

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts
October 13, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. You have convinced me.
(Applause)

Dr. Catrell, members of the faculty of Mount Holyoke and members of this fine, wonderful, enthusiastic, enlightened student body -- (Applause) -- yes, that includes you, too, my dear. You know, I am so happy to see these smiling young ladies that carry the banner of the opposition because whenever I see one smile I know deep down in their hearts they want to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

I am very pleased to share this platform with the Governor of your great State, Governor Peabody. (Applause) And may I say I am very honored also to be here with the president of your student body, Miss Barbara Price, who served in Washington in the Peace Corps. Am I correctly informed that this community is the home city of the President of the State Senate of Massachusetts, Mr. Donaghue, Governor, is that correct? (Applause)

Well, I knew he wasn't a graduate of Mount Holyoke, even though may I say I would like to enroll here. (Applause)

When your illustrious professor in the field of government takes a -- (Applause) They came over and lassoed me. There is a neighboring school here that -- listen, they were really very nice. They asked me to bring you their fondest regards. Now I have done it. (Laughter).

Well, what can I talk to you about in just these very few moments except to first of all thank you so much for your enthusiastic welcome and for the song and for the cheers and also thank you for thinking that Horatio is a very good name.

I think that is simply wonderful because I wasn't sure of it. I think I owe Senator Goldwater many things. He has done so much for me. He gave me a chance to travel around the country, propularize my name, and by the way, I want to make it quite clear I think that Senator Goldwater is to me really a fine man. I think he would make a wonderful neighbor. I just don't want him for president. (Applause)

Let me say that I notice the sign over here that says something about modern Republicans for Johnson and Humphrey, and I am very grateful for that because one of the great factors in this election is the number of people of Republican persuasion that are going to vote this time, maybe for the first time, for a Democratic candidate. (Applause).

When you can get the Saturday Evening Post that hasn't endorsed Democrats since 1787 -- they didn't have any then -- and the New York Herald Tribune and a few others of that vintage and of that thinking and the Life Magazine and others to come out and support a president on the Democratic ticket, there must be something to that man and there must be some reason that they are doing this. They are not on the payroll of the Democratic National Committee, and they are not under any partisan pressure.

Publishers and educators and editorial staffs of these great magazines have maybe analyzed the record. I think they have. I don't think it was easy for them, very frankly, to make this decision. It ran against tradition, it ran against their long term committments, and it surely ran against many of their backers and supporters.

But one thing that makes one proud of his country is that in moments of crisis, people put their country above their Party, and I happen to believe this is a moment of crisis.

I happen to believe that this election will not only affect the next two or three years, but it may very well affect the balance of this century.

I also want to make it quite clear that I do not consider the spokesman of the Republican Party, and he is not the spokesman of the whole Party.

(Applause) -- I do not consider this man to be a bad man. We can have our disagreements politically. We don't have to get personal about it, and I don't intend to. I know his family, I know him. I have served in the Senate with him. He has many very fine admirable qualities but I want to say quite frankly what does disturb me is the kind of support, the kind of militant support that comes from some areas.

I say this most thoughtfully, and I almost hesitate to say it lest I be misunderstood, but when I see some of the most rabid voices in America, when I see people who follow the line of Ku Klux, when I see people who follow the line of Christian Frontiers, when I see people who follow the line of the John Birchers, all out there vigorously day in and day out fanatically supporting the candidate and the candidacy of the Republican candidate, it bothers me.

I don't say that he enlisted that support. I don't want to have to be on this record. I don't say he asked for it. I simply say he hasn't repudiated it. And I simply say that it is there, and it bothers me.

I do not want the voices of hate and bigotry and intolerance in America to have a respectable platform. I don't want it. (Applause)

Very frankly, I think this is why many of the traditional Republicans have left their candidate and their Party. They have done it with sadness at heart. They are maybe not fully happy with the Democratic candidate but they have to make a choice and we have to make choices in elections. That is what they are about, to make choices. And you are going to influence people in making that choice.

Some of you are going to make that choice. And you are going to influence your parents and are going to influence the people in your community, in your circle of friends, and when you do make that choice or influence, you have a heavy responsibility.

I notice that in 1960 the Republican platform of that year reflected the eight years of responsibility of the Republican leadership in the Executive Branch of Government. When Dwight Eisenhower became President and those who were associated with him served in the Executive Branch, took on the responsibilities of governing this nation, they had to come to grips with the realities of the nation, not with mythology, not with fiction, but they had to deal with the problems that beset the world. And the Republican platform of 1960 was an authentic Republican platform.

Now, frankly it was maybe more conservative than Hubert Humphrey would have liked. I think that is fact. But I want to make it quite clear it was an authentic conservative Republican platform that was built upon and predicated upon the experience of Dwight Eisenhower and his cabinet and the Republican Administration and that platform made 25 specific commitments to the American people, and 25 specific commitments were brought up on the basis of votes in the Senate of the United States, every one of them, and of those 25 commitments in the Republican platform, the leaders of the Republican Party had an opportunity to vote them in the Senate of the United States; the leader of the Republican Party, Senator Everitt Dirksen -- now, he is a middle-of-the-roader, I would say a rather conservative man but he is a full-fledged Republican. His Whip is Senator Kuchel of California, I think one of the most gifted congressmen the Republicans have. Your own Senator Saltonstall, Conference Chairman. And I want to make it crystal clear that both Mrs. Humphrey and myself not only look on Senator Saltonstall as a friend, we admire him. I don't expect him to vote for the Democrats. I don't expect him to say a kind word in a campaign. Yet I admire his courage, his intellect, his integrity.

And then there is Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa who is the Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. This is another middle-of-the-road conservative, you might say Republican, authentic Republican, a man that served for years in the Senate on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Now, what is the record? What is the record on 25 issues?

On 25 issues, Senator Kuchel voted 25 times to support his platform. Now, remember, he was elected by the Republicans of the Senate to be their Whip,

just as I was elected by the Democrats in the Senate to be the Democratic Whip. 25 times Senator Kuchel voted yes.

20 times Senator -- 21, I believe it was, Senator Saltonstall voted yes. Now, of course, Mr. Goldwater displeases Mr. Kuchel as an extremist and he says so. (Laughter) And he had something to say about easterners in general. He said that the Eastern Seaboard might be better off if we just sawed it off and let it float to sea.

Yes, it sounds ridiculous, I know, incredible, but it was actually said; I hope it was said in jest. (Laughter)

But might I add that Senator Saltonstall voted, let's say, 20 times, to be on the conservative side, for the Republican platform. Senator Dirksen, the leader, voted 18 times. Senator Hickenlooper, the Policy Committee Chairman, voted 17 times for the 1960 Republican commitments, 25 of them in the platform.

Senator Goldwater voted 25 times no. 25 times no.

Now, why do I tell you this? Because I think people have a right to ask why is it that the New York Herald Tribune, why is it that the Saturday Evening Post, why is it that the Luce publications Life and Time, why is it these traditional Republican publications are supporting Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States? Why is it that they have left the standard bearer of their Party?

And may I say they haven't left their Party. The man that left the Party is the man who temporarily is the spokesman of the Party. (Applause)

Quite frankly I expect that in another election they will be right back where they ordinarily were, supporting the Republican candidate if that Republican candidate is a candidate of responsibility, if he is a candidate that hasn't repudiated our bipartisan foreign policy, if he is a candidate in the tradition of a conservative candidate, because it is the view of this Senator, and I speak now to an enlightened college audience and I am not here to arouse your emotions about it, it is my view that Senator Goldwater does not fall within the path of the Republican Party just as Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania said, and he said it again and again and again. He said he is not in the mainstream of Republican tradition.

And I might add he is not in the mainstream of the tradition of the national consensus of this great Republic on programs of welfare, of education, on programs of community development and even a knowledge of our government.

This government of the United States, my fellow Americans, is a government not only in Washington but at the state level, the county level and the local level. It is a government in cooperation, a government that is synthesized, a government that must harmonize its activities.

The Standard Bearer of the Republican Party in this election doesn't seem to sense that. I cannot really be very happy about a person that says that the Government of the United States in Washington is a greater threat to our freedom than Moscow. I don't believe that. (Applause)

The government in Washington may have its limitations and weaknesses and it does. Neither political party has a monopoly on virtue or wisdom. I think we ought to understand that before we start.

I don't know any candidate that qualified for sainthood. I am not running on that ticket. (Laughter)

And I don't know anybody else that is, even if some of them pretend they are. (Laughter and Applause)

But I will say this to this audience, that we have built in this country a pattern of government and a social structure for some 30 or better years of recent days that is pretty well accepted by the American people and we

ought to continue to build on it.

Now, it isn't good enough just to talk about the yesterdays. If you are going to talk about them, you ought to talk accurately at least. And it isn't good enough to talk just about the todays. I think, as I have said a couple of times in talking to younger people, that the writings of Eleanor Roosevelt, that final book of hers before she passed away, that "Tomorrow is Now," tells you the kind of a world that we are living in.

In other words, you just have to move fast. You have to think ahead. Science, technology, the break up of social structures, political power structures, all of this has made this world change and change rapidly. And this is a world in which you don't gain peace by serving notice on people, do as I say or else. (Applause)

You don't prove yourself to be worthy of world leadership and the mantle of world leadership by diplomacy, as Walter Lippman put it, the diplomacy of ultimatum. This just doesn't work in this world.

Nor is it very sensible to view modern warfare as if it were the kind that you had in World War I.

The atomic bomb changed all of that. (Applause)

Now, the real question before humanity is whether or not we can do something constructive with the new forces that are available to us with modern science and technology. Will this great release of human intelligence, will this be used for constructive good or will it be used for destruction?

I think that in a campaign like this we ought to hear from the candidates about their views on education, about their views on the cities that you are going to live in. Very few people live in rural America anymore, and fewer are going to live there when you are 40 years of age and 35.

This nation is going to have a population by 1980 of 275 million people. There will be one solid city from Boston to Washington of 90 million people. There will be vast areas of America in which population increases.

The whole problem of representative government is before us. We ought to be talking about that. We ought to be talking about how we can improve the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty rather than how you repudiate it. (Applause)

Quite frankly, rather than bemoaning the troubles that we have, the riots, the difficulties, none of which we like or condone, what we really ought to be talking about, and everyone of us here, particularly those of us that have been privileged to have a college education -- I got one. I owe humanity a good deal. I owe my community a good deal.

Nobody ever paid for their college education, you know. Don't kid yourself. The library in this school is an inheritance of 5,000 years. You have inherited a whole culture. You will never be able to pay for it. What you will have to do somehow or other is try to give enough of your life to somebody else, to your community, to your nation, to your world, so that you can pay back a little of what you received.

Now, the person that never got an education, he doesn't owe anybody very much. He doesn't owe them anything. But those of us that have been privileged to get a Bachelor's Degree, a Master's Degree, a Doctor's Degree, most of which has been paid for by somebody else, by contributions, by gifts -- your tuition doesn't even come close to paying for it. Everybody knows that that has the sense to go to college.

We have some responsibilities and therefore we ought to be thinking about how we can improve the world in which we live. We ought to be thinking about what is our commitment to this world. We ought to be thinking about how can we do something to make sure that true justice really prevails?

We ought to be asking ourselves how can we redeem ourselves for having demeaned humankind in this nation since its inception through slavery and through bigotry and through discrimination and through intolerance because we did, you know.

Let's quit kidding ourselves. There is only one kind of humanity, not brown or white, not red or yellow, just one kind. People. That is all. (Applause)

Just one kind of citizenship in the United States. Just one kind.

I have read the Constitution. I took an oath to uphold it. I have taught constitutional law, American Government. I am a refugee from a classroom. I know. (Laughter)

Let me say very strongly you can read that Constitution over and over again and it doesn't talk about the past. It says "We the People of the United States do," this hour, this hour, this moment, "do ordain and establish," not "did." (Laughter)

And it doesn't say we the white people or we the Protestant people or we the Catholic people or we the Jewish people or we the agnostics. It says we the people.

Now, there is just one kind of citizenship in that great Republic and that is a citizen of this American Republic, American citizenship, and we have passed a bill in the Congress last year 100 years late, 100 years late. (Applause) And that bill -- I don't say that it solved the problem. I say it merely provided a framework within which men of reason and justice and decency and fair play can work to solve the problems, and I want to make sure -- (Applause) -- that a leader or one that poses as a leader for this country is one that will ask us to work with him within that framework, not to tear it down, not to say that it promotes violence and hatred but to know that that framework of law must be used to seek observance, to build respect for one another, to build respect for all.

And I say that in this campaign this is an issue because Americans ought to be challenged to do their best. Americans ought to be challenged finally to take on the great role of the peacemaker in the world.

We have to make a choice. Do we want to be a Sparta or an Athens? (Applause)

Remember this, that while military power is important and we need it and we built it, the power is not an end unto itself. Power must be a means to a just end. (Applause)

Quite frankly when I say a candidate voting against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which is the first step towards any -- or at least controlling the arms race, and a candidate that can vote against the Civil Rights Act and denounce it as a police state act, when I can see that and see a candidate which calls the Peace Corps a haven for beatniks -- that is what it was called. (Laughter)

I was the author of the Peace Corps, and I stood there in the Senate-- (Applause) -- I took the slings and the darts and the arrows of the opposition. I heard them say that all this will do is turn loose on this world a lot of young wild Americans. I heard it said there that this is a haven for beatniks.

Well, I will tell you that it is not. I think it is the finest expression of American idealism and American optimism.

I have got to go. I would love to stay here and visit with you, you are a wonderful audience, but we have got to go up to Vermont, and may I just say before I leave here, may I make this one request of you.

I ask you to analyze the records of people that seek public office. I ask you to take a look at the record, and I ask you to take a look at what happened in America on November 22nd, 1963, when our President through a mad act of a mad man was struck down.

Everybody was in tears. The nation faltered. People wondered what is going to happen. The whole constitutional system of this country was being tested.

Could we pass power from one to another without trouble, without violence, without disorder, without hesitation? And I believe the acid test of Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, came at that hour when he without faltering for a moment humbly, in pain, in grief, under the most difficult of circumstances, took over the leadership of this country, and I tell you that while John Kennedy had 1,000 days of dramatic service to humanity, and they were grave days, they were great days, Lyndon Johnson has now had ten, almost -- well, almost 11 months of brilliant leadership of the Government of the United States, and he has led it well.

He put through the Congress of the United States by his great leadership and persuasion the most amazing legislative program that America has ever known and he has conducted our foreign policy well. He has spoken to the American people not in terms of dividing us but uniting us. He has spoken to us of our responsibilities, not of our luxuries.

He has spoken to us of the prospects of the future, not just the achievements of the past.

Every man has limitations but I submit that Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, has demonstrated qualities of leadership that commend him in the history of our country as one of the great Presidents and I hope that you will help him be elected again.

Thank you.

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news release

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TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
SMITH COLLEGE, MASSACHUSETTS
OCTOBER 13, 1964

As a spokesman for the politics of hope -- and an admitted optimist -- I would like today to put to you an important proposition about the contemporary American life. I submit that choice is the foundation of freedom, and that never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices and the capacity to choose, that he has today.

Every Presidential election confronts us anew with the cogency of Alexander Hamilton's opening sentence in the Federalist papers:

"It seems to have been reserved for the people of this country," said Hamilton, "by their conduct and example, to decide the important question: whether societies of men are really capable of not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their constitutions on accident and chance."

The founders of the Republic considered Americans to be a chosen people because they were a people capable of choice, a people who could voluntarily assume the burden of liberating human potentialities. To them, to be an American was to accept a moral vocation -- a life of choice.

I am not talking about choice as an abstraction -- the choice which Anatole France derided when he noted that "rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges." I am talking about specific, concrete alternatives that have always confronted Americans -- and that confront young Americans in 1964.

Let me be specific. In 1900, four young Americans in every hundred between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920 this figure rose to eight; in 1940 to fourteen -- and in 1961 it was over thirty-two. Now in 1960 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards of that time, had the right

to attend college. But how much real choice did a poor boy, or worse, a poor girl have, no matter how talented?

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

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

These opportunities are not merely materialistic. True, your standard of living will profit from higher education -- and this is not to be sneered at -- but above and beyond living standards you will benefit from your ability to pursue excellence in all its forms.

Hopefully, your education has opened before your eyes the vistas of spiritual enrichment to be found in Western, and other cultures.

Hopefully, you will find the time -- as millions of Americans do -- to continue your education so that the old ideal of graduation as a "commencement" will be realized in your lives and in your children's lives.

Hopefully, the use to which you put your talents and your opportunities will belie the Communist accusation that the American is a demoralized, atomized materialist, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status-seekers.

And it is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving; to be truly meaningful, education must also involve giving -- of one's knowledge, talents, abilities, faith and compassion.

We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged -- the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which he is a part.

And what of this society? What is our vision and our dedication?

To a degree unknown to our ancestors, the acts of choice before us have a range which can be exhilarating -- or terrifying. The word leisure comes from the Greek word for school, because in ancient times only those who entered the academy had leisure, time to think, time to create, time to pursue excellence.

Are we prepared to face the crisis of universal leisure? A whole society, for the first time in human history, can "go to school", can move beyond the drudgery of extracting an existence from nature to the exercise of dominion over nature. We can ask realistically what kind of an environment do we want to create for ourselves and our posterity. But are we prepared to shift from a preoccupation with quantitative standards to the quest for quality? Are we prepared to infuse the life of our society with the idea of excellence?

Some are willing. But others are not. Some face the future joyously. Others quiver at the prospect of change and desperately attach themselves to the slogans of the past. Some are stimulated by the great challenges that face us. Others, living in self-imposed mental exile from modern life, picture the typical American as old, tired, bitter and defeated.

This is the real issue in this campaign. The whole Goldwater attack is built around the policies of desperation.

At a time when we have never been stronger, and the Communist world system is coming apart at the seams, the Goldwaterites see us sliding down the slope to defeat.

At a time when we have reached a breakthrough in the struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice, they talk of nothing but race riots and street violence.

At a time when we are reaching forward to eliminate poverty, the despair of old age, disease and poor education, they say we are becoming a nation of slaves.

At a time when human survival depends upon the exercise of restrained, responsible power, they encourage nuclear adventurism and shooting from the hip.

In every area of foreign and domestic policy, the Goldwater faction cultivates catastrophe.

Around every pronouncement of the Goldwater faction, there is an atmosphere of defeatism, of negativism, of distrust in government, of our elected officials, in our judges, in the people themselves.

In short, the free spirit which invigorates American life and provides the environment for our great accomplishments does not exist for the Goldwater faction-- they live in the conspiratorial police state of their own imaginations.

No one who has spent as much time as I have working on the fundamental legislative issues of our time can say we Americans have achieved Utopia. But, if one leaves the somber nightmare world of the Goldwaterites, there is no question we have made immense progress. We have made progress toward the establishment of a free community in which human beings can dedicate themselves not merely to the pursuit of a living wage and decent living conditions, but also to the pursuit of excellence.

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

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

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

This vision calls upon all of us to repudiate the POLITICS of despair and move forward under the banner of hope to the great creative task of building an America worthy of our dreams.

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Remarks of Senator Humber H. Humphrey
Smith College
Massachusetts
October 13, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Governor Bellotti, Governor Peabody, my good friends of these many campuses that are represented here but, of course, on the campus here in the environment of the great Smith College. I know that I have just come into one of the greatest educational areas of America and lest I forget, may I just say that a few months ago it was my privilege to deliver the commencement address at a neighboring college, university, the University of Massachusetts. (Applause)

I consider it a rare honor and a high privilege today and I am pleased to see students from Mount Holyoke, from Amherst, the University of Massachusetts and Smith College. And I am also pleased to see that somebody thinks I have got a good middle name, Horatio. (Applause)

It makes me so happy.

As a matter of fact, I have considered my secret weapon in this campaign to organize all the folks in America that got stuck with middle names they didn't like. And if that were the case, the opposition wouldn't have a chance, and they really don't anyhow. (Applause)

Well, I heard a dying gasp over there. (Laughter) I just can't tell you how pleased I am to see once again those that have been walking in the paths of political transgression and sin to come and repent and join with us. (Applause - Laughter)

I know that if this campaign can last long enough, we will be able to save most of those souls. (Laughter)

Today I want to take the opportunity of speaking to young Americans not about the yesterdays, even though an accurate portrayal of the history of yesterdays would be a refreshing matter in this campaign.

I think that if one is going to study history, he ought to at least get a passing grade before he talks about it. (Laughter)

But I prefer to speak to you about the politics of the future, the politics of hope, and the pursuit of excellence, because when one addresses a college audience, those that are so closely associated with the college or university environment, it gives a beautiful opportunity for the expression of thought, conviction, not about the mistakes of yesterday or even the achievements but rather the promises of tomorrow.

I am happy to share a platform with able, aggressive, intelligent, enlightened young leaders of American democracy. I am happy to be associated here on this platform with two of my good friends in public life, the Governor of this great Commonwealth, Governor Peabody -- (Applause) -- and the gentleman that will succeed him, the Lieutenant Governor, soon to be Governor of the State of Massachusetts, Governor Bellotti. (Applause)

I am also very happy to come to the State that has given to the United States of America so many illustrious leaders. The most recent of those great leaders, of course, has been taken from us, and I don't mention his name to appeal to your sentiment. I only say that a state that can produce leadership of the quality of John Kennedy is a state that has given much not only to America but to the whole world. And I am pleased to be here in the State of the younger member of that family, the young man that I first met at the University of Virginia when he was studying in the law school of that great university, the law school of Thomas Jefferson. I refer to Senator Edward Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, who is one of my close friends. (Applause)

I happen to believe that this young man will have one of the greatest futures of any man in American public life and I look forward to that great day.

Also I share the friendship and enjoy the precious gift of this friendship

of Eddie Boland, Congressman, and I just want to say a word about him.

He is a fine man, working hard for our ticket, giving of himself unselfishly.

Now, I said I wanted to talk to you about the future. I do this because it seems to me that in this campaign period, we ought to have more than just heat, more than just an appeal to prejudice or emotion. We ought to also have some light; we also ought to make it an educational experience.

I have heard from the public platform again and again that we are losing our freedoms, that this country is in mortal danger of tyranny. I have even heard it said by a spokesman for a faction of a political party, I have heard it said that Washington, D. C., your Federal Government in Washington is a greater menace to freedom than Moscow.

I must say that I consider that an insult to the United States of America. (Applause)

Any person thinking objectively, any person that makes an honest evaluation of this great Republic, of its government with any of its limitations, knows deep down in his heart that that statement is not true. (Applause)

Every once in a while I hear somebody holler out, "Yea, Barry." I never know whether they mean "Straw Barry" or "Razz Barry." (Applause-Laughter) It wouldn't make much difference. They will both be out of season in November. (Laughter)

Now, may I say that political leadership worthy of the respect of a young nation, of intelligent people, is a leadership that does look to the tomorrows.

Eleanor Roosevelt in her final writings before her departure from this earth, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote a book entitled "Tomorrow Is Now." And anyone that doesn't comprehend the meaning of that phrase is really in the 19th Century and not in the 20th because this life that we live moves rapidly.

The world in which we live changes quickly. The changes resulting from science and technology, the changes resulting from the break up of the power structure of the old world, those changes are made and pass like a fleeting moment, and anyone that doesn't think ahead has already lost the todays. And it doesn't do enough even to think ahead, may I say, just a few months or a few years.

I said to a good audience last evening at Westchester County, New York -- (Applause) -- I am glad you are a great crowd -- I said to that audience that this election of 1964 will not only determine the next four years but what really happens in the next four years may determine the balance of this century, because we are at a point where things are moving rapidly, where there are great developments amongst the nations of the world, where there are tremendous scientific breakthroughs, where the possibilities of even scientific exploration into other planets are within our grasp.

So we have to think ahead.

That is why I talk to you about the politics of hope, the politics of the future. That is why I say that today you have more choices, more opportunities as American citizens and particularly as young people than ever before in the life of this nation.

The fact that we have great universities which open their gates to thousands and thousands, yes, millions of people, indicates that freedom not only lives but freedom is strong and it is vital, it is vigorous, and the nonsensical talk about the loss of our freedom comes from sick and distorted minds. (Applause)

I think that it would be well for us just a moment, since I am a bit of a refugee from the classroom, once having been a teacher and professor of political science, to just mention a word or two from the Federalist Papers of Alexander Hamilton.

Now I picked Alexander Hamilton because here again he is considered to be at least the spiritual and the philosophical father of the Republican Party.

However, may I say that Alexander Hamilton would not be able to understand the present temporary spokesman of the Republican Party.

Alexander Hamilton said in the opening sentence of the Federalist Papers, "It seems to have been reserved for the people of this country by their conduct and example, to decide the important question: whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflexion and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their constitutions on accident and chance."

The founders of this Republic considered Americans to be a chosen people. They considered them to be people capable of making a choice, and a people who would voluntarily assume the burden of liberating human potentialities. In other words, to be an American, then as now, was to accept a moral vocation, a life of choice.

Now, I am not talking about choices in abstraction. You have heard plenty of abstract theory. I want to talk about choices of reality. Nor am I talking about the choice which Anatole France derided when he noted that the "rich and the poor have equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under the bridges."

I am talking about choice in terms of specific concrete programs and alternatives that have always confronted Americans and that confront you now in 1964.

Now, let me be specific. In 1900, four young Americans out of every 100 between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920 this figure rose to eight. In 1940, to 14. In 1961, to 32. Presently in 1964 it is 35.

Now, in 1900, the rich and the poor alike all had supposedly the opportunity to attend college. That is, if they qualified for the standards, they had the right to attend it.

But I ask you how much real choice did they have? How much real choice did a poor boy or more so a poor girl have, no matter how talented. The fact of the matter is there wasn't any choice and people were condemned to a life of less than enlightenment. People were condemned to work long hours. People knew little of what we call the concept of leisure.

Now, these figures that I have given to you, they are bloodless, formal statistics but they have some human meaning. The function of education after all is to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to put some flesh upon the dry historical bones, to visualize and eternalize the hopes and sufferings of others.

I think that you are to remember that the choices that you fail to appreciate now could be your very own.

To simply put it, in 1900, seven-eighths of you who are here would not have been listening to any speaker. Seven-eighths of you would not have had the choice of attending a university or college. Seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that are open to the university graduate.

Now, these opportunities are not merely materialistic. It doesn't mean just a better living even though that is surely worthy of our consideration. I talk about the opportunities to pursue excellence in all of its forms. You have an opportunity and you have a privilege just as this great nation does and anybody that has been given the privilege today of an education, a college education, also has responsibilities.

I can forgive some people who have never had a break in life, who have never known what it was to be able to feast upon the cultural heritage of our civilization.

I can forgive these people for bigotted attitudes, for prejudiced minds.

I can forgive them even for their selfishness.

I can forgive them for even their backwardness because they never had an opportunity to know better.

But let me say to those who have been privileged to drink at the fountain of learning, those who have been privileged to feast at the table of western culture, those who have been privileged to be in the classrooms of great professors, and to read in the libraries, in other words, to enjoy a higher education, those people have an obligation to a country, to a society, and to a world, and that obligation is one to make it a better world, to give of yourself, to share of yourself in making this the kind of a world in which humanity can realize its potentialities for good and for service. (Applause)

And I must say that it is shocking to me when spokesmen for a political party or any other group who have been privileged, who have been able to live the good life, can stand before their fellow Americans, many of whom have not had these privileges, and say to them that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, has no responsibilities. And that is what we are being told.

When a candidate for the office of President can say that government has no responsibility to the youth of America for education, when he can say that it might be better if some people weren't educated, I say that he has disqualified himself for public leadership. (Applause)

Anyone running for public office who can say openly that he considers it his duty not to pass laws but to repeal them, then I say that he understands little or nothing about the processes of American Government or the responsibilities of American Government.

But I say with even more emphasis that when a man that seeks the highest office within the gift of the people of the United States can ignore the mandate of the Constitution, and there are but two mandates in the Constitution, to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare, and when he can ignore the mandate, the directive of the Constitution, to promote the general welfare and in fact heap ridicule upon the concept of promoting the general welfare, I say that he has disqualified himself for the highest office of President of the United States. (Applause)

And then there is the whole matter of one's philosophy of life, his philosophy of government. I wonder why it is that some in this day and age of the second half of the 20th Century, living in a nation blessed with unbelievable prosperity, living in a nation blessed with what we call the good things of life, living in a nation that has the privilege of being a world power and a world leader, I wonder how it is that they can be so negative, so defeatist, so full of concern and scorn, so full of being sick and tired of this and sick and tired of that rather than reaching out and welcoming the future and coming to grips with the problems that beset us and turning those problems into real opportunities for public service.

This nation, like students in a college, is blessed, and this nation needs to turn itself not only to the pursuit of the good things of life but also to the pursuit of excellence in everything we do, with leaders that inspire us to do better, that call upon us to do our best, that will not settle for mediocrity. And when I hear candidates for public office who fail to realize the age in which we live and the amazing achievements of it, it bothers me, and I come to young people to talk to them about it.

I think the real issue in this campaign is the issue of whether or not we are going to have leadership that senses there is a future for America and reaches out to grasp it and to welcome it, or leadership that has repudiated the present, ignores the future, and gives a distorted representation of the past. I think that we can talk about these matters in concrete terms. At a time when we have never been stronger, and at a time when the so-called monolithic communism is coming apart at the seams, the Goldwaterites see us sliding down the slope to defeat and tell the world so.

Now, this is not only a distortion of fact, it is a disservice to the United States of America in its role of world leadership.

At a time when we made a breakthrough for the struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice, I think we have a right to expect from a man who seeks the high office of President that he will encourage people to observe the law, that he will encourage respect for the law rather than just talking about riots in the streets. (Applause)

And surely, my friends, one who says he is the representative and the leader of the Party of Lincoln has a responsibility to make sure that Lincoln's promise of emancipation which was translated into the fulfillment of an emancipation by the Civil Rights Act, that that promise and fulfillment will receive his whole-hearted support. Instead of that, what does he say? He says that law breeds hate and violence and he encourages people by indirection to have little or no respect for the law.

I can not tolerate that kind of leadership nor can you.
(Applause)

And at a time when we are reaching forward to eliminate poverty -- I know that poverty is not new. What is new is that we have the means to do something about it. And at a time when we are seeking to eliminate it, at a time when we are seeking to eliminate the despair of old age, at a time when we are seeking to strike mighty blows against disease and poor education, we are being told that we are a nation of slaves and we are being told that a government that seeks to help education, that a government that pours through the people's contributions millions of dollars into research for better medicine, that a government that is willing to see the pockets of poverty and sense the injustice of this, we are being told that that government is a menace and a greater menace to freedom than communist Moscow itself.

I say this is beneath almost human comprehension. It is incredible and it ought to be repudiated by young people.
(Applause)

May I say that at a time when the world longs for peace, because every responsible person in the world knows that in this age we have created the means of total destruction, that man has been able to unleash mightypower, power for evil, power for death, unless he disciplines himself, unless he can control that power, and at a time that the nations of the world, fearful of what could happen with continued nuclear testing, fearful of the contamination of the atmosphere, fearful of radioactive debris, concerned lest future generations may be adversely affected, and a great President takes the lead and calls upon the humane and decent people of America and of the world to join with him in trying to find a way out, a way of curbing this madness, an arms race, if you please, that could destroy us instead of save us, and we negotiated a treaty and this treaty was signed by over 100 nations, and the late and beloved President Kennedy in that memorable address at American University on June 10, 1963, broke the Iron Curtain.

He broke the stalemate of the Cold War. He led America on as a great conqueror for peace. And out of that great speech came the hope of sanity, came the hope of reason, came the hope of peace, and out of it came a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, a treaty that was supported overwhelmingly by the American people, a treaty that had four-fifths of the United States Senate in support of it; a treaty, if you please, that the leader of the Republican Party in the Senate said that he was ratifying because he didn't want it written on his tombstone that he was given this chance and that he failed to take it.

And yet when that treaty, that little flickering hope of

peace was before the Senate of the United States this man who today says he speaks for a moral America, this man who talks of morality, cast his vote not for morality. He cast his vote for death. He cast his vote for trouble. He cast his vote, my friends, for war if war should come. (Applause)

Now, I say to you that a man that can turn his back upon one of the great advances for peace, that a man that can turn his back upon civil rights, that a man that can ignore the needs of education, that a man that can ignore the needs of people who have been trying for better than a century to become full-fledged Americans in full citizenship, that a man that can ignore the needs of people, poor people, people because of their color who have been discriminated against, a man that can ignore the needs of humanity that seeks a peace, that man is not the man that ought to be President of the United States. (Applause)

I shall leave you shortly, but before we leave, may I say this: that I occasionally hear one of these voices of despair -- (Laughter) -- one of these voices of retreat. There are those voices in America now as there were in the days of our fight for independence. There have always been those voices.

The question is whether those voices will prevail, whether the voices of darkness, the voices of retreat will prevail or whether or not the voices of freedom and of light and of progress will prevail. And I think I know which voices you want. Freedom and progress. (Applause)

Around every pronouncement of the Goldwater faction there is this atmosphere of defeatism, of negativism, of distrust in government, in our judges, and in people themselves; in short, the free spirit which has invigorated American life and now invigorates it and provides the environment for our great accomplishments does not exist in the minds of this Goldwater faction.

They live in the conspiratorial police state of their own twisted imaginations. (Applause)

And that police state is just as corrupt and just as immoral as the police state of the police themselves. (Laughter)

Now, my friends, I ask you do you want a political leader that thinks in terms of program? Do you want one that gives you inspiration? Do you want one that forwards a Peace Corps? Do you want one that forwards the hope of peace?

I think you do. I am sure you do not want one that offers no program and we have yet to hear one item of program in this campaign from the opposition. (Applause)

I think we do not want a political leader that offers no inspiration. I do not imagine that we want a political leader that could call the Peace Corps nothing but a haven for beatniks. (Laughter and Applause) And these are the phrases of one who says today "Follow me."

My dear friends, to follow him is to retreat over the precipice of disaster.

But I submit to you that to stand up and to think of your country, to think of its future, and to give your trust and faith to a team that believes in the future and to a President that is qualified by experience, by background, by knowledge, a President who has the trust of the people, a President who is responsible in the exercise of his authority and of his power, that is the path for thoughtful Americans to follow, and I come to you today to tell you that on that path is the leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, my friends, I think we have just a very few minutes, and I don't ever believe that you ought to come to an enlightened and intelligent audience like this without throwing it open to questions which gives the opposition a chance to be heard and also gives a chance to learn.

Anybody wish to ask a question?

(No response)

Well, maybe I will read a telegram, then. I have a telegram that says "Welcome to Massachusetts. I am sure that the warmth of your reception, the reception you will receive today, will only be surpassed by the size of your vote on November 3rd. Senator Edward M. Kennedy." (Applause)

I believe that there seem to be no questions. So may I --

Question. How about Lyndon Johnson's voting record before he became President on civil rights?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am just simply delighted that the gentleman asked the question because it gives me an opportunity to say that Lyndon Johnson -- would you give that man a cough drop. His throat is getting dry. (Laughter)

I will send my man out for cough drops.

Lyndon Johnson's record on civil rights, Lyndon Johnson, Majority Leader of the United States Senate in 1957 under Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, Republican, Lyndon Johnson as Majority Leader with the votes to defeat Republican programs didn't make opposition his creed. He had as his creed responsibility and he taught us responsibility. And we acted responsibly.

We didn't spend our time snarling like sort of emaciated tigers. We spent our time working.

Lyndon Johnson was the floor leader, the Majority Leader for the passage of the first civil rights act since the Civil War in 1957. (Applause)

And may I go a little further. Lyndon Johnson in 1960, Majority Leader of the United States Senate under Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, Republican Administration, Lyndon Johnson was again the floor leader and successfully passed the second civil rights act since the time of the Civil War. (Applause)

And Lyndon Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, leading the fight for civil rights, Lyndon Johnson of the

United States signing the most comprehensive Civil Rights bill in our history. (Applause)

Question. What about Lyndon Johnson in the late 40's? He voted against every one.

Senator Humphrey. Poor fellow. You know, the trouble is, my friends, you see, some people feel that a man has no right to mature and to grow. And the reason they feel that way, they occasionally get attached to a leader that demonstrates just that weakness. (Applause)

No, Lyndon Johnson's record in the Congress of the United States is one that any good American can be justly proud of, and I say that his record today as President of the United States is one that has commanded the respect of Republicans and Democrats alike. We love it. He is going to be re-elected and we are going to give him a chance to even make a better record.

Thank you.

One of the reasons that I was selected as the candidate for Vice-President is that I was the one candidate that had more experience being Vice-President than any other one. Here is the president of the Humphrey house. (Introducing Mrs. Humphrey) (Applause)

#####

W. Mass. College.

~~Springfield~~

"The Politics of Hope -
The Pursuit of Excellence"

As a spokesman for the politics of hope -- and an
admitted optimist -- I would like today to put to you an
important proposition about contemporary American life.
I submit that choice is the foundation of freedom, and
that never in our history has the individual American had
the range of choices, and the capacity to choose, that he
has today.

Choices

Every Presidential election confronts us anew with the
coGENCY of Alexander Hamilton's opening sentences in the
Federalist papers:

"It seems to have been reserved for the people of
this country," said Hamilton, "by their conduct and example,
to decide the important question: whether societies of
men are really capable or not of establishing good govern-
ment from reflection and choice, or whether they are
forever destined to depend for their constitutions on
accident and force."

The founders of the Republic considered Americans

to be a chosen people because they were a people capable
of choice, a people who could voluntarily assume the burden
of liberating human potentialities. ~~To them,~~ To be an
American was to accept a moral vocation -- a life of
choice.

I am not talking about choice as an abstraction --
the choice which Anatole France derided when he noted
that "rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the
streets and sleep under bridges." I am talking about
choice in terms of the specific concrete alternatives
that have always confronted Americans -- and that confront
young Americans in 1964.

Let me be specific. In 1900, four young Americans
in every hundred between the ages of 18 and 21 attended
college. In 1920 this figure rose to eight; in 1940, to
fourteen -- and in 1961 it was over thirty-two. Now in
1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the

standards of that time, had the right to attend college.

↳ But how much real choice did a poor boy, or worse, a poor girl have, no matter how talented?

↳ These are bloodless, formless statistics, but I ~~want~~ ^{ask} you ~~to~~ to understand their human meaning. ↳ The function of an education is, indeed, to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out dry historical abstractions, to visualize and internalize the hopes and sufferings of others. ↳ Remember that the opportunities, the choices, that you fail to appreciate could be your own. ↳

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

↳ These opportunities are not merely materialistic.

True, your standard of living will profit from higher education -- and this is not to be sneered at -- but above

and beyond living standards you will benefit from your ability to pursue excellence in all its forms.

*Pursue
excellence.*

Hopefully, your education has opened before your eyes the vistas of spiritual enrichment to be found in Western, and other cultures.

Hopefully, you will find the time -- as millions of Americans do -- to continue your education so that the old ideal of graduation as a "commencement" will be realized in your lives and in your children's lives.

Hopefully, the use to which you put your talents and your opportunities will belie the Communist accusation that the American is a demoralized, atomized materialist, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status-seekers.

h And it is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving; to be

Educ. Receiving + Giving!

- 5 -

truly meaningful, education must also involve giving --
of one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith and compassion.

↳ We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged --
the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a
manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which
he is a part. ** And, a privileged Nation to Others!*

↳ And what of this society? What is our vision and
our dedication?

↳ To a degree unknown to our ancestors, the acts of
choice before us have a range which can be exhilarating --
or terrifying. The word leisure comes from the Greek
word for school, because in ancient times only those who
entered the academy had leisure, time to think, time to
create, time to pursue excellence.

↳ *Are we prepared to face the crisis of universal*
leisure? *(now)* A whole society, for the first time in human
history, can "go to school", can move beyond the drudgery

of extracting an existence from nature to the exercise of
dominion over nature. We can ask realistically what kind
of an environment do we want to create for ourselves and
our posterity. But are we prepared to shift from a pre-
occupation with quantitative standards to the quest for
quality? Are we prepared to infuse the life of our
society with the idea of excellence?

Some are willing. But others are not. Some face the
future joyously. Others quiver at the prospect of change
and desperately attach themselves to the slogans of the
past. ~~Some, sharing the spirit of Crèvecoeur who two~~
~~centuries ago called the American "this New ^{some} Man"~~ are sti-
mulated by the great challenges that face us. Others,
living in self-imposed mental exile from modern life,
picture the typical American as old, tired, bitter and
defeated. - even sick and tired.

This is the real issue in this campaign. The whole
Goldwater attack is built around the politics of desperation.

Quality

At a time when we have never been stronger, and the *Monolithic*
communist world system is coming apart at the seams, the
Goldwaterites see us sliding down the slope to defeat.

At a time when we have reached a breakthrough in the
struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice,
they talk of nothing but race riots and street violence.

At a time when we are reaching forward to eliminate
poverty, the despair of old age, disease and poor education,
they say we are becoming a nation of slaves.

At a time when human survival depends upon the exer-
cise of restrained, responsible power, they encourage
nuclear adventurism and ~~shouting from the hip~~ *diplomacy by ultimatum*.

In every area of foreign and domestic policy, the
Goldwater faction cultivates catastrophe. ~~It is events~~
~~catastrophe. With a bold and conspiratorial spirit, its~~
~~leaders assume that everything in America is dishonest.~~
~~If the President does not take a certain course~~
~~of military technology, he is accused of selling his incognito~~

~~for the American people.~~

~~If the President does inform the people of our
latest triumphs, the cheap charge rings out that he is
doing his high office for political profit.~~

Around every pronouncement of the Goldwater faction,
there is an atmosphere of defeatism, of negativism, of
distrust in government, in our elected officials, in our
judges, in the people themselves.

In short, the free spirit which invigorates American
life and provides the environment for our great accom-
plishments does not exist for the Goldwater faction --

they live in the conspiratorial police state of their
~~own~~ ^{own} ~~imagination~~ ^{frustrated} imaginations.

[no Program
no inspiration] no Peace Corp
no Educ
no better
world

No one who has spent as much time as I have working
on the fundamental legislative issues of our time can say

~~now~~ we Americans have achieved Utopia. But, if one

leaves the somber nightmare world of the Goldwaterites,
there is no question ~~what we have achieved~~ we

have made immense progress. ~~Progress not towards slavery~~

We have made progress
~~and George Orwell's fearful society of 1984~~ towards

the establishment of a free community in which human beings

can dedicate themselves not merely to the pursuit of a

living wage and decent living conditions, but also to the

pursuit of excellence.

~~To conclude, I~~ I would like ~~you~~ you to compare

Secret
the American as seen by Goldwater with the realities of

your own lives, and the realities of our national life.

and
~~I think~~ when you do, you will realize that yours is

the generation of hope, the generation of fulfillment.

JFK
In his historic inaugural address, President Kennedy

spoke to the youth of the nation and the world when he

said, *Q* do not believe that any of us would exchange

places with any other people or any other generation.

~~LP~~ despite the senseless act which ended

his days amongst us, his spirit today echoes this gallant

challenge to the past, and to the future. Let us continue

in that dedication with President Johnson towards the achievement of the "Great Society".

↳ This vision calls upon all of us to repudiate the politics of despair and move forward under the banner of hope to the great creative task of building an America worthy of our dreams ②

①



news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14

B- 3859

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 13
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Twenty-one days from today we shall go to the polls to choose the next President of the United States.

We shall choose the man who, for the next four years, will be the leader not only of our nation but of the whole free world.

We are told that, this time, we are offered a choice and not an echo.

I agree. We do indeed have a choice.

We have the choice between a dedicated professional in the art and science of government and a part-time, off-and-on, how-and-then amateur and hobbyist.

We have the choice between a man who for more than thirty years has dealt responsibly with the complex problems of a changing nation in a changing world and a man who had made no effort to comprehend these problems, let alone do anything about them.

We have the choice between a man who has demonstrated his talent for working constructively with others, and particularly with his colleagues in Congress--and a man who has been almost perpetually out of step with the Senators, the platform, and the President of the party to which he professes to belong.

Above all, we have the choice between a man who understands and accepts the awesome responsibilities of the Presidency in this nuclear age--and a man who, all too clearly, does not.

President Johnson has devoted over 30 years to the service of his country. In the National Youth Administration, he helped young people to find their place in life during the depression.

(more)

As a young Congressman, he sat at the feet of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Sam Rayburn. He shared their ideals and learned from these great teachers how to put them into practical effect.

Four years after he entered the Senate he was chosen by his Democratic colleagues as their leader--and almost immediately won recognition on both sides of the aisle as one of the ablest leaders who had ever served in that body.

As Vice-President, his advice and counsel in great issues of government was sought--and given. As President, his record speaks for itself--and speaks eloquently.

To every post he has held, President Johnson has dedicated all his great talents and all his abundant energy. He has given every waking hour--and that includes many that most of us would have slept--to the job in hand, whether as a National Youth Administration official or as President of the United States.

Contrast President Johnson's more than 30 years with Senator Goldwater's 12 years in public service.

Senator Goldwater has had 12 years to learn and to achieve in one of the greatest practical schools of government in the world--the United States Senate.

His attitude toward this opportunity has been very much like his earlier attitude toward college--of which he once said: "I wasn't exactly lazy, but I preferred doing something else."

He has never sought leadership--never even taken any significant initiative--in the Senate. No legislation of any consequence bears his name.

For the most part he has been content simply to vote "no" when he is around--and much of the time he hasn't even been around.

Even before he became an active candidate for the Presidency, he was missing many rollcalls--58 out of 192 in 1960, 65 out of 207 in 1961, 63 out of 141 in 1962, and 66 out of 163 in 1963.

(more)

He has been for 12 years a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee--one of the most important in the Senate. He was absent 42 percent of the time, and again and again his vote was cast by proxy, recorded later, or not recorded at all.

Just as Senator Goldwater has been half in and half out of the Senate, so he is half in and half out of the 20th Century.

Technologically, he's in the jet age. In terms of his social understanding, he's stuck in the early 19th Century.

Indeed, the word "modern" seems to him to apply only to things, not to people and their problems. For instance, he once complained:

"Just what does it mean to be 'modern', anyway? I think of myself as modern in the true meaning as outlined in the dictionaries. My brother and I have just built a new store. I am building a new home. I fly an airplane. I like new things and new gadgets."

Yet, on the other hand, he has said:

"The basic problems are no different in our times than under Lincoln or Washington--We have merely changed the horse for a tractor, the hand tools for a machine."

My friends, I ask you to meditate a moment on that word merely.

Senator Goldwater just hasn't noticed that the industrial revolution--and the agricultural revolution that followed it--have had a profound effect on people as well as on things.

It's quite natural, therefore, that he wants government to secede from the 20th Century and its problems.

He has said, "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them." And he has urged that the Government must begin to withdraw from social welfare, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal, and many other activities."

Contrast Senator Goldwater's acceptance of only half--the technological half--of the 20th Century with President Johnson's wholehearted identification with all of it.

(more)

He is determined to use the resources of Government to make us first on the moon. But he is also determined to use those resources to eliminate poverty on the earth, beginning right here in the United States.

With Senator Goldwater's keen interest in gadgets and his lack of concern for people, it's not surprising that he is perpetually out of step with his colleagues.

He rejected the Eisenhower Administration, calling it a "dime store New Deal." And he rejected the 1960 Republican platform, casting his vote in the Senate against 25 of its key provisions.

In his heart, he is neither a loyal Republican nor a true conservative. He is a radical in the true and basic meaning of that word.

Our English word "radical" is derived from the Latin word "radix," meaning root. And Senator Goldwater wants to pull things out by their roots, whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the fabric of the past.

Contrast him again with Lyndon Johnson. At all times throughout his career, President Johnson has worked with people rather than against them, has sought to unite them rather than divide them.

Finally, we must consider seriously the awesome responsibility a President bears with regard to our nuclear weapons.

In all the many thousands of words Senator Goldwater has spoken on this issue, I can find no trace of recognition of the harsh and inescapable fact that our enemies possess nuclear weapons capable of destroying us, just as we possess weapons capable of destroying them.

President Eisenhower recognized this fact, and frankly declared that there is no longer any alternative to peace. President Kennedy recognized it, and worked patiently and ultimately

(more)

successfully, for a test ban treaty as a first step toward peace.

President Johnson has recognized his responsibility in its full and awesome dimensions, and has made it clear, in deed and in word, that he will not delegate it to any other man, in or out of uniform.

Senator Goldwater doesn't seem to grasp the fact that we are living in a nuclear age. Indeed, he has actually questioned whether it is any more dangerous to risk war today than it was 200 years ago.

Yes, my friends, we do indeed have a real choice on November 3.

We have a choice between a whole-time President and a part-time Senator, between a leader and a longer, between a wholly modern President and a man who thinks only gadgets--are modern--not people and their problems.

Above all, we have the choice between a man who fully recognizes and accepts the responsibilities of a President in this nuclear age and a man who simply does not understand these responsibilities, let alone measure up to them.

And I believe the people of America will choose Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

LOCAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

--Bob Giaimo, Congressman from the New Haven area

--Arthur Barbieri, Democratic Town Chairman

--Richard Lee, Mayor

--John Golden, National Committeeman from New Haven

ISSUES OF INTEREST LOCALLY

Urban Renewal: New Haven demonstrates clearly

what Urban Renewal can do for a city. New Haven has received more urban renewal dollars per capita than any other city in the United States.

Crime and Juvenile Delinquency: New Haven has received nearly a million dollars in Federal grants to combat juvenile delinquency. New Haven has, with the aid of these funds, developed one of the most advanced programs in the country to combat crime.

Manpower Retraining: Two million dollars of Federal funds have been channeled into New Haven's manpower training programs.

New Haven Railroad: The New Haven Railroad is a lot like the weather. Everyone jokes about it but no one ever does much about it. I am sure that its fame must have spread even to Arizona. But is the Republican candidate concerned? You tell me. He votes against mass transit, he votes against highways like the Connecticut Turnpike. He votes against all forms of transportation. He urges us merely to unshackle private enterprise and watch it soar to new and wondrous heights. Can you imagine what would happen if we removed the shackles from the New Haven Railroad; they are the only thing holding it up. The Boston Post Road would become an important artery once again, for stagecoaches.

POLITICAL

--Kennedy was very popular here.

--Heavy Italian population; a few words in that language would go well.

--Giaino is a shoo-in. However, down the shore a few miles in Fairfield County a very close battle is on between Don Irwin, a former Democratic Congressman, and Abner Sibal, the lone remaining Connecticut Republican in the House. It is a Republican district and Irwin needs all the publicity he can get in the local papers. Bridgeport, the city where your plane will land, is in Sibal's district.

Dick Lee
Dempsey
Bob Hann DCW
Abe Ribicoff
Tom Dodd

New Haven

Twenty-one days from today we shall go to the
polls to choose the next President of the United States.

We shall choose the man who, for the next four years,
will be the leader not only of our nation but of the
whole free world.

We are told that, this time, we are offered a choice
and not an echo.

I agree. We do indeed have a choice.

We have the choice between a dedicated professional
in the art and science of government and a part-time,
off-and-on, now-and-then amateur and hobbyist.

We have the choice between a man who for more than
thirty years has dealt responsibly with the

complex problems of a changing nation in a changing
world and a man who had made no effort to comprehend
these problems, let alone do anything about them.

↳ We have the choice between a man who has demonstrated
his talent for working constructively with others, and
particularly with his colleagues in Congress--and a man
who has been almost perpetually out of step with the
Senators, the platform, and ~~the president~~ of the party
to which he professes to belong.

↳ Above all, we have the choice between a man who
understands and accepts the awesome responsibilities of
the Presidency in this nuclear age--and a man who, all
too clearly, does not.

↳ President Johnson has devoted over 30 years to
the service of his country. In the National Youth

Administration, he helped young people to find their place in life during the depression.

As a young Congressman, he sat at the feet of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Sam Rayburn. He shared their ideals and learned from these great teachers how to put them into practical effect.

Four years after he entered the Senate he was chosen by his Democratic colleagues as their leader--and almost immediately won recognition on both sides of the aisle as one of the ablest leaders who had ever served in that body.

As Vice-President, his advice and counsel in great issues of government was sought--and given. As President, his record speaks for itself--and speaks eloquently.

To every post he has held, President Johnson has dedicated all his great talents and all his abundant energy. He has given every waking hour--and that includes many that most of us would have slept--to the job in hand, whether as a National Youth Administration official or as President of the United States.

Contrast President Johnson's more than 30 years with Senator Goldwater's 12 years in public service.

Senator Goldwater has had 12 years to learn and to achieve in one of the greatest practical schools of government in the world--the United States Senate.

His attitude toward this opportunity has been very much like his earlier attitude toward college--of which he once said: "I wasn't exactly lazy, but I preferred doing something else."

He has never sought leadership--never even taken any significant initiative--in the Senate. No legislation of any consequence bears his name.

For the most part he has been content simply to vote "no" when he is around--and much of the time he hasn't even been around.

Even before he became an active candidate for the Presidency, he was missing many rollcalls--58 out of 192 in 1960, 65 out of 207 in 1961, 83 out of 141 in 1962, and 66 out of 163 in 1963.

He has been for 12 years a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee--one of the most important in the Senate. He was absent 42 percent of the time, and again and again his vote was cast by proxy, recorded later, or not recorded at all.

Just as Senator Goldwater has been half in and half out of the Senate, so he is half in and half out of the 20th Century.

Technologically, he's in the jet age. In terms of his social understanding, he's stuck in the early 19th Century.

Indeed, the word "modern" seems to him to apply only to things, not to people and their problems.

For instance, he once complained:

"Just what does it mean to be 'modern', anyway? I think of myself as modern in the true meaning as outlined in the dictionaries. My brother and I have just built a new store. I am building a new home. I fly an airplane. I like new things and new gadgets."

Yet, on the otherhand, he has said:

"The basic problems are no different in our times than under Lincoln or Washington...We have merely changed the horse for a tractor, the hand tools for a machine."

My friends, I ask you to meditate a moment on that word merely.

Senator Goldwater just hasn't noticed that the industrial revolution--and the agricultural revolution that followed it--have had a profound effect on people as well as on things.

It's quite natural, therefore, that he wants government to secede from the 20th Century and its problems.

He has said, "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them." And he has urged that the Government must

begin to withdraw from social welfare, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal, and many other activities.

Contrast Senator Goldwater's acceptance of only half--the technological half--of the 20th Century with President Johnson's wholehearted identification with all of it.

He is determined to use the resources of Government to make us first on the moon. But he is also determined to use those resources to eliminate poverty on the earth, beginning right here in the United States.

With Senator Goldwater's keen interest in gadgets and his lack of concern for people, it's not surprising that he is perpetually out of step with his colleagues.

He rejected the Eisenhower Administration, calling it a "dime store New Deal." And he rejected the 1960 Republican platform, casting his vote in the Senate against 25 of its key provisions.

In his heart, he is neither a loyal Republican nor a true conservative. He is a radical in the true and basic meaning of that word.

Our English word "radical" is derived from the Latin word "radix," meaning root. And Senator Goldwater wants to pull things out by their roots, whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the fabric of the past.

Contrast him again with Lyndon Johnson. At all times throughout his career, President Johnson has worked with people rather than against them, has sought

to unite them rather than divide them.

Finally, we must consider seriously ~~the awesome~~
responsibility a President bears with regard to our
nuclear weapons.

In all the many thousands of words Senator Goldwater has spoken on this issue, I can find no trace of recognition of the harsh and inescapable fact that our enemies possess nuclear weapons capable of destroying us, just as we possess weapons capable of destroying them.

President Eisenhower recognized this fact, and frankly declared that there is no longer any alternative to peace. President Kennedy recognized it, and worked patiently and ultimately successfully, for a test ban treaty as a first step toward peace.

President Johnson has recognized his responsibility in its full and awesome dimensions, and has made it clear, in deed and in word, that he will not delegate it to any other man, in or out of uniform.

Senator Goldwater doesn't seem to grasp the fact that we are living in a nuclear age. Indeed, he has actually questioned whether it is any more dangerous to risk war today than it was 200 years ago.

Yes, my friends, we do indeed have a real choice on November 3.

We have a choice between a whole-time President and a part-time Senator, between a leader and a loner, between a wholly modern President and a man who thinks only gadgets--are modern--not people and their problems.

1
Above all, we have the choice between a man who
fully recognizes and accepts the responsibilities of
a President in this nuclear age and a man who simply
does not understand these responsibilities, let alone
measure up to them.

2
And I believe the people of America will choose
Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at New Haven Green
October 13, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Voices from Audience. We want Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. If you wait a little while, you will get him.

Thank you very much, Senator Dodd.

My dear friends, Governor Dempsey, one of the advantages of a college education is you can holler louder when you want Barry, you know, over here. (Laughter)

Now, friends, may I say to those that chant, those that chant "We want Barry" they can have him back on November 3. (Laughter and applause)

Now, having disposed of the static to the right (laughter) may I proceed.

Mayor Lee, Governor Dempsey, Congressman Giampio, Senator Ribicoff, and my good friend, Senator Tom Dodd, the citizens of New Haven, friends and neighbors of the great State of Connecticut, I am simply delighted to be here and I consider it a rare opportunity to speak in this great city square here in one of the great communities of America. (Applause)

We are now -- we are, believe it or not, engaged in what is known as a political campaign which should offer one the opportunity for enlightenment, for a review of the record, and which should permit thoughtful citizens to think and after some careful thought to make a decision.

I come to you tonight to talk about that decision and to talk to you about the program of our country. I come to you this evening as one who has served in the Congress of the United States with your distinguished Senators, and I say to this audience that the State of Connecticut -- the State of Connecticut is privileged to have in the United States Senate two of the most able, gifted, distinguished, and conscientious members of the Senate of any State in the Union, and I am proud to be their friend. (Applause)

I am singularly honored to have been introduced by the distinguished Senator, Thomas Dodd, a personal friend and a gentleman that I have long admired and whose friendship I cherish

as a precious gift, and Governor Dempsey, may I say that your leadership in this State has been a landmark in terms of good government and progressive government for your great State, and we are proud of you. (Applause)

To Dick Lee, to my friend Dick Lee, the Mayor of this great city, let me say that all over America people know the name of the Mayor of New Haven. (Applause) They know him because he gets things done. They know him because he has programs. They know him because he thinks and he acts, and I am proud to be associated on this platform with the Mayor of this metropolitan center. (Applause)

You know, we have traveled around the country a good deal in this campaign and I have found that most people who have a smile on their face, whose countenance exhibits some joy and optimism, that those good people -- and they are in the vast majority -- those are the people that have made up their minds regardless of party to vote for Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States. (Applause)

And I have also noticed that those with political gastritis that have cramps, are voting for Barry Goldwater. (Laughter and applause)

Thank goodness that most people are thinking and not griping. This is very helpful.

Now, friends, you know, if you boys would just quiet down over there you might catch on to something. (Laughter and applause)

There is not a thing wrong with these folks that a little thinking couldn't cure you know. (Laughter)

The trouble with these boys is they have been studying ancient history and they want to vote it. (Applause)

Now, once they have gotten over their jag they are on, we will settle down to some sober thinking.

Thank you. For a minute I thought I was on Harvard campus.

All right. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am quite sure that even the noisy opposition is willing to restrain themselves momentarily. And might I suggest that their voices are getting as hoarse as mine. If the local druggist will bring them some cough drops, it will relieve their agony. (Laughter)

Are you through? All right. Let's pay no attention and we will go to work.

All right, ladies and gentlemen. I thought they were entitled to a few moments. Now let's talk about our country for a while and what we are trying to do in this great nation.

For the past thirty years the people of this great nation have been attempting to adjust the policies of our government and our social structure to the great changes that have taken place, changes that have taken place in industry, changes that have taken place in rural America, changes that have taken place in metropolitan America. And over these thirty years most Americans have come to some semblance of agreement. And there has been a consensus arrived at.

It is now understood by responsible leadership in both political parties that this government has the responsibility to its people, that the duty of government is to serve, and that the responsibility of government is to encourage the development of industry, of commerce, of the cultures, of our fine educational establishments, and as we put it, of a better society. (Applause)

Franklin Roosevelt (applause) found this country, found this country in dire straits. But he did not look back. Our great President, the late Franklin Roosevelt (applause) took this country forward. Our President saw the possibilities of a cooperative relationship between the government and the people. And as a result of that cooperative relationship, America was in a sense rebuilt.

Since that time, whether it was a Democratic or Republican administration, it has been considered the duty of government to try to be of assistance to the American people where that assistance was required.

It has been the duty of government to try to protect those who were unfortunate, to extend a helpful hand to the sick and to the needy, to be willing to exhibit a sense of compassion, and this government stands today in America and indeed in the world as an example of humanitarian democracy that has neither sacrificed the liberties of the people or the enterprise of the nation.

I think it can be fairly said that the gains that we made over the thirty years are now on the election block, that those gains will be either protected and extended or those gains will be lost.

There is a choice for the American people in this election.

(Applause) And that choice, my friends, that choice will not be settled by the chanting of the know-nothings. It will be settled by the thinking people who are something, and I think I am talking to those people tonight, people that think. (Applause)

When John Kennedy became our President (appluase) he found a nation that was faltering. He found an economy that was in recession. He found a country that was not growing. And this great man said to the American people in words that will be forever remembered, he said to the American people on that day in January, "Let us begin. Let us start to move America forward."

He asked us not to think of what our country can do for us, but he asked us to think what we might do for our country. (Applause)

He extended the hand of government in friendship and in cooperation, and in one thousand days of his dramatic leadership, John Kennedy was able to get this country moving. America was a better country. America did start to grow. America's economy did start to prosper, and that is the record of one thousand days of John Kennedy's leadership. (Applause)

This good man that stood in this very place, and may I say went through the same kind of diatribe that you hear tonight, this good man led America to the new frontiers that he had promised. He made commitments to the American people and he kept those commitments. He committed to the American people that no only would our economy move forward but he also committed to the American people that social justice would be the rule of his administration, and it can be said (applause) that possibly the greatest achievement of John Kennedy's administration was the fact that he had the courage to launch the program that guaranteed every American, regardless of race, color or creed or national origin, full rights, equal rights, under the Constitution of the United States. (Applause)

John Kennedy saw fit to redeem the promise of the American Constitution, and John Kennedy saw fit to have alongside of him as his selection a man who would follow through on that promise, and while it is, of course, true that our beloved President was taken from us before his work could be completed, it is a fact that the man that he selected as his partner, as his strong right arm, was able to do as he said, to continue and to carry on the work so that today the United States of America can say to the world, we come to you with clean hands.

We have made available under the law every privilege and every guarantee of the Constitution regardless of your race, your

color, your creed or the section of the country that you come from.

I say this was an amazing achievement and one that Americans ought to be proud of. (Applause)

And yet, friends, there was yet another. I believe that our times will be marked by two significant advances. Oh, yes, I could pick off the record of economic achievement. I could cite the great work in the rebuilding of our cities such as we see here at New Haven. I can cite the advantages of higher education, aid to education, but it appears to me that there were two significant developments, two significant developments that separate those who believe in the future and in progress from those who believe in the past and in despair.

The first was the commitment of this country to civil liberties and civil rights and full rights for every American. This was the moral conscience of America. (Applause)

The second great achievement came when our President, the late John Kennedy, spoke at American University on June 10, 1963, and in that memorable message he challenged the people of the world to break down the walls of hostility.

He opened up the first paths of peace. He proposed in that immortal message that the peoples of the world think of how they could pursue the paths of peace.

He outlined for us the process of peace, as he put it, and as a result of that message, very shortly after the President of the United States, inspired in part, may I say, by the resolution of your own Senator Thomas Dodd, started to negotiate the nuclear test ban treaty as the first forward step in the path of peace. (Applause)

Human rights through a civil rights program, the paths of peace opened, ever so little but at least somewhat through the negotiation of the very important treaty known as the nuclear test ban treaty.

Now, these two great events, these two great events, my friends, marked a new era in the world. What is it that is the difference between the free man and the totalitarian?

The first difference is respect for human dignity. I might say the first difference is just respect, just plain respect. (Applause) But the difference between the philosophy of freedom and the philosophy of totalitarianism is essentially the regard

that you have for human personality, for the human being, and the civil rights program as one of several was placing emphasis once again through an action of government of the people and by the people and for the people upon the concept of human dignity.

The second program of the nuclear test ban treaty was designed for but one purpose, to try to bring sanity and reason in the affairs of nations, to give people some little ray of hope, to give them some assurance that there was not to be the catastrophe of nuclear warfare.

And I am happy to say, my friends, that the overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats alike in the Congress of the United States voted for the civil rights program, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

I am happy to say that the overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats in the Congress saw the civil rights issue as a moral issue, not as a partisan issue. They saw it as the fulfillment of the promise of democracy.

They wanted to move forward. They wanted America to open up the pathways of opportunity, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

And when we come to the great issue of sanity and reason in foreign affairs, four-fifths of the members of the United States Senate, four-fifths of the distinguished members of that body, saw fit to ratify man's first ray of hope and peace in the twentieth century. Four-fifths gave their word of support to the nuclear test ban treaty for peace, for honor, for life, for a future --

Voices from Audience. But not Senator Goldwater.

Senator Humphrey. -- but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

And ladies and gentlemen, the answers to these questions are not made by a chant and by condemnation and by the extremist views and utterances of a handful of people who will be rebuked in this election on November 3. (Applause)

I am proud to stand on this platform tonight and be the advocate of a government and of an administration that thinks well enough of humanity to believe that American citizenship should be first-class citizenship.

I am proud to stand on this platform tonight and say that I was privileged amongst many to stand side by side through those

one thousand dramatic days of leadership of John Kennedy to help build a better America. (Applause)

And I am humbly proud to be on this platform tonight with the Senator from this State who had the courage and the vision to offer a resolution in the Senate of the United States calling upon the Congress of the United States to support our President in bringing a halt to the dangerous nuclear arms race by a nuclear test ban treaty, your own Senator Dodd, and we stood together and we passed that resolution. (Applause)

And I am proud to be here tonight not to speak unkindly or unfairly of an opponent, but to speak, may I say, words of praise and earned praise for a great President.

I ask you to remember what happened on November 22. I ask you to remember America's pain and its grief. And I ask you to remember how Lyndon Johnson, then the Vice President of the United States, rose up like a tower of strength and was able to give this country leadership, was able to give this country sensible direction, was able to give the American people and the world reassurance that American would continue to fulfill her responsibilities. (Applause)

And I come to this platform tonight, I come to this great city of New Haven, a city they say of learning, and I hope it is -- I come to this wonderful city, I come here tonight to cite the record of a man who today has such tremendous and awesome responsibilities.

This man has served over 30 years in public service, first with the youth of our country, secondly as a member of the House of Representatives, thirdly as a Senator and the leader of the United States Senate, and may I say during those years of majority leadership, Lyndon Johnson, then Majority leader of the Senate, acted responsibly.

He rebuked and refused to have opposition for the sake of opposition. Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, Majority leader of the Senate, and the Majority leader -- he worked with the President, helped a President to help America, to unite America, to make it a better country.

I say that is the mark of a statesman. (Applause)

And then, my friends, came the day when he was selected as Vice President, and Lyndon Johnson took on those responsibilities and fulfilled them with dignity.

I remember the time when he said, if only one is left to be

your ally, Mr. President, this one I shall be. This one I shall be. I shall be your ally.

And I know of President Johnson's fidelity and his loyalty and his competence.

And then came the hour, the terrible and dreadful hour of the assassin's bullet. America did not stop. Our President asked us to continue in the faith of our fathers. Lyndon Johnson proved himself worthy of the respect and the confidence of John Kennedy, and remember it was John Kennedy who selected him and John Kennedy provided well for the future of his country. He not only provided through his own training and his own insight and brilliance but he provided through his Vice President, and Lyndon Johnson has proven to be in the months that he has served as our Chief Executive a great leader, a powerful leader, a gifted leader and a responsible leader of the American people. (Applause)

Now, my fellow citizens, we make a decision, we make a decision on November 3. We are going to make a decision as to whether or not we want a man in the Presidency who senses the changes that have taken place in this world. We need to make a decision as to whether or not we want a President in the White House who understands that the duty of America is to open up the pathways of opportunity. And we must decide in this November, in this election, what kind of a man will be there to guide our foreign policy, what kind of a man will be there to conduct the affairs of this Nation abroad.

And I submit to you that in the nuclear age, we cannot afford a man that is impetuous or irresponsible, nor can we afford one that is indecisive. We need in this age above all other times a President that knows what he says when he says it and means what he says when he says it. (Applause)

And I suggest that you have such a President.

And then may I say to my fellow Democrats and to the thousands, yea, millions of Republicans, that are putting their country over their party, and there are those people by the millions, people who traditionally would vote the Republican ticket but not this time, and I will tell you why, because they see the spokesman of their party as the man that has repudiated Lincoln and his emancipation Proclamation.

They see as the spokesman of their party a man who has repudiated bipartisan foreign policy. (Applause) And they see and they hear, and they hear the followers of this man that know

only how to boo and not the cheer. (Applause)

So, friends, may I say to my fellow Democrats and may I say to those good people of Republican persuasion that are putting their country above their party, let us make this election campaign worthy of our country, and may I say in all respect that I don't think it is very worthy of a great enlightened Democracy when all you can hear is "We want Barry." (Applause)

It doesn't take much brain power to arrive at that guttural utterance, (applause) but I do think the American people have a responsibility to set some standards, and may I suggest the standards that we ought to set? I think that we ought to so conduct ourselves in this campaign, discussing the issues, so that whether we win or lose, we can honestly say that we fought the campaign with honor and dignity. And I say to those that believed in the ideas of John Kennedy and that believe in the works of Lyndon Johnson, let us carry on this campaign in such a manner that it will be a lasting, living memorial to the memory and the words and the deeds and the works of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. (Applause)

And I say to this audience, I say to my good friends in this audience, that if Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, was good enough to have the respect and the admiration and the trust of John Kennedy, he is good enough to have the respect and the trust and the support of the American people, and I say he will have it on November 3.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Bridgeport, Connecticut
October 13, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

You know, Senator Dodd -- don't pay any attention to that static from the far right. (Applause)

You know those folks keep hollering "We want Barry" and nobody has been able to make up their mind whether it is "straw-barry" or "rasp-barry". (Applause and laughter)

The truth is "barry-picking" time is all over. You know that. (Laughter)

All right, friends. May I just first of all -- may I just first of all thank your distinguished Governor for his welcome, and may I thank your great Senators for their welcome. I am very honored to be in their presence. I am very honored to be here as the associate and the friend of Senator Abraham Ribicoff and Senator Thomas Dodd, two of the truly great men of the United States Senate. (Applause)

And it is a joy also to be once again with a friend of ours in the House of Representatives. I know this isn't his district, but he is a great friend and we are going to be with him shortly in one of your neighboring communities up at New Haven, and I want to say to Bob Giaima what a joy it is to see him, and I hope that you folks here in this great industrial city will get yourselves in line, will get yourselves on the line and send a man to the House of Representatives that can work with President Lyndon Johnson, and that man is Don Erwin, and you know it. (Applause)

You know, it is good to have a mayor down here to welcome you when you come to town, good to have a mayor that is not only the mayor but also Lieutenant-Governor. You know, it kinds of takes care of everything. And I want to say to Mayor Tedesco what a joy it is to see him, and I hope now that when you go to the ballot box those of you that are of voting age, and when you folks go home that are not of voting age, when you advise your parents that you will remember that on November 3, this great State of Connecticut has a special obligation.

This State was the first State in 1960 to come in with a smashing victory for John S. Kennedy. (Applause)

And let me say it was the same John F. Kennedy who selected Lyndon Johnson as his strong right arm. (Applause)

So on this November 3rd, what I want you to do is to ratify, to reaffirm, the demonstrate by your votes that what John Kennedy did in 1960 was what we are going to do in 1964 (applause) and that is elect Johnson.

You know, folks, we have had a wonderful day, just a wonderful day. We started out -- you know, you have got to let those dear souls have a little fun. They are not going to have much between now and the next few years. (Applause)

And you know what? They are really out here to repent. They have been walking in the paths of political sin. They want to be forgiven. Let's forgive them, huh? Let's forgive them. (Applause)

Now, friends, my friends, we started out this morning at New York City and from New York City we went to Rutland -- we went first to Springfield, Massachusetts, to Westover Air Base. We went to Smith College. We went to Mount Holyoke. And then we went to Rutland, Vermont, and then to Concord, New Hampshire, and tonight at Lewiston, Maine, now in Bridgeport. A little bit later at New Haven.

Now, that is the way to work and to win elections. That is the way to do the job. (Applause)

You know, at Lewiston, Maine, they had a little of that Republican dew. That's right, turn that thing up. That is the thing to do.

They had a little of that Republican dew up there. It was raining and we were a little late getting in, but you know, there were thousands of people there even in the rain waiting for a message about their government, about their country, waiting to hear about their President, and I am here tonight in these few brief moments that I have with you at this great industrial city of Bridgeport, out here at this great gathering that we have, I am here to talk to you not about our opposition. I am here to talk with you about our President, and I am here to talk with you about the party, the Democratic Party and its program.

Why, I have said from a thousand and one places I am sure that the leader of the Republican opposition is a pretty decent fellow. We know him in the Senate. He is a nice fellow. He would make a good neighbor. But I don't want him for my President and I don't think that you do either. (Applause)

I will tell you what we want. What we want to do is what we started to do and continue what we were doing. We started in 1961

in this country to get America moving once again. We started in 1961 to make this government once again responsive to human need. We started in 1961 to work with our cities. We started in 1961 to retrain workers. We started to take an interest in youth.

We started to do something for our elderly. We started to rebuild the cities. We started with better housing programs and hospital programs.

We have made beginnings in all of this. And we have continued and we are progressing and we don't intend to let somebody that is still thinking in terms of the nineteenth century take us back.

We don't intend to give it up. (Applause)

We intend, my friends, to build. We intend to move forward. We intend to build on the base that we already have constructed.

Today this country is more prosperous than it ever has been, but it isn't good enough. We intend to work together and make it better. Your government with industry, your government with labor, your government with people, this government of ours belongs to us. You wouldn't think so when you hear the spokesmen of the opposition. Why, they fly in the face of Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln who said this was a government of the people and by the people and for the people. Lincoln said that this government was designed to serve the people. But to hear the spokesman, the temporary spokesman of a small fraction of a faction of the Republican Party, to hear him talk, you would think this government was a mortal enemy.

In fact, what has he said?

Give them the raspberries. (Applause)

you know something, folks? You know, it is really interesting, isn't it. You know, when you get right down to it, when we are talking program, when we are talking about schools and education, when we are talking about health care, when we are talking about social welfare, when we are talking about transportation and rebuilding our cities, when we are talking about a bright new tomorrow for our young, when we are talking about a growing America and a strong America and an America that is for freedom and for peace and an America which makes room for people of every race, creed and nationality, what does our opposition say? "We want Barry." (Applause and laughter)

What kind of nonsense is that? I will tell you what we want.

I will tell you what we want. We want an America that has room for everybody. We want an America where there isn't a leader, a man that is a candidate for President that insults the minorities of this country. (Applause)

We want an America that is strong and yet it is just. We want an America that has power and uses it for peace.

We want an America, if you please, that has a Senator like Tom Dodd who had the courage to sponsor in the United States Senate the nuclear test ban resolution which, along with the words of John Kennedy and the work of some of the rest of us, made possible the first great step in the path of peace.

That is the kind of an America we want. (Applause)

You know, my friends, this is just to touch it up a little bit, you know, we don't want to give them too much at one time. Some of those fellows in the opposition are slow learners. You have got to take it easy. (Laughter and applause)

I want to tell you this, though. I want to be very frank about it. What we do want is when this campaign is all over, we want to be able to say that we conducted it in such a manner that we can look our neighbor in the eye and say it was well done. We want to conduct ourselves in such a manner that the way that we speak is with joy and cheers, and not jeers and boos. Boos and jeers belong to somebody else. I have heard boos and jeers in other countries and those are not the words nor is that the tone of a free America.

2 Free people cheer. Free people are happy. Free people have optimism. Free people have confidence, and that is what we have. (Applause)

Now, listen. You folks go to work. You folks go to work. We don't intend to let America be taken down the hill backwards. I want you to go to work and make sure that on election day the State of Connecticut gives the greatest majority that any State in the Union gives to our President. We have got a good President. We have got a brave President. We have got an honest President. We have got an experienced President. We have got a warm-hearted President. And we have got a great President.

And you are here to help him and so am I. So let's get President Lyndon Johnson re-elected for four more years.

Thank you. (Applause)

LEWISTON, MAINE

~~RECEPTION COMMITTEE~~

SENATOR MUSKIE

BILL HATHAWAY, CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS AND MRS. HATHAWAY

KEN CURTIS, CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS AND MRS. CURTIS

RICHARD DUBORD, NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

RAYE BRODERICK, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

MRS. BRODERICK WILL PRESENT FLOWERS TO MRS. HUMPHREY.

~~MOTORCADE~~

SAME AS ABOVE

~~INTRODUCTION~~

SENATOR MUSKIE

FLOWERS WILL BE PRESENTED TO MRS. HUMPHREY ON PLATFORM BY MRS. THERESA KOSS, ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CHAIRMAN

~~MENTION~~

SENATOR MUSKIE

CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES HATHAWAY AND CURTIS

*Young People's
Dance*

*Lewiston Pa
& Edward [unclear]*

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON AT PORTLAND, MAINE

Our new tax cut will stimulate a \$128 million increase in the State of Maine's income, and it will create 9000 new jobs here in Maine. President John F. Kennedy loved Maine, and he wanted to do something about it, and he did, during his lifetime. In July 1961 your unemployment rate was six percent. This July it was down to 4.1 percent, and that is below the national average. And average weekly earnings in manufacturing have risen 13 percent -- up 13 percent, and we will continue to work until every able-bodied man in the State of Maine who wants a job can find a job. That is our goal; that is our objective. And we will work as hard as we know how in an effort to achieve it.

Every one of these programs, every dollar that we have spent, has one aim and one aim only: to give every American a chance to improve his life through his own work and through his own abilities. This is in the finest tradition of American Government. You have heard much through the years about plans to harness the great tides of Passamaquoddy for power. This was a dream 30 years ago of one of our greatest Americans, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It was the vision and the objective of one of New England's greatest products, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. And Lyndon Baines Johnson is going to do something about Passamaquoddy, and Hubert Horatio Humphrey is going to help him, and so are these two fine Democratic candidates for Congress, and so is Ed Muskie, and so is Margaret Smith, and so is the Governor of this State, because we are going to unite and try to get this job done for all you people, whether you are Democrats or Republicans. I will have a report on this project ready for the next session of Congress. My present term runs out on January 20th, but if I am there after the 20th, we will be back here and talk to you again about this proposition. It must meet the standards set by President Kennedy. It must first strengthen the economy of the whole country, and it must enable America to compete better in the markets of the world. I hope and I believe that it will meet that test.

Bates College

LEWISTON, MAINE

LOCAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

Ed McKee
Young People

--Mayor--Roland Marcotte

--1st Dist. Congressional Candidate--Ken Curtis

--2nd Dist. Congressional Candidate--Bill Hathaway

LEWISTON HAS BEEN A NATIONAL INDICATOR. Lewiston has

established a reputation as an accurate indicator in national elections. Went for Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956; Kennedy in 1960.

SIMILARITY OF MAINE AND MINNESOTA. As a Minnesotan I

feel very much at home in Maine. Our states each border on Canada. We have strong recreation and sports centers-- both summer and winter. Each of us is balanced between agriculture and industry. Each state boasts magnificent lakes and rivers--but Maine also has the Atlantic Ocean.

} Atlantic Ocean

PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE TO NEARBY LISBON FALLS. When the woolen mills in Lisbon Falls were forced to close, Lyndon Johnson sent a presidential task force to look into the problem. Now a technical assistance grant has just been announced which we hope will help to implement the findings of the task force. The factories of America will not become islands of poverty under a Democratic Administration.

+++++

It is an honor and a privilege for me to speak in John F. Kennedy Memorial Park, from the same bandstand used by John F. Kennedy in the 1960 campaign.

JFK

NATIONAL ISSUES OF INTEREST HERE

PEACE. The Democratic Party has pledged itself to work at peace, not to play at war. Our hope is disarmament, not defoliation.

SELF-HELP PROGRAMS. The Johnson Administration is not interested in spoon-feeding people. It wants to help them help themselves. It wants to help them to save in their working years so they will have the advantages of medical care when they retire. It wants to help them find jobs so that they can support their own families. It wants to give them a hand on starting projects into which they can throw their own resources, their own efforts, their own pride.

PEACE CORPS. America is a land of idealism. The Peace Corps has become one of our most effective instruments of foreign policy. One of the greatest advantages of this program to my mind is the maturity of the Volunteers themselves when they return to our shores. The spirit they are infusing in our land is at least equal to that which they left behind with their foreign hosts.

ISSUES OF LOCAL INTEREST.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT, ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS, ECONOMIC

OPPORTUNITY ACT: The Area Redevelopment program is an example of how President Johnson has sought creative methods to help people and towns help themselves. Other examples include the accelerated public works program and the Economic Opportunity Act.

PASSAMAQUODDY PROJECT: I look forward to the day when the Quoddy Project will turn from paper into cement. There is no reason why northern New England should not have the same cheap power that is now enjoyed in the Tennessee Valley and the Northwest. There is no reason why Maine should not be able to boast one of the most practical and resourceful engineering feats that man has ever created.

WOOLEN TEXTILES: (Same as Concord only with less emphasis.) Marketing: The administration of Lyndon Johnson will seek as soon as possible to promulgate orderly international marketing conditions of woolen textiles. President Johnson made this pledge during his trip to New England last month.

Modernization: The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has already provided for accelerated depreciation allowances to aid in the purchase of new machinery for the woolen mills.

Research: We will continue to sponsor research to discover new uses for woolen cloth.

CLEAN AIR AND WATER: This nation once possessed inexhaustible supplies of clean air and water. Now we

find we have almost exhausted them. You have every reason to be proud of your own Senator, Edward Muskie, who has been the tireless leader of the forces to make our water fit to drink and to bathe in, and to make the air around our cities once more fit for human beings to breathe.

FACTS ABOUT LEWISTON:

Population: 41,000 plus; 2nd largest in State

Leading textile producing center in state

On Androscoggin River at Twin Falls, its partner city across the river, Auburn, is big shoe producer

Home of BATES COLLEGE, an unusual college which limits its numbers to 475 men and 375 women; special emphasis on the combination of science and humanities to make a good citizen. Founded by Baptists nearly 100 years

ago, strictly non-denominational; student body 25 percent outside New England; 40 percent Massachusetts; 16 percent Connecticut; and only 15 percent Maine. (Source: College Handbook 1964).

STANTON BIRD CLUB SANCTUARY covers 226 acres; outstanding in world.

Lewiston is building a new home for student nurses

in training at Central Main General Hospital with \$350,000 assistance through HHFA Community Facilities Program.

rb-1

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Lewiston, Maine
October 13, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Senator Ed Muskie. I want to thank you and thank you and thank you for that wonderful introduction.

I know that your Senator is a great legislator. I have known that he was a great Governor. I know that he is a fine gentleman. But I never knew that he was the cheer leader for Lewiston.

I can't say how glad I am to see you folks still standing in this little Republican dew that is coming down on you.

May I assure you that both Mrs. Humphrey and myself are signally honored by your willingness to withstand this weather to be with us.

May I first of all just express my thanks to the young people that are here from Lewiston High and Edward Little High School. And may I say when you go home tonight, all you good young folks, when you have a chance to talk with your parents, I want you to give them a little of your enthusiasm and I want you to tell them, I want you to tell them that you have been at a meeting and that you have heard Senator Ed Muskie, that you have seen Bill Hathaway, member of Congress, and that you have seen Ken Curtis, candidate for Congress, and you have heard Senator Humphrey. He is running for something, too.

And you tell them that every last one of these men told you that the duty of every good father and mother on election day is to go to those polls and vote, and then you can tell them that you have a good suggestion for them, to vote for President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

You know, I can say to these young friends to Saint Dominick High School (applause) -- ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to keep you long because what I have to say to you may be said concisely, briefly, and I think to the point.

I haven't come here tonight to tell you about the evils or the wrong-doings or even the mistakes of others. I don't come here tonight to tell people who may carry the banner of our opposition that they are bad people, because they are not. I happen to think, for example, that Senator Goldwater, the standard bearer of the Republican Party -- (applause) -- wait a minute. I think that he would make a good neighbor but I

don't think he would make a good President. (Applause)

My friends, I come here tonight to talk to you about the Kennedy-Johnson administration. I come to talk to you tonight about the Democratic Party. And I come to talk to you about a program and a policy.

This party is not content to just look to the past. This party believes that the future is what should concern us. We believe that today moves rapidly by and we believe that if America is to maintain its greatness, if we are to fulfill our mission as a leader for peace and justice in the world, and if we are to fulfill our mission at home for a better America, for our young, for our elderly, and for our unfortunates, if we are to fulfill our mission for a more prosperous America, for more jobs, for better industry and for better schools and better hospitals, and better recreation, we believe that if we are going to do these things, then the Democratic Party must think with the future, think about the future, and plan for the future, and that is the mission of our party.

I come tonight to represent a party that cares about America, that cares about people, that cares about people who are less fortunate.

I come to represent a party tonight who believes that compassion is not weakness and who believes -- a party that believes that concern for the afflicted and the sick and the needy is not socialism but rather is good solid Americanism. (Applause)

I come to this platform that was graced four years ago, four years ago by one of the greatest men of our century. I come here tonight as a friend and as a legislative colleague of the late and beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

John Kennedy said when he took that oath of office on January 20, 1961, he said to you, he said to me, he said "Let us begin. Let us get America moving once again."

And then he said to all of us, he said I accept this responsibility. I welcome it.

And then he told us that none of us would be willing to change with other people in the world for the privileges that we had here as Americans.

John Kennedy was privileged to serve America and the world one thousand days as our President. He served America and the

world a full life but he was taken by the assassin's bullet just almost a year ago.

Now, since that time, my friends, another man who was the partner of John Kennedy has taken up the torch of freedom and the mantle of responsibility in this country.

I remind this great audience that it was John Kennedy that selected Lyndon Johnson four years ago as his Vice President.

I remind you that Lyndon Johnson was a faithful ally to our beloved President. He once said, if everyone else should desert President Kennedy, then I will remain an ally. I will be by your side. (Applause)

I ask you to remember, I ask my fellow Americans here to remember that fatal day in Dallas. I ask you to remember how the whole world was in grief and pain. I ask you to remember how many people in America wondered what would happen to our country and our government, and then I ask you to remember that sight of seeing a strong man, a good man, with eyes filled with tears, with soul filled with grief, stand and take the oath of office as President of the United States.

The man that John Kennedy selected to safeguard America in case something happened to him, that man was there, and that man became President of the United States, not because he wanted it but because a cruel assassin had taken the life of our President.

And Lyndon Johnson of Texas has proven himself to be a faithful man to the legacy of John Kennedy and he has proven himself to be a strong President.

He immediately approached the problems of our country with a steadfast hand. He didn't falter. He didn't back down. He didn't retreat. In fact, he said to us, we must not hesitate. We must not falter. We must continue. And we have been continuing, my fellow Americans, to carry out the program of our great and beloved President.

We have done our job. And on this platform tonight stands with me a United States Senator, your Senator, who was faithful to the late and beloved President as a member of the family, who carried out his every responsibility and who with President Johnson has helped to build a great legislative record for the American people and for the entire world, your own Senator, Ed Muskie. (Applause)

My friends, let us not let anybody take this away. We have

made progress in America. Maine is more prosperous. America is more prosperous. Our country is more just. Our country is stronger. Our country has more social justice.

Let nothing happen to disturb this forward movement. And above all, let us not have in the White House someone who is impetuous, someone who will represent forces of irresponsibility.

What America needs now is a President that unites us, a President that strengthens us, a President that appeals to us, a President that thinks for the future, a President that thinks for the young, and a President that cares for the elderly; a President that encourages enterprise and a President that advances the cause of education.

I say you have got that man and that man deserves our help and he needs it. He will need your help in the weeks ahead.

On November 3, my fellow Americans, we are going to decide whether America moves forward or whether America retreats to the past.

We are going to decide whether this Nation is young and vital or whether it is sick and tired.

We are going to decide whether America will lead the crusade for a just and enduring peace or whether or not America will play war games.

I think I know what that decision will be and I ask this audience tonight, will you help me? Will you help your Senator? Will you help Mr. Hathaway and Mr. Curtis? Will you help those of us regardless of your political persuasion? Will you help us? Will you help us elect Lyndon B. Johnson? (Applause)

I believe I heard your answer. And if that is the case, then I can only say one more thing. Let's go to work. Let's make sure that the victory of November 3 is a victory that will remain in the history books of America as a victory against the forces of hate and intolerance and for the forces of progress and peace, and let us help elect President Lyndon Johnson for four more years to carry America forward.

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. Famous Local Sons and Daughters:

└-- Daniel Webster

└-- Franklin Pierce, A Democratic President from

Republican New Hampshire

└-- Samuel F. B. Morse, known here as a painter as

well as inventor.

2. National Issues of Interest Here

└-- Social Security ---- In this very city, Barry Goldwater first announced to the waiting world that he is opposed to Social Security. I admire his candor. Most men whose ideas are so out of step with American society would try to hide them forever from public view. Today I want to offer you a choice, not an echo to the Republican candidate. I want to tell you that Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are solidly in favor of Social Security. In fact, we want to expand it to include medical care for our senior citizens.

United Nations (very popular) : The man whose name
you wrote in on the ballot last March compiled a - LODGE
distinguished career as our Ambassador to the United
Nations. The man whom you rejected last March wishes to
pull us out of the UN. Even among the Republicans there
was a choice on this issue. On November 3rd you will have
the same choice before you again: to maintain our faith
in a peaceful future, or to throw it away.

Nuclear Irresponsibility: The Kennedy -
Johnson administration has guided this nation across the
watershed of international tension. We at last have
reason to hope that we may be on the downhill ^{Path} slope to
peace. But who should suddenly appear with an offer to
guid us the rest of the way? Why, it is Barry Goldwater,
the international Wyatt Earp. He would lead us back
through the pass and into the valley of conflict. He
would fight off the bad guys with silver H-bombs and

draw the good guys into a circular fallout shelter.

3. Local Issue: The Wool Textile Industry: *Wool*

-- Marketing: The administration of Lyndon Johnson

will seek as soon as possible to promulgate orderly

international marketing conditions for woolen textiles.

President Johnson made this pledge during his trip to New England last month.

-- Modernization: The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has already provided for accelerated depreciation allowances to aid in the purchase of new machinery for the woolen mills.

-- Research: We will continue to sponsor research to discover new uses for woolen cloth.

4. Political

--- Previous HHH visit: I remember well my visit to Concord four years ago.

--- Birch Books: I understand that a book has become popular in these parts, called, None Dare Call It Treason. Once this election is over I have a feeling that there will be a new best-seller, only this one will deal with Senator Goldwater. It will be entitled None Dare Call it Reason.

LBJ Book -
my Hopes for America

Themes for stress in Vermont

Phillips

*Ralph Handers
Geo. Piker*

RUTLAND, Vermont

A Minnesotan feels easy kinship in Vermont:

L Our states each border on Canada. We have strong recreation and sports centers -- both summer and winter. Each of us is balanced between agriculture and industry. Both states are strong in dairying, forestry and mining. And I believe that much of Minnesota's progress has been learned from Vermont's example.

2. Stress Education:

To meet the problems of this new age of science and technology, education must become even more important in the future than it has been in the past. There is a need for the partnership of all levels of government.

Vermont's was the first State Constitution to provide for public education from elementary school through a university. The great Vermonter, Justin Morrill, fathered

Morrill Act

the historic Land-Grant act which laid the foundation for our continental university system.

Senator Goldwater finds this kind of thinking somehow unconstitutional.

The Democratic party does not.

3. Equal Opportunity:

Vermont was the first State Constitution to give universal manhood suffrage without a property qualification.

Vermont has a history of providing for equal opportunity in Civil Rights.

Vermonters understand equal opportunity in the whole spectrum of human rights: to education, to a job, to health, to everything that goes into the pursuit of happiness.

4. Social Security

Our Social Security system is the organized spirit of community, enabling all citizens while working, to provide for their independence in retirement.

Everybody but Senator Goldwater remembers how recently he wanted to make the system voluntary. Only he forgets where this idea "crept in". None of us, however, want to take a chance on his remembering it again.

5. Vermonters are independent, but not isolationist:

The United Nations is not perfect, but if we did not have it, we would have to invent it.

Also, while remaining strong against tyranny, we seek victory over war itself. We are determined to use our power responsibly.

6. Vermont honors progressive thought:

I am proud to have been called a progressive, even though one of our opponents finds that to be a word of abuse.

I am proud that my party has been a party of progress.

No party has a monopoly on progressive thought, but this year, even a moderately progressive Republican has been told by the Goldwater people that they would like to tax his vote, although they do not aim to represent his thought.

This is not what Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain boys took Fort Ticonderoga for, in the War of Independence.

This is not the spirit of either Vermont or America today.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Concord, New Hampshire
October 13, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Charles Officer, and may I thank my good friend who is the candidate for Congress in the First District, Mr. Huot, and I want to especially thank the distinguished Governor of the great State of New Hampshire, John King, for his proclaiming this Hubert Humphrey Day.

Did you make it Hubert Horatio Humphrey Day? (Laughter)

And I am just delighted that I could be greeted when I came here to your air port, this fine community of Concord, by my colleague in the United States Senate, a gentleman that has made such a splendid record already for his state and for his nation, your own United States Senator and my personal good friend, Tom McIntyre. I am delighted to see him. (Applause)

I want you to know that I have friends on both sides of the aisle. I don't come here just as a Democrat. I come here as a fellow citizen. And there are times, of course, that we have to battle it out as party contestants, but I have known the Senators from this state for many, many years, and I know the other Senator, the senior Senator, Mr. Cotton, and I know your fine members of the Congress, and I don't come here to cast aspersions upon them. I come here to speak for our ticket and for our party.

By the way, I notice that the Mayor of this great city was kind enough to come here and present me with one of the medallions, one of the coins commemorating here the 200th anniversary, and I am so honored to receive it. It is beautifully done, the engravings, the moldings are marvelous, the Concord Coach, and I notice that these horses on that Concord Coach are putting their legs up high, they are sure-footed, and they are going forward. Every one of them is a Democrat. (Laughter and applause)

Mr. Mayor, may I say I once served as Mayor of Minneapolis, and I want the good Mayor, Mayor Davie, to know that I am singularly honored whenever the Mayor of a community takes time out of his busy official day to come and say hullo and to more or less present the keys to the city. I am just delighted.

I am going to talk to the Mayor a little bit about his politics. He is going to talk to me about mine. We are going to pray together over these things and we will see how we come out. (Laughter and applause)

Then may I just say that I am delighted to see the Milford Spartans here that have done such a good job. We are very proud of them. They gave us wonderful entertainment. (Applause)

Well, Charles Whittemore has taken on a big responsibility in New Hampshire, taken on a responsibility of seeing to it that this state stays within the paths of political honor and political progress by casting its vote and subsequently its electoral vote for the next President of the United States, President Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause)

But I want you to know that we not only want you to work hard for President Johnson, but we want you to keep in office that fine gentleman that has given your State such outstanding leadership as the Governor of your State, your own Governor King (applause) and then send us down, send us to Washington a couple of good Congressmen that will be able to work with the President of the United States, that will be able to back his program, and thereby to make things better for the great State of New Hampshire.

Well, friends, I noticed as I came here a couple of signs that indicate there may be one or two folks here who are politically misguided (applause). We welcome them. Every once in a while I hear somebody say, you know, isn't it too bad that some of the folks of the opposition turned up. I say, not at all. The purpose of ever meeting is education (laughter) and if there is something that we can say here today that will brighten their lives, I think that would be good.

You know, I even heard that they were going to have a trainload of Republican Congressmen come here. They call them the truth squad. That is a play on words, of course. (Laughter) It is a conflict of interest.

To put those fine gentlemen, all personal friends of mine, in charge of the truth is like putting a fox in charge of a chicken coop. (Applause)

I don't expect that they will agree with me but that is part of the joy of American political life.

Let me just say that when I come to a community like this and see happy faces, I feel better. I have seen happy faces all across America. And when I see happy faces I know that these are the people that are looking to the future. These are the people that feel America is on the move and moving forward. These are the people that are going to vote to keep in the White House a man who has demonstrated unusual qualities of great leadership. They are going to see to it that America has for the next four

years as the leader of this great Republic the man from Texas, President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

And when I see a young friend holding one of those Goldwater signs, and they have a smile on their face, I know that deep down in their heart they are going to vote for President Johnson, too. (Laughter and applause)

But in case they shouldn't, in case they shouldn't, we will all get along all right after the election is over anyhow.

Now, dear friends, what a great honor it is to come to this State, the State that gave us a President, Franklin Pierce, gave us a great United States Senator in the past, Daniel Webster, and by the way, they are putting gold on the State Capital dome, not Goldwater. Gold leaf, I want you to know. (Laughter and applause) And if you are going to fool around with gold, make sure that it is the right kind. (Applause)

You notice also up there in the Capital dome that there is that great eagle, that healthy strong American eagle that knows how to take off and knows how to go forward, never flies backwards, knows how to spread its wings and come to grips with the realities of the day. No scrawny old sparrow, that one, believe me. (Applause)

And no dodo bird either. (Laughter)

So, ladies and gentlemen, this State has captivated the American nation by its politics. My goodness, you put on a Presidential primary up here the likes of which no one else has. I am sort of sorry I didn't enter here because if I was going to be beaten, I ought to be beaten where they do a good job of it, see. Instead of that, I went out to Wisconsin and West Virginia and got messed up. (Laughter) But I notice that you had quite a Presidential primary here this year, and you folks in New Hampshire surely exercise some might good judgment. You started out doing what the whole country is going to do. You voted against the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party. (Applause)

Now, of course, you didn't have any choice on that Republican ticket at that time to vote for President Lyndon Johnson, but you are going to have that choice, and one of the most gratifying developments in this whole political year is the fact that millions and millions of people who are traditional Republicans, who think the world of their party, who have fought the good fight for the party, millions of these people are not going to vote for the standard bearer of their party in this election, and the reason is quite simple. The reason is because the present standard

bearer of the Republican Party that has the label on him of Republican is not a Republican. He is a radical. And he ought to be so known.

Why do I make that statement? Well, let's take a look at the 1960 Republican platform, a platform not conceived in the emotionalism of the Cow Palace of 1964. But a platform conceived after eight years of responsible leadership by a Republican administration where a Republican President and a Republican Secretary of State and Republican office holders had to come to grips with the world as it is, where they couldn't go around and dream about a never-never land, where they couldn't rewrite history, where they had to make history, and that platform of 1960 represents authentic Republicanism.

I thought it was a little too conservative. I didn't support many of its principles. But I do know this, that it represented the thinking of Republicans who had to take on the burden of responsibility.

Now, that platform has been before the American people and it was before Mr. Goldwater. It is before every Senator of the United States Senate. And it just appears that when the Senators made their votes on the 25 items in that platform that a most amazing development occurred.

Now, the leader of the United States Senate, on the Republican side, is Everett Dirksen. No one ever accused him of being a radical or an extremist. He is a relatively middle-of-the-road conservative gentleman, a good Senator.

2 The Minority whip, the second man in command of the Republican Party in the Senate, is Thomas Kuchel of California, a great Republican.

The third man in command is Leverett Saltonstall, Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, a distinguished patriot, a fine man.

The fourth man in charge is Bourke Hickenlooper. Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa.

These are the four elected Republican leaders of the United States Senate.

Now, these men had to vote on issues that were involved in the Republican leaders of the United States Senate.

Now, these men had to vote on issues that were involved in the Republican platform. Twenty-five of them, twenty-five major

commitments. Twenty-five times Mr. Kuchel, Republican from California, second in command of the Republicans in the Senate, twenty-five times he voted for his platform. The Senator from Massachusetts, he voted for his platform twenty times. The Senator from Illinois voted for his platform eighteen times. The Senator from Iowa voted for his platform seventeen times.

Now, of course, the Senator from Arizona dismisses the Senator from California by saying he is an extremist. (Laughter) Oh, yes. He voted for the Republican platform. That makes him an extremist.

The Senator from Massachusetts was dismissed by the statement, by the Senator from Arizona, that the trouble with -- dismissed by this statement, that what you ought to do with the eastern seaboard is to cut it off and let it float out into the ocean. I must say that is a rather far-reaching type of surgery. (Laughter) I never felt that the eastern seaboard deserved that kind of treatment. But I will say this. If you want something looking good floating in the ocean, you couldn't do better.

But let me make it clear that the Senator from Iowa, Mr. Hickenlooper, and the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirsken, were straight down the line, they are authentic conservative Republicans. They voted for their platform three times out of four. They voted for their platform eighteen times out of twenty-five, seventeen times out of twenty-five issues.

What about the leader, the new-found leader of the Republican Party? How did he vote?

Well, I will tell you. He never voted for a Democratic measure, so you can't accuse him of being a Democrat. I am sure he is happy about that. And he voted twenty-five times no, twenty-five times against his own platform on twenty-five issues.

So how can you call him a Republican?

I suppose you could say he is a rather independent, so independent that he holds a caucus of one. (Laughter)

I say, my friends, this is the reason that a great newspaper like the New York Herald Tribune, as Republican as McKinley, Republican as Hoover, Republican as Thomas Dewey, Republican as Dwight Eisenhower, that great newspaper did not endorse Mr. Goldwater. And why? Because Mr. Goldwater has yet to meet the standards of authentic Republicanism as defined in their platform. (Applause)

Well, somebody may say, well, you know, the New York Herald Tribune can make a mistake. Yes. They have made a lot of them.

Well, what about the Saturday Evening Post? They have been published since 1797 and they never endorsed a Democrat until this time, once in better than 150 years, and why? Because as the editorial in the Post said, the Senator from Arizona is not only out of the mainstream of Republicanism, he is out of the mainstream of American political thought and practice. (Applause)

So let me just extend my arms in welcome. I don't expect that our Republican friends are going to be too happy about everything that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey may stand for but they are wise enough to make a choice and in this election they are making an honest choice. They are not saying that everything that the Democratic candidates do or have done they like. But they are saying that that choice that they make is one of putting their country above the temporary control of their party.

I expect those Republicans to go back and fight the good fight. I expect that is why Mr. Nixon is out speaking. I don't think he is speaking for Goldwater. I think he is speaking for Nixon. (Applause)

I expect that is why others -- and I am not being critical of that. I must say that I can well understand that. Mr. Nixon, Mr. Scranton, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Lodge, these are authentic Republicans and they have a right to fight for their party. They have a right. They have earned it.

But let me say right now that we are faced in this election with a candidate in the opposite that surely can't qualify as a Democrat, can't quality as a Republican.

Now, how he qualifies I don't know. I guess we will just have to say that he is the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of the Republican Party. I guess that is about all we can say. (Applause)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, what are the positive issues in this campaign? This election is going to determine not only what happens now, not only what happens next year, but years to come.

It was in this State that the Senator from Arizona expressed his doubts about social security. Oh, I didn't think anybody had any doubt about that since Alf Landon. (Laughter) I haven't found anybody that ever doubted that we ought to have social security.

Oh, now the Senator from Arizona says, well, I didn't mean it. You are trying to misinterpret what I said.

It is very difficult to keep up with what he last meant.
(Laughter)

I happen to think that American needs a President that says what he means when he says it and means what he says it. And I think we have got one. (Applause)

It was in this State, yes, it was in this State where the doubt was cast upon social security. Now, again I repeat that the opposition says this is foul, this is a low blow for any Democrat to say that the Senator from Arizona is against social security. I don't know if he is against it. All I know is he said he had some doubts about it and he thought it ought to be voluntary. Now he says he didn't mean that.

Well, when he makes up his mind what he means, I wish he would let everybody know so we can clear the record.

This I do know, that he said that he conceived his idea of government to repeal laws, not to pass them. I want to know what law he is talking about. Which laws? It was in this State, my friends, that the issue of the United Nations was fought out. Now the Senator from Arizona has said "We should withdraw from the United Nations."

Then a little later he said, well, it isn't very good, maybe we should withdraw, maybe we shouldn't. And now he says, no, I think we ought to stay.

Well, I know this, that in this State of New Hampshire the former ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, was given a vote of confidence by the people of New Hampshire in the Presidential primary and he stood up for the United Nations. And I think everybody in this audience knows (applause) -- I think everybody in this audience knows that the United Nations is one of the great hopes of peace in our time, peace for the world.

Yes, my friends, the issues are clear. The question is do you want leadership that takes you ahead, moves you along the path of progress, or do you want somebody that is looking out the rear view mirror? Do you want leadership that is strong and constructive or some that is indefinite and indecisive and negative?

President Lyndon Johnson came to the White House under the most difficult of circumstances. Remember this, my fellow

Americans. President Johnson was selected in Los Angeles, in 1960, by the late and beloved President Kennedy as his Vice President.

Remember this, that John Kennedy said, "He is my strong right arm."

He reached down into the great State of Texas and he said to President Johnson, I need you as my Vice President.

3 President Johnson was then the strongest man in Congress, the Majority leader, and his whole life as Majority leader was one of responsibility, one of constructive responsibility. He was one of the most powerful men in government, but President Lyndon Johnson, then a Senator, gave up that post and he stood side by side through the campaign of 1960, through the one thousand days of John Kennedy's dramatic leadership. He stood side by side with President Kennedy, and I am here to say that if President Kennedy had faith in President Lyndon Johnson, I have got it, too, and I think you have. (Applause)

So I ask this great audience to ratify, to reaffirm that faith. John Kennedy said to us, "Let us begin," and we moved America forward. Lyndon Johnson said to us, "Let us continue," and we have continued.

We passed the Kennedy-Johnson program and it is a great program. The President of the United States now asks us to go forward even further. He doesn't ask us to stand still. He says we must go further down the road of domestic progress, more social justice, better education. We have to provide new jobs. We have to find ways of helping American industry, to encourage business, to be fair to labor.

And I am here to testify not against the opposition. I am here to testify for the man that is President of the United States.

I watched him in Congress. I saw him at the head of our great governmental institutions. I witnessed him as Vice President. I have sat at the same table as he and President Kennedy worked out the Kennedy-Johnson program. And I have witnessed President Lyndon Johnson taking over the mantle of leadership in this country under the most unbelievable of circumstances.

Put yourself for a moment in that situation. November 22, 1963, Dallas Texas. An assassin's bullet takes the life of our beloved President. The whole world faltered. It was as if somehow or another we had missed life itself. The whole world

was in pain and uncertainty, and then stood up a tall big man. He took the oath of office. He came back to Washington as the President of the United States under our Constitutional system, and I will leave it to any fair-minded American, I will leave it to any reasonably fair-minded American, as to whether or not he has done a good job.

I think the American people appreciate the sacrifice. I think they appreciate the sense of integrity. I think they appreciate the ability, the experience, the knowledge, the calmness, the strength, this great of responsibility which President Lyndon Johnson has exemplified in these months of his executive leadership. (Applause)

So, as I leave your capital city, I ask you will you do for this great President what you did for John Kennedy? Will you give him your hands and your hearts? Will you help us? Will you help us to lead America? Will you help us to build America? Will you help us to open up opportunities for our young? Will you help us provide dignity for our elderly? Will you help us to build American enterprise? Will you help us sing the praises of America?

We need a President, my fellow Americans, that loves our country. We need one that unites our country. We need one that tells the American people to do better every day. We need someone that sings the praises of America rather than to tell of its evils, and I submit to you that we have that man.

And I come here as his partner and I come to this great State of New Hampshire and ask every voter in this State to judge this man and to judge him on his record of performance, and I ask you to give him your vote of confidence on November 3. (Applause)

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at Rutland, Vermont
October 13, 1964.

Senator Humphrey. First of all, Mr. Mayor, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Senator and Congressman, Reverend Clergy, I first want to apologize for not having the time today to get around to each and every one of the tables in this room which we had said we would do, but I hope that you realize that there are times that even the best laid plans of Democrats go astray. (Laughter)

This morning when we left New York we were supposed to get out of there about forty minutes before we did. They just plain forgot to refuel one of the airplanes. And these planes run better when they have fuel in them. (Laughter) And that slowed us up.

Then when we got to Massachusetts, our planner and our advance men decided that instead of making one speech at Smith College, I should speak at Mount Holyoke as well, and then also that I should speak in Holyoke City. So we were held up.

I can't possibly tell you how much it has meant to me to come to your community of Rutland. This wonderful, beautiful State of Vermont. And to see you and to see your other fellow citizens that waited so long under the most adverse conditions.

I am an old campaigner and I have been around a lot. I have campaigned in snowstorms and sleetstorms and cyclones and hurricanes and windstorms and duststorms, but when I see people that will wait this long just for someone that they really haven't met to come along, it makes your heart very warm, and I am a sentimental fellow about it. (Applause)

We have to get along to Concord and we have to get up to Lewiston, Maine, and back to New Haven, Connecticut yet tonight, and I guess there are a couple of other places.

You know, the man that I am working for, you may recall what he said, some of you, at the Democratic Convention. I use that line but not Senator Goldwater's, and when there was a meeting of the Democratic National Committee he said, now, every one of you deserves a rest and every one of you go home and take a rest. Every one but not Senator Humphrey. (Laughter) And he meant it.

He hasn't given me a day off. We have really been on the road.

Voice from Audience. Join the Union.

Senator Humphrey. I trust I am going to get paid overtime.
(Laughter)

You have a great opportunity in this election, an opportunity to make it a real chapter in history. It has always been said, you know that -- well, we always remember that great election of 1936 when Franklin Roosevelt won every State but Maine and Vermont.

Well, now, I have got news for you. Maine is going to go Democrat and I think Vermont is, too. (Laughter and applause)

But I want to forewarn you that we are going to have two or three tough weeks ahead of us. Our opposition, regrettably, doesn't want to discuss the issues. They want to talk about our President. They want to destroy, if they can, his image and his reputation. And I am not going to let them do it and neither are you.

Oh, they have been around working on me but I have been somewhat accustomed to it and I told the President for a while that if I could act as his lightning rod, just to take all the bolts they were throwing, I think I would be doing a great service.

They haven't said a thing about me that hasn't been said before and some of it is just about as effective, so I am not worried about it.

But I do not want to see a campaign end up where the attack is upon the Presidency itself, and this is the first time that I have sensed that such a thing was going to happen.

I guess this is just another way of telling you that you can expect the opposition to reach pretty low down into the barrel of mud.

We are not going to respond that way. I am not going to spend my time talking about the personal matters relating to any candidate. I happen to think that all the men that are running for public office are reasonably good men. There are none of us that don't need a little improvement. That is why we have the Monsignor here and the Rabbi. (Laughter and applause)

And I become a little weary when I hear people acting as if somehow or another they had the monopoly on virtue, because I have never met anybody like that. Really I haven't. And I have

been around quite a little bit.

But I do know what America needs and so do you. This country needs a President that is responsible, that is understanding, that is forbearing, that understands the greatness of this country.

If all you want to do is talk about the mistakes, you can ruin any family, any business, any town, any institution. We wouldn't have a cathedral, a church or a synagogue if all we did was just talk about their mistakes.

You have to appeal to people's goodness, their bigness, their sense of greatness. You have to try to bring the best out of people. That is what we try to do as parents and this is what we really ought to do in a government. And this is what national leadership ought to do.

President Johnson has spent his time in these difficult months since the loss of President Kennedy -- and believe me, I want to say this was a traumatic loss. It shook the whole world. It left this country almost, well, heartbroken and left it staggering.

President Johnson moved in and took command and he did it with grace. He did it with firmness. And he did it with brilliance. And I think the record of the 88th Congress is a record that any Democrat, any citizen, can be proud of. It is a good record.

Now, we want to build on that record. President Kennedy said, "Let us begin." Lyndon Johnson, our President, said "Let us continue." And now when he is elected in his own rights, he is going to ask you to help him move this country forward even further in the paths of social progress. And in the days ahead, my dear fellow citizens, there are going to be tough decisions.

Nuclear weaponry -- it may spread. There are many madmen in this world. It is not easy to even be a United States Senator much less be a President, and we need men of decision, men of good judgment, men of prudence, men of experience, men who truly understand the mission of this country, and the mission of this country is to set an example at home by the manner in which we live and work and play so that we can go abroad and give people leadership, political leadership, moral leadership, economic leadership.

And I know that we have in President Johnson, a man that I

have known intimately for sixteen years, a man that meets these qualifications and these standards.

And I am not here, as I said at the platform, not to run down the man. I am up here to run up the flag of a great President who is carrying on in a great purpose and who wants to do a good job, and he needs your help. (Applause)

He needs it badly.

So you go to work. I will make a deal with you. We are going to carry Minnesota. I will guarantee it. We are going to carry Minnesota.

And I think that you have it within yourselves to make a grand new chapter in American political history by having it said that in the year 1964, the great State of Vermont, a progressive State, a sensible State, a State of good judgment, has cast its electoral votes, its popular vote, for the Democratic ticket for Lyndon Johnson and Humbert Humphrey. (Applause)



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