



# news release

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FOR RELEASE  
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TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS  
OCTOBER 21, 1964

The everyday world of politics during a campaign can be a pretty isolated world. It also can be a world where there is too much concentration on the trivial and the petty.

It can be a world where the slightest incident is easily blown up into a full-scale crisis.

Nearly every day our opponents are coming forth with excited claims of a new "bombshell"--a new and shocking "revelation." And each dud encourages more loud shouting.

These amateur theatrics are a disservice to the American people. The American people know this. The American people see through this child's play and this petty posturing by a cynical gang of political adventurers.

The events of recent days have put this campaign into focus and have urgently reminded us that we live in a fast-changing and often dangerous world.

Within 24 hours, Nikita Khrushchev was removed as the leader of Soviet Russia.

During that same 24 hour period, we received word that the Chinese Communists had exploded a nuclear device--in other words, were on the threshold of becoming a nuclear power.

And during that same period, a new government was voted into power in Great Britain.

All of these momentous events have a direct bearing on the United States and the lives of the American people.

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And the impact of these events gives us dramatic evidence of how important the Presidency of the United States is.

The President of the United States is the most powerful leader in the world. He holds in his hand the power to maintain the peace of the world or annihilate virtually all life on this planet.

This is why I say that the American people are seeing through the theatrics of our opponents. They know that there is really only one central issue in this campaign. And it's very simple:

Which man is best equipped--intellectually, by experience and by training to lead the free world during a time of constant danger.

This nation and the free world needs a leader who is patient and prudent--a leader who is experienced and responsible--a leader who can be trusted.

We have that leader in President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The choice clearly is President Johnson because of his long experience and his proven leadership in foreign affairs, and the choice clearly is President Johnson for another basic reason--because his opponent is Barry Goldwater.

Barry Goldwater has radical ideas about the conduct of our foreign policy--ideas so radical that he has lost the support, indeed he seems to have purposely rejected the support, of countless Republican leaders and many of the most influential Republican newspapers in the country.

Up to now, American foreign policy, in both Republican and Democratic administrations, has been bipartisan--supported and executed by both parties. The radical from Arizona has rejected this national policy and his far-out ideas on foreign policy have driven authentic Republicans and true conservatives to support President Johnson.

In no area is the difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than in the field of foreign policy and the question of responsibility in international affairs. In no area are Mr. Goldwater's views more dangerous to the safety of all Americans--indeed, the safety and welfare of all mankind. The difference here is much more than the usual party difference--it is the difference between life and death.

This Republican pretender to the Presidency opposes every step made by responsible, wise statesmen to secure world peace. This by itself has made millions of Americans uneasy and apprehensive about placing his nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. The radical from Arizona goes further--he says he wants quick and total victory and he would gain it by a policy of ultimatum.

Listen to some of Mr. Goldwater's statements on foreign policy from his misnamed book, The Conscience of a Conservative. I quote directly:

"A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people including our own, but we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our only objective."

Here is another considered observation by the Reserve General from Arizona:

"We must--ourselves--be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

These are the words of a man who is frantically impatient with the world as it is. These are the words of a man who is in hot pursuit of the mirage of total victory. These are the words of a man who cannot or will not accept the reality of the nuclear age that we live in. The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party would like to force the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war. Again I quote his words--"To invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union or accept local defeat."

What this amateur strategist does not yet realize is that such juvenile games of "nuclear chicken" could eventually result in the incineration of all mankind. He does not realize that in this, the second half of the 20th Century, there is no such thing as instant victory. There is only instant annihilation.

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Is it any wonder that the New York Herald-Tribune, a responsible newspaper that has long been considered one of the leading Republican newspapers in this country, had this to say about the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party:

"Senator Goldwater has shown himself, in sum, a poor risk for that most personal and most awesome of a President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may, in crisis, depend on his judgment--and his judgment alone."

Fortunately, the American people have a choice in this election. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who understands mankind's universal yearning for peace, a man who understands we must remain strong to preserve the peace, and who also understands that this strength--the greatest that any nation on earth has ever had--must be employed with restraint and responsibility.

We have an opportunity in this election to give an overwhelming mandate to a man of prudence and compassion, to a leader we can trust to use this nation's awesome power with reason and restraint.

That man is President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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October 21, 1964

INFORMATION ON CARBONDALE

~~John Gray~~

1. Southern Illinois University

- 16,000 students - one of the fastest growing in the country.
- directed retraining programs which have been completed by more than 1,000 people. Another 2,000 are scheduled to participate.
- Is receiving a \$5 million federal loan for dormitory and dining hall facilities
- Active in improving the economy of the area through planning, surveying, etc. in close cooperation with community and federal agencies.

2. Politics

Democratic Congressman Ken Gray has been active in reviving the economy of Southern Illinois - thanks in part to his membership on the House Public Works Committee.

Paul Douglas

3. Economy

- coal - Carbondale is the center of a coal-producing area, but with the decline of coal the whole area fell into the doldrums. Jackson County (Carbondale) was placed on the list of distressed counties.

Rebirth. Southern Illinois, Inc., a development corporation was formed to mobilize the resources of the area. In conjunction with the University and federal programs it has succeeded in attracting new industries and creating new jobs, such that now Jackson County has been removed from the distressed counties list.

-- Other industries - Wood treatment, dairy products, food processing, glove manufacturing, and concrete products.

4. Federal Participation in Southern Illinois

The economic progress of Southern Illinois represents to me possibilities of intergovernmental cooperation which should serve as an example to the whole country. The towns and cities have shown a remarkable display of initiative. The state of Illinois has been active in devising plans and coordinating them, and the Federal government has contributed the technical and financial assistance which only its resources can provide.

ARA  
Public Works

As a result Cairo is getting a new Municipal Building and Baldwin Village a new Sanitation System under the Accelerated Public Works Program. The nearby communities now have low rent housing projects which provide homes for senior citizens,

Carbondale is starting a \$2.5 million urban renewal project, and both Carbondale and Mount Vernon are building new nurses homes under FHA.

Rend Lake over in Franklin County was part of a Federal project, as will be the new dam at Mound City. Other flood control and canal projects are still being studied and a number of them will probably come to fruition in the next few years.

Southern Illinois has learned to make good use of the advantages offered by its Federal government. It has learned that local and national interests can act in concert rather than in conflict. I hope that more areas of our country can learn the same lesson. It is one of the most important of our times.

q There is one man circling our country, however, who has failed to learn this lesson at all, except as it applies in Arizona. The thought that non-Arizonans might also be worthy of Federal cooperation seems beyond his ken. He has voted right and left against hospitals, sewer systems, recreational facilities, water, and any other type of community improvement that could possibly benefit Americans outside of Arizona.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jackson County  
Williamson County  
Franklin County

✓ ARA

✓ Pub works

✓ Educ

✓ Fed-State-local  
Cooperation

Rep. Clyde Choate

Southern Illinois

READING COPY

cong Ken Gray

CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS

Paul Douglas

OCTOBER 21, 1964

Dr. Robert McVicker

- Hubert H. Hartsfield  
county chairman

- Hubert Hartsfield

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h Barry Goldwater has radical ideas about the conduct of our foreign policy -- ideas so radical that he has lost the support, indeed he seems to have purposely rejected the support, of countless Republican leaders and many of the most influential Republican newspapers in the country.

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↳ This Republican Pretender to the Presidency opposes every step made by responsible, wise statesmen to secure world peace. ↳ This by itself has made millions of Americans uneasy and apprehensive about placing his nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. The radical from Arizona goes further -- he says he wants quick and total victory and he would gain it by a policy of ultimatum.

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Here is another considered observation by the Reserve General from Arizona:

"We must -- ourselves -- be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

These are the words of a man who is frantically impatient with the world as it is. ~~These are the words of a man who is in~~ not pursuit of the mirage of total victory.

These are the words of a man who ~~is~~ cannot or will not accept the reality of the nuclear age ~~that we live in.~~ The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party would like to force the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war. Again I quote his words -- "to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union or accept local defeat."

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"Senator Goldwater has shown himself, ~~in sum~~, a poor risk for the most personal and awesome of a President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may in crisis, depend on his judgment -- and his judgment alone."

Peace as a Process



Peace as a Process  
Food in Peace

Fortunately, the American people have a choice in this election. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who has displayed the highest order of responsibility. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who understands mankind's universal yearning for peace, a man who understands we must remain strong to preserve the peace -- but also a man who understands that this strength -- the greatest that any nation on Earth has ever had -- must be employed with restraint and responsibility.

We have an opportunity in this election to give an overwhelming mandate to a man of prudence and compassion, to a leader we can trust to use this nation's awesome power with reason and restraint.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at the University of Southern Illinois  
Carbondale, Illinois  
Wednesday, October 21, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, my good friends, for that wonderful introduction and this enthusiastic response. I almost feel I am a student once again myself. (Laughter)

I was going to say it makes me feel like starting to teach again, and there are several people that would like to encourage that.

I notice that on every program with static, most of it comes from the far right. (Applause)

They keep chanting that they want some kind of Barry. I don't know whether it is "straw-barry" or "rasp-barry". (Laughter and applause)

I know why they are here. They are here to repent. (Applause and laughter)

As a matter of fact, I notice several of them have a smile on their face and when you see that, you know that deep down in their hearts they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

I am just delighted to be here in this auditorium and I am very singularly honored that I have been welcomed here and then permitted to speak on this campus. It is a high privilege for a man in political life to be in a university, a college community. And I am particularly pleased that I can be here with my friend, Ken Gray of the House of Representatives, a very able and a very hard-working Congressman, and above all, to be here and be presented by a fellow Senator, but more importantly, a close and dear friend, a gentleman that has commanded the respect and earned the respect of friend and foe alike, a courageous man in every minute of his great and full life, a man of superior intellect, of uncontested courage, of complete integrity, moral and political integrity, and honesty that is the standard for every American to rise to, my friend and your Senator, Paul Douglas. (Applause)

And dear friends, I notice that the County Chairman has the same first name as I have, and when he was introduced they said Hubert, go forth, and I almost got right up here and started to speak. But he lacks one quality. I want to say that I am the only candidate for Vice President in the United States of America or any other country in our time that has the name of Horatio. (Applause and laughter)

And while I found very little that I could praise in the Goldwater campaign, I want to say that I am eternally grateful to my friend from Arizona for having popularized this name which until now I thought was a liability but now I realize that it is a great political asset because I can rally round all the votes of folks in America who have middle names that were foisted upon them and they had no choice. (Applause and laughter)

You have heard of the backlash and you have heard of the frontlash but believe me, we are going to win with the big lash. (Applause)

Now, my friend over here says let's talk a little bit about the issues and that is such a refreshing comment from a Goldwater supporter (applause and laughter) I have a feeling that fellow is going to defect. I don't think he has had the word because the Goldwater campaign up until now has refused to discuss the issues if they knew what they were. (Applause)

But I think it is just delightful at long last, in this, the twilight of the campaign, that one of the younger members of the Goldwater faction has decided it would be a good time to discuss them. So let's start right now, the issues.

One of the issues in this campaign is whether or not you want an administration that has some understanding of the problems of today and some grasp of the needs of tomorrow or whether you want an administration that distorts the history of America and has no comprehension of where we are or what we ought to do.

That is one central issue right now and that issue can be resolved quickly.

The Senator from Arizona is the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party. He does not represent the majority of the Republican Party. (Applause)

He does not represent the majority of his party. He has temporarily been able to kidnap its leadership. The Grand Old Party will one day be rescued.

Here I am in the State of Lincoln who was the founder of the Republican Party, but the spokesman of the Republican Party has repudicated the Great Emancipator. He has no time for such things as civil rights and equal rights under the Constitution. (Applause)

It was Abraham Lincoln who said it is the duty of government to represent and serve the people. He said, and I am not paraphrasing, the government shall do for the people what the people

cannot do for themselves or do nearly so well for themselves. He is the author of that immortal phrase, "A government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Somehow or another the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party failed to understand those words or possibly has a more legitimate excuse because this gentleman from Arizona is a man who has a calendar without any months, a watch without any hands and glasses without any lenses. (Applause and laughter)

What's more, I suppose that it is entirely possible that he could read the Constitution and fail to comprehend that the first mandate of the Constitution is to promote the general welfare.

I suppose he could read the Gettysburg address and fail to see that it was a government of the people, by the people and for the people. I suppose he could read and not comprehend the Second Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln when he said with firmness and right as God gives us to see and do the right, that America is the last best hope on earth.

Yes, I imagine he could fail to see all of that.

But my dear friends, who can live in this, the twentieth century, and fail to see the needs of the American people in a troubled world? Who is it that could deny that in these past thirty years great gains have been made and that there is a duty for a President and a government to work in behalf of the people?

Government must be a partner in the development of a great society. Government, not just Federal government, Federal, State and local government, working together with the people, not doing everything for the people but doing things to help the people do things for themselves. (Applause)

I speak in an area which just a few years ago was distressed and depressed. I speak in an area of Illinois that has gone through what we might call the technological revolution, changes in fuel supply and energy sources, changes in industry, changes in agriculture, changes in population, and an Administration came to power in 1961 after a hard-fought honorable election and John Kennedy became our President and that President standing before the American people asked this great Nation to get moving again.

His ringing words, simple yet profound, let us begin. (Applause) Those words were like a command, and in America people did begin. Government, people working together. We passed laws.

The man that now seeks to be President on the Republican

ticket says that his objective is not to pass laws but to repeal them.

We might ask which laws? Frankly he has never contributed many. (Applause)

He voted against Area Redevelopment. The first single loan made by ARA was in this county, Jackson County, Illinois. For accelerated public works, yes. For construction, yes. For community betterment. And all over America communities have been improved. Civic centers, streets, sanitary facilities, one thing after another to help America become a better and a more liveable and a better country.

ARA, public works, housing, hospital construction, aid to our elderly, hope and housing for our elderly.

On every single program that I have mentioned, and the list is far too long, on every one the Senator from Arizona voted no. No. No. He has said without equivocation that the government of the United States should get out of programs in agriculture, in welfare, in housing, in education, in health.

I will say that he is very consistent. He is consistent in that he has never voted yes to any of these things. Aid to universities, to this great university -- the student body would be living in wooden barracks were it not for the college dormitory housing program. (Applause)

I want you to know that Mr. Goldwater wouldn't have even voted to put a pound of sand into it, much less steel and concrete. He voted now. He voted no for housing for the elderly. He voted no for old age assistance for the elderly. He voted against the minimum wage law. He voted against the Housing Act. He voted against urban renewal which is taking place right here in Carbon-dale. He has voted not, no, a thousand times no.

He has a record of negativism that is unexcelled by any public figure in American life. (Applause)

Now, may I make it quite clear, a man should be entitled to his point of view and I want to repeat that Mr. Goldwater has been consistent on these matters. He said on REA, it ought to be dissolved. He said on TVA, we ought to sell it. (Laughter) He has said to the students of America, and these are his words, "The government has no responsibility to education. Some people would be better off if they had none."

This is a man who says he wants to be President. These are

his words at Jacksonville, Florida, a man that can vote against the nuclear test ban treaty, a man that could vote against the first and feeble step to curtail and limit the arms race, a man that can vote against the Civil Rights Act supported by both of your Senators, Senators Douglas and Dirksen, a man that can vote against aid to higher education, aid to medical education, aid to the elderly, aid to the young, aid to the blind, that kind of a man ought not to be President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, let's not be misunderstood. The Senator from Arizona is entitled to his point of view. I do not protest his patriotism. He is a patriot. He believes what he says. He lives in a country where he has a right to say what he thinks. I think he is a gentle, friendly man. I know him as a Senator. I think he would make a wonderful neighbor but I don't think he would make a good President. (Applause)

Now, dear friends, -- these people here are engaging in some kind of histrionics. They are the greatest amateur vaudeville dramatic producers that we have had since the high school plays at Doland where I went to school. (Laughter) Yes, they are always coming forth with some new bombshell, a new shocking revelation, and each dud encourages much more loud shouting.

These amateur theatrics are a disservice to the American people, and what is more, the American people know it.

The American people have a capacity to see through this child's play and this petty posturing by a gang of amateur political adventurers.

Now, the events of recent days I think should sober us to a very serious consideration of the responsibilities of the Presidency. And the ultimate of this campaign back on the track of talking about economics -- housing, education, social security, health, community development, the growth of our cities -- have you yet heard the opposition talk to you about America's great cities and what needs to be done to make them liveable as we know that within the next 15 or 20 years this Nation will be 90 per cent urban and 10 per cent rural?

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No. Oh, no. They want to talk to us about some far gone never-never land, leading us back there with the sense of nostalgic remembrance to a place where no one ever lived and where nothing ever happened. (Laughter)

No, my dear friends, the events of these days tell us that there is more to talk about than that nonsense. We ought to be talking about what we are going to do with our colleges and our

universities. How are we going to double the classroom space in the next 40 years? How are we going to afford it? How are we going to work? How are you going to pay for it? How is it going to be done? How are we going to find the faculty for our education? How are we going to cope with the changed conditions in this world?

Eleanor Roosevelt in her final writings has a book entitled, and it was published after her death, "Tomorrow is Now." I think in that sentence we sum up that things are moving so rapidly. The world picture changes so quickly. Science and technology changes industry, changes weapons systems, changes whole communities. "Tomorrow is Now." And if you have a man that thinks that today is yesterday, you have already lost the ball game. (Applause)

Within 24 hours we have witnessed a change in the government in the Soviet Union, a change in the government of Great Britain, the Chinese Communists detonating a nuclear device.

Now, let no one say that these do not represent significant changes and these changes require thoughtful consideration of our process, of our steps, of our policy. And the impact of these dramatic events I think gives us again some reminder of the importance of the Presidency of the United States.

The President, whoever he is, by the nature of his office, by the fact of America's power, by the fact of World War II, by the fact of the polarization of power in this world, the President of the United States is the most powerful leader in the world. And he holds in his hands the power to either maintain the peace or to annihilate virtually all life on this planet.

Two days ago I sat with the Congressional leaders in the cabinet room of the White House. Two were there from this State, two Republicans, Senator Dirksen and Congressman Arends; also Senator Kuchel of California, Senator Aiken of Vermont, Senator Mansfield, Senator Fulbright, Senator Hickenlooper, Senator Hayden, Hubert Humphrey, President Johnson, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the head of the CIA, the top military officers of our government, the specialists on China and the Soviet Union, and for two and one-half hours we discussed the future of this land, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

When I tell you that we have the power, unbelievable power, to literally annihilate life on this planet, I am not exaggerating. And what we need in the Presidency today is a man who knows of that power and who knows how to use that power with restraint, who knows how to use it with reason, who knows that power in the hands of our government is not for conquest, is not for the purpose of

issuing ultimatums.

Power in the hands of a great free people and the representatives of those free people is there for one purpose, to maintain justice in this world, to help other people help themselves, and to save this world from war.

Yes, the opposition talks about that they want a win policy. Well, we want one, too. What we want to win is the win over war itself. We don't think you win much, my dear friends, in a war. Not a nuclear war. We think that the purpose of our deterrent, we think the purpose of our power is to see if we can win man's old war against war, to win that struggle. (Applause)

And I am talking to the very people here that have the greatest interest in this matter.

What is, then, the central issue in this campaign? It is direct and it is simple. Which man is best equipped intellectually, by experience, by training, by temperament, to lead the free world during a time of constant and continuing danger? This Nation --

Voice from audience. Goldwater.

Voice from audience. Boo.

Senator Humphrey. May I say most respectfully this is exactly why millions of Republicans have left the banner of that party, just that kind of talk. (Applause)

All I hope is they keep doing it because it helps and helps and helps and helps and helps. (Laughter and applause)

This Nation and the entire free world needs leadership that is patient and that is prudent and a leader who is experienced and responsible, and a leader above all who can be trusted under all circumstances, and we have that leader and he follows in the pattern and in the footsteps of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman, of Dwight Eisenhower, of John Kennedy, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

I happen to think that the choice is quite clear based on experience alone. But the choice is clearly President Johnson for another basic reason. Not only experience, not only prudence, not only knowledge of government, but the choice is clear because his opponent is Barry Goldwater. And let's take note of that. (Applause)

Mr. Goldwater is not a conservative because a conservative

seeks to conserve. A conservative seeks to follow in the traditions of his party, of his country. He surely he is not a Democrat (laughter). And may I say in view of the Republican platform of 1960 where there were 25 specific commitments made in that platform, a responsible authentic Republican platform, that on those 25 issues where the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirksen, voted 18 times yes, where the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Saltonstall, Republican, voted 20 times yes, where the Senator from Iowa, Senator Hickenlooper, Republican leader, voted 17 times yes, and where the Senate minority whip, from California, voted 25 times yes on the Republican platform in 25 tested votes, the Senator from Arizona voted 25 times no. (Applause)

Now, the Senator from Arizona has said, and I repeat, "We shall be known by our votes." (Laughter) Well, Senator, if that is the case, your own platform that required you on 25 issues to stand up and be counted, at least the majority of the time yes, where the leaders of the Senate, the elected leaders of your party, voted each and every one of them three-fourths of the time or all the time yes, the Senator from Arizona who says he is a Republican voted 25 times no.

I will leave it up to you who is a Republican. I have a better Republican voting record than that. (Laughter)

There is only one word that can be applied to this record. It is a radical record. And Barry Goldwater has radical ideas about the conduct of our foreign policy, ideas so radical that he has lost the support, indeed he seems to be purposely rejected the support, of countless Republican leaders and many of the most influential Republican newspapers in the Nation.

Up to now American foreign policy has always been bipartisan, created during the administration's of Democratic Presidents and backed by men like Arthur Vandenberg, great Republican leader, Herbert Hoover, who today has departed from us. These men, Republican leaders -- Wendell Wilkie, Thomas Dewey, Herbert Hoover, Alfred Landen, Arthur Vandenberg -- every last one of them has backed a bipartisan foreign policy until now when a radical moved into the control of the Republican Party and repudiates the work of thirty years of constructive efforts by people who loved their country more than their party and who were more patriotic than they were partisan.

So is it any wonder that there are vast areas of Republicanism going over to President Johnson?

Now, may I point out that this Republican pretender to the Presidency has regrettably opposed every step made by responsible,

wise statesmen to secure world peace. He says he is opposed to the United Nations and that we should get out. Oh, now he says he maybe didn't mean it. (Laughter) He said that the Peace Corps which is training students in this body was a haven for a beatnik. That is his description of it as he voted against it.

He voted against the arms control, the disarmament agency, the nuclear test ban treaty, the alliance of progress, the food for peace program, every single constructive step that our government, Republicans and Democrats alike, have sought to make, for the process of peace, patiently stepping forward in that great pursuit of an honorable peace in every step that I have mentioned -- foreign aid, peace corps, arms control, nuclear test ban treaty, food for peace. You name it and the Senator from Arizona has voted no. (Applause)

Now, let me finally document my case for you. You have been a patient audience. In the Conscience of a Conservative, a book that has sold well and apparently has had very little influence, but I think that at least it ought to be quoted, the spokesman of the opposition says as follows, and I quote him explicitly, fully and directly:

"A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people, including our own, but we cannot for that reason make the avoidance of the shooting war our only objective."

And here is another one of his casual peaceful observations (laughter):

"We must ourselves be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

Or yet another, and I quote his words:

"To invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union or to accept total defeat."

Now, add to that his interview in Der Spiegel in which he commended imperial and Nazi Germany upon having pursued with such success, as he put it, the diplomacy of brinkmanship, brinkmanship. Imperial Germany and Nazi Germany that twice in one century have bathed this world in blood and have gone down in utter defeat.

# 3 The Senator from Arizona says we would do well to emulate their policy of brinkmanship.

Is it any wonder, my dear friends, that thoughtful people are concerned.

concerned.

I have quoted the words of a man who is frantically impatient with the world as it is. These are the words of a man who cannot or will not accept the reality of the nuclear age.

What this amateur strategist does not yet realize is that such juvenile games of nuclear chicken could eventually result not in instant victory but in the incineration of all mankind.

He doesn't seem to realize, my fellow Americans, that in this, the second half of the twentieth century, there is no such thing as instant victory. The only thing there is is instant annihilation. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the New York Herald Tribune, Life Magazine, Curtis Publishing Company, newspaper after newspaper, the Scripps-Howard, the Hearts newspapers, newspapers that are traditionally conservative and Republican, have endorsed Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States and repudicated Barry Goldwater. (Applause)

I ask those who yet have time to change their minds, I ask thoughtful Americans to listen to these words of the leading editorial of the leading Republican paper of America, the New York Herald Tribune. This newspaper has yet to endorse a Democrat until this year.

What was the editorial on the front page? I quote it word for word:

"Senator Goldwater has shown himself, in sum, a poor risk for the most personal and awesome of the President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may, in crisis, depend on his judgment and his judgment alone."

My fellow Americans, without any cheering or jeering, but just because you are concerned about life itself and about the future of this Republic, this world and this planet, I suggest that it might be well if we thoughtfully study these comments, not only of one newspaper but of hundreds and the words of both candidates. President Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater do give the American people a choice, and a clear one. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who through 30 years of his public life has displayed the highest order of responsibility. I think we have an opportunity to vote for a man who understands mankind's constant yearning for peace, a man who understands that we must remain strong to preserve the peace, but who also understands that this strength, the greatest that any nation on earth has ever had, must be employed with restraint and responsibility.

I am proud to stand on this platform before an intelligent, gifted audience and say to you that this country of ours needs a President who unites us and doesn't divide us, a President, if you please, that is willing with the Prophet Isaiah to say to Americans, "Come, let us reason together."

I am proud to stand on this platform and support a man for the office of President for the next four years who knows that the wealth of America is not merely for its luxury but is to be used for the attainment of social justice. And I am proud to stand on this platform and speak for a man that understands that the leadership of this world will either be in our hands, we the people of the free world, under the general inspiration and direction of the President of the United States, or it will be in the hands of a Communist, of a fanatic, of a totalitarian.

And I am proud to stand on this platform to say that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey repudiate the politics of radicalism of the extreme left or the extreme right. We want nothing of the Commies or the Birchites. We want only the thoughtful consideration and support of the American people who believe that this is one Nation. (Applause)

Yes, we want the support of Americans regardless of party or section or creed or ethnic origin or race, who believe just this one basic fundamental truth about the promise of this Republic and its purpose, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and with justice for all, for everyone, and may I say that that is our creed. (Applause)

May I say this is our creed. This is our philosophy. And we are going to continue to maintain that belief, that the American people will respond to reason, that the American people will respond to compassion, that the American people will respond to prudent and responsible leadership, and if you believe that is the kind of an America that you want, and the kind of leadership that you want, I ask you between now and November 3rd to help us, to help us withstand the onslaught, the onslaught that is hitting us day in and day out, where there are the pedlars of fear and hate and bitterness and distrust and suspicion, of smear and half truths and innuendo.

I ask you to stand with us. I ask you to do what John Kennedy said, give us your hands, give us your hearts. Give us your help and we will give you all that we have in faithful public service for these, the United States of America, and the Republic for which this Nation stands.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey,  
on the TV Taping at Station WSRU-TV  
University of Southern Illinois  
Carbondale, Illinois  
Wednesday, October 21, 1964.

Participants: Karan Davis, Will Meyer, Lynn Leonard,  
Bob Oexeman, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

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The Announcer. "Students Query Humphrey." From the campus of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Illinois, college students take this opportunity to question Senator Hubert Humphrey, Vice Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Here to ask the first question is Karan Davis, a senior.

Miss Davis. Mr. Humphrey, assuming that you win the nomination and once the excitement of the campaign is over, what is the best settlement that we can realistically hope for in Vietnam?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I don't think, Miss Davis, that we are going to get any immediate settlement in Vietnam.

One of the unfortunate developments in this campaign is the impression that the Goldwater faction has attempted to make that these grave international problems and crises are subject to sudden or prompt solution. I don't think they are.

It appears to me that the policy that we are pursuing in Vietnam is the proper one or the right one. It hasn't been as successful as we would have liked, primarily because of the political instability of the South Vietnamese government, and presently we are doing a great deal with the responsible leaders in South Vietnam to bolster that government, to improve its stability, and within a few days a new constitution for South Vietnam will be promulgated and an entirely new governmental structure will be initiated.

What we seek to do is to restore law and order, peace and order, I should say, in South Vietnam, and then once you have been able to do that, then you are at the point where you can go to the conference table and try to get a negotiated settlement that is honorable and that does not prejudice the sovereignty or the freedom or the rights of the South Vietnamese people.

Until then we would be in the position of having the gun at our head, so to speak, not be in a position of strength. I don't think we ought to negotiate under those circumstances. Negotia-

tion should be our objective. A true neutralization of the area should be our objective. But a neutralization under terms that at least are honorable and reasonable favorable.

South Vietnam was to be a neutral country in the very beginning, in 1954. The Accords of 1954 said that. That neutrality was violated by the Viet Cong and Viet Minh to the north and by the help of the Chinese Communists.

Once we can restore the balance, then we will try to accomplish the objective of a peaceful non-aligned neutral South Vietnam.

Mr. Meyer. Senator Humphrey, we all know that President Johnson has declared a war on poverty. Mr. Michael Harrington has suggested that an all-out economic war on poverty, using many of our vast resources, would provide a cure for poverty except for a few chronic cases.

I would like to ask you, is an all-out economic war on poverty politically feasible and what would you propose to do with those chronic cases?

Senator Humphrey. Mr. Harrington is a very respected writer in this field, I would say an authority. I attempted to write a book myself entitled "The War on Poverty." I don't consider it to be too profound a work but it does review in some depth the problems, the economic and social problems, that face our country, and these problems are related, of course, to poverty.

Might I just take a moment of your time to discuss this word "poverty," this meaning of it.

Poverty is not merely economic. Much of the poverty that we face in America today, of course, has an economic base but it is also the poverty of illiteracy. It is the poverty of despondency, of hopelessness, people that have been left behind, so to speak, in the rapid changes of our economy, changes many times due to science and technology, change in crops, for example, in certain agricultural areas, change in industry in certain communities, and people have just been left behind. They are sort of a backwash of a great tidal wave of progress taking place in our Nation.

These people are not going to be readily and quickly restored or rehabilitated to self-sustaining productive citizens.

First of all, there has to be a major effort made in the educational field, very major. And this will require a specialized training, vocational training, manpower training. It will require

intensive training in the elementary subjects.

Many of these people are tenant farmers, former tenant farmers, share-croppers. Many of them are colored with no education, being literally given no help at all during their formative years. They have come to the large urban areas. They are there. They don't know how to live in the city. They have had no experience in manufacturing, the work discipline. Even reporting to work on time, believe it or not, is a matter that requires some training.

So we have to launch an attack on poverty on many fronts, and what President Johnson really did in his anti-poverty program, better known as the Economic Opportunity Act, was to coordinate the many activities of government that we now have at the Federal level and then to phase those activities in with State and local government efforts, trying to get governors and mayors to formulate their community plans in legislatures, and then to work with the voluntary agencies.

So this all-out war, that phrase "all-out" really means all encompassing. It means getting the voluntary groups, the community chest organizations, your religious groups, working with local, State and Federal government, and then penetrating these poverty areas with economic aid, public works, yes, loans, grants for industries.

It doesn't do much good, you know, just to hand out money to people. That is no way to combat poverty. Actually you may actually lend -- encourage poverty that way.

What we seek to do is broaden the economic base to encourage industry to come into the area. That means improving transportation, frequently. It may mean improving a river, dredging a harbor, or deepening a channel of a stream.

We encouraged industry with tax concessions, with loans, cooperative loans between government and private banks. We train workers, young people, old people. We try to help in the housing program. And then we move in on community action programs where you can actually have intensified education to get people back into the main stream, you might say, of American life.

Now, this is, like the question on Vietnam, Miss Davis, a long-term project. I wish that I could say on this broadcast that within the next two or three years we will be able to defeat poverty, so to speak. But we can't. We really can't do it that quickly. But we have made the beginning, and as somebody said, poverty is not new. It is as old as history. But what is new is

that we for the first time have the means to do something about it. We have the means in science and technology and finance, in management, in grants and loans and education, in health.

My goodness, much of the problem of poverty is poor health, just people plain sick. They are just at about 50 per cent of capacity.

We have problems of public health involved here. But we have the resources, and what Mr. Shriver is going to do as the head of this whole organization in Washington is not to direct every program but what he is basically going to do is act as a catalyst, sort of a source of encouragement, inspiration and cooperation, to get Jackson County, to get Carbondale, or to get Minneapolis, Minnesota, or Minnesota and Illinois and the community chest and local and State governments, all focusing at one time upon a particular problem, you see, working right at it.

If you find that there is a growing rate of illiteracy as we find in our large cities, illiteracy that results from the influx of people from outside, rural people that had no education, attack it. Set up special schools, get the teachers, get the teachers, get the people to do the job. And once you have educated people, get industry, get people at work, let them get some work experience, you see.

Miss Leonard. Senator, assuming that there is a Democratic victory, by what specific means will the United States Government insure that all American citizens will have the right to vote in the 1968 election?

Senator Humphrey. Well, first of all, we took a step in the Democratic Convention, as you recall, which I think was rather significant and maybe historical, that all participants at that convention in 1968, they must first of all come on the basis that there has been no discrimination in the party activities or the party functions on the basis of race, creed or color.

We won't have the problem that we had, for example, with Mississippi and Alabama this year because the rules of the convention, the call for the convention in 1968 states that you cannot come as a delegation and be accepted with credentials if you have practiced discrimination at the precinct or the county or the state level.

In the next few years, Miss Leonard, I am sure that we will have such wide compliance with the Civil Rights Act that it will be the truly good news of the 1960's.

Actually the amount of compliance since the passage of the

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Civil Rights Act in June, and signed in July, has been nothing short of amazing. In community after community the public facilities for the first time in 100 years have been opened to people regardless of race, color or creed.

Now, on the voting rights, we will make every step through the Department of Justice and through the Community Relations Service of the Department of Commerce to see to it that every American is entitled -- is given, not given only but has his right to vote protected and assured. This may mean the appointment of Federal registrars. It may mean a good deal more activity on the part of the Department of Justice. But we have made so much progress on this already.

I noticed the other day it was said that there were about 7 million of the American Negroes registered to vote in this election. This is amazing. And this election within itself has seen one of the greatest registration drives that we have ever known.

Now, there are only a few States in the Union, two or three, where there is any discrimination on the basis of race in voting. I think by 1968, through activity, Federal, State and local, we will -- well, we will have broken the back of that and we are committed to that program.

The least that we can do in America, the constitutional guarantee is to see to it that the precious right to vote is protected, and President Johnson and his Vice President and the Democratic Congress will see that that is done, and I think we will have a lot of help from the Republicans.

# 2

I want to say that on the civil rights issue I don't want to claim that this is only something for the Democratic Party. I think that would be unfair. We never could have passed the Civil Rights Bill without the help and cooperation of the Republican leadership and the Republican members. And in that great victory there was plenty of room for everybody to share in the glory.

Mr. Oexeman. Senator Humphrey, in a speech you made in Tulsa on Tuesday you stated that the responsible Republican leaders had temporarily lost control of their party to the apostles of hatred, despair and extremism.

By temporarily, do you mean to indicate that a Democratic victory this fall will return the power or control of the Republican Party back to responsible leaders?

Senator Humphrey. I think that if there is a Democratic

victory, which we hope for and expect, which we are working hard to obtain, that it must be a very large victory so that the present leadership of the Republican Party is thoroughly discredited.

It is difficult to speak of this because it appears that as a Democrat, I really have no interest in the other party. But that is not true. I think that our country needs a good two-party structure. I know of no better way to keep American politics honorable than having good clean-cut competition. But I do also believe that the parties must be in responsible hands.

For example, if the Democratic Party were taken over by leftists, Communists, I think it would be a national tragedy. And in my own State of Minnesota, I want you to know, Bob, that I have at times actually help elect a Republican Congressman because at one time in my State there was some political infiltration by extreme left-wingers, and at least if not Communists, close to it, to take over sections of our party.

I fought against that. I helped clean that mess up. And I actually went out and endorsed as a United States Senator, and first as a mayor of Minneapolis, a couple of Republican Congressmen because I said I thought it was more important to have a responsible man that was not an extremist or a radical in power than it was to have somebody that said he was a Democrat to win.

So I can come with clean hands in this matter.

I think that the present leadership of the Republican Party is not the responsible leadership. I think it has repudiated the principles of Lincoln. I don't think it at all is within the path of a Wendell Wilkie or of a Thomas Dewey or the kind of men that have been responsible Republican leaders. And once that the defeat takes place, there will be a scramble in the Republican Party for control. And men like Governor Rockefeller, Governor Scranton, Governor Romney, Henry Cabot Lodge, Thomas Dewey, men of that quality I hope will be able to succeed in reclaiming their party.

It will make it tougher for us, I will be frank with you. I think the Democrats will have a real rough time of it. But I don't think you ought to have a major political party become a respectable platform for the wildest-eyed elements of the American public life and what has happened with Mr. Goldwater's nomination is that the Birchites and men like the so-called Minutemen and the Gerald L. Kay Smithites, and the Ku-Kluxers, they at long last have a respectable platform. They can go out and preach their doctrines of bigotry, hatred and fear and distrust, and say that they are doing it for a candidate.

Now, I don't say that Mr. Goldwater is that kind of a man. I want to be frank with you. I don't think he is. But I wish he would take a more active role in repudiating this kind of support.

The John Birch Society has called General Eisenhower a "conscious agent of a Communist conspiracy," and what is more, they have never taken it back. They have condemned the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in exactly the same manner. They have attacked Republicans and Democrats alike with unbelievable viciousness.

And now Mr. Goldwater says that he finds that the John Birch Society is made up of people that he is impressed with, the kind of people that ought to be in politics.

I must say that that kind of an invitation to this group is very saddening and very dangerous.

So I want to see the Republican Party get back into the hands of responsible Republicans, and I want to predict that if it does, it will be hard on the Democrats but it is better for America.

We cannot afford to have these wild-eyed extreme radical groups be given respectable platforms from whence to utter their messages of hate and division and bitterness.

That is why I have said what I am quoted as saying in Tulsa.

Miss Davis. Going on with this capture of the Republican Party by a very small minority, taking this example, the occurrence of President Kennedy being assassinated in November in Dallas, the subsequent murder of Lee Oswald, these things would indicate a sort of restlessness in the United States that perhaps hasn't existed or hasn't been so obvious before.

What exactly as a result of these sorts of things is the status of American prestige abroad?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Karan, -- Miss Davis -- I think you have to understand that our Nation has been under a terrible strain for a long time. When I first cast my -- when I cast my first vote which was a long time ago, I cast it for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. I was 21 years of age that year. And we had gone through then the period of the stock market crash, and ever since 1929 I think it is fair to say we have lived under almost traumatic conditions.

We have had depression, stock market crash, World War II,

post-World War, Communist threat, Berlin, Vietnam, Cuba, one thing after another, unbelievable problems, because this world has changed. In my lifetime it has turned upside down, so to speak.

America has come from an isolationist country to the greatest international power in the world. The Soviet Union has become a living fact of military and economic power. China is in new and dangerous hands. Asia has gained its independence. Africa has had a dozen or more, more than that, nations come into national independence.

All of these things have a tendency to frustrate so many people. They say, why can't it be like it used to be when it was quieter and calmer? And we have a number of Americans that just simply can't take it. Really, they are psychologically -- and they are not only Americans, this is true all over the world -- they just sort of despair. They sort of give up and they say, let's get it all over with.

Of course, that is exactly what the Communists would like to have us do. They would like to have us just give up, get it over with, you know, just say it is too much.

We have people all the time who say, oh, let's just quit all this monkey business. Let's get it all -- let's just tell them what we think and that is it.

Of course, you can't do that. That is when you start to lose the fight. That is when you start to lose out.

Mr. Oswald and others I think are mentally deranged people -- this Mr. Oswald, the kind of thing that happened there in the assassination of our beloved President. He obviously was a psychopathic case. He also was a subversive. He was mentally deranged if not at least disturbed, I should say, and we have these kinds of people.

You would be surprised at the mail. I can tell it from my mail. Maybe I get -- let's say I get a thousand letters a day. That is about an average of what we got before the campaign. We get many more now. But out of that thousand there maybe will be 20 or 25 that are so unbelievably obscene, angry, that I wonder.

We are threatened every day, you know. Every day of your life you are threatened by somebody, by an anonymous call that they are going to shoot you or your family or do something to you.

Well, this is just a part of the pressure that is exerted upon a great people and a great Nation and our job, it seems to me,

is one of mental health. We need mental health.

By the way, I was speaking before the Mental Health Association in Washington on the night of the 21st of November, 1963. And in that speech I talked about our national mental health and I said, you know, it is even possible in a nation like this where there are such problems of mental health that some deranged or disturbed person could actually possibly take the life of one of our great leaders.

Senator Danny Inouye of Hawaii the next morning came up to me, the next day, after President Kennedy's assassination, and said, I can hardly believe it. He said, it seemed prophetic.

Well, I said, it was strictly accidental because the pressure is on, the pressure is on the people all the time.

And this is why our mental hospitals are filled. There are individual problems today.

So what we need to do I think is to get a sense of confidence and to get a sense of forbearance and also a sense of reality.

We are truly, Miss Davis, winning the cold war. We are winning it but it is just -- it inches along. It doesn't gallop along. We are winning it in the sense that, first of all, there hasn't been any major war since 19 -- since the end of World War II.

That is quite a win when you think of the kind of world we have lived in.

There is a higher standard of living for more people in the world today than ever before, much better. More people can read and write, more people are sleeping well. More people are eating well. More people have good work, constructive work.

The Soviet Union has far greater instability by far than we have, or any of the Western European countries. The Eastern European States show a desire for independence and autonomy. The Soviet leaders can't boss them like they used to. Mr. Khrushchev said they were getting too big to spank.

So, you see, if you can keep at it, if we can just not give up, if we just don't become exasperated, if we just keep doing what we are doing, maintain a sense of balance, maintain power, continue with prosperity -- because you must have a prosperous country to undertake these heavy responsibilities -- we will win.

Mr. Meyer. Senator Humphrey, the idea of deficit spending

has been around for a number of years. Why has the United States, or at least certain factions or portions of the United States, refused to acknowledge the benefits and to recognize the concept in itself of deficit spending while at the same time a number of even the most conservative Europeans have been recognizing it for the past twenty years?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I have asked myself that question many times, Mr. Meyer. You surely do know how to pick the good questions. I want to make it quite clear to this TV audience that I never had a chance to see any of these questions. I think someone may figure this is a patsy program, but you are really tossing the rough ones to me.

I always warn my staff they should't put me on with students. They are entirely too well informed and it makes a man wonder if he is capable of answering any question.

Mr. Meyer, we have engaged in deficit spending I think with less plans for it than accident. The Keynesian theory of economics, of course, is now being readily accepted, even being accepted by Mr. Goldwater.

I think it should be noted that Mr. Goldwater recently accepted the doctrine of deficit spending when he talked about his new tax program. Of course, all of us have the objective in deficit spending of being able to stimulate the economy sufficiently so that in a reasonable period of time you will be able to get your expenditures and your revenues in balance.

What we really ought to be talking about is not whether deficit spending is a good doctrine but how you manage the fiscal and monetary policy of a country so that when you need something to accelerate the economy, that you have the will to do it and that you don't go around feeling that you are being sinful and being guilty.

The fact of the matter is that there are times that you ought to have deficit spending simply because it is good for business, good for the people, good for the economy.

There are other times that deficit spending ought not to be indulged in, that you ought to tighten up and you ought to try to bring revenues into balance with expenditures.

In other words, we ought to feel free to look upon fiscal policy and monetary policy not as ends in themselves, not as virtues or liabilities, but rather as tools to be used by a government for the purpose of energizing a society or meeting your

obligations.

It may be that you need deficit spending simply because of security. Obviously I think you have to have some deficit spending when you are spending vast amounts for new weapons in a major arms race.

It may be that you need deficit spending because you have a type of deflation in your economy and you need to get it in balance and you need to inspire that economy, to encourage it to move ahead. Then you may very well want to tighten up on spending when you have inflation in your economy.

So could I put it this way, that what we need to do is grow up. We need to recognize that there are times that the fiscal and monetary policies can be used as a mechanism or mechanisms for the good of the economy. We ought not to talk about balanced budgets as just being good. Sometimes they are not good. And we surely ought not to talk about deficit spending as being good. Sometimes it is not good.

What we ought to talk about is that a budget that is balanced, even where you have more revenues than where you have expenditures, is needed and desired. Another time it may not be. In other words, to have the courage to be scientific rather than to be prejudiced.

Now, I think we have just a little time left here and what about -- who is next? Miss Leonard?

Miss Leonard. Well, the Federal protection of the civil rights workers in the South is of special interest to students here --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Miss Leonard. -- because we have seven students actively working now in the State of Mississippi, and I would like to know what the Federal Government is doing to prevent another Neshoba County tragedy.

Senator Humphrey. The Federal Government has alerted every one of its Federal offices to be on guard for the protection of the citizens of the United States. This means the Justice Department, of course. We have called upon the Governors and the local enforcement officers to make sure that these people are given all the protections, the protections of the citizenship of the United States, because these students, or whoever they are, are not just citizens of Illinois or of Minnesota or New York. They are

citizens of the United States.

And after the tragic developments that took place that you referred to, I think there has been a new awareness of the importance of the protection of that citizenship and the word and the orders have been made, that all people are to receive full protection insofar as you are able to get it.

May I say that when I travel through the States, I can't always be protected either. There are occasionally times when people say we ought to go get rid of him, but they try to do as good a job as they can.

Mr. Oexeman?

Mr. Oexeman. What steps are we going to be able to see in the next four or eight years for the great society that President Johnson has promised us?

Senator Humphrey. I think we are going to take many steps but the most important I think are the steps we take towards peace, maintaining the economic and military strength of our country, not for the purpose of luxury or conquest but for the purpose of being able to do our job as a world leader, to help others help themselves, and to deter war, and as I said to your university audience, to win the war against war itself.

Announcer. This has been a video tape production featuring Senator Hubert Humphrey and students from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Illinois.

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DECATUR, ILLINOIS

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

ROY ANTHONY, CHAIRMAN, MACON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
MRS. MARGARET DONOVAN, CHAIRWOMAN, MACON COUNTY DEM GEN COMM  
HOWARD BUOY, CHAIRMAN, MACON COUNTY YOUNG DEMOCRATS

MOTORCADE

THIS IS STILL UNDECIDED - IF THE FOLLOWING COME INTO DECATUR FROM  
PEORIA ON THE SENATORS PLANE, THEY WILL ACCOMPANY THE SENATOR IN  
THE MOTORCADE.

LT. GOVERNOR SHAPIRO  
ATTY, GENERAL WILLIAM CLARK  
PAUL POWELL, CANDIDATE FOR SECY OF STATE

INTRODUCTION

SAM SHAPIRO, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

MENTION

JACK DESMOND  
CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE  
OTTO KERNER - CANDIDATE FOR CXX GOVERNOR

"VOTE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC ON ORANGE BALLOT" (ALL CANDIDATES FOR  
STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARE RUNNING AT LARGE)

IN MOTORCADE CLARK AND POWELL NOT COMING FROM PEORIA

MENTION JACK DESMOND CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE FROM 22ND DIST  
CANNOT ATTEND DUE TO DEATH OF MOTHER

DECATUR SUNDAY REVIEW CAME OUT FOR J-H TICKET YESTERDAY  
FIRST TIME IN 20 YRS THAT IT HAS ENDORSED DEMO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
REVIEW ALSO FOLLOWED TODAY WITH EXCELLENT EDITORIAL ON HHH

MRS. ELINOR GAGE NOW TEACHING AT MILLIKIN UNIVERSITY IN DECATUR  
ONCE TAUGHT MRS HHH IN S DAK.

✓ Otto Kerner  
✓ Sam Shapiro

Jack Desmond  
Bob McCarthy

SUGGESTED REMARKS FOR DECATUR RALLY

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Decatur, Illinois  
October 20, 1964

Jim Rouse

Paul Powell - <sup>seated</sup>  
Mike Hazlett  
Bill Clark -

Teachers  
Workers  
Students  
Women

I am happy to be here today in Decatur --

the soybean capital of the world. The soybean is a dramatic example of what happens when there is a constructive voluntary partnership between the Federal Government and the farmers.

The United States in our lifetime has become the world's largest soybean producer. ~~We raise more soybeans than China and Manchuria combined.~~

The soybean truly is a 20th Century miracle crop, ~~as far as the United States is concerned.~~ In one generation we have seen a new industry come alive, founded and nurtured by the rich soil of America and by the American genius for teamwork among our agronomists, farmers, processors and users.

market 7 1/4 billion

\$1 and 3/4

Today fats and oils provide a ~~\$1 1/3~~ billion

market for U. S. producers. In 10 years the soybean will become our number one cash crop.

The soybean has changed the United States from dependence on imports to the largest exporter of fats and oils in the world. <sup>and</sup> The soybean has been

of tremendous importance to the American consumer. It has freed him from reliance on uncertain import

supplies to meet edible oil needs. In addition, soybean meal has cut livestock and poultry

production costs and has led to more efficient feeding. And the steadily expanding acreage of

soybeans has enabled our farmers to divert acreage from allotment crops.

other surplus

*and*  
~~The role of~~ the partnership of Government with soybean producers ~~has provided a catalyst which~~ *is an amazing story.*

~~has contributed to this phenomenal growth.~~ The

Food for Peace program has been of major assistance

to the soybean industry. Under the Food for Peace

program 8 billion pounds of edible fats and oils

have been exported to dollar-short countries for

foreign currencies. This is the equivalent of

~~over 700 million bushels of soybeans -- the~~ *to the total*

equivalent of the 1964 crop. This has enabled

us to crush more soybeans, to keep soybean meal

moving into consumption, and to prevent surpluses,

of soybeans.

↳ But most important, it has meant hundreds of

millions of dollars of increased farm income and

has brought about improved nutrition.

L You can take pride in the fact that the food and fiber from American farmers has saved the lives of millions of people. When the history of the 20th Century is written, the development of the Food for Peace program will be looked upon as one of the most constructive steps ever taken by any nation.

L And yet the temporary Republican spokesman - *Goldwater* opposes this program.

This I promise you: The Johnson-Humphrey Administration will broaden the Food for Peace program. We will continue and improve commodity programs. We will strengthen farm income. Rural Americans will be full partners in the building of a better America. We intend to increase consumer demand for food and other agricultural products.

We will not scuttle agriculture. We will expand  
commercial exports. We will expand the use of  
cooperatives and other private enterprise  
institutions in the marketing of agricultural  
products. <sup>And</sup> We will meet with farmers and their  
representatives to develop new ideas and new  
solutions.

This is our pledge to you,

## Background Material

### Decatur, Illinois

#### 1. Politics

← -- Decatur is Democratic but the farm areas which surround it are Republican enough to carry the Congressional District.

-- Jack Desmond -- Democratic candidate for Congress. Needs help. Desmond is campaigning on the platform that central Illinois has to get moving with organized economic development effort, exploiting its great resources -- space, education (University of Illinois at Champaign), transportation, fine labor force, etc. His thesis is that more help should be sought from the Federal government in this regard, whereas Goldwater, Miller and the Republicans in general want to keep the government out of this sort of activity.

Jack Desmond - Cong  
Macon County  
Macon County  
(motherhood)  
(Background - Decatur)  
2. Local industry.

Otto Kerner  
- Sam Shapiro  
- Paul Powell

-- Soybeans. Decatur is still the soybean capital <sup>Sect</sup> <sub>State</sub>

of America but it does not mean as much as it used to.

↳ The city has diversified and Staley Mfg. Co., the big soybean processor, is now just one of several large employers. The gold dome atop its 14-story office building, however, is still symbolic of the traditional importance of the product.

Food for  
Peace  
MKT  
Develop

-- Manufacturing factories -- Firestone, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, General Electric, Caterpillar.

-- Transportation. Main shops of the Wabash Railroad.

-- Agriculture. The Decatur area is one of intense agricultural production, big producers, major contributors of state's \$2.3 billionworth of agricultural products. Goldwater's farm program would cut the farmers' income by an estimated \$350 million.

Goldwater's  
Farm  
Program.

(Background - Decatur)

- 3 -

### 3. History

-- Lincoln. He began his law studies here and allegedly was here first mentioned for the Presidency in 1860.

-- Theodore Roosevelt. Dedicated the first building of Millikin University in 1901.

--The Republicans before us today are a totally different breed from those great Republicans associated with the traditions of Decatur.

-- Original Log Cabin Courthouse. It has been carefully preserved. Legend has it that the building was "chinked and daubed" by John Hanks. This is the same technique that Senator Goldwater wishes to apply to our Nation's economic needs -- chinking and daubing.

4. Education. The Univ. of Illinois at Champaign  
is a great resource of central Illinois and it could have  
a greater impact on local life through exploitation of  
Federal programs which seek to transform academic  
research into community action.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Central Park Rally  
Decatur, Illinois  
October 20, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Kerner -- Governor Shapiro for Governor Kerner, I should say. My good friend, Sam Shapiro, introduced me so rapidly that I felt like I was being launched and put in orbit. (Laughter) But I want you to know, Sam, that your introductions are just as efficient and just as precise and just as interesting as your wonderful public service, and I know the people of Illinois appreciate your good work as Lieutenant Governor of this State. (Applause)

Well, this is good football weather. I believe if I am correct that this was the original home of the Chicago Bears. (Laughter) And the Democrats are pretty much like the Chicago Bears. There are times that people wonder if we are going to win, but when the chips are down, we are national champions, you know? (Applause)

I simply had a wonderful experience coming into your community of Decatur, Illinois. I was met at the airport by a large group of your fellow citizens, and as we came out of the airport, there were a number of people there with their farm equipment, their tractors, their combines. There were those good hands of the farmers of Illinois, and they extended that hand of friendship and of cooperation to a Democratic candidate for Vice-President and they asked me to remember to bring the greetings of the farmers of Illinois to the farmer from Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause)

And I want you to know that I shall do just that.

I also was privileged at the airport to see a big sign that told me that the people who were working in these great industrial plants of Decatur, this fine industrialized growing urban center, that the workers in those plants were out there to greet the Democratic candidate, and why? Because the Democratic Party is a friend of the worker and of the farmer, and they know it. (Applause)

And then a fine man who was one of your businessmen was there to greet me, and he extended his hand, and he said, "Senator, I used to be a Republican, but I am voting in this election for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic ticket." (Applause)

And why? Well, the answer, my friends, is quite obvious. The reason is because the Democratic Party and the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has done more for American free enterprise, for American business in four years than the Republicans have done throughout all of their long tradition. So that the businessmen of America -- (Applause) -- so that the businessmen of America are supporting today the Democratic Party. (Applause)

Now, let me take just a moment -- by the way, you notice that this stand is a little wobbly. This is the first time I have stood on a Republican platform in this campaign. (Laughter -- Applause)

But I think we ought to make this thing bipartisan. You have a sturdy speaker and a weak Republican platform. (Applause -- Laughter)

Let me just pay my respects to the Governor of this State who cannot be with us today. I know him as a personal friend, and I know him as a gifted and hard working public official. And I do hope that the people of Illinois who are going to elect by their electoral votes President Johnson for four years in the White House will also give him a partner in the State House of Illinois, Otto Kerner for Governor. (Applause)

And that goes for the whole Democratic ticket. You have got a very popular candidate for Secretary of State who is respected and loved throughout this state, Paul Powell, and you have got my good friend, that one and only Mike Howlett as your State Auditor, and you have got Bill Clark as your Attorney General, and you have got Bob McCarthy back here as your State Senator. (Applause)

Mr. McCarthy. Thank you, Senator. I just want to say hello to you.

Senator Humphrey. You know, you have got Bob McCarthy and we have got Gene McCarthy. Those McCarthy boys are going places, I will tell you. (Applause)

And today we are very sorry that Jack Desmond can't be with us. Jack's mother, I understand, has passed away. But he is our candidate here, your candidate, for Congress, and the President of the United States, no matter how good he is, no matter how able, cannot provide the programs and the policies that are needed for an America that wants to move ahead, for an America to be strong, unless we have in the Congress of the

United States representatives that will work with that President, that will help that President, and that will vote for the programs and the policies that strengthen America and enrich the life of our nation. And I know that in Mr. Desmond, Jack Desmond, you have that kind of a man. (Applause) Your State Chairman, Jim Ronan, and your National Committeewoman, Dorothy O'Brien, have traveled with us these last few miles.

I like to come to Illinois. I like to come to this land of Lincoln, this land of democracy, this land of progress, of industry and agriculture, and I want to talk to you today about our country and about the importance of this election.

Every once in awhile when I come to a meeting like this, I find a few souls that have come here with their badges of political mischief and political misguidance. (Laughter) There they come. They are ready to repent right now. (Applause -- Laughter.)

And then, you know, when I look out over the audience I see so many happy faces, so many happy faces. (Laughter) And I know then there is a majority, an overwhelming majority of Democrats and of Republicans that are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson for President. (Applause)

And every once in awhile when I see somebody hold one of those Goldwater banners and I see a smile on their face -- this one is a little young down here, she is about nine -- deary, I hope you are getting a dollar and a quarter an hour because most of them don't. (Laughter -- Applause).

These are nice young people, but I don't like these Goldwater representatives exploiting child labor. They are entitled -- (Applause -- Laughter) -- may I say that whenever you see one that is 21 years of age or older with one of those signs and there is a smile on their face, you know that deep down in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause -- Laughter)

So, my friends, let's gather around and do a little talking now about the election that is before us. This community represents the kind of an America that stands for strength and for progress and justice. Decatur, Illinois, Decatur, Illinois, is as much American as they say apple pie or the Statute of Liberty. Here are the mixtures of the races and of the peoples and of the religions. Here are people from every walk of life, every ethnic group, and here are people that understand that

America has always been the land of hope and of promise, not the land of despair and of backwardness.

And people such as I see before me believe that a government that is worthy of the respect of the American people should be a government that serves the people, acts as a partner with the people, a government that is a partner with the people.

This was the message of Abraham Lincoln. This is the message of Thomas Jefferson. This is the promise of the Constitution. "We the people of these United States do ordain and establish," says that Constitution, establish this great Republic, and for what purpose? To provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

This great Constitution of ours lays down the proposition that a government worthy of the respect of the governed is one that will constantly be on guard for the interests of the people.

Lincoln called it a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And he even went further. He said that a government should do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or what they can not do so well for themselves.

I imagine that Abraham Lincoln would be called a socialist by the present pretender to the presidency on the Republican ticket. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, one of the real tragedies of this campaign is the fact that the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction in the Republican Party -- (Laughter) -- that temporary spokesman has failed to learn the lessons of American Government. He has failed to learn of the responsibility of the presidency and the tremendous responsibility that is vested in that office for leadership.

He has failed to understand the necessity for coordination between federal, state, and local government. He would have us believe that there are -- there is a natural animosity between the people and their government. He is the man that says that Washington, D. C., your government in Washington, is a greater enemy than the government in Moscow. And anybody that says that has disqualified himself for the high office of the presidency. (Applause)

He preaches to the American people disrespect for the orders

of the court. He preaches to the American people disunity between the federal and state and local governments. And he preaches to the American people sectionalism. He preaches to the American people that a great act of Congress that was designed to heal the wounds, that was designed to promote justice, that was designed to unite our country, an act that was designed to carry out Lincoln's promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, he tells us that that Act breeds violence and hatred and bitterness.

I say to you that a man that seeks to be President of the United States should seek to lead us, not to drive us backwards. He should seek to unite us, not to divide us. He should seek to inspire us, not to discourage us. And above all, he should seek to make America the land of the beautiful, America the beautiful, not merely in its scenery, but beautiful in its spirit, beautiful in its citizenship, and beautiful in its respect for the rights of individuals and for the rights of human dignity regardless of race or color or creed or national origin. (Applause)

I come here to Decatur to recite to you the record of accomplishment of the 87th and the 88th Congress, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. I come here as a Democrat with no apologies for this Administration.

The late and beloved President John Kennedy standing on the steps of the Capitol on January 20, 1961, said to the American people, "Let us begin." It was a call to action. He said, "I accept responsibility." He reminded us that those of this generation who were living in America have a privilege and have a challenge such as no other peoples. And he said for us not to ask what our country could do for us but rather what we could do for our country.

He preached the doctrine of service. He preached the doctrine of patriotism. He asked that this country individually and by government extend the warm hand of fellowship and friendship to the world. He asked that we in government and in private life be of good spirit, be charitable, be compassionate, and be just.

For 1,000 days this noble, courageous young leader gave this nation the most dramatic leadership that it has ever experienced, and then he was struck down. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, I think every American now realizes that those 1,000 days were days of inspiration, that they were days of hope and days of fulfillment, and then the assassin's bullet,

and the whole world wondered what next.

Then we realized as never before how much we all depended upon the President, how much the whole world depended upon America.

Then we realized, my friends, that we have penetrated behind the Iron Curtain because behind the Iron Curtain people wept for our President just as they wept in Decatur or as they wept in Washington.

We proved to ourselves through tragedy that America was the hope of the world. And yet America stood stunned, and all at once we realized that the decision that John Kennedy had made in Los Angeles in 1960, a decision, if you please, to have the man from Texas as his Vice-President, that that decision was the greatest decision of his life because -- (Applause) -- a tall, strong, gifted, able man rose to the occasion. He took the oath of office, and the American constitutional system once again proved its strength and America moved forward.

But I remind this audience that this happened under the most unbelievable of circumstances, and it took a big man, it took a great man, and it took a competent man, and it took an experienced man, and it took a man of faith to fulfill that role of leadership in an hour of grief, in a moment of tragedy.

And I recall when the President, Lyndon Johnson, spoke to us in Congress assembled, and I remember when he said to us, "Let us continue, let there be no hesitation, there are unfinished tasks to be completed, there is work to be done. Let us march forward and complete the job that we have outlined to accomplish."

And, ladies and gentlemen, I stand before any audience in America to say to this audience as I have to others that there have never been two Congresses that have produced greater results for the public good than the 87th and the 88th Congresses under the leadership of President John Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

I remind this audience that in these Congresses the test votes were made. The Senator from Arizona says, "Judge us by our votes, not by our words." Yes, Senator, that we shall do. And how a working man could ever be for the Senator from Arizona if he wants to be judged by his votes is beyond me.

Voice. Amen.

Senator Humphrey. He voted against -- I like that Methodist spirit. (Laughter)

Let me just say right now that a man that can vote against a dollar and a quarter an hour minimum wage, a man that could deny a worker that kind of protection and coverage, is one that is no friend of any worker, organized or unorganized. (Applause)

One who could vote against manpower training for workers that were displaced by automation so that they could be retrained for new jobs, one that could vote against that is surely no friend of a working man.

And may I add that anyone in business that can look at the record of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party and find comfort is one indeed that is too partisan for reason.

And why do I say it? Because this man who today says he is the friend of business has proven to be not the friend but has proven to be the adversary.

Why? American business said give us a chance. Give us the opportunity to invest. Permit us to use the dynamism of American free enterprise to provide jobs. President Kennedy and President Johnson and Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey and a few others said yes. And we passed the largest tax cut in the nation's history. We gave to a corporate business two tax bills, investment tax credit and the major tax revision bill of \$11.5 billion in tax reduction, over \$2 billion to corporations, \$9 billion to individuals.

To do what? To provide free capital for consumption, for the purchaser, for the investor, for the industrialist, for the manager, to give American free enterprise the chance to go to work. Most Republicans and most Democrats voted for that measure, but not Senator Goldwater! (Applause)

No, no. Here is a man that says that he is interested in the moral fiber of America, and yet, my dear friends, he would permit our elderly to live in the attics just as once we permitted those that were mentally retarded to be shunted aside. When there was a program for housing for the elderly, he voted no. When there was old age assistance for the elderly, he voted no. When there was the Kerr-Mills bill that would provide a little medical care for the elderly, he voted no. When there was Social Security, Medicare, he voted no.

No, no, no. That is his answer to everything. (Applause)

And for our young people. Every person in America knows that opportunity in the future is based on education. Education is the new wealth of the nation. Education is the best investment that we can make. And everybody knows, the dean of every school, the president of every university, the board of trustees or regents of every college, knows that in the next 35 to 40 years we must double the university space of America. We know we can't do that by just local revenues. We know we are going to need help from our Federal Government which is our government.

We know, my friends, that America is as rich and as strong as its brainpower, as the enlightenment of its people.

And may I say that when the test vote came in Congress for the beginning of an aid to education program, and by the way, the first federal aid to education program for higher education was passed in Lincoln's Administration, 1862, the Land Grant College Act -- in 1964 or '63 we passed another aid to higher education, and may I say that the Senator from Arizona saw fit to vote no, no, no, no.

No for higher education, no for national defense education, no for vocational education.

He is the man that said that it would be better if some children didn't have any education. That kind of a man should not be President of the United States. (Applause)

And ladies and gentlemen, I stand now in the center of one of the great agricultural producing areas of the world. This is the soybean capital of the world. This is indeed one of the richest agricultural areas of the world, and the Senator from Arizona who sees fit to vote for a billion dollars for Arizona for the Colorado River development, the Arizona Project, doesn't see fit to vote one nickel for Illinois or Oklahoma or Texas or Minnesota.

He has voted against every agricultural act that has ever been brought into Congress. He has voted against even, mind you, REA. Apparently they have got some kerosene lamps left to sell in Goldwater's Department Store. (Applause -- Laughter)

Well, let me just pause for a moment to tell you that the story of the soybean, the soybean which is the miracle product and crop of our time, represents a partnership story between

government and people, between the government and the farmer. The soybean is providing one of the greatest markets in the world. It has become one of the leading cash crops, and in ten years it will be the leading cash crop in America.

The soybean provides meal, it provides edible oils and fats, it is indeed the crop of the future, and in many ways it has been the farmer's salvation in the present.

Through food research aided by government and through marketing aided by government, we have developed a tremendous soybean crop in agriculture.

I noticed the other day that this past year under the Food for Peace Program which is our program to help feed the hungry abroad, which is the program that is endorsed by every religious faith, which is the program endorsed by most farm organization, which is a program that you could literally say was taken from the Scriptures -- "feed ye the hungry, heal ye the sick, and lead ye the blind" -- Food for Peace, a Divine Providence that has blessed America with unlimited food production, at a time when God's children are hungry.

Your government -- and I am happy to stand on this platform and say that it was my privilege to be one of the sponsors of the Food for Peace Program, and I want to say that this is not just a Democratic program. It was started under a Republican president. It was expanded under a Democratic president. It is endorsed by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. It is carried out throughout the world by the great voluntary religious organizations. Eight billion pounds of soybeans and fats and oils have been exported under this program. This is equivalent to the whole 1964 crop.

This has been good for the farmer in Illinois. It has been good for the peasant in Peru. It has been good for the hungry person in India. It has been good for American strength in Turkey. It has been good for the world. It has been good at home, and it has been good abroad.

It is good Judaic-Christianity; it is good economics, it is good morals, but the Senator from Arizona voted no, no, no.  
(Applause)

And if I sound slightly outraged, I am. May I say that a man that can vote against education, a man that can vote against civil rights, a man that can vote against the Peace Corps and

call the volunteers of the Peace Corps nothing but beatniks, and that is what he called them; He said the Peace Corps is a haven for beatniks; a man that can say that education is not the responsibility of government and that some children would be better off if they weren't educated, a man that can say that he has his own medicare program, he has a son-in-law that is an intern, that kind of a man is unfit to be President of the United States. (Applause)

It is about time, it seems to me, that there was a sense of righteous indignation. Yes, indeed.

And why don't they talk about these things? Because they have nothing to talk about except their miserable record of negativism, their record of backwardness, their record of retreat, and we have a good deal to talk about, and what we are talking about is saving lives, building a better America, educating our young, helping our afflicted, caring for our elderly, promoting enterprise, being considerate of labor. I think that is a good program for America. (Applause)

My dear friends, let me just conclude this message in a very, very serious tone and note. We live in the most perilous of times, and everybody knows that. And yet, my friends, I find the opposition chanting empty slogans, painting crude and cruel signs, unwilling to understand the world in which we live and incapable of understanding what to do about it.

I say there is a world yet to be saved. There is work to be done on this earth.

In recent days, in one week a government has changed in the Soviet Union. The Chinese have detonated an atomic device. A government has changed in Great Britain.

In times like these you don't need amateurs running your government, not even ham radio operators. (Applause -- Laughter)

You need, my friends, you need men of tested performance. The issue in this campaign is only one. The issue is which candidate for president is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America and mankind itself. And this one issue overshadows all other considerations because this is the issue that relates to the survival of these little ones before us and that may very well relate to the survival of mankind.

Man has developed the weapons to destroy himself. The

question is has he developed the discipline and the moral strength to preserve himself?

I happen to believe that the office of the Presidency is so important that it must constantly be in the hands of a man who by experience and by nature and by temperament and by background and by talent is a man of restraint, a man of confidence, a man of tested performance, and very frankly we have such a man, and I see no reason that we shouldn't keep him, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Now, make no mistake about it. Performance separates the great leaders from the second-raters. There is no room in 1964 for a mistake in electing a president. There isn't any second chance. Once you have elected him, he is there, and what he does for the next four years may very well determine what is going to happen to this world for the next decade, the next generation, or the balance of this century.

And I say to this fine audience tonight that on the basis of performance, 30 years of effective honorable public service, that President Lyndon Johnson is richly and fully qualified to assume the fearful burden of the presidency for the next four years and to insure the national security of the United States and to preserve the peace of the world. (Applause)

So as we leave this wonderful meeting tonight, may I ask you to soberly reflect not upon the lesser issues, even though all are important, but everything that we have is in the balance. It isn't just a matter of wages or profits, and it isn't just a matter of prosperity or poverty. It isn't just a matter of education or no education.

It is, my dear friends, a matter of life or death. We are building the prosperity of America, and it has had 44 consecutive months of uninterrupted prosperity. But we are not building our prosperity just to enjoy riches and luxury. We are not building the strength of America militarily for conquest. And yet we are the strongest nation on the face of the earth without comparison.

Our riches, our wealth, our power, and our military, is for but one purpose, to preserve the peace, to work for the salvation of mankind from annihilation, to save us from our destruction, to save us from our own folly.

I know that you have heard much about this, but let me say to you that when John Kennedy in June of 1963 said to the world that

peace is a process, and that there is no instant peace, and that peace requires sacrifice, it does not come easy, and when he said that it takes courage to seek peace, as much courage as on the battlefield, he spoke eternal truths to the American people.

And that speech, ladies and gentlemen, was the first single advance or should I say the most important advance in the cause of peace since World War II.

He broke through the Iron Curtain. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was the product of it and other developments.

The Senator from Arizona couldn't see fit to vote for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty even though both senators from Illinois, Senator Dirksen and Senator Douglas, Republican and Democrat alike, voted for it and spoke for it. Senator Dirksen said he could not have it on his conscience that he refused to take this one step, feeble though it may be, this one step in the paths of peace.

I honor him for his decision. I honor him for his decision on civil rights.

These are not partisan matters. These are matters of conscience. These are matters of ethics. These are matters of morals. These are matters of judgment.

And in all of those areas the Senator from Arizona was wrong.

He didn't vote to give equal rights. He didn't vote to clean the atmosphere from radioactive debris. No. He voted fear. He voted doubt. He voted no faith, no trust.

You need a president, ladies and gentlemen, that has your trust, and you need a president that trusts you. And you need a president above all that understands that the only thing instant in this day and age is instant annihilation. And you need a president who is big enough, strong enough and courageous enough to work ceaselessly, to pursue honorably, peace with honor, peace with dignity, peace with freedom.

You don't need a president who brandishes nuclear bombs, who has a policy, a foreign policy of ultimatums. You need a president who speaks sense, who says "Come, let us reason together," a president who says on the one hand that we keep our guard up, but on the other hand we extend the hand of cooperation, of friendship and fellowship to anyone that wishes to live in

peace and to live in decency and dignity.

And that President I speak for tonight. I am proud to speak for him. I speak for him because he is giving his life to this nation. I speak for the man that will be President of the United States with your help for the next four years, President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

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October 20, 1964

Information on Peoria, Illinois:

1. Politics

Peoria is staunch Republican. No major Democratic officials have been elected here since 1944.

Democratic candidate for Congress Edward P. Kohlbacher. He is a UAW member and works at the Caterpillar plant. Campaigning actively and needs help.

2. Urban Development

Renewal project.--It does great credit to the city of Peoria that you have been able to undertake such an extensive downtown renewal project entirely with your own funds. It is a major tenet of the Democratic Party to encourage this sort of local self-reliance. Unfortunately it is a rare city that is able to attempt such a huge undertaking on its own resources. I congratulate you.

Hospital Expansion -- /St. Francis Medical Center is due to be expanded with the use of federal funds.

3. Industry

"Metropolitan Peoria" is a term that the local residents like to use. It has a population of about 300,000.

Transportation is a major industry and resource. Peoria is a major railroad center and also an important port on the Illinois River. It is in fact a U.S. port of entry for ships coming into the country from Lake Michigan. City has 8 miles of docks.

Manufacturing -- Peoria is the home of Caterpillar tractors, makers of the world's largest earth-moving equipment. Caterpillar is the largest employer in the city, but as of October 18 the plant was on strike awaiting a membership vote on a revised contract.

Alcoholic beverages -- Peoria claims both Hiram Walker, the world's largest distillery, and Pabst Brewery, one of the largest in the country.

4. Research

Peoria is the site of a United States Department of Agriculture Research laboratory. Among the projects underway are studies of use of starch and other cereal products to make stronger paper, a water-soluble gum made from corn sugar, improved performance of linseed oil in paints, and mass production of organisms which will attack Japanese Beetles.

5. Education

Bradley University is located in Peoria and apparently is flourishing without much in the way of federal programs.

6. Effects of the Tax Cut

The result of the Kennedy=Johnson tax cut which was enacted last Spring has been to increase spending power in the Peoria market by \$20 million.

Tax cut

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Peoria, Illinois  
October 20, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. I surely want to thank my good friend and long time friend, your Lieutenant Governor, Sam Shapiro, for this wonderful introduction, his generous and warm reception, and I am so pleased to see Mr. Shapiro here, members of the State Committee, my old friends, Jim Ronan, and your National Committeewoman, and a dear friend of mine, Dorothy O'Brien, and of course your County Committee and these fine representatives of labor, of agriculture, and of business and my student friends. (Applause) I think the nicest thing, Sam, that happens to me in this campaign is the fact that wherever we go we have these fine, intelligent, active, enthusiastic young people out there. (Applause)

And I know, Governor Shapiro, that we will get the help of the whole Democratic ticket here in Illinois. I want you to be up in your efforts for our Democratic candidate for Governor, Otto Kerner of this State, and you have got a chance at long last to elect a Democrat in this District with this great overwhelming support from President Johnson, and Edward Holbacher is the man you ought to be backing. (Applause)

Well, I wish that my old good friend of the Senate, Paul Douglas, could be here. (Applause)

I was in Congress with Paul Douglas, and when they want finer people, whenever they find one that is more honest, more dedicated to the public interest, more for the people, more for the security of this country, and for the freedom of our people, than Paul Douglas, they will have to go to another world to find him because there is nobody here like that. (Applause)

Well, you waited patiently. We had a great meeting in Tulsa. Somebody told me that Tulsa might be Republican, but if it is, we changed it today. (Applause)

The trouble is the Republican Party doesn't have a presidential candidate. (Applause)

And I say that here in the heart of Republican territory for the simple reason that most of the Republicans who are authentic Republicans, and who are truly conservative Republicans, lost their Party out in San Francisco. They truly did.

A group of people that are far out of step with the realities of our world, a handful of people that were militant,

that were highly organized, that were dedicated, that were fanatical, moved in and literally like pirates boarded the ship, put the crew in chains, took over the ship and claimed it as their own.

But I have news for you. The good substantial solid Republicans that are worthy of respect, they are going to, after this election, after Mr. Goldwater's debacle, after his defeat, they will come back to reclaim their Party. In the meantime they are going to help elect Lyndon Johnson as President. (Applause)

I come to this State of Illinois to ask the people of this State, the State of Abraham Lincoln, I come here to ask the people who believe in the Great Emancipator, who believe in the Party of Lincoln, who believe that Abraham Lincoln was right when he said the duty of government was to serve the people, when he said this was a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, I come to Illinois to ask the Republicans, yes, I repeat, Governor Shapiro, I ask the Republicans to redeem their Party and to redeem their country by defeating the people who captured the Republican leadership. Throw them out. Defeat them. (Applause)

And I think they will.

What do you think Mr. Nixon is running around the country for? To elect Goldwater? (Cries of "no.") Oh, no. He is not that generous. He is around like one of these Federal Aviation Experts after a crash. (Applause) He is around examining the pieces. (Laughter) He wants to put it back together.

What do you think Mr. Scranton, the Governor of Pennsylvania, is running around the country for? To elect Mr. Goldwater? Why, he said more nasty things about Mr. Goldwater than I would ever say from a public platform. (Applause)

What's more, I have never written Mr. Goldwater a letter like Scranton did. (Applause)

Why do you think they are doing this? Why do you think Mr. Romney up in Michigan, Mr. Romney who says I am willing to introduce him but not endorse him, why do you think that he is speaking? Because they all know, and I must say that they are right, they all know that the present temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction, -- and that is what he is -- that this temporary spokesman is not a Republican. He is sure not a Democrat. (Laughter) He is really not an independent.

I will tell you what he is. He is America's number one radical. (Applause)

He is the darling of the John Birch Society, and he is -- (Applause) -- he is the candidate of the Minutemen, and there he is. He has the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and the Ku Klux Klan, and he ought to be ashamed of himself for running around with such people. (Applause)

Well, let me make it clear. President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey don't want any of them, we don't want any of the Commies, we don't want any of the radical right-wingers. All we want is some people, the good old decent American people. (Applause)

So I come here to the Midwest to say that a candidate on the Republican ticket that can vote against a Civil Rights bill that is the fulfillment of the promise of Abraham Lincoln is unworthy of the support of a decent Republican and a good Democrat. (Applause)

I come here to the Midwest to say that a candidate that represents himself as a friend of free enterprise and would vote against a tax cut to help business and to help America and to help the consumers is unworthy of the support of any businessman in America. (Applause)

And I come here to the Midwest to say that a man that can vote against minimum wages, a man who is the declared enemy of the union movement, is unworthy of the support of a single worker, organized labor. (Applause)

I come here in the center of an agricultural area to say that a man that has no more respect for farming than to vote against every farm measure that has ever been before Congress is unworthy of the farmer's vote.

I want to say something about my friends out here, my young friends. (Applause) Every one of you is deeply interested in the education, your education and the education of others, and every school teacher, every president of a college, whether it is Illinois or Minnesota, whether it is Bradley University or any other -- (Applause) -- or whatever it may be, any college president, any college student knows and any legislator, Governor Shapiro knows that in the next 30 to 40 years we are going to have to double our classroom space. We are going to have to double the college facilities of America. And we passed

a law, not unusual, we passed a law for higher education assistance.

This isn't out of the tradition of America. As a matter of fact, your own great university is a land grant college, and it was established under the Morrill Act of 1862. That ought to be up to date enough for Goldwater. (Applause -- Laughter)

I guess it was a little too far advanced. 1862. The Land Grant College Act that established 68 land grant colleges in America. In 1963 and '64 we passed aid to higher education, aid to medical education, and who voted against it? Well, every Republican with few exceptions and every Democrat with few exceptions voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

This is the man that lectures you on school dropouts. Here is a man that says that our youth has gone astray.

Oh, my, what a moral prophet he is! And yet here is a man that has never voted for a program for young Americans.

He voted against the National Defense Education Act. He voted against vocational training for our young people. He voted against manpower retraining for our workers that are victims of automation. He voted against medical education for our doctors. He voted against nurses' training for our girls. He voted against higher education for our college students. He has voted against today. He has voted against the future, and he doesn't even recall the past. (Applause)

So I say the time is at hand to tell the truth on this candidate. This candidate is a radical that votes against the future of America, that distorts the past and doesn't understand the present. And I think we ought to be rid of him.

As they used to say up in Iowa, "get shed of him." He is unworthy of your vote and of your confidence. (Applause)

Now, friends, since you can't have him, who should you have? (Laughter) Because we need a president. I must say that even if I couldn't give a good testimonial for a president, I could ask you to vote for President Johnson simply because of his opposition. But I can ask you to vote for President Johnson because of what he is, not because of what his opponent is not. (Applause)

President Johnson has had 30 years of public service,

12 years in the House of Representatives, 12 years in the United States Senate, four years as Vice-President and President, and two years as a National Youth Administrator, a teacher.

A teacher, an administrator, a majority leader, a man that has earned the respect and the confidence of Republicans and Democrats alike. I say to any editor, to any publisher, to any student of government, you go and examine the Congressional Record. You see what the Republicans said about Lyndon Johnson before this campaign started. They said he was great. They said he would unite America. They said he was the greatest majority leader that Congress had ever had. They complimented him. Friend and foe alike. They reached out and said, "Mr. President, you are doing marvelously."

This man who, serving as the leader of our country, taking up after that awful day in November in Dallas under the most unbelievable of circumstances, standing tall and strong, this man put through the Congress with his leadership, and I helped him as the Majority Whip in the United States Senate, we put through the Congress the greatest program of legislation that America has known since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Applause).

And all at once he becomes a bad man. All at once the opposition shouts -- oh, they have got all kinds of cute little nasty slogans.

They have no program. Their candidate never voted yes for anything. He wouldn't vote yes for Mothers Day. (Applause)

He has voted no, no, no, no, no. He voted against medical aid for the elderly. He voted against old age assistance for the elderly. He voted against education. He voted against health programs. He has voted against the farmer. He has voted against the worker. He has voted against business. The only one he has ever voted for was two little projects out in Arizona. (Laughter)

I know he loves Arizona. And I think he ought to have a chance to go home. (Applause -- Laughter)

So, my suggestion to you is be kind to him. Back to the store in '64, Barry. (Applause -- Laughter)

What you need is a president that knows about this government, that is in a sense a professional in the arts and sciences of government. We don't need any amateurs. Ham operators or not. (Applause -- Laughter)

We need somebody that knows what is going on, and we need somebody that understands the world in which we are living. We need somebody that understands that you don't settle problems by dropping bombs. You dissolve humanity that way. (Applause)

We need somebody that understands that diplomacy requires intelligence, not ultimatums. We need somebody that understands that the processes of peace are long and enduring and require courage and require steadfastness and require patience and wisdom.

Any fool can get this country into a war. But it takes a wise and a good man to sustain the peace. (Applause) And you have got one. (Applause)

Believe me, with what has happened in Russia, what just happened in China, and with the change of government in Great Britain, I suggest that you not turn this government over to some amateur, somebody that has gadgets and gimmicks and slogans. I suggest that you maintain the control of this government in the hands of a man that has had years of public service, served under four presidents, commanded the respect of even one who departed today, the late President Hoover, commanded the respect of Harry Truman, commanded the respect of Franklin Roosevelt, commanded the respect of Dwight Eisenhower, had the affection and the trust of John Kennedy. I say to you that kind of a man is a good man, and he is our President. (Applause)

Go out now and go to work. We have got enough people right here to carry Southern Illinois if you will just go to work. If you will just buckle down to the job. Let me tell you, my dear mothers and fathers, you had better buckle down. I can't imagine what would happen to this country if it should fall into the hands of an impetuous, irresponsible, erratic, rash administration. We don't need that to happen. We have got enough trouble without buying it, looking for it. (Applause)

So on behalf of my young friends and those who are yet younger than these college students, I ask every person here that is a mother and a father, I ask every person here that is of voting age, to make up your mind now that this election is different than any other, and indeed it is.

When some of the great newspapers of America that have been traditionally Republican can leave the Republican candidate because he is not a Republican. and help us in this election and elect Lyndon Johnson, you ought to pause and think.

I have never been engaged in a campaign in which there were meaner words said, in which there has been more reaching down into the barrel of dead fish, than this one. But let me serve notice on the opposition right now. You are not going to intimidate the American people. You are not going to peddle your fear and your confusion and your doubt and your distrust. You are not going to divide us. We are going to stand together, Republicans and Democrats alike, and we are going to administer these spokesmen of fear and bitterness and hate and doubt and distrust, we are going to administer them the licking of their life, and we are going to do it on November 3rd.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

We have to run along. The next stop is at Decatur. We are going up there and tell them the truth, too.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at the Williamson County Airport  
Marion, Illinois  
Wednesday October 21, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Mr. Powell; may I say that every place I have been I always hear of how popular this distinguished gentleman that is on your state ticket and will soon be your Secretary of State, Paul Powell, is in the State of Illinois. (Applause)

And I am singularly pleased and happy to be here under the kind and may I say effective auspices of your State representative, Clyde Choate, who is really a remarkable man and has done a great job for each and every one of you. (Applause)

And when I got off this airplane this morning at this airport, this lovely beautiful day, was I ever pleased to see one of the grandest men of all time, one of the finest members of the United States Senate, a man of complete integrity, of courageous honesty, of unbelievable intellectual capacity, the most fearless and yet the most just man I have ever known, your United States Senator, Paul Douglas. (Applause)

Every time I see my friend Paul he tells me that when he has an hour off or a day off he says, I am going back to Illinois, and I say, what are you going to do back there, Paul? Oh, he says, I have ten or twelve speeches to make this weekend.

I will bet you have never had anybody in the history of this State that has worked so hard to help build progressive democracy and maintain a strong effective political party and a better understanding of the programs of government than your own United States Senator, Paul Douglas. I am sure I am right in that. (Applause)

Now, I want you to let him take it a little easier for a while. You do the work at home and let him do the work in Washington.

And I am delighted to be here with this truly gifted and effective Congressman, Ken Gray. (Applause) I will tell you one thing about Ken Gray. Whenever there is a problem in his district he will bowl over the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument and the White House to get some help for you. Nothing will stop him. (Applause)

I think everybody in his district that ever had a problem including how poor the glue is on the postage stamps -- it tastes still bad even under a Democratic administration (Laughter) -- and how unbelievably bad those pens are that you use in the post office,

any of those problems, Ken Gray, plus getting jobs in industry and watching out for the economic well-being of his district, Ken Gray, your Congressman, is on the job 24 hours a day, seven days a week. (Applause)

Well, we have had a nice time on our tour. I met your Lieutenant Governor, Sam Shapiro, over in Peoria and we were together in Peoria and Decatur, and last night at Paducah, Kentucky.

Dorothy O'Brien was with us, and Jim Ronan, your National Committeewoman and your State Chairman. We have been traveling together and having a little time to visit even though that plane is a pretty busy shop when we are going from stop to stop and place to place.

But I am telling you that you have got a great ticket in this State and I wouldn't be much of a candidate for the Democratic Party if I didn't urge every single good voter in the State of Illinois to back up this ticket, to help from top to bottom, to help Otto Kerner be re-elected as your Governor, (applause) to see to it that Bill Clark becomes your Attorney General, and to see to it that my friend Mike Howlett is returned there as State Auditor and Paul Powell (applause) as your Secretary of State, (applause) and you have already met your legislators and Bill Grindie, State Senator. (Applause)

I am sure that you know that government is not all in Washington. I am sure you realize the importance of cooperation between Federal, State and local governments.

Now, friends, I just can't tell you how pleased I am to see the makeup of this gathering. I see all these happy smiling faces here before me in Marion County. I should say Williamson County at Marion, and Herrin, too, I don't want to forget that. (Applause) I know where they've got a lot of Democratic votes (laughter) and we are going to get a lot of them out of Marion, too, because a lot of folks that ordinarily voted Republican are going to put their country above their party this time and vote for President Johnson (applause).

I see the makeup of this wonderful audience and I see these happy faces, and yesterday when I was in Paducah somebody gave me a little -- gave me one of these little streamers that says "I'm happy with Humphrey." Well, if you can be happy with me, see how happy you can be with Johnson and Humphrey. (Applause)

And then you can be a whole lot happier if you know it is a Democratic victory all the way from the White House down to the

Courthouse and the State House.

But when I see these happy faces and it is a fact that all across America one can't help but note that there is a sense of joy, there is a sense of exhilaration, there is a feeling that we are doing things, that we are going places, that America is on the move.

The only time that I see anything that indicates to the contrary is when you see way back there, and you notice way back there, every once in a while way back just across the twentieth century line, way back you will see some poor soul that comes here to repent (laughter).

Folks, they bring with them their badges of political sin. (Laughter and applause)

And I want you to be magnanimous and generous about this. Remember that it isn't the 90 and 9 that are in the fold. It is the lost sheep, the one, and I want every good person here to open up your arms in welcome, in fellowship, and bring these dear people who need to enjoy the zest of life, who need to feel as we feel, happy and gay and strong and confident and optimistic, let them enjoy this, too. Is that all right? (Applause)

Somebody just told me my time was up, but I don't even know where we are going, so I don't mind. I don't know why I should be in any hurry. I just want to take a couple of more minutes. We will get along all right. They are looking at this printed schedule which has no relationship to fact at all. That was just somebody's idea back in Washington. They haven't even been able to find out how far it is from Paducah to Marion. They had me listed coming here in 45 minutes. That is the way Goldwater would have made it in a covered wagon. (Applause and laughter)

Why, the simple truth is that it only really took us twelve minutes by Democratic airplane. (Applause)

Well, I do want to say a few words to you very seriously. May I say that this area is one of the areas of America that typifies the meaning of the Democratic Party and the Democratic administration. We were in Paducah, Kentucky, last night, the home of the late beloved Alben Barkley, and I said there and I want to say here that he taught us that the Democratic Party should be a party with a heart, that it should be a party of compassion, that it should be a party of social justice, that it should be a party that was concerned about people, and from the day of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to this very hour, Democratic Presidents and Democratic leaders have always looked upon the duty of government to serve the people, to

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be responsible to the people, not to do everything for the people but to help people do things for themselves. (Applause)

The Democratic Party and the Democratic leadership has believed that its duty was to remove the boulders of obstruction from the pathway of social progress and then to help people help themselves by training, by education, by opportunity, to work and to move ahead down that great pathway of social progress. And we have made a lot of progress.

We started making that progress in the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt and we made progress under the Fair Deal of Harry Truman and we made progress under the one thousand dramatic days of leadership of the New Frontier of John Kennedy. (Applause)

And our President Johnson has but one aim for America, as he said, and that is a better deal, a better deal for America. All Americans everywhere regardless of their race, their color, their creed or their section of the country, a better deal for the American people. (Applause)

The Democratic Administration in 1961 promised that we would get this country moving again. The Democratic President and the team of Kennedy and Johnson and a Democratic Congress said we are not going to tolerate unemployment. We are not going to accept it as something that we need to endure.

We are not going to tolerate these pockets of poverty. We are not going to see our resources wasted, our human resources and our material resources.

We are going to get on with the job of making America more productive, making America more just, making America a better country in every way, not only in material things but better in terms of its attitudes, better in terms of its commitments, of its education, of its health, and we started and we have been doing things. This country has been moving and you know it. (Applause)

And right here in Williamson County, in your neighboring countries of Jackson County, Franklin County, of other counties, you know what I am talking about.

There was unemployment. There were serious problems. The coal industry was shattered. Agriculture was suffering. Jobs were gone. And then came Ken Gray and Paul Douglas and then came John Kennedy (applause) and then came a Democratic Congress. And I remember when Paul Douglas in the Senate led the fight for area redevelopment time after time and I remember when Republicans tried to kill it and did so.

And I remember that when John Kennedy became President, one of the first items of business was ARA, Area Redevelopment Administration, and if I am not mistaken, the neighboring county of Jackson got the first loan under that ARA program. (Applause)

And I remember when we fought for accelerated public works to put in sanitation plants and sewers, to put in streets and to put in municipal buildings to provide jobs and to provide opportunities for skilled workmen, for contractors, for manufacturers, for everybody to help build a better America, and I remember that many a Republican said no, and one of them was that man from Arizona who said no to everything we ever tried to do. (Applause)

He said no to ARA. He said no to public works. He said no to the development of our rivers. He said no to education, my young friends. He said no to old age assistance. When Paul Douglas in the United States Senate tried to help get a little more money for a person that was on old age assistance to permit them to earn up to \$50 a month without having it deducted from an old age pension, the man from Arizona said let them eat cake, so to speak. No help whatsoever.

We don't forget these things and we are not going to let the American people forget them. What we are faced with, my dear friends, is not an ordinary campaign. We are faced with a spokesman for the opposition party that is but a representative, may I say, a temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction in the Republican Party. That is what he is. (Applause)

And this man is a voice of retreat. He is a voice of negativism. He is a voice of the past. He has no faith in the future of this country. He distorts history and he doesn't understand the promises of tomorrow.

He is incapable in my mind of being able to handle the grave problems of international relations. He brandishes nuclear weapons as if he were playing a game of Russian roulette. I think that is too dangerous. We don't need any nuclear chicken games.

We need a President that is prudent and responsible. We need one that understands that our power is not for conquest but rather for peace, that our wealth is not for luxury but rather for justice, and to help people live a better life here and everywhere else in this world. (Applause)

And now, my friends, I listen to the words of my managers. I will cease and desist but under duress, I want you to know. I would love nothing better than to walk out in this crowd and shake hands with every one of you.

I want you to remember the only way we can lose this election is if we let it come out of our hands, if we fail to work between now and Tuesday, November 3. I implore every boy and girl in this audience under voting age to make it your business to see that your mother and father are at the election box on election day. Make them help you once. (Applause)

I ask every adult, I ask every adult here to see to it that every person that is in a hospital or the old soldiers' home or a veterans' home, see that they have a chance to cast their ballot and see that they have the information about the candidates and the programs.

Let's make this election day the greatest ratification of progress and hope and peace in this century. We can do it. We are going to win this election. We are going to win it if you want to win it. (Applause)

So more power to you. We have got a lot of campaigning to do and I want to tell you that I am liking it more every day, every day. Go on. Get the job done and on November 3 when the votes are counted in Illinois, I want to be able to say I remember when I was in Williamson County, when I was between Marion and Herrin. (Applause) I want to be able to look at that voting sheet and see the tally of the votes in these counties and I want to say, you know, those folks told me they were going to win and darned if they didn't keep their word.

Thank you very much.

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