

Remarks of Senator Hubert Humphrey
Denver Airport
October 29, 1964

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Bob.

Well, I just cannot tell you, Bob, how grateful I am for this marvelous, wonderful turn-out of enthusiastic supporters of the next President of the United States, our own President, Lyndon Johnson.

I see a sign out here that reminds me of how much support our President has from so many of the different ethnic and cultural groups in our society. And let me join with our friends, our Spanish-speaking American friends, and say Viva LBJ.

Mr. Mayor, it is good to be back in your beautiful city of Denver. And it is very good to be back in this wonderful State of Colorado, one of the most beautiful and enterprising and progressive states in our country.

I am pleased to be on this platform tonight with an old friend of mine who served with me in the Senate and who I always thought should have been kept in the United States Senate, my friend John Carroll, your former United States Senator.

And I can't tell you how good it is once again to see the Congressman -- I think I am correct in this -- from the First District, our friend Byron Rogers, the Congressman who has served you so well. And I know that you are going to see to it that we have Roy McVicker from the Second District, and that we have Frank Evans from the Third District.

Now, you boys stand right up there, and let the folks get a good look at you, because I happen to know that President Lyndon Johnson wants these two good candidates in the Congress of the United States to work with him. And I know that my friend Byron wants -- Byron Rogers wants them down there to work alongside of him.

So, the only suggestion that I can give you to make sure that that happens is that you start at the top of the ticket, where you see the name Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, and then you go right down the line, and vote that Democratic ticket.

I am very pleased to see another old friend on this platform, George Brown, our State Senator. And all you folks know George. Step up there, George, and say hello once again.

And I saw the publisher and editor here tonight of one of the greatest newspapers in America, one that I used to sell when I was a boy, that is why it is a success. I had so many subscribers to that paper. Mr. Palmer Hoyt of the Denver Post. And I want to thank Palmer for his wonderful support.

Well, it won't be long now. In about five days we are going to make a decision affecting the future of this Nation. And that decision is no longer in my hands, and it is no longer in the hands of the President. That decision is in your hands.

On November 3, which is Election Day, the American people, regardless of their party, of the section of the country that they may come from, or whatever may be their background or their community, the American people on that day of Tuesday, November 3, they are the sovereign power of America. The candidates will have completed their campaigns. The political parties will have completed their organizational efforts. And on Tuesday, November 3, citizenship day, election day, you, the people, we the people of this great Republic are going to decide the course of this Nation, not for just four years, but for a decade and for a generation, in fact, maybe for many generations.

It is on that day that the American people are going to have to make their decision, based not upon personalities, but based upon the issues, and based upon the platforms and the programs of the respective political parties.

Now, I didn't think that they had a Goldwater man in charge of their airport

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out here. But with that noise in the background, I am not sure.

Well, I calmed him down right away. He turned off just as soon as we told him that he should be a little quieter. Apparently Congressman Wayne Aspinall went to work there. And Wayne, I want to thank you very, very much if you did, to make sure that we have peace and quiet here.

I want to talk to you tonight just very briefly, because you have been a very patient audience, and it is a wonderful audience, not only of the voting population of this community, but of many students who are here.

I want to talk to you about what I consider to be the two major issues in this campaign. The first issue is do we want to continue the progress that we have made these past 30 years in our economic and social development, or do we want to turn back. And I think I know the answer of the American people.

My first vote was cast in the election of 1932 for Franklin Roosevelt. I came to this city of Denver only a month after I cast that vote, and I went to school here and studied pharmacy right here in this city. And I remember I was here on March 4, 1933, when Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated President of the United States. I was here in Denver, Colorado. And I saw this State, as every other state in the Union, in grave economic trouble. And I can recall too well the difficulties, the banks were closed, men were without work, farmers were impoverished, miners without jobs, business houses closed down. Denver wasn't quite as lively and beautiful a city as it is today.

And we started in 1933, and for 31 years we have been building a stronger and a better America. Not only a richer America, but a more just America, an America in which there was more opportunity, in which there is more freedom, in which a working man could be more sure of his job and of fair pay, in which a businessman could be more sure of constant economic growth and a better profit, in which the depositor in a bank could be sure that his deposit was safe, and a banker could be sure that his country was growing, and that his deposits would grow.

We have been building an America in which more young people have had a chance for an education, many more. And we have been building an America in which the farmer and the rancher have some opportunity to be sure at least in part that his labors wouldn't be for nought, that his labors would be rewarded by a fair price in the marketplace.

We have been building an America in which elderly people could have some reasonable surety or guaranty of dignity in the twilight of their life, in which the sick and the afflicted could know that there was a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that cared for them, and that was willing to do something for them.

Yes, we have been building a better America, Mr. Goldwater, despite what you may say about our country. And in these recent days of his political desperation, the candidate of the opposition has been scolding Americans, young and old, he has left no one outside the realm of his wrath. He has scolded the ministers of the church, he has scolded the labor men, he has complained of business, he has complained of our government.

Why, he was in New York only awhile ago, and he even took out after Daddy, and said he didn't believe in that, either.

But, my friends, America is good, and America is strong, and America is more prosperous than ever before, and America is more just and more fair than ever before.

We have seen to it that laws were passed that guaranteed the protections of our Constitution to every citizen. We have taken the lead to see to it that those who wanted opportunity, who wanted to make something of their lives, had a better chance.

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chance.

Therefore, the question before the American public to this day of November 3 is shall we continue? And I think the answer is yes.

And yet there is even a greater question. We have indeed unprecedented prosperity. Forty-four months, going into the 45th month of constant economic growth and progress. We have 73 million Americans today working at better wages and fairer working conditions than ever before. We have more men and women in our schools, more students. It is a better America. But all of it will go by the boards, all of it can be lost, if, by some accident or by calculation or by miscalculation, or by some irresponsible act, this nation should be plunged into war.

On that day, in 1945, when the first atomic explosion took place on the sands of New Mexico the world changed, the face of war changed, and the possibility of using war as an instrument of national policy was gone forever.

I say to this mature and responsible audience that today the American people are confronted with this question -- which of these two men that stand today as the candidates for the office of President do you want to put your trust in as the guardian of the power and the security and the freedom of America? Which one do you believe is most responsible? Which one do you believe by his public life, his public utterances, by his experience, has demonstrated those qualities of prudence and responsibility and maturity and moderation and reason which is required of a President of the United States in this, the nuclear age?

And I think the answer is obvious. Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

Well, my friends, as I listen to that jet, take off from this airport, it reminds us all, doesn't it, that this is a far cry from the days of the '20s or the '30s or the early Twentieth Century. This is the day of the jet age. It is the day of the nuclear age. And it is the day of the space age. And, therefore, the responsibilities of the Presidency today are far more than ever before. And that is why when a man stands before the American public today, seeking this high office, and says to you that his commitment, that his full commitment is to peace in this world, and the everlasting search for peace, and the everlasting search for peace with freedom and with justice, that that man is talking of not only today but of the future, because, make no mistake about it, there is no world, there is no prosperity, there is no good life, there is no freedom if there is no peace. And, therefore, when the President of the United States walks in those paths of peace, and works tirelessly in those vineyards of peace, he is working for a future, he is giving his all for the life of the people of this Nation.

And I come before this audience tonight to tell you that the candidate of the opposition does not speak of peace -- he speaks of the use of force, he speaks of diplomacy of ultimatum.

But our President, Lyndon Johnson, as his predecessor John Kennedy, works and walks in the paths of peace, and he is committed to it. And that is why more than any other reason that Hubert Humphrey, his running mate, is proud to stand before this audience and say that the American people need, that the American people need, as their President, for the future, for the guaranty of a future, the man who today serves you as your President, and with your help can serve you for four more years -- my friend, my candidate, and I hope your candidate, Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

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The leader of the Goldwater Party--through public statement, written word, and basic philosophy--has left responsible Americans with only one course of action: an overwhelming vote of confidence for President Johnson on November 3.

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 distrusts the past, misrepresents the future present, and misunderstands the future.

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

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, 196_)

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

Governor William Scranton termed Goldwater's views "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 quick solution." (as quoted by Arthur Krock, New York Times, July 10, 1964)

It was Senator Goldwater who announced that "one Eisenhower generation is enough." (Times Magazine, July 24, 1964)

It was Senator Goldwater who said "Nixon would be difficult to sell to everybody." (Newark Evening News, June 16, 1961)

It was Senator Goldwater who termed the Eisenhower administration a "dime store New Deal." (U. S. Senate, May 6, 1960)

It was Senator Goldwater who repudiated the 1960 Republican Platform by casting his vote in the Senate against 25 of its key provisions.

In his heart, Senator Goldwater is neither a loyal Republican nor a true conservative. He is a radical in the true and basic meaning of that word.

Our English word "radical" is derived from the Latin word "radix"--meaning root. And Senator Goldwater wants to pull everything out by ~~its~~ its roots--whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past.

Recently we have seen an increase in the pace of hysteria; that same hysterical tone which always marks the screams of a radical who has been exposed. We have gone from fear to sneer to smear. No charge/so low that it has ~~been~~ not been

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made; no lie, half truth, or innuendo which has not appeared in their statements. It is our hope that those who have created this cesspool will now be allowed to sink below its surface.

But the American people cannot be fooled; their eyes are open and their minds are clear. They cannot be tricked by slogans and cliches. Their memories are not that short. They can remember the accomplishments of the past four years. They know that America has begun to move under Kennedy and has continued to move under Johnson.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the issue dominating all others in this campaign is this: which candidate for President of the United

States is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America both at home and abroad?

We live in perilous times.

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

Two weeks ago 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 three historic events illustrate 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 performance--not promises.

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 these times in electing the President of the United States.

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--to insure the security of the United States.

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If there is one issue dominating all others in this campaign it is this: which candidate for President of the United States is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America both at home and abroad?

The choice is a simple one: between the radicalism of Senator Goldwater and the responsibility of President Lyndon Johnson.

The leader of the Goldwater Party--through public statement, written word, and basic philosophy--has left responsible Americans with only one course of action: an overwhelming vote of confidence for President Johnson on November 3.

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the true and basic meaning of that word.

Our English word "radical" is derived from the Latin word "radix"--meaning root. And Senator Goldwater wants to pull things out by their roots--whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past.

Senator Goldwater seeks to weaken social security--if not destroy it entirely--by making it voluntary.

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

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

On three great issues of conscience to come before the U. S. Senate in the past decade--the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the nuclear test ban treaty,

and the Civil rights bill--Senator Goldwater voted "No" on each occasion.

He preaches the doctrine of selfish irresponsibility-- a doctrine uninformed by history, uncontrolled by reason, and untempered by charity.

It is this doctrine of selfish irresponsibility which appeals so directly to various extremist groups in America.

The Goldwater Convention in San Francisco refused flatly to repudiate extremism. And 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 and catastrophe.

The Minority Report on Extremism to the 1964

Republican National Convention cited the John Birch Society and others as "groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American democratic tradition."

The Report accused them of using "secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassination... (of dealing in) unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, and falsehoods to trigger public hysteria..."

And Senator Goldwater said of the John Birch Society:

"I am impressed by the type of people in it...They are the kind we need in politics." (Christian Science Monitor, November 8, 1964³)

The United States is a great, diverse nation of almost 200 million people. The overwhelming majority--whether Democrats or Republicans--are loyal to the

fundamental values of our society. The overwhelming majority are committed to those priceless ideals we hold in common--faith in our future, mutual trust, and the spirit of liberty.

The overwhelming majority of Americans repudiate the politics of radicalism--whether of the right or of the left. They agree with President Johnson, who said:

"Let us put an end to the teaching and the 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."

I believe profoundly that America will repudiate Goldwater radicalism at the polls on November 3rd.

The American people know that performance--not promises--is the true test of a man.

The American people know the challenges of the 1960s and call for responsible, moderate, progressive and enlightened leadership.

In Lyndon Johnson we have a man who can provide this kind of leadership. He has been tested as few men in our history; by public service under four Presidents, by leadership in the Congress of the United States, by sudden elevation under tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House.

To every post he has held, President Johnson has dedicated all his great talents and all his abundant energy. He has given every waking hour--and including many

when most of us would have been asleep--to the job in hand, whether as a young Congressman from Texas or as President of the United States.

In Lyndon Johnson we have a man who possesses the qualities to create unity from diversity and consensus from conflict--who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint.

In Lyndon Johnson we have the one man superbly qualified to lead our nation and the world away from the last Great War toward the first Great Society.

Performance--not promises--is why the American people will elect Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States on November 3rd.

Transcript of TV Taping
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Denver, Colorado
Oct. 29, 1964

Announcer: A visit with Hubert H. Humphrey, brought to you by the rural Political Education Committee and the Colorado Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Machinists Nonpartisan Political League, Eric S. Roth, Chairman.

Now we meet former United States Senator and Governor of Colorado, Ed C. Johnson.

*Senator Johnson. We are pleased to have with us Hubert H. Humphrey, the Vice Presidential candidate. He will be speaking with two outstanding Congressional candidates -- Roy H. McVicker, and Frank E. Evans.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Senator, it is surely a joy to be with you. I can say this, that the President of the United States told me at his visit here to Denver, and he told me how good it was to be with his old friend and his true and good friend in the United States Senate, Senator Ed Johnson. And I want to say that, Governor, and Senator, to be back in your company once again is a joy to me. I will always be indebted to you for your friendship and for your helpfulness in my days in the Senate.

Senator Johnson. That goes double, Hubert.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, Ed.

Well, now, let's hear what these Congressmen have to tell us here.

Mr. McVicker. Not yet, sir, but we are sure working at it. And as anything that is worthwhile, you work for it. I know Frank and I and all of us have done this.

Senator Humphrey, as we were chatting in the car coming here from the airport, we feel in our area in Colorado, we have all the native basic ingredients of having one of the true flowerings of the economic rise that the rest of the nation is having, and that we should have here. And we have a really great university, and a university complex. We have a top-notch defense installation. As you know, sir, we just got the good news today that the Titan III at Martin is still going to be and has agreed to be the workhorse of the space platform and space program that we are using. We feel, sir, that the National Administration, that President Johnson and yourself, all of the people working in this private business, union leaders, are -- ladies and gentlemen that are citizens here, all understand that we want to take a part, we want more and more to be part of this scientific complex that we see elsewhere. It is going to be here. It isn't as it should be. This should be the flowering of the area. And we look forward to this, sir. And I know that Frank and I both feel strongly that in this area we hope we can be of some service to our community and to our Nation.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Roy, we all know that Denver is the gateway to the great West of America. Of course it is very much a part of the West, of the steps, so to speak, the gateway to the Rockies. I had some very happy days out here as a student. I studied pharmacy at one of the little colleges here that is no longer a going institution, but it was going long enough to get me graduated, so I could become a registered pharmacist. And I must say that Denver and Colorado is one -- Denver as a city and Colorado as a State, are simply beautiful. And they have untold riches in terms of natural resources, the potential of this area. And with your great universities in your state, your great university here at Denver, and the Colorado State University, and the University of Colorado, and the other many fine institutions of higher learning that you have in Colorado, the College of Scientific Research and Development, as we call it. research and developmet, on the part of government, that is government working with the universities, working with your management, with your business institutions,

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this is inevitable. In fact, it is bound to flow this way. In my own State of Minnesota, we are just now beginning to feel the impact of government research spending. Some \$5 billion is being expended in research and development by the Federal Government alone in the Department of Defense.

So when you go into -- not only defense, but I should say space and defense -- when you get into all these many areas of medical research and space research and defense research, and all the other aspects that come into scientific research, this offers a great opportunity for a state to expand its industrial base. And we are going to keep this up. I think Senator Ed Jonnson can tell you that the leader in the space activities in the Senate of the United States some years ago was then the Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson, who today is our President, and he has presided over the National Aeronautics and Space Agency as the sort of chairman of the board. And I know of no man that has a greater interest in seeing these activities be broadly spread throughout the United States. And with the friendships that he has out here, with this good dear friend that has a hold on the President's heart, plus the great universities and management that you have here, I haven't any doubt but what this is going to be a whole new area of development for you. And it is wealth.

Let me just pin it down for you. It is wealth. Because when you bring in her brain power, and you develop the physicists and the scientists that you need for these tremendous research activities, and with your air base, and with your air academy, and with your defense industries, plus your great medical centers and all, the prospects are very, very good.

Mr. Evans: You know, Senator, in this regard, in the Third Congressional District, we have the largest county, El Paso County, that contains within it Colorado Springs. We have Norad, the Air Force Base, the Air Force Academy, Fort Carson and so forth. These are great military establishments. And the people in this area are certainly realizing the economic impact on this area of these military decisions that cause these facilities to be constructed there. And we are very concerned, of course, about the posture of the administration regarding the future of these things.

Senator Humphrey: Yes. Well, as I was saying to you, we realize more and more that the industrial base of America, and the research and development base of America must be widespread, that you cannot just concentrate it either on one or two places on the eastern seaboard -- or one or two on the western seaboard. And as these requirements for research and development and defense grow, and they will, this area, of course, is going to move right along. In fact, it has made fantastic development. I remember coming here right after World War II, and the developments right here in this great metropolitan center of Denver area almost beyond -- well, beyond the dreams, the fondest dreams of anybody, let's say, 15 years ago, or even 10 or 12 years ago.

Well, gentlemen, it seems to me, too, that what we are talking about is not just our defense related activities, but the total economy. I have been very pleased to be able to tell the American people, as I have traveled across this country, that the commitments that President Kennedy made, and now that President Johnson has made, in terms of our economy, of getting this economy of ours tuned up, and getting it moving as President Kennedy put it -- let us get the country moving again, that those promises and commitments, they have been kept. We have increased the gross national product of this country -- when I say "we" I mean the American people and their government. Because government doesn't do these things alone. It works with industry, and it works with labor, it works with agriculture. America, after all, is not just government by a long shot. It is really the people. But the people and their government working together, with enlightened policies on the part of

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government, and encouragement on the part of the government, the President and the Congress -- we have made unbelievable progress. We have increased the gross national product of this country \$125 billion in three and a-half years. The net profits of corporate business have gone up a total of \$13 billion. Dividends are higher than ever before. Profits are better than ever before. 73 million workers at work, at gainful employment, higher wages than ever before. Per capita income is up. These things didn't just happen. We passed tax legislation to encourage investment. And I might add that the spokesman for the opposition, gentlemen, voted against that, Mr. Goldwater voted against that tax reduction, which reduction was like injecting new fuel into the machinery, into the motor of the American economy. We have increased agricultural net income by sensible, sane policies. And recently we have taken action in the beef and cattle industry, to give protection and to give help to our cattleraisers and cattle raising is a big business out here. It is in my State, too.

So when you add it up, with our wheat program, our feed grain program, and our cattle program and agriculture, we have a solid base now to build from. And we have been able to improve net income. And then Area Redevelopment and Public Works, and tax cuts, all of this has acted like a stimulant. It is like getting vitamins, gentlemen. You just take on new strength.

Mr. Evans: The people in this Third Congressional District, and I am sure it is true with Roy and his District, are very concerned about people who are locked in poverty, and then the general requirements of education in the future of these coming generations, when we have 25 million more people on the labor force, and no more unskilled jobs than we have now. And these programs -- my opponent has voted against the ARA and the poverty programs. And yet these are of deep concern in my area.

Senator Humphrey: Of course they ought to be. You know, the only time you can really afford any poverty in a country is when you are so rich that you can absorb it, so to speak. And actually the greatest drawback today on the American economy are these -- that drawback is represented in these little pockets of poverty.

Now, in northern Minnesota, Senator Johnson has been up in our State. We have the ironing mining area up there. And we have gone through a change of mining. There is a great deal of change in that industry. We have had the continuing unemployment. But we are beginning to get at it now, with Area Redevelopment and Public Works, and new industries in the area. ARA was a solid investment. And the man that voted against that in Congress, he wasn't saving any money.

Mr. McVicker. My man voted against it four times.

Senator Humphrey. I know, when you vote against ARA all you do is keep people on relief, and that is out of the taxpayer, too. It seems it is a whole lot better to let a man work and earn his way, and invest and permit a man to invest, and build a business, than it is to go around passing out unemployment compensation checks or relief checks.

What we want in America are people at work, and what we want in America are businessmen that are managing businesses, and we want investment. And I want to say this, gentlemen. That the Democratic Administration under President Kennedy and President Johnson has done more to encourage American business than any administration in the history of this country. This is why men like Henry Ford and some of the big businessmen in America today are solid for President Johnson. They found a friend in him.

Mr. McVicker. My experience, Senator, has been this: I have talked to the businessmen in my area, and of Denver. I don't hear the slogans. I don't

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hear the hatred of government. I don't hear this nonsense of cutting government clear back, as we hear from the other side. Equally silly in my book are those that say it should take care of us from cradle to grave. The question is what is the role of government, where does it belong in any specific issue, where does it not. And as Frank was saying, it seems to me that an individual like myself, that wants the privilege of representing the people the most they can ask from us is that they know where we stand. We have seen these gentlemen that vote on both sides of issues, take credit for voting for the key issues they have also voted to kill. When that loses, they go for it. Is this really the way you help your area? Is this the way you work for your people?

I have been saying, though, it hasn't been my experience in the State Legislature, and I see it there, that this is the straightforward way. I know you step on toes. But that is part of the process of representing people, this being all things to all people, voting yes to kill, when that loses yes to pass.

It seems to me --

Mr. Evans: Roy and I both have this. A couple of opponents who vote to kill or to take the heart out of a bill, and then when they fail to kill it, or when they fail to take the heart out of it, it is going to pass anyway, then they will get on the bandwagon and vote for it.

Senator Humphrey: Well, that surely is not an act of courage, gentlemen, and it doesn't require much judgment.

What you are really saying is that you try to bury the creature, and then if he still insists on living, that you accept him.

Well, now, that is not really the way to bring up a happy family?

Mr. McVickers. Is it the way to help your area grow and help the economy grow?

Senator Humphrey: Of course it isn't. And may I say those of us who have been in Congress, just as you have been in the legislature -- and by the way, it is the same experience, it is just on a different level of government -- we know that if you go around ignoring the needs of other people in other sections of the country, they are going to ignore you. I mean, after all, members of Congress, they are to represent their people. And if you continue as a member of Congress to constantly push aside the other man's legitimate requests, and give him no help, you cannot expect him to help you. And you don't fool very many people by voting on one afternoon to kill it, and then a little later, about two hours later, when you see it is going to pass, to vote to pass it. The only one you are fooling is yourself.

Mr. Evans. You know, Senator, in this regard, don't you think it would be a fair statement to say, whether it is in regard to installations in the Second District or in military installations in the Third District, in Colorado Springs, that certainly as a Democrat, as a Democratic Congressman in Congress, I would get as much attention in regard to this sensitivity to these installations as a Republican member of the opposition party?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I know that our Republican friends who are incumbents in Congress say that, oh, you must re-elect me because if you don't you will lose everything that you have got in this district.

Well, now, the truth of the matter is that Lyndon Johnson is going to be the next President of the United States. The American people are going to keep this man on the job, because he is a trustworthy, responsible man of performance. He has vast experience. He knows about the Government, he is a professional in the arts and sciences of government. He is going to be elected President of the United States.

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Now, it just plain makes sense that if you are going to have a Democratic President and a Democratic Administration, that if you elect a man to Congress who is on the Johnson team, who supports the President in his program, who has demonstrated friendship for the President, and who is going to be a part of a Democratic majority of the Congress, that that Democratic Congressman, even if he is a freshman, is going to be able to represent his district as well and better than a member of the opposition, particularly an opposition that has spent its time trying to make the role of the President difficult, and has opposed these programs.

So I think you can get your message across to the people on that.

Mr. McVicker. May I make this point, too, Senator Humphrey. When the President was here, as, of course, you know, he told a really great group of people, "Education will be at the top of my agenda." And when he said this, he struck our heartstrings. We look here in our State here as indeed in so many States, we told the public schools, we have told our colleges and universities, "Look to your local tax source, " and the local tax source is the property tax basically. This is hurting us. This is a regressive thing to bring into economy, and new industries. And I know the President has demonstrated by bills both that he has supported and that he has helped bring about as President, that we are looking to a total tax base, to a total equalization program, to help my school districts, Frank's, Governor Ed's, all of us, because this is the key. What else is there if you don't look at education? But you see all politicians, sir, are for education. The question is and the hard question is we would like the gentlemen we are running against who way how do you pay for it -- this is the key question.

My local school boards decide how to run it, and it can't be any other way. But we help in helping to determine how do you pay for it.

Senator Humphrey. Well, one thing I think that needs to be understood is that the Federal Government has always participated in the development of education. Back in the days of the Articles of Confederation, before the Northwest Ordinance, in 1785, and then the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Federal Government set aside land. And that was real property in those days, even as much as now. And a certain amount of land was set aside to be given to the school districts, to the States, to establish public education. And then we had the Land Grant College Act, and the Morrill Act of 1862, under President Lincoln. We have 68 land grant colleges.

Mr. McVicker. CSU is ours.

Senator Humphrey. The Colorado State University.

Mr. McVicker. Yes, sir.

Senator Humphrey: Well, now, that is Federal aid to education. Going back in the early 1900's, some of our more conservative members of Congress sponsored legislation to aid vocational education, agricultural education, industrial education. And here in recent years, because of the needs of America as a world power, because of the needs of America for its own security, we must have an educated people. The greatest limitation on American defense today is not the number of men that we have, but the educational training of our people.

Mr. Evans. And my opponent voted against the student loan program in college, against the loans to medical students, voted to cut \$150 million off the vocational education.

Mr. McVicker. Then did he vote for it after that failed?

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Mr. Evans. Yes, that is the pattern of experience I have.

Mr. McVicker. Well, it is not really looking towards the future.

Senator Humphrey. Gentlemen, the best investment that any family ever made was in education. Every mother and father knows that. The best investment any community ever made is in good schools. Every Chamber of Commerce knows that. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has led the fight for years for better education. You can't go broke educating people. Education produces wealth. Besides that, it produces better living. It produces better citizens. And in this day and age, education is the new power, it is the new wealth. It is the brain power that you develop that represents the real power. That is what we were talking about in the early moment on this program. Science, Technology, the development of research. This can't come without a broadly based educational structure. Elementary, secondary, and then higher education. That is why this year, this Congress passed and President Johnson signed the bill -- I think it was the first major bill that the President signed -- the aid to higher education, to help our colleges and universities. And then the National Defense Education Act. And it says just what it means -- national defense education act. Then our aid to education and vocational training.

Why, we have everybody worried about our school dropouts, we have people worried about our young people not having skills. Well, the answer to that is to train them. Then we had manpower training for people that were affected in industry, thrown out of jobs, needed to be re-trained. There isn't a single one of these programs that costs the taxpayer a nickel ultimately. The G.I. Bill of Rights proved that. The amount of money that we have spent on the G. I. Bill of Rights has been returned to the Treasury 10-fold in new income that was earned by the veteran that received his education as one of the benefits of his military service.

Mr. Evans. And yet our opposition -- I think this is true of Roy Vickers, too -- our opposition say we can't have this Federal aid under any circumstances.

Mr. McVicker. Oh, no, sir, not mine. He takes credit for it.

Mr. Evans. So many people in my area, the Goldwater people in my area, say Federal controls will come with any Federal assistance, and it is going to be a Federally dominated program.

Senator Humphrey. We have had Federal aid to education now, gentlemen, for 179 -- no, about 177 years. And we haven't had any Federal control yet. We have had land grant colleges since 1862, and we haven't any Federal control as yet. As a matter of fact, all the Federal Government has done in the field of education is to provide funds out of the great broad tax base of America to be used to bring equal opportunity in education to America.

Mr. Evans. With good, strong, local control. Of course.

Mr. McVicker. Senator, let me tell you our experience here. Under the Capp construction grant that the Congress passed, here in the State of Colorado we had a change of administration two years ago on the slogan "Cut Taxes," which they did the first year.

- The second year we had the largest tax increase this State has seen. We did nothing for local government schools. We said rely entirely upon the property tax. One thing we did do. We appropriated some \$2-1/2 million under the Federal bill, even before the Congress passed it. Thank goodness they passed it. I don't know what we would have done. When Governor Ed Johnson was Governor in '54 to '56, all the ground work was laid for the bill that is our foundation act which is equalization program, in all the areas of the State without which your major areas, Frank, I know mine, in the suburban areas, sir, we would be bankrupt.

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It means 20 mills to my area, this equalization program that so much of the work you did laid the ground work. This has been our experience. Unfortunately, in the last few years the property tax has taken the full burden. And we look up and say what is happening to us, we are not getting industry.

Well, you cannot, with this regressive tax. And this has been our experience. And our businessmen here, sir, in Denver, understand this, they have raised a million dollars for Forward Denver, part of which is looking at this whole question of restructuring government. And especially looking at this basis, the property tax as being not the answer as giving us a real educational program. Because if you want something you have to pay for it, sir. We know that. But how do you pay for it equitably? That is our question.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Roy, one of the ways we are trying to equalize educational opportunities in America, that is to make education a truly -- a true opportunity for young people, is with this Federal aid program. Now, it is limited, and we approach it prudently and cautiously. But we know that our institutions of higher education will have to be doubled in capacity in the next 35 years. We have to build more college classroom facilities in the next 35 years than we have built in the last 300. We know that we are going to have to have additional facilities for elementary and higher education, or secondary education. So we are trying to do Federally now what your state government did under Governor Ed Johnson's basic program of equalization. We are trying to upgrade this whole educational structure.

And what happened with Mr. Goldwater's vote? Let us just take a little look at him. Because that man is running too, gentlemen. I know you have got opponents. But may I say that important as a seat in the House of Representatives is, unless this office of the President is occupied by someone that appreciates the value of education, we are in serious trouble. And President Johnson was a teacher. His first job was a teacher. He still is a teacher. And that is why he put at the top of the priority list for his administration, education.

But Mr. Goldwater has said, for example, that education is not the responsibility of government. He even went so far as to say it would be better if some children didn't have any education, incredible statement, but he said it. He voted against higher education, medical facilities, aid to medical facilities, nurses training, manpower retraining, national defense education act, Peace Corps, anything that related to education the Senator from Arizona has voted no. And I say that a man that has no better appreciation of the future of America and the true wealth of America in terms of its young minds, its young people, that man has disqualified himself for the office of the President.

Mr. McVicker. Sir, is it not also true -- I know we have all been saying it, I know how sincerely and deeply we feel about this -- that when you talk about the real power and the might of this country -- I know it is the nuclear armament that keeps Communist aggression from sweeping over the world. It is this applying of the free enterprise system as it has been able to adapt itself since World War II to unparalleled heights, its ability to meet the new technology, and to find automation and to conquer it. 73 millions.

I remember the book right after World War II said 60 million jobs for America.

But, sir, what is the real strength of this country? What is the real pushing of the idea of America, which is freedom, spirit of liberty, which we say all peoples must have? What is the strength?

It lies in this thing which is education. As we look at foreign policy, which, of course, is the key issue, America's position in the world, you talk this way, because it is right here, in our community, in Denver, in my county.

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Senator Humphrey. Let me just inject in this point this issue of foreign policy, because I think there are two basic issues the people are facing in this campaign. First of all, do we want to repeal the progress of economic and social that we have made for 30 years because Mr. Goldwater is very vigorously opposed to the many policies that we have been talking about, which have built this economic growth. And, secondly, do we want to repudiate our bipartisan foreign policy, which is the product not of just the Democrats, but of Republicans and Democrats alike, American citizens all. And I believe that when John Kennedy said to the American people in June of 1963 that the task of statesmanship was the pursuit of peace, and that peace was not available just for the asking, but that it was a process that you had to work at it, that he gave us the central concern and problem of our time. And I believe that the greatest difference between the two candidates today is on this great issue of peace, because one candidate feels that you can use naked force to impose your will, to issue ultimatums, to just denounce evil and somehow or another it just fades away. That seems to be Mr. Goldwater's point of view.

President Johnson, working within the traditions of our country, and the pattern of our development of foreign policy, knows, No. 1, we must have rational strength, great strength, to deter aggression, so that we can speak and speak and be respected, so that when we go to the conference table, we negotiate from strength. But he also knows that there are no simple answers to the world problems. He knows that you have to build peace patiently, perseveringly, sacrificially. He knows that it takes as much and more courage to be a peacemaker than it does a warrior. He knows, and I know, and you know, and I think the American people all know, that when -- the United Nations is really a part of the total structure of this search for world peace. It is not perfect, but it has done great things. Mr. Goldwater said that we ought to get out of it. A little later he thought maybe we ought to stay in provided that it did our bidding. The Peace Corps is a part of peace, a very important part. Mr. Goldwater voted against it, and said it was a haven for beatniks. The Food for Peace program, where we use our surplus food and fiber to help feed hungry people for economic development to work with our churches abroad in their great programs of compassion and charity, this is another building block in peace. Arms control, to slow down the arms race before it destroys the human race, and the nuclear test ban treaty. These are the steps of peace to which President Johnson is committed.

Governor Johnson. I am sorry to interrupt this wonderful discussion, but time is up. We will have to close. How proud we are of you, Hubert.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Governor.

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