party have shifted over to support the Democratic nominee for President and Vice-President. Why? Because these people, my friends, have put their country above a fraction of a faction of their Party. These people see that the present spokesman of the Republican Party is not in the mainstream of his Party. They see him repudiating policy after policy of the Republican Party as well as the Democratic Party. They see Mr. Goldwater who on 25 roll call votes in the United States Senate voted 25 times against the commitments of the Republican Platform of 1960. They see a man who says of the Eastern Seaboard that it should be cut off from the United States and let it drift to sea.

What kind of talk is this? What we need in the White

House today, my friends, is someone that doesn't divide America but unites it. That is what we need. (Applause)

We need someone in the White House today, and we have him there, that seeks to heal the wounds and not to open them. We need a man as President of this country that understands the promise of America and doesn't distort its past.

It would be very interesting if the candidate of the opposition would tell us the true history of America because history can be interesting. Even though you ought not to vote it, it can be interesting, but the candidate of this minor fraction of a faction of the Republican Party, and he does not represent his Party, this candidate distorts our history, misrepresents the role of American Government.

This is a man that says that your government in Washington is a greater threat to your freedom than Moscow. Any man that will say that has disqualified himself from the Presidency of the United States, and you know it. (Applause)

Now, my friends, before I leave you I ask you this. I ask you to help us in this fight. The coming weeks will be difficult ones. I sense what the opposition is doing. They say of the many ethnic groups in our country, of the many racial groups, they say of them they rule America, as if somehow or another people of Italian or Norwegian or of Portuguese or of Spanish or of Polish or of whatever extraction it may be should have nothing to say about America. They say that the Civil Rights Act promotes violence rather than ask for its observance. They say of America that the National Government is your enemy. I say to you that a program and a policy and a statement of that kind is beneath the respect and the dignity of the American people.

I ask the American people to believe in a President who sees this country as one nation, who sees these great American people that are striving so hard to make greater gains as a people that are dedicated to even greater progress than we have made thus far.

I know that the man that I support for President is not afraid of the future and he understands our past. I know that the President that I support has hope for the future and plans for it and I know that he sees the role of government as one of working together with the federal, state, and local government, with private industry, with labor and agriculture, with people everywhere, to build a better America.

We are going to need your help and as John Kennedy said, from this very ground, and as he said to us in his inaugural address and as he said time in and time out, give us your help. Give us your hearts. Give us your hands. Help us fulfill these promises. We pledge to you a full measure of devotion and dedicated service. We pledge to you to help build America to even greater heights. We pledge to you to finish the unfinished task of those 1,000 days of John Kennedy's Administration. We pledge to you, if you will give us the chance to lead America to even greater goals, greater dreams, and greater achievements. It can be done. We can do what we want to, my friends.

No people on the face of the earth has been so blessed. No nation so strong, no nation so rich, no nation so privileged. We should stand up and be counted, not for mediocrity, not on the basis of condemnation and criticism, but we should stand up and be counted for achievement, for noble goals, for high ideals, for great promise, and I tell you that if you will help us, if you will give us your help on election day and if you cast your vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Pete Williams and Frank Thompson and Democrats that want to work with you, we will give you everything that we have to make this come true.

Thank you. (Applause)

#####

*Middle County*

NO RELEASE

TRENTON RALLY

*3 yrs ago - JFK  
4 yrs ago - JFK*

*Gov Hughes  
Rev. Howard Woodson  
Sen William  
Frank Thompson*

NOTE: Trenton is hometown of Governor Hughes

and Representative Thompson. NOTE: ON PLATFORM WILL BE REV. HOWARD S. WOODSON--first Negro to run for State leg. on Democratic ticket.

Principal issues to emphasize:

*Battle of Trenton  
Turning Point*

(1) Challenge of rebuilding central city. Trenton undergoing enormous urban renewal program which will be clearly visible from rally point.)

Few problems in America are more critical than the challenge of the urban frontier--the "vertical frontier." President Johnson and the Democratic Party bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting the challenge of urban America. The leader of the Goldwater faction brings only his usual record of retreat, reaction, and regression. His answer is always the same: "No, no, a thousand times no!"

Most people understand that we must strive for a

renaissance of the Metropolis. And in recent years we have made a determined effort to begin this renaissance.

In 1958 most Senators voted to increase funds for Federal loans to communities for urban planning and public facilities.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1959 most Senators voted to increase Federal assistance for sewer plant construction and urban renewal.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1959 most Senators voted against a cut in the Housing Authority Bill and on another roll call, voted for increasing the total for public housing units.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1961 most Senators voted for President Kennedy's landmark omnibus Housing Act.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1963 most Senators supported the urban mass transit program, sponsored by your great Democratic Senator Pete Williams.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

And, finally, in 1964, most Senators voted on the expanded housing program and on final passage of the urban mass transit act.

--But not Senator Goldwater. He never even showed up.

This is the record of retreat and reaction in the area of urban problems and housing the leader of the Goldwaterites brings to the American people in this election.

This is the record the American people must evaluate in relation to the one established by the Kennedy-Johnson

Administration and a Democratic Congress: enactment of programs for mass transit and open spaces in urban areas, expanded low rent public housing, increased Federal assistance for local urban planning, expanded housing for the elderly, a humanized urban renewal program, moderate income rental housing, increased housing starts, and a comprehensive anti-poverty program stressing local community action.

I understand that your outstanding Governor--the  
Honorable Richard Hughes--has sought to create in New  
Jersey a Department of Urban Affairs--just as President  
Kennedy and President Johnson have sought to create such  
a Department in Washington.

And I also understand that Republicans in the New  
Jersey State Legislature have opposed this Department--just  
as the Goldwaterites in Washington have opposed it.

Of course, you know how Senator Goldwater proposes  
to solve the problems of urban living on the East Coast.  
He suggests that we saw off the Eastern Seaboard and let  
it float out to sea!

2) (Second major point: stress benefits of poverty  
program for urban areas.) Your city--under the dynamic  
leadership of your mayor, the Honorable Arthur Holland,  
has moved forward to participate fully in the anti-poverty  
program passed by the 88th Congress.

You have already begun to implement the provisions  
which establish programs of local community action to  
fight poverty in its many forms. You understand the many  
benefits which accrue to cities such as Trenton through  
the Job Corps and the Youth Conservation Corps, programs  
to provide basic education to adults, special loans to  
small businesses, and work experience programs to employ

and train unemployed fathers.

And, of course, Senator Goldwater voted against the anti-poverty program. He voted against helping cities such as Trenton receive the assistance they urgently need to bring about their rebirth and renewal.



# news release

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

FOR AM'S RELEASE  
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10

B-3846

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9

There have been many times when I have been proud to be an American but I think tonight of two unforgettable occasions.

One was when President Kennedy stood upon the steps of the Capitol one snowy day in January four years ago and said:

"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 life but patient in tribulation--a struggle against the common enemies of mankind, tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

Taking us to be responsible, he spoke to us in words of high responsibility. Taking us to be intelligent, he did not insult our intelligence with easy answers to hard questions. Taking us to be mature men and women, he beguiled us with no fairy tales, but confronted us with all the complexities of a complex world.

He offered us no panaceas, no short-cuts to Utopia--whether through the by-ways of the dead past or the future horrors of a thermonuclear Armageddon.

He did not ask us merely to be ready to die for our country--he asked us a much harder thing, to live for it. He challenged each of us to give our best, not for a hundred days, and not for a thousand days, but as long as the tasks facing us remained undone.

And then he said, in words which remain in my memory as if they were etched in fire:

"Let us begin."

President Kennedy was granted little more than a thousand days to serve us and to serve mankind.

-more-

Page 2

And then, in the time of our greatest need, President Johnson stood before us and expressed in three simple words all that we felt and all that we hoped:

"Let us continue."

America has responded to the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Working together, we have been making real headway against tyranny against poverty, against disease, and against war.

Three times in these four years totalitarian dictators have put to the supreme test the will of a free people to defend their freedom--over Berlin, over Cuba, and in the Tonkin Bay.

Three times we as a people have met that test, supporting our leaders in a firmness which our immense power made credible, but supporting them also in the restraint with which they used that power.

Working together these past four years--Government and business, farmers and workers--we have maintained our economic growth for 44 straight months--the longest sustained expansion in our peacetime history.

Profits, wages, and farm incomes are up. Unemployment is down.

In these past four years, we have stepped up the war against disease. We have taken measures to improve our hospitals and community health facilities, to see that mothers and children get better medical care, and to treat and where possible to prevent mental illness and retardation.

We have also--and I have been as frank and forthright about this in the South as I am here--made a great breakthrough in the battle against racial prejudice, which can warp men's souls as sorely as physical disease can warp their bodies and minds.

Above all, we have--with the nuclear test ban treaty--taken a giant step toward peace.

These have been good years for America. These have been years which united rather than divided Americans, enhanced the confidence of our friends and ensured the respect of our enemies.

But some Americans, I regret to say, don't see it that way.

They say that America is weak, demoralized and divided. Admitting that times are good, they don't think we should feel good about it. They complain that everything that has been done, not merely in the past four years, but in the past thirty years, is all wrong.

I call these people "sick and tired" Americans. After all, that's

just what they call themselves.

Over and over again, we've heard them say that they are "sick and tired" of this and "sick and tired" of that.

They are "sick" of the kind of American government which seeks to fulfill one of the key mandates of the Constitution--the promotion of the general welfare.

They are "tired" of the unrelenting, patient, demanding and successful struggle to contain Communism--and hanker to bring it to a climax with one big bang.

But I know from this campaign that America is not "sick," and Americans are not "tired."

I know that America will send the "sick and tired" candidates to a crushing defeat on November 3rd.

What we vote for on November 3rd is far more important than what we vote against.

Yes, we shall reject--and by a tremendous majority, I hope--all that is retrograde in American life. But we shall reaffirm what is good and forward-looking.

Recognizing that America has great problems, we shall affirm that it has great opportunities.

Remembering that it has a glorious past, we shall affirm that it has an even more glorious future.

####

Remarks of Senator Humbert H. Humphrey  
Jersey City Armory  
Jersey City, New Jersey  
October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you for that wonderful reception and may I thank -- may I just take a moment to thank the grandest Democrat of them all, your own John Kenny. What a wonderful man. (Applause)

Mayor Kenny, Mayor Whelan, the esteemed and distinguished Governor of this state, Governor Richard Hughes, Senator Harrison P. Williams, Congressman Daniels, and this fine State Senator, Senator Kelly, my fellow Democrats, mayors, city officials, labor leaders, young people --(applause) -- old people, friends, may I thank in particular the students that are here from Jersey State, St. Peter's College.

My friends, thank you very much.

Now, let's talk a little Democratic politics for a while.

The other day there was a sad soul speaking in some beautiful American city, and he said the Americans are unhappy. I ask you tonight, are you happy? (Applause).

You should never do that. You ought to leave those Goldwater people in here so we can tell them the truth. (Applause) Are we going to have a Democratic victory? (Applause)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, just sit down. There aren't many of those people.

Mayor Kenny, my fellow Democrats, I come here tonight, I come to this great meeting at Jersey City tonight, in the full knowledge that this city and Hudson County represent a powerful force for the Democratic Party and for progressive and humanitarian government in the United States. (Applause)

Our late and beloved President, John Kennedy, told me that whenever you feel a little tired, whenever you have any doubts about America, whenever you wonder what the future will offer, go on up to Hudson County and see John Kenny and the Democrats. (Applause)

And he was right. He was right. This great county is the source of inspiration and strength for our Party, for our President, and for our country.

It is said that this year is "All the Way with LBJ," and this year -- (Applause) -- this means not just President Johnson, not just Hubert Humphrey, not just Harrison Williams, not just your congressmen, but it means the entire Democratic slate to be elected on November 3rd. (Applause)

And friends, this year we don't have to do it alone. This year we have thousands, yes, millions, of people who ordinarily vote a Republican ticket, that this year are going to vote for their country rather than their party, and that means they are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

G.O.P. used to stand for Grand Old Party. Things have changed. G.O.P. now stands for Goldwater, Our Problem. (Applause)

With millions of Republicans knowing this, with millions of Americans knowing this, people of all parties, Republicans and Democrats and independents, people that love their country, people that want to see this country move forward, people that believe that the gains we have made in the last 30 years should be maintained have made up their minds now that the way to get that job done is to vote the Democratic ticket and put Lyndon Johnson back in the White House for four years. (Applause)

Now, there have been many times in my life and there may have been many times in your lives when you have been very, very proud to be an American. But tonight I want to call to your attention two occasions when every one of us were very proud, two unforgettable occasions in the life of our nation. One occasion was when President Kennedy stood upon the steps of our Capitol one snowy day in January, 1961, almost four years ago, and said to you, and said to me, and said to the whole world -- listen to his words -- "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 life but patient in tribulation -- a struggle against the common enemies of mankind, tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

President Kennedy knew and believed that Americans were mature, responsible people, and he spoke to us in the words of high responsibility, and taking us to be intelligent people, he did not insult our intelligence with easy answers to hard questions, and taking us to be grown up and mature people, he beguiled us not with fairy tales but confronted us with the complexities of a difficult and troubled world.

This good man that spoke here in this city twice, this good man offered us no easy panaceas, no short-cuts to some Utopia, whether through the by-ways of the dead past or the future horrors of a thermonuclear Armageddon.

He did not ask us merely to be ready to die for our country. He asked the young Americans for a much harder thing -- he asked them to live for their country. He challenged us, each and every one of us -- (Applause) -- to give our best, not for a hundred days, not for a thousand days, but for as long as the tasks facing us remained undone.

And then he said, in words which remain in my memory as if they were etched in fire, he said these famous three words, "Let us begin," and America started to move again. (Applause)

But this good and brave man, a man that loved his country so much, and that you loved so much, and that America grew to love so much, was granted little more than 1,000 days to serve us and to serve mankind. He was struck down as has been said tonight in a bitter and cruel way by the bullet, the victim of hate and of a destroyed

mind.

And then a second unforgettable occasion comes to mind. In the time of our greatest need, when this nation wept, when it faltered for a moment, when the world wondered what next, when we wondered whether there would even be continuity of government, when we stood as if we were paralyzed in horror and shock, a tall, strong, brave man stood before us and became our President under our constitutional system, and I remember when that man who was John Kennedy's Vice-President took that oath of office and came back to Washington with tears in his eyes, with pain in his heart, and with dedication in his soul, and I remember that day, November 27, 1963, when Lyndon Johnson stood before the Congress assembled and he rallied the people of America and he gave us one of those unforgettable moments, a historic occasion, that is seared in our memories as if by fire, and just as John Kennedy had said "Let us begin," Lyndon Johnson picked up the torch from the fallen leader and said "Let us continue."  
(Applause)

And my fellow Americans, that is what this election is all about. That is what we are here for. We are here to complete the unfinished tasks of John Kennedy's beginning. We are here to carry on the work. We are here to continue the struggle that was launched, and this election, my friends, will determine whether or not the people of America stand by the words and the deeds and the works of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. (Applause)

And I believe I know the heart of America. I believe I know the heart of these young people. I believe that I can read what is in their hearts and minds. They want to finish the task, don't you? (Applause)

America has responded. It has responded magnificently to the leadership of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. These men were a team. I know. I sat along side of these two men week in and week out. I was privileged, as Senator Williams could tell you, to be one of the legislative lieutenants of President Kennedy and now of President Johnson. I know when I say there was a Kennedy-Johnson program I speak the truth because I was there when they hammered it out on the anvil of political experience and necessity for America. (Applause)

Working together, these two bold and brave men, with the people of America and with the Congress, we have been making real headway. America is moving ahead. We are making headway against charity, against poverty, against disease, and against war. Three times in these past four years totalitarian dictators have put us to the supreme test. They have tested the will of the free people of America. They have tested whether or not we would defend our freedom -- in Berlin, in Cuba, and in Tonkin Bay -- and three times we as a people have met that test, supporting our leaders in a firmness which our immense power made credible but supporting them also in the restraint with which they used that power.

Working together, that is the theme of our government, working together, government and the people, these past four

years, government and business, farmers and workers, we have maintained our economic growth and expansion. We have maintained an ever increasing prosperity for 44 continuous months, the longest period of economic growth and prosperity in the history of the world. (Applause)

Profits, wages, farm incomes are up. Unemployment is down. Despite what the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party may say, America is moving ahead. America is prosperous. America is strong. And the people are strong enough to defeat him on November 3rd. (Applause)

In the past four years we have kept our promises. We have fulfilled our commitments. We have waged war on disease. We have taken measures to improve our hospitals and our community facilities. We have waged war on mental illness and mental retardation. And, my friends, we have kept another commitment that was made in this very city by the late President Kennedy when speaking to you four years ago this month. He said here in Jersey City that America must erase from its countenance, that America must remove from its vision, every vestige of prejudice, racial and religious, and we have made that fight. (Applause)

Might I add that Americans of both parties rally to that pattern. Republicans and Democrats alike in the House and in the Senate, with few exceptions, stood up and were counted. Republicans and Democrats alike said we believe in only one kind of citizenship, first class American citizenship. An overwhelming majority of Democrats, an overwhelming majority of Republicans said we believe in the equality of opportunity, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

But above all, in these past few years, we have made a first step and an important step in the lives of these young people and in the safety of our nation and the peace of the world. Our President, our late President, in June of 1963 launched a mighty offensive for a more peaceful world and he didn't do it from weakness. He did it from strength. He did it from conviction. And he did it with the power of the spirit as well as the sword. And President Kennedy backed up by President Lyndon Johnson, then the Vice-President, they negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty, a giant step forward towards peace. And may I say once again, three-fourths of the members of the Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for the ratification of that test ban treaty. (Applause)

A man who seeks to be President of the United States, a man who seeks the highest office as a gift of the American people, that will vote against first class citizenship for every American, a man who seeks to be President of the United States and revolt against a major step towards peace, that man is not qualified to occupy that office and we shall not let him. (Applause)

These have been good years for America. These past four years have been dramatic years for America. You have lived through an exciting time, a memorable experience, these beginning years which have united rather than divided Americans, years that increased the confidence of our friends in America, and gained the respect of our enemies, but some Americans -- few they are indeed, but loud -- don't see it that way. Some Americans say America is weak, America is demoralized, America is corrupt, America is divided. I say to you that America is not weak. I say to you that America is not weak. I say to you that America's spirit is good. And I say to you that America is united tonight as it has never been before in its history. (Applause)

This Republican pretender to the presidency knows that times are good. He knows that profits are up. He knows that there are 72 million people working. He knows that business is good. But he says we ought not to feel good about it. We are supposed to feel as miserable as he does. (Applause)

And these few Americans with their leader complain that everything that has been done, and not merely in the past four years but that everything that has been done in the last 30 years by our government, since the days of Roosevelt and Truman and Kennedy and Johnson, all they say is wrong. I

say to you that they are wrong and Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson are right. (Applause)

Now, what can we call these people that complain so much? What can we call these people who are so grouchy, so grumpy, so miserable, so unhappy? Well, I call these people sick and tired Americans. After all, that is what they call themselves. Over and over again I hear the spokesmen then say they are sick and tired of this, they are sick and tired of that, they are sick of the kind of government which seeks to fulfill one of the key mandates of the Constitution, the promotion of the general welfare.

They are tired. They are tired of the unrelenting, patient, demanding and successful struggle to contain communism and they hanker to bring it all to a big climax with one big nuclear bang.

Well, I know from this campaign that America is not sick, that America is not tired. The people that are sick and tired are the ones that are doing the talking about it. (Applause)

And let me tell you, my dear friends, that I find the Americans healthy and happy. I find them vigorous and active, and I find them healthy enough and vigorous enough and active enough to prove it on November 3rd when they defeat Goldwater. (Applause)

I know and you know, we know that America will send the sick and tired candidates to a crushing and devastating defeat on November 3rd which is what they deserve. (Applause)

But what we vote for on November 3rd is far more important than what we vote against. Yes, we shall reject by a tremendous majority all of this backwardness, all of this ret eat in American life but we are going to reaffirm what is good and forward looking. Recognizing that America has great problems we shall also affirm that it has great opportunities, and remembering that America has a glorious past, we shall affirm that it shall even have a more glorious future.

And as I leave you tonight, let me quote to you the last words that John Kennedy ever said in this city, and listen to them because they are prophetic. Speaking here in this city on November 6th, early in the morning, the last day before the election, this dear and good man we trusted said these words: "The next President of the United States may well determine not only the great issues of war and peace but may also determine what kind of a country we shall have, which direction we are going in, and what economy we have.

"This country," said John Kennedy, "is about to begin another great march forward and in the lead of that march will be the County of Hudson and the City of Jersey."

I say to you tonight you owe it to the memory of this, our dear departed friend, you owe it to his memory, this man that gave his life for us, and you owe it to the man that he selected as his successor to see to it that this election is a living memorial, a living tribute to John Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

#####

(V)

4 yrs ago - ~~34th~~ <sup>These</sup> ~~time~~  
✓ Mayor Whelan - Mayor Kenney

JFK Here

Jersey City

Sen Williams -  
Gov Hughes -

There have been <sup>many</sup> many times when I have been

proud to be an American, but I think tonight of

two unforgettable occasions

⊙ Cong. Gallagher  
⊙ Cong. Daniels

One was when President Kennedy stood upon the steps of the Capitol one snowy day in January four years ago, and said:

⊙ State Sen Wm F Kelly  
Mayor Whelan

"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 life but patient in tribulation-- a struggle against the common enemies of mankind, tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

↳ Taking us to be responsible, he spoke to us in words of high responsibility. ↳ Taking us to be intelligent, he did not insult our intelligence with easy answers to hard questions. ↳ Taking us to be mature men and women, he beguiled us with no fairy tales, but confronted us with all the complexities of a complex world.

↳ He offered us no <sup>easy</sup> panaceas, no short-cuts to Utopia--whether through the by-ways of the dead past or the future horrors of a thermonuclear Armageddon.

↳ He did not ask us merely to be ready to die for our country--he asked us a much harder thing, to live for it. ↳ He challenged each of us to give our best, not for a hundred days, and not for a thousand days, but

as long as the tasks facing us remained undone.

↳ And then he said, in words which remain in my  
memory as if they were etched in fire:

"Let us begin."

*— and America answered!*

↳ President Kennedy was granted little more than  
a thousand days to serve us and to serve mankind.

↳ a second unforgettable moment  
And then, <sup>^</sup> in the time of our greatest need,

*Stuck  
Down!*

President Johnson stood before us and expressed in

three simple words all that we felt and all that we

hoped:

"Let us continue."

↳ America has responded to the leadership of John F.

Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Working together, we have been making real headway against tyranny, against poverty, against disease, and against war.

Three times in these four years totalitarian dictators have put to the supreme test the will of a free people to defend their freedom--over Berlin, over Cuba, and in the Tonkin Bay.

Three times we as a people have met that test, supporting our leaders in a firmness which our immense power made credible, but supporting them also in the restraint with which they used that power.

Working together these past four years--Government and business, farmers and workers--we have maintained our economic growth for 44 straight months--the longest sustained *prosperity & economic* expansion in our peacetime history.

*Slow*

L Profits, wages, and farm incomes are up.

Unemployment is down., *america moves forward.*

L In these past four years, we have stepped up the war against disease. We have taken measures to

improve our hospitals and community health facilities

to see that mothers and children get better medical

care, and to treat and where possible to prevent

mental illness and retardation!

*(Compassion - concern)*

*Health*

L We have also ~~and I have been as frank and forth~~ right about this in the South as I am here ~~made a~~

great breakthrough in the battle against racial

prejudice ~~of this~~ *apart from which* ~~can warp men's souls as sorely as~~

~~physical disease can warp their bodies and minds.~~

1st class citizenship for all!

*Civil  
RtS*

L Above all, we have--with the nuclear test ban treaty--taken a giant step toward peace. #

Z These have been good years for America. These have been years which united rather than divided Americans, <sup>increased</sup> ~~enhanced~~ the confidence of our friends and <sup>gained</sup> ~~gained~~ the respect of our enemies. !!

L But, some Americans, I regret to say, don't see it that way.

L They say that America is weak, demoralized and divided. L Admitting that times are good, they don't think we should feel good about it. They complain that everything that has been done, not merely in the past four years, but in the past thirty years, is all wrong.

L I call these people "sick and tired" Americans.

After all, that's just what they call themselves!

L Over and over again, we've heard them say that they are "sick and tired" of this and "sick and tired" of that.

L They are "sick" of the kind of American government which seeks to fulfill one of the key mandates of the Constitution--the promotion of the general welfare.

L They are "tired" of the unrelenting, patient, demanding and successful struggle to contain Communism-- and hanker to bring it to a climax with one big <sup>nuclear</sup> bang!

2L But, I know from this campaign that America is not "sick," and Americans are not "tired."

Americans are healthy  
They are vigorous & they  
will grow it on roots!



I know that America will send the "sick and tired" candidates to a crushing defeat on November 3rd.

~~I am confident that the American people will~~  
~~reject the "sick and tired" party on November 3rd~~  
~~more effectively than I can tonight.~~

But What we vote for on November 3rd is far more important than what we vote against.

Yes, we shall reject--and by a tremendous majority, ~~hope~~--all that is ~~retreat~~ in American life. But we shall reaffirm what is good and forward-looking.

Recognizing that America has great problems, we shall affirm that it has great opportunities.

Remembering that it has a glorious past, we shall affirm that it has an even more glorious future.

*Handwritten signature/initials*

*and Remember to vote what JFK said here Nov 6.*

# United States Senate

---

## MEMORANDUM

JFK Speech - Jersey City, N. J.

Nov. 6, 1960

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, JOURNAL SQUARE, JERSEY CITY, N.J., NOVEMBER 6, 1960

Senator KENNEDY. Governor Meyner, Mayor Kenny, members of the city government, your two distinguished Congressmen, Congressman Gallagher, whom I know you are going to elect again [applause], Congressman Daniels, who deserves your support at the polls on Tuesday [applause], Thorn Lord, who will be the next U.S. Senator from the State of New Jersey [applause], ladies and gentlemen: I come here and this campaign is coming to an end. This is the last speech that I make outside of New England, and I come here tonight to a great Democratic city and county and ask your support on Tuesday. [Applause.] This campaign has taken us to all sections of the United States, to every State, over a period of many months, and in the next 30 hours this campaign will come to a close, and then the people of the United States must make their decision. I believe that the people of the United States face two very distinct choices, between a party and a candidate who have opposed progress throughout their respective careers, and a party and a candidate who have supported progress throughout their respective careers.

I believe in 1960 that this country needs a Democratic administration. [Applause.] That this country needs the kind of talented men and women to serve in all there is of our National Government, to represent us across the world, to speak with vigor and force. I come from a party and I stand proudly as its candidate, who initiated all the great pieces of social legislation, which means so much in the lives of our citizens, and Mr. Nixon comes from a party, and he is identified with it [response from the audience], that bears the dubious distinction of having opposed every single one of these pieces of social legislation.

I asked a month ago in Cleveland if someone could tell me one progressive thing that the Republican Party had stood for or done in this century, and when nobody answered, I was criticized the next day by the paper, a Republican paper, who said that I had ignored the accomplishments of President Taft in the field of child labor in 1904. [Response from the audience.]

All right, what have they done since 1904, I asked them, and what have they done since 1932? [Response from the audience.] Or what have they done since 1953? [Response from the audience.] I must say, you must have been here for a while practicing. [Laughter.] How did you know I was going to ask that question? [Laughter.] In any case, you have been here, I understand, for about 2 or 3 or 4 hours. [Response from the audience.] Six hours. I want you all to keep your health, because we need you on Tuesday. [Laughter.]

This campaign is vitally important to the State of New Jersey, the State of New Jersey is vitally important to the country. This county may well determine what the State of New Jersey does, and the 14 electoral votes [response from the audience]—16 electoral votes of New Jersey—this is the only audience that knows how many electoral votes they have. [Laughter and applause.] This must be a very politically active city. Is it? [Response from the audience.] There is a rumor to that effect. So it is 16 votes. That is even better. Those 16 votes may well determine who will be the next President of

the United States. [Applause.] And the next President of the United States may well determine, not only the great issues of war and peace, but may also determine what kind of a country we have, which direction we are going, what kind of economy we have, what kind of employment security you have, what assurances you have on the education of your children, that they can get to college, that in your old age or your family's old age, there will be medical care tied to social security—all these are matters that come across the desk of the President of the United States. President Truman used to have a sign which says, "The Buck Stops Here." Sooner or later, every problem which faces us as a people comes before the President of the United States, and on that basis, and recognizing full well the high responsibilities and burdens of that office which are greater now than they have ever been in the past, I still come here and ask your support in order to win that position, not because [applause]—not just because I think it is a major mistake to elect Mr. Nixon and the Republican Party in 1960 [response from the audience] but also because I believe the Presidency is the key office, not only in this country, but in the whole free world, and I believe the next President of the United States has to be, by conviction and not merely by electioneering commitments, has to be committed to progress, which Mr. Nixon in his career has not been. [Applause.]

We stand together in this fight. This is a fight that can be won. It can be won in this State, and I come here in the dying days of this campaign, as we leave now for Lewiston, Maine, and Providence, R.I., tonight, I come here to this county and ask you to help us on Tuesday by turning out the largest Democratic majority that this county has turned out for 20 years. [Applause.] We shall not slumber and we shall keep working for the next 36 hours, until we know what decision the people of this country are going to make. Thank you. [Applause.]

Let me just say, win or lose, good or bad, up or down, fair wind or bad, I believe that the United States has benefited by this campaign. I believe that Mr. Nixon and the Republican Party have learned a lesson, that in a dangerous and trying time in the life of this country there is no substitute for action. We cannot drift or sleep or lie at anchor. This country is about to begin another great march forward, and in the lead will be the county of Hudson and the city of Jersey. Thank you. [Applause.]

---

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, CITY PARK, LEWISTON,  
MAINE, NOVEMBER 6, 1960

Senator KENNEDY. Senator Muskie, Congressman Oliver, Congressman-to-be Donovan, Senator-to-be Lucia Cormier—I hope; she will be a wonderful one—Dave Roberts, the next Congressman from his district, ladies and gentlemen; I come here tonight with a good deal of regret. I am sorry we were late. We were not playing golf. We have been out carrying the message. [Applause.] And I am grateful to all of you, more than I can say, for having been willing to stay here. Ed Muskie's voice is just about gone, but we stay here because we believe it important for Maine and the country on Tuesday, November 8, that a Democratic President and Vice President be elected to

Judson

County

Sen. William  
Conrad Hughes

Sen. Kelly

Cong. Gallogher  
Cong. Daniels

Come to you  
to vote as a Democ  
in spirit of  
FDR, Truman  
Kennedy, + Johnson!

(X) all the way with LBJ -  
White House to Court House  
& elect every Democrat this  
year - Work - Vote!

(X) Jersey City State College

(X) St. Peter's College

(X) Lanier Parkman

an  
Young

(X) Mayors - Labor, Dem's

Local officials of Judson  
County



# Minnesota Historical Society

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

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



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