

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

LaCrosse, Wisconsin  
Saturday, October 24  
Mary E. Sawyer Auditorium

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Governor Reynolds. Thank you for your gracious and warm welcome once again to this beautiful state of Wisconsin. I am so very honored to be greeted at the airport and here by my friend and colleague, your former Governor, and now your United States Senator, Gaylord Nelson. (Applause.)

I know that our other colleague in the Senate, who stands for election in this year 1964 would like very much to be with us, but he's busy campaigning elsewhere, and I surely hope that the people of this 3rd District, this community of LaCrosse County are going to give William Proxmire their strong support for re-election in this coming election. (Applause.)

Might I add that we are very pleased to know that in this, the 3rd Congressional District of Wisconsin, we have on the Democratic ticket a candidate for Congress that is respected throughout all of this fine community, that is known not only as a great Democrat but as a fine, outstanding citizen. I am very proud to be able to say a word of support for and a word of friendship for a wonderful man that I believe can serve this district with honor and integrity and ability. I refer to my friend and yours, Harold Ristow. (Applause.)

And may I add that we also have with us candidates for the State Assembly. We also have with us today your LaCrosse County candidates that I have had the privilege of meeting on the Democratic ticket.

And we have on this platform one of my long-time friends in Wisconsin that was most helpful to me in a little political exercise that I once indulged in in this state about four years ago. I want to say that Charles Dahl would make a fine State Senator. (Applause.)

But I do think that your interest is not only on your legislative and local races, even though they are very important, because government in this country is not in Washington -- it is in Washington and Madison, and in the LaCrosse County Courthouse, and at the city council and at the Assembly, all up and down the many levels of government.

I am particularly pleased to note when I come back to Wisconsin the renewed support for a courageous and for a hard-working government, and I want to say that nothing would be more gratifying to the President of the United States or to his associate in this campaign, Hubert Humphrey, than the election of John Reynolds as Governor and Pat Lucey as Lieutenant Governor of the state of Wisconsin. (Applause.)

Well, it's good to be back with friends and it's might good to see this fine group of young musicians before me. I want to thank them so much for entertaining this audience while we were on our way here from the airport.

While I mention our young friends and young people, might I say that the enthusiasm which young people show in this campaign for their respective candidates is one of the most gratifying aspects of the whole experience. I have traveled from one end of America to the other, from the West to the East Coast, from the North to the South, throughout this great Middle West, and I find high school students, grade school students, college students, all deeply interested in the outcome of this election.

They are eager; they are enthusiastic, and they are hard-working. And might I add a suggestion at this point? That in the next few days, our young friends can do something for their country that is even more important than any enthusiastic shouting or any

enthusiastic hand-clapping that they may indulge in. And we all do it. Campaigning is filled with enthusiasm. It is filled with all of the partisanship that you would expect. This is healthy. This is normal. This is the way it ought to be.

But I say to the young people that are here today, and there are some of you, which gratifies me and pleases me much, make yourself a sentinel or guardian of democracy in your home between now and November 3rd. You would be surprised, my dear friends, how many of our adults, that are all too willing to be critical of their government, are also all too willing on election day not to pay any attention to their citizenship responsibilities.

The privilege of voting in America is a privilege second to none. And this right to vote and this privilege to vote that is ours is meaningless unless it is exercised. And I hope that our young friends here, the sons and daughters of the parents of this community, will make it their business to see to it that their mothers, their fathers, their brothers or sisters of age 21 or over, that these fine adult citizens of your family and of your neighborhood, that they are voters on November 3rd.

I think you have a right this time to ask your elders to do this for you. Because the decisions that will be made between now and the next four years are decisions that are going to affect the lives of every young boy and girl, every young man and woman in this audience, and it's really going to make the difference between peace and war.

They can make the difference between education and non-education; they can be the difference between economic progress and economic stagnation.

And I do feel that regardless of how you may feel about the candidate -- and we have people here of both political parties -- may I say that you have an obligation, even more than anyone else, to see to it that the candidate of your choice has a spokesman in your house, and you be that spokesman and you speak up for whom you believe in and you ask your parents to weigh carefully the arguments, the platforms, and the qualifications of the men and the woman that seek public office in this state and in this nation.

If my young friends will do this, you will be doing something for your country that is the highest form of good citizenship and all of us will applaud you.

I think it would be a good idea now if the adults gave these young people some encouragement. (Applause.)

You just want to do a good job, now, and we are going to talk a little good, solid politics, and we are going to talk about our government. We are going to talk about our country, because when you get right down to it, between now and November 3rd, our country is making the greatest decision of this decade, the decision as to what philosophy will govern us, will motivate us, the decision as to which of these two men that are seeking the office of President will be elected.

And I think that it is important that everybody think clearly and think -- may I say -- deeply about this decision.

Senator Goldwater wants -- no, we don't boo. We do not boo our opposition. We cheer. We may feel sorry for the opposition but we don't boo.

Senator Goldwater once said, speaking at Monterey, California, in the month of May, 1964, the following words -- and I say about the Senator that he is a man of sincerity. You may not agree with him -- and I don't on many things -- but I have never doubted his sincerity.

He said, "By our votes, you can judge us, not by our talk." I think that is a very fair standard, and we owe Senator Goldwater a great deal for having stated that standard of political measurement. And I want to see how he votes and let's judge the candidates by how they vote and let's judge by performance and not by promises.

Let's just take a look, for example, at where we were four years ago. A brave and courageous man, intelligent and gifted young man, stood on the steps of the nation's Capitol in Washington, being inaugurated as President of the United States.

He took that oath of office. He pledged himself to the fulfillment of constitutional responsibilities, and he said to us, "Let us begin." He said to us, "Let us get this country moving again."

Here was a man that welcomed the responsibility of the most awesome burden of public life, the presidency of the United States. Here was a man that saw an America that was in its third recession in eight years, and it was. Here was a man that said, "Let's get this country moving again." And he called on everybody, regardless of party, to join hands together to see if we couldn't, somehow or other, energize our economy. Because our employment was up to 7 and 8 per cent of the total work force. Our plant capacity of industry was unused, as much as 15 per cent.

America was not fulfilling its full capacity for jobs and for production, and what happened? The President of the United States didn't merely say, "Let us begin." He gave us a program and he laid down one bill after another before the 87th Congress and then again before the 88th Congress.

And as a result of those measures, I think it can be said without contradiction that America moved further ahead in the past 44 months in terms of economic progress than at any other time in its history.

As a matter of fact, my friends and neighbors of Wisconsin, never in the history of this country have there been 44 months of continuous up-swing in the economy. Never has there been a period of four years in which there was not at least some recession or some drop in production or gross national product -- never, never, except now.

And under the Kennedy-Johnson program, it's a fact -- not a political statement, but a fact -- that for 44 consecutive months our country has moved forward economically. (Applause.)

More jobs -- the highest employment in the nation's history. More profits -- the highest profits for business in the nation's history. In fact, an increase in net profits for American business in three and one half years of \$13 billion. The highest dividends -- the stock market in the last 11 months has increased in value by \$100 billion. The gross national product -- which is the sum total of our production in services and goods has increased \$125 billion.

And when you hear the opposition complain of costs and of expenditures, I want to remind them that America today is the most prosperous nation on the face of the earth, that America today has an increase of \$125 billion in production, \$100 billion in value on the market, and billions and billions of other dollars.

This is a fantastic growth rate -- double what it was in the preceding eight years.

We kept our promises. John Kennedy said to you and to me we must move again, we must begin, we must get this country moving. We must attack unemployment. We must get our factories back into production.

I left Detroit today and I noticed on the billboard that Detroit has produced this year over 6 million automobiles. It will produce as many as 7.5 to 8 by January or by December 31, 1964. Unprecedented -- the first time in the history of this country that the automobile industry has had three consecutive years of increased production. (Applause.)

And how did it happen? First of all, they encouraged enterprise. The White House today is open not only to the farmer but to business, not only to business but to the farmer and the worker, to the student and the teacher. The White House has become the people's house. The White House is conference house for every element of American life.

The President of the United States seeks to unite us. He seeks to encourage us, to inspire us to do better.

Investment tax credit -- \$11.5 billion tax cut.

Area redevelopment, public works, expansion and increase of the minimum wage, the doubling of the activities of the Small Business Administration -- my fellow Americans, is it any wonder that some of the leading bankers, industrialists, and businessmen of America that traditionally voted Republican have now declared their support for the Democratic administration and for the re-election of President Johnson? (Applause.)

Now, let us move to an area that is very critical for this part of our America. We, in Minnesota, and you, in Wisconsin, are deeply concerned about the prosperity and the progress of our agriculture. And Agriculture has had a difficult time keeping pace with the rest of the economy, not only now but throughout our history.

Agriculture, in a real sense, has subsidized America. The American farmer has produced more food at lower prices than any other agricultural producer in the world. He has been generous to a fault with everyone else. And one of the reasons that America is as prosperous and as great and as strong as it is is because of the family farm system in this nation and the sacrifice of the family farm and farmer and his family for the American economy. (Applause.)

Senator Goldwater, as I said, speaks clearly and especially candidly. He said -- and I think we should respect his statement -- "I favor placing agriculture back under the law of supply and demand with provisions for farmers hit by acts of God." Los Angeles Times, September 21, 1960.

He also said in his book "The Conscience of a Conservative": "There must be prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program." And I will say for Mr. Goldwater, he meant every word of it because his votes prove it.

He has voted against the dairy industry at every opportunity. He has yet to cast one vote for a dairy program in the United States Senate. On every occasion, he has voted no. And any dairy farmer that needed any cooperation from his government never received it from a vote of the Senator from Arizona.

He voted against the emergency feed grains program on two occasions. He voted against America's conservation programs on two votes in '62 and '63. He voted against the wheat program, the cotton program, the corn set-aside program, the price support program for basic crops, and he voted against the Food for Peace program, the Food for Peace program that has done more to relieve human suffering than any act of our government, that has been designed to use the bounty of our fields to feed the hungry, to develop markets, to provide economic standards to people that desperately needed it.



And these young people are growing in numbers. By the year 1970, a majority of our population will be under 25. We are going to have to double our college classroom space in the next 35 years. We are going to have a tremendous job of providing over 100 thousand new classrooms for our elementary schools in the next five years.

Mr. Goldwater should know this. He is a parent, as I am. He has lived in local government, as I have. Yet, what is Mr. Goldwater's view on education? I quote it to you as he said it in Jacksonville, Florida, and I wouldn't want to do him a disservice, so I read it exactly as he said it:

"The government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility, and the child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children get along very well without it."

That was July 8, 1962.

Ladies and gentlemen, a man that feels that a child has no right to an education in America has no qualifications for being President of the United States. (Applause.)

What's the history of education in our country? As early as the Continental Congress, 1785, before our present Constitution, the Continental Congress set aside land in every township in the Northwest Territory for public education.

During the Civil War, when our nation was being torn apart, even then, Congress took time to enact the Lang Grant College Act, after which college act, Congress gave us the University of Wisconsin and we in Minnesota, the University of Minnesota.

Then, there was the G. I. Bill of Rights after World War II that helped over 10 million veterans, gave technical or vocational higher education.

What's Mr. Goldwater's record on education? He has been true to his statement. I respect him for being consistent, but I deplore his consistency because it would be catastrophic for America if it became public policy.

He voted against any aid for the construction of medical schools, dental schools, professional schools. He voted against any aid for school construction or teachers' salaries or the operation of schools. He voted against increasing the school lunch program, even though the population of our schools since 1950 has increased over 40 per cent. He voted against providing loans and scholarships to help thousands of needy students who ought to be attending college. He voted against the extension and the expansion of vocational education, even though we know that school drop-outs are one of the major problems confronting our nation and we know that every boy and girl, every young man and woman must have some kind of technical or vocational training.

He voted against the Public Library Services Act that would bring library services to those smaller communities and help bring good books to 61 million Americans.

He voted against the National Defense Education Act. He voted against aid to higher education. And right here in this community of LaCrosse, your own state college will receive aid to higher education under a bill enacted by the Congress of the United States.

But Mr. Goldwater's vote would have provided no college dormitory, would have provided no help to your higher educational facilities.

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So, Mr. Goldwater meant what he said when he said no child has a right to an education.

Senator Goldwater, I disagree with you. The citizenship of the United States places an obligation upon this government to see to it that we do have education. Education above everything else is a community responsibility. Education is a government responsibility in a democracy and any presidential candidate that doesn't understand that is unfit to be even a candidate, much less a President of the United States. (Applause)

I think it would be better if you said, "We want an education."

Now, we just improved on one of the themes. There is much to talk about. But time does not permit it.

I want to talk to you in this audience about the role of this government in the field of social welfare. Again, Mr. Goldwater is very frank. I repeat, I respect him for his frankness but I disagree with him.

He has said that the Federal government should withdraw from programs of social welfare, of public housing, of education, of agriculture, of assistance to the elderly. And if he were elected President, that is exactly what would happen. This is exactly why many people in the United States of America are deeply concerned over the Senator's views on social security and other aids to our unemployed, our needy and our elderly.

His voting record on the problems of senior citizens, however, is crystal clear. In session after session during the time of his incumbency as a Senator, he has voted against every constructive, common-sense proposal to help our older citizens enjoy a more meaningful, health and worthwhile life.

He voted against Federal aid to housing for the elderly on four occasions. Yet, my fellow Americans and my good neighbors, in every major city of America, the problem of housing of our elderly is disgraceful. And, thank goodness, that some of these cities are beginning to respond through private enterprise, through cooperation between private enterprise and municipal government and Federal government, and you see in city after city now these new apartment areas that are called senior citizens housing projects.

How did they come about? By action on the part of your Congress and your government. And may I say, this is not only action on the part of Democrats. I do not stand here to claim all of this for one party. In fact, the late Robert Taft, United States Senator from Ohio, was one of the staunchest advocates of the Federal Housing program. And the former Senator from Indiana, Mr. Capehart, Republican, was one of the first to support housing for the elderly.

It hasn't been just Republican or Democrat. It hasn't been a contest between Republican and Democrat. It has been and is in this election a contest between most Republicans and most Democrats, and Mr. Goldwater. (Applause.)

Mr. Goldwater not only voted against housing for the elderly, he voted against creating disability protection and insurance under social security for our totally disabled.

He voted against increased Federal funds for aid to dependent children and for those who were on old-age assistance. He voted to deny a man or woman on old-age assistance the right to earn

\$50 a month without having deductions made from your old-age assistance checks.

I want to say, my dear friends, that is pinching a penny pretty tightly. When you can deny a person who would like to add a little income to an already very small pension, when you would deny them the right to add \$50 a month, I say that you're denying freedom to that man and that woman and you're hurting them in every possible way.

And yet, the Republican nominee did just that. He voted against medical care for the elderly, not merely under social security, which is a highly controversial issue, but in the Senate of the United States, over 90 per cent of the Senators -- nine out of ten -- voted for the Kerr-Mills Bill, which would have provided aid for those that were needy, those that couldn't possibly pay their own hospital bill. Nine out of ten Senators, 90 out of 100, voted for it, but the Senator from Arizona voted no.

He said, "You can pay your own bills even if you have no money." How that goes, I don't know. (Applause.)

He voted against increased research for heart disease, cancer, for the diseases of the elderly. He voted against the restoration of funds for research on housing for the aged. He voted against legislation for new hospital construction, for more medical schools, more doctors and more nurses.

He just voted against anything that was brought up. That seems to be the record -- anything that related to the care of the elderly people. (Applause.)

I ask my friends who are here today to examine this record. It's not good enough, however, to recite merely the yesterdays. We need to ask what of the future.

I predict that if you give us the chance, if you give President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey a Democratic Congress, if you give us an opportunity to lay down a program for you, the 89th Congress can be -- convening this coming January -- will be remembered as the Congress to establish a common-sense, sound, long-overdue plan for prepaid hospital and nursing home insurance under Social Security for every man and woman aged 75 and over. (Applause.)

The Goldwaterites have said that most of the aged are better off financially than the younger people. They can easily pay their medical bills. Well, let's try a little experiment.

Think of three people you know who are over 65. The odds are that two of those three will soon have an annual medical bill of approximately \$1000 or \$1200. Can they afford it after age 65? The income is the lowest, the jobs opportunities the least, the duration of illness the longest, the cost of hospitalization the highest. And surely, in America that is primarily young, and this America will have over 75 per cent of its people, by the year 1970, under 55 years of age -- that America that is young and vital ought to be able to provide decency and dignity for the America senior citizen, and if you let President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey be your leaders in the year 1965, and for the next four years, we will give you just that kind of a program.

My friends, I leave you. I must go to my home city of Minneapolis. It has been a joy to be here with you. I'm sure that you know, as I know, that the election campaign is soon drawing to a conclusion. For this, we may all be grateful. I ask you, however, to do once again some thinking about the problems of peace and war, the future of our country. I ask you to help us build on the platform of progress that we have made these past 30 years. I ask you to help us keep the peace, keep America strong, and keep working for a more humane society, both at home and abroad. Thank you.

(end)

## General Themes - Wisconsin

1. I want to urge the re-election of Governor John Reynolds, who has been doing such a good job in protecting and extending the gains this State made under Gaylord Nelson's governorship. With John Reynolds in the State House and with Bill Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson in the Senate, this State is in good hands.
2. I am also glad to support the campaign for Attorney-General here of Bronson LaFollette, son and grandson to the men who made the name LaFollette important not only in this state, but in the nation.
3. In fact, the name LaFollette and the liberal-progressive spirit which it stands for, is recalled uniquely in this campaign.

Early in this century, through LaFollette leadership, Wisconsin pioneered in unemployment compensation, in orphan assistance, in regulation of public utilities, and other measures which became the foundation of the New Deal. In fact, F.D.R. leaned heavily on LaFollette in developing the architecture of the New Deal.

Lyndon Johnson was a young man then. But he was nurtured in that development and became a protege of it. Lyndon Johnson wants to conserve the gains of the last thirty-odd years, while the candidate of the opposition wants to undo it all. Lyndon Johnson wants to build on

that tradition and go forward from it. The opposition candidate, after an act of demolition on the social progress of recent years, wants to go backward from it.

4. Senator Goldwater is not in the mainstream of the Republican Party. In fact, it is hard to see where he and his extremist followers have any claim to any part of the Republican Party.

Wisconsin claims to be the birthplace of the Republican Party. It was at Ripon, Wisconsin in 1854 that it was born in protest against the extension of slavery. There should be pardonable pride in Wisconsin in this bit of history. The best way this year for Republicans in Wisconsin to keep this history untarnished is to deny these usurpers any further opportunity to use the Republican name for the purpose of dividing instead of uniting America.

5. America is known in general as a "melting pot" of many peoples from many lands. Wisconsin is a mirror of America in this. It too is a melting pot of nationalities and peoples. But you have made Wisconsin the great state it is by working together, not by setting group against group.

6. The extremism and divisiveness of the Goldwater candidate this year has been well-exposed by moderate and responsible Republicans. They have also recognized the grave danger to ourselves and the world in Senator

Goldwater's irresponsible approach to issues of war and peace.

La Crosse, Wisconsin

Population: 47,575

Perhaps two-thirds of population descended from immigrants only 2-3 generations back.

Economic progress from trading post-lumbering, to present-day transport and supply center for a wide area.

In 1905, a large lumber industry died when trees were logged out. Knows what it means to recover from severe shock by developing new industry.



# on Business + Econ Progress

- Investment Tax Credit
- Tax cut - no
- ARA -
- Public works -
- minn usg -
- SBA - Double

KEY ISSUE OF AGRICULTURE

Goldwater: "By our votes you can judge us, not by our talking." (Monterey, California, May 26, 1964)

Goldwater's votes against the farmers:

1. Against supporting dairy products at 85 percent instead of 75 percent (1954)

2. Against Emergency Feed Grains Program (1961)

3. Against agricultural conservation programs (1962, 1963) *Wheat + Cotton - NO*

4. Against Food for Peace extension (1962)

5. Against corn "set aside" (1956)

6. Against 90 percent supports on basic crops (1954, 1956) *Food Stamp -*

Goldwater on agriculture: "I favor placing agriculture back under the law of supply and demand, with provisions for farmers hit by acts of God." (Los Angeles Times, Sept. 21, 1960)

KEY ISSUE OF EDUCATION (STRONG INTEREST IN LA CROSSE)

Goldwater's view of the "right" to an education:

"The government has no right to educate children.

The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The

*Prompt + final termination of farm subsidy program*

*How about* Tax cuts -  
Airline  
Merchant Marine  
Rails -

educ

- 3 -

child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children get along very well without it."

(Louisville Courier-Journal, July 8, 1962)

Therest Long history of government support of education:

1 L --As early as 1785, the Continental Congress set aside land in every township in the Northwest Territory for public education.

2 L --Congress enacted Land Grant College Act during Civil War. A majority of all American college students today are enrolled in great universities such as the University of Wisconsin and the other 67 land-grant colleges.

3 L --G.I. Bill of Rights of World War II helped more than ten million veterans obtain higher education.

④ L --Education is opportunity for individuals; an investment for the nation.

Goldwater's votes against education:

1. Against aid for the construction of medical, dental, and professional schools. (1963)

2. Against aid to increase teachers' salaries. (1960, 1961)

3. Against increasing school lunch program funds. (1954)

4. Against providing loans and scholarships to help thousands more needy students in attending college. (1958, 1963)

5. Against expansion of vocational education. (1963)

6. Against helping 61 million Americans obtain greater access to public libraries. (1964) *Library Services Act*

7. Against the National Defense Education Act. (1958, 1963)

8. Against giving construction aid to colleges to help them expand to accommodate population explosion. Higher Educ Act (1963)

88th Congress rightfully earned the title of "The Education Congress."

Senator Goldwater was completely out of step. *on every issue No!*

KEY ISSUE OF HELP TO SENIOR CITIZENS

See attached.

Senior Citizen Talk

④

While Senator Goldwater's remarks about many issues have been cryptic and confused, his voting record on problems of our senior citizens is crystal clear. In session after session, he has voted against constructive common-sense proposals to help our older citizens enjoy a more healthy and worthwhile life.

He voted against federal housing for the elderly on at least four occasions.

He voted against creating the disability insurance program. *in Soc Sec*

He voted against increased federal matching funds for aid to dependent children and to the needy aged, blind and disabled.

↳ He voted twice against medical care for the aged financed through social security. - + Kerr Mills

↳ He voted against increased research programs into diseases of the elderly.

↳ He voted against restoration of funds to the Housing and Home Finance Agency Research programs on housing for the aged.

↳ He voted against legislation to provide new hospital construction, more medical schools, and more doctors and nurses.

↳ This record discloses a shocking disregard for the needs and concerns of our older citizens. And it discloses either indifference or ignorance toward the remarkable medical and social breakthroughs which hold such promise for transforming the lives of our older citizens.

But enough of the past. What of the future?

I predict that the 89th Congress, convening this  
January, will be remembered as the Congress to establish  
a common-sense, sound, and long awaited plan for prepaid  
hospital insurance under social security. In the 88th  
Congress, the legislation passed the Senate. Next year,  
I predict, complete victory will be achieved.

~~The goldwaterites say that the aged should buy  
private insurance.~~  
*The Goldwaterites*  
~~they~~ say that most of the aged are better off financially  
than younger people, and can easily pay their medical bills.

Well, let's try a little experiment. Think of three people  
you know who are over sixty-five. The odds are that two  
of them will soon have an annual medical bill of  
\$1,200. Can they afford it?

You know that "medicare" will not cost your house, or your savings, or your grandson's education. It will cost a small payroll deduction during working years and will take the bite out of those hospital bills when you are trying to live on a fixed retirement income.

And we think this makes sense. We think this is sound public policy.

We intend also to enact increased monthly social security payments. And once we get such monthly payments up to a decent level, we hope to modify the social security benefit structure so that it is responsive to economic changes and fluctuations in the cost of living.



# news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE  
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25

B-3912

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA  
SATURDAY EVENING, OCT. 24

I return to Minnesota -- to this great Democratic Farmer-Labor Bean Feed -- with a message of joy and good news.

The Democratic Party is headed for an overwhelming victory on November 3rd. And the Democratic Farmer-Labor candidates in Minnesota are on the same victory trail.

But this historic victory still depends on you. Every registered voter has the solemn duty to make that trip to the voting booth on Tuesday, November 3rd.

There is no greater privilege available to a free people. There is no duty more sacred than the full exercise of this privilege.

In the opening speech of my campaign for the Vice Presidency, I said the Democratic Party brought to the American people a record of accomplishment unparalleled in modern times.

As assistant Senate Majority Leader, I was privileged to work with President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson in building this record.

Democrats should be proud of this record. Americans should be proud of this record. And we are!

We know that performance -- not promises -- is the test of a political party. And we have kept our promises.

We are proud of the \$11.5 tax cut -- it provides 80 million taxpayers with a 20 per cent decrease in their taxes.

We are proud of the nuclear test ban treaty -- it cleans the atmosphere of radioactive fallout and takes us a step closer toward peace.

We are proud of the civil rights act -- it proclaims that there is no room for second-class citizenship in America.

We are proud of the economic opportunity act -- it signifies our determination to banish poverty from our land.

We are proud of the college aid bill -- it provides urgently needed assistance for construction of new college classrooms, libraries, and laboratories.

We are proud of the vocational education act -- it increases by millions the number of students and teachers in vocational schools.

We are proud of the library services act -- it ensures library facilities for 61.5 million people who do not have local libraries.

We are proud of the hospital construction act -- it provides funds for construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers in urban areas.

We are proud of the mental health bill -- it establishes local mental health centers for research, training and treatment.

We are proud of the mass transportation act -- it provides grants and loans for local transit facilities.

We are proud of our record in agriculture -- the food grain program works -- farm income is up -- surpluses are being reduced -- we are expecting more food overseas -- REA has been strengthened -- reclamation and irrigation <sup>projects</sup> are going forward.

We are proud of our record in conservation -- the wilderness bill -- the land and water conservation fund -- new national parks and seashores were established by the 88th Congress.

During the past four years, President Kennedy and President Johnson dedicated every effort toward building a better America and providing for a more peaceful world.

We believe the record of the Democratic Party under the Kennedy Johnson Administration demonstrates its fidelity to the ideals of the past, its responsibility to the challenges of the present, and its commitment to the opportunities of the future.

We are the party of hope. We are the people of faith. And we do not run from from problems -- we regard them as opportunities.

During the next four years we will face staggering challenges and unparalleled opportunities.

--We have the opportunity to banish hunger throughout the world.

--We have the opportunity to make America the land of first-class citizenship for all our people.

--We have the opportunity to make machines the servants -- not the masters -- of men.

--We have the opportunity to create new jobs and achieve full economic development in a nation growing at the rate of 3 million persons a year.

--We have the opportunity make our cities decent places in which to live.

--We have the opportunity to destroy poverty in America forever.

--We have the opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly. And this is not merely an opportunity; it is a moral obligation.

--We have the opportunity to improve and expand our educational system to train and prepare our youth for life in the age of science, automation and technology.

These are the opportunities and the goals of President Johnson's Great Society.

These are the goals of the Democratic Party -- a better America -- where there is opportunity for the young, security for the elderly, compassion for the afflicted, and peace for all mankind.

And what does our opposition offer? Rather than accept the challenges of the future, they are making plans to destroy the accomplishments of the past. The leader of the Goldwater Party has proposed the following:

"The government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs...from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal...I do suggest that we establish by law, a rigid timetable for a staged withdrawal."

This is not the voice of a loyal Republican or a true conservative. In his heart, Senator Goldwater is a radical in the true and basic meaning of the term.

A true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past -- Senator Goldwater wants to pull everything out by its roots.

Senator Goldwater seeks to weaken Social Security -- if not destroy it entirely -- by making it voluntary.

He seeks "prompt and final termination" of farm price support programs.

He seeks to sell TVA "even if they could only get a dollar for it."

On three great issues of conscience to come before the U.S. Senate in the past decade -- the senecure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the nuclear test ban treaty, and the civil rights bill -- Senator Goldwater voted "No" on each occasion.

Senator Goldwater and his followers say we are losing our freedom. I suggest the 20th Century American has more true freedom than any individual ever had in any society in history.

Choice is the foundation of freedom and never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices and the capacity to choose that he has today.

We must, however, be ever vigilant to insure that the torch of freedom is not extinguished -- that the frontiers of freedom are persistently and patiently extended.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he is ill-housed, ill fed, or ill-clothed.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he works 10 or 12 hours a day for starvation wages.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he faces his later years in poverty and insecurity.

We know that a child cannot be fully free if he grows up in an urban or rural slum, or receives an inadequate education in overcrowded or ill-equipped schools.

We know that true freedom is achieved only in a society where each and every person has an opportunity to develop his native capacities to the fullest.

It is to insure this kind of freedom that modern, positive, enlightened government has acted at every level -- local, state and national.

It is not a question of Federal Government against the states, or counties against municipalities, but one free people joined in common cause to give new and richer meaning to that glorious word -- America!

But these visions of a Great Society -- these commitments to build a better America--are for naught unless we preserve the peace.

No problem has demanded more time and attention of President Kennedy, President Johnson and the Congress of the United States than taking constructive initiative in the cause of world peace.

In the past four years we began anew to formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms.

We began anew to focus the machinery of our government on the question of peace and arms control -- by establishing the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

We began anew by establishing the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, foreign aid, the trade expansion programs, the hot-line to Moscow, and matching funds to support the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations.

We began these initiatives with full knowledge that world peace will never be achieved by any single act -- by any single agreement. But -- to ~~quote President~~ Kennedy -- we understood that "peace is a process -- a way of solving problems."

The history of our era has taught us that peace is best preserved through strength -- strength used with restraint, with wisdom, and with a clear sense of perspective.

In 1961 President Kennedy and the Democratic Congress acted decisively to insure that our strength would be preeminent -- that our balanced military power could deter or defeat any foe in any foreseeable situation.

Our enemies know this -- and so do our allies.

But President Johnson also knows that it is easier to destroy than to build. He knows it is easier to make war than to think, persuade, construct, and act responsibly in this nuclear era.

President Johnson knows -- and we know -- that responsible action is the only sure path to peace. And he knows that mankind yearns for a world where peace is more than just an interval between wars. For he knows that the next war will be the last war.

President Johnson has pledged himself to work for the growth of freedom and the survival of mankind. Listen to his words:

"As long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace. That peace is much more than the absence of war...If the strong and the wealthy ignore the needs of the poor, frustrations will lead to force. Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation fears another, and no nation can force another to follow its command."

President Johnson will honor that pledge.

Our opponents ask, "Why not victory?" We reply, "Why not victory indeed?" -- victory over war itself, victory for peace, victory for mankind.

This is our cause. This is our commitment.

We ask your help.

#####

① Murphy on Alaska - & Heri Joseph

● Gov. Kellogg -  
Sen. McCarthy -

~~McCarthy~~

my colleagues  
in congress!

Set freeway  
ambassadors  
Anderson

I return to Minnesota--to this great Democratic

Farmer-Labor Bean Feed--with a message of joy and good

news.

yes, there is good news tonight!

Just

The Democratic Party is headed for an overwhelming

victory on November 3rd. And the Democratic Farmer-

Labor candidates in Minnesota are on the same victory

trail.

Happy days are here again!

But this historic victory still depends on you.

Every registered voter has the solemn duty to make

to vote

that ~~is~~ on Tuesday, November 3rd.

There is no greater privilege available to a free

people. There is no duty more important, than the full

~~exercise of this privilege~~

#

In the opening speech of my campaign for the Vice

Presidency, I said the Democratic Party brought to

the American people a record of accomplishment

unequaled  
unparalleled in modern times.

As assistant Senate majority leader, I was  
privileged to work with President John F. Kennedy  
and President Lyndon B. Johnson <sup>Sen. McCarthy and over 27</sup> <sub>Congressmen</sub> in building this  
record.

and Democrats should be proud of this record.

Americans should be <sup>pleased with</sup> ~~pride~~ of this record. And we are!

~~We know that performance--not promises--is the~~  
test of a political <sup>leadership</sup> ~~party.~~ and we  
have a record of Performance.

We are proud of the ~~new~~ \$11.5 billion tax  
cut--it provides 80 million taxpayers with a 20 percent  
decrease in their taxes and a sizeable increase  
in spendable income. ~~stimulation~~

We are proud of the nuclear test ban treaty--it  
cleans the atmosphere of radioactive fallout and takes  
us a step closer toward peace.

↳ We are proud of the civil rights act--it proclaims  
~~that there is no room for~~ second-class citizenship in

America. *it fulfills the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation.*

↳ We are proud of the economic opportunity act--it

signifies our determination to banish poverty from *america*  
~~our land.~~

↳ We are proud of the college aid bill--it provides  
urgently needed assistance for the construction of new  
college classrooms, libraries and laboratories.

↳ We are proud of the vocational education act--it ~~guarantees~~  
*with proper financing* an increase  
~~in the number of~~ the number of students and  
teachers in vocational schools.

↳ We are proud of the library services act--it ensures

library facilities for 61.5 million people who do not *now*  
have local libraries.

↳ We are proud of the manpower training and  
Reemployment act that has helped thousands  
of workers find gainful employment.

↳ We are proud of the Area Redevelopment Program designed to provide jobs, investment, and industrial expansion in areas of economic distress  
↳ We can be proud of our Program of Public Works to help our cities, and states providing jobs and construction

We are proud of the hospital construction act--it is an expanded program of provides funds for construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers in urban areas.

↳ We are proud of the mental health bill--it establishes local mental health centers for research, training and treatment and provides care for the mentally retarded.

We are proud of the mass transportation act--it provides grants and loans for local transit facilities designed to ease our urban traffic problems

We are proud of our record in agriculture--the feed program works--farm income is up--surpluses are being reduced--we are exporting more food overseas--REA has been strengthened--reclamation and irrigation projects

are going forward. Farm credit has been increased; School lunch program enlarged; The food stamp plan a national program

And We are proud of our record in conservation--the wilderness bill--the land and water conservation fund--

and 44 months of Economic  
Expansion + Growth -  
Prosperity

new national parks and seashores were established by the

88th Congress.

This is the record of Performance

~~During the past four years,~~ President Kennedy and  
have  
President Johnson dedicated every effort toward building  
a better America and providing for a more peaceful world.

~~We believe~~ the record of the Democratic Party  
under the Kennedy-Johnson administration demonstrates  
its fidelity to the ideals of the past, its responsibility  
to the challenges of the present, and its commitment to  
the opportunities of the future.

We are the party of hope. We are the people of  
faith. And we do not run from problems--we regard them  
as opportunities. • #

During the next four years we will face staggering  
challenges and unparalleled opportunities.

↳ --We have the opportunity to banish hunger throughout the world.

↳ --We have the opportunity to make America the land of first-class citizenship for all our people.

↳ --We have the opportunity to make machines the servants--not the masters--of men.

↳ --We have the opportunity to create new jobs and achieve full economic development in a nation growing at the rate of 3 million persons a year.

*(In Min  
Tocante Amad)*

↳ --We have the opportunity to make our cities decent places in which to live.

↳ --We have the opportunity to destroy poverty in America forever.

↳ --We have the opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly. And this is not merely an opportunity; it is a moral obligation.

∟ --We have the opportunity to improve and expand our educational system to train and prepare our youth for life in the age of science, automation, and technology.

∟ These are the opportunities and the goals of President Johnson's Great Society.

Here are the goals of the Democratic Party—a  
a better America--where there is opportunity for the  
young, security for the elderly, compassion for the  
afflicted, and peace for all mankind.

∟ And what does our opposition offer? Rather than  
accept the challenges of the future, they are making  
plans to destroy the accomplishments of the past. The  
leader of the Goldwater Party has proposed the following;

① The late Senator Robert Taft -  
Mr Republican of the 1940s  
rejected such an interpretation of  
the role of the Fed Govt -

Sen Taft Sponsored the Nat. Housing  
Act of 1948

Taft Supported Fed Aid to Educ

Taft " Public Housing

Taft " Urban Renewal

Taft supported Soc Security  
& its expansion

Taft supported Minm Wage

Taft " Farm Cooperatives

Taft " <sup>REA</sup> Foreign Aid

But Goldwater rejects all  
of this - He repudiates his Party

Listen:

"The government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs...from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal...~~I do suggest that we establish by law, a rigid timetable for a staged withdrawal.~~"

This is not the voice of a loyal Republican or a true conservative. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

The late Senator Robert Taft -- Mr. Republican- rejected such an interpretation of the role of the Federal Government.

Senator Taft sponsored the National Housing Act of ~~1948~~.

~~He~~ supported federal aid to education.

Taft supported public housing.

~~He~~ supported urban renewal.

Taft supported social security and its expansion.

~~He~~ supported farm cooperatives.

Taft supported REA.

~~He~~ supported foreign aid.

- But not Sen Goldwater

~~He~~ Goldwater rejects all of this. He

repudiates his party. He is a radical!

A true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past <sup>but</sup> Senator Goldwater wants to pull everything out by its roots.

Senator Goldwater seeks to weaken Social Security -- if not destroy it entirely -- by making it voluntary.

He seeks "prompt and final termination" of farm price support programs.

He seeks to sell TVA "even if they could only get a dollar for it."

He is neither a Republican or a Democrat

Co. OP

Goldwater's own Problem

and <sup>the</sup> " On three great issues of conscience to come before the U. S. Senate in the past decade -- the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the nuclear test ban treaty, and the civil rights bill -- Senator Goldwater voted "No" on each occasion.

But, Senator Goldwater and his followers chant and shout we are losing our freedom. Senator Goldwater says our Federal Government in Washington is a greater threat to our freedom than Moscow.

What shameful disrespect of our government -- what shameful disrespect of our Constitution.

Choice is the foundation of freedom, <sup>and</sup> Never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices and the capacity to choose that he has today.

The modern American has <sup>more</sup> freedom  
than ~~any~~ <sup>10</sup> ever before.  
~~He~~ can move and travel freely throughout

our vast country.

~~He~~  
~~can~~ worship in the church or synagogue  
~~his~~  
of ~~his~~ choice.

↳ He can speak and write as he wishes.

↳ He can meet and assemble for any legitimate

and worthy purpose.

↳ He can change jobs or residence at his will.

↳ He can vote for the party and the candidate

of his choice.

↳ He is a free man, protected by the Constitution  
and the law of the land.

We must, however, be ever vigilant to ensure  
that the torch of freedom is not extinguished --  
that the frontiers <sup>of freedom</sup> are persistently and patiently  
extended.

↳ A man cannot be fully free if he is ill-housed, ill-fed, or ill-clothed.

↳ A man cannot be fully free if he works 10 or 12 hours a day for starvation wages.

↳ A man cannot be fully free if he faces his later years in poverty and insecurity.

↳ A child cannot be fully free if he grows up in an urban or rural slum. He is not free if he receives an inadequate education in

overcrowded or ill-equipped schools. *But the softness of freedom has been over business!*

↳ Over the past 30 years, freedom in America has been advanced through social security -- through better education -- through collective bargaining -- through economic expansion -- through our war on poverty and disease.

Freedom becomes real and meaningful when the right to vote is protected and used, when the Constitution applies equally and impartially to all citizens -- regardless of race, color or creed.

We know that true freedom is achieved only in a society where each and every person has an opportunity to develop his native capacities to the fullest.

It is to ensure this kind of freedom that modern, positive, enlightened government has acted at every level -- local, state and national.

and, It is not a question of the Federal Government against the states, or counties against municipalities.

This is the make-believe war of Mr. Goldwater.

we are this is one free people joined in common cause to give new and richer meaning to that glorious word -- America!

# #

↳ But these visions of a Great Society --  
these commitments to build a better America --  
are meaningless unless we preserve the peace.

Peace!

↳ The late and beloved President Kennedy  
reminded us that "Peace is a process -- a way  
of solving problems."

↳ He -- and other great peacemakers of history --  
have told us again and again that peace is not  
achieved by wishing. ↳ Peace is the product of  
sacrifice, perseverance, dedication and strength.

↳ Peace, like a <sup>beautiful</sup> cathedral, is <sup>constructed</sup> ~~built~~ block  
block by block, stone by stone. ↳ It is the noble work  
of today and tomorrow.

↳ It demands our finest efforts -- our constant  
devotion.

For the past 25 years, bipartisanship in foreign policy has been the major element in our pursuit of peace.

For the first time since World War II, our bipartisan foreign policy is challenged and threatened by a Presidential candidate. This challenge threatens the process of peace. This challenge must be rebuked.

And it will! *It will on Nov 3.*

No problem has demanded more time and attention of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman,

Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson than devising

*new steps*  
new initiatives in the cause of peace.

In the past four years, we began anew to formulate serious and precise proposals to "win the peace race."

*L offered*  
We began to ~~formulate~~ serious and precise  
proposals for the inspection and control of arms.

*L focused*  
We began ~~after~~ to focus the machinery of our  
government on the question of peace and arms  
control -- by establishing the Arms Control and  
Disarmament Agency.

*L established and passed*  
We began ~~also~~ by establishing the Peace Corps, ~~and~~  
~~over~~  
the Alliance for Progress, foreign aid, the trade  
expansion program, ~~the hot-line to Moscow,~~ and

*We initiated the Hot Line to Moscow - We strengthened and supported the U.N. and its Peace Keeping operations.*  
~~matching funds to support the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations.~~

*L*  
We began these initiatives with full knowledge  
that world peace will never be achieved by any

single act -- any single agreement. *But President Kennedy said,*  
*"Let us begin."* ~~But the~~ *And President Johnson*  
~~and President Kennedy~~ *we understood that*  
*said "Let us continue."*  
*"peace is a process -- a way of solving problems."*

*+ We do patiently, confidently continue*

History teaches us that  
~~The history of our era has taught us that~~

peace is best preserved through strength -- strength

used with restraint, with wisdom, and with a

clear sense of perspective.

↳ In 1961 President Kennedy and the Democratic

Congress acted decisively to ensure that our

strength would be preeminent -- that our balanced

military power could deter or defeat any foe in

any foreseeable situation.

*Our  
Power*

↳ Our enemies know this -- and so do our allies.

But President Johnson also knows that it

is easier to destroy than to build. He knows it

is easier to ~~make~~ use force than to think, persuade,

construct, and act responsibly in this nuclear age.

↳ President Johnson knows -- and we know --

that responsible action is the only sure path

to peace. And he knows that mankind yearns for

a world where peace is more than just an interval

between wars. For he knows that the next war

will be ~~the last war~~ a catastrophe for all of mankind.

President Johnson has pledged himself to work for the growth of freedom and the survival of mankind. Listen to his words.

"...As long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace. <sup>We know</sup> That peace is much more than the absence of war...If the strong and the wealthy ignore the needs of the poor, frustrations will lead to force. Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation fears another, and no nation can force another to follow its command."

President Johnson will honor that pledge.

↳ Our opponents ask, "Why not victory?"

We reply, "Why not victory, indeed?" - <sup>yes,</sup> victory

over war itself, victory for peace, victory for  
mankind.

↳ This is our cause. This is our commitment.

We ask your help

and with

~~Gods help~~  
your help and  
Divine Guidance  
we shall succeed!

↳ Gene McCarthy  
↳ Ron Anderson

George Daley - 1st  
Charles Simpson 2nd  
Dick Parish 3rd  
Ben Wickham 7th

Joseph Korth - 4th  
Donald Fraser 5th  
all also 6th  
John Blatnik - 8th

Today

JPR

Minneapolis

Little more than a week remains before the American people go to the polls. Tonight I would like to summarize the basic issue of the campaign. Your choice is between the politics of responsibility and the politics of radicalism.

On July 12, 1964, a leading American told Senator Goldwater: "You have too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world."

He continued: "Goldwaterism has come to stand for nuclear irresponsibility...Goldwaterism has come to stand for being afraid to forthrightly condemn right-wing extremism...In short, Goldwaterism has come to stand for a whole crazy-quilt collection of absurd and dangerous positions..."

This was on July 12, 1964. And the author of these statements was Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania. The Governor has since chosen to rise above his principles--but the condemnation he issued that July day has been confirmed a thousandfold in the weeks that have passed since he made it.

Look at the type of campaign the Goldwaterites have waged: The American people have a pretty wide range of tolerance for campaign extravagance. But they also have a deep sense of dignity, a sense of the ground rules which are even stronger for being unwritten.

One of the ground rules which has been ignored flagrantly by the leadership of the Goldwater faction is that behavior of candidates for President and Vice President

of the United States should reflect the dignity of these majestic offices.

Since time immemorial Presidents have been accused of nursing dictatorial ambitions, of being obsessed with power, even of being unkind to animals.

But never before in the history of the United States has a major political party accepted the support of organizations and individuals who assert that the President of the United States is a traitor. And that President John F. Kennedy as a traitor. And that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a traitor.

And these attacks are made with the certain knowledge, the coward's courage, that no President would demean himself or his office by bringing action for libel.

The Goldwaterites in San Francisco denied there was any guilt in associating with extremists. What emerged clearly from their Convention was a decision that accepting the support of extremist votes was no vice.

Indeed, Goldwater's handpicked National Chairman, Dean Burch, said when asked if he would accept support from the Ku Klux Klan, "We are not in the business of discouraging votes." Senator Goldwater, however, did at least later repudiate the Klan.

We Democrats would feel guilty if we associated with the Communists, the Birchers, or the Ku Klux Klan-- indeed, we expressly repudiated them in our platform. We discourage their votes. The Goldwater faction has chosen not to repudiate the radical right--the American

people must decide whether there is any guilt involved  
in this association.

Why do the extremists welcome Goldwater? What  
is there about this man which has made him the vessel  
of the twisted aspirations of the radical right?

What is at issue here is not Senator Goldwater's  
private, but his public role in American politics.

He is a decent private citizen but clearly unqualified  
for the high office of President of the United States.

Our concern is with Goldwaterism. And I repeat  
the question: Why does Goldwaterism have so magnetic  
an appeal to the radicals, to the extremists in the  
cause of discord and disruption? Why have these  
addicts of gallows politics--who want to impeach--even  
lynch--the Chief Justice of the United States--rallied  
to the Goldwater standard?

The answer, I think, is not hard to find.

By every standard of American life, Senator Goldwater is a radical--and he preaches and practices the doctrine of radicalism.

He seeks to destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation.

He repudiates the bipartisanship in the conduct of our foreign affairs--a tradition established by Senator Arthur Vandenberg and President Franklin D. Roosevelt and upheld faithfully by leaders of both political parties.

He distorts the past, misrepresents the present, and misunderstands the future.

Take the Senator's shocking announcements that, President John F. Kennedy had arranged the Cuban crisis

in 1962 to win the congressional elections. Take the charge that President Johnson would manufacture a world crisis this fall for electoral purposes.

We have faced a number of great crises in our history under Democratic and Republican presidents but we have never thought of them as Democratic or Republican crises. They have been American crises.

The men who faced them, and led the nation to overcome them, have not done so as ~~mass~~ party leaders but as presidents of the United States.

This distrust of our institutions and our leaders nourishes all the prophets of catastrophe. Let us listen to the testimony of Gerald L. K. Smith, announcing his support for Senator Goldwater:

"Dwight David Eisenhower, a creature of Franklin D. Roosevelt and [Bernard] Baruch's choice, was rammed down the throats of the Republican leadership...

"Protestations from Republican moguls notwithstanding, the realistic fact is that in 1964 the Republican Party with Barry Goldwater as its nominee will be the white man's party."

When Wendell Wilkie in 1940 discovered that Gerald L. K. Smith and others of his ilk were supporting him, he vigorously repudiated them. No man could fairly accuse Wendell Wilkie of nurturing extremism. In 1960, Richard Nixon similarly repudiated the support of Gerald L. K. Smith. But there has been no indication from the Goldwater leadership that

*such support was  
not welcome.*

American politics has often involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this scale, or with such outrageous virulence. These are not merely political attacks -- they are radical attacks on the very fabric of our community, particularly on that atmosphere of trust which is essential for the survival and development of a free society.

At a time when we have never been stronger, and the communist world system is in turmoil, the radicals see us sliding down the slope to defeat.

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

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

At a time when human survival depends upon the

exercise of responsible power, they encourage nuclear adventurism and shooting from the hip.

Events of the past week demonstrate the need for a President who understands fully the destructive nuclear power which is his to unleash. These events illustrate again the need for a man in the White House who knows that peace is not pursued through the rattle of rockets or the issuing of ultimatums.

The central fact which has emerged from the campaign is that Americans do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger.

By contrast, our President is a man of prudence and compassion -- a man fully conscious of this responsibility to use our awesome military power with restraint and reason.

Under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, America will never risk the extinction of the torch of world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of nuclear holocaust.

In every area of foreign and domestic policy the Goldwater faction cultivates catastrophe. It invents catastrophe. With a mean and conspiratorial spirit, its leaders assume that everything in America is dishonest.

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

The United States is a great, diverse nation of almost two hundred million people. The overwhelming bulk of the population, Democratic or Republican, urban or rural, white or Negro, northern or southern, is composed of individuals who are loyal to the fundamental values of our society.

Some of them may be unhappy about the decisions that are made by the elected officials, by the President and Congress, or by the courts. Yet it would never enter their heads, or their hearts, to decree as treason decisions

which they personally oppose.

The opposition is a loyal opposition. The government is a loyal government. Sometimes it may be mistaken, depending on one's viewpoint, but nonetheless it is committed to those priceless ideals which we hold in common.

This is the faith which has sustained American democracy for almost 175 years.

President Johnson and the American people are wholly committed to this spirit of liberty. We are committed to this spirit with the faith and devotion expressed in this statement by the late Judge Learned Hand:

"...The spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women...the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten:

that there is a kingdom where the least shall be heard  
and considered side by side with the greatest."

This is the spirit which will cause Americans of  
all political persuasions -- Democrats, Republicans, and  
Independents -- to vote overwhelmingly for Lyndon B.

Johnson November 3rd.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Saturday, October 24  
Hippodrome, Minneapolis, Minnesota

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor. You taught me the lessons of frugality. When I see that this program is on television, I just hate to see us waste any time at all, you know.

What a wonderful, wonderful audience. What a wonderful crowd we have here tonight. I know that if our President could see this great meeting in the Hippodrome in Saint Paul, he would feel as I do, that happy days are here again. (Applause.)

Governor Rolvaag, Senator McCarthy, Secretary Freeman, our Minister and Ambassador, Eugenia Anderson, and my distinguished colleagues in Congress, whom I will introduce a little later on in this program, and my good friends, fellow citizens and fellow DFL-ers, I hope you know how I feel tonight. How wonderful it was to step off that airplane out here at Wold-Chamberlain Airport and once again to breathe this invigorating, good, fresh, crisp air of the State of Minnesota. Believe me, it made me feel good and it makes me want to campaign 24 hours a day from now on. (Applause.)

First of all, may I say that my Muriel is very sorry that she cannot be here tonight, but we were invited to come to the 49th State of Alaska, and they had a choice up there, and I hate to tell you what they decided. The National Chairman said, "You can have either Muriel or Hubert". And they said, "Stop. We'll take Muriel." And she, tonight, is in Anchorage, Alaska, addressing there a dinner of the Democratic party.

She has 24 meetings between now and the 29th day of October, when she will join with me on the West Coast. She goes from Alaska to Hawaii -- poor girl. I don't believe she has a single meeting over there. But, anyway, she told me she had.

With her tonight on this tour is our own National Committeewoman, Gerri Joseph. I thought you would like to know that Minnesota is well represented.

Today, we have been in Detroit and La Crosse, had four meetings in Detroit, a couple of airport speeches, a nice meeting at La Crosse, Wisconsin, and now here today. And next week, more of the same.

But let me tell you quite frankly I feel good physically. I feel even better politically, and I just have a suspicion that things are going to come out all right. (Applause.)

I bring you a message of joy and good news. You may remember that commentator some years back that said, "Yes, there is good news tonight." The good news? The Democratic party is headed for an overwhelming victory on November 3rd and the Democratic Farm Labor party in Minnesota is headed for the same thing. (Applause.)

I think that the best party organization in any of the 50 states, and everybody knows it, from President Johnson down to any precinct worker in any of the 50 states of this union, I am proud of its leadership, proud of its program in Minnesota. (Applause.)

But as our Governor has said, and rightly so, this victory will depend on each and every one of us, every registered voter, and we have many more than in other days all over this land. Every registered voter has a solemn duty and the high privilege to be at that election box, in that election booth, on November 3rd. There isn't any greater privilege available to a free people and there is no duty more important for the future of this land than to make sure that on November 3rd, the party of hope and the party of progress -- the Democratic party -- has the greatest victory in all of its history. (Applause.)

Tonight, in my opening speech for the Vice-Presidency right here in the Twin Cities, I said that the Democratic Party brought to the American people a

record, a record of accomplishment unequalled in modern times. And I repeat that truism, because the 87th and 88th Congress, under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, will go down in the history of this land as the two most productive Congresses in modern days.

As the Assistant Majority Leader in the Senate, I was privileged to work along with our late and beloved President Kennedy, and with President Lyndon Johnson, with my esteemed colleague in the Senate, Senator McCarthy, and with all of these four DFL Congressmen to help build that record that we talk of tonight. And the Democrats should be proud -- yes, proud -- of that record, and Americans, I'm sure, are pleased, very pleased, with that record. And we ought to be, because performance is the test of political leadership.

And I say on this platform tonight that we have met that test and we have met it with honor and met it well. (Applause.)

Let me cite the record just sketchily. We are proud as Americans of the \$11.5 billion tax cut, the greatest in the nation's history, that provides to 80 million taxpayers a 20 per cent decrease in the taxes and a substantial increase in their spendable income.

We are proud and justly so of the nuclear test ban treaty because it cleanses the atmosphere of radioactive fall-out and it was a major step toward world peace. And we are proud, gratefully and humbly proud, of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that proclaimed the end, for once and for all, of second-class citizenship -- (Applause.) -- the end of second-class citizenship in this land and it fulfilled 100 years later the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, and we are proud -- justly so, may I add, of the Equal Opportunity Act, the Anti-Poverty program, because it signifies the determination of the American people to banish poverty for once and for all from this blessed land of ours. (Applause.)

And permit me also to cite the College Aid Bill. It provides urgently needed assistance for the construction of new college classrooms, libraries and laboratories for our ever-increasing college population. (Applause.)

And we are also proud of the Vocational Education Act that brought us the most important vocational education act in the history of this country because it will prepare and provide for an increased number of students and teachers in our vocational schools to give our young people an opportunity for skilled and gainful employment. (Applause.)

We cite for your attention the Library Services Act, another major advance in the field of education. It insures library services to 61 million Americans who today have no libraries. It provides the extension of cultural life to every area of America.

And we can be proud, too, of manpower training, re-employment, because in the Manpower Act, we permitted those who were the victims of unemployment and automation to once again be trained for new jobs and new opportunities.

We are proud, Congressman Blatnik, and Senator McCarthy, of the Area Redevelopment Act to which both of you gave so much of your attention in designing, and may I say, in providing jobs and investment and industrial expansion in areas of chronic economic distress.

We did not forget those who were in need. We kept our word. (Applause.)

We are proud of the expanded hospital construction and nursing home act because it provides for expanded programs of better hospital care, of construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers in urban and rural areas.

And above all, we are proud of a Congress and an Administration that took note of those afflicted by mental retardation and those in need of better care for mental health.

We are providing for the first time at a national level a broad program of care and treatment for those blessed souls that are the victims of mental retardation and mental disorder. What a great, compassionate act this is. (Applause.)

Nor have we forgotten our cities with housing and mass transportation, providing grants and loans to rebuild cities, providing grants and loans to modernize transit facilities.

And, Secretary Freeman, we owe you a debt of gratitude for your leadership, courageous and determined, in the field of agriculture. (Applause.)

It is a record that was accomplished with hard work and with wisdom and patience. The feed grain program that pours millions of dollars of new income into this great breadbasket of America -- it's a program that works for the farmer, for the consumer, for the taxpayer.

Farm income is up, Mr. Citizen, and surpluses are reduced. We are exporting more food and improving our commercial markets. Rural electrification has been strengthened. Reclamation and irrigation projects are going forward.

Farm credit has been modernized and increased. The school lunch program and the school milk program expanded to meet the needs of increased school population. And the food stamp program, which was once a pilot project, is now a national program. (Applause.)

Yes, my fellow Minnesotans and my good friends, this is a record of work, of leadership, and it's not all. Because we are proud of our record in conservation: the Wilderness Bill, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, new national parks, and the preservation of seashores -- all for a growing America -- were established under the leadership of the late President Kennedy and President Johnson and a Democratic Congress. (Applause.)

And then may I add, we have had the greatest burst of prosperity and economic growth in the nation's history -- 44 consecutive months of uninterrupted economic progress -- the longest in the history of this nation -- 44 months of ever-increasing jobs, profits, business, dividends, wages, consumer income, per capita income -- no other administration in the history of this nation has ever had such a great record of economic progress.

I come home as a public servant to report to you and I am proud to say we have been faithful to our trust. This is our record of promises kept and performance achieved.

President Kennedy and President Johnson have dedicated every human effort toward building a better America, a more just America, an America of greater opportunity and of providing a more peaceful world.

The record of the Democratic party, under the Kennedy -Johnson Administration, demonstrates fidelity to the ideals of the past, responsibility to the challenges of the present, and commitment to the opportunities of the future.

We are a party of hope. We are the party that cares. We are the party with a heart. And we are the people of faith. And we do not run from problems or apologize for them. We regard every problem as an opportunity and every day as a challenge. (Applause.)

And during these next four years, we will face staggering challenges and unequalled opportunities. Let me just list a few of them for you:

We have the opportunity to banish hunger from the face of this earth. We have the opportunity to make America the land of first-class citizenship for all its people. We have the opportunity to make these fabulous machines of automation our servants and not our masters. We have the opportunity to create jobs and achieve full economic development in a nation growing at the rate of 3 million persons a year.

And we, here in Minnesota, my fellow citizens, have the opportunity for economic growth and expansion if we will but work together and cooperate together. And permit me to say once again that I sincerely believe that the adoption of the so-called taconite amendment is in the interest of this state, in the interest of its economic development. (Applause.)

We have the opportunity of seeing the necessity of making our cities livable and decent places in which to live, and we do have the opportunity to destroy poverty in America forever.

We also have the glorious opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly, and this is not merely an opportunity, my friends. It's a moral obligation and it's an obligation that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and a Democratic Congress will keep and fulfil. (Applause.)

We have the opportunity to improve and expand our educational system to train and prepare our youth for the life of science and automation and technology. And indeed, to prepare our youth for these programs of social justice and social advance which should be the guideline of a free people.

These are the opportunities and the goals of President Johnson's "Great Society". These are the goals of the Democratic party -- a better America, where there is opportunity for the young, security for the elderly, compassion for the afflicted, and peace for all mankind. (Applause.)

And now, what does our opposition offer? Rather than accept the challenges of the future, they are making plans to even destroy the accomplishments of the past. The leader of -- or should I put it this way -- the temporary leader of a fraction of the faction of reaction -- yes, this temporary leader of the Goldwater Party has proposed the following as his creed:

"The government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal."

This is a man who wants to run the government by dissolving it. (Applause.)

But, my fellow Americans, this is not the voice of a loyal Republican or a true conservative. The late Senator Robert Taft was known as Mr. Republican when I went to Congress. He rejected the Goldwater interpretation of government. Senator Taft supported and sponsored public housing in the National Housing Act. He supported Federal aid to education. He supported urban renewal. He supported social security and its expansion. He supported farm cooperatives. He voted for and supported REA. He supported foreign aid.

But Senator Goldwater rejects all of this. He repudiates his party. He is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. G.O.P. used to stand for "Grand Old Party". Now, it means to millions of Republicans "Goldwater, Our Problem."

Yes, I repeat, the Senator from Arizona surely is not a Democrat. He surely is not a Republican. Then what is he? He is a radical, if you please. (Applause.)

A true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past. But Senator Goldwater wants to pull it up by its roots. Senator Goldwater doesn't seek to strengthen social security. He seeks to destroy it, or weaken it.

He seeks prompt and final termination of farm price support programs. He seeks to sell the T.V.A. "even if they could only get a dollar for it." (Applause.)

But more importantly, on the three great moral issues or the three great issues of conscience to come before the Senate in this past decade, the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the nuclear test ban treaty, and the civil rights bill, Senator Goldwater has had no conscience on these matters. He has voted no on each occasion. (Applause.)

The Senator says we are losing our freedom. He says the Federal government in Washington is a greater enemy to freedom than Moscow. What shameful disrespect of our government. What shameful disrespect of our Constitution.

Let me say that freedom of choice is the foundation of freedom. And never in the history of an individual American has the range of choices and the capacity to choose been greater than it is today.

The modern American has freedom to move and travel freely, to worship in a church or synagogue of his choice, to speak and write as he chooses, to meet and assemble and change jobs or residence. He can vote for the party or candidate of his choice. He is a free man, protected by the law of our land.

We know that we must be ever vigilant for this freedom and that the frontiers of freedom should be persistently and patiently extended. But we also know that a man is not fully free if he is ill-housed, unemployed, ill-clad, and ill-fed. He is not fully free if he works at less than decent wages -- starvation wages.

A man is not fully free if he faces the later years of his life in poverty and insecurity, and a child is not fully free if he grows up in an urban or a rural slum, and he is not free if he receives an inadequate education in an over-crowded or ill-equipped school.

But the expansion of freedom has been our business and we have tended to that business. Over the past 30 years, freedom in America has been advanced through social security, through better education, through collective bargaining, through economic expansion and through our war on diseases and poverty.

Freedom becomes real and meaningful when the right to vote is protected and used and when the Constitution applies equally and impartially to all citizens, regardless of race, color or creed. And this freedom we have protected. (Applause.)

We are one free people, joined in a common cause to give rich, new and richer meaning to that glorious word on the lips of every child, "America." But these visions of the Great Society, these commitments that I speak of to build a better America, are meaningless -- they are for naught -- unless we preserve the peace.

The late and beloved President Kennedy reminded us that peace is a process, a way of solving problems. He and the other great peace-makers of history have told us again and again that peace is not achieved by the wishing. Peace is the product of sacrifice, dedication, and strength.

Peace, like a beautiful cathedral, is constructed block by block and stone by stone. It's a noble work of today, and of the tomorrows, and it demands our finest efforts and our constant devotion.

And for the past 25 years, bipartisanship in foreign policy has been the solid rock in our pursuit of peace. For the first time since World War II, my fellow Americans, our bipartisan foreign policy of national security is challenged, and it is threatened by a presidential candidate. This challenge threatens the processes of peace, endangers the peace. And this challenge to the peace must be rebuked by the American people on November 3rd. (Applause.)

No problem has demanded more time and attention of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson in building the steps in the cause of peace. In the past four years, we began anew to formulate serious and precise proposals, not only to win the arms race, but more importantly, to win the peace race. We offered serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms and established the Arms Control Agency. We established the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, revised our foreign aid, the Trade Expansion Act. We initiated the hot-line between Washington and Moscow. We strengthened and have supported on this, the anniversary of the United Nations -- we have lent our support, and unstintingly, to that great organization for world peace in its peace-keeping operations. (Applause.)

We began all of these initiatives with full knowledge that world peace will never be achieved quickly or by a single act. As President Kennedy said, "Let us begin." And President Johnson said, "Let us continue." (Applause.)

And continue, we shall. But history teaches us that peace is best preserved through strength -- strength with restraint -- strength used with wisdom and with a clear sense of perspective.

And I stand before this great audience to tell you tonight that never has America been stronger. We have built such a massive force of strength that it is the wonder of the world. Our balanced military power could deter or defeat any foe in any conceivable situation. Our enemies know this, and so do our allies, even if the Senator from Arizona does not. (Applause.)

But President Johnson knows, and I know, and you know, that it is easier to destroy than it is to build. It is easier to talk about using force and issue ultimatums than it is to think and to persuade and to construct and to act responsibly in this most dangerous of all ages, the nuclear age.

President Johnson know, and we know, that responsible action is the only sure path to peace, and he knows that mankind yearns for a world with peace. And he knows that peace is more than just an interval between wars. For he knows, and you know, that the next war will be a catastrophe for all of mankind -- indeed, it may be the end of God's creation.

President Johnson has pledged himself to work for the growth of freedom, peace, and the survival of mankind. Listen to his words -- this is our pledge to you:

"As long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace. We know that peace is more than the absence of war. If the strong and the wealthy ignore the needs of the poor, frustrations will lead to force. Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation fears another, and no nation can force another to follow its command."

President Johnson will honor that pledge, and I, as his associate, will honor it with him.

Our opponents ask us and ask you, "Why not victory?" We reply, "Why not victory, indeed?" Yes, real victory, victory over war itself. That's the victory we seek. Victory for peace for all mankind, and victory for humanity. This is our cause -- (Applause.)

This is our cause and our commitment. And with your help and with Divine Providence -- the guidance of Divine Providence -- I say to you that we, the American people, shall success. This we ask you to do with us -- help us. Help us win this struggle for humanity.

The decision day is November 3rd. I ask you what will be your decision? Will you help us? (Applause.)

Now, may I take this moment to show you others that will help us. We have on this platform tonight not only my esteemed colleague in the Senate, but we have members of the House of Representatives who are with us: John Karth, from the Fourth District; John Blatnik, from the 8th District; Don Fraser, from the Fifth District; and we have on this platform tonight our candidate for Congress from the First District, George Daly; Charles Simpson from the Second District; Richard Parish, from the Third District; Ben Richterman, from the Seventh District.

These, my fellow Americans, are all soldiers in the struggle for the promotion of social and economic justice and the cause of a just and enduring peace.

I am honored to be with you and I say to you that on November 3rd, there will be good news in America: Lyndon Johnson will be re-elected as President of the United States. (Applause.)



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