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FOR P.M.'S RELEASE  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13

TEXT PREPARED 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 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 1964 IT WAS OVER THIRTY-TWO. NOW IN 1900 RICH AND POOR ALIKE, IF ADEQUATELY QUALIFIED BY THE STANDARDS OF THAT TIME, HAS 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 --

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 HOLD XXX 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 BELIEVE 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 YUXXX 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 WIXXX 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 WICXXX WHICH EACH PRIVILEGED PERSON BEARS TO THOSE WOXXX WHO ARE LESS PRIVILEGED -- THE OBLIGATION TO USE HIS KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITY IN A MANNER WIXXX 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 WOXXX WHO ENTERED THE ACADEMY HAS LEISURE, TIME TO THINK, TIME TO CREATE, TIME TO PURSUE EXCELLENCE.

SXXX ARE WE PREPARED TO FACE THE CRISIS OF UNIVRXXX 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 OURSELVSXXX OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY? BUT ARE WE PREPARED TO SHIFT FROM A PRECOXXX 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 TEXXX 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 XXX 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 PROVIDED 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.

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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.

END OF SPEECH. OKAY?

OK SPRINGFIELD TOLL TEST BOARDSSSS

HUMPHREY-DC

DO YOU HAVE A QUESTION?

NO QUESTIONS RECEIVE YOU OK GOT GOOD COPT THA NK YOU FROM SPFLD

speech and travel inputs  
(Incidental Info Dept.)

*file* (Oct. 13?)

New England

RUTLAND, Vermont

Rutland is world famous as the marble city.

Just north is Proctor, headquarters of Vermont Marble Works, world's greatest quarry, and the Marble Exhibit.

The railroad was built into to Rutland to get ~~marble~~ marble to national market.

Vermont Heart Association has an interesting ~~fund~~ fund raising gimmick. It prevailed upon the U.S. Postoffice to establish a station called Heartwell. Donations received in exchange for that postmark are used for research on heart disease. Goldwater is against such cooperative federal-local projects.

Rutland is a big recreation center, winter ~~sports~~ and summer.

Hq. Green Mountain National Forest (federal)

" " "

Club, which maintains hiking trails (250 Mi)

Horse Association, maintains 1000 mi. riding paths

New Hampshire

speech and travel inputs  
(Dept. of Incidental Info)

CONCORD

In Concord, N. H., Samuel F. B. Morse, is recognized as a painter as well as an inventor. His wife was a Concord girl. His paintings hang in the New Hampshire Historical Society Museum.

It is the only city in America that actually has farms, operated as such, within the corporate limits of the municipality. Its economic base is therefore very broad, with transportation diversified industry, finance and trade, and government.

Mary Baker Eddy was born on the outskirts of Concord and the Christian Science Church home for the aged is in Concord.

The "Concord Coaches," were the Rolls Royce of stage coaches in the days before railroads, except there were more of them. They were used all over the North American continent and exported to Europe. They were made in Concord, N.H.

The skill of the craftsmen who made those fine vehicles is evidenced in many of the products for sale in the Concord ~~Arts~~ Arts and Crafts Shop, which exhibits, handmade ceramics, textiles, ~~miscellaneous~~ furniture and jewelry produced by the League of New Hampshire Arts and Crafts.

The Library of Congress is built of granite quarried on the outskirts of Concord.

Daniel ~~Webster~~ Webster was a native of Concord. HHH can surely do something with that. My suggestion, remind of time Webster chided that his 43-hr. speech was not extemporaneous. He said, "of course not, I've been working on it all my life." While Goldwater has been practicing ham radio operating, photography, scuba diving, and jet piloting, Johnson and Humphrey have ~~been~~ been working on the public's business and ~~the things they have to say~~ preparing the things they have to ~~say~~ say in this campaign. ~~Mam~~ No wonder Goldwater ~~has~~ has said so many crazy things. He's hobby-happy. He's been indulging himself in ~~developing~~ developing skills -- and no doubt he's fine radio opr. and jet pilot and photographer--- that have never been needed in White House. New Hampshire could use his photographic skill-- beautiful scenery.

~~SPRINGFIELD~~

Speech and travel inputs

SPRINGFIELD

Amherst, Mount Holyoke, Smith and the University of Massachusetts have a cooperative program for more efficient utilization of their respective capabilities and facilities. This joint participation of public and private institutions wouldn't fit into Goldwater-Miller philosophy.

More than 1000 students (1016 to be exact) are receiving assistance from the five ~~university~~ institutions probably represented at the Springfield Rally--- Amherst, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Springfield and the U. of Mass---from loan funds administered by the colleges but to which the federal government has ~~contributed \$141,362~~ ~~uncommitted~~ put \$141,362 as its share of the capital contribution under Title II of the National Defense Education Act. Goldwater and Miller disapprove.

Sixty secondary school teachers ~~in~~ of French in Massachusetts ~~and its secondary schools~~ have benefitted from a federally assisted ~~program~~ language ~~development~~ ~~institute~~ at the University of Massachusetts. (Title VI of NDEA)

Twenty-two handicapped students at two of the colleges (Smith 17 and U. of Mass 5) are being helped under ~~the program~~ a program administered by the U.S. Office of Education for Educational Improvement for the Handicapped.

Thirty-eight Graduate Fellows are studying at the University of Mass. and Springfield (36 and 2 resp.) under Title IV of the National Defense Education Act.

Mount Holyoke has three new dining rooms, each for about 120 girls, thanks to federal assistance under the Community Facilities program of HHFA.

Springfield College has new dormitories for 708, through same program.

Some of these facilities were provided under a Republican ~~program~~ Administration, ~~and would not be available under~~ a Goldwater-Miller Administration. ~~The fact is~~ As the Drug Fair Ad might say--- ~~they~~ "Don't say Republican when you ~~mean~~ mean Goldwater."

1. A Minnesota<sup>↑</sup> feels easy kinship in Vermont:

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 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 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" ~~but~~ none of us <sup>however</sup> want to take a chance on his <sup>remembering it again.</sup> ~~forgetting his change of heart.~~

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, <sup>although</sup> ~~but~~ they do not aim to represent his thought.

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

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

[Oct. 13]

# Memo for New Haven

## New England - its critical transportation problem

We are a united Nation. The economic welfare of all sections of our Nation is a matter of concern to all of us. If any segment of our economy suffers for want of adequate and modern transportation facilities to serve its industrial and commercial needs, then the economy of our Nation could be seriously and adversely affected.

New England, which has contributed greatly to the Nation's history and welfare, is an important section of our Nation. The economic interdependence of New England with other sections of our country is evident from the geographical pattern of the flow of traffic with other regions of the country. New England receives shipments from all regions and in return ships to all of them. It is through this interchange of products that economic gains from regional specialization are realized.

Rail services over the essential lines of the railroads serving New England are vital to industry and commerce in that region. The Interstate Commerce Commission has stated that "from the viewpoint of their total services, freight and passengers, the railways remain the most important single transport agency in New England." Yet these services, as the result of a complex of difficulties, have deteriorated to a point where their continuance is in doubt.

The Federal Government, at the request of the managements of railroads serving New England, and of the States immediately affected, has, through United States-guaranteed loans, made it possible for these railroads to continue operations. The States served have taken action by way of tax and other relief to aid in alleviating the situation.

This assistance has proved inadequate. It has been a piecemeal, limited-objective approach to a most critical situation affecting the economy of New England. The need is for a comprehensive program of rehabilitation and modernization of the essential lines of the financially distressed New England railroads which will insure their viability. Such a program, which should be undertaken at the earliest possible date, requires not only the cooperation of all parties immediately concerned -- the railroads, the States served, and the Federal Government -- but those within and without the industry who will be materially benefitted by such a program.

The full cooperation of the Executive Departments of the Federal Government in this important and urgent matter is assured.

Oct. 132

*Del  
New Haven  
New York*

October 12, 1964

Memorandum to John Stewart

Max Kampelman 'phoned me last night regarding the attached statement which deals with a basic problem affecting the economy of New England. I tried to 'phone him this morning but he was out of the city.

I want to add to what I told Max about the article that Senators Ribicoff, Pastore and Pell as well as Governor Dempsey of Connecticut and the Governors of Rhode Island and Massachusetts are deeply concerned about this matter. The New Haven Railroad is in deep difficulty (and it is just a matter of time with the Boston-Maine). Both railroads are seeking inclusion in the Eastern Railroad Merger--New Haven and the Pennsylvania-New York Central and the Boston-Maine and the Norfolk and Western. Time, however, is rapidly running out for the New Haven, even should I.C.C. approve.

The Mass Transportation law recently passed in this Administration will aid the commuter operations of these two roads. Cooperation is now necessary to solve the larger problem in cooperation with the States, the two railroads and the people directly affected.

Believe that it should be stressed that all this can be done within the private enterprise system with, under all the circumstances, an assist from the Federal and State Governments.

Encl.

# AMERICA'S STAKE

## In the TRANSPORTATION CRISIS

By ARNE C. WIPRUD

**T**HE CONDITIONS under which American railroads operate today closely parallel those which preceded the nationalization of the British railways. As in Great Britain, these conditions have their roots in the past. And just as economics and neglect in solving insistent problems arising out of these conditions doomed the British railways, so economics and inaction threaten to remove the American railroads and other forms of transport from the private enterprise sector of our economy—if present basic problems affecting the industry are not solved boldly and courageously, correctly and promptly.

Nationalization may seem to offer a solution to difficult problems, but—as the experience of Great Britain warns—nationalization may provide a Procrustean bed not only for transportation management, labor and stockholders, but for shippers and for all taxpayers, substituting new and more recalcitrant problems for the old.

Nationalization does not solve the basic economic problem of securing adequate transportation at the lowest costs. Nor does it solve the rate problem, except by abandoning the principles which have long protected shippers in this country from unequal and discriminatory rates. Nationalization solves the financial problem only by shifting the bill for the losses to the taxpayers; all services tend to become subsidized. Nationalization solves the competitive problem by incorporating competing carriers into monopolistic transport systems, limiting severely the scope of outside competition, with the loss of all the competitive incentives which assure economy and progress in industry.

Nationalization places a dead hand, the dead hand of bureaucracy, on management and labor, with irretrievable loss of opportunities and morale. Nationalization introduces a host of new problems, largely political in nature, especially in

the matter of investment budget; economic necessity gives way to political expediency.

These are the conclusions that an objective observer must reach in a study of the causes and the consequences of the British railway's collapse into nationalization. And, as we shall see, the parallels between British and American experience are most disturbing.

It was a bright afternoon in mid-July, 1957, when I left my hotel in London for Berkeley Square House to keep an appointment with the Right Honorable Harold Watkinson, M.P., Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. I had presented my letter of introduction to the Minister's secretary the day before, together with a list of 10 items that I wanted to discuss with the Minister. These questions added up to an all-important query: What brought about the end of private ownership and operation of Britain's railways and other forms of transport, and what have been the economic consequences of their nationalization?

The Minister received me promptly. We first discussed two matters that obviously were uppermost in his mind—modernization of railways and the transport labor problem. Recent developments in equipment, facilities and methods of operation on railroads and other forms of transport in the United States interested the Minister and prompted him to describe the highlights of the modernization program for British railways that was then in progress. The labor problem, we agreed, could best be solved through an expanding economy in which all forms of transport participated under equal conditions. As we concluded our discussion of these matters, the Minister observed: "If we get by the question of ownership, our transportation problems are really much the same"

The Minister then took up the list of items that I had submitted and in a questioning way remarked that perhaps some of the items might be considered political in nature. I replied that they were not intended to be and if he so

considered them, these questions could be ignored; I explained that I merely sought the essential facts that would answer the question: In a great nation dedicated to the private enterprise system, what were the conditions and event that had compelled a nationalization of the transportation industry? He made no immediate response, but my frankness evidently pleased him. After looking over the items again, he turned to his Under-Secretary, Mr. Goodison, who was present at our meeting, and directed him to obtain for me such factual materials as were available bearing on my question.

Mr. Goodison was most generous in his help. Not only did he provide facts and information relating to most of the items on my list, but he made it possible for me to meet officials in the British Railways, the British Transport Commission, and civil aviation. I also called on officials in the trucking industry. All patiently answered many questions about their respective transportation situations and about nationalization.

How clearly these fine men traced the demise of private enterprise in public transport. They neatly put together the pieces of what was once the world's great example of a successful private enterprise economy, almost ignoring the fact that large interstices in that structure were now filled with government-owned and operated enterprises.

Were they attempting to rationalize a condition that the facts so conclusively demonstrated had resulted from past mistakes in government policies and industry practices, mistakes that had too long been neglected and which they now found impossible to correct? Or did they actually believe, to paraphrase Lincoln in reverse, that a national economy could continue to exist half state socialism and half free enterprise? Were they not concerned with the possibility that government monopoly of basic industries, particularly transportation, would eventually swallow up the free enterprise half of the economy? Was not this, then, the "capitalistic road" to state socialism?

I pondered these matters on the return trip from London to New York. My

thought, however, kept reverting to the Minister's observation: "If we get by the question of ownership, our transportation problems are really much the same." Of course, I realized the Minister had reference to routine operating and technological problems, and the problems of transport labor that were of deep concern to him. But was not "the question of ownership" the crux of it? And if that question of ownership becomes academic, could the problems in a fundamental sense ever be the same? Clearly, there were important lessons to be learned from Britain's venture into nationalization of its transport industry, particularly in view of the close parallels between American and British railway history.

It was in the early autumn of 1956 that I had first become acutely concerned with trends in our own transportation industry. Despite rising prices on the stock exchanges during "the greatest prosperity our country has ever known," the railroads, the core of our transportation system, were at best barely earning their costs. Though great strides were being made with long-overdue modernization programs, the meager earnings severely handicapped their efforts to keep abreast of technological progress in industry.

Other transport agencies' earnings were likewise reflecting conditions of strain. Inflation, a stimulus to general business activity which produced large traffic volumes, also generated a cost-price squeeze that made the increased traffic largely a profitless business. The railroads particularly were subject to all the increases in costs which have beset other businesses, but, unlike other businesses, they were unable to revise their prices promptly to balance rising costs. The obvious difficulty appears to have been the delays in securing regulatory approval of rate revisions, but this difficulty was greatly complicated by other factors to be subsequently considered.

On October 1, 1956, I prepared a memorandum for the late Robert R. Young, then chairman of the board of the New York Central Railroad Co., about the problems of the railroad industry over which management had little or no control, such as obsolete regulation, excessive and discriminatory taxation, and other public burdens. I pointed out that with possibly two exceptions, only in the United States had the railroads survived as a part of a private enterprise economy; that we could learn much from a knowledge of the facts and circumstances that brought about nationalization of once privately-owned and operated railways abroad, particularly in Great Britain, and the effect of such development upon the economic and political life of the nation; and that the lessons to be drawn therefrom should hold a deep interest and a warning, not only for managements of railroads and other forms of transport, their stockholders and transport labor, but also for every business, industrial, agricultural and labor leader, every public official—indeed, for everyone believing in the free, private enterprise system.

Mr. Young encouraged me to pursue this approach to obtaining a better understanding of the transportation industry and its problems. It was not until July, 1957, however, that I was able to leave for Great Britain.

Shortly after my return from London,

### The Authorship, Origin and Purpose of This Article

When he began, six years ago, the making of some special studies for four eastern railroads, Mr. Wiprud had completed several important assignments, relating to transportation, in the federal government. However, the



Arne C. Wiprud

larger part of his career has been spent in the private transportation industry field. His first job was that of stenographer to the superintendent of the Montana division of the great Northern Railway. A few years later he returned to Minnesota and completed a course in law.

In 1933 he was chosen by the late Homer S. Cummings, then Attorney General, to handle condemnation proceedings on the upper Mississippi River canalization project. Eight years later, another Attorney General, Francis Biddle, asked Mr. Wiprud to prepare "a factual and legal report on international aviation" as a guide to post-war international aviation policy. Two years and

four months of work by Mr. Wiprud and his staff went into the preparation and completion of this report, and it became the basis of agreement of the free nations of the world at their first provisional aviation conference in Chicago, in 1944.

As special assistant to the Attorney General, Mr. Wiprud participated in implementation of a directive to "revive" the anti-trust laws in the field of transportation, which led to the developments that included an extended Senate hearing on that subject and the filing, on August 23, 1944, of what was called "the largest anti-trust suit ever instituted by the United States." The stated purpose of the Justice Department in instituting that action was to free the railroads from restrictive, non-competitive practices which, the department alleged, existed in rail technology, services and pricing.

In the period 1948 to the summer of 1952 Mr. Wiprud, at the request of the then Postmaster General, Jesse M. Donaldson, took charge of a nationwide railway mail pay case. The case involved a study of transporting mail on every railroad in the United States—a task described by Mr. Wiprud as "almost impossible, in the present state of the art of cost finding."

At various times in his professional career Mr. Wiprud has represented shippers, carriers by motor, water and air, and railroads. On each of the three occasions when he was asked to undertake government assignments, he severed all connections with his other clients.

Concerned with evidence of the growing financial distress of the railroads and the increasing possibility that they and all other forms of transportation might become government-owned and operated, Mr. Wiprud and his principals determined that it would be advisable to study at first hand the conditions that brought about the nationalization of transport systems in Great Britain, and the consequences therefrom, with a view to determining the steps that must be taken in this country to preserve private enterprise in transportation.

The report published herewith sets forth the observations and conclusions made by Mr. Wiprud in the course of his visit to Great Britain.

I began the writing of my report. Against the background of the events that led to the collapse of Britain's railways into nationalization, I sought to review the major problems confronting the transportation industry of the United States and some of the proposals which had been advanced by both government and industry for a solution of these problems.

Mr. Young and I visited together over my report in his New York office at 230 Park Avenue on the morning of October 18, 1957. While I reviewed its contents, he listened patiently, making occasional comments. When I had concluded, we discussed the highlights and recommendations in the report and how most effectively to present them in furtherance of his concept "to return sanity, through public understanding, to transportation." When he had to leave for

another appointment, he stated that he would talk to me later about the matter. Although I thereafter had several letters, from Mr. Young, all written from his Florida home, I did not see him again before his untimely death on January 25, 1958.

The principal events and conditions that brought about nationalization of Britain's railways may be briefly summarized.

Prior to 1923, there were 120 privately-owned and operated railway companies in Great Britain, of which 48 were considered to be important railways. Because of financial and other abuses against the public interest, a government agency, the Ministry of Transport, was established in 1919 to correct these abuses and to regulate the railways. The 1919 act also provided for the regulation of motor

and inland water transportation, and by a later act, of air transport and foreign shipping. In 1923, in a further effort to strengthen private operation, the railroads were permitted to merge into four companies.

During the following two decades, the emergence of vigorous trucking competition, mostly from unregulated private truckers, the burdens of maintaining little-used canals which the railways had been compelled to take over as a condition of obtaining their charters, over-regulation, particularly of pricing which did not permit the railways to meet increased costs quickly enough, heavy and discriminatory taxation, subsidies for motor and air transport, the depression, and the excessive use of plant and equipment during two world wars—all combined to leave the railways with an obsolete and worn-out plant and with neither reserves nor credit to raise the capital for necessary modernization. There was not enough substance left after years of excessive wartime use, unsound regulation, uneconomic subsidies, excessive taxation, and starvation income to allow the railways to act effectively to save themselves.

The British Labor Party's platform in the 1945 election called for nationalization of all basic industries, including transportation. But it is generally agreed that the British railways were in such condition that, no matter which party won, the government would have had to nationalize them. The effective decision had been taken years before—by default.

The Labor Party won and then proceeded at once to nationalize the coal, transportation, steel, gas and electric industries. Under the Transport Act of 1947, the four railroads (one of which was in dire straits), together with the associated lines, docks, steamships, hotels (the principal hotels in the provincial towns and some of the larger cities, including the Euston, Charing Cross, and Paddington hotels in London), the London Passenger Transport Board, and the major canal undertakings, passed on January 1, 1948, into the ownership of the British Transport Commission, an instrument of the State. Local cartage and some over-the-road trucking and the steel industry, which had been nationalized by the Labor Party, are, under the Conservative Party now in power, being denationalized pursuant to amendments to the basic acts.

**Although railroad history in the United States, like its railroad plant, traffic and distances, is on the grand scale compared with that in Great Britain, the parallels are nevertheless strikingly close, varying only in degree or size but not in principle or relative importance.**

The early period of American railroad-ing, too, was one of financial exploitation and other abuses against investors and the public interest, followed by federal and state legislation to correct these abuses and to regulate the railroads. Because of the railroads' early monopoly position, amendments to the original legislation became increasingly restrictive.

When wartime federal operation was terminated in 1920, Congress enacted legislation to permit the weakened railroad industry to earn a "fair return" on the value of railroad properties and to encourage the creation of stronger carriers through government-approved mergers and consolidations.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the economics of the transportation industry reflected a series of radical changes. The emergence of vigorous trucking competition, including that from unregulated private and exempt truckers, the growing competition from air and inland waterway carriers, uneconomic direct and indirect subsidies, restrictive industry practices, the depression, over-regulation, and the excessive use of plant and equipment during two world wars—all these developments and factors have, as in Great Britain, combined to leave American railroads with a partially obsolete and worn-out plant and with reserves and credit inadequate to raise the capital required for essential modernization. Here, likewise, there may not be enough substance left after years of excessive wartime use, obsolete regulation, uneconomic subsidies, excessive and discriminatory taxation, and starvation income to allow the railroads to act effectively to preserve themselves as private enterprises.

Thus it is clear, as stated at the outset, that just as economics and neglect doomed the British railways, so economics and inaction threaten to remove American railroads and other forms of transport from the private enterprise sector of our economy—if present problems are not solved boldly and courageously, correctly and promptly.

The transport industry in the United States faces today a crisis of such scope and complexity that the survival of common carrier transportation as a part of the free enterprise economy is at stake. This crisis is not a temporary phase of the current business recession; it has its roots in the past and it impinges on all forms of transport. Moreover, responsibility for the current difficulties of all types of transport companies must be shared by government—federal, state and local—and by the transport industry—both management and labor.

As an industry whose service standards and rates are prescribed or controlled by government, common carrier transport has seen rising costs take all the profit out of prosperity; as carriers of the nation's business, transport companies have experienced the full force of declining commerce. Inadequate earnings have deprived carriers of the capital funds needed to fully benefit from technological progress, to the great loss of all who use public transportation services.

Antiquated and complex tax systems have imposed inequitable and uneconomic burdens in violation of the first principle of sound fiscal policy—to secure and protect the sources of public revenue.

Direct and indirect government subsidies have distorted the true economic costs of service for different forms of transport.

Outmoded labor costs threaten the job security of all labor employed in transport and also of labor in industries which supply the transport industry.

A regulatory system characterized by obsolete procedures, overlapping jurisdictions, and contradictory and conflicting laws and decisions has become a serious impediment to the sound and economical functioning of our common carriers.

Past restrictive practices within the industry delayed improvements in rail-

road facilities and services and impeded progress among other carriers. In consequence, railroad management, following World War II, were compelled to take heroic steps, despite lack of reserves and with limited credit, in an all-out effort to modernize plant and facilities essential to improve service and to reduce costs.

These in broad outline are the problems, rooted in the past, that plague the transportation industry. Today, however, the transportation problem is more than an industry problem; it is a public problem of the first magnitude. While

### British Unionist on Wages

"Amidst a spate of somewhat unrealistic wages demands it is good to find one trade union leader questioning whether the movement is playing its part towards solving the problem of inflation . . . Addressing . . . the annual congress of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, Mr. J. Cooper, its chairman, called for a new approach . . . Surely, he said, it was better to have moderate wage increases under a stable price level than excessive increases that are swallowed up by rising prices and leave the recipients no better off at all. Despite the folly of official policies they were not justified as a movement in seeking a head-on clash with the government or committing industrial suicide. 'We should,' he said, 'be willing to look for modest, real wage increases instead of demanding substantial concessions which, if realized, can only aggravate our economic difficulties . . .'" — From June 7, 1958, issue of *Modern Transport*, weekly transportation newspaper published in London, England.

transport managements can and must solve their internal problems, serious external problems, such as those already enumerated, require corrective action by government.

The appointment by the President of the Cabinet Committee was one recognition of the urgent public concern with the transportation problem. Another was the more recent designation of a subcommittee on surface transportation of the Senate committee on interstate and foreign commerce, of which Senator George A. Smathers is chairman, and the subcommittee on transportation and communications of the House committee on interstate and foreign commerce, of which Congressman Oren Harris is chairman. Thus, the transportation problem has been raised to the highest governmental level.

Representatives of all forms of transport and their associations have testified before these committees. While there are wide differences on many legislative proposals, there is substantial agreement that the railroads are in serious trouble, particularly in the eastern part

of the United States, and that a short-term or "crash" legislative program is necessary to save some railroads from bankruptcy.

The prospects are that such a short-term or "crash" legislative program, including provision for guaranteed loans, will become law so that carriers in distress can maintain essential services until a long-range legislative program can be adopted and there is an upturn in business.

An enduring solution of the transport problem must be based upon restoring transportation to a secure position in the free enterprise economy. The first and most fundamental requirement is that a critical re-examination and re-evaluation be made of the relation of government—federal, state and local—to the transport industry. The problems of government and the transport industry are not confined to the exercise of regulatory authority but include such matters as discriminatory taxation, uneconomic subsidies, and other outmoded burdens.

**The public cannot afford to temporize with the transportation problem. The problem will not cure itself, and if timely action is not taken to develop an enduring solution to the transportation problem, the restoration of transport to adequate and economical performance could be extremely costly, as Great Britain is discovering with its nationalized railways.**

In the past, the treatment of our transportation industry has been a matter of studied neglect. Tolerating impossible economic conditions has brought the railroads recurrently to receivership and reorganization as often as the national economy has experienced a depression. Indeed, receivership and reorganization have been the accepted "cure."

A failure to resolve the present crisis and forestall a collapse of our common carriers could lead, as in Great Britain, to nationalization of rail and other carriers. This outcome, rather than another cycle of receiverships and reorganizations, may be anticipated because, if carriers are unable to earn a reasonable sum on the capital necessarily used in rendering essential services to the public, investors are unlikely to come forward with new capital to restore carriers, particularly the railroads, as private operating enterprises.

Nationalization of transport, or even of the railroads, would be a matter of vast concern not only to the transport industry and to its investors, but also to all shippers and taxpayers who would thereafter foot the bills for deficits. Transport labor would be most personally and adversely affected. Observations of the conditions under which British transport labor must work show that under nationalization all tends to become impersonal, opportunities for advancement above a given level are exceedingly rare, wages are comparatively low and generally uniform, without much regard for the abilities or the industry of the individual. The lack of real incentives inevitably has had an adverse effect on morale.

Nationalization in Great Britain did not stop with the railroads and certain other forms of public transport; it has extended to coal, steel, and the gas and electric industries. This is a development that Americans dare not ignore on the mistaken assumption that "it cannot happen here." Inevitably, nationalization introduces strains into the economy

that distort the costs and prices of basic services, and impairs the ability of other businesses to operate efficiently as free competitive enterprises. The ultimate outcome here, as in Great Britain, could be state socialism.

Mr. John Walter Smith, president of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, recently stated:

"If the eastern roads go broke one by one, the temptation will become irresistible for the government to ease the blow on the security markets, as well as the disruption of traffic, by taking them over.

"While I'm making money now, I couldn't hope to compete with government-owned and subsidized railroads. Unless they get immediate relief the chance of government ownership—if the eastern roads are allowed to go under—will spread until it devours all the roads.

"We'll be one of the last, if not the very last, to be swallowed, simply because we have a good operation here. However, it is small consolation just to be the last and to

see your colleagues eaten before your eyes."

Mr. Arthur S. Genet, president of The Greyhound Corp., testified recently before the Senate subcommittee on surface transportation that unless Congress moved shortly to place all modes of transportation on a truly competitive basis, "this committee may be the last we have before we nationalize the transportation of the country."

These men might have added that it was thus that it happened in Great Britain. One of the large British railways brought down all of the others and also other transport agencies, and shortly other basic industries were swept into nationalization. The problem, then, is not alone a railroad problem, or even a transportation industry problem; it is one that involves the entire economy.

Transport managements must of course solve their own internal problems; government cannot decree efficiency.

Inasmuch as the difficulties of the railroads have received the greater amount of public attention, it may be appro-

### **British View on Coordination of Transport**

"... In the organization of the national economy in peace, the transport system of the country should be considered as a whole.

"If the principle of coordination of transport by the state is a true principle then we should expect to find it in evidence in all well-developed countries, and indeed we do. The means adopted are various and variously effective. One of the least satisfactory of these means is control of fares and charges. The primary purpose of such control is to protect the user and to ensure that the transport operator does not take advantage of his position to exploit the public. It can only be justified when the transport operator has been assured of a position of monopoly or semi-monopoly by licenses or similar means of protection.

"In the U.S.A. the Interstate Commerce Commission exercises a very effective control over fares and charges by road and rail but to an outside observer its control does not always work to the benefit of the transport user. On the other hand the Commission's licenses to road hauliers do not limit the number of vehicles they may operate, and no restrictions are placed on private carriers. It seems to me that the scales are weighted against the railroads and I am not surprised that many of them are in difficulties. These are so acute that various proposals are now being examined with a view to giving the railroads a fairer deal in the interests of

over-all efficiency in the transport industry . . .

"The principle that the individual should be free to make his own choice between the means of transport provided is sound enough. It does not, however, imply that the decision as to what means of transport should be provided, in the national interest, can be determined by a kind of Gallup poll among users. There are, in fact . . . , a number of controls and restrictions in existence in all countries. If there were no controls there could only be chaos.

"It seems to me to be patent that governments should have a transport policy and should exercise sufficient controls to ensure a coordinated transport system best designed to serve the needs of the country as a whole. The problem, I think, is not whether governments have a duty to produce a national policy for the coordination of transport but it is rather how far they should intervene in order to do this and what should determine their choice of controls. Very broadly the answer to the question 'how far' should be in my opinion 'far enough to achieve a good result and no further.'"—*From paper presented on behalf of Sir Brian Robertson, chairman of British Transport Commission, June 5 at Dublin Congress of Institute of Transport, reported in June 7 issue of 'Modern Transport,' published in London, England.*

priate to appraise the future of private enterprise in the transport industry in terms of the railroads.

Progressive railroad managements have, despite the obstacles noted, already initiated far-reaching improvements in facilities and services. Dieseli- zation of virtually all lines, push-button freight yards and centralized traffic control made possible by the science of electronics, improved cars, road beds, mechanized maintenance have improved performance of services and reduced costs. All of these improvements, and those noted hereafter, have been financed almost entirely out of the meager earnings of the railroad industry and borrowing for new equipment. The recession, however, brought many of these needed modernization projects to a halt.

These railroad managements have also gone extensively into trailer-on-flat-car operations under various arrangements and with various types of loading and unloading equipment. These develop- ments should go far toward overcoming mounting terminal as well as line-haul costs.

To more efficiently and economically conduct their small shipment business— mail, express and less-carload freight— some of these railroad managements have inaugurated unified handling and trans- portation of these traffics in coordinated rail-truck service. Mail in this service is transported by truck from rail concen- tration centers direct to the local post office, instead of to the passenger sta- tion, at all but the larger cities. Ex- press and less-carload freight are trans- ported in similar manner direct to customers (to the local facility of the Railway Express Agency in the case of express) at all points intermediate to the rail concentration centers. Traffic originating at intermediate points, of course, moves in the reverse sequence. And all of these *like* traffics are being commingled in handling and transporta- tion in this new service to the extent practicable.

By utilizing trailer-on-flat-car opera- tions in the unified handling and trans- portation of small shipments in coordi- nated rail-truck service, these railroad managements may have found a "break- through" (to borrow a word used by Charles F. Kettering of General Motors,

in describing how "the diesel smashed the old roadblock of steam and revolu- tionized rail transportation") in their age-old small shipment problem. Thus, they have been able to effectively elimi- nate unnecessary duplication of facili- ties, equipment, services and effort, thereby reducing costs to a point where, with the upturn of business, there is real hope of overcoming deficits from this business and providing modern, competitive services essential to the profitable expansion of all their prop- erty-carrying operations. Relieved of deficits from their small shipment business, which today "eats" so heavily into their carload revenues, these rail- road managements would also be in a more favorable position in pricing their carload business.

It should be noted here that the substantial reductions in operating ex- penses that have been made as the result of these far-reaching improve- ments in facilities and services have thus far been offset, and in many instances more than offset, by rising costs in other areas over which rail- road managements have little or no control. If the railroads as common carriers are required to perform serv- ices, if they are limited in their pricing to rates prescribed or controlled by federal and state authorities, and if their wage and other costs are largely beyond their control and are rising due to in-flationary pressures, it is apparent that common carriers are only to a limited degree masters of their own destiny. Service reorganizations and improve- ments which railroad managements must undertake will yield no significant results unless complemented by remedial steps which only the government can take.

What of the railroads' passenger busi- ness? In recent years, railroad manage- ments have been compelled to curtail, consolidate or abandon many passenger- train services in an effort to overcome huge and growing deficits. The airlines and motorbus services have claimed much of the passenger business, but most of it has gone to the private auto- mobile. Within the foreseeable future, however, rail passenger service will con- tinue to serve particularly the large centers of population. As the highways and the airways become more congested,

and as population increases, there may be a resurgence in rail travel between such centers.

A number of the larger railroads, par- ticularly in the western part of the United States, have regarded long- distance passenger-train operations suf- ficiently important to provide the most modern equipment and attractive serv- ice. Within a more favorable economic and regulatory "climate," the eastern roads involved, with the Canadian Pacific Railway Co., would be in position to dramatize their faith in a similar operation by providing modern train service between the capitals of the United States and Canada, Washington, D.C., and Ottawa, also serving important intermediate points, a train that might be called the International Express in the tradition of such world-famous Eu- ropean trains as the Orient Express, the Simplon Express, and others.

The transportation industry is not a defunct industry. Its services are more essential to the welfare of the economy today than they have even been in the past. The industry requires only the opportunity to function as a genuine part of the free enterprise economy to remain a source of strength to the na- tion, rendering essential services, pro- viding a most important market for a wide range of other industries, supply- ing a vast area of secure employment, and offering stockholders a safe and profitable investment.

**A frank examination of the dilemma confronting the public and the transport industry inescapably leads to the conclusion that the nation has only two choices and that, if there is delay in acting energetically and wisely, there may be no choice at all. The nation may choose either to make the transport industry a genuine part of the competi- tive enterprise economy, or it may be forced to accept nationalization of its essential transportation services.**

Thus the over-riding public issue is free enterprise versus socialism. When the American people understand that this is the real issue involved in the transportation crisis, they will demand of our public officials, federal, state and local, and of our institutions, the essen- tial actions that will preserve the Ameri- can free enterprise system.

# Editorial

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## Can Private Enterprise in Transport Be Preserved?

A BETTER REGULATORY climate is being established for the common carriers in this country. The President has signed the legislation which makes effective, on August 1, repeal of the federal excise taxes on transportation of property, including the tax on transportation of oil by pipeline. The Smathers bill (S. 3778), to amend the interstate commerce act so as to correct or remedy some defects in the regulatory scheme which have caused erosion of the traffic of the common carriers and so as to give distressed railroads a financial "shot in the arm," is near enactment.

Without this actual and prospective relief, the situation of the I.C.C.-regulated common carriers in general would be, at least, uncomfortable, and the outlook for some of the largest railroad companies would be alarming—even though emergence of the country from the business recession appears to be under way. The value of the legislative aid provided for the nation's common carriers should not be under-estimated. At the same time, there must be recognition of the continuing existence of serious difficulties in the transportation field—difficulties which, unless successfully attacked and overcome through exercise of managerial initiative, courage and energy, may grow and reach such proportions as to make extinction of private enterprise in transportation in the United States inevitable.

It isn't particularly pleasant for a blissfully sleeping citizen to be awakened by the explosion of a firecracker under his bed—but it's an effective way to arouse him. To "awaken" any individuals who are phlegmatic or unconcerned about the fate of private enterprise in transportation in the United States, or who believe that nationalization of American transportation or of any other American industry is completely beyond the realm of possibility, something in the nature of such a firecracker treatment is in order. A "treatment" of that kind and for that purpose is provided in this issue, in the form of an article, written by Arne C. Wiprud, about the similarity of the conditions under which American railroads operate today to the conditions which preceded the nationalization of the British railways.

SPECIAL attention must be given to the problems of the railroads, in the interest of preserving those carriers under private ownership and operation. For, as Mr. Wiprud observes, the nationalization of railroads in Great Britain and in other countries has been followed by nationalization of other types of carriage and of other industries. Thus, maintenance of health and strength of the railroads becomes a matter of concern also to motor carriers, water carriers, and airlines, as well as to the public generally. Particularly significant, we think, is the information contained in the following paragraph of Mr. Wiprud's report:

"Nationalization of transport, or even of the railroads, would be a matter of vast concern not only to the transport industry and to its investors, but also to all shippers and taxpayers who would thereafter foot the bills for deficits. Transport labor would be most personally and adversely

affected. Observations of the conditions under which British transport labor must work show that under nationalization all tends to become impersonal, opportunities for advancement above a given level are exceedingly rare, wages are comparatively low and generally uniform, without much regard for the abilities or the industry of the individual. The lack of real incentives inevitably has had an adverse effect on morale."

The difficulties, not removable by legislation, which the railroads have faced and are continuing to face are not insurmountable. But if they are not removed, and if two, three or more of the major railroad systems fail to "make ends meet" after obtaining the legislative relief now given and about to be given, the possibility of duplication, in this country, of the experience of the British railways will cease to be remote. One American rail union leader made a suggestion a few weeks ago to the effect that if rail management didn't mend its ways "serious consideration must be given to government ownership and operation" (T.W., April 5, p. 17). Mr. Wiprud's report should make it clear to all rail employes and their union chiefs that any day on which the United States railroads might become government owned and operated would be truly a sad day for American railroad workers. That, it seems to us, is something to which rail employes and their unions should give "serious consideration."

THE railroads are facing pressures for a better "deal" from several labor organizations. And they stand committed to increase the wage rates of their employes, on November 1, by 7 cents an hour, plus any "cost-of-living" wage increase to which the employes may then be entitled. At the same time, competition for the railroads will be intensified; the trucking industry, for example, is starting a nationwide trailer interchange operation.

Meritorious suggestions and ideas for bettering the railroads' financial position are plentiful, and implementation of them is urgent. In many cases such implementation will require a cooperative attitude on the part of railroad labor. Where continuing existence of the industry as private enterprise is imperiled, such cooperation should be given readily.

Several times, we and others interested in the problem have advocated the initiation, by one or another of the government agencies concerned with rail transportation, of efforts to bring about modernization of the antiquated and now excessively costly structure of working rules in the railroad industry. In this field, valuable service could be performed by the Senate interstate and foreign commerce committee under the authority it now has (T.W., June 28, p. 53) for making a study of and report on transportation policy matters. We can think of no better forum than that committee for developing the facts about the rail wages-and-rules structure and for fostering the cooperative labor-management attitude that the taking of the necessary corrective action will require.

November 18, 1964

Police Athletic League Band  
Police Department  
Bridgeport, Connecticut

My dear friends:

I just wanted to be sure that you knew how grateful I was that you lent your talent to the occasion of my campaign effort in Bridgeport.

Having you there added a most rousing note and one which was a great boost to me both politically and personally. Again, my thanks. The music was marvelous.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn.

November 18, 1964

Mr. Arthur T. Barbieri  
5 Horsley Avenue  
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Barbieri:

You did a simply wonderful job as Democratic Town Chairman of New Haven.

My reception there during the campaign was a rousing one and one which is a source of happy memories for me. Your hard work really helped to make that visit a success. My warm thanks.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn.

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 13, 1964

Mr. John M. Golden  
110 Westwood Road  
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Golden:

As Democratic National Committeeman of Connecticut, you did an excellent job of working for victory for the 1964 Democratic ticket throughout your state. The returns of November 3rd must have greatly pleased you. It was a wonderful reward for a job well done.

Many, many thanks for all that you did to make my visit to Connecticut the warm and successful one that it was.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable Richard C. Lee  
Mayor of New Haven  
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mayor:

I was simply delighted with my reception in New Haven and regret that a busy campaign schedule prevented me from acknowledging my gratitude before this date. The fact remains, however, that the welcome I received was a superb one! The success of my visit was certainly due to your hard work. Please accept my thanks and congratulations on a job well done.

You have a wonderful city in New Haven and one which you can be justly proud of. Let me commend you on your fine work there and your help to me.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable Samuel Tedesco  
Mayor of Bridgeport  
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Dear Mayor:

What a pleasure it was to have you join me in the campaign efforts which were made in Connecticut earlier this fall. I regret that my schedule has been so hurried that I have been unable to acknowledge your valuable contribution before this, but please know that I was grateful for all that you did. You were an exceedingly great help to me and my staff.

My thanks and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Abe,

What a wonderful victory the Democrats had in Connecticut and throughout the country! You were of particular help to the President and me in the State of Connecticut because you were willing to give so generously of your time and effort.

The meetings we had in your State were as campaign events should be, warm, enthusiastic and Democratic. I am so glad you were there to add a very personal note to these activities.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven, Conn.

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable Thomas J. Dodd  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Tom,

Unfortunately, the rush of the last few weeks kept me from acknowledging your most helpful contribution to the success of the 1964 campaign. It is certainly a great pleasure for me to be able to write to you now with the knowledge that you had such a decisive victory in Connecticut and that the national ticket also had such a strong victory. I am certain that your hard work contributed in a large way to this success.

I thoroughly enjoyed campaigning with you. It was a grand experience!

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
New Haven  
Hartford, Conn.

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable John Dempsey  
Governor of Connecticut  
Hartford, Connecticut

Dear Governor:

The campaign effort in Connecticut was certainly an outstanding one and I just wanted to write and thank you for everything you did to cooperate with the President and me in our efforts for victory. The election returns on November 3rd were a great tribute to your hard work in Connecticut.

My warm personal regards and thanks to you.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mrs. Faye Broderick  
Lincoln  
Maine

Dear Mrs. Broderick:

Let me express my sincere thanks to you for your most valuable work as Committeewomen in Maine.

You did an outstanding job and one which was a valuable add to President Johnson and me.

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mr. Paul Couture  
124 Oxford Street  
Lewiston, Maine

Dear Mr. Couture:

Yours was a practical and useful addition to the success of my Lewiston visit. I needed a good sharp speakers platform and this was what you built!

My thanks for this and the other valuable aids you gave me and my staff in Maine.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

November 5, 1964

The Honorable Roland Marcotte  
Mayor, City of Lewiston  
Lewiston, Maine

Dear Mayor:

It was a wonderful late afternoon visit I had in Lewiston. You were so kind to take the time from your busy schedule to make certain my stop was as pleasant and enjoyable as it was.

Please convey my greetings and gratitude to Mrs. Marcotte who was a most charming addition to the occasion.

Again my thanks.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewistown, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mr. Robert Rabossa  
9 Enest Street  
Lewistown, Maine

Dear Mr. Rabossa:

Your music and great chorus certainly added great gist to the Lewistown rally. It was a most wonderful help to have you and the Lewistown High School Band there at the rally.

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewistown, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mrs. Frances Koss  
Chairman of the Democratic Committee Women's Club  
Lewistown, Maine

Dear Mrs. Koss:

What a wonderful job you did in the behalf of President Johnson and me in Lewistown.

Especially helpful was your telephone work and the interest in the campaign you generated among the women.

Let me say you were a real help to me and I certainly appreciate all your hard work.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewistown, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mr. Allen Simmons  
300 Court Street  
Auburn, Maine

Dear Mr. Simmons:

My warm thanks to you and the Edward Little High School Band for adding a most rousing musical note to our Lewiston rally. The sounds of music filled the air and it was a happy occasion. Having you there certainly set the mood.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

November 5, 1964

Mr. Joseph Roy  
81 Main Street  
Auburn, Maine

Dear Mr. Roy:

I have excellent reports of the outstanding assistance that you gave to my staff and to my campaign.

Let me say that I am most grateful for all your help. It is certainly true that your hard work added to the success of the entire effort.

Many, many thanks

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Me.

November 5, 1964

Mr. Joseph Farrand  
Chief of Police  
Lewiston, Maine

Dear Chief Farrand:

Your general helpfulness was of tremendous aid to me during my Lewiston trip, but I want to particularly thank you for your work in the area of security. This latter task is a really challenging one due to the crowds that a national campaign attracts. I must say that you handled the situation beautifully and so helped make the Lewiston visit a very enjoyable one.

Please accept my warm thanks and appreciation.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

November 5, 1974

Mr. Dennis Blais  
40 Shank Street  
Lewiston, Maine

Dear Mr. Blais:

The generous gift you made to this campaign of your time and effort certainly made a difference in my Lewiston visit. It was a great help to me.

This is the kind of individual effort that is very encouraging and meaningful to me as it demonstrates the concern which local Democrats have for the party and its successes.

Many thanks for all that you did.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Me

November 5, 1964

Mr. Shepard Lee  
24 Franklin Street  
Auburn, Maine

Dear Mr. Lee:

A motorcade is a truly important event in a campaign. Transporting candidates in this manner to the appointed place for a rally or meeting sets the scene and gives people an opportunity to see the candidates. Your valuable help in providing cars for the Lewiston motorcade and your general helpfulness were decisive aids.

Please let me thank and commend you. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 13, 1964

Mr. Kenneth Curtis  
Hannaford Road  
Cape Elizabeth, Maine

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Unfortunately this letter comes later than I would like, but campaigning has kept me so busy that I have been unable to attend to things of great importance to me. I am very grateful for all you contributed to the success of my Lewiston visit. That was a superb campaign effort, one I thoroughly enjoyed. I was so glad to ~~have~~ see you participating.

Please convey my regards to your lovely wife. Thank her for taking the time and effort to help with such a warm welcome.

Best wishes,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 13, 1964

Mr. William Hathaway  
63 Woodlawn Avenue  
Auburn, Maine

Dear Mr. Hathaway:

I was delighted to hear of the superb success you had in Maine. Unfortunately, I have been unable to write earlier to thank you for your help when I was campaigning in your fine state. Please accept this note as a thank you and congratulatory letter.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington representing your wonderful state.

Again, my thanks and warm regards to you and your wonderful wife.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Maine

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 11, 1964

Mr. John Jabar  
90 Main Street  
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Jabar:

I understand that Senator Muskie assigned you to work with Ray Jacobson of the Advance Corps on my trip to Lewiston. From all the reports I received from Ray he certainly did <sup>me</sup> a great favor. The five days you spent preparing for the visit were ones well invested because the schedule worked out beautifully and all arrangements were efficient and thorough.

It was a pleasure to have you join my staff. I would like to add my thanks to those of Ray Jacobson for your most generous and willing assistance.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Lewiston, Me.

November 10, 1964

Mr. Charles Lander  
c/o Senator Muskie's Office  
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Lander:

It is my understanding that you rendered great assistance in getting out-of-town support for the Lewiston visit. I have had wonderful reports concerning the work you did.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your valuable aid to make the Lewiston campaign so successful.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

October 13, 1964  
Lewistown, Maine

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 11, 1964

Richard Dubord, Esquire  
Dubord and Dubord  
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Dubord:

A Democratic National Committeeman has a most difficult job, but one which can contribute greatly to the success of national and local candidates. You did contribute to the success of my Lewiston visit in a most outstanding and valuable manner.

Working with fine people like you has made this campaign a pleasure as well as a political success!

Let me commend and thank you.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Humphrey

COPY

*Sp file: New Hampshire*  
*Oct. 138*

*1964*

October 28, 1964

Mr. Robert Johnson  
51 Summer Street  
Dover, New Hampshire

*file*

Dear Bob:

It was wonderful to see you again. Thanks for your note and the picture postcard of Doland. There is nothing backward about Doland. I'll bet in those days there weren't many towns that size that had their own picture postcards.

Our best to you.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

10/4-64

Hi Hubert

RECEIVED  
OCT 10 1964  
RECEIVED

File

You sure told  
them the facts of life  
yesterday - I was thrilled  
to see you both!

Watch your health →

God Bless you

Bob

Chris came across the Old  
Soland Card - about time you and  
I were breaking into retail and life.

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, New Hampshire

November 5, 1964

Mr. Melvin Bolden  
c/o New Hampshire State  
Democratic Headquarters  
State Street  
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Bolden:

I certainly appreciate your thoughtfulness and the talent contained in the gift portrait which you presented to me at Concord. It was a wonderful gift and one which means a great deal to me.

Thank you for your kindness and generosity. It is certainly something that I will treasure.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, NH

November 5, 1964

Mr. Robert E. Plourde, Chairman  
Merrimack County Democratic Committee  
21 Union Street  
Suncook, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Plourde:

As Chairman of the Merrimack County Democratic Committee you certainly had your work cut out for you, and I must say that you did an excellent job judging from the enthusiastic crowd at the rally in Concord on October 13th.

I thoroughly enjoyed my stopover in New Hampshire and I think that much of my pleasure was due to the overall impression I had that everything worked in readiness toward a successful campaign. And it was!

My warm thanks and gratitude for all you did in behalf of the President and myself.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, NH

November 5, 1964

Miss Margaret Normandin  
Acting Executive-Director  
State Democratic Committee  
Church Street  
Laconia, New Hampshire

Dear Miss Normandin:

As Acting Executive-Director of the State Democratic Committee you had a difficult task to perform for the President and me during the campaign, and you did it extremely well.

It has been a pleasure and a wonderful help to have you working with us. I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the outstanding job you have done.

I certainly enjoyed my stay in Concord and was especially impressed with my reception there and with the rally. I hope that you enjoyed the afternoon as much as I did, and I certainly enjoyed having you there.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, NH

November 5, 1964

Mr. Thomas J. Pitarys, President  
New Hampshire AFL-CIO  
19 Monroe  
Nashua, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Pitarys:

I was delighted that you took part in the reception I received in Concord. I must say I was happy to see so many Democrats there to greet me and I was especially glad that you took the time and effort to join with them at that time.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for the support you gave the President and me during the campaign. You were a big help to us and I just wanted you to know that we are grateful for your effort.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, N.H.

November 5, 1964

Mr. Charles F. Whittemore  
Pembroke, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Whittemore:

As Coordinator of the New Hampshire Johnson-Humphrey campaign you had a tremendous and exacting task assigned to you. From the enthusiasm and responsiveness at the rally in Concord, I would say that you did a wonderful job. You are to be commended and gongratulated.

I was especially happy that you took the time to come out and greet me, and that your lovely wife was also kind enough to join us. Being with both of you certainly made it a fine occasion.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, N.H.

November 5, 1964

Mr. Rupel S. Perkins  
11 Durham Street  
Nashua, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Perkins:

Let me thank you for your most beautiful contribution to the Concord rally. Having the program opened with the National Anthem was a most meaningful beginning to a very wonderful occasion.

I am most grateful to you.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Concord, N.Hamp.

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

The Honorable Hugh Bownes  
Mayor, City of Laconia  
Laconia, New Hampshire

Dear Mayor:

Unfortunately my heavy campaign schedule has kept me from doing some important things like thanking you for your wonderful welcome and hospitality you showed me while I was in Concord. It was such a pleasure for me to have a hard working Committeeman like you who was ~~doing~~ such a wonderful job for the Democratic party in New Hampshire take part in my welcome.

Many, many thanks for all you did in my behalf in the New Hampshire campaign.

Best wishes,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct 13, 1964  
Concord, NH

November 5, 1964

The Honorable Charles C. Davie  
Mayor of Concord  
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Mayor Davie:

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your official and warm welcome to Concord. I especially enjoyed having you join me on the platform and take part in the ceremonies. It added a lot!

Concord is truly a lovely city and you are justly proud of it. Thank you for adding so thoroughly to the pleasantness of my stop there.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
October 13, 1964  
Concordn. NH

November 5, 1964

Mr. Joseph McDonough  
Co-chairman, Democratic City Committee  
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. McDonough:

You were a very brave man to undertake the co-chairmanship of the Concord Democratic City Committee! I must commend you on a job well done and say that the reception I witnessed in your city was more than adequate proof of the fine job you did.

It was a wonderful help to have you working on behalf of the Democratic party in this campaign. Our success was due in great part to your effort.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Concord, NH

November 5, 1964

Mr. George J. Bouley  
Co-Chairman, Democratic City Committee  
Concord, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Bouley:

Let me thank you for serving as Co-chairman of the Democratic City Committee. It was such a help to the President and me to have effective workers like yourself heading up the important local organizations. For a campaign to be effective it is necessary that the word is circulated among the greatest possible number of people. You helped us immensely in this very important and essential grass roots movement.

The success of this campaign was partly yours. Many many thanks.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

COPY

October 19, 1964

Mr. James B. Sullivan  
334 Tory Road  
Manchester, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

I want to thank you personally for your help in making it possible to publicize my recent campaign meeting in Concord. My friends have told me how some of you chipped in at the last minute to make sure advance radio spot announcements were carried regarding the meeting. The results spoke for themselves in the good turn-out despite inclement weather.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

COPY

October 19, 1964

Mr. Timothy K. O'Connor  
c/o J.K. O'Connor  
283 Calef Road  
Manchester, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. O'Connor:

I want to thank you personally for your help in making it possible to publicize my recent campaign meeting in Concord. My friends have told me how some of you chipped in at the last minute to make sure advance radio-spot announcements were carried regarding the meeting. The results spoke for themselves in the good turn-out despite inclement weather.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

# COPY

October 19, 1964

Mr. John O'Malley  
117 William Street  
Manchester, New Hampshire

Dear John:

I'm glad I at least had a chance to say 'hello' and shake hands during my hurried visit in and out of New Hampshire. My advanceman and Herb Waters have told me how helpful you were in arranging for the advance radio spot announcements. I just want you to know how much I appreciate your continued loyalty.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech vile  
October 13, 1964  
Rutland, Vermont

St. John  
Virgin Islands  
November 12, 1964

Mr. William Ginsburg  
Hotel Bardwell  
Rutland, Vermont

Dear Mr. Ginsberg:

Unfortunately I have been unable to write until now to thank you for your part in making the Rutland visit one which I shall long remember. Everything was most pleasant. I was so pleased to be able to see you and enjoy the fine comforts of your fine hotel.

Truly, the visit was a wonderful one from beginning to end.

My thanks to you, Mr. Ginsberg, for your cooperation with my staff and your general helpfulness.

Best wishes,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Rutland, Vermont  
October 13, 1964

November 2, 1964

Mr. Paul L. Hackel  
Rutland, Vermont

Dear Mr. Hackel,

What a wonderful job you did as Chairman of the Arrangements Committee for the testimonial luncheon! That was such an enjoyable occasion and one which made my stop in Rutland the success that it was.

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Speech file  
Oct. 13, 1964  
Rutland, Vermont

November 2, 1964

Mrs. Nesbith Fienberg  
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Fienberg:

How helpful and generous of you to serve on the Arrangements Committee for the testimonial luncheon! I thoroughly enjoyed this gathering at the Bardwell Hotel, which found the pleasures of good politics and good eating in happy combination.

My thanks to you for making this delightful event possible.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey



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