

Remarks of Senator Hubert Humphrey
Long Beach Recreation Park
Long Beach, California
1 November 1964

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you, Senator Salinger.

Before I go one minute further, I find that there is a very charming lady back here that wanted to make a presentation to Mrs. Humphrey. And if I fail to respond to that situation, I may not be a candidate. So I think I will call Mrs. Humphrey up to the platform once again, and the lady that wants to make that presentation.

(Mrs. Humphrey was presented with a bouquet of flowers.)

Well, I think that went off just about as well as the election is going to come off on Tuesday, with a victory for our fine President, the man that we ought to keep in the White House for four more years -- President Lyndon Johnson.

(Shouts of "We want Barry" from the audience)

Did you ever notice they are so few in number, they have to gather the wagons around in a circle to protect themselves. They have togetherness -- all six or seven of them.

Now, my friends, while they are over there picking "barrys", we will start picking Presidents. And I suggest that you pick President Johnson.

Well, it is surely nice to come to Long Beach. It is wonderful to be here, if only to see so many wonderful good Democrats and Republicans that are going to vote for President Johnson all gathered together on one beautiful Sunday afternoon.

I am very pleased also that Mrs. Humphrey and I can be here to see many old friends. I noticed as we came into the park that there were many, many people here from Minnesota, many people from South Dakota, many people that we have known throughout our years in those two states. And I am so pleased that they are enjoying their residence here in California and here out in this beautiful community of Long Beach, California.

I am particularly happy today that we can be in the company of one of the finest governors of any state in the United States of America.

And I am pleased that the gentleman that is going to represent you in Congress from the 32nd Congressional District -- Mike Cullen -- that he can today ask you to celebrate with him the birthday of his wife, Kit.

Now, Mike, I don't know whether the folks all know that, if they have been singing Happy Birthday songs to her or not. But Mike has many things going for him. He is not only a good, intelligent person, he is not only a good Democrat, he is not only privileged to have a very loyal wife. But his father was born in Minnesota.

So for all of those many reasons, plus the fact that we need in the Congress a man that can work with us and that will back the Johnson program in the 89th Congress, I suggest that the good people of this community settle down to the task between now and next Tuesday of electing as their congressman Mike Cullen and getting him to Washington.

Then, too, may I once again remind you that we people who have been working in the Nation's Capital, those of us that have had responsibility these past four years under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, feel that California is one of the most fortunate states in all of this great Republic, because you now have, as one of your Senators, a very distinguished Democrat and fellow citizen, one who was the trusted friend and confidant of our late and beloved President Kennedy, and now one who is your Senator, who has earned for himself in just a few short months a reputation for getting things done, for activity on the part of the State -- and he is one of the most articulate, one of the most talented men in American politics, and I hope you are going to see to it that you send to Washington someone that can work for you, not someone that dances for you -- but someone that works for you.

Well, we are looking forward to Pierre being there.

Now I want to talk about just one or two issues, and then we are going on to a

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couple of more rallies this afternoon, and later on tonight Mrs. Humphrey and I are journeying over to a neighboring state of Arizona. We thought it was time that in Arizona they had an opportunity to hear the truth.

We are coming down now to the finish line in this campaign. Frankly, it has been a good deal of fun. But it has also been hard work and strenuous work.

The American people take their politics seriously, and they should. There is no more important decision in your life than the decision you are going to make on this coming Tuesday, because the decision is not only going to affect your lives for the next four years, but in fact the decisions that are made by our President the next four years are going to affect the lives of the American people for decades and generations to come.

This is, indeed, a very important and crucial election.

Therefore, I urge upon every voter, regardless of his party or of his political persuasion, to ask himself these questions.

Which candidate truly discussed the issues that affect this country today or that face our country? Which candidate is better equipped to lead this nation as the leader of the free world in the critical years ahead? Which candidate for the office of President do you feel that you can trust with your lives, with the sacred honor of this country, with your jobs, with the future of your children? Because the office of President is such an important office that you cannot afford to look upon it lightly.

I must say to you that it is of the utmost importance that the American people analyze and evaluate, not only the candidates as personalities, but also what they stand for.

In this campaign, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have talked to you about our economy. We have told you that we have kept the faith, fulfilled the promises of four years ago. And we have.

We said then, and President Kennedy said then, and Vice-President Johnson said, let us get this country moving again, let us do something about stimulating our enterprise. And, ladies and gentlemen, we have had 45 months, consecutive months of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity, the likes of which no other country has ever had.

We said to the American people, as a party, and our leaders said to you, we must do something in areas of education, we must do something in the areas of the care of the elderly -- just to pick out two issues. And we have kept that promise. And we have fulfilled at least in part our commitments.

I am in one of the great communities of California, where education means so much to you. And this State has done wonders in the field of education.

But your State is growing as no other State in the Union, and you sense the importance of your young people having a good education.

The 87th and the 88th Congresses of the United States, of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, have done more for education than any other Congresses in the history of this Republic.

Aid to higher education, aid to vocational education, national defense education, nurses training, manpower retraining, aid to medical education, and professional schools -- the largest educational program of any country on the face of the earth. Because we know and you know that education is an investment in the further progress and the future prosperity of the American people. And we are going to continue to build on what we have started.

But our opposition, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party -- our opposition has voted against every single bill that has ever been offered in the Congress of the United States to forward the cause of education, for students and teachers, for school facilities. His record is one of complete negativism -- no, no, no, a thousand times no. When it comes to schools, teachers and education, that is his record.

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Now, the other issue that I would call to your attention is that other end of the spectrum of human life. Education is an opportunity for the young. And then the respect that a government of the people, by the people and for the people ought to have for those who have lived their three-score-and-five, those who are the senior citizens of our country -- 20 million of them -- the largest single age group in the American population. And this age group today deserves at least the thoughtful, respectful consideration and cooperation of its government.

This is why President Johnson and the Democratic Party point with justifiable pride to our social security program and say that that program is but a beginning, that it must be expanded, that it must include better provisions. This is why we say that housing for the elderly, that hospital and nursing home care for the elderly, that programs of community activities for the elderly, that upgrading of social security benefit payments towards our elderly, that all of these are not only necessities -- they are promises of the Democratic Party for the coming years.

And, my friends, here once again we find the opposition taking a negative point of view. And I think, my friends, you can better understand the nature of the opposition when you hear their child-like chant at public meetings like this.

I don't know how we can adequately thank our opposition for making votes for us. I really don't. Because, you know, the American people are a decent, fair-minded people. They are a tolerant people. And there is one thing the American people cannot stand. That is bad manners, poor sportsmanship, and ugliness.

While our opposition chants, "we want Barry," we, the Democrats say, we want a better America for everybody in this country. We want to see Americans of every race, creed and nationality and ethnic group have a better opportunity for a better life in America.

We even want that for Barry.

And you know what we are to do. We are going to give this good man from Arizona an opportunity to appreciate the wonderful privileges of retirement, because we are going to retire him on November 3rd.

So, my friends, we must go along now to another meeting. And as I leave you I ask you to keep this in mind; that we, for 30 years, as a people, Democrats and Republicans alike, have built a great program of social and economic progress. We want to keep building on that program. For 30 years we as a nation have built a great program of security, designed to work for peace in the patient process of peace. And we want a President who will work for us, who will unite us, who will help heal our wounds, who will be a leader in the search for man's noblest work, the search for a just and an enduring peace. And I will tell you who the man is. And I want you to go to work for him. I want you to get your people out on election day. That man is the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at East Los Angeles College
Los Angeles, California
Nov. 1, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, thank you very much.

First of all, may I say to my good friend, the Senator from California, Pierre Salinger, that I notice that as I grow a little older, the teachers look a little younger. I was just presented an apple by a member of the American Federation of Teachers, and I must say that when I was going to school, I never thought teachers looked that pretty. And had I known that they were going to be that pretty, I would have had more apples available.

But I do thank you very, very much.

Pierre Salinger has addressed this wonderful audience that has been so patient and has been so faithful to us on this day, has addressed you in Spanish. I want all of you to know that even though I may come from the land of Scandinavians, that I know at least four words in Spanish. Muchos gracias, mes amigos. And buena suerte, Senor Salinger.

Senor Cantinflas, I must say that we are very sorry not to have been here for your participation. And I want to thank all of these wonderful gentlemen, talented artists that help us all along the pathway of this campaign.

I don't know why we are so lucky. But I have looked over the talent on both sides, and whether it is the candidate for President, or whether it is those that come to us to bring us good cheer and entertainment, I tell you that the Democrats are out in front three to one.

Governor Brown and Senator Salinger and Congressman George Brown, and Congressman Ed Roybal, Congressman Chet Holifield, and our co-chairman of the Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, your assemblyman, Phil Soto, and our national committeeman here today, Gene Wyman, and our fellow Americans -- four years ago on this very day, as Pierre Salinger has indicated to you, a truly great and talented, gifted, remarkable young man addressed this community and spoke in this auditorium or this stadium, which was overflowing, as I recall it, in one of the greatest political rallies in the history of California. And you good friends here four years ago made John Kennedy realize on that day that he was going to be elected President of the United States. You did something then, not only for President Kennedy, but you did something for America, because on that day four years ago he was but a candidate in a close election. And I think it was the spirit of this occasion, of the people of this community, that gave him that extra energy and drive and inspiration that permitted him to go on to win that election.

And may I say that that election was won by less than one vote per precinct in America.

President Kennedy won that election because there were people like those in this great arena and stadium that were willing to go to work and make sure that the citizenship responsibility of being a voter, that that responsibility was fulfilled.

I want to say to this audience, and I want you to take this message to your neighbors -- the Goldwater Republican Party -- and it is a special breed unto itself -- that party is conducting a program of voter intimidation. They would like to have you stay home, if you are going to vote as I think you are, for President Lyndon Johnson.

The Republican Committees supporting Mr. Goldwater and the gentleman that is running for Senator -- his name for the moment has escaped me, the man on the Republican ticket -- but those committees have instructed their precinct workers to be at the polls to challenge your vote.

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Let me say to you as a United States Senator, and as a fellow citizen, and as a candidate for the office of Vice President, that if you are registered, your name is in the voting list, then all you need to do is to turn up at the election box on Tuesday, November 3 -- you are entitled under your citizenship to vote. And no one is entitled to question your right to vote if you are a registered voter in the State of California. And don't you let them interfere with you.

There were some countries back in the 1930's where people lost their right to vote because of interference, because of confusion, because of doubt, and because of pressure tactics. I say to the Republican Party and its leadership, you ought to be ashamed of yourself for even indicating by any bulletin or any word or any pamphlet that you are going to harass an American citizen who comes to the election booth to cast his vote -- you ought to bow your head in shame and say that you are apologizing for being such a poor representative of American citizenship.

Our Republican opposition calls this "operation Eagle Eye." May I say that the better term for it is "Operation Evil Eye."

All you need to remember is that the Republican Party has yet to lift its finger to ever aid a person that was in need, a workingman, a farmer, or someone that has ever been dispossessed.

The Republican leadership in this campaign, headed by Mr. Goldwater, is no friend of America's Mexican Americans, and of any other kind of American that wants to see America move forward.

I come here today to represent the Democratic Party and its candidates. I come here to represent a party since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that has worked ceaselessly for the economic and social betterment of America.

I would be the last to say that we have made no mistakes. But I say that the mistakes that we have made have not been mistakes of the heart. We have tried to do what we thought was right to equalize opportunity in this country, to permit people to make something out of their lives. We have sought to correct injustices. We have sought to expand education. We have sought to be just and considerate with those who were in need. We have sought to be a party that cared for the American people and to have a government with a heart.

So I come with no apologies. I come only to say that what we have built for 30 years we would like to have as a launching platform from whence we can take off to higher grounds.

There is yet work to be done.

If the American people believe that what we have sought to do over these past 30 years is wrong, if they believe that there ought to be no aid to education, if they believe we ought to do away with social security, if they believe that we ought to do away with the many programs that have aided American enterprise, if they believe that we ought to deny a worker the right to bargain collectively and to have seniority and union protection -- if the American people believe those things, then they have a clear choice in this election. They can vote for the candidate of the opposition who on every occasion has voted no and fought against every single effort that we have tried to make in this country for social and economic progress. They can have that vote.

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But I don't think they want it.

If the American people want to join with what I believe is the spirit of today, if they want to continue what we have been doing, if you would like to see better schools, if you would like to see better colleges, if you would like to see your young people have a chance for a better education, if you would like to see our elderly better cared for, better housed, with hospital and nursing home care under Social Security, if you would like to see the workingman given a fair wage for a fair day's work, if you would like to see America be a country in which there was only first-class citizenship, equal rights, equal opportunity, and full protection of the law for all people, regardless of race, color or creed, then I will tell you what to do. Go on out and vote for President ~~Lyndon~~ Johnson, Pierre Salinger, and the Democratic ticket.

We come here today, not with a record of promises, but with a record of performance. Four years ago John Kennedy told the people in this community if you give us a chance, we will get America moving again, if you give us a chance we will work for social justice, if you will give us an opportunity, we will try to help our young and be more considerate of our elderly. And you gave us that chance. And in those four years, with 1,000 days of the most dramatic leadership that ~~at any~~ ⁱⁿ America has ever known, President John Kennedy and a Democratic Congress passed more constructive legislation than has been passed in any comparable period of time of American history. And we are proud of that record.

Then on that day in November an assassin's bullet took our President from us. He was struck down at the zenith of his career. And America and the whole world wondered what next. The nation seemed to falter and stagger, as did the whole world.

And then all at once we realized the strength of our constitutional national system. We realized also the good judgment that President Kennedy had exercised when he had selected his Vice President, because he had selected here in Los Angeles in 1960 the outstanding leader of the United States Senate, the senior Senator from Texas. And that gentleman became the Vice Presidential nominee, and went on with John Kennedy to be elected Vice President of the United States. And on that day of pain and grief, on that day of doubt and concern, a big man, a strong man, a humble man, a man who would have 30 years of experience in government, who had served under three Presidents, and who knew this government as few others, that man stepped forward and picked up the torch of freedom and progress from the fallen leader. And, my fellow Americans, we have now had a little over 11 months of the leadership and of the performance of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and I say to you that it is a good record, a responsible record, a great record.

This election, on November 3rd, will be a reaffirmation of the Kennedy-Johnson program, if you will make it that way. It will be the way that we have of telling the world that what we have been trying to do at home and abroad in terms of justice and opportunity and peace is right. We have an opportunity, indeed we have a duty in this election, to reject and to repudiate once and for all the forces of reaction, of bitterness, of hate, of prejudice, and of bigotry, which are marching loose in this land right now. And they must be stopped.

We have the opportunity in this election to tell our friends throughout the world that America still keeps the faith, still holds high the promise of a better life. We have the opportunity in this election to tell our neighbors south of the Rio Grande that we have not forgotten them, that the Alliance for Progress, which was the creation of our beloved late President Kennedy, that that Alliance lives, and that North America and South America, that we in the United States and they in the Latin American countries, will stand together as brothers and sisters, working for a better life for all of our people.

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Make no mistake about it, my friends. We can turn off the lights of progress on November 3rd. Mr. Goldwater is a man of his word. He says, "Judge me by my votes." And if you judge him that way, then you will know the consequences of any vote that is cast for his candidacy.

This is the man who has yet to vote for a program to house our elderly, this is a man who has yet to vote for any program to provide any kind of medical or hospital care for our elderly. This is a man who has yet to cast any vote for education for our young. This is the man who has yet to cast any vote to help a worker who is unemployed or needed a job.

This is the candidate who has yet to cast any vote for any of the great programs that build towards peace.

The candidate of the Republican Party has cast his vote against the nuclear test ban treaty which was our first step in the path of peace. He expresses his doubt about the United Nations. He cast his vote against the Peace Corps. He voted against the use of our food under the Food for Peace program to aid hungry people abroad. And today, my friends and neighbors, in Latin America alone 40 million school children are receiving aid under the Food for Peace program for a school lunch, because America has had a John Kennedy and a Lyndon Johnson to give this country leadership.

Yes, the candidate of the Republican Party has voted no on progress, he has voted no on social justice, he has voted no on the steps to peace. I suggest that on November 3 you vote no on the candidate of the Republican Party, and vote yes for Lyndon Johnson.

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East Los Angeles

File [Nov. 2]
Nov. 2

Tuesday is election day. It is a day on which the most cherished right of all American citizens may be exercised--the right to vote.

You-and only you--have it within your power to choose the kind of government you will have for the next four years.

The polls give us a message of joy and good news. The pollsters say the Democratic Party will win an overwhelming victory.

But prediction is not actuality.

I remember the Literary Digest Poll of 1936 which predicted a landslide win for Governor Alf Landon over Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Alf Landon carried only Maine and Vermont.

I remember 1948 when the pollsters were so confident Dewey would win that newspapers were on the streets late Tuesday night and early Wednesday morning proclaiming the Republican victory.

But Harry Truman took the oath of office--not Tom Dewey.

And it was not too long ago that the polls predicted a Rockefeller defeat in the Republican Oregon primary.

Governor Rockefeller won that election.

The same pollsters predicted that Governor Rockefeller would win the California Primary. They were wrong again.

Regardless of what the polls say, no election is ever won until the voting booths are closed and all the ballots are counted on election night.

It may appear we are headed for an historic victory on Tuesday--but this victory depends on you and every voter like you throughout the country.

It is estimated the Johnson-Humphrey ticket is preferred by approximately 60 percent of the voters.

Now the Goldwater Party is a fanatical party. Their people are going to vote--all of that 40 percent.

If our people are lazy or complacent--if only one out of every five says to himself, "It's in the bag. I'll go fishing" or "I'll stay home"--that means we could get 38 percent of the vote against the Goldwater Party's 40 percent.

still
We can/lose this election in spite of the fact that every reliable indication says we should win an overwhelming victory.

We can lose it if those who are with us fail to vote on Tuesday.

Every registered voter has the solemn duty to go to the voting booth on Tuesday.

And certainly every Democrat and every Independent and every thinking Republican who stands with us against the pretender to Republican leadership--that man who would lead us precipitously into the past--has a duty to vote tomorrow.

There is no greater privilege available to a free people than the franchise. There is no duty more sacred than the full exercise of this privilege to elect the kind of government you want.

And so I ask you to examine the candidates carefully and weigh the issues. And vote. If you do, I am confident that you will elect Lyndon B. Johnson to the presidency by an overwhelming majority.

Today I want to discuss with you a few of the reasons why I believe you should vote to elect Lyndon B. Johnson President and Hubert H. Humphrey Vice President of the United States on Tuesday.

During this campaign Lyndon Johnson has talked about the Great Society. We seek your support Tuesday because we believe confidently in the future of America and the ability of the American people to create that Great Society.

We reject a "No" philosophy and ask you to ~~xx~~ return to office the "Go" philosophy of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

The election Tuesday will take place in a country of unprecedented wealth and prosperity. Yet we have within our midst 35 million people without sufficient

food, shelter, and clothing. One fifth of our population lives in poverty in the midst of plenty.

The Republican pretender says that this poverty is the natural state of man--that one fifth of the nation is either too lazy or too stupid to participate in the affluence of the other four-fifths of our people.

We Democrats reject this defeatist and backward philosophy. We believe that every citizen, regardless of race, color or creed, should have the opportunity to participate fully in the abundance of America.

America has come a long way. We are the most powerful and wealthy nation the world has ever known.

We now enjoy an economy of ~~EXXENXEXX~~ enormous resources. The facts almost defy imagination. During the first quarter of 1964, we had 68 million persons employed and had a gross national product of well over

600 billion dollars. But in spite of this almost unbelievable prosperity, we still have a long way to go. It will not do to retreat helter-skelter into the past when one-fifth of the nation is not participating in our affluence.

The blight of racial discrimination still is upon the land. I need not remind you that most responsible Congressmen and Senators voted for the Civil Rights Bill last Spring.

Our educational system is in disrepair. We do not have enough school facilities nor enough qualified teachers. As if the present difficulties were not enough, the American educational system is now experiencing a gigantic enrollment explosion.

Today, from all sources, we are spending only about five percent of our gross national product in education. Federal help has been negligible. We are neglecting our children and the future leaders of our great country.

We must get over the whimsical idea that the federal government can build highways or power plants at the local level without destroying democratic institutions but cannot help build a school system or assist the training of teachers for our children. We must do more to train our children for the jobs of the future.

Senator Goldwater has consistently voted against any measures that would help to ~~relieve~~ alleviate poverty in this country or to help educate our children.

"no, no," he says, "This means federal control."

To me the "control-of-education" argument makes about as much sense as saying that because the federal government builds highways, it will usurp the function of the states or local communities in patrolling those highways against reckless drivers. Or dictating to you what color car you must drive.

There is no reason why every American youngster should not be educated to the limit of his capacities-- except that we have never yet seized the initiative or had the courage to do it.

There is no reason why we cannot create a society where everyone will have the opportunity to escape from the degradation of poverty if we will only have the foresight and courage to do it.

This country is too rich and our people have too much heart to afford the drag and the waste of poverty, of slums, of illiteracy, of unemployment. Americans have never run from a challenge. Instead of wringing our hands over past failures, we have taken the initiative, rolled up our sleeves, and worked for what we wanted.

Thirty years ago we decided to do something about protecting our elderly from want. We passed the Social Security Act of 1935. Most of us believed then and most of us believe today that something ought to be done so that our senior citizens could live out their lives unafraid and in peace and dignity.

Many of us are still carrying on this fight to strengthen the social security laws--for a program of hospital insurance so that our senior citizens may not have to live in day to day ~~terrors~~ terror of sickness.

Now comes that great humanitarian from Arizona.

Oh no, he says, let's ~~xxxx~~ strike at the heart of the Social Security program. Let's make it voluntary.

Even such a staunch Republican as Governor Rockefeller admits that Senator Goldwater's approach would wreck the Social Security system.

And, of course, that great humanitarian from Phoenix-- the man who inherited the Department store--votes no, no, no, on every form of health insurance.

I say to you today that if you want to strengthen the Social Security system--not destroy it--if you want a medicare program, if you care for our senior citizens, you can show it Tuesday by going out and voting the Democratic ticket. Send Lyndon B. Johnson back to the White House and Barry back to the store in '64.

Yes, we here in America have the resources and the

know-how to eliminate forever the remaining blight on our society if we will only have the courage.

There is no reason for the continued existence of polluted air or water or the shame of our slums-- except that we have not yet had the will to eliminate these evils.

Americans have the know-how and the resources to build a Great Society for all--if we will only face the future with courage and imagination.

We cannot solve our problems with an abject retreat to the past. We do not face the future by crying, "No, no, no!"

During the past several weeks I have traveled up and down this great country of ours. I have experienced first hand the hopes and dreams of our people. I know

that most Americans are not afraid.

Most Americans believe with Lyndon Johnson that by working legislation, that by going forward with courage, we can overcome almost any obstacle in our way. That we can truly build the Great Society of which the President speaks.

I f you want this kind of world, if you want to say with us "go" instead of "no," I urge you all to vote ~~xxxxxxx~~ Tuesday and to urge your friends and neighbors to vote ~~xxxxxxx~~ to return Lyndon B. Johnson to the White House.

Reception at Beverly Blvd & Fairfax Avenue
Los Angeles, California
November 1, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much.

Thank you, Jimmy.

Thank you very much, Congressman Roosevelt, and my fellow Americans. Let me talk to you so I can thank you for this wonderful, wonderful crowd that we have here today on this great day, just two days before you are going to go to the ballot box to cast your vote for the Democratic ticket headed by President Johnson, Pierre Salinger, and Congressman Roosevelt.

I haven't seen a crowd that looks as large as this -- frankly, I have never seen one that was more enthusiastic.

I don't think that we have seen anything like this since that great rally in the garment district in a community back on the other seacoast called New York City.

But you good friends here are showing the kind of spirit, the sort of enthusiasm, the Democratic vitality that it takes to give the Republicans a good whipping on election day.

Congressman Roosevelt, Jimmy, I gather all these folks out here, that you have got them well educated in the principles of liberal and progressive Democracy.

Now, I want to make doubly sure that you are not only enthusiastic in your support of this remarkable good friend and Congressman of yours, and good friend of Muriel Humphrey's and Hubert Humphrey's and President Johnson's, I want to make sure that you are not only cheering and cheering for Jimmy Roosevelt, but you are cheering and cheering and voting for Pierre Salinger.

Now, may I just say a word to my young friends here, those that are under 21. You tell all the others now to be quiet just a minute while we have a little visit.

You see, there isn't a one of us here, there isn't a parent here but what at some time has called the young ones in and said, "now, I want to tell you something, I want to give you some advice." Now it is your turn. This is for every boy and girl, every young man and woman under 21 years of age. It is your turn this weekend. What you do, sometime tonight or tomorrow, or maybe you will have to wait until Tuesday, you call in mother and father, you call in your older brothers and sisters, and you get ahold of anybody in your family that is 21 or over, and say, "Now, wait a minute, I want to have a word with you." You say, "It is just about time that you heard some of the facts of political life." And you remind them, you remind your parents, you remind your friends in the neighborhood, that election day is the big "E" Day in America. It is on election day that we cast, not only our vote, but it is on election day that we register our convictions and our commitments. It is on that day, may I say to my young friends here, that you have a right to ask your mother and father, your grandparents, anyone that your family of voting age -- you have a right to ask them to protect your future. And the only way that you have, as citizens, may I say very respectfully to you -- the only way that you have, whether you are adults or whether you are young people, to protect your future and to participate in your government is on that election day when the campaigners and the candidates must be quiet, and the citizen speaks.

But the citizen speaks quietly, too. He speaks by walking to that ballot box, or driving there, and going into the voting booth, and alone, with himself, his conscience, and his God, he makes up his mind what he is

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going to do for his country and his family, for himself.

We Americans have the right of what we call popular sovereignty. On election day we are the sovereign people. On that day, those who are elected become the representatives of the American people. There is no more important day in the history of your life, there is no more important day in any part of your life, than this November 3rd. And I will tell you why.

First of all, on this day you are going to have to tell the American people and the world whether or not you believe that this great Republic, which is committed to the promotion of the general welfare, which is dedicated, as our pledge of allegiance says, to one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all -- whether we really mean it. That is what you are going to have to ask.

And let me say every boy and girl in America has been taught that pledge of allegiance. I think it is about time that those of us who are voters and that those of us who are public servants, not only learn how to recite it, but that we understand every word of it. Every word of it.

This is, my fellow Americans, one nation, but it is made up of many peoples. And the diversity of our peoples, the variety of our peoples, their cultural groups, their ethnic groups, their religious groups, their many ways of life, all of this adds to the richness of America, all of it adds to the beauty of America.

America is America the beautiful because there is such a richness, a variety. And we want to keep our country that way.

America is like a mighty symphony orchestra, there are many instruments. Individually and standing alone they don't mean much. But when they are harmonized, when they are brought together, they bring forth beautiful music. And the conductor of that orchestra in America is the President of the United States. He is the one that must blend us into one country without the loss of our diversity as peoples.

And I am proud to stand here today to represent a President and a political party that doesn't cast evil and ugly remarks about immigrants and minorities.

I think that one of the most unfortunate developments of this campaign was that spokesmen for a major political party would have people believe around the world that somehow or another in America you all have to be alike, and that if everybody doesn't look alike, talk alike, and act alike, that there is something wrong.

Not on your life, my friends. Let me tell you that freedom in America means the right to be as we are, to be individuals, to have our faith, to have our respective religions, to have our respective groups. But yet at the same time to have a common allegiance -- a common allegiance and a common citizenship. Allegiance to this great Republic, and citizenship as Americans of this great Republic.

So in this election we are not merely, we are not only selecting a President. What we are really doing, my fellow Americans, is rebuking and repudiating the forces of bitterness and of bigotry and hate and of intolerance and of doubt and of suspicion, and of distrust which have been abroad in this land.

And let me say right here on this street that in America, where there are forces like the John Birch Society, where there are forces, if you please -- (chorus of boos) -- we don't do that, that is for the opposition.

May I say that there is no sound that I like less than a boo. I love to hear people who love America, who are vital and young and spirited -- I want

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to hear you cheer. Let's cheer.

That's better.

But we want to make sure that in this election that the forces of extremism, the forces of destruction, the forces of bitterness, whether they are of the far left or of the far right, whatever they may be, that they are defeated, that they are trounced, and that they are given a licking that they will never forget for another hundred years.

I think one of the most unfortunate developments has been that a candidate of a major party, a candidate of a major party has been willing to permit on the public platform of public acceptance and respectability the forces that I have spoken of -- the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the John Birchers, the Minutemen, and the other kind who have no respect for human dignity. And I say from this platform that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey repudiate the support of those that I have mentioned, repudiate the support of the Communists and repudiate the support of the Birchites. We don't like them, we don't want them, and we want nothing to do with them.

Now, 30 years of progress is at stake -- 30 years of it -- since the days of Franklin Roosevelt. And let me say, as I look out over this audience, that I can see gray heads here, I can see people here of maturity. And I know that many of these people at one time lived under conditions which our young people don't remember. And we know that back in those days, we know that in those days a government -- there is a man right there that remembers those days. He remembers when there was a government headed by a great President, Franklin Roosevelt, who cared about America.

The candidate, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, who is nothing but a candidate of a fraction of a faction of reaction of that party, that candidate wants to repeal the work of Franklin Roosevelt, he wants to repudiate the work of Harry Truman, he wants to even ignore the work of Dwight Eisenhower, and he fights against with all his power the good works of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

And, my friends, I ask you right now, are you going to let a man who votes no, no, no, are you going to let him become the President of the United States?

Do you want as your President someone who embraces the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontiers of John Kennedy, and who wants to move forward?

Do you want as your next President of the United States Lyndon Johnson?

Do you want as your next United States Senator Pierre Salinger?

Do you want as your Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt?

Well, I will tell you what to do about it. Go to work. Go to work. And don't you take anything for granted. The Republicans are going to try to frighten some of you away from the polls. I never thought I would live to see the day when a political party of America would pass out information to its workers to say Challenge the voters, harass them at the ballot box, ask them for their receipts, do this, do that.

May I say to the Republicans here and throughout America, you ought to be encouraging people to vote, instead of trying to stop them from voting. You ought to be ashamed of yourself.

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Well, let me tell the forces of reaction in this country, let me tell you right now, that the forces of decency, the forces of reason, the forces of moderation, the forces of progress, represented by our President, represented by the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and now represented by Lyndon Johnson, those forces are going to win this election, just as surely as we are here today.

And we are not only going to win it for ourselves. We are going to win it for the world, we are going to win it for the cause of human justice, we are going to win it for the cause of equal opportunity, we are going to win this election so that we can be assured that this country dedicates its efforts and its resources to the noble task of pursuing peace and pursuing it relentlessly, so that all that we have may not be lost because of the madness of war.

This is what is at stake in this election. And we know it.

I want a President who unites America, I want a President who heals our wounds, I want a President who respects our government, I want a President who loves our people. I want a people who will walk the extra mile in the pursuit of peace. And I give you that man, if you will follow us, if you will work with us, if you will see to it that every voter is at the ballot box, you will have that man, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson.

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news release

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

FOR RELEASE: AMs
Sunday, November 1

B-3936

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

On Tuesday, the American people go to the polls. I would like to summarize the central issue of the campaign. Your choice is between the politics of responsibility and the politics of radicalism.

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

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

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

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

One of the ground rules which has been ignored flagrantly by the leadership of the Goldwater faction is that behavior of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States should reflect the dignity of these majestic offices.

--more--

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

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

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

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

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

We Democrats would feel guilty if we associated with the Communists, the Birchers, or the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, we expressly repudiated them in our platform. We discourage their votes.

The Goldwater faction has chosen not to repudiate the radical right--the American people must decide whether there is any guilt involved in this association.

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

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

But ~~he~~ is a decent private citizen, a man you would welcome as your neighbor, but he is clearly unqualified for the high office of President of the United States.

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

The answer, I think, is not hard to find. By every standard of American life, Senator Goldwater is a radical--and he preaches and practices the doctrine of radicalism.

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

He repudiates the bipartisanship in the conduct of our foreign affairs--a tradition established by Senator Arthur 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.

Take the Senator's shocking announcements that President John F. Kennedy had arranged the Cuban crisis in 1962 to win the congressional elections. Take the charge that President Johnson would manufacture a world crisis this fall for electoral purposes.

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

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

This distrust of our institutions and our leaders nourishes all the prophets of radicalism and extremism.

Listen to the testimony of Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the extreme right-wing Christian Nationalist Crusade, announcing his support for Senator Goldwater:

"He is a Godsend to America. For the first time since I have been a man one of the old parties has nominated a candidate for whom I have complete respect."

When Wendell Wilkie in 1940 discovered that Gerald L.K. Smith and others of his ilk were supporting him, he vigorously repudiated them. No man could fairly accuse Wendell Wilkie of nurturing extremism. In 1960, Richard Nixon similarly repudiated the support of Gerald L.K. Smith. But there has been no indication from the Goldwater leadership that such support is not welcome.

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

The Goldwater Party refused to repudiate a Society whose leader 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).

Robert E. dePugh, national leader of the Minutemen, a wild right wing group which trains its members for guerilla warfare, has said:

"(President Johnson) is a political opportunist who would sell the United States out to the Communists or anyone else who would pay his price."

His Minutemen, dePugh noted, "are as close to being 100% for Goldwater as it is possible for organization to be."

American politics has often involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this scale, or with such outrageous virulence.

These are not merely political attacks-- they are radical attacks on the survival and development of a free society.

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

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

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

At a time when human survival depends upon the exercise of responsible power, they encourage nuclear adventurism and shooting from the hip.

Events of the past two weeks demonstrate the need for a president who understands fully the destructive nuclear power which is

his to unleash. These events illustrate the need for a man in the White House who knows peace is not pursued through the rattle of rockets or the issuing of ultimatums.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The opposition is a loyal opposition. The government is a loyal government. Sometimes it may be mistaken depending on one's viewpoint, but nonetheless it is committed to those priceless ideals which we hold in common. This, ^{is} the faith which has sustained American democracy for almost 175 years.

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

Humphrey/ Learned Hand:

"...The spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women...the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten: that there is a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

This is the spirit which will cause Americans of all political persuasions -- Democrats, Republicans, and Independents -- to vote overwhelmingly for Lyndon B. Johnson November 3rd.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert Humphrey
Tucson Sports Center
Tucson, Arizona
1 November 1964

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Senator, my good friends, Senator Carl Hayden, and the new Senator-to-be from this great and beautiful State of Arizona, Roy Ellson, and your splendid Congressman that you will undoubtedly re-elect, Morris Udall; and that new Governor that we can hardly wait to take the oath of office in Arizona, Sam Goddard.

And may I add how pleased I am to be here with the great Democratic Party of Arizona, the party that has such wonderful leadership, that has given to the United States one of the greatest statesmen of our time, I think the outstanding member of the United States Senate over better than a quarter of a century.

I am honored and delighted to be in the city of Tucson, Arizona, and to salute the Senator's Senator, the best of them all -- Carl Hayden.

And just a brief word of greeting to an old friend that was our Majority Leader and one that we love so much, and one that worked so closely with our President. I refer, of course, to your former Governor, one of the great citizens of this State, Governor Ernest MacFarland. Ernie, it's good to see you again.

Also, just a word of greeting to Bob Allen and Lee Ackerman, who are doing such good work for our party here.

Well, I am delighted to be out in the good, fresh air of Arizona. I felt I owed you a visit, because one of your native sons came to my state to pay us a visit. This gentleman that came to Minnesota was cordially received, they say even enthusiastically, because in Minnesota people, as in Arizona, enjoy the privilege of a visitor, and they always extend to him the hospitality of a good neighbor.

I want you to know that when your junior Senator was visiting in the State of Minnesota, we gave him a great, big crowd, and we are going to give him many fewer votes on November 3.

Well, you know, I want to just talk to you a little bit about your campaign out here -- Senator Hayden. I have been asking a number of questions, and I find that your favorite son, the native son of this state, who is the nominee of the Republican Party, has been doing a little work around the country. Occasionally he has done some work for me. I want you to know how much I appreciate the fact that he has popularized my middle name. Until now no one ever called me Horatio. Now almost everybody calls me Horatio. And no one would have done this for me except my friend, the junior Senator from Arizona. And I want to thank him very much.

You know, I have been a bit puzzled about this campaign, because it is one of the most unusual campaigns in the history of our country.

I have been puzzled and I have been amazed at one aspect of the campaign. I keep asking myself about your distinguished Senator -- that is, the candidate of the Republican Party -- how does he do it, or perhaps the better phrase is why does he do what he does.

Now, I want to be quite frank with you. I am not here to in any way cast any reflections upon this son of your State. We are Senators, and when we are Senators we try to treat each other with the respect that is due that office.

But Senator Goldwater seems to have gone out of his way to chastize an awful lot of people in our country.

Now, I know that some of them need to be scolded, most of them in his party.

But the good Senator has gone out of his way to lecture the press, even to say a word or two to the clergy. He has had something to say about big business and little business, none of which was too complimentary.

He has given a verbal spanking to labor.

And he even tells off the minority groups.

Now, I can appreciate the Senator's candor, and I suppose he ought to be

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congratulated for it. But I must say I doubt his judgment, and I am not at all sure but what this has all the earmarks of a campaign that seems destined to be known as Operation Lost Cause.

Now, I had not really realized -- I had not quite realized until I touched down out here again at your magnificent airport at Tucson, and as I thought about coming back to this beautiful State that Mrs. Humphrey and I have visited so many times -- I had not quite realized just why the Senator was doing what he was doing. But I think now that I have found the secret behind Barry Goldwater's no-victory strategy.

Frankly, I do not really believe that he wants to be elected President. I think he would rather be far right than President.

I really believe that the Senator was quite sincere when he said he longed to come back to Arizona, and he longed to come back and to put on his riding boots, to get on his horse and ride across the desert. I don't blame him. I think it is a wonderful place and a wonderful State. This is one of the most beautiful States in all of the Union, and one that we all love to visit

I know that I don't need to say this to my friend Barry. He was born here. He has grown up here. You know what? I think he has had retirement on his mind for a long time. In fact, I think that deep down in his heart -- that deep down in his heart what he really wants to do is to come home. And I think we ought to help him.

So may I say in all charity and friendship, you good friends owe this to your native sone. He is a fine man. Return him to where he loves to live. 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is a very, very difficult place, and only one man in this time can live there, and he is from Texas.

Well, now, let me say that I have come to the conclusion that I am even a little more old-fashioned than my friend Senator Goldwater. I say that because I never believed t hat you could win an election by maintaining a constant position of saying no, no, no to everything that came before you. But I must say that the Senator is consistent. And may I add that the distinguished Senator, and the Senator from Minnesota, have at least two things in common. We both think that Arizona is one of the loveliest and most charming places in the world -- that is Number One. Number Two -- we both supported Senator Carl Hayden on the Central Arizona Project.

So let it be said that there is still some bipartisan charity, there is still this feeling of neighborliness and of togetherness. We are together at least on two of the most important items that face Arizona -- Number One, Arizona is a great place; Number Two, it will be better if you follow the leadership of Senator Carl Hayden.

And I might add it will even be better if you elect Roy Ellson to help Senator Carl Hayden and give him Sam Goddard as Governor.

Well, now, let me just say a word to you about the issues in this campaign.

I came here tonight at this late hour in the campaign to talk to you seriously about some of the great challenges and problems that cnfront this nation.

I said a moment ago that your Senator, that is your junior Senator, Senator Goldwater, had had a consistent position of opposition to certain programs and policies. I want to make it quite clear. A man surely is entitled to his point of view, and in the Senate every one of us respects the other man's point of view.

I want to say with equal candor that had the position of Senator Goldwater been followed in the Congress of the United States for the rest of America as well as Arizona, there would have been very, very little activity taking place on the Mississippi River, the M&ssouri River, the Columbia River, the Tennessee River, the Cumberland River.

I want to say with equal candor that the senior Senator from this State has understood that it is important to build all of America. Senator Hayden has given of himself to build each and every one of the fifty states of this Union.

I am pleased, however, to say that your junio Senator has seen fit to vote for one of the States of this Union in the Central Arizona project. But may I add t hat is not the way you get things done. You get things done by helping the

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other fellow as well as helping yourself. You get things done for your State by helping other members build their State.

You really get things done in America by building the whole country, all of it, and not just part of it.

I don't think that America wants to turn back. I cannot believe that this great West, which has such a great need of the cooperation of government, would want to turn its back upon a friendly government. I cannot believe that a part of America that has been benefited by one Democratic Administration after another would want to forget its benefactor. I cannot believe that the people of the West, of the Southwest, will ever forget that it was Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy that helped build this part of America by their policies.

And I do not think that you are going to forget that it is no way to build a better America to say no to improve social security, or at least to say that social security ought to be voluntary and thereby weaken it.

You cannot build America by saying no to education at a time when our school rooms are inadequate, at a time when our youthful population is growing rapidly.

You cannot build a better America by saying no to a carefully worked-out tax cut designed to help America wage earners, American business, and the American consumer.

And you do not build a better America by saying no to efforts on the part of this government to bring into some reasonable balance the arms race and to try to slow down the nuclear arms race.

My fellow Americans, America was not built, nor was it extended, nor was it enriched by people who said no. America was built and America moves forward when you have leadership that says yes.

The simple truth is that you cannot meet the complex problems facing this nation by running away from them or by throwing up your hands and saying no.

And you do not do a service to your country by pretending or by saying that government is the enemy of the people.

This government of ours is a government of the people and by the people and for the people. And this government has been a great source of strength and a great source of good for the people. And I submit to you that you need as a President someone that understands the meaning of partnership between the government and the people.

In the years ahead the American people are going to be faced with challenges and opportunities the likes of which we have never known before. And we are going to do something about these things.

We have for the first time the opportunity to banish hunger from the face of the earth. We have for the first time the opportunity to help every child realize his full capability through better education. We have an opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly.

This is not only an opportunity, my younger friends. This is a moral obligation on the part of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We have an opportunity to abolish poverty from this land and to abolish it from areas here in the State of Arizona, as well as the State of Minnesota.

And any people that are moral and anyone that preaches morality should first of all make up his mind that to wage war on poverty is a moral obligation of individuals and a democratic and free government.

Yes, we have an opportunity, my fellow Americans to win victory over war itself if we set ourself to the task.

Now, these are the goals of the administration of the man that I am privileged

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to represent on this platform. These are the goals of President Lyndon Johnson. And these are the goals of the Democratic Party. For these are the goals demanded of all people who have moral and religious convictions.

I submit that we cannot carry out these goals by a policy of negativism, by a policy of saying no.

We will carry out these goals under the affirmative and positive leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Now, my friends, as we conclude this evening, I want to make one thing further clear here in Arizona, something that I have stated from every platform across America.

I want to say here that I have never at any time cast reflection upon the loyalty, the patriotism, the sense of community spirit of the Senator from Arizona, Mr. Goldwater. I happen to think that he is a good man. I have known him in the Senate for twelve years. And I have found him to be an enjoyable colleague, a personal companion, a man who would make an excellent partner on a fishing trip. Yes, I say in all candor I would really love to have him as my neighbor, if I lived in Arizona. But I do not want him as my President.

I say this because I do not believe that Senator Goldwater has the necessary qualifications to assume the heavy burdens and responsibilities of the most powerful office in the world.

Electing a President is more important than picking a winner in a personality contest. Indeed, if I may say so, here in Arizona it involves more than just State pride, important as that is. State pride and a native son.

The choice of the next President is the choice that could decide the future, not only of this country, but perhaps the future of mankind. We are not selecting a President just for four years -- even though that is the term of his office. We are selecting a President for four years, yes -- but the decisions that he will make will affect the lives of people for years to come and generations yet unborn.

Therefore, this is a heavy responsibility, and it must be looked upon as a civic duty, indeed a civic burden, and sentimentality, love of native son and pride of native son is not adequate as a basis of qualification.

The central fact of our time is that we live in the nuclear age, and the central issue of this campaign is for Arizonans, for Minnesotans, for Americans everywhere -- the issue is which man is best equipped by intellect, by temperament, by training, and by experience to lead this nation through the constant dangers and the perilous times of the nuclear age.

I am very confident that the American people will ultimately, on November 3, the decision day in this Republic, place their trust in a man who has had the test of leadership, a man who has shown patience and prudence, a man who is responsible and understands the nature of power and the restraints upon the use of that power, and the importance of approaching our problems with reason, with moderation, and, indeed, with always responsibility.

It is because I believe that the American people take this question so seriously of the peace of the world, of the necessity of America leading this world in the paths of a just peace, of building the strength of America so that we can resist any enemy, and so that we can do the great work of pursuing the cause of peace -- it is because I believe that Americans are thoughtful citizens, because they love their country more than they love a political party, because they are patriots before they are partisans, because they are good citizens before they are just neighbors -- because they believe these things, I am confident tonight, but two days before this election, that the American people will do as our distinguished statesman in this State, Carl Hayden, will do -- I think the American people on November 3 are going to give the greatest victory that America has ever known in American political life to the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson.

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THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

Address of

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Tucson, Arizona

November 1, 1964

In his inaugural address, President John F. Kennedy offered a special pledge to the nations to the south of the U.S. to "convert our good words into good deeds in a new Alliance for Progress -- to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty."

Today the world knows and will long remember the change that resulted in this hemisphere because of this initiative.

This week as the members of the principal executive body for the Alliance, the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, meet in Washington, it is appropriate to note the progress that has been achieved during the past four years.

Let me just take you back a moment to the day four years ago when the American people went to the polls to elect the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Recall the outlook for peace in this hemisphere on that fateful day.

On that November election day in 1960, Fidel Castro was nearing the end of his second year of power. He was riding high. After confiscating more than a billion dollars worth of U.S. property, he had transformed that island into the first communist state in the Western hemisphere.

Yes, Mr. Castro was a confident man in those days. And I remember magazine articles which spoke of his dream of turning Latin America into a third world center of communist power, rivaling the hegemonies of Russia and China.

I remember too that one of Castro's lieutenants, Major Che Guevara, was boasting that the entire range of the Andes Mountains, running the entire length of Latin America, would soon become a new Sierra Maestra, the mountains from which Castro conquered Cuba. Nobody laughed.

Yes, there was great confidence in Havana in those days, and in Moscow as well. But outside of Cuba -- in Washington

and in most Latin American capitals -- there was disarray and confusion -- in some places even panic. Men were afraid and they sought an answer to their fears.

Today, we can say that those confident communist days of 1960 have gone forever, thanks to the resolute action of President John F. Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis. The dreams of glory, the call to revolutionary arms, have gone. Those Russian missiles have gone. And Castro's influence in the hemisphere is on the wane.

Only three months ago the ambassadors of the Organization of American States voted overwhelmingly to bring sanctions against the Castro regime, to break relations, to halt trade and communications.

I am confident that the tide of history will some day wash tyranny from those Cuban shores and restore freedom to the people of Cuba.

Far more significant than the Castro revolution in Cuba is the program of peaceful revolution represented by the Alliance for Progress. President Kennedy was aware of the revolutionary atmosphere bred by a shocking inequality between glittering capitals and festering slums, between booming industrial regions and primitive rural areas. In this atmosphere he knew that if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable. And he understood the plea of Pope John XXIII for those now blessed with this world's goods to assist "those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person."

I will not attempt here a complete discussion of the Alliance for Progress, of relations between the U.S. and its neighbors to the South. I have done this on previous occasions. I will note only several recent events of significance.

Under the Alliance, there has been new attention given to the needs of the people. Through U.S. assistance under the Alliance we have helped to build 222,000 homes; 23,400 classrooms; 554 health centers, hospitals and health units; 1,056 water systems. It has helped to make 207,000 agricultural

credit loans, produce 6,810,000 school textbooks; construct 2,900 miles of roads, train nearly 60,000 teachers and public administrators; and provide some 20 million people with food through the Food for Peace program.

President Kennedy realized that the success of his grand strategy for cooperation with Latin America, the Alliance for Progress, depended on more than economic development. He realized that for his policy to succeed, the Alliance must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development.

It must come to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of both the elite groups and the masses of Latin American people. It must have a mystique all its own, capable of inspiring a following.

President Kennedy himself was the symbol of the Alliance, the symbol of the hope and imagination which is needed. He realized that though we face grave economic problems in Latin America, these must be seen within a broader political context. It is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs, and raising material standards of living. What is more important is the problem of inspiring hope, of commanding the intellectual and emotional allegiance of those who will shape the society which includes both the elite groups and the popular classes. He realized that the hopes and expectations aroused could not all be satisfied in the immediate future -- nor need they be.

What can be accomplished in a material sense in a very limited period of time will always fall short of expectations. This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, and that there is sound reason for believing that the unmet material problems of society will be solved in the future.

This means, of course, that we must have both short-range socially oriented projects to give visible evidence of immediate progress, and long-range development projects which are essential to improving the condition of the society. President

Johnson supports this view. As a masterful political leader he is keenly aware that mere pragmatic economic programs are not enough. He has made it clear that his Administration supports the political, social and economic aspects of the Alliance for Progress.

There are some who have voiced disappointment in the Alliance for Progress, who have pointed to problems unsolved, to instability which persists, to inequality which continues. There are some who would abandon an imperfect instrument because they dislike an imperfect world. Such disenchantment is unwarranted. For it is unreasonable to expect the problems which have persisted for three centuries will be solved in three years. What is important is that substantial progress be made. And it has been made.

Three events of the past year illustrate the great advances that have occurred since 1960. In all three the forces of Communism and chaos have been defeated. They were defeated in Venezuela in December 1963, when President Leoni won the Venezuelan elections, succeeding the first President in Venezuelan history to serve out a full term in office. They were defeated in Brazil where Castro Communist infiltration failed to take over the Brazilian government. They were decisively defeated in September of this year in Chile where Senator Eduardo Frei and his Christian Democratic Party triumphed in the Presidential election over the Communist-Socialist candidate, Salvador Allende.

In all three instances progressive and reform-minded governments backing peaceful revolution have triumphed over the apostles of violent revolution. All three are moving to meet the unmet needs of their people. All three are intent on showing that individual burdens can be lifted if national burdens can be shared.

In addition to these three advances during the past year, we can rejoice over the increased interest in Latin America now displayed by some of our European friends. I have long believed that in our efforts to foster hemispheric unity, we should not define this in any exclusive sense that would

discourage a greater Western European contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of Latin America.

There are those who contend that we seek in this hemisphere only a "yankee" preserve. There are those who contend that the prophets of the old world will be heard only when the profits of the new world are secured. They are mistaken! We welcome the visit of General de Gaulle to Latin America. We welcome the expansion by France and her European neighbors of their involvement in Latin America, both in terms of long-range development assistance and cultural and educational exchange programs. We regard and welcome our European friends not as rivals for power but as partners for progress.

All those who understood and shared President Kennedy's vision of the unity of Western civilization will share our interest in further development of the ties which bind the new world -- north and south -- to the old.

The meeting this week in Washington of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress reminds us that we have not only launched an Alliance, but have established the means to transform the administrative machinery of the Alliance into a truly multilateral decision-making body. And it is an encouraging sign that our European friends have recently shown an interest in close collaboration with the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress.

In 1958, an American Vice-President was mobbed in the streets of Caracas. During the past four years, an American President was greeted with wild enthusiasm in Caracas, in Bogota and in Mexico City. We have progressed far in our hemispheric relations since Mr. Nixon's fateful tour.

President John F. Kennedy, when he came to the White House nearly four years ago, described Latin America as "the most critical area in the world." President Lyndon B. Johnson, when in a moment of national mourning he took the helm of this nation last year, said that second only to maintaining the peace and freedom of the world "no work is more important for our generation of Americans than our work in this hemisphere."

And President Johnson reaffirmed this commitment again this month when he stated in New York on October 14: "We will always give first attention to our close friendship with the people of Latin America."

A new spirit pervades hemispheric relations today because John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson brought not only new programs of aid, trade and investment -- but a new attitude toward our fellow citizens in the hemisphere.

The new era in relations between the United States and Latin America which President Kennedy opened -- and President Johnson continues -- is based on understanding and respect for Latin American people, for their culture and many of their traditions. It is based on an acceptance of Latin American people as equals and on a recognition that the U.S. has much to learn from Latin American nations.

During the past four years we have seen launched a new Alliance for Progress in this hemisphere. We have progressed. And progress we shall continue under the strong leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

one of our stewards
of Flagstaff
407
Aug

READING COPY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

NOVEMBER 1, 1964

Eddie Albert
Dan Foley

I agree with Barry on
Arizona + Central
Arizona

Yes,

This has been one of the most unusual campaigns
in our political history. And I have been puzzled and
amazed by one aspect of it---the campaign being waged
by Senator Goldwater.

How does he do it? Or perhaps the correct word
is why?

Maybe I'm more old-fashioned than my friend Barry,
but I never have thought you could win an election by
maintaining a constant position of saying "no--no--no--
a thousand times no."

But Senator Goldwater persists in saying:

*No to Social Security--or at least to Social
Security that isn't voluntary.

Arizona for FBI - Hayden

L *No to any aid for education

L *No to a carefully worked out tax cut to help the

American wage earner and American business.

L *No to any efforts to halt the arms race.

L *No to any step to halt the spread of nuclear

weapons.

We in the Democratic Party believe that you do not build a country by saying no. You do not provide for the future by saying no.

You cannot meet the complex problems facing this nation by running away from them or by throwing up your hands and saying no.

We Democrats are proud of our record of facing up to the problems of our time. Indeed, we do not look upon them merely as problems, but rather as challenges and opportunities.

In the years ahead the American people are faced with opportunities never offered any nation in the

history of the world.

↳ *We have the opportunity to win victory over
war itself.

↳ *We have the opportunity to banish hunger from the
face of the earth.

*We have the opportunity ^{to ~~help~~} ~~that will provide~~ every
child to realize his full capability.

*We have an opportunity to provide security and
signity to our elderly. This is not only an opportunity.

↳ This is a moral obligation.

*We have an opportunity to abolish poverty in
America.

These are the goals of the administration of
Lyndon B. Johnson. These are the goals of the Democratic
Party. For these are the goals demanded by all of our
moral and religious tradition.

and - We can carry out these goals by electing President
Lyndon B. Johnson.

< I want to make one thing clear here in Arizona--
something that I've stated repeatedly in my campaign
travels through ~~41~~ other states---that Barry Goldwater

is a good man. I have known him in the Senate for 12
years and I have found him an enjoyable colleague, a
personable companion, a man who would make an excellent
partner on a fishing trip. I'd love to have him as my
neighbor. But I don't want him as my President.

I say this because I do not believe Barry Goldwater
has the qualifications that are needed to assume the
awesome responsibilities of the most powerful office in
the world.

< Electing a President is more than picking the
winner of a personality contest. Indeed, if I may say so,
here in Arizona it involves more than just state pride.

Barry

11

in a native son.

∟ The choice of President is a choice that could
decide the future of this country and perhaps the
future of all mankind.

∟ The central fact of our time is that we live in
the nuclear age. And the central issue of this campaign
is which man is best equipped by intellect and temperment,
by training and experience to lead this nation through
the constant dangers of the nuclear age.

I am confident that the American people will place
their trust in a man who has had the test of leadership,
a man who has shown patience and prudence, a responsible
man who understands the nature of power and the importance
of restraint.

∟ I am confident the American people will place their
confidence in President Lyndon B. J hnson.

- Peace + Progress

✓ Alliance

✓ Good for Peace

- Peace Corps

✓ Arms Control

✓ UN

5 + 5th

TUCSON, ARIZONA

~~And as if this isn't enough,~~ Senator Goldwater seems to have gone out of his way to chastise and scold large segments of our society--the press, the clergy, business leaders, labor, and what he calls minority groups.

I appreciate his candor but have doubts as to his judgment.

All this has the earmarks of a campaign that seems ~~destined to be~~ *liberately designed to lose votes.* → *operation*

"Lost cause"

-2-


~~I'd like to give you my political analysis of the Goldwater behavior during this campaign.~~ *I hadn't realized it until I came back to your beautiful state--but now that I'm here, I think I've found the secret behind Barry's "No Victory" strategy.*

I don't think Barry Goldwater wants to be elected President. I think he'd rather be Far-Right than be President.

I think Barry Goldwater has one hidden slogan for this campaign--"Back to the Store in '64."

I believe Barry wants to return home to this wonderful state--and I say who can blame him. This is one of the most beautiful states in the nation, one of the most enjoyable, and one of the most captivating.

Barry Goldwater doesn't have to be told this. He was

born here. He grew up here.  And I think he has had retirement on his mind for a long time.

He knows that when he leaves Washington he will be able to devote full time to his hobbies in his beloved homeland. He will be able to improve and develop his exceptional abilities as a ham radio operator, an airplane pilot, a photographer and an expert on the latest mechanical or

electronic gadget for the home.

~~I think that~~ ^{yes,} deep in his heart this is what Barry Gold-
water really wants to do. He doesn't want to move to 1600
Pennsylvania Avenue. He wants to go home.

So I say to the people of Arizona--do a favor for your
native son. Return him to the land he loves.

October 28, 1964

Memo to Senator Humphrey

JER From John Rielly

Subject: Tucson speech

Attached is the text released for Tucson. We assume that you probably will not deliver much of this speech, as the platform probably is not suitable for it. However, it is the last opportunity to get it on the record. It has been released in advance and should get coverage in Monday's papers.

You probably will want to use your usual rally speech.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

Address of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

In his inaugural address, President John F. Kennedy offered a special pledge to the nations to the south of the U.S. to "convert our good words into good deeds in a new Alliance for Progress -- to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty."

Today the world knows and will long remember the change that resulted in this hemisphere because of this initiative.

This week as the members of the principal executive body for the Alliance, the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, meet in Washington, it is appropriate to note the progress that has been achieved during the past four years.

Let me just take you back a moment to the day

four years ago when the American people went to the polls to elect the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Recall the outlook for peace in this hemisphere on that fateful day.

On that November election day in 1960, Fidel Castro was nearing the end of his second year of power. He was riding high. After confiscating more than a billion dollars worth of U.S. property, he had transformed that island into the first communist state in the Western hemisphere.

Yes, Mr. Castro was a confident man in those days. And I remember magazine articles which spoke of his dream of turning Latin America into a third world center of communist power, rivaling the hegemonies of Russia and China.

I remember too that one of Castro's lieutenants,

Major Che Guevara, was boasting that the entire range of the Andes Mountains, running the entire length of Latin America, would soon become a new Sierra Maestra, the mountains from which Castro conquered Cuba. Nobody laughed.

Yes, there was great confidence in Havana in those days, and in Moscow as well. But outside of Cuba -- in Washington and in most Latin American capitals -- there was disarray and confusion -- in some places even panic. Men were afraid and they sought an answer to their fears.

Today, we can say that those confident communist days of 1960 have gone forever, thanks to the resolute action of President John F. Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis. The dreams of glory, the call to revolutionary arms, have gone. Those Russian missiles have gone. And Castro's influence in the hemisphere is on the wane.

Only three months ago the ambassadors of the Organization of American States voted overwhelmingly to bring sanctions against the Castro regime, to break relations, to halt trade and communications. I am confident that the tide of history will someday wash tyranny from those Cuban shores and restore freedom to the people of Cuba.

Far more significant than the Castro revolution in Cuba is the program of peaceful revolution represented by the Alliance for Progress. President Kennedy was aware of the revolutionary atmosphere bred by a shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between booming industrial regions and primitive rural areas. In this atmosphere he knew that if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable. And he understood the plea of Pope John XXIII for those now blessed with this world's goods to assist "those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger and who lack even the

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I will not attempt here a complete discussion of the Alliance for Progress, of relations between the U.S. and its neighbors to the South. I have done this on previous occasions. I will note only several recent events of significance.

Under the Alliance, there has been new attention given to the needs of the people. Through U.S. assistance under the Alliance we have helped to build 222,000 homes; 23,400 classrooms; 554 health centers, hospitals and health units; 1,056 water systems. It has helped to make 207,000 agricultural credit loans, produce 6,810,000 school textbooks; construct 2,900 miles of roads, train nearly 60,000 teachers and public administrators; and provide some 20 million people with food through the Food for Peace program.

President Kennedy realized that the success of his grand strategy for cooperation with Latin America, the Alliance for Progress, depended on more than economic development. He realized that for his policy to succeed, the Alliance must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development.

It must come to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of both the elite groups and the masses of Latin American people. It must have a mystique all its own, capable of inspiring a following.

President Kennedy himself was the symbol of the Alliance, the symbol of the hope and imagination which is needed. He realized that though we face grave economic problems in Latin America, these must be seen within a broader political context. It is not just a matter of

satisfying physical needs, and raising material standards of living. What is more important is the problem of inspiring hope, of commanding the intellectual and emotional allegiance of those who will shape the society which includes both the elite groups and the popular classes. He realized that the hopes and expectations aroused could not all be satisfied in the immediate future -- nor need they be.

What can be accomplished in a material sense in a very limited period of time will always fall short of expectations. This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, and that there is sound reason for believing that the unmet material problems of society will be solved in the future.

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both short-range socially oriented projects to give visible evidence of immediate progress, and long-range development projects which are essential to improving the condition of the society. President Johnson supports this view. As a masterful political leader he is keenly aware that mere pragmatic economic programs are not enough. He has made it clear that his Administration supports ~~both~~ the political, social and economic aspects of the Alliance for Progress.

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In addition to these three advances during the past year, we can rejoice over the increased interest in Latin America now displayed by some of our European friends. I have long believed that in our efforts to foster hemispheric unity, we should not define this in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater Western European contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of Latin America.

There are those who contend that we seek in this hemisphere only a "yankee" preserve. There are those who contend that the prophets of the old world will be heard only when the profits of the new world are secured. They are mistaken! We welcome the visit of General de Gaulle to Latin

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hemisphere."

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progressed. And progress we shall continue under the strong leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

#

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Airport Rally
Salt Lake City, Utah
November 2, 1964

Senator Humphrey: Thank you. Thank you. Well, thank you very much. My goodness. When that Ted Moss introduces you, he causes a lot of commotion around these parts.

First let me just say that this is a most unusual experience. I have addressed airport rallies, I have been inside of airplane hangars, I have spoken in garages, I have spoken in barns, I have spoken in parks, hotels, and arenas, and stadiums, I have never spoken inside an airport. And I think it is just about time it happened, and I am glad it happened on the last day of this campaign.

I am just delighted that it is possible for Muriel and myself to be here in this beautiful State of Utah, this marvelous City of Salt Lake. And may I say that I truly asked for the privilege of coming by here so that Muriel and I could say hello to two of the dearest friends that we have, and two of the finest people that ever came to the Nation's Capitol, two of the most dedicated people to the interests of our country and your state. And I guess you know who I mean. I am speaking of your own Senator, Frank Ted Moss, and his wife Phyllis.

Let me just say at this point that I am proud, proud of the campaign that Ted Moss has launched in Utah. I am proud that he has conducted his campaign in a sense of dignity and decency and honor,, because the State of Utah is a fine, decent, wholesome State, and America is a fine, decent, wholesome country.

And, I'd, if the price of political victory is to wallow around in the filth of the gutter, if the price of political victory is to injure another person's character, if the price of political victory is to act as if you had no character, then the price is too high, and we won't pay it.

I am proud to be on the team of President Johnson and Senator Moss, to men that have conducted themselves with dignity, with honor, with respect, and with humility. That is the kind of candidates and campaign that Americans should respect.

Well, I have a feeling that things are going to be mighty good in Utah. I have a feeling that the people of this great State are going to respect the quality of leadership which they have in their Senator, and the kind of campaign that he has conducted.

And may I say that the same thing is true of our candidate of the Democratic ticket for Governor.

When I was here on other occasions, I have been privileged to share the platform with Calvin Hampton, and I know that Calvin is going to win this election, because you are going to help him win it, and because President Johnson wants you to help him win it.

And in your first district, in your First Congressional District, you have one of the gifted men of your State, a gentleman that will make you a fine Congressman. He is here with us, and we are so proud of him, and I refer to your own William G. Bruhn, who will be your next Congressman from the First District.

And how wonderful it is to come back to Utah, and just to have the privilege of saying publicly again, that one of the fine friendships that has been privileged to come to me, a precious gift it is to share in that friendship, is the friendship of the candidate for Congress here in your Second District, one who has served you in the past, served you with such ability and integrity, is known as one of the most able men that ever entered public life. And I want to salute and compliment early on his coming victory, David King, your

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new Congressman.

Now, my friends, I am going to let you in on a secret. My Muriel has been just campaigning all over the country. We tease each other as to which of us has been in the most States. But she has been to Alaska, and she has been to Hawaii. And, my, the election must be close in Hawaii, because she spent several days there. She tells me that she had to work so hard campaigning island to island, beach to beach.

But, anyway, let me say that Muriel and Hubert Humphrey have found America just where we thought it would be. We found it beautiful, we found it interesting, we have found it active and vital, and, above all, we have found it Democratic, going to vote for President Johnson.

Ted, and my fellow candidates, I have such respect for your city and your State, and because this is the final night of the campaign, I thought that I would speak to you for a little while very seriously, and I hope in a manner that is worthy of your attention and worthy of your respect.

Truly, the shouting and the campaigning is really over. Now we come down to that point where we must make the great decision, the decision not only of a President, but the decision, if you please, of the future of our country.

When we elect a President this time, we don't only elect him for the next four years, which is his term. But actually we are making a decision about a President whose decisions, his decisions, will affect the lives of the people of America for decades to come. Yes, generations still unborn will be affected by what the next President of the United States does.

We are a great country. We have heavy responsibilities. And, therefore, whoever we select as our President will be the most important figure in the life of this world -- not just this nation. That is why I think that we are right in asking for sober, thoughtful consideration of this candidate or of these candidates and their programs.

You know, there have been totally different views of America expressed by our two candidates for President. One of them, President Lyndon Johnson, has held out before you and me the vista of a new, stronger, freer -- an America where its people are more unified than any time in all of our history.

The other gentleman, Senator Goldwater, has painted for us a picture of a startling different America, a land, in his mind and words, of bitter and discontented men and women, yearning for the past, resentful of the present, fearful of the future.

But the real world and the real America that you and I know is not at all what Barry Goldwater believes it to be. The ugliness and the hopelessness, the sheer mis-~~yof~~ of Mr. Goldwater's America lies, my friends, in the eye of the beholder.

The real America, the America which you and I know, the America that Ted Moss knows, the America of President Johnson and the Democratic Party, is what it has always been, and with God's help, and with your help and your vote on November 3 thus it shall ever be.

No fairminded person, looking about America in 1964, can fail to see that the citizens of this land, this land of the free, have more freedom than any people in any land at any time in the history of the world. And under our late and beloved President John Kennedy, and now President Johnson, I think that we have taken long and purposeful strides towards that new birth of freedom which men and women have always sought but never truly captured.

The people that say that we have lost our freedom -- and we have heard

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November 2, 1964

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that -- apparently have a very personal weird definition of what freedom means, because, you see, freedom is not merely the absence of restraint. Freedom in America is not negative. Freedom to the American people is a positive force. It's perfectly true, you know, that back in the year 1890 every young person had freedom to go to college except they didn't have the income, there were not enough colleges, and there was not enough money, either in the public or private resources, to send them to college.

So the freedom of 1890 that was available to everyone to go to college meant absolutely nothing.

Today, however, today in the 1960's, the last count being in 1960, some 30 out of every 100 young men and women in America enter and go to an institution of higher learning.

I ask the question -- which generation has the greater freedom? The generation that seems to be worshipped by Mr. Goldwater of the 1890's, or the generation of today, where young men and women can aspire to learning, to professional life, to better living -- or was the greater freedom with those who knew not a college, knew not the pleasures of modern culture.

There are more schools today, more classrooms, and many more colleges. So who has the greater freedom -- your great grandfather, who had no real chance to go to college, or you today?

I think I may say to the young people that the answer is pretty obvious.

So let me ask this question again. Who has the greater freedom -- the worker that slaved in a sweatshop at starvation wages 50 years ago, or the man who today gets a fair and decent wage, a 40 hour week, and fair labor standards, the man who today, because of his union and because of the sense of good management has a chance for a good living for his family. I think the answer is obvious.

Who has the greater freedom -- your grandfather, who if he were the victim of some financial disaster, and no one was there to help him, was shunted off into what we used to call the poor farm, or your grandfather today who has what Mr. Goldwater sneeringly refers to as a number, on his social security card? No freedom except the freedom to starve, the freedom to live in abject poverty. The freedom to be the subject of scorn, of neglect and of ridicule.

Yes, my fellow Americans, this Senator tells you that we are freer than ever before, and that our freedom really means something in our personal lives. We have freedom to move across this country, we have freedom to change jobs, freedom to change residence, freedom to even change our vote, as millions of Republicans are going to do in this election.

I am proud to say tonight, and I say it with a deep sense of gratitude, that we have begun to create in this beautiful America of ours the conditions under which mankind can enjoy the fruits of his labors at leisure, with peace, and with dignity.

You know, we keep hearing these days what is wrong with America. Oh, my, if we only listened to it all the time we would be the victims of some sort of neurosis. Let this man tonight that is speaking to you tell you a little bit about what is right about America, what is good about this country -- just a little slice, if I may, for a moment.

I will tell you what is good. We are riding the crest of a wave of unequalled and unparalleled prosperity, and we ought to be prayerfully grateful to a beneficent and kind Divine Providence and a great government and a great country.

Airport Rally
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We are today enjoying economic growth at a continuing rate that is nothing short of phenomenal. And you take shares in it.

We ought not to complain or be bitter. We ought to be prayerfully grateful.

Unemployment is down. More Americans are at work than ever before at good wages. And we are approaching the day when every able-bodied man and woman that wants to work will be able to find a gainful outlet for their energies.

I will tell you what is good about America today. We have more of our young people in high school and elementary school and institutions of higher learning than ever before in the history of this nation. We have healthier young people, brighter young people, more creative young people, than ever before. And this Senator doesn't happen to believe that the youth of this generation is debased. This Senator believes that this youth, this younger generation of ours is the most gifted, the most active, the most creative younger generation in the history of this country.

Yes, we live longer, and we live better. We eat better. And we dress better. We have more and better housing, more recreation, better health, better opportunities than ever before. Why don't we hear more about that in the campaign instead of always the voices of doom and gloom, the kind of visible outlook upon America which indicates that the person who beholds it has a beam or mote in his own eye.

We have more of the comforts and fewer of the hardships, more of the luxuries and fewer of the burdens than any other people in all of history. And for this I say America should be grateful and we should at least attribute a part of it to the partnership between government of the people, by the people, and for the people, with the people, together, government and the people, that the government representatives, have created in America a society the likes of which no other nation in all of history has ever known. This has happened in our time.

But I do not want to now conclude this message merely on the thought of materialism, because there is something really unique about the civilization that we are building for ourselves and our children. It is not our unprecedented level of prosperity. If history is to reserve a place of honor for this generation, it will be for a bolder and a more enduring contribution. And that contribution, my friends, is the spirit of public morality.

Now, I have chosen my words very carefully and advisedly.

The ethical conduct of the highest order in which a President or a Senator can engage, the most fundamentally moral course which an administration or a public official can pursue is to assure the right of every individual to achieve all of which he is capable. In other words to make the institutions of government work as a partner in the unfolding of the capabilities and the talents of God's finest creation, man himself. And this is what we mean, my fellow Americans, when we talk about human dignity.

Human dignity is just that because it carries with it the spark of infinity.

And the duty of government, the duty of moral man, is to see to it that the capabilities of God's children are permitted to be unfolded, released, emancipated, and realized.

To me, this is what I call public morality, because it means that we are trying to give life and meaning to the most precious form of life, human life. And what should be the duty of a government of the people, by the people,

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and for the people, except to help make life more beautiful, to help it make life richer and fuller and more meaningful -- not only for the individual, but for the entire community. And I say on this platform tonight that this has been the goal of our President. It has been the objective of this Republic. It was Lincoln's objective. It was Wilson's objective. It was Roosevelt's objective. It was Mr. Truman's -- yea, Mr. Eisenhower's, and President Kennedy's objective.

The protection of and indeed the safeguarding of the element called human dignity.

In the white heat of this demanding standard, everything, everything else melts into insignificance. And by that standard no period in our history has been more nearly captured, has more nearly captured the spirit of public morality than the last four years -- for that spirit, the hallmark of a civilization in full flower, has been the distinguishing characteristic of every significant achievement of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. Listen to these building blocks of public morality.

We passed a poverty bill, an economic opportunity act to help lift up those unfortunate among us who have been cast aside in the onrush of a changing society, and through this legislation, working with churches and voluntary groups, and working with citizens and local and state communities, we are on the road to seeing those unfortunate victims of a rapidly changing society, placing them back on the road to useful lives.

Isn't that being moral?

We have passed a Civil Rights Bill to help lift from the lives of millions of our fellow Americans the indignity and the humiliations that have been heaped upon them because they had to suffer second-class citizenship.

I say to this audience if ever in my public life I have ever done anything about which I can feel some noble pride, it is the fact that I had the privilege of working with your Senator, Frank Moss, and others like him, to see to it that in America there is equality of opportunity and there is just one kind of citizenship, American citizenship.

Yes, we passed a nuclear test ban treaty to help lift the world from that tense and oppressive climate of a black cloud of fear and radioactive fallout, a cloud which had distorted tomorrow's hopes, just as it had multiplied today's fears. And your Senator, Frank Moss, was in the vanguard of that fight. No greater act could a man perform for mankind than to see to it that by his vote he spared humanity from death and destruction and disease through nuclear testing.

My fellow citizens, we created a Peace Corps, we created a Peace Corps to lift our eyes towards a higher destiny, and a richer life for those that needed our help. And you know that in helping others, primarily through our young people, we have been able to help ourselves.

So let me say, with President Johnson, we know that the great society that he speaks to us about, and that is his dream, the great society is not a safe harbor, it is not a resting place, a final objective or a finished work. It is a challenge, constantly renewed, beckoning us towards a destiny where the meaning of our life matches the marvelous products of our labor.

What challenges lie before us? We must, of course, labor unstintingly to eliminate inequality of opportunity, wherever it may be. But we must never restrict our vision solely to the acquisition of material possessions.

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Where there is poverty of the spirit or sterility of culture, the freedoms which mark the fulfillment of the aspirations of free men will not flourish.

We must labor, my fellow Americans, in the years ahead to improve the quality of our life. We must expect culture to be the portion of every man, a robust enjoyment of the pleasures which education and art and the creative use of learning can bring.

Yes, let me lift my eyes to the horizons, and look ahead rather than to look back into the depths of a distant past.

We must build our cities -- yes, in fact we build many of them to provide a place where man's life can unfold amidst an exciting and stimulating environment. The air will be pure. This should be our dream, and the spaces between building will not be the asphalt jungle, but will be green. Our mammoth cities must not be permitted to dwarf the human spirit. They must permit the richness of city life to be lived on a truly humane and human scale.

Every person must have access in the days ahead to the finest education available. And he must be encouraged to develop his abilities to the fullest.

In all that we do we must encourage a rich flowering of our individualism.

Listen to what Woodrow Wilson said: "I believe in democracy, because it releases the energy of every human being."

That, my friends, is what we are trying to do. And that is what we have been doing. And that is the commitment of President Johnson and of Hubert Humphrey and of Frank Moss for future generations. That is the ethical, moral path that we must follow. And it is the ethical and moral path that we have followed under the leadership of John Kennedy, and will continue to follow under Lyndon Johnson. It is the path in which a government of the people and by the people and for the people will act like the people. And I say to this audience that it is good and just for people, as individuals, to be humane and compassionate. If it is right and proper for people as individuals to love one another and to believe in human brotherhood, then I ask you why is it not right and proper for a government of the people and by the people and for the people to act exactly as we would expect individual citizens to act in respect to people.

The great society of President Johnson, and the commitment of this party and of this administration that I am privileged to represent here tonight rests upon the spirit which moved a poet of ancient times to write these meaningful words: "Not houses, finely roofed, or the stones of walls well builded, nay, nor canals and dockyards make the city, but men, able to use their opportunity."

That is the city. That is the country that we have been building -- the country not of walls, not of docks, not of canals, not even of roads and businesses. But the country where there is equality of opportunity, where there is creativeness in which the human spirit is enriched. And I ask this audience tonight, as I leave you, before you and your neighbors make the fateful decision of electing the President of the United States, I ask you to help us build this better and greater society, this better America. The job has been well started, but it is far from completed. And only the children of hope and light can see the way and find the way to do the job.

Join us in building. Join President Johnson. Join your own Senator Frank Moss, join David King and join Mr. Bruhn, and join others who believe in tomorrow, who understand the hopes of the future. Join with them, give them your helping hand to help build a better America for ourselves and our children.

Thank

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
NOVEMBER 2, 1964

FOR RELEASE TUES. A.M.s
NOVEMBER 3, 1964

I have often reflected during the last two months on the totally different views of America expressed by the two candidates for President.

Lyndon Johnson has held out before us a vista of a nation stronger and freer, a people more unified than at any time in all our history.

Barry Goldwater has painted for us a picture of a startlingly different America--a land of bitter and discontented men and women, yearning for the past, resentful of the present, fearful of the future.

But the real world, the real America, is not at all what Barry Goldwater believes it to be. The ugliness, the hopelessness, the sheer misery, of Goldwater's America lies in the eye of the beholder.

The real America, the America which you and I know, the America of Lyndon Johnson and of the Democratic party, is what it has always been. With God's help--and with your help on November 3--thus it shall ever be.

No fair-minded person, looking about in the America of 1964, can fail to see that the citizens of this land of the free have more freedoms than any people at any time in the history of the world. And under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson we have taken long and purposeful strides toward that "new birth of freedom" which men have always sought, and never truly captured.

The people that say that we have lost our freedom apparently have a wierd definition of what freedom means.

Freedom is not merely the absence of restraint. Freedom is not negative. Freedom is positive.

(MORE)

It is perfectly true that back in the year 1890, every young person had freedom to go to college, except they did not have the income, there were not enough colleges, there was not enough money in the public or private resources. So that the freedom to go to college meant nothing.

Today, in the 1960's, the last count being in 1960, some thirty out of every one hundred go to an institution of higher education.

Who has the greater freedom?

And the choice. There are more schools, many more classrooms, many more colleges.

Who has the greater freedom? Your great grandfather, who had no real chance to go to a college, or you today? I think the answer is quite obvious.

Who has the greater freedom? The worker that worked in the sweatshop at slave wages fifty years ago, or the man today that gets a decent wage and a 40-hour work week, and some fair labor standards? I think the answer is quite obvious.

Who has the greater freedom? Your great grandfather or grandfather who, if he were the victim of some financial disaster, and no one was there to take care of him, was shunted off to what we used to call the poor farm, or your grandfather that today has a social security card.

What freedom did he lose? No freedoms. Except the freedom to starve; the freedom to live in abject poverty; the freedom to be the subject of ridicule.

We have begun to create about us the conditions under which man can enjoy the fruits of his labors--at leisure--with zest--and in dignity.

We keep hearing what is wrong with America. Here is

(MORE)

Here is a small slice of what is right with America:

--We are riding the crest of a wave of unparalleled prosperity.

--Economic growth is continuing at a phenomenal rate.

--Unemployment is down; more Americans are at work than ever before; and we are approaching the time when every able-bodied worker will find gainful outlet for his energies.

--We have more of the comforts and fewer of the hardships, more of the luxuries and fewer of the burdens, than any people in all of history.

What is unique about the civilization we are building for ourselves and our children? It is not our unprecedented level of material prosperity. If history is to reserve a place of honor for this generation, it will be for a bolder, a more enduring contribution.

That contribution, my friends, is the spirit of public morality.

I have chosen my words carefully and advisedly. The ethical conduct of the highest order in which a President can engage--the most fundamentally moral course which an administration can pursue--is to assure the right of every individual to achieve all of which he is capable.

In the white heat of this demanding standard, all else melts to insignificance. And by that standard, no period in our history has more nearly captured the spirit of public morality than the last four years.

For that spirit, the hallmark of a civilization in full flower, has been the distinguishing characteristic of every significant achievement of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

--We passed a poverty bill--to help lift up those unfortunates among us, cast aside by the march of progress

(MORE)

and set them back on the road toward useful lives.

--We passed a civil rights bill--to help lift from the lives of millions of Americans the indignities and humiliations of second-class citizenship.

--We passed a test-ban treaty--to help lift from the world the tense and oppressive climate of a black cloud of fear and radioactive fallout--a cloud which had distorted tomorrow's hopes as it had multiplied today's fears.

--We created a Peace Corps--to lift our eyes toward a higher destiny and a richer life for those we help--and, in helping others, for ourselves.

But we know that "...the great society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

What challenges lie before us?

We must, of course, labor unstintingly to eliminate inequality of opportunity wherever it may exist. But we must never restrict our vision solely to the acquisition of material possessions.

Where there is poverty of the spirit--or sterility of culture--the freedoms which mark the fulfillment of democratic man will not flourish.

We must labor to improve the quality of life. We expect culture to be the portion of every man--a robust enjoyment of the pleasures which art and the creative use of leisure can bring.

We must build our cities to provide a place where man's life can unfold amidst an exciting and stimulating environment. The air will be pure and spaces between

(MORE)

buildings will be green. Our mammoth cities must not dwarf the spirit--they must permit the richness of city life to be lived on a truly human scale.

Every person must have access to the finest education available--he must be encouraged to develop his abilities to the fullest.

In all we do, we must encourage a rich flowering of individualism.

"I believe in democracy," said Woodrow Wilson, "because it releases the energy of every human being."

That, my friends, is what we have been doing. And that is our commitment to future generations.

That is the ethical, the moral path we have followed under the leadership of John Kennedy and will continue to follow under Lyndon Johnson.

That path, illuminated by the insight of history and bounded only by the limits of our own vision, leads straight to the great society.

For the great society is, before all else, a society which exists in the hearts of men.

The great society of Lyndon Johnson and of the Democratic Party rests upon that same spirit which moved the poet of ancient times to write:

"Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well builded, nay nor canals and dock yards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity."

That is the city we have been building. It is far from complete. Join us in building it. Join us in building the world's first Great Society.

Cal Rampson - Gov
David King -
Bill Brown

SENATOR:

Frank Wilkins
Lucy Redd
Phyllis Ted Moss
Son Ed

These are statements quoted in the press release.

HUMPHREY SAYS WEST WILL REJECT GOP POLICY
OF 'NO NEW STARTS' BY ELECTING JOHNSON

No New
Starts

The people of the West will reject a return to the
Republican policy of "no new starts" by an overwhelming vote
for President Johnson and the Democratic ticket this fall.

Let us
Begin

The people of the West see the Johnson Administration as
a "symbol of the spirit of the West--prudent, progressive
and courageous."

President Johnson is a true son of the West who under-
stands its problems and its pioneer spirit. And unlike some
sons of the West he is not childishly obsessed with the
past, nor does he want to return to the days when you shot
from the hip and prepared for an enemy attack by gathering
the wagons around in a circle.

West - future
no new starts - or Let us Begin

19th Century Westerner

- 2 -

L President Johnson is a 20th Century Westerner. He fully understands the needs of today and is concerned about doing something to solve the problems of tomorrow."

"President Johnson knows that water is the most serious problem the West faces. Furthermore, everyone knows he is a public official who looks upon water as a national concern-- not just a problem affecting one particular state.

and We have in President Johnson a man who understands the urgency of reclaiming our land and developing our natural resources--not just for the benefit of a few, but for all the people.

We have in President Johnson a man of prudence who knows the difference between phony cries of 'fiscal responsibility' and the need for wise investment. It is easy to cry "no, no, no." And it is easy to shout "we can't afford it."

But the prudent man looks beyond glib slogans and examines the problem. He knows that we must continue to make investments in developing the resources of our people and our country if we are going to continue moving forward.

This investment for the future is particularly vital here in the West. The people of the West ^{know} realize that

the investments made by the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations in land reclamation, irrigation, flood control, water development and power provided the economic foundation for the booming economy the West now enjoys.

We all go up together
- 4 -

The people of the West realize that they cannot afford to return to another period of Republican control when we had eight years of the disastrous "no new starts" policy.

And the people of the West realize that the Goldwater policy would be disastrous not only for the West, but for all the nation. Our late President Kennedy had a habit of drawing on his Navy background to emphasize his

points. He was fond of saying that "a rising tide lifts all boats" and he pointed out four years ago in Cheyenne:

JFK said

"If we are moving ahead here in the West, if we are moving ahead in agriculture, if we are moving ahead in industry, if we have an administration that looks ahead, then the country prospers. But if one section of the country is strangled, if one section of the country is standing still, then sooner or later a dropping tide drops all the boats..."

The election of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket "brought
an end to the policy of no new starts in the West and put in
power a can-do administration that sparked a rising tide of
prosperity in all of the nation. (Prosperity)

I am confident that the people of the West will reject
a return to the Republican policy of "no new starts" by
giving an overwhelming vote to President Johnson.

I am also confident that the people of Utah will
give an overwhelming vote to the "Mr. Water" of the U.S.

Senate--Frank Moss.

Mr Water - Master

Red
Moss has played a key role in helping the Kennedy-

Johnson Administration enact a program of development for
the West.

Water Master

Sen. Moss is the chairman of the Subcommittee on

Irrigation and Reclamation of the Interior Committee--

one of the most important ^{Resource} ~~water~~ posts in the U.S. Senate.

~~He pointed out~~ ^{Senator} Moss also is chairman of the Special Subcommittee

on Western Water of the Public Works Committee--a group

that has the responsibility of working out long-range programs

to insure adequate water supplies for the West.

Frank Moss is a man who knows the difference between

"fresh water" and "gold water."

Patriotism & Efficiency
conservation + Exploitation

Gold-Water = NO

Fresh Water = YES

Moss has acquired considerable seniority during his first term as Senator--halfway up the seniority ladder on both the Interior and Public Works committees. We have watched Frank Moss grow in the Senate and we look forward to six more years of leadership from this able spokesman for the West.

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CONSERVATION FACTS AND FIGURES

Pollution--Congress almost doubled a program of grants for building sewage treatment plants under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. The measure raised the authorization to \$80 million in fiscal 1962, to \$90 million in fiscal 1963, to \$100 million in fiscal 1964 and in each of the following three years. It also strengthened federal authority to seek abatement of pollution in navigable waters.

PUBLIC POWER -- A \$13.7 million starting authorization was approved to build government transmission lines from three hydroelectric plants in the Upper Colorado projects to major market areas. Republicans had supported construction by private utilities who would build the lines and "wheel" the federally-generated power for a fee to be paid as long as the lines were used. Congress also approved construction and operation of electric generating facilities at AEC's plutonium-producing atomic reactor at Hanford, Washington.

This is a giant stride in use of nuclear energy to produce electric power.

FOREST LANDS -- The Congress went along with President Kennedy's request to "improve the productivity of our nearly 500 million acres of commercial forest land" by boosting appropriations for the Forest Service from the \$154 million figure of 1960 to \$208 million in 1961. This higher level of support has continued. This has enabled the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to expand a program of preservation, restocking cutover areas, and improve management and fire prevention. In addition, 280,000 small woodlot owners are now receiving technical assistance and loans and the federal government has stepped up research into new uses for waste wood products.

Recreation -- The Congress this week passed a bill establishing a Land And Water Conservation Fund, to be used for matching grants to the states and for appropriations to such agencies as the Forest Service, the National Park Service and the Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife. Grants to the states would be on a matching basis, with the federal share up to 50 per cent. Congress would have to clear expenditures from the fund by federal agencies.

The fund would be derived from (1) surplus real property sales by GSA, (2) proceeds from federal motor boats use tax, and (3) admission and user fees paid by those who use outdoor recreation areas and facilities provided by the government. These fees total about \$6 million a year now.

Congress has established three national seashore areas (27,000-acre Cape Cod in 1961, Point Reyes National Seashore in California in 1962, and Padre Island National Seashore in Texas in 1962);.....a new historic site (Sagamore Hill National Historic Site in New York state), and authorized establishment of public recreation facilities in fish and wildlife conservation areas maintained by the Department of the Interior. It also provided incentive payments to farmers diverting cropland to recreation-conservation uses and federal loans to farmers developing recreation facilities. It amended the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act in 1962 to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to share in the cost of land acquired by local organizations for public fish, wildlife and recreational development. It accelerated the development of national multiple-purpose forest roads and trails.

(In addition the House passed this month and sent to the Senate an administration-backed bill to establish a Land and Water Conservation Fund to permit the states to plan, acquire and develop outdoor recreation facilities and permit the Federal Government to acquire recreation areas.

WETLANDS-- Action was completed in 1961 to authorize an additional \$105 million to acquire "wetlands" to preserve ducks and other migratory waterfowl. It set a goal of 12.5 million acres the Fish and Wildlife Service feels is essential to preserve migratory bird population. It okayed bills in 1962 to protect wetland refuges in North Dakota, South Dakota and Minnesota.

Water Projects -- In 1962 Congress authorized two major projects--San Juan-Chama in New Mexico and Fryingpan in Arkansas. In addition it approved a \$2.3 billion water projects bill, the largest since World War II. This authorized 199 river, harbor, flood control and beach erosion-control projects to be undertaken by the Corps of Engineers in 44 states and Puerto Rico. This also approved three major dam projects for the Columbia River Basin (but without authorization figures).....They are Asotin Dam on the Snake River in Idaho and Washington, the Bruce Eddy Dam on the North Fork of the Clearwater River in Idaho, and the Cascadia Dam on the South Santiam River in Oregon. In 1963, a compromise finally was reached on the River Basins Authorization Bill which involves multiple-purpose dams involving federal electric power.

WILDERNESS -- Congress appears now to have provided one of the biggest conservation gains in the nation's history: establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System of about 9.1 million acres (6.9 million already classified as "wilderness"), (1.3 million classified as "wild"), and (886,673 of "Canoe" country). It will permit the Secretary of Agriculture over a 10-year period to review "primitive" national forest areas (5.4 million acres) and the Secretary of the Interior over the same number of years to review roadless national park areas (estimated 22.1 million acres) and wildlife refuges and game ranges (estimated 24.4 million acres) and recommend their inclusion or exclusion from the wilderness system.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS -- The Senate in 1961 approved a treaty with Canada, signed earlier in the year, for joint development of the Columbia River over a 60-year period.

URBAN AREAS -- Congress authorized \$50 million in 1961 for use of State and local agencies to enable urban areas to acquire open spaces and make long-range plans for both future expansion and control of blight.

ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS -- This program has greatly improved and expanded the recreation and tourist facilities of our national parks and forest areas with new roads and new campsites to handle increased visitor pressure.

ADMINISTRATION -- The Kennedy-Johnson Administration established a Water Resources Council to provide the national framework for long-range water resources planning. Congressional action is expected to put the council on a permanent and official basis. President Kennedy held the first WhiteHouse Conference on Conservation held in more than 50 years, focusing national attention on the problem's urgency. Also established was a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Interior Department.

This is a solid record of achievement but President Johnson considers this great work only a start. As he said in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1963 during a speech on the subject, "Billions of dollars are being siphoned off our economy through the economic loss of water pollution, inadequate soil conservation, and much else. It is fundamental that to sustain economic growth we must conserve and utilize to the fullest our resources.

###

Announcer. The following is a paid political program brought to you by the Utah State Democratic Committee.

In our studios tonight are the Democratic Vice-President Candidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey; Senator Frank Moss; and Congressional candidate David S. King and William G. Bruhn. We are also privileged to have Mr. Joseph Rosenblatt, Chairman of the Utah Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey Committee.

And now here is Senator Frank E. Moss.

Senator Moss. Good evening, my friends. We in Utah are delighted indeed to have Senator Hubert Humphrey with us tonight making the last appearance, his last appearance in this campaign.

We are honored in Utah that Senator Humphrey, the Vice-Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket is here with us in Utah. We were honored to have the President with us last week. And we think that we have indeed been favored to have these two outstanding candidates whom I am confident will be elected overwhelmingly tomorrow when the people go to the polls.

Tonight we just wanted to visit a little with Senator Humphrey. He has made a marvelous speech already on his appearance at the airport. And we wanted to talk with him a few minutes here tonight and get from him some feel for this campaign.

He tells me that he has been in about 44 of the states. His wife, Muriel, who is with him, has been in most of those states, they have travelled together and they have campaigned separately as well.

Senator Humphrey, your great experience, I am sure, would be of interest to our people. We know of your unflagging zeal, your hard work, your great eloquence. But I wonder what your opinion now, at the end of the campaign trail, is as to the real big overriding issue that you found on the minds of our people as you went around this great United States of ours.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Senator Moss, first may I say how happy I am to once again be in the beautiful State of Utah, in this very lovely and singularly, I think, fine city of Salt Lake City.

It is good to be with you and with our friends here -- Mr. Bruhn and Dave King and Mr. Rosenblatt.

I have just come away from a day-and-a-half of active campaigning in the Los Angeles-Southern California area. In fact, last evening I flew to Tucson, Arizona, where we had a very large, enthusiastic audience. And I have a feeling that Arizona is going to support President Johnson -- that is the general feeling of even an old hand at politics like the distinguished senior Senator Carl Hayden.

Senator Moss. Well, that would be a wonderful thing.

Senator Humphrey. I think it will -- I truly do.

Mrs. Humphrey and I have travelled throughout America in this campaign -- and when you said 44, that includes the states that she has taken and the ones that I did not. She was in Alaska and Hawaii.

We have seen a wonderful America. I wonder sometimes if we people really appreciate what a wonderful country we have.

I could not help but feel that there are two distinct views of America that have been projected in this campaign -- one, by President Johnson, of an America that is vital and growing and prosperous and yet fully conscious of its social responsibilities, a country that is united. And America is more united than ever. And a country that feels a sense of mission, too -- mission for improvement of our institutions here at home, and also for guarding and safeguarding the peace of the world and helping other people abroad help themselves.

Then there is the other view of an America that has been enunciated by so many

voices and by our opposition, of an America that is divided, that is corroded and corrupt and unhappy.

I don't think that is true. I don't think America is that way.

Of course, it needs improvement at all times. But it is basically a good country, and our people are good, too, Ted.

The central issue in this campaign, in light of our position in the world, because America has been blessed with wealth and power, and we are -- we have been a chosen people in a sense, we are blessed with great wealth and great luxury and tremendous production, an unbelievably productive field of our agriculture, and we have this heavy responsibility now for world leadership, to lead the free people in the standards of human dignity and honor and decency.

So the real issue in the campaign is which of these two men -- and indeed the platforms that they represent -- which of these two men is best equipped by knowledge of government, by personal temperament, by experience and background and knowledge of the world in which we live to best guide America during these perilous days, and to give leadership and direction to the free world in this nuclear age.

It boils down to just that difficult, complex issue.

The President of the United States is not just a leader of America any more. When we elect a President tomorrow, we are not merely selecting a President for the United States. We are selecting a leader for the entire free world.

Therefore, the decision that we make must take into consideration the world in which we live, the problems that beset this world, the challenges and the opportunities that are ahead of us, not only here in America, but throughout the world.

So I think the people are going to have to make that decision -- which of these two men do you believe is best able to guide our nation through these difficult days; to whom do you look for leadership; who do you trust; who do you believe can do the better job. I think that is about the way I look at it.

Senator Moss. That is a wonderful summary. And it does bring focus, I am sure, to what is the basic decision that our American people must make.

I am sure these other gentlemen would like to ask you some questions about the campaign, too.

Mr. Rosenblatt. Senator Humphrey, the business community is aware and fully recognizes that for the first time in a hundred years we have expansion without inflation, and we are aware that our free enterprise system is more secure today than it has ever been.

Would you comment on the position of President Johnson and yourself in understanding the need of maintaining and stimulating a favorable business climate.

Senator Humphrey. Yes, Mr. Rosenblatt. I believe that there has been a very constructive and wholesome development in the relationship between government and business. Where at one time there may have been suspicion between the two, there is now trust. Where at one time there may have been a kind of built-in hostility, there is now a sense of partnership.

President Johnson is a man that seeks to build in this country understanding and unity. I have never known anybody that is such a healer in the sense -- he seeks to bind up the wounds rather than to open them, he seeks to unit our people rather than to divide them.

I have been at the White House, sir, when he will have in members of organized labor and members of the business and financial community, and he does not put the labor people over in one room and the business people over in another. He brings them together. He says, "Look, we need each other".

The policy of this Administration relating to business and enterprise is one of great faith in our free enterprise structure, one of encouragement of management and

finance and of industry and commerce. It is one of asking our business community to take on this role of leadership at home and abroad in the matters of commerce and business.

We have acted in the spirit, too, may I say, of cooperation, with the tax cut bill which your Senator Frank Ted Moss took such a lead in, and in terms of the better depreciation schedules, the investment tax credit. We have moved in where there have been problems of distress and economic difficulty with public works and area redevelopment and other means -- Small Business Administration activities. We have not tried to take over. I don't think the role of government is to supplant, or to take over; it is to supplement, it is to encourage. It is to inspire, it is to help.

And this is not only true, of course, at home. It is true abroad, too, in the Foreign Trade Act. We have tried to do that.

So there is a good, wholesome, healthy relationship today, and we want to keep it that way. And with President Johnson I think we can do it.

Mr. Rosenblatt. In the local picture, there is one great industry that we have in Utah, probably of more importance to us than any other, because it has local ownership, and that is the sugar beet industry.

Now, we are aware, the business community here, of your very active work in supporting the sugar beet quota and in helping us very effectively in that.

What we would like to hear now is will you be able, as Vice-President, to continue to support and help us get an increased sugar beet quota.

Senator Humphrey. Well, let me tell you that we raise some sugar beets in Minnesota. And I have never been unmindful of the importance of this domestic sugar industry. In fact, I have worked very, very closely with the representatives of the beet industry, as you know -- in fact all the sugar industry here at the domestic level -- and worked with your Senator, Senator Moss, in the recent sugar legislation.

I am going to maintain that interest.

And might I add that the President once told me, earlier, right after I had been nominated, that he wanted me to sort of keep a watchful eye on agricultural matters for his Administration. Now, I suppose he will spell that out in some more detail. But I am sure of one thing -- that with Ted Moss down in Washington, and with Ted's friendship -- well, we enjoy a friendship -- that he will be knocking on my door in case there is any relaxation on my part. And I might add that Dave King and Bill Bruhn being down there, too -- it will sort of seem like there is a general raid upon me if I don't do something.

To be serious about it, we are going to protect the domestic sugar industry. When I say protect it, I mean we are going to give the domestic sugar producer an opportunity to produce and have a good living and a good income, and to work with our -- of course, it is all related to the refining of sugar, too. And you can rest assured that we will be on guard for adequate acreage, adequate quotas, so that we will not have to make these cut-backs.

We cannot afford to put America ever again into a position where the world market on sugar can exploit us.

I wonder how many people realize that with Cuba being now hostage, so to speak, to the Soviet Union, that Russia controls over 35 per cent of the total sugar production. And that means that she can dominate a market, a world market, unless we take care of our domestic industry. And we are going to take care of it -- rest assured of it.

Mr. Rosenblatt. Good, very good.

Mr. King. Senator Humphrey, there is one objective on which all Utahans can agree -- Democrats, Republicans, independents, everybody, and that is the creation and the stimulation of more industry. The problems is particularly acute in Utah because we do have such a large percentage of our population dependent upon missile industry and on the federal payroll, surprisingly. And where there is a slight phasing out or diminution of a particular program, it does create a hardship.

So would you discuss for a few moments what the Democratic program can do to help Utah stimulate and expand its local domestic industry.

Senator Humphrey. Well, David, first of all, as you know, the development of what you might call the basic structure in your economy here is terribly important -- roads, highways, airports, rail, so that you have transportation. And when you were in the -- let's see --

Mr. King. 86th and 87th --

Senator Humphrey. 86th and 87th Congress, you remember we passed the road legislation in the 86th. We extended it again in the 87th. I must emphasize that we that live in the west -- and you are of course in the Rocky Mountain area and we are in the midwest -- we have always been more or less the victim of transportation problems.

Now, we are overcoming that with modern air transportation, we are overcoming it with these big super-highways. And we are able to overcome it, of course, with the improvement in all forms of transportation.

Then there is power, the development of your great water resources. And I want to say that this Administration, under President Johnson, who comes from an area that knows what it means to need water -- that this Administration is going to dedicate its energies and talents to the better development of our water resources.

I always call Ted here "Mr. Water", you know, when I get around him. He is always talking about water when he is down there in Washington. I told him "Come and get some of that out of our Minnesota lakes, we have a lot of water up there".

But water here for this great West is the lifeblood of the development of your commerce in fact, of the development of the area in any way -- in agriculture or industry. We are going to see to it that this development is forwarded and that it is given high priority.

The same thing is true of electrical energy -- because electrical power is tremendously important to the development of commerce.

And then, of course, finance and credit. And with our present fiscal policies, with the improvement of the tax structure, encouragement of private enterprise and improvement in terms of research and development in our private enterprise, in the tax structure, I think you are going to have other ways and means of bringing in new industry and new commerce into the area.

We are never going to permit the great Rocky Mountain West, this great area of America, to be a second-class economic area.

This area is the future. This is it. When I am here, and when I travel through this area, I fall in love with it, because it represents the vitality of the nation, and it is the future.

Now, you mentioned these defense-oriented industries. This is a problem -- because there are changes in weapons systems.

Needless to say, our country is going to stay strong. Let's make that crystal clear right now, so that any of these doubts that people may have had because of campaign oratory -- this America of yours and of mine is going to stay the strongest nation on the face of the earth until we are sure that peace is genuine and real.

But we may have changes in our weapons structure. So we have to be able to see to it that the government policy does not act so abruptly as to dislocate a whole community. And one of the things that we are doing under this Commission on Automation is to study the changes that come from arms reduction, or change in the armament pattern, so that we can move quickly with government programs that coordinate government activities with private activities to keep employment high, to promote and encourage investment.

I would like to say that the administration of Johnson and Humphrey, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, will be an administration that will demonstrate by deeds its respect and love for the west. I think we have a record of that as Senators -- when you go back over our record. I will say to my good friend, Senator Moss, that while I live in Minnesota, I have never failed to support a single program in the 16 years that I have served in the United States Senate that was of benefit to the economic development of these great western states.

Senator Moss. I can vouch for that. That is certainly true, Hubert.

Mr. King. I might add that the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Small Business Administration and others have been very helpful in Utah.

Senator Humphrey. I know they have. By the way, one of the gentlemen that came to visit me on this trip -- he was out doing some work for the Small Business Administration -- is the present Administrator, Gene Foley. He is from my home state, from Wabasha, Minnesota. We are close, intimate friends. And you know that there is new life that has come into the SBA. It is really moving out, now, to help the independent manufacturer and businessman.

And that Area Redevelopment can be very effective, particularly for states like this, and my state.

Senator Moss. We have this great Park City complex up here.

Senator Humphrey. You told me about that, of course.

Senator Moss. It is a marvelous thing. It is just growing and it has revitalized the whole town that was dying.

Senator Humphrey. Well, one of the programs, Ted, that we have up for the 89th Congress is the renewal and extension of Area Redevelopment. And I can tell you this -- if we lose this election, there will be no extension of it. That will be another one that will be vetoed.

If we win this election, and we know we will, and we know you are going to, the President will recommend to the Congress the extension of Area Redevelopment, and also the improvement of its activities.

Senator Moss. That is good news for us.

Mr. King. Senator, your mentioning the importance of water -- the Upper Colorado River Storage Project, and more particularly the Central Utah Project --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Mr. King. And of course they are keystones in the arch of our progress and prosperity here in Utah. And it goes without saying that the Utah delegation in Congress is going to have to push that mighty hard, and I am sure it will get a lot of encouragement from the Democratic Administration.

Senator Humphrey. Are you trying to tell me you have not been pushing it? I want to say that man for man, pound for pound, I have never seen people that work harder to get things done for their state than you people do, and you surely are entitled to get every consideration. And, David, I really look forward to your return to the Congress. I wonder if the people here realize how much you did for this State and your constituents.

Mr. King. I appreciate that.

Mr. Bruhn. Senator, just to turn the conversation a little, in my travels throughout the First Congressional District I find that many people have been extremely concerned about the conduct of the campaign. They have characterized it as the most bitter in the 20th Century. And I wonder just how you would characterize the moral tone of the campaign as conducted, sir.

Senator Humphrey. Well, this has caused me more heartache and concern than almost anything.

I have been in politics a long time, Mr. Bruhn. But I don't think I have ever gone through anything like this. I said this to you privately earlier this evening. Sometimes it makes you almost wonder if it is all worth it. And it doesn't need to be this way, because there are issues to discuss, very important issues to discuss.

But one of the real tragedies of American politics this year was that groups and individuals that really are out of the main stream of American life, who truly do not sense the heritage of this nation, have become active participants. The Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen, Gerald L. K. Smith, the John Birch Society.

Now, let's just think of what these people mean.

Richard Nixon in 1960, to his everlasting credit, repudiated the support of every one of those, openly repudiated them -- Ku Klux, the Gerald L. K. Smithers and all of them; said he would not have anything to do with them.

Wendell Wilkie, Republican -- I am talking now about Republicans -- every responsible Republican that I have ever known that ran for high public office has repudiated this support, as have Democrats. We ought to repudiate the Communists, they have no place in American public life. They are filled up with doctrinaire ideology, bitterness, hate, class consciousness, class conflict, no respect for human dignity.

Then on the extreme right are the others.

And these extreme leftists and these extreme rightists are all alike. They just wear different colored armbands. One has a red one with the hammer and sickle and the other has a black one, with whatever insignia he puts on it. They are the same breed. They are just fighting over who is going to dominate.

But when you have a John Birch Society that will call President Eisenhower the conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy, and make remarks about leading Americans, like the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, comments that are derogatory, that are really character assassination, and these people get on the front porch of American politics -- that is when you get what we have had here -- violence and bitterness and hatred.

And I must say that the one thing that disturbed me about Mr. Goldwater's campaign -- and I know the Senator. I am not saying that he is one of those that indulges in hate and all of that, because I know him as a loyal, patriotic man. I surely want to make no personal reference to him. But he has permitted these forces to gain front-line attention.

When the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan can sit on the platform with the nominee of a major political party in a campaign, there is something wrong. When Mr. DePugh of the Minutemen, one of the really fascist-type organizations in America, can say -- and they train their people for open guerrilla warfare, arm them -- when he can say he is 100 per cent for the candidacy of Mr. Goldwater, I say something is wrong.

There is this racial bitterness, this bigotry, this intolerance, this sense of hate and the poison that is poured into the American political bloodstream that is tragic. And we have got to stop it. We simply cannot indulge in this. And I say to you that people that really have a sense of morality and spirituality should not have any part of this.

You cannot be a hater, you cannot hate your brother and really believe in the things that we have been taught in our respective religions. There is no room for hate, it seems to me, in a democracy. There cannot be room for hate in the Judaic-Christian principles.

You just have to reject these people and you have to reject this doctrine. And I sensed it in this campaign to a point where it has been one of the most distracting and disturbing features of the whole thing.

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So I hope that this election will do something to put it aside.

Senator Moss. Well, I would hope so, too, Senator Humphrey. It has not only been this on the national level, on the national campaign, but it has broken out into the States. And we hear from our neighbors around, as well as a great deal of it here, that the campaign has been pitched on a personal and derogatory basis rather than discussing the great issues.

Now, you hear tonight very briefly have summed up with some eloquence some of the great issues of the campaign that we ought to talk about. And we hear in Utah feel very distressed and disturbed that the campaign has descended to the level that you have described on a national level.

Well, let me say again that we are just honored and pleased that you are here.

We would like to have you, if you would, just sum up for us a little bit, Senator Humphrey, on the remainder of the time-- my dear friend from my years in the Senate, I admire you so, and you have done such a tremendous job as our nominee for the Vice President, the campaign that you have carried, that our pride knows no bounds.

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am happy to be able to make my summary statement in Salt Lake City, because this is a city of high quality, in a state of high standards, moral standards, political standards.

I will complete my campaign here. This will be the final words of my -- of our campaign, as far as I am concerned.

One thing I constantly keep in mind is what Lincoln said about our country. He said that our government was a government of the people and by the people and for the people. And I think what he was really saying is that our government should exemplify some of the virtues of the people, because it is representative of the people. And I have always felt that if it was right and moral and proper for an individual to be concerned about his neighbor, when his neighbor is in trouble, to extend a helping hand when someone needs help, to be concerned about the sick and the hungry and the poorly clad, if it is proper for individuals to feel that way, then it is proper for government, because a government must exemplify justice. It must not only be efficient. It must not only be against some things. It must be for things.

Freedom must be positive. Government should open up as best it can opportunities, so that individuals then can make something out of their lives.

I don't expect government to take care of us, I expect government to help us take care of ourselves.

Now, the real test of statesmanship, gentlemen, in the days ahead, is whether or not we can pursue the path of peace. John Kennedy said that peace is a process, and he told us that it required great sacrifice and courage, selflessness.

I think the building of peace is almost like building of the great temple here. It took you many years to build the temple. I believe someone said about 40 years. And you had to build it block by block, stone by stone. It had to be put together with skill and craftsmanship and love and care.

Well, this is the way you build peace. You don't get peace by wishing for it. You didn't get the temple overnight. You don't get it because somebody says that there is evil -- there are evil forces at work, therefore we must have peace. You have to combat evil, you have to work for peace. And we have been doing that. We have been building for peace through our strength, our military strength, our economic strength, but through the Peace Corps, our young people, through bridges, cultural bridges of the many areas

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of the food, through Food for Peace, using food to feed the hungry and clothe the naked and help build economies, through the Alliance for Progress, through the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, we have been building for peace. We have been trying to get to know this world a little more and do a better job of leading the world to the paths of peace. And that is what this election should tell us.

Now, finally, may I just say that the American people have not only the privilege of voting; we have the duty of citizenship. And I ask the American people to join in this great expression of freedom called the vote, to write our own page in history, as I have said, and to help make the decision of electing a President that will be a decision that will affect your lives and your fortunes and your future. No greater privilege does a people have, and no greater responsibility than to be an American and to take on the responsibilities of American citizenship.

I want to thank you. I hope that your people here in Utah will turn out in huge numbers and cast the vote, and whatever the outcome, we will be satisfied.

Goodnight.

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Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

November 2, 1964
Los Angeles, California

President Johnson and the Democratic Party stand with pride tomorrow in asking for a vote of confidence from the American people. All segments of the American public are better off than they were four years ago when we came into power.

This is especially true of the Business and financial community.

We are now in the 45th month of uninterrupted prosperity -- the longest period in our history unmarred by recession or depression.

We have achieved an outstanding growth rate. Profits are at a higher level than ever before. More people are at work. And this progress has been achieved with stable prices and real increases in income.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration can rightly claim some credit for this unparalleled success. Think of

some of the contributions of the Kennedy-Johnson administration during the past four years to invigorate and spur our economic climate:

The 11.5 billion-dollar tax cut
investment in tax credits aid to small businesses.

We are now at the point that the old adage applies:
Nothing succeeds like success.

The opposition has been remarkably silent on this new era of successful, vigorous economic growth. The explanation is simple: The opposition doctrine forbids them from saying "Me Too" and so they can say nothing.

This Administration's success in promoting economic progress is reflected in our business statistics, but, more important, in the confidence of our business community and in the support of business leaders for President Johnson's election.

Republican business leaders and respected Republican

editors have joined in support of President Johnson,
because they want this new era of good feeling to continue.

~~Conclusion~~

The board of directors of a corporation would never
fire a successful executive, an executive responsible for new
heights of achievement. A successful executive would be
given an overwhelming vote of confidence. And President
Johnson deserves that vote.

We are not content with current levels of prosperity.
We can and must do better. America's problems at home and
in the world are tremendously difficult and President Johnson
knows a strong, vigorous, growing economy, is the key to
solving those problems.

President Johnson seeks to enlist the finest minds in
the business community to join him and his Administration in
creative cooperation to solve the looming problems of an
expanding and changing society.

A new Relationship Govt + Business

- ↳ Trust is replacing Suspicion
- ↳ Cooperation is replacing Conflict
- ↳ Hostility is giving away to mutual respect

- ✓ K - J. Adm. first Place, firm Adm. in Budgeting 9/63 without Recession or Depression
- ✓ 44 months consec. Prosperity + growth
- ✓ Consumer Prices up less than 4% since 1961
Other Countries 10 to 19%.
- ✓ Labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have fallen $3\frac{1}{2}\%$.
- ✓ Business - cut costs, avoid excess of inventory. new equip.

Govt + Business Partnership.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| ✓ Input Tax Credit | { | <u>Fiscal Policy</u> |
| ✓ Depreciation | | <u>Monetary Policy</u> |
| ✓ Tax cut | | <u>Budget - + Impact of Budget + Taxation upon the Economy.</u> |
- (over)

HOSTS

Just mm...

Charles R. Able -- Head of Missiles and Space
Division, Douglas Aircraft

J. L. Atwood -- President, North American
Aircraft

Daniel J. Haughton -- President, Lockheed

L. A. Hyland -- President, Hughes Aircraft

Jesse Tapp -- Chairman of Board, Bank of
America

~~Charles B. Thornton~~ -- President of Board,
Litton Industries

Don Mott
Don Mott

Don Mott
Don Mott

Prorp

- Tax Policy
Supervision
Regulation

Trade

Export-Import
Credit Guarantees

TV Tape of remarks
of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Los Angeles, California
November 2, 1964

Senator Humphrey: American government is a partnership between the people and their government. And, of course, this government is representative of our people. The position of the United States Senator is the contact between the people back home and the Government in Washington. You surely need in Washington Senators that know their government and also that know the needs of their people. Pierre Salinger has been around Washington many years, working with the late and beloved President Kennedy while President Kennedy was yet a Senator, and then going to the White House to become President Kennedy's Press Secretary, but more importantly one of his close intimate friends and aides.

I have known Pierre Salinger during all of these years, and he has an intimate knowledge of the workings of government. He is a friend of President Johnson. President Johnson kept him on as his press secretary and as his personal aide.

I know that California will do much better in the next four years by having as one of its Senators Pierre Salinger, a Democrat, who is a close working partner with President Johnson.

President Johnson is going to present a program to our Congress, and that program ought to be supported by Senators who wish to see it fulfilled.

Pierre Salinger will work for education, he will work for resource development, he will work to help California in its problems relating to water, irrigation, reclamation, reforestation, flood control -- all these many problems which mean so much to a state that is growing faster than any state in the United States.

You need a Senator that gets things done, knows his way around Washington.

And may I add that Pierre Salinger has been in Washington as a Senator -- not just as a friend and as an aide to a President or Presidents. But he is a member of the United States Senate. He has, in other words, had his boot training, he has fulfilled the duties of a freshman Senator. He is on the committees, he is a working member of the United States Senate. And that kind of experience, and that early experience, which is now behind him, gives him a much better opportunity to serve California in the years ahead.

I urge upon the people of this State to send a man to Washington that knows your government, that knows your needs, that can speak for your people and that can help California grow more and more and better and better every year from here on.

Thank you.

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Interview with Dick Garton
KTLA, Channel 5
Los Angeles, California
November 2, 1964

Mr. Garton: Senator, this has been acknowledged as one of the most vicious, dirtiest campaigns. How will the winner reconcile both sides?

Senator Humphrey. Well, it has always been my view that the office of the Presidency was not only an office of administrative and executive responsibility, but also one of education and of persuasion and of example. I have said that a President must be an educator as well as an administrator. So I would hope that the policy of persuading and educating the American people to their citizenship responsibilities would be the continuing policy and it will be, when President Johnson is elected as President, because I expect him to be elected.

President Johnson is the sort of man that seeks to heal wounds rather than to open them. And all during this campaign, I might add that both the President and myself have tried to talk about one country and one people. We haven't tried to speak in terms of north or south or east or west or religious groups or ethnic groups. We have talked about Americans. And I think that is the way we ought to continue the emphasis.

I would also add that it isn't just a matter of a President trying to bind up the wounds. It is also a responsibility of the people themselves. The American people must come to understand that hate groups, groups that play on passion and prejudice, groups or individuals that promote bigotry and intolerance, are really un-American, because this country, if it means anything at all, and it means everything to me, is as our Declaration of Independence said -- or our Pledge of Allegiance says, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Now, if that is the case, and it is, and it must be at least our challenge, then the individual citizens must turn away from groups that preach intolerance and bigotry and hate and bitterness, and the only thing that has disturbed me in this entire campaign is the fact that certain groups in our country that are truly extremist and very detrimental to the public interest have been able to gain a respectable platform. We must see that that doesn't happen again. There isn't any room in America for the intolerance and for the doctrinaire ideas of the Communist, who is really an intellectual tyrant. And there isn't any room in the American political scene for the radical right-wing that is also a tyrant of the mind and of the spirit. These forces are filled with venom and evil, and with the kind of poison that if permitted to run free in America will literally poison the bloodstream of the country.

So I think it is a citizen responsibility as well as a public official's responsibility, to cleanse ourselves, so to speak. And we have a real job ahead of us.

Mr. Garton: If, as the polls indicate, sir, the Democratic Party wins by a huge landslide, do you see them attempting to woo the supposedly or called far right?

Senator Humphrey. No, I do not. Not that far right. There is a great consensus in America, there is a great middle. Actually, these extremist groups of the left or the right, they are a very, very small element in the American population. Actually you could hardly measure them in terms of public opinion sampling. But they are very vocal, they are very articulate, they are very active, they are vigilantes, they are guerilla warriors, they keep nipping at you, biting at you, chopping at you. And they make you feel that they are much larger in numbers than the actual numbers. So what I think is important to us to do is to solidify, or should I say to unify the great center of American public life, which represents 98 to 99 percent of the American people.

TV Interview, Dick Garton
Los Angeles, California
November 2, 1964

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The trouble with the great majority is that frequently it breaks up into small little particles, and doesn't have any cohesiveness. There isn't any doubt in my mind that the overwhelming majority of the American people, Republicans or Democrats, this isn't a partisan matter, I might add, I want to make that crystal clear, because I have seen some people travel under the label of the Democratic Party that are very intolerant, very, very bitter, and I have seen some under the Republican label do the same thing. But there is a great feeling amongst most people in America that intolerance and discrimination and bigotry and prejudice is wrong.

Now, what we need to do is try to bring that together. And there is where I think the voice of the President and of his Vice President, of his cabinet officials, of the leaders in American public and private and religious life and educational life can be of help. But this is every leader's job, everyone's. Not just mine or the President's. It isn't just the job of the man on the newscast or the editorial writer. It is the task of the teacher and of the preacher, and it is the task of the doctor and of the worker and of the businessman. It is all of us together.

Mr. Garton: Thank you very much, Senator.

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TV Interview with Grant Holcomb
CBS, Los Angeles, California
2 November 1964

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(In response to questions by Mr. Holcomb, Senator Humphrey replied as follows:)

Senator Humphrey. You may have recalled that Senator Goldwater said in Seattle that the 1962 Cuban crisis was politically manufactured by President Kennedy to aid the Democrats in those congressional elections. Of course, it was an outrageous statement on his part. He has also said repeatedly that President Johnson is attempting to manipulate matters in Vietnam for political purposes.

Truly, I don't think Americans believe that kind of talk, because it is irresponsible.

The President of the United States is not a Democrat when it comes to national security. He is our President. We have never had a crisis that has been confronted by a Democrat or a Republican. We have had crises that are faced by Presidents of all the people.

This situation in Vietnam is very difficult, very dangerous. We have a commitment there. That commitment was not made by President Johnson; it was made back in 1954 under President Eisenhower. It was renewed under President Kennedy. And it has been renewed under President Johnson.

So what we are attempting to do is to fulfill our commitments for the safety and the freedom of South Vietnam.

The situation that developed there on the weekend is most unfortunate, and it is one of the tragedies of war. It is just one of those things. I guess we just have to expect it. We cannot have manpower and machines of defense without some trouble

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I have not been in touch with the Pentagon or with Mr. McNamara. But I know this. That two of the best military officers that this government has ever had in Vietnam -- one of them is the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Taylor. There isn't a better soldier in the world than General Taylor, and a great American. And the other one is General Westmoreland, who is the former head of the Military Academy at West Point.

Now, we have sent the best that this country can provide to Vietnam in terms of leadership. Now, I happen to think these men are trying to do the best they can do for our country. They are not Democrats or Republicans. These are professional military officers. And I resent the fact that people play politics with these tragic circumstances, because these men are giving their lives, literally giving their lives for our country.

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When he says that President Johnson has been playing some politics with Vietnam, I guess the only conclusion you can draw is that Mr. Goldwater is playing some politics.

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There have always been what we call poll-watchers. This is traditional in America. But the thing that is different this time is that the Republican organization has set up a special training program, so to speak, and a set of instructions to their poll workers or poll watchers to challenge voters that appear to be looking like they might vote Democratic. For example, in the District of Columbia they said don't challenge well-dressed ones. Well, in other words, if you have your business suit on and you look well-dressed and look like you might vote Republican -- don't challenge him.

In other areas they have asked the Governors to deputize their poll watchers, so that they could walk in as if they were officials of the state. This is the first time in the history of this country that a political party has issued instructions to harass and to confuse voters by premeditation. And it is called Operation Eagle Eye. And I call it Operation Evil Eye.

I want to say that every American that is a registered voter, where registration is required, is entitled to vote. And if there is any contest over those votes on registration, it can be made after the voting.

But to have any political party try to intimidate an American voter is

CBS TV Interview
Los Angeles, California
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un-American, it is illegal, and it is shameful. And I have said so. And I hope the Republican National Committee will withdraw their edicts and their orders to their workers so as not to bring shame upon the Republican Party.

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Well, I hope that the proper law enforcement officials in each state will see to it that this is an honest vote and that there is no harrassment or any confusion at the ballot box. That is the task for the Governor and the Attorney General of the State, the duly-constituted law-enforcement officers -- whether the Governor is a Republican or a Democrat, he is the Governor of the State. And I think he will do his duty. And I hope that they will. I hope the Governors will issue instructions, or will issue a general, let me say, message to the voters of their states -- "Look, go to the voting box, go to the ballot box, be a voter, because your vote - don't let anybody intimidate you, don't let anybody cause you trouble or confusion. If your name is on the list as a registered voter, you are entitled to get a ballot, you are entitled to the secrecy of the ballot box, you are entitled to be treated lawfully and respectfully by the officers of this government".

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You know, just a moment ago somebody said to me that if these polls are successful, just as you are saying -- if they were accurate, as you were saying, I would no longer be a Senator. Just the thought of that kind of made me a little unhappy for a moment, because I have enjoyed being a Senator. It is a great responsibility and a wonderful, wonderful privilege to serve in the Senate.

My Senate seat, if I am elected Vice-President, will be filled by the Governor of Minnesota through an appointment. The Governor has the right to make that appointment up until the next election, which is 1966 - my term is up in 1966. And I think our Governor will announce very soon after the election, if I am elected Vice-President.

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The Governor is a very close friend of mine. But I want to add he is a very independent fellow. We always say he is one of the most independent and occasionally one of the most stubborn fellows you have ever met. I don't know whether he will really take my advice.

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Thank you.

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UNIVERSITY CLUB SPEECH
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
NOVEMBER 2, 1964

It is good to be here.

I am deeply grateful to our hosts for arranging to bring us together this way to discuss some of the problems and opportunities that lie ahead.

The years just ahead of us clearly add up to a period of strain and difficulty. Certainly the developments--political and economic--throughout the world make it clear that we must continue to call upon national strength, our creativity and our courage.

It is comforting to me, and it must please you as well, that at this time of great challenges at home and abroad, we are witnessing a great change in the relations of business and government.

Certainly there are close relations between the Business Community and the White House. This is an era in which trust is replacing suspicion between business and government. Cooperation is replacing conflict, and hostility is giving way to a mutual respect.

Of course, there is one vital reason for the improvement of the relations and that is the economic prosperity in which we have been living.

For forty-four straight months business has been expanding steadily. Employment has been rising steadily and income has been growing steadily.

This is unprecedented. In one hundred years only two periods of peace time business expansion have lasted more than three years. The average business expansion period usually lasts about two years. But consider this--today we are in--the fourth year of expansion.

2 The Kennedy-Johnson Administration will be the first peacetime administration in the history of the United States without a recession or a depression.

But it is not simply an unparalleled four years of prosperity which is impressive.

It is also the size of our economic gains. During the last four years the rise in real output of goods and services-- screening out all price changes--is more than the entire rise in real output during the preceding eight years.

2 Let me just cite two examples of statistics--measurements that support my point that this is a sound prosperity.

2 First, consumer prices in the United States have risen less than four per cent since early 1961 while they have increased anywhere from ten to nineteen per cent in major Western European nations.

2 Secondly, labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have

fallen almost three and one-half per cent since 1961.

That, my friends, adds up to stability as well as prosperity.

These achievements--prosperity and price stability--are certainly not just the result of government action. For these achievements we are most indebted to the initiative, the enterprise, and the genius of American industry, and to the skill and energy of American workers.

Business and labor have contributed to the health of the current expansion by restraint and moderation in wage and price policies. Business has been careful to cut costs and to avoid excesses in inventories and in plant equipment, and yet remain responsive to opportunities for sound and profitable investment.

① The policies of the Federal Government have also played a part.

For the first time in history, federal fiscal policy has combined rigorous economy and efficiency in government, with due

attention to the impact of the budget and taxation upon the private economy. Monetary policy has also contributed to a deliberate, steady and controlled expansion.

There has been no repetition of the sudden shifts to tight money that cut off previous expansion, nor will there be so long as business expansion remains healthy, well-balanced, and not inflationary.

A major contribution has come from the tax policies of the past four years. These have played a key part in providing the climate and the expansionary fuel for a sustained prosperity.

Another factor is the renewed confidence of business in government. Business likes a business-like administration of government programs and funds. And that's precisely what we have had.

People may have their little jokes about turning out lights in the White House. But this is a symbol of the new spirit of cost-consciousness in the federal government.

④ Minority rights + Violations

- my few fellow democrats
+ ^{minority} Enlightened Republicanism
- Gov Brown

④ Mr Tapp + Harts

(Dangerous Assignment)

Live dangerously

↳ The federal budget for fiscal year 1965 calls for a decrease in expenditures--only the second budget in nine years to do so.

↳ Budget expenditures this year are smaller in relation to the gross national product than at anytime since 1951.

this ↳ ~~Instead of increasing government civilian employment, this~~
in civilian employment
budget calls for a reduction ~~the first budget to do so in the~~
last eight years.

↳ Civilian employment in the executive branch in September 1964 was down 21,000 from the beginning of the Johnson administration and at the lowest level in nearly two and one-half years.

During the first two months of this fiscal year, budget expenditures are \$675 million below the same period last year.

7 ↳ In the government's effort to encourage free business to expand and develop, there are two additional attitudes of policies that have been vital.

1 ↳ First, we have made it clear that it places its primary trust in the workings of fair competition as the principal guardian of the market place.

Competition

The board of Directors of a corporation
would never fire a
successful executive -

A successful executive
would be given an overwhelming
vote of confidence +
President Johnson deserves
that vote.

Profits

Secondly, it has recognized the legitimacy of profits for business. Profits are rewards for successful risk-taking, ingenuity, and hard work. Not only are such profits fair, but their reinvestment in an expanding economy benefits everyone.

That has been the government's policy--action, not merely words.

I am quite confident it will continue to be the government's policy.

~~This emphasizes that the~~ American businessman is not well served by a do-nothing government. For the sake of his profits, his freedom, and his future, he requires proven competence in government, not empty slogans no matter how appealing.

The chief role of government is to support--not supplant-- the private enterprise system. But support is not passive.

When a lack of private credit stifles business growth, government must stimulate a flow of credit.

When tax incentives are needed to encourage private investment, the government must consider such action.

When business firms seek to compete successfully in the
markets of the world, government must try to remove inter-
national trade barriers.

When massive investment beyond the means of private business
is required for pioneering efforts in space, communications, atomic
energy, or aviation, government has a crucial role as an
investment partner. — *Make an assumption Competition*

We need a government that is not afraid of mere bigness in
business for its own sake, but understands that expanding markets
and growing economic opportunities provide business with the
means to stimulate competition and to avoid restraints on trade.

Let me just single out two examples of what I mean when I say
the government must act with energy, with imagination, and with
competence in its effort to provide a climate of opportunity for
free American business.

For instance, we need to study the possibility of some easing of
the arms race. You can be sure that this administration will act

(The Administ)
we will act -8-

where
unhappy
systems
change

1 effectively to ease the adjustments for defense dependent industries--for both labor and capital. We shall do our utmost to preserve the general prosperity that will permit the labor and capital released from military uses to be used in constructive civilian purposes. And, we shall devise additional means to keep the human costs of the change-over as low as possible.

L But we shall always spend what is necessary for national security--for the defense of freedom. Without peace and security there is no freedom--there is no prosperity. There is no free enterprise.

(Nat Sec)

Then, let me take another area that is of considerable interest and concern to me. That is the need for American private investment in Latin America. I note that it is increasingly recognized there that foreign private investment is absolutely essential, both to increase the productivity of a country and to develop an efficient industrial and agricultural

Private
Invest
in

L. A

Example of
Free
enterprise

sector. With the strong encouragement of the United States Government, for example, through investment guarantees and tax credits, American business can continue to provide leadership in building a strong private sector--not only in Latin American countries, but in Asia and Africa as well.

We should be pleased with the progress we have made in recent years in improving the quality of the partnership between business and government. However, we dare not be complacent, to assume that all our work is done, that we understand each other completely. That is not true.

In order to build and maintain a working consensus of all groups in our nation, we must constantly try to educate each other. We need a constant dialogue between business and government. The joy, the excitement of our system--whether in business or government--is its dynamic character. It is not static. We must study our history to understand, but we must look to

the future so as to establish the objectives we must aim towards.

Let me in closing leave you with some words of that great American philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead. "A great society," he said, "is one in which businessmen think greatly of their functions."

I would amend that to say that, "American society is a great one when all of us think greatly of our function."

Thank you.

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A bd of directors of Corp would
never fire a successful
executive - give overwhelming
vote of confidence -

Pres LBJ. Deserves that vote

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at the University Club
Los Angeles, California
November 2, 1964

Senator Humphrey: Thank you. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Tapp, for your introduction and for your willingness to live dangerously and act as my Host No. 1.

And may I also thank the members of the host committee -- in this very pleasant and accommodating and secure economic, political environment of southern California. I think it's very good for you people to occasionally see someone that may arouse your concern, your worry, may give you reason to want to be ever alert and attentive to the freedoms that are yours, the privileges that you have justly earned.

Not only that, I always feel it is good to keep your Governor on his toes, too. So I come out here and visit Pat Brown ever so often. As I told him, you never can tell, I may run for something out here some time.

Well, I am singularly delighted to be here, and to have this opportunity of just visiting with you on this day before election.

Now, I haven't deluded myself into believing that there is going to be any sudden mass movement to the Democratic Party or the Democratic standard-bearers because of these words of wisdom that I am about to impart. I say that even though I am sure that I am going to persuade you. But possibly some of you have already made up your mind, and it is a little late to change.

But I want you to know we may be back again, and therefore you keep these thoughts in mind for four years hence, or whatever time it may be, and we will be back to visit you once more.

There are a number here that I want to just mention from my own State, that have been very helpful to me, and have been here in your community.

First, I want to let you know that we have the former Past Commander of the American Legion, who is a fellow Minnesotan, and a very dear and close friend of mine, Dan Foley, that is with us today. And we have his brother, Gene Foley, who is the Administrator of the Small Business Administration at Washington, D. C.

We have a very prominent member of your community in the western part of our country, Mr. Dan Martin, the Under Secretary of Commerce.

We have my former administrative assistant, who is now the Deputy Administrator of the AID Administration, well known to Mr. Tapp and others, Mr. Herbert Waters.

And then I have a friend of mine who gives me free legal advice, and it is worth much more than that, very active as an attorney with Sears and Roebuck, and others, and that is Mr. Pat O'Connor.

Now, I bring these men along as a sort of a flank of protection. I send them in first into the mine fields, and if they come out alive, then they let me come. And they tell me that you have treated them very, very well. So my few fellow Democrats, some of whom I brought with me, and the many enlightened Republicans that are here, I am delighted to be with you. And I want to talk to you today just for a few moments as a fellow citizen, and not so much as a candidate, about the relationships of our government, your government and your business.

I happen to be one of those that believes that this synthetic built-in and built-up animosity that prevails in all too many areas of American life between government and its people, between the people and their government, and particularly between the business people and their government, is neither

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good for the country nor good for business, nor good for America.

I predicate my remarks today, not on the basis of what is only good for those of us individually, but really what is good for this country in the trying days ahead.

The headlines of your morning's newspaper, every morning, tell you that this nation is being tested as never before. You know it. But sometimes it needs a little re-emphasis.

I happen to be one of those that believes that if there is to be any freedom left in this world, and if there is to be any such thing as respect for human dignity, which is at the very center of American Democratic life, and differentiates the totalitarian from the free man -- if there is to be any peace in the world, and without it there is nothing -- it will be because we the American people individually and through our leaders, through the policies of our government and the practices of our private life, and private economy, are able to give leadership and to sustain the strength of the free world.

Everyone warns us of the menace of communism. But too few tell us of the responsibility of leadership.

It isn't enough just to identify the enemy, gentlemen. It is equally important to know your own strength, and to know what to do with it, to know how to develop it, to know how to apply it, to understand the methodology of combatting the evil as well as identifying the evil.

And what has happened, I regret to say, in American life, is that we have many people who did diagnose the trouble, or at least can identify part of it. But they stop right there. From there on out it is kill the patients rather than to heal.

I don't consider it a mark of leadership, or even intelligence, to merely arouse the American people's fears and passions. I consider that a disservice -- unless you can offer some solution, or at least some program of action that may lead to solution.

Now, an honest man will have to tell you that we can never be sure that the policies and the programs that we follow, or that we effectuate, will succeed. You don't know. You don't know in your own business that the decision that you make today will be the decision that you ought to have a year from now or five years from now. You are not at all sure that the policies that you adopt at your board of directors are the policies that will carry you through successfully to your goal.

You have them under constant review.

And so does our Government have under constant review its policies. And so do the people of this country have under constant review the policies of the government. And that is why we have elections. And that is why there ought to be more intelligent discussion of the issues.

The greatest disservice that can be given or performed is to try to provide simple answers to difficult questions.

There are none. And every intelligent person knows so. And every American knows today that even if Karl Marx had never been born, and Lenin had never happened, that there would be problems in this world today that are staggering.

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Of course -- of course the threat of Communist aggression, infiltration, indoctrination, is the No. 1 problem. But it is not the only one. And the question is how do you meet these problems.

Well, you don't meet them by destroying ourselves. We don't meet these problems by setting race against race or group against group, or advocating in this country the class conflict. Nothing is more foreign to our nature and to our needs.

I think that what we in America need more than anything at this time are the healers, and not the purveyors of disease, or those that open the wounds.

I think what is needed in this country more than ever before are the educators that get us to talk to each other rather than ever hiding away from each other. I think we need people in this country today that begin to understand that there is a great interdependence in this economy, and that none of us live alone.

What we need, in other words, speaking now to this group, is a new and better relationship between your government and your business. You are the custodians of a great section of the American life. Many of you are custodians without full ownership -- very much like an elected official.

I have only one vote, but as a United States Senator, I have been one of two from my State responsible by my every word and every action in the United States Senate, not only for my State, but for my country.

I don't own it. But I have been given stewardship for a period of time. Those of you that are presidents of great corporations in this room, you don't own them -- you are there as the guardian, as the steward of other people's investments. They depend on your judgment, your vision, your decisions.

Just as you depend today, and you must, upon the decisions and the judgment of your government.

And, therefore, my fellow Americans, isn't it important that instead of setting up barriers, that we break those barriers down, that we set up dialogue instead of monologue; that we try to work together, instead of pull apart? If there is any one thing that President Lyndon Johnson has done -- I care not what your politics -- he has made the White House your house. He has opened its doors. He doesn't hide off the working man in one room and the businessman in another. He doesn't put the colored man over there and the white man over there, and try to run them out of different doors.

President Johnson may have his limitations -- who hasn't? He is a human being. But this I know -- that he seeks to build in this country a unity based upon respect -- not a unanimity based upon discipline. He seeks to build in this country a consensus based upon mutuality of interest, not a conflict based upon conjured up animosities.

And this is what America needs, is an unity based upon respect for one another and a consensus.

Now, what has happened in the role between government and business? Why are so many businessmen today supporting our President? I don't think many of them have changed parties. I don't delude myself that way. But I think they sense that there is something happened in American life. And maybe it happened out of necessity, as well as out of conviction. But knowing the President as I do, I think it happened because of the kind of a man that he is.

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I will put it simply to you. The policy of your government today is to encourage you to do better -- not to harass you and to make your life miserable. The policy of your government today is to have trust in you and to replace distrust or suspicion. The policy of your government is one of cooperation with you, replacing conflict. And the policy of your President and of the man that is speaking to you is one of having mutual respect as a replacement for hostility.

So to simplify what we are seeking to do is to say let's join together, and let's find these areas of common agreement.

The Government of the United States is going to be here whether you like it or not. It is the powerful force, and it can be friend or foe, it can be passive or it can be positive, it can be negative or it can be affirmative. And I think you want it as a friend. I think you want it as positive. And I think you want it as affirmative. At least I do. And the reason for it is that America is not just its government. We need to get this message to the people of the world. This is not a country based on government. This is a government based on the country. And the government is but a small part of the total life of this nation, but a vital part. And that small part has a tremendous influence on the pattern of the nation.

Therefore, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey want to see our friends in industry, in commerce, in finance, in management, to become partners, working partners, seeking your advice and counsel, asking you to guide the nation's destinies in terms of economic policy. Because somebody is going to do it. One thing you need to remember about politics, gentlemen, is politics is another word for power. There has never been and there never will be a power vacuum. Someone will fill it. And the question is who do you want?

Do you want someone to fill it that has no faith in our system, that has no faith in our enterprise, that repudiates our constitutional guarantees, that has no understanding of the inspiration of our history? Or do you want people to fill these areas of responsibility that understand the motivation of American life since the very days of the beginning of this Republic, that understand the meaning of opportunity, that understand the importance of education, that understand the importance of a close and cooperative relationship between their government, local, state and federal, with the people.

This is what we are trying to talk about in this campaign. We haven't maybe done it too well, because it is very difficult to get the message through the noise. Every campaign becomes so loud that the only man that is ultimately heard is the one that whispers. Everybody shouts at everybody. And somehow, somewhere, there must be a day in which people can sit down and reason together rather than to fight at one another and to build up false battles when there is no battle, when there ought to be understanding.

Well, I come before you today in the knowledge that we have had 44 months of continued economic growth. I don't need to recite these figures for you, and I shall not take your time. I will only say this, gentlemen, that facts are facts, that never before in the history of this Republic has there ever been an administration, peacetime administration, in which the nation was not engaged in full war, in which there has never been a depression or a recession in a four year period -- never. I am a student of history and government and economics, and so are you. We have had the longest sustained period of economic growth of any nation on the face of the earth. This we ought to be proud of. And, by the way, I don't think it is all due to government. Not by a long shot. Because I think government has had some role to play.

But, basically, this is a testimonial, not to a political party alone, it is a testimonial to the American enterprise system. And instead of going

around having people deny it, as I have heard some say, it is all an illusion, it is a fake -- why don't we proclaim it to the world that our free enterprise system, more free than ever before, more in the hands of individuals than ever before, bigger than ever before, with more stockholders than ever before, with more private managers than ever before, that this system is outstripping everybody in the world.

I think it is a great success story.

Instead of that, we listen to voices that say it is a phony, it will break up, it is a fake, it can't last.

I think it can last. I will tell you why. Because it has to. It is sort of like when I became married. I asked my dad one time, I said, "Dad," after we looked like we were going to have that first baby, "how do you afford them?" He says, you get them and then you afford them, son. And you just go ahead and start working a little harder, doing a little better. Because if your dad had waited to afford you you would still have been nothing but a dream and a hope. And possibly less than that.

No, we have to do what we have to do. And that is why I said to you in the beginning, we don't really have much of a choice. It isn't any longer a choice of whether or not we are going to go ahead. If we don't go ahead, we are finished. If this nation becomes the victim of some major economic catastrophe, the forces of radicalism, of the left or the right, will take over just as surely as we are in this room. And they are not a bit different, you know, gentlemen. I used to teach courses in comparative European governments. And there has never been a bit of difference between the forces of the extreme left and of the extreme right, except their armband. One had a black one, and one had a red one. The Communists and the Fascists are alike, they sleep in the same bed. The only difference is they fight over the covers. But they are in the same bed.

(Applause)

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I think we have made some remarkable progress that we ought to tell the world about.

We have not only had great economic growth, but we have had better cooperation between labor and capital than ever before in any comparable four-year period, and better cooperation between government and labor and capital. We have produced more consumer goods and we have not had an inflation. In fact, my study from the Federal Reserve Board Index indicates that consumer prices are up less than four per cent since 1961; this compared to 10 to 19 per cent in any of the Western European countries.

And labor costs due to efficiency in management, due to new machinery, due to new practices, due to productivity of labor itself -- labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have fallen 3.5 per cent in three-and-a-half years. No other country on the face of the earth can claim that record.

Now, these are the things we ought to be telling in our broadcasts, instead of just going around telling the world that the Communists are bad. We ought to add that they are not only bad, but they are a failure; that the socialist is not only one that misleads his people, but he is also one that is ineffective, he does not produce the fruits for the people.

We have the system.

But instead of that, we have self-proclaimed 110 per cent patriots that denounce the evils of other countries and forget about the blessings of our own and how they were achieved.

Make no mistake about it. Most people in the world want freedom, most people in the world hunger for better things, most people in the world have heard of consumer goods and they are yearning for them, even in the Soviet Union.

I was in the Soviet Union one year ago and came back to the United States Senate and predicted, on the floor of that Senate, in the month of August that there was political unrest in the Soviet Union, that there was a new party rising, called the consumer party, and that Mr. Khrushchev was in serious trouble. But that didn't make any news.

What makes more news is for somebody to get up and say "You are a radical socialist".

Whenever a man is short of argument, he is long on temperament.

We need to understand the facts of international life and the competition that we face. And we need to understand the facts and the promise of this American life.

I want to compliment American business on doing a splendid job of management. You do it automatically. But somebody ought to tell you once in a while how well you do it -- avoiding excesses of inventories, keeping down production costs -- and may I say this so that it can get someplace else besides America; that no single business group in the world is as humane, may I say as progressive, may I say as liberal, if that is not a word that we have to avoid, as the American businessman and the American business community.

Why there isn't a government on the face of the earth that provides the fringe benefits, as they call them, for the working man that the American economic community provides out of private capitalism. Why don't we tell everybody about it? Why do we pretend that it is somehow or another bad? Why don't we just shout to the world that here in America a worker with his union and management can get hospital care and he can have all forms of care and of recreation, and of good living and wages and fair working conditions. This is what the people in Latin America are interested in. This is what the compacino and the peasant and the worker that has never had a thing in his life wants to know.

But the Communist comes there and says "Follow us, listen to us". And we come down there and scold them.

We ought to be down there and say "Follow us, see what your brother is doing in Los Angeles, see his standard of living, see what he is doing in Chicago, even

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in the packing houses, see his standard of living, see his automobile, see his home, see his community, see his church, see his clothes, see his bank account, see his hospital contract, see his mother, see his children".

We have got the story of the world to tell, and the businessman ought to be telling it.

This is why Hubert Humphrey believes that we ought to have more businessmen going behind the Iron Curtain.

Our diplomats have to be careful lest they become persona non grata. But I believe -- and by the way, our Western European friends, they know how to do this, for several reasons. Our great friends in West Germany have more businessmen behind the Iron Curtain now than we have troops in many places overseas. And while you are sitting here saying "I am an anti-Communist" they are over there getting the business -- and you know it.

But more importantly, my friends, it is not only a matter of getting the business.

Are we afraid to stand up to their ideological competition? I am not. I think we have got a better argument. I think we have got a better story to tell. Why don't we have whole cadres of American businessmen as teams going into every country behind the Iron Curtain, yes, searching for markets in non-strategic goods, if you please. But, more importantly, let them take a look at you, let them see you. No place in the world are you more popular than where the government doesn't want you. The most popular person in the world is an American that gets behind the Iron Curtain. The regimes try to control the people, but they cannot control inside of them.

But we rely on others. We let Mr. Nasser send a team of his people. They cannot even run Egypt. But they go and they try to impress on them what they call their socialist democracy.

Or we permit our good friends -- not permit -- they go on their own, of course, from England or Britain or France or someplace else, or Germany or Belgium or Holland -- they are all over, all of the Latin American countries, Asia and the Eastern European countries.

But we have been told, and you have been told -- and if you will pardon me for saying so, we are suckers to believe it -- that you ought not to be there, because you may get contaminated.

I have a lot of faith in you. I don't think a one of you is going Communist if you get behind there. I really think you will do all right. I think you will come out pure. I even think you might convince one of them to defect.

More importantly -- show the flag, be unafraid.

Why is it that a nation that can send its Marines someplace is afraid to send its business people?

Well, I got off on my favorite topic -- because I don't think we are going to win this struggle with the Communist world by machines, military machines. I don't think we are going to win it with just troops. We have got to have our military force. No member of the United States Senate has taken a stronger position for a strong national defense than Hubert Humphrey. I said very frankly, and I repeat -- I had a better voting record during the Eisenhower Administration of support of President Eisenhower on foreign policy and national security than the standard bearer of the Republican Party -- 200 per cent better -- 200 per cent better on the record.

I don't happen to believe that there is any partisanship in security. I think that if you are dead, it doesn't make much difference whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. I think that there are some matters that ought to be above party, and those two matters are foreign policy and defense. We ought to have an American policy there, not a Republican policy, not a Democratic Policy, but an American policy that is overwhelmingly supported by the great broad section of American public opinion.

Now, I know you must go, and I just want to conclude with these words.

This business partnership, or this partnership of government and business -- this has not been just words. We have acted. There are men in this room that know that I was one of the initiators of the investment tax credit program -- because I believe that we had to modernize American plant to make it more competitive.

I have travelled overseas and I have watched other governments stand alongside of their businessmen, like partners.

For a long time our American businessmen did not want to be seen with our government, and then you got the government convinced and they did not want to be seen with you.

In the meantime, when you go to the Argentine or any other country, there is a British Ambassador right alongside the British corporation, and the government and the business house takes your business.

I go into country after country that we have been loaning money to -- and you have hoped do it, either out of your private institutions or out of your governmental institutions -- and there is machinery from Holland, from Germany, from Belgium, from Britain, from France. Why? Well, first of all we did not have what we called proper guaranteed credits, because some of these countries needed more than 60-day terms or 90 or 100 days. We did not have investment guarantees. Our Export-Import Bank had not worked out its cooperative relationship with our private banking structure to see to it that American capital and American technicians and American goods and American know-how went to work.

This is what I mean by positive government.

This doesn't mean the government takes over. We don't want the government to supplant; we want the government to supplement.

As Mr. Tapp knows, I have been one of the most vigorous critics of some of the actions of the Commodity Credit Corporation, because I see it moving in as a government corporation, trying to take over the normal marketing operations of the private trade. I am opposed to it. And when I get elected Vice-President, I am going to have something to say about it.

I don't think the Commodity Credit Corporation ought to be doing our export business. I think we have got more people in Minneapolis, Minnesota in the private grain business that know more about export policy than all the government officials put together. And I am going to see that they have a chance.

But you cannot get much done if nobody will back you, and if people are going to believe that somehow or another, that if you take these stands, that you are really working against the interests of your country. -- No -- I think that government policies, fiscal and monetary, have had a great deal to do with our prosperity, the investment tax credit, the tax cut bill, the depreciation schedules.

When the mining companies in my State began to leave, I got hold of my political party and said, "Listen, change your attitude. We need investment. We don't need an argument. There has been four years of unemployment up here. We need money, we need technicians, we need capital, we need plants. And if we get enough of that, we will still win the elections without hating the steel companies". And we put together a program.

It can be done.

We in politics have to learn that this great machinery of our enterprise system requires profits, profits must be invested, they must be returned to investors on good management.

We also need sensible fiscal and monetary policies, fiscal policies that encourage incentives, credit policies that provide for the credit when it is needed. But always placing full reliance and major reliance upon the private sector of our economy.

The government is here to supplement, not to supplant; to encourage, not to take over; to help, not to harass; to regulate, yes, where regulation is needed, but not to act like a Gestapo.

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And I speak for the President of the United States when I tell you these things. These are not just words from the lips of a candidate -- because frankly the election is all over. We are not going to change the outcome of this election right now. You know that. As important as you are, and as important as I think I am, I just do not think we are going to change it here this afternoon. I think that election has been settled. We are just waiting for the tabulation.

But I do think it is important that you understand what your government is trying to do.

In those areas where it requires massive investment, where it is too much for a private individual -- in space, in aviation, in atomic energy, in the field of electronic, some of it, where there needs to be pioneering in research and development, government can work with private enterprise. And you in California know more about that than we in Minnesota. I want to compliment your Governor on being able to get a rather sizeable share of the research and development dollar of the American government to California. You would be surprised how little we got in Minnesota. Maybe this is one of the reasons I wanted to run for Vice-President instead of Senator again.

But the truth is that your government does play a distinct role, and you know it.

Well, now I want to leave you with this thought.

You know, a great corporation that is having a success, its sales are up, its profits are up, its consumer acceptability is high, its reputation is good, it seems to be doing better than any of its competitors -- that kind of a corporation, when the board of directors sits down and evaluates, it doesn't fire the manager. Oh, no, you never do that.

No, my friends -- when that corporation board of directors sits down and reviews the balance sheet and looks also at the market, and looks at the competitors, and looks at what the product is, and looks at what it is doing, and it sees a success story, you know what it generally does? It calls in the manager and it says "We want to renew your contract". You even may offer him a few stock options. You may even offer him an increase in pay, or he may even ask for one.

Well, now, I can tell you that I have a manager of the biggest business in the world, called the government of the United States. He is not asking for any options, he doesn't even ask for an increase in pay. He is not even asking at all. I am asking that the American businessman that knows deep down in his heart, to use a phrase -- that knows that this country is doing well, that knows that this government is prudent, that knows that this country is going to see to it that the security of this nation is protected regardless of the cost -- and let that be clear; no matter what the budget may be, the security of this nation is going to be sustained and maintained.

I am here to tell you that this country, that is doing well in every area, that this country should not change managers.

I suggest, if I may be permitted to be just a friendly visitor to the board of directors -- I would like to offer a motion, that in light of the fact that the manager has done very well in the eleven months that he has been privileged to guide the destiny of this great enterprise, that he be given an extension of contract. And I am here to tell you that Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, deserves your support -- he respects you, he wants to work with you, he would like to have you work with him. And I am here to ask you to do it.

Thank you very much.

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Businessman's Luncheon

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This election campaign is almost over. Tomorrow the people of America will choose. Regardless of preferences, I hope that every registered voter will exercise that most precious right of all -- the franchise.

During this campaign the President has frequently referred to the "Great Society."

Today I want to talk to you -- as representatives of the business and banking community of America -- about that "Great Society" and the relationship between government and business that must exist in building an ever-more prosperous and more affluent America.

Most responsible citizens of today believe in a society which acts in a unified fashion -- a society in which all of the important segments -- the business community -- labor -- the scientists -- local, state and federal governments -- will play together in a symphony of creative effort.

Far from being an unholy alliance, this is a sound and solid partnership -- and a sound and solid political philosophy.

It is comforting to me, and it must please you as well, that at this time of great challenge at home and abroad we are witnessing a great change for the better in the relationship of business and government. Certainly there is a closer relationship between the business community and the White House than ever before. This is an era in which trust is replacing suspicion between business and government, cooperation is replacing conflict, and hostility is giving way to a mutual respect.

In a totalitarian society -- such as the autocracy of the Soviet Union, decisions are made from above by a self-chosen few. But in America we need broad cooperation -- a consensus and harmony.

In a contemporary free society, this consensus between government and business is critical.

Government alone, acting unilaterally, can solve nothing. The essence of dictatorship is the stifling of personal initiative and the abandonment of individual freedom. The experience of the Fascists on the one hand and the Communists on the other have proved the folly and the futility of such an approach.

We seek a responsible, helpful role for government to maintain and stabilize a political, economic and cultural society in which all men regardless of race, color, creed or the economic conditions of their birth may flourish to the limit of their capacities and their willingness to apply themselves.

This role, I submit, is the proper function of our government.

If government alone cannot do this job, neither can it be accomplished by the private sector of the economy acting independently.

This is not to ignore -- but rather to respect -- the fantastic achievements of the management teams of our great industrial complex.

I need not remind you that prior to Pearl Harbor this country was totally unprepared to fight a war. Yet almost alone we became the arsenal for the Allied victory. The American genius for planning and management enabled us to use the great productive capacity of our free enterprise system to repel attacks from both sides of the globe.

After the war was won, by setting our sights high and calling on all the elements of a free society to work together, we, almost single-handedly, rebuilt the economy of Western Europe. We invested money and technological assistance to strengthen the democratic way of life in Latin America, Japan, and the emerging countries of Asia and Africa.

Now these countries are prosperous. They stand as

bulwarks against the spread of Communism.

Today, because of the magnificent achievements and capacities of our free enterprise system, we are able to continue the struggle for freedom throughout the world. This is a burdensome and difficult struggle -- but a necessary and vital one.

Without the American genius the torch of democracy would long since have been extinguished in the world.

In spite of our anxieties and our difficulties, we live in the most exciting era of recorded history. For the first time in the memory of man, we have it within our power to conquer man's traditional antagonists -- hunger, ignorance, disease, prejudice and poverty. We have within our reach the know-how and the resources to accomplish in the foreseeable future more for the betterment of mankind than the entire world has ever achieved before.

This is no idle dream. We are already an affluent

society. We can create what Lyndon Johnson envisions --
a Great Society.

But as rich as we are and in spite of our accomplishments, we still wallow in a luxury of waste. We are literally too intelligent and too resourceful to tolerate any longer the drag of unemployment on the economy, the waste of the slums, rising welfare costs, the crime, disease, and degradation that are the by-products of poverty.

b Many of our cities are eye-sores -- places that are a chore -- not a joy -- to live in. We endure stagnant rural communities. Our land erodes. Our transportation systems are in disrepair. We continue to tolerate pollution in the air and filth in our rivers and streams. Our recreational facilities are inadequate.

I speak of such conditions not as one who despairs of their solution. I speak as one who optimistically and confidently believes that we can successfully cope with

these exciting challenges of the future.

If we have demonstrated the energy, and the capacity to beat back the ravages of the totalitarians throughout the world, surely we can successfully attack the problems of our own society at home.

We need only harness the same brainpower and the same capital resources to capture the future.

Political leaders can stimulate goals, make speeches, write books, and introduce legislation, but in the final analysis, it is the union of government, private industry, and free labor which gets the job done. In order to achieve a truly abundant economy and eliminate the blights from the society around us, we need only have bold and imaginative ideas and the courage and vision to put those ideas into action.

In this year of 1964, we can only look around us with confidence and optimism.

There is nothing phony or artificial about the present healthy state of our economy.

For 44 straight months -- both business activity and employment have been on the rise. Personal income has been growing.

In the last 100 years there have been only two periods of peacetime business activity that have lasted more than three years -- but today we are in our fourth year of expansion.

We have a gross national product of \$625 billion -- up 23 percent from January 1961;

--a peacetime record increase of \$15 billion in consumer spending in the first half of 1964;

--a 13 percent rise in business investment in plant and equipment for 1964;

--a \$3.5 billion rise in after-tax corporate profits in the first half of 1964; and

--a decrease in the unemployment rate of 6.7 percent in January, 1961 to 5.1 percent in August 1964.

The Federal Reserve Board places our gross national savings and investment money at a staggering three quarters of a trillion dollars - half again as much as it was only five years ago.

And perhaps most important to businessmen, our prosperity is sound. Let me just cite two examples: of s

First, consumer prices in the United States have risen less than four percent since early 1961 while they have increased from ten to nineteen percent in major European nations.

Secondly, labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have fallen almost three and one Half percent since 1961.

That, my friends, adds up not simply to prosperity -- but to stable prosperity.

In order to contribute to these remarkable achievements,

government has used with great precision all of the modern tools of fiscal and monetary policy along with a carefully regulated level of federal expenditures.

For the first time in history federal fiscal policy has combined rigorous economy and efficiency in government with due attention to the impact of the budget and taxation upon the private economy. Monetary policy has also contributed to a deliberate, steady, and controlled expansion.

There has been no repetition of the sudden shifts to tight money that cut off previous expansions in their prime. Nor will there be, so long as business expansion remains healthy, well balanced, and non-inflationary.

A major contribution has come from the tax policies of the past four years. These have played a key part in providing the climate and the expansionary fuel for a sustained prosperity.

Another factor is the renewed confidence of business

in government. Business likes a business-like Administration of government programs and funds. And that is precisely what we have had.

The federal budget for fiscal 1965 calls for a decrease in expenditures -- only the second budget in nine years to do so.

Budget expenditures this year are smaller in relation to the gross national product than at anytime since 1951.

Instead of increasing government civilian employment this budget calls for a reduction -- the first budget to do so in the last eight years.

Civilian employment in the executive branch in September 1964 was down 21,000 from the beginning of the Johnson Administration and at the lowest level in nearly two and one half years.

During the first two months of this fiscal year budget expenditures were \$675 million below the same period last years.

In this role of creative and constructive partnership, government has recognized the legitimacy of profits for businessmen. Profits are rewards for successful risk-taking, ingenuity and hard work. Not only are profits fair, their reinvestment in an expanding economy benefits everyone. Corporate profits after taxes are today the highest in our history -- \$13 billion. They have increase 67% in the last 3½ years.

We need a government that is not afraid of bigness per se in business, but rather one that understands that expanding markets and growing economic opportunities provide business the means to stimulate competition and to avoid restraints on trade.

The record of the last 4 years demonstrates the benefits which a responsible working partnership of business and government can confer upon all of the people. This is not a matter of textbook theory. It is a matter of actual experience.

The chief role of government is to support -- not to supplant -- the free enterprise system.

When a lack of private credit threatens to stifle business growth, government must stimulate credit.

When tax incentives are needed to encourage private investment or the modernization of plants and equipment, government has a responsibility to act.

When business seeks to expand by competing successfully in the markets of the world, government must remove international trade barriers.

When massive investment beyond the means of private business is required for pioneering efforts in space, communications, atomic energy, or aviation, government has a crucial role as an investment partner.

The relationship which we have developed between government and business, this harmony of private and public endeavor, is but a prelude of greater cooperation in the years ahead.

The government must continue to act with energy, with imagination and with competence in its effort to provide a climate of opportunity for free American business.

The hopeful possibility of some easing of the arms race poses a problem as well. You can be sure that this Administration will act effectively to ease the adjustments for defense-related industries -- adjustments for both labor and capital. We shall do our utmost to preserve the general prosperity -- that will permit the energies and funds released from military uses to be utilized in constructive civilian purposes. And we shall devise additional means to keep the human costs of the shift as low as possible.

Another area that is of considerable interest and concern is the need for American private investment in Latin America. I note that it is increasingly recognized in that great continent that foreign private investment is absolutely essential, both to increase the productivity of a country

and to develop an efficient agricultural and industrial sector. With the strong encouragement of the U.S. government -- for example, through investment guarantees and tax credits -- American business can continue to provide leadership in building a strong private sector -- not only in Latin American countries -- but in Asia and Africa as well.

I am pleased with the progress we have made in recent years in improving the quality of the partnership between business and government. But we dare not be complacent.† We dare not assume that all our work is done.

In order to build and maintain a working consensus of all groups in our nation we must carry on a continuing effort to educate one another. We need -- desperately need -- a dialogue between business and government. The joy, the excitement of our system -- whether in business or government -- is its dynamic character. It is not static. We

must study our history to understand -- but we must look to the future to establish our objectives.

Today, as in all the years before, that future is bright. America has always stood in men's minds as the hope for a bright new society. Today, with our enormous resources and the knowledge at our command, we can truly give expression to that hope by creating a nation of abundance.

Yes, we can create what Lyndon Johnson envisions -- a Great Society. But to make this vision a reality we must adopt sound, practical, common sense in political and economic policy -- not empty slogans and nostalgic yearnings for the past.

What is needed is a combined effort.

I call on you as representatives of the business and banking community to join with government in that combined effort -- in that community of purpose to continue moving forward with confidence and optimism.



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