

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
At the Civic Center  
Charleston, West Virginia  
October 27, 1964

Senator Humphrey: Thank you, thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you, first of all, for a very enthusiastic welcome. I was trying to say to my good, prudent, frugal, enlightened friend, Hewlett Smith, that sometimes we almost forget how much that television time costs. But we surely want to thank you for a warm welcome.

And I am simply delighted to be here back in Charleston, West Virginia, a wonderful city, more beautiful than when I saw it the last time, more prosperous than when I was here four years ago.

And I might add, I am sure that it will be as good or more Democratic than it was four years ago.

It is so good to see my colleague in the Senate, Jennings Randolph, who is a remarkably able, gifted, hardworking United States Senator. And I want to say, Jennings, that your colleague and my friend, Senator Robert Byrd, called me while I was in my home State in Minnesota, to let me know that he could not be with us here tonight. But I come here to his State of West Virginia, knowing that he is a candidate for re-election, and I say to you that you have a good Senator, and he is one that deserves your support, and I urge upon you that you send Robert Byrd back to the United States Senate.

And, Governor Barron, it is good to see you, and Mrs. Barron, to meet again in the presence of good friends, happy neighbors. And above all, it is good to see my colleagues from Congress. They have been introduced from this platform, and each and every one of them has been a faithful public servant for the common good of this great Commonwealth, this wonderful area, so beautiful and so much moving forward to a better aim here in West Virginia. I want to say that I am particularly proud to be back in this countryside, because I sense a spirit here that tells good tidings. There is good news tonight, real good news. And that good news tonight is news that even the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party knows -- namely, that President Lyndon Johnson will be re-elected to the office of President.

And there is some other good news. It is the good news that here in the State of West Virginia, this honorable State, where mountaineers will always be free, and where a people of this great State appreciate the importance of cooperation with Government. That good news is that one of the finest men that this State has ever produced, one of the finest individuals personally, and one of the most talented men in public service will be elected just as surely as we are gathered in this hall tonight, will be elected the next Governor of this State, Hewlett Smith.

I have known Hewlett Smith and his lovely wife, family, for some time. And let me say right now that this man has been a public servant or has been working for the people of this State, both in private and public life all of his life. Every young businessman in the State of West Virginia knows of Hewlett Smith, and everyone knows that this man is their leader, every workingman in this State knows of Hewlett Smith, and every workingman in this State knows that Hewlett Smith, Democrat, Hewlett Smith, progressive, forward-looking, will be a friend of American business, of West Virginia business, and American labor, and West Virginia labor.

Yes, I have been in his home. And nothing could be more pleasing to President Johnson, nothing could be more gratifying to his friend, Hubert Humphrey, than that the people of West Virginia would take this man to their hearts, and that they would give him a vote of confidence, so that West Virginia may have progressive, enlightened, forward-looking leadership for the next four years. And I am sure you are going to do just that.

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I see some signs around here that tell me of times that I traveled from county to county, and I want you to know how happy those signs make me feel. I want you to know that Muriel Humphrey, my Muriel, Mrs. Humphrey, and Hubert Humphrey -- in fact, Hubert Horatio Humphrey -- that Muriel and Hubert will never, never forget the wonderful, wonderful friendships that we have in this beautiful State, and of the days and the weeks that we spent here. And may I say that while some people may look back upon that experience, if they are close friends of mine, saying, "Oh, it was too bad for Hubert," let me tell you it might have been too bad for Hubert, but it was good for America, because we got a great President.

I think it is fair to say that John Fitzgerald Kennedy went on to be President of the United States because of your votes in West Virginia. And you made the right decision.

I was privileged for those months and weeks afterwards to work with him, for 1,000 days, of some of the most dramatic, some of the most moving and gifted leadership that this country has ever experienced. So I thank you, I thank the people of West Virginia for what you did for America by seeing to it that John Kennedy became President of the United States.

My friends, when we were here in 1960, we were talking to you about your problems. Now, I can come back and talk to you, not about your problems alone, but about your progress, and how much better that is.

Four years ago the Kennedy-Johnson Administration started. Four years, almost four years ago, about three years ago and nine months ago, President Kennedy said to you, "Let us begin." And the beginning started right here, in West Virginia because it was in West Virginia that the very first touch of John Kennedy was to be felt. It was right here where the first programs were launched. And for four years the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has been giving good, good reliable leadership and constructive programs to your great State.

Unemployment is down from what it was. While it is still too high, the direction is right. The trend is down.

Income, personal income in this State is up \$100 million, Governor, And, Senator, and Hewlett, up \$100 million, in less than four years. And the trend is up.

The most important thing of all is the morale, the spirit of the people of West Virginia is up. And morale is nothing more or less than the expression of self confidence, and of optimism on the part of the people.

Oh, you have done well. But you haven't even started. Because we are going to do much better. And with the election of Lyndon Johnson as President for four more years, West Virginia will move ahead at an ever-increasing pace of progress.

But let me be very frank with you -- if you are going to do that, you are going to have to have a cooperative team. We cannot move West Virginia forward with just Washington. You are going to need an administration herein your State that is a part of a great cooperative endeavor. You are going to need not only Lyndon Johnson in the White House, but you are going to need Hewlett Smith in the State House.

Lyndon Johnson, President Lyndon Johnson told me to tell you that he is going to need Hewlett Smith as Governor of this Great State, and I am going to be able to tell him when I return, am I not, that you are going to see to it that Hewlett Smith is Governor of this State.

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Now, let me talk to you about the leader of the Goldwater party. I didn't say the Republican Party, because they scrapped that out at San Francisco at the Cow Palace.

Now, you know, GOP used to stand for Grand Old Party. Now it means Goldwater, our problem.

I speak of our Republican friends with respect. I don't want to saddle them with Mr. Goldwater. I prefer to speak of the Goldwater Party.

And I ask you what has he been doing for West Virginia, and what has his associates been doing for West Virginia? And make no mistake about it. The candidate on the Republican ticket in this State is sleeping in the same bed as Mr. Goldwater.

What has the Senator from Arizona ever done for you? He has been in the Senate with Jennings Randolph and Hubert Humphrey, Bob Byrd. He has been in the Congress. He hasn't sponsored a single piece of legislation to create one single job, not one, or to bring one new industry to West Virginia. But he hasn't been idle, I want you to know that. I think we ought to be fair about it. As a matter of fact, he has been mighty busy.

There are two kinds of busyness. You can either be a constructor or a wrecker. You have to be busy either way. You have to be busy to build a building, you have to be busy to destroy one. And I want to say that the Senator from Arizona has been a mighty busy fellow. He has fought against every single constructive program. He has been on the job. Every single constructive proposal of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to extend opportunity to the American people.

He has opposed the Area Redevelopment legislation. He opposed the vocational educational legislation. He opposed the tax cut of 1964. That meant millions of dollars to the people of the State.

He opposed Manpower Training and Redevelopment. He opposed the anti-poverty bill. He opposed the economic opportunity act. He opposed the stand-by public works bill, that has been used in this State, sponsored by your Senator, to bring you thousands of jobs and to help many communities. He opposed conservation measures. He opposed medical care for the elderly -- medical care even as a grant under the Kerr-Mills bill, and medical care -- hospital care under Social Security. He opposed increasing the minimum wage. He opposed the Food Stamp Plan.

Listen, he has opposed everything. He even came out against Daddy in New York last night.

Imagine the gall of this Senator to come to Charleston recently and announce his opposition to every one of these progressive programs that has meant something to this State. And he did. He stood right here, I believe, in this same auditorium, and he told the people of this State that he opposed all these measures, as if you were supposed to enjoy it. He suggested that by telling you this, he demonstrated the depth of his courage and his convictions. I say he demonstrated the depth of his callousness and his indifference.

Let me ask this question: Is it courage to refuse to help an unemployed father? Is it courage to deny a worker that has been displaced by automation a chance for a job by retraining and vocational education? Does it take courage to deny a State the chance to build needed public improvements and to put the unemployed back to work? Is it courage to vote against aid to education, so that our young people can go to college? Is it courage to oppose a much needed tax cut for people that are trying to make a better life?

I ask you, is it courage to vote against hospital insurance for the elderly?

I think not. This is not courage. This is the doctrine of selfish irresponsibility, a doctrine of uninformed by history, a doctrine that is uncontrolled by reason, and a doctrine that is untempered by charity. This is not courage.

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My fellow Americans, that is plain obstruction, plain reaction, just plain against the American people.

But I notice tonight in your wonderful newspaper that there is a story that says, "Barry sees LBJ heading nation to socialistic ruin." What a lot of tommyrot and bunk that is.

Henry Ford endorses Mr. Johnson. When the Saturday Evening Post endorses President Johnson. When Life and Time Magazine and the New York Herald Tribune, and the New York Times, and your own paper, when the leading industrialists and bankers of America, and the trade unions of America endorse President Johnson. And Barry Goldwater calls it socialism!

I want to say my friends that any man that doesn't know any better than that is not qualified to be President of the United States.

The truth is that Senator Goldwater is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. The truth is he is not a conservative. The truth is he is a radical. He is a radical in the true sense of the word.

Why do I say that? Because he seeks to destroy social and economic achievements that we fought for for 30 years. He repudiates a bipartisan foreign policy that has been built up carefully over a generation. He distorts the past. He misrepresents the present. And he misunderstands the future. And, ladies and gentlemen, that is the definition of a radical, and America doesn't like radicals of the left or the right, and America is not going to vote for Barry Goldwater for President of the United States.

This man accepts the support of irresponsible and radical extremist groups, and he drives away from himself loyal members of his own party. And, as I said, the overwhelming majority of our people will repudiate this kind of action.

President Johnson knows that the American people need opportunities, that they want to build a better life, and he knows that the American people have the energy, the initiative, and the resourcefulness and the hope it takes to build that life.

Our President doesn't cast doubt and suspicion. Our President doesn't indulge in smear and innuendo. Our President seeks to inspire, to educate, to lead, to unite us. And that is the kind of a man we ought to have as President of the United States.

Finally, may I say that President Lyndon Johnson knows another thing that needs to be known by every citizen, by every public official -- a world of opportunity, a world of better living, and a better America requires a world at peace. And I ask you to remember this -- that the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, knows that it takes courage to be a peacemaker.

I ask you to remember that only the strong can be the peacemakers. I ask you to remember that only the just are the peacemakers. And those who rattle the saber, those who talk about belligerence, and those who talk as if somehow or other they deserve notice of the world -- they are not the strong, they are the weak. They are the very ones who have neither the strength of themselves or of others to perform the duties of public service.

Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation fears another, and no nation can afford another to follow on its command as our President said -- "Peace is where we build a better world." and President Johnson is a man of peace, and he is a man who pursues his duties as Commander in Chief of the most powerful nation in the world, with restraint, and with reason, and with responsibility.

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Let me say to every mother and father in this room tonight, that every other issue fades into insignificance, save this issue of our national security and peace.

There will be no better America if it is destroyed by war. There will be no jobs, there will be no education if we become involved in nuclear war. And what America needs in the next four years, because faithful decisions will be made in those four years, is a President who can work with the rest of the nations of the world in the pursuit of peace.

We need a man who understands the world, who realizes that our power is not for conquest, but that our power is for peace, who realizes that our wealth is not for luxury, but rather is for the strength to give us to pursue the peace. We need a President, if you please, who understands the terrible burdens of the office of the Presidency, who senses that there is a new day and a different day on that very day that the first nuclear weapon was perfected. And we need a President who can use this power with restraint and with reason, so that no nation may fear America in terms of any impulsive act, but that all nations may respect America for the ideals and for the purposes that she stands.

I submit to this wonderful audience here tonight that you folks in West Virginia, as people in Minnesota, as I saw them in Wisconsin last night, have an overriding responsibility on November 3 to select the man that you can trust. Once you have elected a President, you cannot repeal it. Once that you put him in office for four years, there is no turning back. Once you have given him your vote, you cannot take it back. And, therefore, the decision that you make on November 3 will be the decision of your life, the decision of the life of your children. It will be the decision to determine your future. It will be the decision to determine what kind of a world we are going to live in. Because if this is to be a better world, we will make it that way. And if this is to be a world that will be lost and destroyed by accident or miscalculation or premeditation, it will be because we failed in our leadership. And my fellow Americans, I have yet to hear one word from the Senator from Arizona that indicates that he has the vision to lead this Nation. And the Scriptures tell us that a nation without vision shall perish.

I have yet to hear one utterance from the Senator from Arizona that indicates that he understands the problems of humanity at home and abroad.

This man would seek to repeal 30 years of progress. This man would indeed substitute force for negotiation and diplomacy. And that kind of a man is too dangerous for these days. A man that can repudiate the Peace Corps, a man that can repudiate Food for Peace for the hungry, a man that can vote against the Arms Control Agency, a man that can vote against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, a man that can vote against the Alliance for Progress, a man who can say we ought not to negotiate, that man has proven himself by his vote and his words to be unworthy of the Presidency of the United States.

So I come back to West Virginia, this time in what I hope and honestly think will be a mission of success and of victory.

You, my dear friends, have received much, and now it is time to repay. We Americans have received much. No people so blessed, no people so privileged, no people anywhere so free, no nation ever so strong. And because these are our blessings, we have the responsibility to see that at home in America there is opportunity for everyone, regardless of race, color or creed, or economic station, or section of the country. We have the moral obligation to see to it that the young of this land have an opportunity and an opportunity that is assured them through the best education that we can possibly provide. We have the moral responsibility to see to it that our elderly, who have given a full lifetime of service, may live out their remaining years in dignity and in security, and not in humiliation and in poverty.

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And, my friends, I want to repeat from this platform what I have said across America -- that to me concern about the weak, or to be compassionate for the needy, is not weakness. To be concerned about the afflicted and those who are the unfortunate is not socialism. I say to this good audience of good Americans compassion and concern for the needy is the highest form of Americanism, and we know it.

Beware of these false prophets. Beware of these folks that have no concern for you. Because if they have no concern for you, for then whom shall they have concern? Beware of the man who tries to make this government look as your enemy. Beware of those who have no understanding of the economic and social needs of a rapidly changing America. If you want this great State of West Virginia to realize its potential, if you want this State to have industry and jobs and universities and opportunity for the young, and recreation, and culture, if you want these things, my friends, work with those who believe in those things. Work with those who believe in those things.

You have on this platform tonight those men and those women, and you have in the White House tonight a President who follows in the footsteps of the man that selected him as Vice President. I remind this audience that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration is now up for its test vote. The question before America is, do you approve of what we have accomplished thus far? If you do, then you vote for President Johnson.

If you wish to see your America go even further forward in the paths of economic and social progress -- if you do, you vote for President Johnson and Hewlett Smith.

Now, let me ask to stand here alongside of me tonight those good people, public servants, that believe in progress, that believe in the future of America, that have faith in the people of America, and those men and women around this platform -- and I ask my friend and your friend, the next Governor of the State of West Virginia, to stand by my side, and I ask Senator Jennings Randolph to stand by my side, and I ask Governor Barron to stand by my side.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is your team.

- - -

② Shil  
John Hunt Morgan  
① John Breckinridge  
~~James~~

Sign <sup>Gilbert</sup>  
as hi  
as cur  
set

Congress  
6th DIST  
Judge Peak

Barkley

Students  
Chamber Commerce  
(Dudley Park)  
Labor  
Farmers

Sen Randolph  
Bob Byrd

Gov Barron  
Hulett Smith

Kend Beckler

Charleston, West Virginia

↳ Four years ago I came to Charleston. In 1960, I spoke with you frankly about some of the problems facing West Virginia. In 1964, I can talk about <sup>your</sup> progress.

↳ The four years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration in Washington and the Barron Administration in Charleston have been good years for West Virginia. !!

↳ Unemployment is down from ~~12.4% to 11.4%~~. While ~~it~~ is still much too high, the trend is in the right direction-- downward.

↳ Personal income is up \$100 million per year. This, too, is not enough, but the trend is in the right direction-- upward.

Most important of all, morale is up. ↳ Morale is an expression of the self-confidence of a people in themselves and in their leaders. In the past four years, the people of West Virginia have given new meaning to the motto of West Virginia -- "Mountaineers will always be free."

And with the election of Lyndon Johnson and Hulett Smith, West Virginia will continue to move forward for the next four years.

The people of West Virginia have a golden opportunity to insure this continued progress -- but one factor is essential -- <sup>President</sup> Lyndon Johnson needs a loyal Democratic administration in Charleston. LBJ + Hulett Smith!

Lyndon Johnson needs Hulett Smith as governor of this great state. #

*But now,* What has the leader of the Goldwater Party been doing while West Virginia has been moving forward? *What has he done for you?*

*Well,* He hasn't sponsored any legislation to create jobs or attract new industry for West Virginia -- or any other state.

But he hasn't been completely idle. *oh no, ! He's been busy*

He has fought ~~actively~~ <sup>against every</sup> constructive proposal of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to extend equality of opportunity to all Americans in every section of the country.

- ↳ He opposed the area redevelopment legislation.
- ↳ He opposed the vocational educational amendments.
- ↳ He opposed the tax cut of 1964.
- ↳ He opposed the manpower development and training act.
- ↳ He opposed the economic opportunity act.

↳ ~~He opposed the Appalachia Program~~  
 ↳ He opposed the stand-by public works act of 1962.

- ↳ He opposed the wilderness preservation system.
- ↳ He opposed hospital insurance under social security.
- ↳ He opposed increasing the minimum wage.

~~He opposed Food Stamps -~~

That's the record of the leader of the Goldwater  
Party brings to the people of West Virginia. And that's  
 the reason why West Virginia needs Lyndon B. Johnson as  
President of the United States.

GOP  
Goldwater  
our  
Problem

↳ Senator Goldwater had the gall to come to Charleston  
 recently and announce his opposition to the progressive  
programs which have contributed so much to the economic  
 progress of America for the past four years.

~~He told us that~~  
~~he refused to~~

He suggested this demonstrated the depth of his courage and convictions.

But let me ask ~~you three questions~~:

Is it courage to refuse help to an unemployed father?

Is it courage to deny a worker displaced by automation a chance for job retraining and vocational education?

Is it courage to deny a state the chance to build needed public improvements and put the unemployed back to work?

*Is it courage to vote against aid to Education - Education needed by our young people*

Is it courage to deny a state the incentives to attract new industry and new jobs?

*Is it courage to oppose a much needed tax cut?*

Is it courage to vote against hospital insurance to enable our senior citizens to live their later years in dignity and security?

This is not courage-- This is the doctrine of selfish irresponsibility -- a doctrine uninformed by history, uncontrolled by reason, and untempered by charity.

*This is not courage - this is plain obstruction and reaction!*

Goldwater

Scap Gang Socialists

am

Prosperity

~~And that is why~~ Senator Goldwater is neither a  
loyal Republican nor a true conservative. He is a  
radical in the true and basic meaning of the word.

↳ He seeks to destroy the social and economic achieve-  
ments of the past generation.

↳ He repudiates the tradition of bipartisanship in  
the conduct of our foreign affairs.

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

↳ He accepts the support of irresponsible <sup>radical</sup> extremist  
groups and ~~associates~~ <sup>draws away</sup> loyal and responsible members of the  
Republican Party.

↳ The overwhelming majority of Americans repudiate the  
politics of radicalism -- whether of the right or the left

We don't need radicals & we don't want to elect one.  
~~They agree with President Johnson, who said:~~

~~"Let us put an end to the teaching and preaching of  
hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the~~

fanatics of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream."

*President* Lyndon Johnson knows <sup>that</sup> when people have opportunities, they build a better life ~~for themselves and their children.~~

He knows the American people have energy, initiative, resourcefulness, hope and faith.

↳ He knows America. And he ~~loves America!~~ *has faith in America.*  
↳ *He loves America.*

↳ And Lyndon Johnson knows another thing. A world of opportunity requires a world at peace.

*— Peace*

Listen to his courageous words:

"...As long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace. That peace is much more than the absence of war. ...If the strong and the wealthy ignore the needs of the poor, frustrations will

lead to force. Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation fears another, and no nation can force another to follow its command."

↳ President Johnson is a man of peace. He is a man who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint.

↳ In ~~Lyndon~~ <sup>President</sup> Johnson we have the ~~one~~ <sup>a</sup> man we can trust with our nuclear arsenal. This is one area of Presidential responsibility where there can be no mistakes, no rash decisions, no second thoughts, no impetuous actions, no shooting from the hip.

↳ This is the question each American must ask before voting on November 3rd: whose finger do I want on the nuclear trigger?

I am confident you will join the overwhelming majority of Americans in casting your vote for President Lyndon B. Johnson.



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