

Chicago
Hokumer

Maya Dally

Paul Drough

Just eight days remain before Americans decide

whether Lyndon B. Johnson or Barry Goldwater will determine the destiny of this great land for the next four years.

Let me ask you the basic question: Are you going to vote for Lyndon Johnson?

From my travels ~~in every section of America~~, I find the same answer -- the people want Lyndon Johnson to lead America in these perilous times.

And the people are absolutely correct right!!

These times demand a leader who is responsible and constructive. These times demand a leader who creates unity from division and consensus from conflict.

These times demand a leader who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint.

And America has that leader in Lyndon Johnson!

America cannot risk the leadership of a man who

scorns the path of moderation and restraint -- a man who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party -- a man who misunderstands ~~the~~ the nature of today's world.

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

He seeks to destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation -- and that is radicalism.

He seeks to:

- L -- Destroy social security by making it voluntary.
- L -- Destroy programs to help rebuild our cities.
- L -- Destroy the TVA.
- L -- Destroy programs to assist our schools.
- L -- Destroy job security for union members.
- L -- Destroy programs to help the unemployed.

Senator Goldwater, in short, is the candidate of destruction. He distorts the past, misrepresents the present, and misunderstands the future.

As the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania put it: Goldwater has "too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world." ✓

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

This condemnation by Governor Scranton has been confirmed a thousandfold in recent weeks.

Look at the type of campaign the Goldwaterites have waged! - mean!

The American people have a wide range of tolerance for campaign extravagance. But they also have a deep

sense of dignity -- a deep sense of fair play -- a deep sense of right and wrong.

And on November 3rd the American people are going to vindicate the restraint Lyndon Johnson has displayed during this campaign. They will vindicate his refusal to reply to the vile charges leveled against him. They will vindicate his wisdom and courage in fulfilling the office of President of the United States -- and the magnificent way he carried forward the torch of liberty and freedom born so nobly by our beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Almost exactly four years ago this gallant warrior in the cause of freedom spoke in Chicago about America's efforts to restore liberty to the peoples of Eastern

Europe.

Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, East Germans and others.

John F. Kennedy said: "Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully

pressuring tyranny -- a policy that looks toward
evolution, not revolution -- a policy that depends on
peace, not war....We must never -- at any summit, in
any treaty declaration, in our words or even in our
minds -- recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe."

↳ This policy, stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960,
continues to be the policy of this government.

↳ Let me make it clear: only a political charlatan
can talk of instant victory over Communism -- or instant
"liberation" of the captive peoples held in Communist
subjection.

↳ We cannot ^{*imitate*} imitate those of an earlier era who
talked grandly of "liberation" -- but when the Hungarian
people rose in heroic revolt, stood mute on the sidelines.

↳ No, the possibility of instant victory vanished
with the coming of the era of instant annihilation. We
must pursue the more ^{*difficult*} challenging course, the only sane
course of devising a policy that will achieve freedom

without obliteration -- not only for the peoples of Eastern Europe, but for all peoples wherever tyranny and dictatorship rule.

↳ We are convinced that time is on the side of freedom. ^{and,} We are completely confident that these peoples will be restored to the family of free nations.

↳ The United States has initiated a new and constructive policy toward the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. We have recognized the deepening divisions of the Communist camp. We have encouraged these divisions. And we have made use of these divisions for helping these brave people regain their freedom and independence.

↳ We seek peace and freedom not only for the peoples of Eastern Europe but for mankind everywhere.

↳ This is our cause. This is our sacred duty.

In the great tradition of Pope John XXIII and

John F. Kennedy, President Johnson has asked that we look beyond the cold war which has "consumed our energies" and "often limited our horizons."

~~While remaining strong, he understands we must strive to overcome "the obstacles to man's efforts to build a great world society -- a place where every man can find a life free from hunger and disease -- a life offering the chance to seek spiritual fulfillment unhampered by the degradation of bodily misery."~~

President Johnson knows it is easier to destroy than build. He knows it is easier to make war than to think, persuade, reconstruct, and act responsibly.

President Johnson knows -- and we know -- that responsible action is the only road to peace. He knows that Americans -- and most people on this planet -- yearn to build a world where peace is more than an interval between wars.

To those who 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.

Treasury Figures Tax Cut Shares

Special to The Sun-Times

WASHINGTON — The \$11.5-billion income tax cut will bring a \$610,000,000 windfall to Chicago area residents when it becomes fully effective next year, the Treasury reported Saturday.

The tax break for residents here will be the second largest among the nation's metropolitan areas, with the largest cut of \$1.1 billion going to the New York area, the Treasury predicted.

\$835 Million For State

Illinois residents will receive a total of \$835,000,000, the third highest amount among the 50 states, the Treasury announced.

The Treasury arrived at the figures by applying the old rates and the new, lower rates to next year's expected levels of income.

Two-thirds of the tax cut became effective this year. The final third is due to go into effect in 1965.

The tax cut is having a "very positive effect" on the economy, Treasury Sec. C. Douglas Dillon said.

Coupled with the excise tax cut President Johnson has promised next year, Dillon said, the reduction in income levies would provide "a continuing strong and healthy stim-

ulus to consumer purchasing power."

For The Midwest

The Treasury released a breakdown for the 100 largest standard metropolitan areas as well as for the 50 states. Figures for Midwest states and five metropolitan areas are:

Indiana	—\$272,000,000.
Iowa	—\$135,000,000.
Kansas	—\$114,000,000.
Michigan	—\$506,000,000.
Minnesota	—\$184,000,000.
Missouri	—\$251,000,000.
Nebraska	—\$80,000,000.
Ohio	—\$651,000,000.
Wisconsin	—\$227,000,000.
Davenport - Rock Island-Moline	—\$20,000,000.
Gary - Hammond - East Chicago	—\$39,000,000.
Milwaukee	—\$95,000,000.
Peoria	—\$20,000,000.
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	—\$154,000,000.

Smallest share among the states will go to Alaska, which will receive \$15,000,000, the Treasury said.

Bolivia Paying UN Debt

NEW YORK (AP)—Bolivia has paid \$37,609 on \$118,990 it owed in back dues to the United Nations. A delegation source said it was enough to avert loss of Bolivia's vote in the upcoming General Assembly.



news release

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

FOR P.M.'S RELEASE
MONDAY, OCTOBER 26

B-3913

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MONDAY, OCTOBER 26

Just eight days remain before Americans decide whether Lyndon B. Johnson or Barry Goldwater will determine the destiny of this great land for the next four years.

Let me now ask you the basic question: Are you going to vote for Lyndon Johnson?

From my travels in every section of America, I find the same answer.-- the people want Lyndon Johnson to lead America in these perilous times.

And the people are absolutely correct!

These times demand a leader who is responsible and constructive. These times demand a leader who creates unity from division and consensus from conflict. These times demand a leader who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint.

And America has that leader in Lyndon Johnson!

America cannot risk the leadership of a man who scorns the path of moderation and restraint -- a man who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party.-- a man who misunderstands totally the nature of today's world.

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

He seeks to destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation -- and that is radicalism.

He seeks to:

- Destroy Social Security by making it voluntary.
- Destroy programs to help rebuild our cities.
- Destroy the TVA
- Destroy programs to assist our schools.

--Destroy job security for union members.

--Destroy programs to help the unemployed.

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

As the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania put it: Goldwater has "too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world."

Governor Scranton 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 condemnation by Governor Scranton has been confirmed a thousand fold in recent weeks.

Look at the type of campaign the Goldwaterites have waged!

The American people have a wide range of tolerance for campaign extravagance. But they also have a deep sense of dignity -- a deep sense of fair play -- a deep sense of right and wrong.

And on November 3rd the American people are going to vindicate the restraint Lyndon Johnson has displayed during this campaign. They will vindicate his refusal to reply to the vile charges leveled against him. They will vindicate his wisdom and courage in fulfilling the office of the President of the United States -- and the magnificent way he carried forth the torch of liberty and freedom born so nobly by our beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Almost exactly four years ago this gallant warrior in the cause of freedom spoke in Chicago about America's efforts to restore liberty to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

John F. Kennedy said: "Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny -- a policy that looks toward evolution, not revolution -- a policy that depends on peace, not war...We must never -- at any summit, in any treaty declaration, in our words, or even in our minds -- recognize Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe."

This policy, stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960, continues to be the policy of this government.

Let me make it clear: only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over Communism -- or instant "liberation" of the captive peoples held in Communist subjection.

We cannot imitate those of an earlier era who talked grandly of "liberation" -- but when the Hungarian people rose in heroic revolt, stood mute in the sidelines.

No, the possibility of instant victory vanished with the coming of the era of instant annihilation. We must pursue the more challenging course, the only sane course, of devising a policy that will achieve freedom without obliteration -- not only for the peoples of Eastern Europe, but for all peoples wherever tyranny and dictatorship rule.

We are convinced that time is on the side of freedom. We are completely confident that these peoples will be restored to the family of free nations.

The United States has initiated a new and constructive policy toward the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. We have recognized the deepening divisions of the Communist camp. We have encouraged these divisions. And we have made use of these divisions for helping these brave people regain their freedom and independence.

We seek peace and freedom not only for the people of Eastern Europe but for mankind everywhere.

This is our cause. This is our sacred duty.

In the great tradition of Pope John XXIII and John F. Kennedy, President Johnson has asked that we look beyond the cold war which has "consumed our energies" and "often limited horizons."

While remaining strong, he understands we must strive to overcome the "obstacles to man's efforts to build a great world society -- a place where every man can find a life free from hunger and disease -- a life offering the chance to seek spiritual fulfillment unhampered by the degradation of bodily misery."

President Johnson knows it is easier to destroy than to build. He knows it is easier to make war than to think, persuade, reconstruct, and act responsibly.

President Johnson knows -- and we know -- that responsible action is the only road to peace. He knows that Americans -- as most people on this

HUMPHREY/B-3913
Page 4

planet -- yearn to build a world where peace is more than an interval between wars.

To those who 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.

#####

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

State and Madison, Chicago
Monday, October 26

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Mayor Daley. May I say once again what I said on the occasion of my visit here about a month ago, that there is no city in America that has a finer, a more progressive, a more honorable, a more able, a more effective mayor than Chicago in its Mayor Daley. (Applause)

And what a wonderful day we are having today. I have good news for you, my friends. It looks like a Democratic victory on November 3rd. (Applause)

And that victory is not just for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, but that victory is for the entire Democratic ticket in this state, headed by your splendid Governor, your good friend, and I know he will be re-elected, Otto Kerner, of the State of Illinois. (Applause)

Well, I must say that the people of Chicago surely look good. Wonderful city, this beautiful, magnificent Chicago, the city of effort, the city of vitality, the city that is going places and the city that is the pride of the Democratic Party -- Chicago, Illinois. (Applause)

You know, dear friends, it's such a joy to be on this platform with my beloved colleague in the United States Senate, a man that served this city with courage, a man that's served his country with unbelievable courage, a man that stands in the United States Senate as the symbol -- not only as the symbol but the living embodiment of intelligence, integrity, courage, and ability -- one of the finest men that ever came to public office, and indeed, one that honors your state and this nation, my friend and your Senator, Paul Douglas. (Applause)

And I am very honored and pleased to have on this platform today, and I hope you will permit me just to single out -- because this fine young Congressman was kind enough to me to be willing to stand up in the Democratic Convention and second my nomination -- I want to publicly thank Congressman Rostenkowski for what he has done for me. (Applause)

And lest we forget, and I am a team player, I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology, and I am here to say that you can't go wrong by electing this ticket, headed by Otto Kerner, your Governor, Sam Shapiro, your Lieutenant Governor, Paul Powell for Secretary of State, my friend Mike Howlett, your Auditor of Public Accounts, and your Attorney General, Bill Clark -- William Clark. (Applause)

And don't forget, dear friends, there are members of this party on the county ticket, too. and Cook County needs Democrats, because Cook County and Chicago are going places and the place that they are going is ahead. They are moving forward in this great city for more jobs, for better prosperity, for better schools, for better communities. That's the kind of a city that we love. And that's the kind that makes America the America that we are proud of. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, let me take a few moments of your time for serious discussion of the politics of our day, because in eight days, the American people are going to make a fateful -- indeed, the most important decision of this decade. We are going to determine the destiny of this great land, not just for four years, because the decisions that are made in this next four years are going to determine the destiny of America for a decade or a generation. There is no turning back once that decision is made.

Once you have selected your President, you cannot repeal it. He is there for four years, and indeed, those four years can be years of peace or of war, years of prosperity or depression, years of going forward or going backward. It's in your hands on Tuesday, November 3rd -- no one else's.

It's on that day that the American people will determine the kind of an America that they want and the kind of a world that they are going to have.

So let me ask you this question and let me get your response. Are you going to vote for Lyndon Johnson on November 3rd? (Applause)

Well, I'm glad to get your point of view, because I thought you would like to know that in my travels in over 40 states in this land, that is exactly the way the majority of the people felt. They are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

And why are they going to vote for our President? They are going to vote for him because they know that we need a leader who is responsible and who is constructive. These times demand a leader who can unite us and not divide us, who can heal our wounds and not open them, who can build consensus and not conflict. These days -- perilous days -- demand a leader who pursues his duties as the Commander in Chief of the greatest power on the face of this earth with responsibility and restraint.

Yes, the American people are going to vote for that kind of a man and they are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson, not only because he is that kind of a man, but because they are fearful of the man that is his opponent and his irresponsibility. (Applause)

This is it, this state and this nation -- does it want a man in the White House who scorns the path of moderation and restraint? They don't want a man who sows the seeds of disunity and discord, even within his own party. He can't get along even with his own, much less others. They do not want a man who misunderstands the nature of our world, the world in which we live. By every standard of American life, every standard that we know, the history of our country, the temperament of the people of today and the needs of tomorrow, by every standard of American life, the Senator from Arizona is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. He is a radical, a radical. (Applause)

And he preaches and practices the doctrine of radicalism. He would repeal and destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation -- yes, the past 30 years. And anyone that would pull up by the roots that which we have planted and nourished these 30 years, anyone who would destroy what we have achieved through painful effort, and may I say with proud achievement, over the past 30 years, can only be classified as a radical. He neither agrees with his own party nor ours. I have said from many a platform and I repeat it here that I hope that the good Democratic Mayor of Chicago will forgive me, but I have voted for more Republican measures than the Senator from Arizona.

I am a better Republican than he is and I am a Democrat. (Applause) I don't know whether that is a compliment but I do know that that is a fact.

Ah, my friends, why do I make this serious charge? I charge this man nothing in his private matters. I know the Senator from Arizona. I do not dispute his loyalty or his patriotism. I do not make snide innuendoes about his private matters or his private life. I think he is a good family man. I am sure he is. But let me say, even though I think he would make a good neighbor, I think he would make a bad President. We don't want him. (Applause)

Yes, this man seeks to destroy or seriously weaken our social security system and he can deny it all he wants to, but he voted against including disability under social security. Not a cripple in this audience, not a single disabled person in this state, would be receiving one nickel of social security benefits had Senator Goldwater's vote been the majority. Thank goodness, he has neither a majority in his own party nor in ours. He stands out there in his loneliness. He stands out there in the icy cold of his own argument, forlorn and lost, and no friend, no friend in need, and he will have fewer of them on November 3rd. (Applause)

And, Mr. Mayor, this Senator that is on the opposition ticket -- not the Republican ticket -- the Goldwater ticket. It's a special breed unto itself. This man that is on that ticket has never voted once to help your city or any other city. He would destroy the programs of urban renewal. He votes no.

He would destroy the programs of housing. He votes no. He would destroy urban development. He votes no, unless it's for Arizona.

Oh, well, that's different. (Applause) One billion dollars for Central Arizona, not a nickel for Chicago or downstate Illinois, not one penny.

He would destroy -- I'm not giving him that. It's just because I'm revealing his record, that's all.

He would destroy the programs to assist our schools. He would destroy job security for union members. And any union member that votes for Senator Goldwater ought to know what he is doing. And if he is elected, he will deserve what he gets. (Applause)

He would destroy the programs to help our unemployed. He would destroy the programs to aid our elderly. He has voted against every single program for the elderly, for the housing for the elderly, for medical care for the elderly, for hospital care under social security for the elderly. Anything that has to do with old people, for their dignity, for their care, the Senator from Arizona says "No, no, no."

QUESTION FROM AUDIENCE: How about freedom?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And he says no to that, too. (Applause)

Now, my friends, I was afraid he wasn't going to come in with that line. You know, we had that fellow hired out there and I thought he was shirking his duties. Give him an extra dollar! (Applause)

Now, friends, there is a man on the opposition ticket that has, he says, support for the business community. Oh, he says he is a great friend of free enterprise. And my dear friends, when the biggest measure before the Congress was there, the test measure as to what you would do for free enterprise, the tax cut bill that was the biggest tax cut in the nation's history -- \$11.5 billion -- may I say when that tax cut bill was there, the Senator from Arizona voted no. He voted no for the businessmen of America. He voted no for the consumers of America. (Boos)

Sometimes it takes an awful lot of screaming and gnashing of teeth to bring people within the confines of the party of progress. Give him a chance. He will come in. This poor fellow is just in agony as he confesses his political sins. (Applause)

Blessed be those who return to the fold. (Applause)

Now, friends, look here. I noticed in one of your papers in this city -- I read them all so I enjoy more than others -- I notice that this morning's paper carried a little story that says as follows: The \$11.5 billion income tax cut will bring \$610 million to the Chicago area residents when it becomes fully effective next year, the Treasury reported. \$610 million of economic aid, \$610 million of spendable capital coming to the people of Chicago under a tax cut, initiated by President Kennedy, passed by a Democratic Congress, signed by President Johnson. And the Senator from Arizona said "No, no." (Applause)

Well, my friends, that is an expensive candidate. That is an expensive candidate. This we can't afford.

Now, let me cite just another two or three items and then we will proceed to have our luncheon in the spirit of happy democracy. I think that I ought to quote now just a little bit from some of our Republicans because, you know, really, the best arguments today are not between the Democrats and the Goldwaterites. They are between the Republicans and the Goldwaterites.

The Republican Governor of Pennsylvania -- and he is the Republican spokesman of the Middle Atlantic States -- here's what he said. I wouldn't have said it quite this way, because I think he is pretty harsh, but maybe he knows the Senator from Arizona better than I do. He says:

"Goldwater has too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world."

Then he went on and said -- this is Governor Scranton -- Governor Scranton, Republican: "Goldwaterism has come to stand for nuclear irresponsibility."

Goldwaterism has come to stand for being afraid to forthrightly condemn right-wing extremism. Goldwaterism has come to stand for a whole crazy-quilt collection of absurd and dangerous positions."

Those are the words of condemnation of a spokesman of the Republican Party.

May I say that when these Republicans begin to tell the truth on each other, it's so interesting. (Applause)

Now, my friends, on November 3rd, the people of America are going to vindicate the restraint and the sense of decency and responsibility that President Johnson has displayed during this campaign. I think that people are getting a little tired of the vicious assaults upon the intelligence of the American people by the opposition. I think the American people will vindicate President Johnson's refusal to reply to the wild charges leveled against him. They will vindicate his wisdom and courage in fulfilling the office of the President of the United States.

And may I say this just shows the Mayor is bipartisan.

And I think the people will vindicate the magnificent way that our President has carried forth the torch of liberty and the torch of responsibility and freedom borne so nobly for 1000 days by our late and beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. (Applause)

Today, I was presented a little placard, a streamer here that had badges from seven ethnic groups. The charming young ladies are on this platform -- Polish, Puerto Rican, Filipino, Chinese, Italian, Mexican. This is a part of America. This is the beauty of our land.

These ethnic groups are the ones that the Senator from Arizona and his partner calls the minorities that would rule us. These are the ones that they speak of with disparaging remarks.

Let me say to this wonderful audience that President Lyndon Johnson and Senator Hubert Humphrey, and the Democratic Party, we love the fact that America is made up of many peoples, many races, many creeds, many ethnic groups, many religions, to make America a great country.

Yes, America is like a mighty symphony, beautiful symphony. Each part of it has something to do and to play in the life of this nation. We are proud that America is, in fact, a nation of many, many nations. We are proud that America is these United States of many people, and the Democratic Party is committed to the protection of people without regard to race or color or creed or national origin.

We think of our people as Americans, citizens of this Republic. (Applause)

Almost four years ago this day, Mr. Mayor, a gallant warrior in the cause of freedom spoke here in Chicago about America's efforts to restore liberty to the peoples of Eastern Europe -- the Poles, the Chechs, the Hungarians, the East Germans, and all the others, just to mention a few. John F. Kennedy, loved in this city, loved in this America -- John Kennedy said then, and it remains our commitment now in the days to come:

"Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny, a policy that looks toward evolution, not revolution, a policy that depends on peace, not war. We must never at any summit in any treaty declarations, in our words or even in our minds, recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe."

Ladies and gentlemen, that was the commitment of a President now taken from us. And may I say from this platform, as the spokesman of this Administration, it is the commitment of President Lyndon Johnson and a commitment of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in the next four years. (Applause)

Let me make it clear, only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over Communism or instant liberation of the captive peoples. We cannot imitate those of an earlier era who talked glibly of liberation, but when the Hungarian people rose in heroic revolt, they stood mute on the sidelines.

No, the possibility of instant victory vanished with the coming of the era of the nuclear weapon, which is the era of instant annihilation.

We must pursue the more difficult and more challenging course, the only sane course, of divesting a policy that will achieve freedom without obliteration -- not only for the peoples that are represented in part here and for all of Eastern Europe, but for all peoples everywhere where tyranny and dictatorship rule. We are convinced that time is on the side of freedom and we are confident that these peoples that I speak of today, living under regimes of dictatorship, will be restored to the family of free peoples and free nations if we pursue the policy of constantly pressuring those who subject them to dictatorship. (Applause)

Now, friends, we seek peace and freedom, not only for the peoples of Eastern Europe but for mankind everywhere. This is our cause. This is our duty. And in the great tradition of that blessed man of the church, Pope John XXIII, and in the tradition of our fallen President John Kennedy, President Johnson has asked that we look beyond this cold war, which has consumed our energies and often limited our horizons.

He asked us to look to a life offering the chance for spiritual fulfillment, unhampered by the degradation of bodily misery.

President Johnson knows it is easier to destroy than to build. He knows it is easier to make war than to think or to persuade or reconstruct and act responsibly. He knows there are no instant answers to these great problems.

My dear friends, it is dangerous enough to have the Communist Chinese with an atomic bomb. It would be unbelievably dangerous to have the Chinese Communists with an atomic bomb and Senator Goldwater with his finger on the nuclear trigger. This we can't take. (Applause)

So I leave you with this. To those who ask this question, "Why not victory?" We reply -- and we reply, I think, in words of sanity and responsibility: "Why not victory, indeed?" Why not victory, my fellow Americans, over war itself? Why not victory over poverty? Why not victory over ignorance? Why not victory over prejudice? Why not victory, my friends, for peace? And why not victory for America for all of mankind?

This is our cause. This is our pledge, and we ask you on this day -- we ask you that on this day, from now until November 3rd, every thoughtful, decent person make up their minds to back the candidate of responsibility, the candidate of social progress, the candidate of peace.

And that candidate is President Lyndon Johnson, the next President of the United States. (Applause)

- end -

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Luncheon, Chicago, Illinois
Monday, October 26, 1964.

. . . . I say you have something to work for, you have something to fight for. I have a list here of all these fine Congressmen here in this great Chicago area. Everyone that is an incumbent deserves to be re-elected and everyone who isn't ought to have been elected before, so let's get on the job and get them in.

I see that Syd Yates has given up diplomacy and decided to come back in with the folks. Glad to have you back, Syd. (Applause)

If you think that United Nations was something, you just wait until you get through with this campaign.

I don't need to give you any lecture on the virtues of the Democratic party. We are here for one the final quarter, so to speak, in this historic battle between the forces of backwardness and the forces of progress.

I do think there are at least two major propositions that are on the line and we ought to know what we are fighting for as well as fighting against. I think we do know what we are working against and fighting against.

The best campaign that the Democratic party has going for it are the statements of Senator Goldwater. We can't beat that. They are great. This is a man that not only doesn't understand the present and has no idea about the future, but he is even mixed up on the past. (Applause)

Somebody said not long ago, "You shouldn't expect too much from a candidate that has a calendar with no months, that has a watch with no hands, and glasses with no lenses." (Applause)

But I suppose that is sort of the snide remark that a man ought not to say too often, but it's true, too true to be even funny.

We have been building in this country since the days of the New Deal a social and economic order that is based upon opportunity for anyone that wants to do a good job for himself and his country and a social order that came of both human dignity and social justice. That is what the fight is all about. We have been trying to translate into political action truly some of the great philosophical truths.

And one of these reasons that I have been willing to be a fighting Democrat at times, even to the dismay of some of my friends, is because I believe in what our party stands for.

I believe that Franklin Roosevelt was right. I think he was a great President. I not only believe in the New Deal, I know that it was life itself for the nation, for my family and for anybody else that wants to be honest about their predicament.

I believed in the man. I believed in his program. I believed in the cause of our party. And I have no apologies for the work that was accomplished and the work that was undertaken and even

at times in those days of the '30's and the early '40's.

And let me tell you that that man was followed by another great man and history will record as surely as my name is Hubert Humphrey and you are here, that one of the most forceful, one of the most courageous, one of the most patriotic, one of the great Presidents of our country, was that man from Independence, Missouri, Harry Truman. (Applause)

And when I hear the opposition talk about our nation and our security program and I hear them talk about Communism and all that sort of thing, I want them to remember and I want us to remind them, even after the election, because these people ought to learn the truth, even if they are slow learners and they will have to take a couple of weeks after the election -- I want them to remember that the reason there is a free world today, the reason that the Communist power didn't run all over Western Europe, was because there was a brave, basically honest, intelligent conscientious man in the White House who, in that period from 1945 to 1952, during his period of administration of this government, mobilized the forces of the free world, backed up by American power and American wealth and American strength to stop the tide of Communism. That was Harry Truman.

I also want us to remember that during the eight years of Eisenhower, the Democratic Party wasn't like our Republican neighbors. We were not opposition for the sake of opposition. We didn't sit around with programs of character assassination and attack, for the sake of attacking. We recognized that we had a bipartisan foreign policy. We recognized that this nation had responsibilities at home and abroad. And wherever we could, we supported the programs and the policies of the administration, even as headed by a Republican President.

In fact, may I say, we improved many of those programs?

And Lyndon Johnson, as Majority Leader, taught the United States Senator that the first duty of a man in public office is to love his country and to be a patriot and to be responsible. And that is the way we acted. (Applause)

We had three recessions in eight Republican years. I don't want us to forget that, either. It isn't any miracle to me why many of the businessmen are for us. American business is intelligent. American business is forward-looking. And a large number of great captains of American industry are for President Johnson, not because of a party label, not even because they may have left their own party. They are for President Johnson because the Kennedy-Johnson program has been the best economic medicine that America has ever seen. (Applause)

And let me also say that even during those eight years that we were out of power, a man from this state who was your former governor, who was our nominee on two occasions, did honor this nation and did honor to this party by speaking sense, speaking in terms of intellectual and personal integrity, speaking in terms of noble ideals, and he kept the Democratic Party a party of hope, a party of ideals and a party of progress. That is Adlai Stevenson. (Applause)

I am proud that I have had a chance to live through this period

and be in Congress -- much of it -- and how happy I am and how proud. And yet how sorrowful I am to have had the privilege of standing alongside of and working with, as one of his legislative lieutenants, the late and beloved President who, for 1000 dramatic days, took this country to new heights, new heights of idealism and exploration and economic progress. That was our President, and we don't intend to let him down. (Applause)

If for no other reason you want to fight in this campaign, if for no other reason you redouble your efforts, remember this, that the attack that's being leveled upon President Johnson today is not just an attack upon President Johnson. It's an attack upon the program and the policies which were conceived and inaugurated and initiated by the late President Kennedy and President Johnson.

And I say to Mr. Goldwater and his crowd, if they want to fight it out on the basis of their backwardness and their reaction, and on the basis of our great leaders and our inspiration and our forward-looking program of the New Frontier, we welcome the fight and we will give them the licking of their lives. (Applause)

So, let's resolve right here, we don't intend to let -- as I said -- this temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction -- and that is what he is -- we don't intend to let that little clique that captured a political party, we don't intend to let them repeal what we are for and we don't intend to let them repudiate the very basic tenets of our foreign policy.

We don't intend to let them demean America by talking about how bad we are, how weak we are, and how we have sold out to this and sold out to that. In all my life, I have never heard a campaign of such vilification, a campaign that is so derogatory of everything that America stands for.

Let me tell you something, my dear friends. American young people are no worse today than they ever were. In fact, they are better, they are smarter, they are more decent. (Applause)

And American workers work hard and they produce more goods and they produce better goods than ever before in the history of this country. And we don't need to be lectured by Mr. Goldwater about it, either. (Applause)

And may I say to Senator from Arizona, we don't need any radicals. We don't need any radicals from the left. We repudiated them along time ago and they never captured our party. And we don't need any Commies and we don't need any Ku Klux Klan-ers. We don't need any Burchites. We don't need these people. (Applause)

I tell you all this because this is what we are fighting about. If you want this country to be turned over to the voices of hate, if you want to continue in America to let these voices of hate and bitterness and dissension have a respectable platform, you just lose this election, that's all.

I will tell you the tragedy of this campaign. It isn't the candidate himself. I am not going to attack Mr. Goldwater personally. I will say I disagree wholeheartedly with his political philosophy. I disagree with his utterances. I disagree with his

Chicago Luncheon - page 4

political program -- if I can find it.

But I will say this. What I do feel badly about is that, by his nomination, forces have at long last in America, forces that we never permitted to ever have a front-line position in this country before, are today out in front.

When the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan can sit on the same platform with a candidate for President, something is wrong in this country. (Applause)

When a candidate for President can say that the John Birch members are the kind of people that ought to be in American politics, something is wrong. We don't need that. (Applause)

I thought we had gotten to a point where we had repudiated bigotry and prejudice. We, for once and for all, repudiated religious bigotry that denied a man the high office of the Presidency. We did that in 1960. Now, let's make sure that we repudiate every other form of bigotry. We don't need any candidate or any forces in American life gaining any sense of respectability that will deny our people, that will promote violence or hate, dissension or distrust. What have we heard as we have listened?

We have heard a constant barrage of verbage that tells us that the Federal government is a greater enemy to our freedom than Moscow, that tells us that there is an animosity between Federal and state government, that divides us on the basis of region, a candidate that whistles Dixie in the South and plays Yankee Doodle in the North.

I told those good Southerners when I saw a sign that said Barry Goldwater, I said, "What he will do for Dixie will make Sherman look like a public benefactor." (Applause)

Now, my friends, if you need any more of a fighter, I guess you have got to get another fellow. (Applause)

I have spoken sharply. I have spoken possibly too sharply for some, but this has been a tough battle. And we need to win this fight -- not just for the Democratic Party. That would be enough for me, but we need to win it for our country. And we need to win it, more importantly, for the forces of decency in this country.

The Democratic Party has no monopoly upon wisdom or virtue. We have never claimed it. But I do know this, that there are millions of people who are not Democrats, that are thoroughly frightened and disgusted with the campaign of the opposition.

These people, my dear fellow Americans, are rising above party to vote for their country. They are rising above partisanship to be patriots. If they are willing to do that, and I saw an ad here in one of your papers, "Republicans for Johnson", my fellow Democrats, if people are willing to break with their party to help us, then you had better break every record you have ever had for hard work. Every voter that you leave at home is one of ours.

There is only one way to win. My dad told me early in life "most people are half as smart as they think they are, son, and you may be one of them." He said, "I have a simple solution for you. You just work harder than anybody else and you will make it as far as most people." (Applause)

I have a formula for you. I am a bit of a pharmacist at heart, and the prescription I have for you is this: Believe in your candidate. Believe in your party. Understand the nature of the opposition. Make up your mind that what you plan on doing, anybody could have done. Therefore, you'd better plan on doing twice as much as you ever planned on doing." And anybody that isn't so tired on election night that he is ready to drop and look like a Goldwaterite when he is happy -- anyone that isn't

that tired on election night, that fellow or that lady that isn't that tired is one that didn't do their duty.

I hope to have a message come from Chicago that there has been mass prostration in the city. (Applause)

And if I read that the emergency wards of your hospitals are filled with loyal Democrats who have fallen from fatigue and exhaustion, then I will know what Cook County is going to do. I will make sure that Cook County not only does well for President Lyndon Johnson -- you see, if you do well for him, you get me, anyhow, whether you like it or not -- (Applause)

When we used to run that family drug store, we used to have two for one sales -- buy one, get two. That's what we have here. You just go ahead and elect Johnson and I come along as a sort of bonus, or whatever you want to call it.

But we are not here just to elect Johnson. I wouldn't be derelict in my duty as a party leader and a spokesman if I didn't say that we are going to need governors; we are going to need Congressmen; we are going to need legislators. We are going to need county organizations. Hubert Humphrey is an organization man. Don't you ever forget it. (Applause)

I'll make a bet with you right now. I will bet my organization in Minnesota, and it's a good one, and we didn't build it by hope and by whistling -- we built it by working. Mr. Mayor, I'll bet you the best dinner in Chicago or Minneapolis that after you have tallied that vote in your state and we have tallied it in my state, I'll bet you that we have as good a percentage -- not as America, because we don't have the population -- but we'll have as good a percentage as you have in Illinois.

Now, I know that I'm talking to a real competitor. And I feel that if I just give him that extra little nudge, that's all it will take. (Applause)

It's sure great fun to be a Democrat. I feel sorry for those other folks; I really do, but I want to tell you something. It's not fun to lose. I have tried it. It doesn't build your character one bit more than winning. There isn't a thing wrong with our character that victory won't help. And there isn't a thing wrong with this country that a Democratic victory won't help, and the center of the Democratic victory is right here in Cook County.

I thank you. Go to work now, and get that vote out. (Applause)

- end -

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Green Bay, Wisconsin
Monday, October 26

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Governor. Thank you, Father Cornell, for your gracious introduction.

May I say my special thanks to the students of the College of Saint Norbert.
(Applause)

Some of you that are here may recall I had the privilege of visiting with you some four years ago and I cannot recall any more happy occasion in my private or public life, and I am deeply grateful for the wonderful reception that was then accorded me, for your fair and kind and generous treatment, and for the inspiration that you gave to me then as a candidate in a primary election.

Now, I come to you tonight as a candidate on the Democratic ticket for the high office of Vice President. I am privileged to be on this ticket with one who was selected by you four years ago by our great and beloved President as the then nominee for Vice President. I must say that to serve in this campaign and indeed to look forward to serving in the next administration with President Lyndon Johnson is to me a tremendous privilege, a high honor, and a very, very serious responsibility. (Applause)

You know, when I hear my young friends that walk in the paths of political transgression say -- (Applause) -- when I hear that -- this is all in good fun -- may I say that when I hear that familiar chant that I have heard from so few voices, but rather loud ones, I always have to remind them that by November, Barry-picking season is over. (Applause)

Now, permit me just to acknowledge here on this platform the candidates for the United States Congress from the Eighth and the Sixth Districts. From the Eighth District, we have Cletus Johnson, and from the Sixth, we have John Race.

We also have here for the State Senate candidates Jack O'Malley from the Second and from the 30th, Ralph Heller.

Now, these are fine, good Democrats. And might I add that as good Democrats, they are a part of the Democratic team. That Democratic team wants to work together. It recognizes that our government and its partnership with the people is not merely a government in Washington, but is also a government in the State Capitol of Madison. It is also a government in the county seat. It is also a government at every level.

And one of the things that it is well for us to learn as we go through this campaign is a fundamental lesson in American government, that these many institutions of government are not enemies. They have no built-in animosity. They should be working partners in the common endeavor of improving the life of the American nation. And that's the way we feel about them.

Now, our opposition, regrettably, on occasion has a different interpretation. But I must say that were they to enroll in a course in American government at Saint Norbert's they would undoubtedly fail. Those of us that believe in government as a working partnership and that all government is not at one level but is spread throughout the nation -- Federal, state and local -- those are the students that will get a passing grade and some of you will get "A" if you vote Democratic on November 3rd. (Applause)

You know, Father Cornell, I believe that your specialty is in the field of history. If I recall correctly -- is that right, Father? If it is, may I say to this student body something that I believe you ought to take very seriously.

It's entirely fitting and proper that as you round out your education, you study history and study it well, indeed. You even ought to study ancient history, but don't vote it -- don't vote it. (Applause)

I want you to study contemporary history as well, the making of history. And there is a man on this platform that has been making history for your state, and he is your Governor -- Governor Reynolds. (Applause)

Governor Reynolds has been making history in Wisconsin and it's a pattern that is being followed in other states because of his initiative. Governor Reynolds' bold new program of granting property tax relief to the aged, based on their ability to pay is an act that told the nation what kind of a compassionate and what kind of a forward-seeing government you have in Wisconsin.

And his courage in leading Wisconsin in one of the finest programs in the care of the mentally retarded has marked him as a leader in this field. If there was ever a compassionate act on the part of a governor, it is in this area.

His farsightedness in working for higher education has enabled Wisconsin to guarantee to all of its young people a college education, regardless of the wealth of their families. This is truly a progressive, forward-looking, hard-working, sensible governor. And he commands the respect of thoughtful people in this state and around the country.

And I would urge everyone in this great hall tonight, whether you are of voting age or not, if you are not of voting age, I urge you to ask your parents to help you by having your parents vote for this governor that has worked to help you. And if you're of voting age, I ask you to take on this additional duty and responsibility of carrying the message to your community that Wisconsin has a hard-working, able, fighting governor for the people of this state. And he will make a great partner with Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States. (Applause)

We continue to have trouble with those dear friends, don't we? You know, on every good program, there's a little static. (Applause)

I know that Governor Reynolds is a native son of Gree Bay, and I know how proud you are of him. And I want you to know that on our plane -- we have a plane that we have tabbed "The Happy Warrior" because we believe politics ought to be an exercise not only in hard work but a sense of joy and happiness.

We have aboard that plane another native son of this community. He doesn't have an Irish name, but he does have one that starts with Hjalmar, and his name is Hjalmar Norrell. We call him "Yummy". He is with us. I wanted to pay my respects to him in this community because he has been -- well, he was with Harry Truman when Truman won, and he was with John Kennedy when Kennedy won, and he is with Hubert Humphrey, when Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey will win. (Applause)

I want for just a very few moments now, before our questioning period starts with this illustrious panel of students, I want to just outline what I think are the two basic issues in this campaign. This campaign should be more than just a chanting and shouting contest. Both sides have done a good deal of it. We are arriving now at the point where, within the next seven days -- seven days tomorrow -- we will make the fateful decision as to the future of this country.

This election is a national election and we elect the President as well as the Congress. And when you elect a President for four years, you can't turn back. You have made the decision. And the decision of the next four years will affect the lives of the people in this hall and the people that are listening to us or viewing us, not just for four years but for many more years to come.

America has no choice but to be the leader of the free world. And our prosperity, our strength, economic, our strength, political, our strength, moral and spiritual, will decide the future course of this world. This is the last best hope on earth, this great republic of ours, as Lincoln termed it, and we have no easy choices to make. We have to make up our mind that our power and our wealth is not merely for ourselves. And we have to make up our minds that to sustain this power and this wealth is not merely an exercise of selfishness.

We do this for noble purposes. We do it to provide, yes, a higher standard of living for the American people, to really enrich the lives of our people.

But we also pay for this power, and we pay for it through hard-earned taxes and hard-earned currency. We have to make up our mind that this power and

this wealth is for the principal purpose of sustaining peace, for the purpose of seeing if by constant perseverance, patience, and pressure upon the forces of tyranny, we cannot make this a better world, to roll back these aggressive forces of Communism, to roll back these aggressive forces of ignorance and illiteracy and fear and prejudice.

Our problems in this world are not merely Communism. Communism is indeed a powerful, sinister, evil force that would like nothing better than to dominate this earth. And we don't intend to let that happen.

But there are other forces at work. There are the forces of ignorance; there are the forces of bigotry and prejudice; there are the forces of disease and pestilence, and we need to wage war on those forces as well.

Our opposition says to us that they want victory -- victory now. They want instant victory. The only thing that is instant, my dear fellow Americans, is annihilation. That, we can provide if we are rash, irresponsible, impetuous, and by miscalculation or by some unbelievable premeditated mistake. We want to make sure, therefore, that the gains that we have made these past 30 years are sustained, and not only sustained, but that they are platforms from whence we can build to higher ground.

The America that we seek -- the better America -- is like the building of a mighty cathedral. It isn't done in a day. The cathedrals of Europe took centuries, many of them, to build. And each generation gave something to those great cathedrals. And in those cathedrals, there is more than stone and there is more than just brick and mortar. There is the life of the people, the spirit of each generation.

America has been building, building, building a better America every generation. This is a better America and a generation ago, and a generation ago, it was better than before, materially, educationally, spiritually, economically -- we are a better and a stronger people.

But we can go further. There are still pockets of poverty. There are still young people that ought to go to college that do not go. There are yet people in America that have not really fulfilled their capacity to do a good job. The process of emancipation is continuous. The process of freedom is continuing. And we must be in the vanguard of that fight for the expansion of these frontiers of freedom.

Now, we build also for peace. Anybody can destroy. It takes no statesmanship, my dear friends, to destroy this world. A madman can do that. It takes no reason. It takes no power of mind or spirit to be destructive. But it does take a statesman and it does take will, it does take reason, it does require patience and perseverance, and it does require mind and spirit to construct, to build a better world.

And we are building in the paths of peace. We are building this mighty cathedral of a better world. We are doing it through many programs. We did it after World War II with the Marshall Plan, with aid to Greece and Turkey. We have been doing it more recently under the leadership of President Kennedy with the Alliance for Progress, with the Peace Corps, with the Food for Peace program, with the Arms Control Agency, with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, with revised foreign aid, building up our military strength as a deterrent to aggression.

We have been building, my fellow Americans, block by block, stone by stone, this mighty edifice, this mighty cathedral of peace.

I remind you of what John Kennedy said, my dear friends, in the most memorable speech of his career on June 10, 1963, American University commencement address, when he pierced through the Iron Curtain, when he broke through to the peoples of Eastern Europe, when he finally put the Communists in moral and spiritual retreat, indeed, in military retreat. He said then that "Peace is a process". He reminded us that it took courage, that it took stamina, that it took sacrifice. that we could not be selfishly. We had

Green Bay - 4

The biggest coward in the world can be a bully but only the strong are the peacemakers. And I submit that in this election, what we are trying to do is to continue just what President Johnson said after our beloved President was taken from us.

John Kennedy said "Let us begin". And we did begin, and you know it. We began to build a better America and a better world, and John Kennedy was taken from us 1000 days after those immortal words. And then a man rose up in our midst, his Vice President, and held high that torch that John Kennedy had carried so briefly, and he said three words, "Let us continue".

And we have been continuing. And what we are asking you to help us do now -- and I worked alongside of these men, may I say -- I sat there with them as they designed this program. I think I even had a little hand in it as one of the legislative lieutenants.

We are asking you now, my fellow Americans, to let us continue to move this country forward not only economically, not only in material things, but we are asking you to help us move this country forward to its real mission, which is a mission of trying to have a better world, a world in which there is some hope, a world in which there is some life, a world in which peace can march forward rather than to be destroyed.

I happen to think that the candidate that I represent, the President of the United States, is a man dedicated to peace. He is dedicated to peace with justice and peace with strength. He is dedicated, as he said, to a better America.

And I come here to ask your help to make this possible. Join me, will you, in electing President Lyndon Johnson to make this a better America? (Applause)

MR. DUDEK: Senator Humphrey, I am Lee Dudek, Chairman of the Speech Department in Saint Norbert College. With me are four students of the College, all of them social science majors, all of them are members of the Young Democrats Club. On my left is Judy De Crave. Next to me is Jerry Fox. On my right is Michael Roe of Green Bay, and on my extreme right -- nothing significant in that -- Roger Burbach of Watertown, Wisconsin.

MISS DE CRAVE: Senator Humphrey, do you feel that there is a basic inconsistency between Americanism and extremism?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Judy asks if I think there is a basic inconsistency between Americanism and extremism.

If you mean extremism, yes, radicalism, that would destroy what I consider to be the values, the institutions of this country, I do. It is my sincere view, Judy, that the American society has had a continuity of purpose and a continuity of philosophy and that an extremist is one who would pull up these institutions by the roots, that would destroy -- and I believe we have those extremists, regrettably, that would appeal to the prejudices, as they see them, of our people; extremists that would divide us ethnically, religiously, on the basis of section and race. That kind of extremism really has no place in the American society. The American people are not haters. When I hear people preach the doctrine of hate -- to hate a particular man or woman because of color, to hate somebody because of religion or to dislike or hate someone because of the section of the country in which they live, I say that is extremism.

What this country needs is leadership that unites us, not divides us. What we need are the voices of common sense and reason, not of extremism and radicalism.

I might add that I consider Mr. Goldwater not to be a real Republican or a Democrat. I say this because of those in his own party that have literally exposed him by their own words -- not what Senator Humphrey has said. But I call to your attention what Governor Scranton has said, what Governor Rockefeller has said, what Governor Romney has said, what Richard Nixon has said. And Richard Nixon said that the Republican Party must repudiate the standards of Mr. Goldwater.

Of course, he is around now trying to pick up what he thinks will be the pieces of the national calamity of his party. (Applause)

I consider that when a candidate for office on the Republican ticket can vote 25 times on 25 issues -- 25 times "no" against his own party -- and he did -- Mr. Goldwater did that -- on 25 specific commitments of the 1960 Republican platform, Mr. Goldwater voted "no." On those same 25 issues, Mr. Kuchel of California, Republican, voted "yes"; Mr. Dirksen of Illinois voted 18 times "yes"; Mr. Saltonstall, Republican of Massachusetts, voted 20 times "yes"; and Mr. Hickenlooper of Iowa voted 17 times "yes". I say that if the four leading Republicans of the Senate can vote from two-thirds to three-fourths, from 17 to 25 votes "yes" on 25 Republican platform commitments, and Mr. Goldwater votes 25 times "no", Mr. Goldwater is not a Republican, he is a radical, and that is an extremist. (Applause)

MR. FOX: Senator Humphrey, do you consider your association with the Americans for Democratic Action a political asset or a liability?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I gather you must have heard the chanting of the right wing up here.

I am very pleased that the young friends of ours in the gallery -- by the way, many of them are very happy-looking and smiling young people. May I say that if that is the case, they know that deep down in their hearts, they are for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Well, now, I think maybe I'll try to answer your question. Your question was with reference to the ADA. It is an organization known as the Americans for Democratic Action. ADA was established for one purpose only, and everybody knows that that purpose -- maybe a man who is a member of it would know what it was established for a little better than somebody that can't spell it. (Applause)

It was established as a militant, anti-Communist organization for the primary purpose -- you know, that is why they lose all those votes. (Applause) If we can just keep them acting with such bad manners, they are going to lose almost every vote. (Applause)

The American people are really rather fair-minded and they are rather well-mannered and they are rather happy people. Sometimes they find it a little bit difficult to understand those that go around as if they have the political colic.

Now, may I just say -- repeat my statement on ADA. It was established as a militant, non-Communist, anti-Communist organization. In my state of Minnesota, where it was very active and I was a

Green Bay - 6

leader in it, it was for the purpose of rooting out of our party -- which had been captured in 1946 by the then Progressive Wallacites -- not your Progressive Party, but the one that was in the national election of 1948 -- a Communist-front organization, regrettably, or one that was infiltrated by Communists -- our political party was infiltrated by this group.

Therefore, the ADA came to the State of Minnesota with Hubert Humphrey, with Arthur Naftalin, the Mayor of Minneapolis, with Eugene McCarthy, U. S. Senator from Minnesota, with Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, our respected Ambassador, and with many of the leading figures in the state, respected by Republicans and Democrats alike. May I say it came there with the purpose of cleaning up the political party, of cleaning out Communism, Marxism, and leftism in the liberal movement of America.

It was supported by the most militant, anti-Communist leaders, men who know that the American labor movement must be rid of the Communist influence. And the ADA ought to get a merit badge for service beyond the call of duty for American government and anti-Communism, rather than the jeers and sneers of people who know little or nothing about it.

But might I add that when an organization can call the former President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, a conscious agent of the Communist Party and can make the same comment about the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the same organization can make derogatory comments about ADA, I happen to think that that kind of talk proves its own irresponsibility. Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, a great general, called a conscious agent of the Communist Party. How unbelievably bad can you get? How unbelievably irresponsible can you get?

And the same people that make that charge against a former President make it against others, including a little organization like ADA. I sometimes wonder, because the same people who say "Get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S." and claim to be 110 per cent super-patriots are chanting the same thing that Nikita Khrushchev and Josef Stalin chanted. It's a peculiar thing how the extreme right and the extreme left always get into bed at the same place at the same time. The only difference is they are fighting over the sheets, that's all.

Might I also add so I can be perfectly clear, we want neither. We want neither. The Senator that is speaking to you now is the author of the Communist Control Act. The Senator that is speaking to you now is never, in his own state, attacked for any of this nonsense that you hear frequently from some of these propagandists of the extreme right.

Let me say that the extreme right of extremism and the extreme left of Communism, both of them are like plagues, and we ought to have nothing to do with them. And this speaker for the Democratic Party repudiates both. We don't like the Ku Klux Klan; we don't like the Gerald L. K. Smithes; we don't like the John Birch Society. (Applause)

And we don't like the Communist Party and we don't want anything to do with any of them, period. (Applause)

Green Bay - 7

MR. ROE: I have a question on the foreign policy. In view of the recent detonation of a bomb by the Chinese, would not formal diplomatic negotiations with them be a more practical policy than our informal diplomatic negotiations with their American ambassador at Warsaw?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Sir, I am opposed and have been opposed ever since I served in the Senate, when the issue of recognition of Communist China has been in the public environment, for public discussion -- I have been opposed to admission of Communist China into the United Nations and the recognition of Communist China. I will say that the reason I am opposed to it is, first of all, I think this would encourage the Communist Chinese in Southeast Asia. It would give them prestige and acceptance which I don't think they ought to have.

Secondly, I believe the Communist Chinese are irresponsible aggressors. They are aggressors and they violate the treaty that they have signed. I am not for their recognition.

Now we come to the matter of the atomic detonation. First of all, let me make it clear that this was not a weapon. This was a device, and a weapon is the difference between a Model "T" and a Cadillac -- or a Lincoln -- I don't want to choose up sides here -- or a Chrysler New Yorker or an Imperial. It's a great difference. And there will be some time before the Communist Chinese will be able to produce what is known as a usable nuclear weapon with systems of delivery that are accurate and reliable.

But I do think it's entirely possible that we can, under the terms of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, continue to negotiate, through friends, through our allies, and ourselves directly, to see whether or not the Chinese Communists will come under that treaty. I want to be frank with you. I don't think they will. I don't think you can depend upon the Chinese Communists to sign a test ban treaty. They have shown no indication of so doing.

If the matter of Chinese atomic weaponry becomes a serious matter with us, we have an escape clause in the treaty, as you know. In the meantime, I can assure you that no nation on earth has the nuclear power that this nation has. In fact, the question of nuclear power is not related to not having enough. It's what do you do with the amount you have and how do you treat it responsibly.

MR. BURBACH: Senator, the opposition has charged that social legislation has endangered our American system of government and will inevitably lead to socialism. Do you think this is a substantial charge in any way?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, my good friend, I keep hearing this old slogan of socialism. I guess that's why Henry Ford is supporting Lyndon Johnson.

My goodness, you know, isn't it something? It's an insult to the American intelligence. Here we have an economy of \$625 million. The stock market has increased in value since Lyndon Johnson alone became President over \$100 million. We have

Green Bay - 8

\$125 billion greater gross national product today for the American private economy than we had three and a half years ago. We have 73 million people working. We have \$13 billion increased net profits over what they were three years ago for corporate business. We have more independent business enterprises today than at any time in the last 25 years. We have a country where profits and dividends are at an all-time high, where the corporate and business structure of this nation is the strongest it has ever been, where investment is at an all-time high.

Yet, the opposition hollers socialism. Let me just say that if this is socialism, then I have never read a book on private enterprise and capitalism. I might add they'd better quit talking about this being socialism or they are going to convince people in other places that socialism is pretty good.

They preach about this being creeping socialism. This is leaping capitalism, and, boy, do I like it! (Applause)

MR. DUDEK: Thank you, Senator Humphrey. As much as we would like to keep you here, we know Madison is waiting for you and rather than deprive them of the honor, we will declare this closed.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I thank this audience for your participation. We could stand here tonight and have many, many questions and I think we could have some good answers. But I just want to leave you with this thought. This is your decision week. From here on out, it isn't in the hands of candidates. It's in the hands of the people.

I want to thank Saint Norbert's, this great college, for sponsoring this program, and I want to thank the panelists here tonight for their questions.

And I hope that those who have come here with their minds already made up will give that mind a little exercise. You'll be surprised how it refreshes the human spirit. (Applause)

- end -

④ Bill Proxmire
John Reynolds
Tyrone Stallbaum - 1st
16 no states

Gaylord Nelson
Auerne

④ Harvey
Kitzman

Issue

There is one issue dominating all others in this

campaign: which candidate for President of the United

States is better prepared to assume the ~~final~~ responsi-

bility for the destiny of America both at home and abroad?

↳ We live in perilous times.

Soc + Ec. crisis

We live in a world in transition--fraught with danger.

Within 24 hours Nikita Khrushchev tumbled from power
in the Soviet Union--the Red Chinese detonated an atomic
blast--and the Labor Party assumed control in Great Britain.

These 24 hours--these three historic events--illus-
trate the basic issue in this campaign, the issue which
overshadows all other considerations This one issue --
and only this issue -- relates to the survival of our people,
of our ideals, and the cause of all mankind.

↳ In choosing our next President of the United States,
the people of America must base their decision on per-
formance -- not promises.

Sam Rizzo

Dans
Sandanovicans

Halvins

④ Racine

Young
People!

educ

Performance is the true test of a man. Performance separates great leaders from second-raters. Performance is the one basis on which America can make the correct choice.

And make no mistake about it -- there is no room for error in electing the President of the United States.

There is no second chance. Not for four years -- which could be eternity.

On the basis of performance -- ~~not promises~~ -- Lyndon Johnson stands alone as the one person qualified to assume the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next four years. He stands as the one person qualified to preserve the peace of the world ^{and} to insure the security of the United States.

Think back to those ghastly days last November. Our great President was struck down. History stood still. The nation and the world teetered on the brink of despair

and collapse -- one slip, one misstep, one rash judgment, one impetuous remark, one single error by the President of the United States could have produced international chaos.

And Lyndon Johnson stepped forward. He grieved with us. He wept with us. But he calmed us -- guided us -- strengthened us -- led us out of the valley of despair.

Never has a human being carried such responsibility on his shoulders. And never has a human being responded with such courage, determination, wisdom and leadership. Never has the Presidency known a finer hour.

Performance -- not promises -- is the test of a man.

The American people understand this fact. They know that innuendoes -- allegations -- distortions -- radicalism -- cannot substitute for the hard currency of responsible performance by the President of the United States.

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 Vandenburg 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.

He accepts the support of irresponsible extremist groups and draws away alienates loyal and responsible members of the Republican Party. *radical*

The outcome of the Goldwater convention in San Francisco was a flat refusal to repudiate extremism. By its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American

politics, the Goldwater party has permitted into its ranks those individuals and organizations whose stock in trade is the politics of hate.

For a generation these extremists and radicals have been pushing their accusations, their innuendoes, their nuances in the back alleys of American politics.

Now they have captured the Grand Old Party and transformed it into Goldwater's Own Party.

In San Francisco the Goldwater Party deliberately refused to repudiate support from the John Birch Society.

The Goldwater Party refused to repudiate a Society that called President Eisenhower "a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

What does Senator Goldwater think of the John Birch Society? Listen to his own words:

".....I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics..." (Christian

Science Monitor, Nov. 8, 1963)

"These (John Birch Society members) are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of Communism." (Milwaukee Journal, June 24, 1962)

"I don't consider the John Birch Society as a group to be extremists." (New York Times, April 17, 1964)

Well, Lyndon Johnson and I consider John Birchers to be extremists. The Democratic Party considers the Birchers to be extremists. And responsible Republicans consider the Birchers to be extremists.

So it is not surprising that the harshest denunciations of Senator Goldwater have come from members of the Republican Party.

Former Vice President Nixon said: "...it would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated."

(Des Moines Register, June 10, 1964)

Governor Nelson Rockefeller described Goldwater as the candidate of "an extremism outside the main currents of American political life." (Kansas City Star, April 28, 1964)

Governor William Scranton termed Goldwater's view "a weird parody of Republicanism...the echo of fear and reaction, the echo from the never-never land that puts our nation backward to a lesser place in the world of free men...the fast draw and the quick solution." (as quoted by Arthur Krock, New York Times, July 10, 1964)

This is the message Lyndon Johnson and I have sought to bring to the American people: the era of the fast draw and the quick solution in foreign affairs is over.

The world entered a new era when the United States detonated the first atomic bomb in 1945. Since that fateful day, war has worn a new face. The initiation of full-scale war as an instrument of national policy has

become a total absurdity.

Yet this is a message which Senator Goldwater fails to comprehend.

Listen to his own words:

"Someday, I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear war...I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps ten years from now." (New York Post, 5/8/61)

"Now, I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip...I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them." (Der Spiegel, 6/30/64)

When asked whether he would take America to the brink of war, Senator Goldwater responded: "Yes. Just as your country --that is, Germany--has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully." (Der Spiegel, 6/30/64)

Twice in this century irresponsible leaders of Imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world over the brink. Indeed, Imperial and Nazi Germany in this century give us a perfect and deeply tragic example of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action without restraint and responsibility.

In no area is the difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than on the question of responsibility in the field of international affairs.

In no area are Senator Goldwater's views more dangerous to the safety and welfare of all Americans -- to the safety and welfare of all mankind.

LJFK

The American people do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger -- ~~this overriding conclusion~~ has emerged from the campaign.

~~And the American people are absolutely correct.~~

The American people know Lyndon Johnson will provide

this Nation with responsible, moderate, progressive and enlightened leadership.

The American people know Lyndon Johnson possesses the qualities to create unity from diversity and consensus from conflict -- and to pursue his duties as commander-in-chief with restraint and prudence.

The American people know Lyndon Johnson is the one man superbly qualified to lead America and the world away from the last Great War toward the first Great Society.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
At Racine, Wisconsin
October 26, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very, very much, my good personal friend and your very distinguished, competent and respected State Senator, Lynn Stalbaum, who will be, without a shadow of a doubt, if you will get out and work, the next Congressman from this District.

(Applause.)

I think Wisconsin's First Congressional District deserves to have a good, hardworking, competent, responsible, progressive Congressman, and Lynn Stalbaum is just the man for the job.

(Applause.)

What a joy it is to be received. What fun it is to see many of my old friends, many new friends, to be here with me in the company of one of my colleagues of the Senate, a gentleman that I have been able to call friend for many years, your former Governor, Governor Gaylord Nelson, new U. S. Senator Gaylord Nelson, and also to be here on this platform with your county candidates, your candidate here for Attorney General, Bronson LaFollette, and also to say a word for the candidate for Lt. Governor, who I am sure with your help can be that Democratic candidate that is successful on November 3. That is my friend Pat Lucey for Congressman from the 5th District.

Speaking about friends, let me tell you that when I got on this platform, the gentleman walked across the stage and said, "I have been looking for you, where have you been"?

I saw my old friend, George Molinaro, your Assemblyman, I knew that I was home.

George, there isn't any doubt that you will be re-elected. I don't even recall that you have an opponent. If you have, he ought to quit now and save money and time, because George is going to be elected.

(Applause.)

I know that a good deal of effort has gone into this meeting. This is a difficult hour to hold a meeting of this size. Let me thank all those in this great community of Racine, Wisconsin, that have gone to work to bring out this fine audience of fellow citizens, of representatives of your business community,

your labor community, your agricultural community, and all these fine young people.

I am delighted. I am going to have a word with these young people in just a moment.

But I noticed on the platform here a gentleman who helped me so much some years ago, has been indeed my good friend, very active here in the UAW. I refer to Sam Risser, and Sam, I want to thank you.

(Applause.)

Then I want to point to a man on this platform who literally gave up his time, his energy, and his life to me and his beloved wife, who is no longer with us, worked her heart out for Hubert Humphrey.

I am so grateful to Harvey Kitzman for all the help he gave me.

(Applause.)

Harvey, look up there and you see, "UAW welcomes Humphrey". Well, Humphrey thanks UAW and you.

May I thank also the distinguished gentleman who opened this program for us, Ken Greenquist, for his friendship and his support.

(Applause.)

On the way here from Milwaukee, we were driving -- we were within the speed limits; that is the disadvantage of having the Governor with you. And he is a law-abiding citizen.

We were talking about Racine, talking about your neighboring community, Kenosha. We were talking about this whole area and somebody said to me, "You know, Humphrey, you had better remember, a lot of Scandanivans up around there."

And somebody else said, "You had better remember, there are a lot of folks there of Italian descent."

I said, "I know, and I am a sponsor of two bills in Congress to show that I am impartial, one for Columbus Day and one for Leif Erickson Day."

(Applause.)

Like that old fellow said from down in Kentucky, when he was faced with a highly controversial issue, he said, "Half of my friends are for Leif Erickson, half of them are for Christopher Columbus, and I always stand with my friend."

So I think we are in good shape around here. And I do want to thank you.

Now, let me say a word about this man that is running for Governor. I am here to speak, of course, for our national ticket. But I am here to speak for our national ticket and I am here to speak for a man that follows a great Governor and has demonstrated in his own right that he, too, is a great Governor.

He is a fine son of a great father that was known and respected in this State.

This Governor of yours, Governor John Reynolds, has earned for himself through courage, through leadership, through the the willingness to stand and take a position even though at times, it was difficult -- he has earned the respect of thoughtful people and of people who appreciate political integrity.

Governor Reynolds' bold program of granting property tax relief to the aged based on their ability to pay, is a new stroke of fiscal policy in America and it has been a policy that has attracted attention throughout the nation.

He is the kind of Governor that leads rather than follows.

(Applause.)

And speaking of leading, may I say that his courage in leading Wisconsin to new accomplishments in the care of mentally retarded is something that should be respected and honored by everybody, regardless of party.

I say it has marked him as a national leader in this field. And his farsightedness in fighting for the young people of this State in higher education, for better education --

(Applause.)

--this program of his has enabled Wisconsin to guarantee all of its children a good education regardless of where you may come from or regardless of economic status or of your wealth.

And his awareness of the needs of the workingman, his program for unemployment compensation improvement and workmen's compensation -- I say that this marks this man as progressive, as a liberal, and as a forward-looking leader for Wisconsin.

(Applause.)

And let me tell you now that President Lyndon Johnson, who will be the next President of the United States --

(Applause)

--that President Lyndon Johnson wants to have as Governor in this State to work with him on education, on programs of mental retardation, on tax policy, on improvement of the social and economic conditions of this great State and nation -- President Johnson has asked me to tell you that he would like to see the people of Wisconsin re-elect Governor John Reynolds.

(Applause.)

I gather you feel the same way. I will tell President Johnson.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, let me speak to you about this national campaign. First, let me say a word to our young friends here.

I hope you appreciate how much I appreciate your attendance. One of the most gratifying developments of this campaign is the friendship and the enthusiasm of our young students. I am ever indebted to you.

There are times when we become a bit weary, there are times when you can become discouraged. There are times when the campaign gets a little ugly.

But then, all at once, you see young people -- young people who are not afraid, young people who believe in their country, young people who seize the future and don't run away from it, young people who know that their government is a partner with them in their future.

And I asked every one of my young friends not merely to be a participant in a political rally, not merely to be here to cheer and shout and give us encouragement as you do so well, but

I ask you to become sentinels and guardians of this democracy.

I ask you to take up the mantle of stewardship of this democracy.

I ask you to go home to your respective households, to write to your parents if you are away from them, and ask them to join with you in taking care of America.

Ask them, if you please, to give you a vote of confidence. Because what we are talking about and what we ought to be talking about is not the America of yesterday, wonderful as it is -- and not even the America of today, good as it is.

What we need to be thinking about and talking about is the America of tomorrow and how much better we are going to make it if we work together.

(Applause.)

I am sure I speak for the parents in this audience when I address these remarks to our sons and daughters.

I have three sons and I have a daughter, and I am proud to say, I have two lovely granddaughters, with whom I spent yesterday afternoon.

I am interested in them. And I want to see our America a place in which there is opportunity for them.

I don't want it easy for them or for me. But I want it so that if a person is trained and educated and if the opportunity is here for education and training, that with conscientious effort, there will be an opportunity for everybody, regardless of their race, their color or their religion or their national origin.

I want an America in which everybody can contribute to the maximum of their ability to make it even a better America.

(Applause.)

You know, I must tell you that on our plane, we have a wonderful group of people. I just looked over here at the side for a moment and I saw a friend of mine here that reminded me that Wisconsin was the most up and coming State in the union. That is what he told me because he is from Wisconsin.

elo end
nash fols

I had to say that it is about even with mine.

I think you will forgive me, but it really is and this state knows what social program means. This is a state of great social reform, of great economic reform. And in this state, there has been what we call pioneering.

Now, for 30 years at your Federal Government level, we have been attempting to build a better America economically and socially. This Federal Government has been working with state government, it has been working with local government.

The Federal Government, from the day of Franklin Roosevelt up to this date, has been one that has been a government with a heart, with a sense of duty, with a conscience.

Somebody said that the Democratic Party is the Party that cares. And I think that is the apt description of it. We do care.

(Applause.)

We care, we care about our elderly. We want to make sure that they have an opportunity to live in dignity and security. We care about our unfortunate, the afflicted, the sick, those that are in trouble. And we do not believe that to be concerned about the unfortunate or the sick or the needy is socialism. We believe that it is decent, wholesome Americanism, and we are going to continue to care.

(Applause.)

And, my friends, we do not believe nor has the Democratic Administration ever believed that it is the duty of Government to take care of everyone. What we do believe is that it is the duty of Government to help people help themselves.

We believe that it is the duty of Government to help a farmer with his farm programs and with his farm problems. We believe that Government can be of help -- not to take over the farmers' job but to help the farmer do a better job.

And we don't believe that the way you help that farmer do a better job is to leave him alone and just walk away and leave him the victim of the market place.

We believe that the American businessman is the most

efficient manager in the world. And we believe that the duty of Government is not to mind that business, but we believe the American Government can be of help to the business management in seeing to it that his business is profitable and that it is modern and that it is efficient and that it serves the American people better than any other business in the world.

(Applause.)

We do not believe that the Federal Government should take over all of the responsibilities of education. To the contrary, education is essentially a local responsibility. But we believe that every American citizen is entitled to a good education.

And therefore, we believe that the Federal Government can be of some help to local governments, to colleges, to public and private schools alike, that we can be of help in seeing to it that America's youth gets the best education in the world.

(Applause.)

We do not believe that the Federal Government or any government, should tell management or labor what their wages should be. But we do believe that the Federal Government should protect the right of a worker to organize and to bargain collectively and preserve his rights.

(Applause.)

And ladies and gentlemen, this is what we have been doing for 30 years. We have been building a better America and a more economically prosperous America, a more socially just America. And all of that now is up for a vote.

The question in this election on November 3 is do you want to veto what you have accomplished? Do you want to repudiate it? Or do you want to go ahead and build on it? If you do, vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

No, my friends, there are really two great issues. The first issue is whether or not we will destroy all of the social and economic gains of the past 30 years. The Senator from Arizona has been quite clear in his pronouncements. I want to say for the Senator that I think that he is a man of conviction. And his convictions are manifestly clear. And one of

them is that the Federal Government should get out of these programs of housing, of agriculture, of education, of health, of social welfare, and he has said so. He said there should be a timetable of withdrawal.

And ladies and gentlemen, if you think that the Federal Government, your Government, a Government that ought to be your servant, a Government that ought to stand and help you when help is needed, a Government that ought to be your partner -- if you think that Government ought to be removed from these many activities that I have spoken of -- agriculture, helping labor, business, education, social security -- if you think those programs are unwise, if you think we ought not to have them, there is a way to get rid of them. And you can do it in this election. You can vote for the prophet of reaction and despair.

Or if you think we ought to keep them, you can vote for the Kennedy-Johnson program and Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Now, the second great issue is even more meaningful than the first. Because every mother and father in this audience knows that it means nothing as to our prosperity or our schools or our social programs of human betterment if mankind in his madness destroys himself.

We have within our powers, my fellow Americans, within our hands, I should say, the means of destruction of God's creation.

We have entered a new era of human history. On the day that that first nuclear device was exploded on the sands of the deserts of New Mexico, from that day on, war took on a new face. From that day on, the power struggle was different. And from that day on, mankind has built up powerful forces that can be used either for good or for evil, either for peace or for war. And the President of the U.S. is in command today of the greatest nuclear arsenal that the world has ever owned.

We have within our hands today, ladies and gentlemen, enough power to obliterate all of God's creation. We must make sure, therefore, that this power that is ours and this wealth that I have spoken of that is ours -- we must make sure that it is used responsibly. We must make sure that it is used with restraint.

What is the purpose of our wealth? What is the purpose of these social advances? Is it just a luxury? I think not.

We have gained this great prosperity and it is tremendous. And every mother and father, every worker, every son and daughter in this audience knows that today America is enjoying unprecedented prosperity -- 44 months of continued expansion of our economy.

And we can build it even better. We can eliminate the pockets of poverty.

But the purpose of all this is not just for more money in the bank. The purpose of all this is for the good life, the life of education, of culture, the life of happiness for our people.

But all of that, my dear friends, can be lost if we should become involved accidentally or by miscalculation or by pre-conceived decision in a nuclear holocaust.

I don't know how a speaker can properly explain to an audience the unbelievable devastation that is possible if we should, by some unfortunate development, become involved in a nuclear war.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, your America has power, unbelievable power. Believe not the false prophets. This country is more powerful than any nation on the face of the earth. This country has more power than any combination of nations on the face of the earth. This country has so much power that it is both the envy and the marvel of the world.

And a country that has that must have at its helm a President who understands responsibility, who understands that this nation's problems will not be solved, nor will the world's problems be solved by force.

They will be solved, my friends, and ladies and gentlemen, they will be solved by reason. They will be solved by the use of strength for peaceful purposes. They will be solved by compassion. They will be solved by understanding.

The purpose of our nuclear power is not to make war. The purpose is to prevent war. The purpose is to deter the aggressor so that over the period of time, by patience and perseverance, by precept and example, by pressure upon tyranny, we can drive back these forces of aggression, and that we can change people

who are momentarily trapped under vicious Communist regimes.

I do not want a man in the White House who thinks in terms of war. I do not want one in there who is irresponsible and impetuous. And I must say with all seriousness that the man who is the opponent of President Johnson in this election has spoken too often in impetuous words, intemperate words, to leave any doubt as to his feelings and as to his philosophy.

Let me quote to you just briefly, so that the record may be clear, not from my words but from his, what he believes. And then possibly you will see why I am so concerned.

First of all, here is a man who has said that he considers-- he says: "I am convinced that we will either be in a war or we will be subjugated without war, and I mean real nuclear war. I don't see how it can be avoided perhaps ten years from now."

This was stated in 1961, May 8. Mr. Goldwater said he felt that war was inevitable. He said we would either be in a nuclear war or we would be subjugated without one.

Well, let me say on this platform in Racine, Wisconsin, that I speak for a man who doesn't believe war is inevitable. I speak for a President who has been going around America telling the American people that the noblest cause of God's children is to work for peace and peace is a necessity.

(Applause.)

These are not the only words of the Senator from Arizona. There are other words he has uttered that are even more frightening. He says, "Now, I will have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip. I have been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them."

Ladies and gentlemen, any man that says in this day and age that he doesn't have to stop and think about the problems that beset this world is a man who, by his own words from his own lips, has disqualified himself for the office of Presidency of the U.S.

(Applause.)

Let me quote from this man who today is running around America saying we ought to elect Mr. Goldwater. I quote from

a man who was the former Vice President of the United States. And I quote from Mr. Nixon, and here is what he said; I think that it is well for you to hear what other people have said, not only what a candidate on the Democratic ticket has said. Then maybe you will understand why millions of Republicans and thousands here in the State of Wisconsin have no stomach for Mr. Goldwater.

(Applause.)

You will understand why they are concerned. Because these people have put their country above their Party, their patriotism above their partisanship. But here is a man who only a few months ago had these words to say about Mr. Goldwater. And I quote Mr. Nixon:

"It would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated went unchallenged and unrepudiated."

Here is what Governor Nelson Rockefeller had to say, speaking of Mr. Goldwater as the candidate of an extremism outside the main currents of American political life. And here is what the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania had to say, Mr. Scranton, about Mr. Goldwater's views:

"A weird parody of American Republicanism an echo of fear and reaction, the echo from never-never land that puts our nation backward to a lesser place in a nation of free men; the fast draw and the quick slugs."

Ladies and gentlemen, the man that seeks this high office of the Presidency on the Republican ticket is a man who has frightened his own partisans. He is one who has driven them from his own Party. He is the leader of a faction that booted, that booted, if you please, the Governor of New York, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Governor of Michigan. Every reasonable, modern Republican was hooted out of the hall.

This is the man, if you please, who said of the John Birch Society that they are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of communism. "I don't consider the John Birch society as to be extremists," he said, "I think we need them in American politics."

A society that said that Dwight Eisenhower was a Congressional agent of the communist conspiracy. And this man says he is a

Republican. Any man that can sleep in the same bed with the John Birch Society that has said the unbelievable things about Dwight Eisenhower and the Chief Justice of the United States, any man that can do that is no Republican, he is no Democrat, he is a radical and he ought to be repudiated.

(Applause.)

This age in which we have lived and in which we will continue to live is the most perilous and dangerous age of recorded history. Only a few weeks or days ago, the Chinese Communists exploded a nuclear device. The possibility of nuclear weapons spread to foreign countries is here, mother and father. And every new country that gets a nuclear weapon puts the life of your family and this nation in jeopardy.

This nation sought to stop nuclear tests. And we were able to arrive at some agreement to stop nuclear tests. But only 100 nations signed that treaty.

President Eisenhower asked us to stand for it. President Kennedy led us to that treaty. Republican Senator Dirksen of the State of Illinois, just to your south, led the Republican ranks in the Senate for that treaty. It wasn't a partisan issue. It was an issue of humanity. It was an issue of morals. It was an issue of decency.

And four-fifths of the Republicans of the Senate voted for it. And better than four-fifths of the Democrats voted for it.

But the Senator from Arizona, standing as he generally does, far out to the right, voted "no," voted "no".

Ladies and gentlemen, any man that can't understand that this world has changed, any man that can't understand that the awesome power of the nuclear weapon is something that ought to be treated differently than a conventional weapon, any man that can't understand the nature of the world in which we live -- that man must not be our President.

We need somebody at the helm of this country that understands that America is the last best hope on earth, that our responsibilities are tremendous.

We have been selected as if by divine Providence to give this world leadership, decent leadership -- not leadership for war. Not leadership by ultimatum; not leadership by fear; not

leadership through threats; not leadership through cynicism and bitterness and hate. But leadership through love, through compassion, through justice, through reason, using the strength that we have, not to terrify people but to use that strength as a shield to protect ourselves and from whence we can work with our hands and our hearts and our minds to build a better world.

This world is in trouble and it has been in trouble. And it needs somebody in America as its President who understands that God Almighty gave us brainpower to use and a heart to use and a conscience to use.

And I submit to you that the overriding issue in this campaign is whether or not America is going to elect a man of peace and reason, or whether you are going to elect a man who rattles the saber, who issues the ultimatums, who acts and talks impetuously, who represents irresponsibility.

And if you want that kind of a reckless America, you have a choice. But I don't think you do. I think you want an America that is strong and is tolerant; that is strong and yet is compassionate; that is strong and yet seeks the peace.

Because it is still true, my fellow Americans, that blessed are the peacemakers. It is still true that the strongest person in the world is the one that pursues the just and noble cause of peace, pursues it honorably without appeasement, pursues it with a vigor and with a dedication, and doesn't give up.

And I submit to you that we started on this road to peace. We started on it under John Kennedy. We started under, may I say, the late beloved Pope John. And we continued it under Lyndon Johnson.

And if you give us your help, if you give us your votes, if you take this election seriously, we will pursue this cause with a fervor and a dedication that will make you proud of America.

(Applause.)

MADISON WISC

RECEPTION CTE AT AIRP

CONG BOB KASTENMEIER
STATE SEN FRED A RISSER, DANE COUNTY
LOUIS HANSON STATE CHMN
GILBERT ROHDE PRES OF WISC FARMERS UNION
MAYBE PAT LUCEY CAND FOR LT GOV

REYOLDS AND LAFOLLETTE ON PLANE

NO ACTIVITY AT AIRPORT DUE TO TIME PRESSURE

MOTORCADE

SEN HHH GOV REYNOLDS MR HANSON CONG KASTENMEIER
VIP CAR LUCEY LAFOLLETTE RISSER ROHDE

INTRO AT UNIVERSITY

KASTENMEIER INTRODUCED REYNOLDS
REYNOLDS INTRODUCES SENATOR

NAMES TO MENTION AT UNIV

REYNOLDS RUNNING FOR REELECTION IN VERY CLOSE RACE
PROXMIRE NELSON
LAFOLLETTE

^{local}
LIVE TV STATE WIDE

^{State}
~~LOCAL~~ REPLAY

(KD) Dave Carley

PROGRAM

1. Congressman Robert Kastenmeier will introduce Governor John Reynolds.
2. Governor Reynolds will introduce Senator Humphrey.
3. Senator Humphrey will deliver his address.

Monday, October 26, Cont'd

8:25 p.m. Depart Madison Airport for downtown Madison

8:40 Arrive University of Wisconsin Stock Pavilion

8:45-9:10 Address sponsored by the University of Wisconsin Young Democrats and the Wisconsin Committee for Johnson and Humphrey.

9:20 Depart University Pavilion for Madison airport

9:35 Arrive Madison Airport

9:45 Depart Airport for Washington D.C. snack on plane.

Tuesday, October 27

1:00 a.m. Arrive MATS Terminal, Washington National Airport, Washington overnight.

Bill Proxmire

Stock Paulini

By your Cow Palace

Bob Kachner
Gov Ray rolls

THE TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES OF
SENATOR GOLDWATER'S FOREIGN POLICY

Address by

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Madison, Wisconsin

October 26, 1964

Truman here
in 1948

of Truman
carried
WISC

Sen Fred Ruser
Carl Thompson

In the past few weeks, the American people have

heard much about peace, and the dangers of our turbulent
world.

But words are no substitute for the lightening
flash of events -- the sudden illumination of reality.

Last week, events beyond our control changed this
world. They brought an abrupt end to the age of
Khrushchev in the Soviet Union. They brought the first
burst of primitive nuclear power to Communist China.
And they brought a peaceful change of government to
our close ally, Great Britain.

Once again history has swept its fierce beacon
across our horizon. Once again events have reminded us
of the interdependence of men and nations, of the limits

of even our great power, of the dangers of nuclear arms,
and the inevitability of change.

↳ These events must remind us of something else:
that all we are, and all we seek, as a nation and as
individuals ~~is~~ ^{is} completely dependent upon the prevention
of nuclear war.

↳ That is the supreme issue of this campaign -- the
supreme issue of our generation and the precondition
for future generations. Without peace, there can be no
freedom. Without peace, the survival of our planet is
in doubt.

↳ And that is why ~~Goldwater~~ ^{who is seen as the next President of U.S.} must be judged
above all on his fitness to conduct our nation's foreign
affairs.

↳ This campaign has been ~~invaluable~~ a valuable
educational exercise. ~~It~~ ^{It} has been a nation-wide edu-
cational eye-opener to the utter folly of Goldwaterism --

of jingoism, sloganism, and mud-slinging as a substitute
for policies *and program*.

It is a shame that valuable time had to be spent on
exposing the notions of a fringe-group -- the Goldwater
faction. But it has become essential that their reckless-
ness be thoroughly exposed -- and then decisively rejected.

~~We all know that we have infinitely more important things
to discuss and to do at this crucial moment in the 20th
century.~~

At every now and then great nations produce within
themselves the poison of frustration and impatience --
and they produce men who preach this poison. We saw such
men in the Know-Nothing party that arose before the Civil
War -- men who blamed all our problems on the flow of
Catholic immigrants to our shores. We saw such men in the
witch-hunting days of McCarthyism -- men who traced all
our troubles to a "Communist conspiracy within our homes,

our schools, and our government. Each time this has

happened
~~occurred~~, we had to purge our national conscience of these
absurdities by exposure and rejection. !

This is our obligation once again today: to hear out

and to reject those who have fled from the intricate tasks *and*

demanding discipline
of world leadership -- who have lost the courage to be

patient. These prophets of defeat who tell us that

Americans are "sick and tired" of our complex world only

reveal their own sickness and tiredness, *They* ~~and~~ hold out

false promises of quick, easy solutions that will make

our problems disappear.

Do not misunderstand me: Senator Goldwater is a
loyal, patriotic *American!*

But Senator Goldwater is dead wrong -- tragically,
dangerously wrong. The "solutions" he offers are no

solutions at all. They are instead a sure path to widening

conflict -- and ultimately to a terrible holocaust.

Pope John 23 - Males et Magistra

" ^{the} Interdependence
among Peoples of the earth,
it is not possible to preserve
lasting peace if glaring
economic inequality
among them persists!

What are the principles of the Goldwater foreign policy? And where would these principles lead us?

The Senator's first principle is that every one of the world's problems stems from a single source: Communism. He tells us in his speeches that "Communism...is the only real threat to the peace of the world today."

Has the Senator ~~ever~~ read history? Has he never heard of nationalism -- of clashing national ambitions?

Has he never heard of territorial conflicts, of economic struggles, of tribal and religious strife? Has he never seen the facts and figures of poverty, illiteracy, and disease -- of the chasm between the very rich and the very poor -- that breed unrest and despair in two-thirds of our world?

Obviously, Communism is an evil and a danger. We recognize the danger. We have met it and repulsed it time and again. We will continue to do so.

Yet many of the problems that face us would be with

us today even if Marx and Lenin had never been born -- and
would be with us tomorrow even if Communism were to vanish
from the face of the earth.

↳ These problems are as old as mankind -- but intensified
today by a revolution in science and technology, by a
spiralling armaments race, and by the demands of millions
of men and women for a better life.

↳ Yet Senator Goldwater would have us think only of
one great threat to peace -- and ignore the many others.

↳ He would have us reject all nations who see the world as
something other than a vast stadium for the Cold War ↳ He
would stop our aid programs -- except as a pay-off for
obedient American satellites. ↳ He would divide the world
neatly into those who are "with us" -- and the rest, who
must be counted "against us."

↳ And furthermore, he fails to understand even the
threat of Communism itself. ↳ He fails to see that our

national interest requires different approaches to different Communist states. For Communism is no longer a monolith. It is fragmented through the impact of the free world. And it is increasingly shaped by the national soil where it takes root.

#2 The second fundamental of the Goldwater foreign policy flows directly from the first. This is the principle of "total victory". He thinks he has found the one enemy -- now why not slay it and live happily ever after? "Why Not Victory?"; he asks.

But How does he propose to achieve "total victory"? In The Conscience of a Conservative, he says he would with-
draw recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union -- and apparently expect them either to plead for mercy or collapse. He would "encourage the captive peoples to revolt against their Communist rulers" -- and does he mean that we be ready to move in to

support them with nuclear weapons ^{Goldwater} we would issue ultimatums to the Kremlin -- and "be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

In so doing, he tells us frankly, his goal would be to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat.

Clearly, Senator Goldwater understands neither men nor nations. He fails to see the simplest of truths: that most other nations are composed of men and women who, if pressed to the ultimate choice, will choose -- like Americans -- to fight rather than surrender.

He fails to understand that in our age of quick and total destruction, there is simply no such thing as quick and total victory. Those who seek total victory must contemplate total self-destruction.

Yet the Senator remains quite willing to risk all-out nuclear war in the pursuit of "total victory". As he

told an interviewer in May 1961, "Someday, I am convinced,
there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without
war...real nuclear war...I don't see how it can be avoided --
perhaps five or ten years from now." And as he told the
correspondent for the German magazine Der Spiegel earlier
this year, he would willingly go to the brink of war --

"Just as your country (Germany) has used brinkmanship
down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

What kind of a statement is that? What kind of man
could make such a statement? You don't have to major in
history to know that any man who offers the disastrous
examples of Imperial and Nazi Germany for us to follow is
a man who has no understanding of past history or current
reality.

Clearly, the Senator is advocating nothing less than
a continuing juvenile game of nuclear "chicken". What he
fails to understand is that such games must eventually
result in the annihilation of both players.

#3 L The third principle of the Goldwater foreign policy is his stubborn assumption that America is omnipotent.

L The Senator says that we are the strongest power on earth -- and he is right. The Senator demands that we use our military might to get our way on all things -- and he is wrong.

L Our power is not absolute -- it is relative. L And the effective use of relative power requires responsibility, restraint, and a careful sense of priorities. L The last thing we can afford is to lose our heads and use our missiles at the slightest excuse.

L He wants us to let fly with both barrels every time he thinks he sees someone "pull Uncle Sam's whiskers." L He wants us to solve every problem with force. He fails to realize that there are hundreds of world problems for which force simply offers no solution.

L Some months ago the Senator announced that "the United States no longer has a place in the United Nations."

L Today he is not so sure: he is for the UN if it does our bidding; otherwise he will ^{pick up} his marbles and go home.

U.N. L The UN has rendered an indispensable service in helping to damp down brush-fire conflicts which might well have escalated into full-scale wars between the nuclear powers. L It is also a unique forum where men and nations can reason together and try to find common grounds of mutual interest. L That continuing search for common interests is what foreign policy is all about. And that search is mankind's only ultimate alternative to nuclear suicide.

L Nowhere in the world are there easy solutions. Five American Presidents since 1944 have understood this truth. But not Senator Goldwater.

L American military power is a firm fact of life. But American omnipotence -- America's ability to force an American solution on all the world's problems -- is sheer illusion, a dangerous and crippling illusion for any who

first step toward stopping the spiralling horror of the
nuclear age.

The implications of the Senator's position are obvious:
he would cease all efforts to control the armaments race;
he would lead us to unbridled nuclear testing, to the
further poisoning of the atmosphere, to the proliferation
of nuclear weapons. And, if the record of such races
throughout history can be our teacher, the outcome would
be nuclear cataclysm.

Keep
The logical consequences of Goldwaterism are only
too clear:

↳ If we were to do as he bids us, we would find our-
selves eventually at war all over the globe -- war fought
with nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, escalated war in
Southeast Asia, war against Cuba, war in Berlin.

↳ We would find ourselves alone, in grim isolation,
for our NATO allies and our other allies would have fled

from us in horror at policies of rampant belligerence that they would regard as madness.

↳ We would have repudiated the Test Ban Treaty with the stroke of one man's pen -- and would have resumed the intensive poisoning of our atmosphere.

↳ We would have lost all contact, influence and respect in the less developed continents by stopping our programs of assistance.

↳ We would have removed all possibility of negotiation to avert disaster -- by pulling out of the United Nations and by cutting our diplomatic channels to our adversaries.

↳ We would find ourselves, in short, a garrison state in a nightmare world -- isolated from everything except a nuclear reign of terror.

↳ Clearly, ~~my friends~~ the Goldwater alternative is no alternative at all. It is simply a flight from reality on the part of men who have given in to total frustration and despair.

L Our power is massive and will remain so. What
~~Senator Goldwater does not realize is that~~ ^{But} power alone
 will not keep the peace. He does not understand that his
 mere repetition of the word peace will not bring peace.

Stone
 by
 Stone

He ~~does not understand that~~ The building of peace is a
process, a process which we must continue by both word and
 deed, day after day, month after month, year after year.

Pres. Kennedy - Johnson

~~This Administration~~ has taken steps toward peace. We
 have given our unswerving support to efforts to strengthen
 the UN. L We have expanded the Food for Peace program. But
 Senator Goldwater said "No". L We have begun an historic
 new partnership with our Latin American friends in the
Alliance for Progress. But Senator Goldwater said "no".

L We have initiated the Peace Corps, and made fitting use of
 the idealism and dedication of Americans like yourselves.

But Senator Goldwater said "no".

L We have established a "hot line" between Moscow and
 Washington to help prevent the accidents which may lead

to nuclear war. But Senator Goldwater said "no". We have created an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to help reach sensible agreements to slow down the arms race. But Senator Goldwater said "no". We have achieved the Test Ban Treaty to stop atmospheric poisoning. But Senator Goldwater said "no".

↳ To all our constructive efforts to build the peace, Senator Goldwater has said "NO!" He has not only said no, and voted no, but he has offered not one constructive suggestion, not one bill, not one project, which would promote the process of peace.

Senator Goldwater failed to meet the test on the three great moral issues to come before the Senate during his 12 years in that body -- 1) the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, 2) the civil rights bill, and 3) the test-ban treaty.

Senator Goldwater refused to repudiate McCarthyism, unlike many of his fellow Republican Senators. He refused

to vote for a bill to provide equal rights for all our citizens, regardless of color, unlike a heavy majority of his Republican colleagues in the House and Senate. He refused to join the Administration, Senator Dirksen and the great majority of his fellow Republicans in taking a first step to peace, a first step toward taming the atom, by voting for the Test Ban Treaty. *He voted no*

In his callousness to the great moral issues of our *the nuclear test ban treaty. the civil rights bill* times -- issues that have presented themselves to the

Senate for his vote, Senator Goldwater has ~~been~~ to ~~all that has~~ repudiated not only the best traditions of our country, but also the best traditions of his own party.

In contrast to Senator Goldwater, we are ~~led today~~ *a president* by a man who has displayed this "higher order of responsibility." He understands the yearning of all mankind for peace. He understands that we must remain strong to preserve the peace. And he understands that strength

employed without responsibility is the short-cut to mutual annihilation.

Our President is a man of ^{wisdom,} prudence and compassion, a man fully conscious of his responsibility to use our awesome power with reason and restraint. { Under his leadership, America will never risk the extinction of the torch of world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of ^a nuclear holocaust.

To those who ask "Why not Victory" -- we reply: "Why not victory indeed -- victory over war itself, victory for peace, victory for mankind."

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
Madison, Wisconsin, Address
Monday, October 26, 1964

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, my friends. You surely cause a great commotion around here whenever you introduce anybody. (Applause)

I want to say that I am perfectly delighted to hear so much cheering in this Stock Pavilion, because the last time there was any noise out of a Cow Palace, it was mostly booing. (Applause)

I want my friends here who are carrying those badges of their political iniquity -- those Goldwater signs -- (Applause) -- I want them to know that my name is not Nelson, my name is not William, my name is not Rockefeller, my name is not Scranton, I am not Romney. I am Horatio, so don't blame me. (Applause)

And as you have heard, there are some people that worry about the backlash, there are some that talk about the front-lash. But I'm the candidate of the mid-lash. (Applause)

It's good to be in Wisconsin once again. It's good to hear your band play the Minnesota Rouser under such peaceful conditions, and it's very good to be here in the presence of one of the best Congressmen that ever went to the House of Representatives. (Applause)

And it's good to be on this platform with the lady, and the lovely wife of one of the best and one of the hardest working and one of the most effective U. S. Senators, Bill Proxmire, who could not be here tonight. (Applause)

And may I say, I am simply delighted to be here with two of my closest friends, socially, politically, and every other way, who are the men for the State Senate from this area, Fred Risser and Tom Carlson. (Applause)

By the way, you know this is a wonderful place in which to hold a pleasant little social gathering like this. As I recall, the last time you had a good political meeting in the Stock Pavilion -- the Democratic Cow Palace -- the last time you had one here, it was Harry Truman who spoke here and he went on to become President of the United States. (Applause)

By the way, that was the last time Wisconsin voted Democratic for a presidential election, so get with it this time,

Madison

Wisconsin! (Applause)

And I believe maybe in light of the more recent attacks that have been made by a desperate opposition, I believe I should let you in on a little political secret. The candidate for President on the Democratic ticket is not Hubert Horatio Humphrey, but it is Lyndon Baines Johnson. (Applause)

And as an old radio announcer used to say, "There's good news tonight" -- the Democratic candidates, from the White House to the State House, Lyndon Johnson and John Reynolds, will be elected on November 3rd. (Applause)

And I also want to add that no governor in this United States deserves re-election more than the governor of this State of Wisconsin, Governor John Reynolds. (Applause)

Governor Reynolds, who has set a national pattern for providing tax relief for those persons of older age who have property by a progressive tax schedule that relieves them of some of the burden of taxation. Governor John Reynolds of Wisconsin, who has led the fight for higher education in this great state of Wisconsin so that any student, any young man or woman, that wanted -- that wants an education, may have one regardless of the economic status of his family. (Applause)

And, Governor, you ought to be justly proud of your record of bringing new industry to this state, of working in behalf of the labor organization and working man, the improvement of workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation. Listen, if I were a voter in the state of Wisconsin, I could recite this record and I would see to it that anyone that believed in Wisconsin as a great wise state mobilized their friends and neighbors to see to it that on November 3rd, John Reynolds is re-elected Governor of the State of Wisconsin. (Applause)

I take it for granted that you're going to have the good sense to re-elect Bill Proxmire and Bob Kastenmier, so I'm not going to say much more about it. (Applause)

That trumpet is just calling back into the fold those that have strayed away momentarily. (Applause)

And, my dear friends, every time you see someone carrying one of those Goldwater signs, they have a smile, and they have a smile on their faces and their eyes are bright and shiny, you know that deep down in their heart, they want to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Madison

May I just pause for a moment to say that the President of the United States was very honored, as was his running mate, Hubert Humphrey, by the great tribute that was paid to us by the editorial in the Capital Times by Bill Evyjue, supporting the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. (Applause)

And I want to say this. There is no more objective analyst and critic of those of us that are in public life and if we can meet, even partially, the high standards that are set by this distinguished journalist and citizen of this state, then I feel highly honored. (Applause)

I didn't come here tonight only to talk in terms of political cliches or even political puns. I want to talk to you seriously. I talked to a very enlightened college audience and to students and faculty and citizens of one of the finest communities in America. It has been said, and maybe with some justification, that there has been all too little discussion of the basic fundamental issues that face the American people in this campaign. (Applause)

I want to take time tonight -- by the way, all of those that are coming back to the fold have heard the trumpet. (Applause)

There are a couple more that we were looking for.

I want to take time tonight to discuss seriously with this fine audience the questions of foreign policy and national security and of what I believe are the challenges to peace in our time. The American people have heard a great deal about peace. Everybody does a little talking about it and we have heard a great deal about the dangers of a turbulent world.

On this platform tonight, sits Robert Kastenmier, one of the most able members of Congress in the field of foreign nations, of disarmament, of national security -- but I must say that I believe that he would agree with me that words about peace, about the perilous times in which we live, are no substitute for the lightning flash of events that brings the sudden illumination of reality.

Last week, events beyond our control changed this world. It brought an abrupt end to the age of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union. They brought the first atomic burst of an atomic explosion, of nuclear power, to Communist China, and they brought a peaceful change in the government of our close ally, Great Britain.

Once again, history has swept its fierce beacon across our

Madison

horizon. And once again, events have reminded us of the interdependence -- I repeat -- the interdependence of men and nations, and of the limits of our own great power and of the dangers of nuclear arms and the proliferation of those arms.

And once again, we are reminded of, despite our best efforts, the inevitability of change.

Now, these are matters that students of government and thoughtful citizens give careful analysis and consideration to. I think these events must remind us of something else, that all we are and all we seek as a nation and as individuals is dependent upon the prevention of nuclear war. This is the supreme issue, not only in this campaign but before the American nation and before humanity.

And it is the supreme issue of our generation. And it is the pre-condition of any future generations, because without peace, there can be no freedom. And without peace, the survival of our planet, in light of our unbelievable power of destruction, is in doubt.

So, where is there a better place to discuss these matters? Now, I confess limitation. I can only give you my views. And I do not say that I have any omnipotent knowledge, because I surely have none. I can only speak from my limited experience. But I speak to you with all sincerity.

I say that because of this overwhelming issue of the survival of the planet and a peaceable world. That's why whoever is the President of the United States for the next four years, when fateful decisions will be taken, must be judged above all on his fitness to conduct the nation's foreign affairs and to maintain the security of this nation. That is the issue and you know it.

And we ought to ~~quit~~ talking about the trivial and get down to the fundamentals.

Now, this campaign has been a valuable educational exercise and every campaign ought to be. A man in public life ought to be an educator first of all. It has been a nationwide educational eye-opener to the utter folly of Gold-waterism, of jingoism, of sloganism -- I repeat, of jingoism, of sloganism, and of mud-slinging as a substitute for the discussion of programs and policies. (Applause)

Madison

Every now and then great nations produce within themselves the poison of frustration and impatience. Those who are students of history know this. And they produce men who preach this poison.

Now, we saw such men in earlier American history in the "know-nothing" party that arose before the Civil War, men who blamed all of our problems on the flood of immigrants of the Catholic religion. We saw such men in the witch-hunting days of McCarthyism, men who traced all of our troubles to alleged Communist conspiracy within our homes, our schools, and our government. And each time that this has happened, each time, my fellow Americans, we have to purge our national conscience of these absurdities by exposure and by rejection.

I saw this is our obligation once again today, to hear out -- and we should hear even those with whom we openly disagree and reject those who have fled from the intricate task and the demanding discipline of world leadership -- those who have lost the courage to be patient, because mark my words, the hope of the Communist dictatorship and of the Communist movement is that those who love freedom or profess a love for it will tire of the task of sustaining freedom.

They hope that we will become the victims of our own frustration.

Now, these prophets of defeat, who tell us that Americans are "sick and tired" of our complex world, I say, only reveal their own sickness and their own tiredness. And knowingly or unknowingly, they are playing into the hands of the enemy, giving aid and comfort to those who would destroy us.

They hold out false promises of quick and easy solutions that they know are no solutions at all. And they say that these quick and easy solutions will make our problems disappear, like a patent medicine of the old medicine show of generations ago.

Now, don't misunderstand me. I'm not talking about a private individual or a private life. I want my position manifestly clear. I'm a member of the Senate. I respect my colleagues. I happen to think that the Senator from Arizona is a loyal, patriotic man. I think he believes in what he says. (Applause)

I do not make any aspersion upon him as an individual or as a spirit. I simply say that Senator Goldwater, while a loyal, patriotic man, is dead wrong, tragically and desperately wrong. (Applause)

Madison

The solutions that he offers are no solutions at all. They are instead a sure path to a widening conflict and ultimately, if followed, or if we walk that path, to a terrible holocaust.

Now, what are the principles of the Goldwater foreign policy? He has stated them and I respect him for his willingness to state them and state them clearly.

And where would these principles lead us? The Senator's first principle is that every one of the world's problems stems from a single source. And I repeat exactly what he says.

That source -- Communism. He tells us in his speeches that "Communism is the only real threat to the peace of the world today." (Applause)

May I say that the beloved peasant priest, Pope John XXIII, had a different view. In his encyclical, Mater et Magistra, -- and may I suggest to every student of this day and age that you read two encyclicals, Pacem in Terris, Mater et Magistra -- very good social doctrine, very important political theory.

But the beloved Pope said, "Given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic inequality among the people persists." (Applause)

Of course, Communism is an evil. Of course, it is a threat. But the point is it is not the only one.

I wonder if the Senator has read his history? And as I have said -- (Applause -- As I have said to every student body that I have been privileged to visit with, I recommend that you read history. I recommend that you read it well, that you learn its lessons. I recommend that you read and learn and study ancient history. But I don't recommend that you vote it. (Applause)

I wonder if the Senator has ever heard of such forces as nationalism, or the clashing of national ambitions. Has he ever heard of territorial conflict, of economic struggles, of tribal and religious strife? Has he ever seen the facts and figures of poverty referred to by the Holy Father, of illiteracy and disease and of the chasm between the rich and the very poor that breed unrest and despair in two-thirds of the world? This is what the encyclical, Mater et Magistra, was all about.

Madison

Obviously, Communism is an evil and a danger. We recognize it and we have met it. And we have repulsed it time and again. And we will continue to do so.

Yet, many of the problems that face us would be with us if Marx and Lenin had never been born and would be with us tomorrow, even if Communism were to be banished from the face of the earth.

These problems are as old as mankind. But they are intensified today by a revolution in science and technology, by a spiraling arms race, and by the demands of millions and millions of people for a better life.

These facts cannot be ignored. Yet, the Senator from Arizona would have us think only of one great threat to peace and ignore the many others. He would have us reject all nations who see the world as something other than a vast stadium for the cold war. He would stop our aid programs, and he says so, except as a pay-off for obedient American satellites.

And those, my friends, are hardly worth the money. (Applause)

He would divide this world neatly into those who are with us and the rest who would be counted against us.

Furthermore, he fails to understand even the threat of Communism itself, which is generally the case of those who talk the most about it. (Applause)

He fails to see that our national interest, the interest of our country, requires different approaches to different Communist states.

For Communism, Senator, whether you know it or not, is no longer a monolith. There are troubles in the Communist world, Senator. It is fragmented and it is fragmented through the impact of the strength and the examples of the free world. And it is increasingly shaped by the national heritage and soil, but it takes work.

Now, the second fundamental of the Goldwater foreign policy flows from the first. This is the principle, as he says, of total victory. How neat these packages come. (Applause)

One enemy, easy to identify, and one cause, total victory. He thinks he has found the one enemy and he says now that I have found it, why not slay it and live happily ever after? (Applause)

Madison

He repeats, "Why not victory?" But how does he propose to achieve the total victory? In the Conscience of a Conservative, his book, he says he would withdraw recognition from all Communist governments, including that of the Soviet Union. And, of course, apparently he expects all of them either to plead for mercy or chance. (Applause)

He goes a step further. He says, "Encourage the captive people to revolt against their Communist rulers."

But then, what does he say? After they revolt -- nothing. Does he mean to say that you, that the American people, must be ready to move in at once to support them with nuclear weapons? I think we have a right to ask.

There was a campaign not long ago in which we encouraged people to the doctrine of liberation, and the Hungarian people rose up and fought for their freedom. And what did that administration do?

CROWD: Nothing!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think we should have learned a lesson. I think we should have learned a lesson.

VOICE: What about Cuba?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I'm glad they mentioned it, because Mr. Castro came into power under the previous administration. (Applause)

And I might add he was invited to Washington -- not by a Democrat. (Applause)

And I might add with equal sincerity, I think that the President of the United States was doing what he thought was right and I must say that it's the same blindness of some today that existed then, that permitted conditions to persist in Cuba that made possible a Castro and his wicked regime. (Applause)

Now that we have helped our friends with their history lessons -- (Applause)

What is it, then, the formula and the program that is advanced? Mr. Goldwater has frankly stated that we should issue ultimatums to the Kremlin. And he says -- and one must admire him for his audacity -- he says, "Be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

Madison

Now, in so doing, he says to us very frankly that his goal would be "to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

Now, clearly, my dear friends, university students, which indicates that you are students, Senator Goldwater understands neither men nor nations. He fails to understand the simplest of truths, that most other nations are composed of men and women who, if pressed to the ultimate choice, will choose, like Americans, to fight rather than surrender. And the task of statesmanship, my fellow Americans, in this, the second half of the 20th Century, the nuclear and the space age, is not to find out how you can get into a war but rather to find out how to prevent one and preserve your freedom. (Applause)

The Senator fails to understand that in our age of quick and total destruction, there is simply no such thing as quick and total victory. And those who seek total victory must contemplate, if they are honest with themselves, total self-destruction. Yet, the Senator remains quite willing to risk all-out nuclear war in the pursuit of total victory.

As he told an interviewer in May of 1961, and I quote: "So today, I am convinced there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without a war, real nuclear war. I don't see how it can be avoided, perhaps five or ten years from now."

Now, that was 1961, and if it were five years from then, that would make it 1966. I don't want a man in the White House in 1966 that thinks war is inevitable. (Applause)

He recently told the correspondent for an outstanding publication in Germany, the German magazine, Der Spiegel, that he "would willingly go to the brink of war, just as your country has used the brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully." (Applause)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I wish it were a joke. But it is not. Let me say that the German government of today, of Adenauer and Erhard, repudiates that kind of thinking. They are building a democracy and they are building a mighty, peaceful nation.

But I remind you that an American said that we should be willing to go to the brink of war "just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Madison

What kind of a statement is this? What kind of a man would make such a statement? You don't have to be a major in history to know that any man who offers the disastrous examples of imperial and Nazi Germany for us to follow on brinkmanship is a man who has no understanding of past history or current reality. (Applause)

Now, the third principle of Goldwater's foreign policy is his stubborn assumption that America is omnipotent. The Senator says in one breath that we are the strongest power on earth, and in that he is right. Later on he says that we are growing weaker. But I assume he really means that we are stronger.

He is a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate and he should know.

The Senator demands that we use our military might to get our way on all things. And I say he's wrong. Our power, great as it is, is not absolute, it's relative. And the effective use of relative power requires responsibility, restraining, and a careful sense of priorities. And the last thing that this nation can afford is to lose our heads and to use our missiles at the slightest excuse.

He wants us to let fly with both barrels. Every time he thinks that one is -- as he says -- pulling Uncle Sam's whiskers, he wants us to solve every problem by the threat of force or the use of force. He fails to realize that there are hundreds of world problems for which force offers no solution.

Some months ago, the Senator announced that the United States no longer has any place in the United Nations. That is a happy thought, isn't it? And this is United Nations Week. Yet, I must say, today, he is not so sure.

He now says he is for the U. N. if it does our bidding; otherwise, he indicates that we'll pick up our U. N. marbles and go home. (Applause)

I think I should remind this delightful audience that there are others in the world that think the U. S. ought to get out of the U. N. In fact, the international Communist Party line is get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S. I don't want to have guilt by association, but there is a strange relationship. (Applause)

Madison

I say that the United Nations has rendered an indispensable service in the keeping of the peace, helping to damp down brushfire conflicts which might well be escalated into full-scale wars between major powers. It also has been a unique forum where men and nations can talk together and reason together and try to find some common ground of mutual interest.

That continuing search of mutual interest or common interest is what foreign policy is all about. And that search is mankind's only ultimate alternative to nuclear suicide.

Nowhere in this world are there any easy solutions. President Eisenhower knew that. President Truman knew that. President Kennedy learned that, and President Johnson knows that. Five American Presidents since 1944 have understood this truth. But not the man who now seeks to be President on the opposition ticket; not Senator Goldwater.

American military power is a firm fact of our life and this Administration of the late and beloved President Kennedy and President Johnson, backed by two parties -- not a partisan matter -- has built that military power until today, our power is the greatest that it has ever been and greater than any nation on the face of the earth.

But America's omnipotence, America's ability to enforce an American solution to all the world's problems is a sheer illusion. And the man who seeks to be President should not deceive the American people by peddling that illusion. And it's a dangerous and crippling illusion for anyone who aspired to the presidency.

A final principle of the Goldwater foreign policy is the total rejection of arms control -- questions the safeguarding of disarmament. And why not victory? In his publication, the Senator wrote, "The United States should announce in no uncertain terms that we are against disarmament."

May I say that the day we announce that, we will have lost every friend we have in the world, because the people of the world will leave us. (Applause)

But again, I am happy to say that a great general, who became a President, was the leader in disarmament, General Eisenhower, followed by a great President, John Kennedy. Not unilateral disarmament, not the misrepresentations that are peddled by an opposition that is indulging in the politics of desperation and intellectual bankruptcy, but mutual disarmament, safeguarded

Madison

disarmament that we, the American people, through our government have proposed.

I want to say that Senator Goldwater, again, is a man of his convictions, and I repeat that for this, you can admire him, even if it terrifies you. He voted his convictions in his vote against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, a treaty which had the support of President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and 25 of the 33 Republicans in the Senate, and of the overwhelming majority -- better than four-fifths -- of the Democrats.

I recall the moving words of Senator Dirksen, who surely is no left-wing leader, no socialist, no unilateral disarmament man -- a Midwestern conservative, responsible Republican.
(Applause)

And may I say, I have had the privilege of working with the Senator and I find that he is a man of responsibility. He said, on the occasion of just a moment before the vote on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty:

"Mr. President, I want to take this first step. I am not a young man. One of my age thinks about his destiny a little. I should not like to have it written on my tombstone 'He knew what happened at Hiroshima but he did not take a first step.'" Republican leader of the Senate, Everett Dirksen.

Senator Goldwater, I believe, also knew what happened at Hiroshima. But he said no, in no uncertain words to the test ban. He refused to take the first step for stopping the spiraling horror of the nuclear age and of keeping the atmosphere clean from the poison of nuclear fall-out.

Now, the impressions of the Senator's position are obvious. He would cease all efforts to control the armaments race. He would lead us to unbridled nuclear testing, to the further poisoning of the atmosphere, to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And if the record of such races through history can be our teacher, the outcome would be a nuclear cataclysm.

The logical consequences of Goldwaterism are only too clear. If we are to do as he bids us, we would find ourselves eventually at war all over the globe -- war fought with nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, escalated war in Southeast Asia, war against Cuba, and war in Berlin. (Applause)

Madison

We would find ourselves alone, in grim isolation, for our NATO allies and our other allies would have fled from us in horror at policies of rampant belligerence that they would regard as madness.

We would have repudiated the test ban treaty with the stroke of one man's pen -- and would have resumed the intensive poisoning of our atmosphere.

We would have lost all contact, influence, and respect in the less developed continents by stopping our programs of assistance.

We would have removed all possibility of negotiation to avert disaster -- by pulling out of the United Nations and by cutting our diplomatic channels to our adversaries.

We would find ourselves, in short, a garrison state in a night-maer world -- isolated from everything except a nuclear reign of terror.

Clearly, my friends, the Goldwater alternative is no alternative at all. It is simply a flight from reality on the part of men who have given in to total frustration and despair.

Madison

Yes, those are the choices that are the alternatives. And those that are honest with this record know that to be the case unless the Senator from Arizona never meant a word of what he said. But if he means that, we should withdraw from the U. N., as he says, if he means that we should cut off our foreign aid, as he says, if he means by the vote no Peace Corpa, as his vote indicates, if he means no negotiations but merely ultimatums, then I warn this audience and this generation that if this man should be elected President of the United States, there is no alternative.

The only prospect is one of disaster and one of cataclysmic tragedy for the American people and for the world.

Our power is massive and will remain so. But power alone, my fellow Americans, will never keep the peace. It never has and I see no prospect for the future.

The Senator does not understand that his mere repetition of the word "peace" will not bring peace. The building of peace is like the building of a magnificent cathedral. It takes time. It must be built block by block, generation by generation, a process we must continue by both word and deed, day after day, month after month, and year after year.

President Kennedy reminded us that peace is a process and every peacemaker in the history of the world has reminded us of that fact from the days of Biblical scripture to this very hour.

And President Kennedy and President Johnson, like President Eisenhower and President Truman, before them, took steps toward peace. We have given our unswerving support to efforts to strengthen the U. N., bipartisan efforts with the exception of this one faction, this one fraction of a faction of reaction which presently controls the Republican Party. (Applause)

Yes, we have been building peace by strengthening the U. N. to which Mr. Goldwater says no. We have expanded the Food for Peace Program to feed the hungry, to use food as economic assistance, to work with our churches and our voluntary organizations in a mission of mercy, to which Mr. Goldwater votes no.

We have begun a historic new partnership with the Latin American countries in the Alliance for Progress. And again, Mr. Goldwater votes no.

We initiated the Peace Corps and made fitting use of the idealism and the dedication of Americans, like you in this

Madison

audience and many more like you throughout America.

Mr. Goldwater called the Peace Corps a haven for beatniks and voted no. This is not building peace. This is insulting intelligence. (Applause)

We have established communication, a hot-line between Moscow and Washington to help prevent the actions which may lead from a breakdown in communication to nuclear war. But again, the Senator from Arizona said no.

We have created an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency out of the recommendations of two Presidents, Republican and Democrat, to help reach sensible agreements to slow down the arms race. But again, Senator Goldwater said no.

We have achieved the test ban treaty to stop atmospheric poisoning. But Senator Goldwater said no to every one of the constructive efforts, step by step, stone by stone, block by block, that we have attempted to build this pathway for peace. The Senator from Arizona has said no.

He has not only said no, he has voted no. And he has offered not one single constructive suggestion -- not one bill, not one project which would promote this process of peace. That is his record. (Applause)

I fully realize that there will be those that will not like this stern appraisal. But it's an appraisal based on the record. And Mr. Goldwater was right. He said the American people should have a choice. They have one -- between progress and disaster. (Applause)

The American people have another choice, because in the White House today is a President who has displayed what's required in the presidency. The higher order of responsibility, he understands the yearning of mankind for peace and he also understands that the search for peace is man's noblest pursuit.

He also understands that we must be strong to preserve this peace. And he understands that strength employed without responsibility, without restraint, and without reason is a shortcut to mutual obliteration.

I stand on this platform tonight and take your time to talk of these serious matters in extended form, to be sure, because this is a matter of life and death. This is not an ordinary election. There are forces at work in this election that need

Madison

to be repudiated. There are forces, if you please, of bitterness and of distrust and of doubt and confusion.

We have witnessed the reactivation of a Ku Klux Klan. We have witnessed the rise of a John Birch Society that can call the former President Dwight Eisenhower a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy.

We have witnessed Gerald L. K. Smith once again blessing a presidential candidate. We have witnessed the Minutemen, who practice open guerilla warfare. We have witnessed once again the Know-Nothing parade upon a respectable platform.

And I say to my fellow Americans, these people must be rebuked, they must be repudiated, they must be defeated in such a fashion that never again will they be a threat to the ideals of this republic. (Applause)

May I leave you with this thought, and not a chant. To the thinking people and to those who love this country for what it is, and for the pursuit throughout its history of the highest ideals of human compassion, representative government and peace, to those who ask this question, "Why not victory?", I ask you to reply, "Why not victory indeed -- victory over war itself, victory for peace, and victory for mankind?"

That decision is in your hands and you will help make that decision on November 3rd. And I think you can help in that decision by electing as President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

- end -



news release

10

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27

B-3914

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
MADISON, WISCONSIN
OCTOBER 26, 1964

In the past few weeks, the American people have heard much about peace, and the dangers of our turbulent world.

But words are no substitute for the lightening flash of events -- the sudden illumination of reality.

Last week, events beyond our control changed our world. They brought an abrupt end to the age of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union. They brought the first burst of primitive nuclear power to Communist China. And they brought a peaceful change of government to our close ally, Great Britain.

Once again history has swept its fierce beacon across our horizon. Once again events have reminded us of the interdependence of men and nations, of the limits of even our great power, of the dangers of nuclear arms, and the inevitability of change.

These events must remind us of something else: that all we are and all we seek as a nation and as individuals is utterly dependent upon somehow keeping this world of ours from self-destruction.

That is why the supreme issue of this campaign -- the supreme issue of our generation and of those to come -- is and must be the prevention of nuclear war. Without peace, there can be no freedom. Without peace, the survival of our planet is in doubt.

And that is why this year's Republican nominee for the Presidency must be judged above all on his fitness to conduct our nation's foreign affairs.

Now we hear some complaints these days from our friends in the press about the failure of this present campaign as an educational exercise -- its failure to enlighten the public.

I submit, to the contrary, that this campaign has been in one sense a valuable educational exercise. It has been a nation-wide educational

--MORE--

eye-opener in the utter folly of jingoism, sloganism, and fear-mongering as a substitute for thinking.

I am sorry that this had to happen. I deplore the need to take precious weeks and months in order that the notions of a small fringe-group -- the Radical Right of the Goldwater faction -- may be trumpeted throughout the land, thoroughly exposed, and then decisively rejected. We all know that we have infinitely more important things to discuss and to do at this crucial moment in the 20th Century.

But every now and then great nations produce within themselves the poison of frustration and impatience -- and they produce men who preach this poison. We saw such men in the Know-Nothing party that arose before the Civil War -- men who ascribed all our problems to the flow of immigrants to our shores. We saw such men in the witch-hunting days of McCarthyism -- men who traced all our troubles to a Communist conspiracy within our homes, our schools, and our government. And each time our national conscience required a cleansing through exposure and rejection of such absurdities.

This is our obligation once again today: to hear out and to reject those who have lost heart for the intricate tasks of world leadership -- who tell us that Americans are "sick and tired" of our complex world and thereby reveal their own sickness and tiredness -- who hold out the false promise of quick, easy solutions that will make our problems disappear.

Do not misunderstand me: Senator Goldwater is a decent, patriotic man. He means well.

But Senator Goldwater is dead wrong -- tragically, dangerously wrong. The "solutions" he offers are no solutions at all. They are instead a sure path to widening conflict -- and ultimately to a terrible holocaust.

What are the principles of the Goldwater foreign policy? And where would these principles lead us if we gave him a chance to tamper with our nation's destiny?

The Senator's first principle is that every one of the world's problems stems from a single source: Communism. He tells us in his speeches that "Communism...is the only real threat to the peace of the world today."

Has the Senator never read history? Has he never heard of nationalism -- of clashing national ambitions? Has he never heard of territorial conflicts, of economic struggles, of tribal and religious strife? Has he never seen the facts and figures of poverty, illiteracy, and disease -- of the chasm between the very rich and the very poor -- that breed unrest and despair as well as hope in two-thirds of our world?

Obviously, Communism is an evil and a danger. We recognize the danger. We have met it and repulsed it time and again. We daily make inroads against it. We will continue to do so.

Yet many of the problems that face us would be with us today even if Marx and Lenin had never been born -- and would be with us tomorrow even if Communism were to vanish from the face of the earth.

These problems are as old as mankind -- but intensified today by a revolution in science and technology, by a spiralling armaments race, and by the demands of millions of men and women for a better life.

Yet the Senator would have us think only of one great threat to peace -- and ignore the many others. He would have us reject all nations who see the world as something other than a vast stadium for the Cold War. He would stop our aid programs -- except as a pay-off for obedient American satellites. He would divide the world neatly into those who are "with us" -- and the rest, who must be counted "against us".

And furthermore, he fails to even understand the threat of Communism itself. He fails to see that our national interest requires different approaches to different Communist states. For Communism is no longer a monolith. It is fragmented through the impact of the free world. And it is increasingly shaped by the national soil where it takes root.

The second fundamental of the Goldwater foreign policy flows directly from the first. It is the principle of "total victory". He thinks he has found the one enemy -- now why not slay it and live happily ever after? "Why Not Victory?" he asks.

How does he propose to achieve "total victory"? In The Conscience of a Conservative, he says he would "withdraw recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union" -- and apparently expect them either to plead for mercy or collapse. He would "encourage the cap-

tive peoples to revolt against their Communist rulers" -- and be ready to move in to support them with nuclear weapons. He would issue ultimatums to the Kremlin -- and "be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

In so doing, he tells us frankly, his goal would be to "invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

Clearly, Senator Goldwater understands neither men nor nations. He fails to see the simplest of truths: that most other nations are composed of men and women who, if pressed to the ultimate choice, will choose -- like Americans -- to fight rather than surrender.

He fails to see that in our age of quick and total destruction, there is simply no such thing as quick and total victory. Those who seek total victory seek self-destruction.

Yet the Senator remains quite willing to risk all-our nuclear war in the pursuit of "total victory". As he told an interviewer in May 1961, "Someday, I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear war...I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five or ten years from now." And as he told the correspondent for the German magazine Der Spiegel, earlier this year, he would willingly go to the brink of war -- "Just as your country (Germany) has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Clearly, the Senator is advocating nothing less than a continuing juvenile game of nuclear "chicken". What he fails to understand is that such games must eventually result in the annihilation of both players.

The third principle of the Goldwater foreign policy is his stubborn assumption that America is omnipotent.

The Senator says that we are the strongest power on earth -- and he is right. The Senator demands that we use our military might to get our way on all things -- and he is wrong.

Our power is not absolute; it is relative. And the effective use of relative power requires responsibility, restraint, and a careful sense of priorities. The last thing we can afford is to lose our heads and use our missiles at the slightest excuse.

Yet Senator Goldwater simply doesn't know how to exist in a world of more than one hundred and twenty other nations -- a world of more than one hundred and twenty separate national foreign policies.

He wants us to let fly with both barrels every time he thinks he sees someone "pull Uncle Sam's whiskers." He wants us to solve every problem with force. He fails to realize that there are hundreds of world problems for which force simply offers no solution.

Some months ago, in the face of our complicated world, the Senator announced that "the United States no longer has a place in the United Nations." Today he is not so sure: he is for the UN if it does our bidding; otherwise he will take his marbles and go home.

What is the UN anyway -- a fourth branch of the U.S. Government? Anyone who thinks so is in for some disappointments.

But what the UN is -- to our everlasting benefit -- is a peace-keeping agency to damp down the fires of crisis. It is also a unique forum where men and nations can reason together and try to find common grounds of mutual interest. That continuing search for common interests is what foreign policy is all about. And that search is mankind's only ultimate alternative to nuclear suicide.

Nowhere in the world are there easy solutions. Five American Presidents since 1944 have understood this truth. But not Senator Goldwater.

American military power is a firm fact of life. But American omnipotence -- America's ability to force an American solution on all the world's problems -- is sheer illusion, a dangerous and crippling illusion for any who aspire to the Presidency.

A final principle of the Goldwater foreign policy is the total rejection of arms control -- the quest for safe-guarded disarmament. In Why Not Victory? the Senator wrote: "The United States should announce in no uncertain terms that we are against disarmament..."

Here the Senator has voted his convictions. Recall, for instance, his vote against the nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- a Treaty which had the support of President Eisenhower and 25 or 33 Republicans in the Senate. And recall, as well, the moving words of Senator Everett Dirksen, the Republican Senate leader. "I want to take a first step, Mr. President," he said. "I am not

a young man -- one of my age thinks about his destiny a little. I should not like to have it written on my tombstone, he knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he did not take a first step."

Senator Goldwater knew what happened at Hiroshima. But he said "no" to the Test Ban. He refused to take a first step toward stopping the spiralling horror of the nuclear age.

The implications of the Senator's position are obvious: he would cease all efforts to control the armament race; he would lead us to unbridled nuclear testing, to the further poisoning of the atmosphere, to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And, if the record of such races throughout history can be our teacher, the outcome would be nuclear cataclysm.

I have tried today to focus on Goldwaterism rather than Goldwater the man. For the real threat to our nation's security this autumn is not the determination of one man to plunge us into war -- far from it.

The real threat this autumn comes from a carefully articulated foreign policy strategy that is based on perilous illusions -- a strategy that is nothing less than a prescription for disaster.

The logical consequences of Goldwaterism are only too clear:

If we were to do as he bids us, we would find ourselves eventually at war all over the globe -- war fought with nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, escalated war in Southeast Asia, war against Cuba, war in Berlin.

We would find ourselves alone, in grim isolation -- for our NATO allies and our other allies would have fled from us in horror at policies of rampant belligerence that they would regard as madness.

We would have repudiated the Test Ban Treaty with the stroke of one man's pen -- and would have resumed the intensive poisoning of our atmosphere.

We would have lost all contact, influence, and respect in the less developed continents by stopping our programs of assistance.

We would have removed all possibility of negotiations to avert disaster -- by pulling out of the United Nations and by cutting our diplomatic channels to our adversaries.

We would find ourselves, in short, a garrison state in a nightmare

world -- isolated from everything except a nuclear reign of terror.

Clearly, my friends, the Goldwater alternative is no alternative at all. It is simply a flight from reality on the part of men who have given in to total frustration and despair.

It is a flight from a quarter-century of responsible Republicanism in foreign affairs. It is a flight from our traditions of humaneness and confidence. It is a flight from the light of hope to the darkness of fear.

We Americans are children of light. Let us put from us the children of darkness.

In a national magazine this week Senator Goldwater tells us of his regret that he dropped out of college after only one year. I ask of you on November 3rd an overwhelming national mandate: to send Barry Goldwater back to college.

And I ask of you something else: your hearts, your help, and your vote of confidence in November for a man who can steer us through the treacherous shoals of world affairs toward an enduring peace -- our great President, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Our power is massive and will remain so. What Senator Goldwater does not realize is that power alone will not keep the peace. He does not understand that his mere repetition of the word peace will not bring peace. He does not understand that the building of peace is a process, a process which we must continue by both word and deed, day after day, month after month, year after year.

This Administration has taken steps toward peace. We have given our unswerving support to efforts to strengthen the UN. We have expanded the Food for Peace program. But Senator Goldwater said "No". We have begun an historic new partnership with our Latin American friends in the Alliance for Progress. But Senator Goldwater said "No". We have initiated the Peace Corps, and made fitting use of the idealism and dedication of Americans like yourselves. But Senator Goldwater said "No".

We have established a "hot line" between Moscow and Washington to help prevent the accidents which may lead to nuclear war. But Senator Goldwater said "No". We have created an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to help reach sensible agreements to slow down the arms race. But Senator Goldwater

said "No". We have achieved the Test Ban Treaty to stop atmospheric poisoning. But Senator Goldwater said "No".

To all our constructive efforts to build the peace, Senator Goldwater has said "NO!" He has not only said no, and voted no, but he has offered not one constructive suggestion, not one bill, not one project, which would promote the process of peace.

Senator Goldwater failed to meet the test on the three great moral issues to come before the Senate during his 12 years in that body -- 1) the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, 2) the civil rights bill, and 3) the test-ban treaty.

Senator Goldwater refused to repudiate McCarthyism, unlike many of his fellow Republican Senators. He refused to vote for a bill to provide equal rights for all our citizens, regardless of color, unlike a heavy majority of his Republican colleagues in the House and Senate. He refused to join the Administration, Senator Dirksen and the great majority of his fellow Republicans in taking a first step to peace, a first step toward taming the atom, by voting for the Test Ban Treaty.

In his callousness to the great moral issues of our times -- issues that have presented themselves to the Senate for his vote, Senator Goldwater has demonstrated to all that he has repudiated not only the best traditions of our country, but also the best traditions of his own party.

In contrast to Senator Goldwater, we are led today by a man who has displayed this "higher order of responsibility." He understands the yearning of all mankind for peace. He understands that we must remain strong to preserve the peace. And he understands that strength employed without responsibility is the short-cut to mutual annihilation.

Our President is a man of prudence and compassion, a man fully conscious of his responsibility to use our awesome power with reason and restraint. Under his leadership, America will never risk the **extinction** of the torch of world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of nuclear holocaust.

To those who ask "Why Not Victory?" -- we reply: "Why not victory indeed -- victory over war itself, victory for peace, victory for mankind?"

#



Minnesota Historical Society

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

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



www.mnhs.org