

## 79—BAT—L

These 80 young farm leaders came from Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. They were here as part of an AID project, carried out under a contract with the National Farmers Union. These young farmers understand what makes America the land of the free and the home of the brave, understand better how democracy works, and how the people do have a voice in running their business and their country. This too, is what this report suggests.

Cooperatives can be a source for developing new leadership, which is a welcome element when older institutions and authorities are being replaced by new structures and new loyalties. They are a strong factor in social and national cohesion. They bring people together for constructive purposes, and break down isolation and factional hostilities that so often hamper development in new countries.

What is extremely significant, too, is that in the emerging countries, cooperative development is a means of strengthening the private enterprise economy, and many of the emerging countries are aware of this. It is the simplest and most direct means for helping people to gain some positive economic advantages through their own efforts.

I share with Mr. Bell his observation that "marshaling the human, material, and financial resources of the U.S. cooperative organizations can, we believe, help provide the know-how and the seed capital essential to the development of sound self-help measures by people in developing countries."

Mr. President, in order to make this document available for use of the many people and organizations interested, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a resolution providing that this Third Annual Cooperative Report to the Congress on the Implementation of the Humphrey Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 be printed as a Senate document.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 371) was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

*Resolved*, That there shall be printed as a Senate document the third annual report to the Congress on the implementation of the Humphrey amendment, prepared by the Agency for International Development, fiscal year 1964, and that an additional five thousand copies be printed for use by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Press release of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, financial statement, Washington, D.C.  
September 22, 1964

### HUMPHREY FINANCIAL STATEMENT MADE PUBLIC

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democratic vice-presidential candidate, made public today a personal financial statement. The statement, showing net assets of \$171,396, was audited by Touche, Ross, Bailey & Smart, certified public accountants, Minneapolis.

Attached is Senator Humphrey's statement along with covering letter by Touche, Ross, Bailey & Smart.

J. 44-201—Folio 2227—June 5,  
TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART,  
Minneapolis, Minn., September 17, 1964.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
Washington, D.C.

We have examined the accompanying statement of financial condition of Hubert H. Humphrey and Muriel F. Humphrey, his wife, as of September 10, 1964. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. In this connection, we have received and relied upon appraisals by real estate agents as to the present market value of real estate and upon representations from

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the principals as to the present market value of household goods and personal effects. We have also received and relied upon representations from the principals as to the completeness of the statement.

Because of the nature and purpose of this presentation, the statement of financial condition of the principals has been prepared on the basis of present market values of their assets, which basis of reporting we believe to be appropriate in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the statement referred to above presents fairly the financial position of Hubert H. Humphrey and Muriel F. Humphrey at September 10, 1964, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART,  
Certified Public Accountants.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AND MURIEL F. HUMPHREY, HIS WIFE

Statement of Financial Condition, Sept. 10, 1964

ASSETS	
Cash:	
The Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C.:	
Checking account	\$6,215
Savings account	394
National City Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.,	
savings account	632
Cash in possession, approximate	100
	\$7,341
U.S. Government securities, at market or redemption values:	
U.S. Treasury notes, 4 percent, due November 15, 1965	25,488
U.S. savings bonds, series E	20,425
	45,913
Corporate stocks and bonds (note A):	
Publicly held corporations	36,416
Other	3,973
	40,389
Residential real estate, at appraised values less estimated expenses of sale:	
Chevy Chase (Montgomery County), Md.	36,000
Waverly (Wright County), Minn.	28,000
	64,000
Miscellaneous assets:	
Deposits with U.S. Civil Service retirement fund, available only in accordance with applicable laws and regulations	20,140
Cash surrender value of life insurance policies	1,500
Automotive vehicles (note B)	5,000
Household goods and personal effects, approximate	7,000
	33,640
	191,283
LIABILITIES	
Mortgage payable on residential real estate at Waverly, Minn., amortized balance	8,887
Household bills and miscellaneous recurring obligations, approximate	1,000
Federal and State taxes on income, approximate:	
Calendar year 1964, not yet payable	\$3,000
Taxes which would become payable if assets were sold at present market values	7,000
	10,000
	19,887
Net assets	171,396

See notes to statement of financial condition:

NOTES TO STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION, SEPTEMBER 10, 1964

## A. Corporate stocks and bonds

Securities of publicly held corporations consisted of the following:

	Shares of par value	Present market value
Curtis Industries, Inc. (common)	300	\$3,225
Energy Fund, Inc. (common)	231	5,525
General Securities, Inc. (common)	746	8,917
L.F. General Stores, Inc. (common)	300	900
G. T. Schjeldahl Co. (common)	1,686	14,963
G. T. Schjeldahl Co., 5½ percent convertible debentures of 1971	\$1,600	1,536
Union Trust Life Insurance Co. (common)	150	1,350
Total		36,416



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Shares of closely held corporations and of other corporations whose shares are not publicly held are as shown below :

	Shares	Estimated market value
Cooperative Services, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn. (common).....	2	\$20
Cooperative Broadcasting Association, Washington, D.C. (preferred).....	2	1
CARE Development Corp. (common).....	1	1
Franklin Creamery, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn. (common).....	1	50
H. H. Humphrey & Sons, Inc., Huron, S. Dak. (common).....	10	3,900
Portland Reporter Publishing Co., Inc., Portland, Oreg. (common).....	1	1
Total.....		3,973

The shares in H. H. Humphrey & Sons, Inc., the family drugstore, are reported at the share equity shown by financial statements (un-audited) as of July 31, 1964.

## B. Automotive equipment

Automotive equipment consists of one 1960 Pontiac, one 1964 Chevy II, one 1931 Ford, and a house trailer.

## C. Future property interest

Three hundred shares in H. H. Humphrey & Sons, Inc., and certain real estate at Huron, S. Dak., are held by Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey, Sr., as life beneficiary, with the remainder vested in her four children. This future property interest has not been reported in the statement of financial condition.

Evansville, Ind.  
Hotel McCurdy  
September 23, 1964

## PRESS CONFERENCE OF SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Senator Hartke. It is very good to be in your hometown. I understand that on this trip in Indiana I am going to have a chance to visit the hometown of the senior Senator, Senator Hartke, and the hometown of Senator Bayh, and the hometown of NBC's famous Ray Scherer, so that ought to take care of most everything.

Now, let's proceed.

QUESTION. Senator, last week's Gulf of Tonkin incident——

Senator HUMPHREY. Sir, I didn't hear you.

QUESTION. During last week's Gulf of Tonkin incidents——

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION (continuing). President Johnson said that some persons advised him to attack North Vietnam. Were those persons advisers of the President?

Senator HUMPHREY. I really couldn't answer that question, sir. I don't seek to avoid it. I frankly just do not know. The President spoke for himself and I imagine what he said was the facts as they developed.

QUESTION. Senator——

Senator HUMPHREY. This gentleman here.

QUESTION. Senator, two national magazines have said there is widespread belief among our NATO allies that our commanders over there already can trigger the atomic weapon; can you verify that?

Senator HUMPHREY. The question is that two national magazines have indicated that our NATO——

QUESTION. Allies.

Senator HUMPHREY (continuing). Our NATO allies can trigger the atomic weapon; is that correct?

QUESTION. That our commanders over there have that authority now.

Senator HUMPHREY. That our commanders over there have that authority now. I have read those articles.

It seems to me that the issue in reference to nuclear power is related directly to the President and the Presidency as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. It boils down to the issue of the temperament, the experience, the background and understanding of a President in reference to leadership and responsibility.

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It is my view that because of the world in which we live where nuclear power is the most obvious fact of power, and because nuclear power has within it the possibilities of annihilation or at least of massive destruction, that we need a President who is prudent, who is responsible, who is careful, and who relies upon the soundest of advice and the most careful analysis of any situation before he acts.

I am not informed as to any directions that may have been given or instructions to commanders in the field. I am informed, however, on the fact that the President of the United States has the responsibility for our Armed Forces, and particularly for nuclear power, and if that is the case I want a man in the White House that can be trusted. I want a man that is reliable. I want a man that is calm, and I want one that doesn't shoot from the hip but rather makes reasoned judgments and I think that man is President Johnson. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator, you have been mentioned in this area in several Republican speeches in the last week or so, and one by Senator Peter Dominick, of Colorado, and then last night by Lieutenant Governor Ristine and both of them had somewhat a similar reference, they said that you were one of the organizers of the ADA, and that this organization stood for such principles as reorganizing Red China for the U.N., and withdrawal of American troops from West Germany.

Would you care to comment on that, Senator?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, first of all, I don't particularly care to comment about the remarks of people that are so ill informed. But I would be more than happy to comment about the facts. I was one of the organizers of ADA. It is one of the most effective anti-Communist, non-Communist, progressive organizations in our Nation, dedicated to principles of our Constitution, to the system of private enterprise, to the defense of civil liberties, and the promulgation of civil rights.

That is its background, that is its purpose, that is its charter. Its major enemies are the Communists and the Birchites and a few misinformed Republican politicians. [Applause.]

It has never advocated the withdrawal of troops from West Berlin nor has Senator Humphrey. In fact, Senator Humphrey has been one of the main proponents of strength in West Berlin, and in the fulfillments of our commitments. It has not advocated immediate recognition of Communist China. To the contrary, it has discussed the possibilities of negotiation. It never went as far as John Foster Dulles in that matter.

I think that those who indulge in these half truths are revealing themselves to be both poor students of government, inaccurate students of contemporary politics, and guilty of seeking to confuse the American people, all of which, by the way, should bar them from public office and public trust.

QUESTION. Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Do you have any comments on Mr. Miller's charges that the Johnson administration is using what he calls almost Gestapo state tactics to smear him.

Senator HUMPHREY. I really haven't given much attention to what Mr. Miller has been saying. I am primarily interested in what President Johnson is doing, and what our country is doing, and I am interested, of course, in what Mr. Goldwater says as he seeks to explain his most recent statements.

Other than that, I have not had much time to concentrate on the words of others. I prefer to let these men speak for themselves. They seem to be doing well enough in confusing both themselves and the people without any help from me. [Laughter.]

QUESTION. Senator, you spoke the other day in Springfield about the dangers of complacency. You have now talked to the President about the campaign. Does he share your feeling that too many Democrats might take this election for granted?

Senator HUMPHREY. I have talked with the President, Mr. Scherer, about this campaign, and the fact that the public opinion polls show the Johnson administration and the President himself to be very

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popular, running very strong. We take nothing for granted. We follow the advice of Harry Truman, one of the best campaigners of them all, that you don't get elected by public opinion polls. You get elected by hard work, and by dedication to your program, and by organizational activity on the part of Democrats, and Independents.

In this campaign we are going to take nothing for granted, we will seek to do our best to carry the message of our party and our platform to the American people, and we invite into this campaign the thousands and thousands of responsible Republicans who have indicated an interest in the support of President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

We thank them for that support and we want to be worthy of it. The way to be worthy of it is to earn it through hard work and through the advocacy of what we stand for. So there will be no let up. If anyone wants to be apathetic he should not attempt to associate himself with the Democratic Party and the Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey because we are going to be very busy.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Kenworthy.

QUESTION. Senator, the criticism has been made that while the President and you are doing a very good job of defending the record of the past two Congresses, that you are not actively planning for the future. You are not putting together task forces on futures problems such as President Kennedy undertook to do immediately following the convention. Is that right?

Senator HUMPHREY. There is a little difference, Mr. Kenworthy, between the present situation and 1960.

In 1960, neither Mr. Nixon or Mr. Kennedy were incumbents in the Presidency, they were both candidates. In this instance the President of the United States has continuing task forces, working all the time, as the President of the United States, on programs for the future.

For example, our budget for fiscal 1966 is underway right now. Our plans for housing, for development of our cities, for agriculture, for education are already underway. The President has an advisory task force on foreign policy and foreign aid, many other areas. So, that these task forces are at work, many of them within the Government, many of them having citizen, private citizen, representation, and may I assure you that after the election of November 3, when the American people give President Johnson their mandate to move ahead even further than we have, that there will be plenty of programs, both for Congress—I should say for Congress, the press, and the people. We will have enough new things for you.

QUESTION. Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Sir, what do you think the chances are of the Democratic Party carrying Indiana by a good majority in November, not just a victory, but a good majority?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I hear from my colleagues, Senators Hartke and Bayh, and from your candidate for Governor, Mr. Branigin, that things look fairly well here in Indiana. We know that Indiana is a very important State. In fact, we consider it one of the important States in this campaign, and therefore, working together with the Congressman here in this district—we have Congressman Denton—with your two Senators, with your State organizations, and with the independents, and Republicans, independent voters and Republicans, who are going to support President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, we are going to leave no stone unturned, we are going to leave no home without a visitation, and we are going to leave no voter without at least a request for a vote and a helping hand. I think we will do all right in Indiana. [Applause.]

In the back, please, sir.

QUESTION. Senator, in many of your recent speeches—

I wonder how many young people are eligible for voting—but a lot of them will be eligible for the Army. I am wondering whether it is possible by 1967 to do away with the draft.

Senator HUMPHREY. That matter, sir, has been discussed at some length.

As you know, the President has already established an advisory group on this subject of military manpower, looking forward to the possibilities of the elimination of the draft and getting to a voluntary professional Military Establishment.

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Senator Goldwater belatedly came in with a similar suggestion. It seems to me that the possibilities that you refer to are rather good. We will have to wait and see what the international situation requires, and that is why I believe that making firm commitments on this matter might be deceptive. It is more honorable to say what we are doing; namely, reexamining our present military manpower situation with the objective in mind if the conditions permit for the elimination of the draft.

Now, the gentleman here.

QUESTION. In many of your recent speeches you have been striking a theme that we are one nation, one people, and you have criticized those who would turn race against race—I believe I am using your words—farmer against farmer, the Federal Government against State government, et cetera.

Do you believe that Senator Goldwater is one of the people doing this, and if so, can you elaborate?

Senator HUMPHREY. I have said that President Johnson has dedicated himself to uniting the American people, that he does not seek to divide labor and capital and city and farmer and race against race. I think that is the kind of national leadership that we need.

I feel that some of the remarks of Senator Goldwater such as "Civil rights breeds violence and hatred and bitterness" is an invitation to disorder, to lawlessness, that it is a most unfortunate statement on the part of a presidential candidate, and that he ought not to say it.

Furthermore, I feel that his flirtation with Birchites is the kind of activity which can only lead to doubts as to the desire for national unity on his part, because that organization, and their members, have been very irresponsible and have made vicious attacks upon prominent and noted Americans, including, by the way, the one that Mr. Goldwater spent the afternoon with the other day and had a television show with last night.

I was kind of hopeful that during that television show that the Senator might say that he disagreed with some of his supporters in the Birch organization about their evaluation of President Eisenhower. It seemed to me that would have been the appropriate time to have set the record straight. Instead of that nothing was said.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, the Assistant Attorney General announced yesterday that a new investigation would be launched into the Bobby Baker case. What bearing do you think it would have on the election?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, he is not running for office.

QUESTION. I mean, would it hurt the Democratic Party?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I suppose that any of these matters in a political year are of some trouble. But the fact that the matter is being investigated and the fact that responsible agents of this Government or agencies of this Government are looking into it, I think should be adequate proof that justice will be done. I might add that we are all very unhappy about this situation, just as the Eisenhower administration was unhappy about a number of its prominent officials that got themselves into difficulty, including at first their national chairman within the first year, Presidential assistant before the Eisenhower administration had completed its two terms, a couple of Cabinet officers and two others, but Mr. Eisenhower went on to win rather substantial victories.

Yes, sir.

QUESTION. Earlier, Senator, you were talking about it seems to be the popular thing for the Goldwater people to indicate that the present administration's increased welfare are leading us to a welfare state or at least increased welfare as we go on.

Would you care to comment without trying to read their minds why you think anyone would be opposed to increased welfare.

Senator HUMPHREY. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has given leadership that has permitted or has encouraged, I should say, this American economy of ours to be at an all-time high and more people at work with good wages today than ever before.



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There are more profits today for American business than ever before. Farm income is higher than it has ever been ever before. In other words, we are on the upward trail all the time. But in this process, there are always some people who are the unfortunate victims either of technological unemployment or of a shift of a plant to another locality or they may be unfortunate. They may be mentally ill, they may be physically ill, they may have very serious problems that require some assistance, and those people are deserving of the attention and the care of Government as well as volunteer organizations.

When I got off here at the airplane today I found that the United Fund was active here in the city of Evansville. This is a part of the great program of welfare of the American people. It backs up your county welfare program, your State welfare program, and to these county and State welfare programs come Federal funds, and I am sure that the county commissioners of this county and the city officials would find it rather difficult to care for the needs of the indigent people and of the needy people were it not for some of the help that comes from the Federal Government, and this is the way it ought to be. It is all one country, all one Government. We are not talking about a welfare society. We are talking about what Evansville says it is, the "City of Opportunity." We are talking about an opportunity society. We are talking about a country in which people can make a better life for themselves. Opportunity is the theme of this administration.

QUESTION. Thank you, Senator.

Thank you, Senator Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Evansville, Ind.  
Address at airport  
September 23, 1964.

### REMARKS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and Senator Hartke and Mrs. Hartke, and Senator Bayh, that old distinguished—as we called him old reliable, Winfield Denton, your wonderful Congressman. [Applause.]

Mr. Mayor, I notice you are very proud of your county committee, very proud of your State Democratic chairman. You keep talking about this wonderful Beulah Evans and I agree with you she is a marvelous, marvelous vice chairman.

I want to first of all express my thanks to you, Mr. Mayor, for the honorary citizenship in the city of Evansville. I think this is better than I received from Vance Hartke when he was mayor, when I came down here. I don't recall that I got anything like that. [Laughter.]

But Vance tells me that we had some other good times together so I shouldn't be complaining.

I also want to express my thanks to these two wonderful young people who came here on behalf of the United Fund and presented me with an honorary citizenship certificate. It is really a little better to get it from the United Fund because that means you can be the recipient of help, if you need it, and here the mayor tells me that he is sending me a little tax bill as a sort of a special remainder of my honorary citizenship.

Mayor McDonald, I thank you. I was once the mayor of a great city, the city of Minneapolis wherever I go I am particularly honored when I find a fellow mayor. It is the best job I ever had is what I always say. It is one that at least was the most exciting and interesting. I am delighted to see here our friend Roger Branigin. The last time I saw Roger both he and I were being scalped over here at the gridiron dinner at Indianapolis, and I notice, Roger, that you are in one piece, and that you are doing just fine. I heard then that you were going to be the nominee of our party and I am delighted that you are, and I have a feeling that Indiana, having once set the pattern for a Democratic Governor, with your own Governor Welch, wants to keep the good record and wants to continue and so the least that we can expect out of Indiana in this election would be the election of Mr. Branigin as the new Governor of the State of Indiana. [Applause.]



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Just a word and then we are going downtown. This is a very friendly greeting on your part. It was unexpected. I can assure you that I am very, very pleased with it.

Mrs. Humphrey left the Washington National Airport this morning for a tour of some seven States, as I recall, in the Midwest. She was out with me last week, apparently thought I wasn't doing good enough, so she thought she would pick up the tempo of the campaign a little bit, and she went off to Kansas this morning, and will start a tour of those Midwestern States.

In the 1954 campaign when I was bogged down with a good deal of work in the Senate, and my first chance for reelection in the State of Minnesota, every time we would have a dinner out home at Minnesota so help me there would be an important vote in the Senate, and I would have to stay in the Senate. So, I would send Mrs. Humphrey home.

Pretty soon the word came back and said, "Well, Humphrey, why don't you just stay there. We would rather have your wife."

[Laughter.]

And I immediately canceled, took the risk and got home to tend to my business. It is a very serious thing when you let these ladies do the campaigning for you because then you really have the choice. And the folks are apt to make the right one, which reminds me that I am delighted to be here with Martha Hartke who is such a wonderful campaigner for her distinguished husband.

May I add it has been a real privilege to serve in the Senate with Vance Hartke and Birch Bayh. Vance has a splendid record of what I call sensible progressiveism in the Congress of the United States, and Birch Bayh has brought to us a new sense of dedication to some of the great humanities of education and of health, and of all the important social matters that need our constant attention.

I leave you now with this challenge. Somebody asks me: "What do you think is in the balance in the election?"

[Train passing.]

By the way, don't worry, that is a Democrat, and let me tell you the last time somebody said something about a railroad engineer in this town, was Tom Dewey, you remember. [Laughter.]

Well, I want to say that I salute you, Mr. Engineer. You are doing wonderfully. [Applause.]

Those railroad men there, they have got good sense, they are voting for Lyndon B. Johnson right down to the last man. [Applause.]

And they are also voting for Vance Hartke and they are voting for Denton and they are voting for Branigin. They have really got the right idea.

Now, I said that I wanted to give you what I think are the stakes in this election. What is it all about? A gentleman speaking at the United Steel Workers Convention in Atlantic City just 2 days ago, the president of that great international put it, I think, as succinctly and as concisely and as squarely on the line as I have heard it. He said to those fine citizens gathered at that convention, he said at stake in this election or at issue in this election are your paychecks, and peace, and I think that is the way we ought to look at it; the continued prosperity of this country, the employment of our people at fair and good wages, the profits of our business, the expansion of our enterprise, yes; that is what we mean when we talk about paychecks because there are no paychecks without business, and there is no business without paychecks, and when we talk about peace being at stake, that is, of course, the overriding issue, my dear fellow Americans, of all which I intend to speak to you in some detail about.

It is the peace at home, the tranquility, the sense of justice in our own communities, but also the peace of the world, and what we need at the helm of the Presidency, my fellow Americans, is a man who can bring us together, is one who, and he quotes and he loves to quote from that beloved prophet of the Old Testament, Isaiah, "Come, let us reason together."

That is what the American people need, to reason together, to be together, to be united as a people, in a sense to love one another, to work together, to plan together, to play together, to think together, a united America, because a united America is the only real hope of a better and a peaceful and a free world. Remember what Abraham Lincoln said, "America, the last best hope on earth." And it is just as true now as it was in his day. [Applause.]

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So, with my everlasting thanks to this warm reception of dear and good people, I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your citizenship certificate; I thank the United Fund, and I urge people to contribute generously to it.

I thank you for sending to Congress two great Senators, Senator Hartke, my good and longtime friend, and Senator Bayh, this new and fine distinguished Senator and, above all, I thank you for sending to us the most reliable of them all, Congressman Denton whom we love so much. [Applause.]

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.  
September 23, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, EVANSVILLE, IND.

Almost 4 years ago—on October 4, 1960—a brave and determined young Senator from Massachusetts came to Evansville as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States. He came to ask your help in moving America forward in the 1960's. He came to express his belief that America could no longer afford to stand still—that America had a choice between vigor and progress under a Democratic administration and stagnation and status quo under the Republicans.

America made its choice in 1960. America elected John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson and today I can tell you we have been moving forward in these last 4 years.

For 1,000 days our beloved John F. Kennedy kept his promises to America. And when he was taken from us, Lyndon B. Johnson stepped in to give America the most productive 10 months in her history. The Kennedy-Johnson administration kept faith with America.

Five days ago another Senator came to Evansville. He, too, came as a candidate for President. But he came not to seek your help in moving America forward, but to threaten, to impugn, to accuse, and to say "No" to the challenges of the sixties.

What a contrast with the vision, courage, and faith of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. What a contrast with all Americans who believe this generation bears a sacred obligation to make democracy prevail in these difficult and dangerous times.

Unlike the leader of the Goldwater faction, I come to Evansville today to reaffirm the conviction that we need not fear the future, we need not retreat to the past, we need only seek the help and the hands of the American people in our quest for a better America, in our pledge to keep America moving forward.

Our forward motion is not inevitable. These are challenging times. These are times hedged about with trials and difficulties. None of you can escape the trials; none of you can avoid the difficulties in this struggle for a better life for yourselves and your children.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson promised that life in these years of trial and testing would not be easy. President Kennedy spoke of our people bearing "the burden of a long struggle, year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation."

In such a difficult and demanding period of history, this Nation has no choice but to elect as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated his capacity to bear the immense burdens of this office, who understands the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper in these fearful days.

There is a fundamental question we ask the American people to consider: which candidate and which party possesses the sense of responsibility needed to guide this Nation safely through the turbulent 1960's.

*Responsibility* has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and *responsibility* is the single quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the leader of the Goldwater faction.

Responsibility is more than words, and deeds are more revealing than rhetoric. And it is on the basis of deeds that the Democratic Party has demonstrated its capacity to lead America forward in the next 4 years.

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*Responsibility* is taking an economy which has suffered three recessions in 8 Republican years and transforming it into an economy which produces 43 consecutive months of recordbreaking growth.

*Responsibility* is reducing the unemployment rate from almost 7 percent in January 1961 to less than 5 percent in July 1964 and reducing it in Indiana from 6.7 percent to 4.2 percent.

*Responsibility* is guaranteeing to workers a just and equitable minimum wage. And the Democratic administration has enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25 and broadened coverage, too.

*Responsibility* is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations additional funds to spend or to invest for the future.

*Responsibility* is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not participate fully in the prosperity of this land. And President Johnson has declared war on poverty.

*Responsibility* is guaranteeing to every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, the basic rights of citizenship. And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been passed.

*Responsibility* is attempting to provide the American farmer with a more equitable share in our national prosperity. Farm income has increased by over \$1 billion each year; surpluses have declined; exports have risen. But the responsibility is also recognizing that much more remains to be done—and the Johnson administration intends to do it.

*Responsibility* is insuring that America will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace. And today we possess more powerful military force than any nation in history, and the nuclear test ban treaty proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our children.

*Responsibility* is providing each American child with an equal opportunity for an education to develop his or her talents and abilities to the fullest. And this Democratic Congress has enacted the most comprehensive program of education legislation in our Nation's history.

*Responsibility* is fighting disease and sickness so that every American will have an equal opportunity to enjoy physical and mental health. And this Democratic administration has established programs to build new health facilities and medical schools and to provide new scholarships for the training of doctors and nurses.

In area after area—in program after program—the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Democratic Party have demonstrated what *responsibility* in government really means: namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy increased opportunities.

Let us never forget—in the words of Lincoln—that the duty of government is to serve the people. And that is precisely what the Democratic Party has sought to do in the past 4 years.

And what of the words and deeds of the leader of the Goldwaterites? What of his sense of responsibility? What has been his answer to the awesome problems which test our people and our system of government?

He said "No" on the \$11.5 billion tax cut.

He said "No" on the civil rights bill.

He said "No" on the Vocational Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, the Medical Education Act, and the Higher Education Facilities Act.

He said "No" on the test ban treaty.

He said "No" on the Trade Expansion Act.

He said "No" on the wilderness bill.

He said "No" on the antipoverty program.

He said "No" on hospital insurance under social security.

He said "No" on various farm programs to provide equitable prices and reduce surpluses.

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction said "No" to almost every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past 4 years.

This record of retreat, reaction, and regression stands as the very repudiation of responsibility. Our opposition has shown that it did not understand the meaning of responsibility in the past and has promised only more irresponsibility in the future.

## 89—BAT—L

It is in the President's conduct of military and foreign affairs where the capacity for responsibility is particularly essential. A capacity for responsibility did not prompt the following statements by Senator Goldwater:

"Now I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip \* \* \* I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them." (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512).

"I have advocated giving control of nuclear weapons to the supreme commander of NATO \* \* \* the NATO commander should not be required to wait while the White House calls a conference to decide whether these weapons should be used" (press conference, Reno, Nev., Feb. 13, 1964).

"Someday, I am convinced, there will be either a war, or we'll be subjugated without war \* \* \* real nuclear war \* \* \* I don't see how it can be avoided—perhaps 5, 10 years from now" (New York Post interview, May 8, 1961).

"Defoliation of the forests (in southeast Asia) by low yield atomic weapons could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover" (Issues and Answers, May 24, 1964).

These are his own words—and these words speak louder about his qualifications for the Presidency than anything I could say.

The Presidency demands the highest levels of responsibility at times of greatest stress—the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin—when one misstep, one rash action, one intemperate outburst, one shot from the hip could ignite the nuclear holocaust which would incinerate friend and foe alike, leaving only a dead, stricken planet.

In his historic inaugural address, our martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed, "\* \* \* I do not shrink from responsibility—I welcome it \* \* \*"

And Lyndon B. Johnson in that hour of grief and horror after the loss of President Kennedy said to the Nation:

This is our challenge—not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us.

Let us join together in seeking the election of the one man whom America—and the world—can trust as President, the one man who profoundly believes in the destiny of America and her people, the one man who will continue to move America forward—Lyndon B. Johnson.

Evansville, Ind.  
Vanderburgh County Courthouse  
September 23, 1964.

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Welsh, for your generous and fine introduction, and my special greeting today to Joe O'Day, your county chairman, and to Beulah Evans, your vice chairman for the wonderful arrangements that have been made here by your county committee.

It is good to be here once again with my colleagues of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from this State, former mayor of Evansville, wonderfully good friends of the Humphrey family, in fact, he has been challenging my family for years to a basketball game, but I am not as foolish as Goldwater.

I don't take on these challenges when I think you don't have a chance to win. [Applause.]

So to Vance and to Martha I say that nothing would please Muriel and Hubert more than your reelection, and I am sure that the people of Indiana are going to send back to the U.S. Senate one of the most sensible and one of the most constructive Members of the Senate that I have met in all of my 16 years in the U.S. Senate, your own Vance Hartke. [Applause.]

Thank you, too, for the wonderful addition of the Birch Bayhs. What a wonderful couple you sent to Washington, D.C. We are indebted to all of the people of Indiana. [Applause.]



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Of course, there is always a note of gratitude in the heart of a President or a Senator or any citizen when they know that you have Winfield Denton representing this great Eighth District of Indiana. [Applause.]

Governor Welsh, I am honored by the fact you have seen fit to introduce me today, and I know you join with me and you join with hundreds of thousands of the good citizens of this State in urging the election of another great Democrat to the chief office, the chief office of the State of Indiana as Governor, none other than Roger Branigin, a good man for the job. [Applause.]

There are many that I should like to pay my respects to but we came here for other purposes. I might say I noticed around as I visited with some of you and as I have been sitting here on the platform I have noticed a few signs that indicate that there might be somebody else running for President besides President Johnson, and I am delighted to see that, because I have always felt that if we were just patient enough that these dear souls would come here not to proclaim their candidate but to confess their political sins. [Applause.]

In such a difficult and demanding period this Nation has no choice but to elect as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated [applause] yes, the man who has demonstrated his capacity to bear the immense burdens of the Office of President, and who understand the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper in these fearful days.

There is a fundamental question that we must ask ourselves— which candidate and which party in this election possesses the sense of responsibility needed to guide this Nation safely through this period of the cold war, and through these turbulent and uncertain days of the second half of the 20th century.

That is the question, my fellow Americans. This campaign is not a joy ride. I hear of the great game of politics. It is no game. It is your most serious business. This is no plaything for men who like to play cops and robbers. This is no idle exercise in rhetoric. We are talking about the salvation of a great nation, and we are talking about whether or not in these days a government of the people and by the people and for the people shall perish from this earth, and I say that means that whoever it is in charge of this Government, whoever is entrusted with the responsibility for the Presidency, yes, for Senator, that these men and, above all, the President, must have that quality of maturity and of responsibility so that not only Americans but the whole world can trust him and trust is the word. [Applause.]

Responsibility, not a very dramatic word, but it is the hard fact of leadership, and it has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, and responsibility is the single quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the Republican pretender to the Presidency. That is what distinguishes him.

Responsibility of more than words, and deeds are more revealing than rhetoric, and it is on the basis of deeds, on performance, that the Democratic Party has demonstrated its capacity to lead the American people forward in the next 4 years.

Responsibility. Let me tell you what it means. It means taking an economy which you knew about here in Evansville, which had suffered three recessions in 8 Republican years, and transforming it into an economy which has produced 43 consecutive months of record-breaking growth and prosperity. That is responsibility. [Applause.]

Responsibility is reducing unemployment and reducing it right here in Indiana from 6.7 percent of the work force to 4.2 percent as of this month. Responsibility is as your Senator Hartke told me and your Senator Bayh, continuing the development of the Ohio River Valley which is well on its way to becoming the new industrial area, the Ruhr of America with transportation, with navigation, with industry, with jobs, with new factories, aluminum processing, yes, that is responsibility. [Applause.]

Responsibility was area redevelopment, accelerated public works which helped get Evansville back on its feet so that this city could be the first city in the Nation to receive from the President of the



## 91—BAT—L

United States a certificate saying that it had accomplished its goal. That no longer was it in need of area redevelopment and of area assistance. It was standing on its own feet. That is responsibility. [Applause.]

May I say to the thousands of workers of this community, responsibility is guaranteeing the workers a just and equitable minimum wage, and the Democratic administration enacted that promise of a minimum wage of a dollar and a quarter an hour and broadened coverage, too. That is responsibility.

And responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations individual funds to spend and to invest and to get America moving again; \$23 million of tax savings in this district alone because of that one act of Congress. [Applause.]

Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not fully participate in the prosperity of this land, and responsibility is what President Johnson exhibited when he declared war on poverty. That is a responsible President.

Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American regardless of his race, his color, or his creed, or his national origin the basic rights of citizenship under our Constitution, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. [Applause.]

Responsibility is attempting to provide for the American farmer a more equitable share of the national prosperity, and every year of this administration a billion dollars has been added to farm income. Surpluses have been reduced. Exports have risen and the costs of storage have been reduced. Responsibility also means doing more and not doing less. Responsibility is insuring that America in these troubled years and days will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace, and today we possess more military power than any nation in the history, and more power than any combination in history. And responsibility means the nuclear test-ban treaty that proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful and a safe world for our children and children yet unborn. [Applause.]

Yes, my fellow Americans, responsibility means providing every American child, as your two Senators have fought for in Congress, an equal opportunity for education, to develop talents and abilities to the fullest. It means, if you please, a grant of funds to Evansville College, right here in your own community. [Applause.]

And it means to give adults of the country the opportunities for education such as those provided by the Indiana University Extension Service under the leadership of the former president of the University, Herman Wells, that is responsibility in government.

Now, my friends, why do I list these items? Because Democratic Congresses enacted the most comprehensive programs of education, of health, and others in our Nation's history, and responsibility is fighting disease, and sickness, so that every American will have an equal opportunity to enjoy health, physical and mental health. There is no happiness in sickness. There is no prosperity in sickness, and this Democratic administration has established broad programs to build new hospitals, such as a million-dollar grant to your own Welborn Memorial Hospital right here in your city, to provide money for research against the terrible diseases of heart disease and cancer, and the many diseases that afflict mankind and to provide new scholarships for training of doctors and nurses.

So, in area after area, in program after program we have kept the faith. The Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Democratic majority in the Congress have demonstrated responsibility, and responsibility in Government means, namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy new and increased opportunities. That is what we are talking about. [Applause.]

Now, what are the words and the deeds of Mr. Irresponsible? What are the words and the deeds of the leader of the Goldwaterites?

Let us not just guess. Let us look, and as Al Smith once said, let us look at the record. What of his sense of responsibility? What has been his answer to the awesome problems which test our people and our system of government?

Well, let's see—he said no to area redevelopment for Evansville. There wouldn't have been any if his vote had counted. He said no to your sewage plant, to your public works.

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He said no to the \$11½ billion tax cut which puts \$23 million in extra purchasing power in the hands of the people of this community.

He said no to equal rights and civil rights for the American people.

He said no to vocational education. No to the National Defense Education Act. No to the hospitals; no to the Medical Education Act. No to your Higher Education Act.

He said no to the nuclear test-ban treaty. Let the radioactivity rain down on the earth.

No, he said no to the Trade Expansion Act, and no city in Indiana exports more goods in proportion to population than this city that I speak in now, and yet the man who leads the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party said no, no, a thousand times no to export trade.

He said no to the wilderness bill to preserve the great wilderness areas for coming generations. He said no to the war on poverty. He said no to progress, and he said no to hospital insurance and nursing home care under social security, and he said no to the foreign programs.

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction has said no to almost every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past 4 years.

This is a record of retreat. This is a record of reaction, and regression, and it stands, my fellow Americans, as the complete repudiation of responsibility and responsible leadership for America. [Applause.]

Finally, my friends, there are many statements that one could quote to demonstrate what I call the greatest area of irresponsibility. In the field of foreign policy and national security.

Let me only say this, that the Presidency demands the highest levels of responsibility in these times of stress. It demanded responsibility in the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin. When one misstep, one rash action, one intemperate outburst, one shot from the hip or the lip, could ignite the nuclear holocaust which would incinerate friend and foe alike, leaving only a dead, stricken planet. In his historic inaugural address our martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed these words and let them be seared into your soul, my fellow Americans, he said, "I do not shrink from responsibility, I welcome it." That is the mark of a great man. [Applause.]

And Lyndon Johnson, this giant of a man from Texas, selected by the late President so that we could be sure that no matter what happened we would be assured of great leadership. Lyndon Johnson said in that hour of grief and horror after the loss of President Kennedy, speaking to us, to Congress assembled, listen to these words:

"This is our challenge, not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us."

Here is a President that welcomes the future, that accepts responsibility and that asks the American people to stand tall, big, and strong to meet the needs of our day, and the days ahead. [Applause.]

So, I say to those who are gathered here today and to the thousands more that you may speak to and talk to, let us join together as Americans in seeking the election of the one man whom America and the world can trust; yes, I repeat, can trust, as President.

The one man who profoundly believes in the destiny of our America, and in her people, and the one man who has demonstrated by performance in these 10 dramatic months of his administration that he is the man who can lead America, who can bring America to her greatest triumphs, and the one man who will continue to move America forward, and I ask the people of Indiana, I ask you to join with us in the mightiest victory that we have ever known to for once and for all to defeat these forces of reaction, of intolerance and of bitterness, and I ask you to elect a man who seeks to unite America, who has proclaimed to us that the Democratic Party is the all-American party for all Americans. Elect Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you. [Applause.]

# 93—BAT—L

New York, N.Y.  
American Hotel Ballroom  
September 24, 1964

## SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT THE LIBERAL PARTY CONVENTION DINNER

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Thank you very much, Mayor Wagner, the next U.S. Senator, Bobby Kennedy. [Applause.] I always love to come to New York, come here to see my Liberal Party friends, Alex Rose, Dave Dubinsky, and Tim Costello, and all the other stalwarts here of the Liberal Party and of New York liberalism. There is something so very reassuring about Dave Dubinsky. Look at him sitting here wrapped in sachel wisdom, and I might add, I might add that I am very, very proud to be on this platform tonight with a most courageous and forthright, intelligent liberal and a man with deep humanitarian instincts that is worthy of this great State and worthy of the traditions of liberalism or this Empire State, your own friend who has spoken to you tonight, your new U.S. Senator-to-be Robert Kennedy. [Applause.] It is nice to be working with him, together with him. [Applause.] And, that we shall do for many, many years to come.

We of Minnesota of the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, and you of the Liberal Party, we have a common bond. Twenty years ago, you in New York affirmed one of the basic principles of a democratic political movement. In 1944, the Liberal Party was founded because you could not tolerate Communist extremism in the liberal movement. When you condemned extremism you set an example which the Republicans in San Francisco 20 years later regrettably ignored.

In 1964, everybody condemns communism. But when you founded the Liberal Party in 1944, and we in Minnesota began our successful campaign to destroy Communist influence in our State in 1946, some Americans looked hopefully toward the Soviet Union feeling that perhaps communism would change its character as a result of our common struggle against Nazi Germany. But it was the liberals, we liberals, who stood firmly against this tide of sentimental nostalgia, who were denounced to the skies as "red baiters," but who established the point once and for all that totalitarianism-extremism of any stripe is alien to the traditions of American democracy. [Applause.] At a time when political hucksters and medicine men are smearing liberalism, we can stand up proudly on our record that we will not even listen to their charges until they purge their ranks of the rightwing extremists. [Applause.]

David, with these hands we have destroyed Communist influence in American politics, with these hands we have laid the foundations of a good society dedicated to freedom, to justice, and to equality; and with these hands we shall continue under the leadership of Lydon B. Johnson to the joyous task of building a great society worthy of our dreams. [Applause.]

Yes, we have come a long way together, and you who know my strengths and my frailties must realize how deeply moved I am by your action. Members of the Liberal Party, I proudly accept the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Office of Vice President of the United States. [Applause.] And your good, humble, and great mayor, Mayor Wagner [Applause] with prophetic words indicated tonight that the joy of this occasion is only saddened by the thought if only dear friend, Herbert Lehman, were here to share this moment with me, what a happy moment that would be. [Applause.]

Emerson once said that a speaker should try to call attention to the facts and not to himself. I have tried to do that during this campaign, and I am going to do it again tonight. But you know it is very tempting, and it is enjoyable to analyze the statements, the retractions, the be continued, "discussing complicated, twisted issues." [Laughter.] I have always found it a thrill to try to hit a moving target. [Laughter and applause.]

Consider what he said the other day in trying to compare himself with liberals. He said, "A lot of my enemies call me simple. The big trouble, the big trouble with the so-called liberal today is that he doesn't understand simplicity. I refuse to go around this country," he continued, "discussing complicated, twisted issues." [Laughter.]

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Now, my fellow Americans, is life really as simple as the Senator thinks? Are matters of life and death simple? Are the problems so simple and the answers so easy that they need not be discussed? Can a serious candidate for President actually be so fearful of the complexities of life that he blocks them from his mind and then has the gall to ask people to follow him?

America's history is the dramatic story of a people fighting for independence, creating a government, settling a continent, engaging, yes, in a civil war, reuniting a nation, and emerging as a world power. Now, who truly believes that these were simple and easy tasks?

The story of America from Bunker Hill to Vietnam is one of struggle, of sacrifice, of heroism, of courage, but never, never simple and never easy.

The reality of America has always been complex, and challenging. When my father was a young man living on the frontier in South Dakota, life was not even then simple. There was a dark and often brutalizing underside to this seemingly happy world. There was too often disease, illiteracy, poverty, and loneliness, even along the main traveled roads.

Independence and self-reliance along, important virtues, which must be preserved, were not adequate to deal with the complex and impersonal world even of that day.

People increasingly saw the need to mobilize the powers of their government, their free government on behalf of individual opportunity.

So, in an unbroken line the new freedom, the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, initiated programs which demonstrated that government is the servant of man, not his adversary. [Applause.]

Today, however, we confront a far more complex world, one whose beckoning opportunities excite us, but whose accute needs torment us, torment us with their immediacy, and their obstinacy.

This complex world is the work of man himself, with his science and his technology, and man himself has given it the name of the metropolis. You know that metropolis well—and that is why I speak of it tonight.

The metropolis is centered here in New York City, and it stretches northward continuously into New England and southward along the Middle Atlantic coast. Other parts of the metropolis exist in the South and in the Southwest, in the region of the Great Lakes, and along the Pacific coast.

Today more than two-thirds of all Americans live in this extended metropolis. By 1980, only 18 years from now, 8 of every 10 Americans will live there. In fact, when the population is expected to reach 260 million by 1980, some 80 million persons will be concentrated in a single urban metropolis or urban strip extending from Boston, in New England, to Washington, D.C.

The figures I have cited tell us two things: First, the modern American—the modern American, is the metropolitan man, blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic.

Second, important questions must be answered: How do we adapt those political and social arrangements which served rural man to the urgent needs of metropolitan man? How do we enlarge our vision to take in the whole of the Nation and invent new ways of meeting the rightful demands of both the metropolis and the rest of the country?

The answers to these insistent questions will decide whether we can deal successfully with the problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, police and crime detection, the nerveracking and costly congestion of traffic.

These problems alone would be enough. But there are others, other difficulties for the metropolis: The crowded schools and hospitals; the degrading slums; the absence of open spaces for recreation; even the ordinary logistics of everyday living—how to get back and forth from work.

These problems alone would be enough. But even as we try to adapt our private and our governmental organizations to serving metropolitan man, we confront antiquated local tax structure, wasteful and overlapping agencies of local and State government, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the tradition of inertia.



## 95—BAT—L

Now, history is marked by the names of great cities like Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, New York. The things created by men working together in cities outlast the living generation. Cities carried forward the spirit of an age.

When men in cities have built meanly, without common purpose or a sense of the ideal, the probability is that they had lived meanly. They have neglected the influence which make a civilization out of a collection of individuals. But when men build cities in the spirit of a community, and with an eye for a nobility of line, they are reaching beyond the purely materializations of life which so quickly grow stale.

The Liberal Party that I salute tonight has a vision of such a city, a metropolis that enriches the lives of its citizens; an urban civilization that can become truly urbane.

And President Kennedy had such an urban civilization in mind when he spoke of the New Frontier. President Johnson has this in mind when he speaks of the Great Society, and I have it in mind tonight as I speak and visit with you.

During his all too brief 1,000 days as President, John F. Kennedy was forced to concentrate most of his great strength and talent upon the international crises that he inherited. But it is a part of his supreme triumph that his success in averting foreign danger has won for us a margin of time in which we can shape the future of our metropolis, and that is why President Johnson—that is what, I should say, President Johnson has been doing. He remains fully alert to every shift in the balance of world power. He is poised to deal bluntly but resolutely with any danger or opportunity that presents itself. But all the while, he has been using the margin of time that President Kennedy won for all of us, to revive and renovate and strengthen the internal conditions of American life. [Applause.]

In everything he has done in his public career, President Johnson has lived by the principle of responsible power and President Johnson needs the support of a united America and I submit to you that he has fully earned your active support and he is eternally grateful for having received it. [Applause.]

Our record is a good one. We have preserved and expanded those freedoms that constitute our priceless inheritance and we have extended those rights to those members of the communities who have been ignored and excluded.

And we have faced up to the fearful perils of the nuclear age, rejecting both those who counsel appeasement and those who shout for reckless action.

And we have lifted the economy of our own Nation, and we have seen our faith in the American enterprise system vindicated.

We promised we would view success at any task we undertook as being no more than a downpayment on new commitments toward even greater advances.

To guarantee that future, we must mobilize behind President Johnson in this campaign. He must win from the American people an overwhelming mandate to get on with the job. [Applause.]

Every citizen must know that the second half of this century is the era of the metropolitan man. We must plan for the renaissance of our cities.

It must be obvious even to those who take the simple view that we need a Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs. The cities of the future [applause]—the cities of the future will not neatly conform to the present city lines. Regional planning is essential.

The cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality. Life in interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, wisdom, and tolerance.

The cities of the future must provide access for the abundant cultural life, and the cities of the future must allow a variety of paths of human development, to use the increasing leisure which will be ours.

The cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slums, but the ugliness of intolerance; create not only the beauty of design but more importantly the beauty of the spirit.

The cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage that we can muster, and we must begin now and we must



use every resource at our command, and we cannot do this by avoiding our problems, by ignoring our challenges, or by saying, "No" to progress. Liberals say, "Yes" to life, and President Johnson says, "Yes" to life and I say, "Yes" to life. [Applause.]

Authentic Republicans say "Yes" to life. The difference between the petulant "No" of the Goldwaterites and the massive "Yes" is the choice that the American people must make in November.

It is the same difference, my friends, that Moses put to his people when he said to them, "I call Heaven and earth to witness against you this day: I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse. Choose life." Thank you. [Applause.]

New York, N.Y.  
Americana Hotel  
September 25, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUMPHREY AT THE REPUBLICANS AND  
INDEPENDENTS FOR JOHNSON BREAKFAST

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, thank you very much, Mr. Mack. Thank you for arousing these fine citizens to a point where they are willing to forgo the comfort and the pleasures of a breakfast, a breakfast at home, where you can possibly be a little more relaxed than you are on an occasion like this, and thank you for your very important contribution to what we hope will be the success of this campaign for the election of President Johnson for 4 more years in the White House.

I am very happy to see my old friend, Jackie Robinson, here again. We have been on the hustings before, and I have great admiration for this gentleman, and I have been enriched by the precious gift of his friendship, and I am delighted that he could be with us this morning.

Mr. Mack, we had a little visit out in the hallways before we came in here. I want you to know, ladies and gentlemen, that your chairman was up bright and early; he was at my room at some ungodly hour this morning. [Laughter.]

You are one of the few people that has been able to visit me at such an early hour and to find me reasonably sociable. I am a night-man myself. I am not very much of a morning man, but you got me off to a good start.

I am going to take just a very few minutes of your time today to visit with you. I am sure some of you know we had a rather busy day in the great metropolitan area of Greater New York, and the day before that I was out in the Hoosier State of Indiana and, by the way, Mr. Mack, they have got a lot of Republicans out around that way, they have had them regularly, and I found that a number of them were doing exactly what you were suggesting this morning, that they are putting their country above their party or should I put it this way—that they feel that their party left them; that is, the leadership of their party, and they are now attempting to do what they think is right, to support on a nonpartisan basis or on a bipartisan basis a man for the office of the Presidency or the office of President, and placing their faith and trust in him.

I am not unaccustomed to addressing meetings like this because I come from Minnesota and you do not get elected to the U.S. Senate from Minnesota by Democrats alone. It is impossible—there are not enough of them—and I have said a number of times when I have been quizzed about my partisanship, I said, "Yes, I am a Democrat. But," I said, "some of the finest people that I have ever known are those Humphrey Republicans." [Laughter.]

So, out our way, Mr. Mack, I have had my spring training, and fall training, too, because that is the way we are able to gain public office, by having a broad base of support.

This is a crucial election, and I think it is the most important election we have had at least in my memory and I say that because there are some very powerful and very unusual forces at work in this election.

## 97—BAT—L

This isn't an ordinary Republican-Democratic election. There are forces in America that have always been with us, but never before did they have what I call a respectable platform from which to operate, and those forces today are centering around a candidate and they are having a field day. If that candidate should win, the Senator from Arizona, I don't say that he represents those forces, but I say that he has a unique capacity to be able to bring them to his banner, that if he should win these forces of division, of disunity, of bitterness, and of intolerance that are again rearing their ugly heads, they will be in the ascendency in American life, and I don't think that is what you want.

I do not believe that people want as the voice of America the Ku Klux, the Gerald L. Smith's, the Birchites, and others that are now speaking so openly and brazenly about what they want and what they are going to do and how they are going to do it.

So this election is important from that point of view. It is also important from the point of view of our national security, because this Nation has had for the past 25 years at least a bipartisan foreign policy. We have been able to agree upon the fundamentals of our foreign policy.

One of the architects of that bipartisanship was the late Arthur Vandenberg, the great U.S. Senator from the State of Michigan. Wendell Willkie, a great candidate, a powerful voice for progressivism in America was also one of the, you might say, the pioneers of the bipartisan foreign policy, and we have had it all through these crucial postwar years.

For the first time since the end of World War II a leading candidate or a candidate of a major political party challenges the very tenets of that bipartisanship. I have served on the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate since 1952. I have been the chairman of two or three of its subcommittees, and I know that I have my limitations. We all have our frailties. We are all at times in politics guilty of partisanship. But I can say before any audience with honor and with a deep sense of integrity that I have never violated in word or deed the support of a bipartisan foreign policy.

During the administration of Mr. Truman for two terms of General Eisenhower, President Eisenhower, all during the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, I have worked side by side with prominent Republicans in the Congress of the United States to maintain a bipartisan foreign policy. That structure, well built, into which the lives of great men have been poured, is today threatened, and I think that is bad for America. I think it is bad for the whole free world and, if for no other reason, this election must be won by President Johnson. [Applause.]

[Applause.]

Not long ago I was visiting with a group of young people in Washington, and they have a quality about them, you know, that is very disarming and also very disconcerting, very frank and open, sort of stimulating just by their sheer presence, and then they ask you these tough questions. They are not inhibited at all, you know, and one of the questions that was asked me was about, well, it was a profound and yet simple question—what is it that makes us the way we are?

And I tried to find some answers.

I suppose we take it so much for granted that we never really try to articulate the answer. But we have developed for lack of better phraseology an amazing political, social, and economic system in this country, it defies any textbook definition.

There are no people in the world that are more skilled in local self-government than we, the people of the United States. Our constitutional system has been built by trial and error in a sense around certain basic principles. I have always reminded by students when I was a teacher about our Constitution that it was written in the present. It doesn't say "We the people of the United States did ordain and establish in such and such a year." It says "We, the people of the United States do ordain and establish." At this hour, at this minute, as we live now, we are the "Founding Fathers," every generation, and it doesn't say "We, the people Caucasian," and it doesn't say "We, the people Protestants or Catholic or Jew." It just says "We, the people" and, therefore, a oneness of people, a currentness, a contempo-

rarity of constitutional principle is the living fact of our whole social-political structure. We are one people. We cannot afford any kind of second-class citizenship. It defies the Constitution of the United States. It, in a sense, defies the whole heritage of our country, and we built this great system.

Now, we are not the largest country in the world. There are others bigger. We are surely not the richest in terms of natural resources. When I visited the Soviet Union I remember going to one of their great universities at Moscow and I believe it is on the seventh floor of that central building that you find the geological survey of the Soviet Union—fabulous potential resources. And while it is a fact, of course, that that nation has made progress in terms of material things, it is also a fact that it is far, far behind the United States of America and many other Western nations in terms of economic development as well as political development, but it has a greater population, a larger land area, more natural resources, and yet it runs a very, very poor second to what we have.

Then what is it? Well, first of all, it is free government. It is this unique constitutional system of the separation of powers and yet not so fully separated that we are inoperative or the victim of conflict which paralyzes us.

I hear these, what I would call weekend specialists in American Government discuss our constitutional system. Well, the constitutional system of this country does not provide for total separation of powers nor does it provide for total partisanship. It provides political parties as the lifeline to operate a government, and it provides for coordination of governmental activities.

But more importantly what is really the motivating force or should I say the spark, the heart of this system, is the emphasis upon individual initiative, and the partnership between government and people.

Lincoln said it is the duty of government to serve the people. In his simplicity and yet in his profundity he termed it "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." We mouth it and we never really quite understand what he was really saying, because there he capsuled the whole thing. He told us about popular sovereignty, a government of the people. He told us about the rule of law, government by the people, and he told us of the purpose of government, government for the people, and yet he didn't set up and didn't believe in a paternalistic system. He believed in a system of government that encouraged and not discouraged people and economic institutions.

This is the pattern.

Our system, therefore, is an amazing one in which capital and labor, city and rural, Republicans and Democrats, rich and poor, can work for and find a way to build a better America, coordinate their efforts, and to have some hope about a future and a better future.

Now, what is my view in reference to our economy? Well, first of all I am not a candidate for President, I am a candidate for Vice President. I want to make it quite clear so that there will be no misunderstanding. [Laughter.]

I say that because I have people all the time asking me, "Well, where will you stand on this and where will you stand on that, Senator?"

I will have the privilege, as I have had in these recent years as one of the legislative lieutenants of Government, to speak my mind within the councils of the White House.

I told a group one time who wanted me to be much more forceful, much more independent; I said I would rather have one hour inside the White House with the President than 3 months outside the White House with a picket sign. I said I think I will do more good. [Applause.]

I will be privileged to express my point of view, and just as we do in business or as we do in any other organization where there is any form of teamwork, once that point of view has been expressed and others express their points of view we then develop what we call a policy or a program or a principle, and once that policy or program is developed and it becomes the policy and the program of the President of the United States, a man who is the Vice President has a moral and a political obligation to support the policy of the program

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of his President. That is where you start. You don't go running off here chasing rabbits in other fields. You are loyal, and you express your point of view at the time that it is asked, and following that you carry out to the best of your ability the policy and the program that is set down.

What has been the characteristic feature of the Johnson administration with American business? There isn't a one of you here that does not feel comfortable in the presence of the President of the United States. There isn't a businessman in America regardless of his political affiliation that doesn't know that he isn't—that doesn't know but what he is wanted in the White House, that he can be comfortable there.

I have been in the White House when President Lyndon Johnson has had the leaders of American business sitting with him, and in the other door will walk a man from the American Federation of Labor—CIO—like George Meany. He doesn't try to get business out one door lest they meet Mr. Meany, and he doesn't say to Mr. Meany, "Will you please sit off in the room over here, I have got some business people." Not at all.

He says, "Gentlemen, here we are. I would like to have you meet Mr. Meany," or "I would like to have you meet Mr. Mack. I would like to have you meet" whomever is there.

President Johnson develops better than any man I know what we know as consensus. He is dedicated to national unity. He speaks for one country and one nation. He does not believe in the class struggle; nor do I. [Applause.]

President Johnson believes that a government should not act as if it is a gestapo. He believes that a government should be more than a policeman. He believes that a government should encourage enterprise; and so does Hubert Humphrey. [Applause.]

The characteristic of this administration is that government will not be in the position of harassing or of harassment of American business. It will be dedicated to the encouragement of the expansion of American business and of the American economy.

[Applause.]

We believe in an expanding competitive American economy. We believe that the men and women of industry, of finance, and of commerce are better able to manage this economy than any people that we can select in government. We know that people in government can make a contribution. We know that government can be of help, government can supplement, but government has no right nor will we permit it to supplant the private institutions of the American economic system. [Applause.]

And the best thing that I can say is that we have the evidence on our side that this works.

In recent years this economy has been moving ahead at an unprecedented pace. Not long ago we were talking about a 2-percent growth. Today we are talking about a 5-percent growth. Actually the United States of America has taken on such new vitality it looks like a youngster in terms of the economic thrust of the whole Nation, and we are not content with what we have.

I think that is maybe one of the differences that we have with, one of the many differences we have with, the opposition. I told a group of students the other day, it is good to study ancient history, but don't vote it. [Applause.]

We look upon the achievements of today as a solid basis from whence to work about tomorrow. It is sort of like exploring space. We make some success, and that only leads you to further successes. Each achievement is but a base upon which you start another series of events that will take you to yet a higher level, a higher plateau of accomplishment. We still have in America great opportunities for industrial and economic growth. The best market in the world is right here, and when we are able to develop that market through better purchasing power, through better production, through better efficiency, we help everybody; and when we are able to develop our foreign markets we help everybody.

So, I leave you this morning with the commitment on the part of the Johnson-Humphrey ticket which we hope will become the Johnson-Humphrey administration, that the doors of the Nation's Capital, of



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the White House, yes, and of Capitol Hill, that these doors will be open to men and women of good purpose, to those who seek to pursue the legitimate objectives of enterprise and commerce as well as social and political development. That when you walk through those doors you will not be met by a frown or a scowl nor will you be met by someone who looks upon you with suspicion and doubt, but you will be greeted by the hand of fellowship, and friendship. You will be encouraged to do more for your country than you ever dreamed that you could do. You will be asked to take on new responsibilities not only for yourself but for the national good, and you will be called upon to set patterns of economic, political, and social conduct that will inspire not only our own people but inspire the world.

I happen to believe that in this great contest with Communist totalitarianism, that the way we win it is not merely by the strong edge of our military defense and not only by the ability of our diplomats and by the largess of our foreign aid, but I believe that we win it by precept and example, and I would like to have the world know that in America where we have a system that believes in—that is predicated upon human dignity, an America where we have a system of individualism with social responsibility, that in America where we believe in the motivation of personal initiative, and we believe in the profit system and we believe that profits are good and we believe that investments are good, and that we believe that capital and labor can work out their problems through collective bargaining and through mutual understanding, I would like to have the world see that system not only flourish, but I would like to have it see our system grow and grow and grow in every way so that by example, we convince and persuade others to walk the same path, to follow the same course, and in so doing we will make a contribution not only to our economic well being but I think to the peace of the world and to human freedom.

Thank you very much.

Grand Rapids, Mich.,  
Airport,  
September 25, 1964

## PRESS CONFERENCE OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. I am very happy to be here with my good friend, Neil Staebler, who I am confident will be the next Governor of the great State of Michigan, succeeding a fine Democratic Governor of just 2 years ago, John Swainson; and I am pleased, also, to be with our candidate for Congress in this important Michigan district, Mr. Reamon, whom we know will lend support to the President, and the 89th Congress when it convenes next January. All right, let's proceed.

QUESTION. Senator Goldwater says in a speech in New England today that the Johnson administration shows no disposition to enforce the civil rights law. How about that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Senator Goldwater is apparently a very poor student of the Civil Rights Act. Civil Rights Act is primarily based upon compliance on a voluntary basis with the law, the community regulation is service being under the direction of Gov. Leroy Collins, of Florida. Governor Collins reported only recently to the Nation that there had been amazing compliance with the law in practically every city and county throughout the Nation. The public officials, local organizations, voluntary and public were working together to bring observance of the law. The second stage in the Civil Rights Act is that of local and State enforcement of the law. These provisions are provided specifically and distinctly within the act. Since I was one of the architects of the act I feel somewhat familiar with it, and finally, where compliance is not obtained and that compliance is sought patiently, there is even a time period built into the act, and where local and State enforcements is inadequate, if needed, then Federal enforcement comes.



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I should like to say to Mr. Goldwater if he will help us encourage observance of the law, compliance with the law, by support of the law, by encouraging people to be lawful instead of lawless, we won't need to have much enforcement. Most people want to do the right thing unless they are told not to or encouraged not to. Mr. Goldwater would be well advised since he seeks the highest office in the Government of the people of the United States, to encourage the people of this country to do that which is right, to obey the law just as he will have to do if he by some unfortunate accident should become President of the United States. He too, will have to take an oath to uphold the law. Next.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, what about the auto strike? Do you have any effect on how that might affect the campaign?

Senator HUMPHREY. I just heard, sir, as I left the plane there was underway now a dispute between the General Motors and the United Automobile Workers. I am confident that these two responsible organizations will be able to work out their difficulties just as did Chrysler and UAW and Ford Motor and UAW. I will place my faith and trust in their ability to work these matters out through sincere and effective collective bargaining.

QUESTION. Senator Mundt has taken both the Republican and Democratic Party to task for some of the name calling. Do you have any comment?

Senator HUMPHREY. I read that and saw a number of articles about it. It appears that Mr. Mundt's technique is to say "a plague on both your houses" in order to fumigate one, namely the Goldwater house. President Johnson has, I believe, conducted a rather high-level and lofty campaign. In fact, he has been criticized for being, as some people say, above it, above the battle. I don't think that's right. I think he has been doing what he ought to do. He is President of the United States. It is a fact, of course, that the President, occasionally becomes a little disturbed over what he considers to be irresponsible statements of the opposition. But Mr. Mundt should have leveled his sights upon the target and not upon the landscape.

QUESTION. Senator, four of our colleagues were in here this morning just ahead of you, Republicans in a truth squad and they claim you were running a very low-level campaign, that you were basing it plainly on fright. And they brought up the television spots about the little girl and her ice cream cone and what not. What kind of a squad did you say that was. [Laughter.] They called themselves the truth squad.

Senator HUMPHREY. Something ironical and paradoxical about that, but it seems—there seems to be a conflict of interest there. I am delighted that my colleagues who are here, they are pleasant and affable gentlemen, and I gather what they are really trying to do is to help Senator Goldwater explain what he said since the Senator doesn't have enough time lately to explain and reexplain, what he said and what he meant to say and if he needs a little extra help on that I think it is proper for good Republicans that support Senator Goldwater to help him out because it is quite a task.

I don't think I would say any more except I hope they enjoy the countryside. It is nice for them to come to Michigan. Of course, they have got some of those apples.

QUESTION. Have they followed you before, Senator?

Senator HUMPHREY. No, they haven't but I want to tell you that they will never get ahead of us. [Laughter.] Next.

QUESTION. Senator, Dean Sayre of the Washington Cathedral has made the following statement which was picked up in both the major news magazines this week: "The one a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty, the other a man whose public house is splended in every appearance but whose private lack of ethnic must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation." Would you comment?

Senator HUMPHREY. I have never engaged in an argument with the clergy. Other clergymen of Members have made comments upon Dean Sayre's statement. I want to say quite frankly, I have a very high regard for Dean Sayre, he is a fine Christian gentleman, a very wonderful spirit. I prefer that you read what the clergymen have had to say in reference to Dean Sayre's statement. I will only say this, that I know President Johnson, now speaking for Hubert Humphrey,

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and I know his family, and I know him to be a man of high purpose. I know him to be a good man. Neither President Johnson nor Hubert Humphrey claims to be a saint. We recognize our limitations, and I get a little weary sometimes of hearing politicians pretending they are saints. They are not. They need to go to church too and spend a lot of time there as matter of fact, all of us, both parties. I think that is about right. Yes, sir.

QUESTION. You just said the President was particularly disturbed by some of the opposition charges. Could you cite one or two of the charges that particularly disturbed the President?

Senator HUMPHREY. I think maybe at the right time you ought to ask the President that. I know some of them that kind of leave me aghast. I indicated one here this morning that when a presidential nominee such as Mr. Goldwater says that the Civil Rights Act incites to violence and hatred and bitterness; that bothers me. And there are charges made that our country is weak, we have lost 90 percent of our nuclear megaton power, all these sort of things that are really quite beyond the realm of truth. They are really what you might call on the outer fringes.

QUESTION. Has the President ever discussed with you any particular charges by the opposition?

Senator HUMPHREY. No, I think the President will discuss that with the public and he will do it forthrightly. He has been doing it and he will do more of it in the weeks ahead.

QUESTION. Senator, there has been some difficulty here in Michigan about reapportionment of the State legislature, just what effect would the Mansfield resolution that was approved yesterday have upon this situation?

Senator HUMPHREY. Frankly, I don't know, Mr. Kenworthy, Mr. Staebler could indicate that. I frankly don't know all the details of it and it would be better not to muddy up the waters. Neil.

Mr. STAEBLER. No change, no affect.

Senator HUMPHREY. No affect. Do I understand correctly that the act had already, the reapportionment order had already been laid down for Michigan?

Mr. STAEBLER. And let me say that the lieutenant—

Senator HUMPHREY. Right up here.

Mr. STAEBLER. We happen to have an expert on the subject with us, the candidate for the lieutenant governorship, Bob Derengoski, as you know has been the solicitor general of the State, and has handled the States' appeals to the Supreme Court in all these matters. If any of you would like some very expert advise we have it.

Senator HUMPHREY. By the way we also have one of the successful leaders of the opposition to the Dirksen-Mansfield proposal which became ultimately just Dirksen proposal. I am delighted to see my good friend and one of the most able, intelligent, marvelous Members of the U.S. Senate that I have ever known, Phil Hart, right here. Phil, it's good to see you here.

Senator HART. It sounds very partisan, Hubert. But it sounded very true. [Laughter.]

Senator HUMPHREY. You are wrong, it wasn't partisan at all. It is just an objective judgment from a friend. Those are the best kind, by the way, Phil. Anyone else. All right.

QUESTION. You haven't seen what we did yesterday?

Senator HUMPHREY. Oh, yes, I did. When I really got out of the Senate they did business in a hurry—very rapidly.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, this matter of restrictive covenants came into the news again. Yesterday, Congressman Miller acknowledged the fact that the area in which he lived had restricted covenants. He said it was actually outdated because of the courts' decision. He also said that the neighborhood in which you lived had restrictive covenants.

Senator HUMPHREY. He is right.

QUESTION. Did that bother you?

Senator HUMPHREY. I did not know about it, anything more than the Congressman did. Except I have taken steps, may I say, as the Congressman from New York said covenants are not binding because they are unenforceable.

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Secondly, Mrs. Humphrey and I in the purchase of our home were assured by the builder of our home that no such covenant did exist, and thirdly, we have taken the necessary steps through lawyers and through legal—through the lawyers, to affix to said deed which we, of course, never did see until we had an audit made of our assets, that our—that we will not consider it binding since it is not binding in a court of law, and it is distasteful to us. In fact it is onerous, and we would not have our home cluttered up with such an ugly business as a restrictive covenant. Yes, sir. Thank you.

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY DURING MOTORCADE TO  
GRAND RAPIDS, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1964

Senator HUMPHREY. I am very honored to be in the company today of your—one of our fine U.S. Senators, a gentleman that you know very, very well. He is your Senator Philip Hart. [Applause.] There he is right there. Give him a great vote of confidence here in his campaign for reelection and so on November 3 all you need to do is to have a heart campaign and vote for Phil Hart.

We are also very pleased to be in the company of a dear old friend of mine who has made such a fine record in Congress but he gets so lonesome for Michigan that he wants to come back here and work for you again and again in a very high and important position, and that is Niel Staebler, the Democratic candidate for Governor. [Applause.]

I, also, want to call to your attention the need of a good Democrat of the Congress of the United States, Mr. Reamon, so you vote for him.

We have with us a fine good looking man that is your candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and I present to you Mr. Derengowski. [Applause.] By the way, I forgot to introduce myself, my name is Hubert Humphrey. [Applause.] I am getting the word, we have a live television broadcast downtown but before I go, that I wanted to say that anybody who attends Aquinas College should indeed be a supporter of Lyndon B. Johnson and of the Kennedy-Johnson program and administration. Why do I say this, because this great churchman, this great philosopher, this great theologian and this first great political scientist of course is Thomas Aquinas, he was the one who discovered Aristotelian thought. I think if you will study your philosophy you know I tell you the truth. He represented the renaissance of political freedom, that is the fact. He taught us the doctrine of divine law, natural law. As a matter of fact, the Declaration of Independence could not be what it is, it never would have been written with the word that we hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal. It never would have been so written had it not have been for that great philosopher, Thomas Aquinas, who gave us that truth as political fact as well as the spiritual truth. So, I [applause]—you see, I am a refugee from a classroom. [Laughter.] I am a teacher of political science. I used to teach an introductory course of political philosophy. That is all I know about it, I should tell you. So, I will leave you with some practical politics now.

We need your help. We need the help of young people. We not only need your help in this election but morally we need your faith and we need your enthusiasm and we need your sense of idealism. I never want America to become rich only in worldly goods. We are pretty rich in those goods. I want our America to become rich in spirit, rich in ideals, rich in the practice of democracy, rich in the concept of justice, and rich in the belief for the dignity of man, and if we are rich in those important philosophical tenets we will be all right in terms of automobiles and homes and clothing and bank accounts and everything else, and the college students of America have a responsibility second to none other because you are privileged, you are privileged to have the benefits of an education. You are the inheritors of a great cultural—a great cultural heritage, a great cultural background, and because you have been given this privilege you owe much to your contemporaries and to the future, and may I say that I believe that I represent here today a program and a policy that believes in the future.

John Kennedy told the American people that we should move ahead. He said, "I accept responsibility." He believed that there were better days for America and we built on that belief and we have better days

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now than we had 4 years ago. But the days we have now are not as good as they ought to be and I ask the young people to join with me in the discovery of new days, in the achievement of what some people call the impossible, and one of the ways you could be of help is to, when if you are 21, cast a vote yourself, and if you are not, get your mother and father, your aunts and your uncles, your grandfather and your grandmother, and your neighbors to cast a vote on November 3 and since I am up here, let me give you some advice and I will advise you, vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic ticket.

Grand Rapids, Mich.  
Campau Square  
September 25, 1964

## REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much, thank you. Thank you.

Thank you, very much, Governor Staebler. [Laughter.] I see no reason you shouldn't get used to it, for example.

Senator Philip Hart, my esteemed colleague in the U.S. Senate, Bill Remon, and the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Derengoski, and my fellow citizens, and the fine, good people of Grand Rapids, Mich., I have been told just a moment ago that it was from this very spot and this very place in this great city that Harry Truman in 1948 launched his successful campaign for election to the Presidency of the United States. [Applause.] I have, also, been told it was from this very spot, in this very city, that our late and beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy launched his campaign for the Presidency of the United States. [Applause.] And, may I say that if the ticket of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey can be as successful as the ticket of Harry S. Truman and Alben Barkley in 1948, and John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1960, we shall be eternally grateful to the people of this community. [Applause.]

Michigan is a great sister State to my State of Minnesota. We have many things in common, including a very healthy and wholesome rivalry on football days, and this fall season, I hope that this campaign may be as cleanly fought and as hard fought and as honorably fought as a Big Ten contest between the University of Minnesota and either of the great Big Ten teams from the great State of Michigan, and I want to say [applause] I want to say that this year, according to what I read, that my alma mater, the University of Minnesota, is going to have just about as much luck in the Big Ten race as Goldwater is in the national campaign [applause]. I am sorry to have to say that but that was what the coach told me.

I am, however, going to let you in on a secret. I am sort of praying for an upset in the Big Ten, and I am hoping that what I have been reading in the polls is right in the 50 States of this Union; namely, Johnson on November 3. [Applause.]

In this morning's press as we left New York City, looking in one of the great metropolitan newspapers, I found an Associated Press dispatch that read as follows with dateline Grand Rapids, September 24, AP: "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"—Wait a minute, I did not finish the sentence—"a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." I agree.

I don't know of any time that I have seen a more succinct, concise, and appropriate platform, a candidate and a program, than just what I have read.

I have always been of the opinion when we engage in these political campaigns, that while we must always seek to discuss the issues, it is not a bad idea as fellow Americans that we sort of smile at each other. We are going to live together after November 3 no matter who wins. Somebody said to me the other day, "How do you think life would be under President Barry Goldwater?" and the other fellow said, "Brief,"



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Now, I don't believe that. I don't believe that at all. But, I don't think I want to take a chance. [Laughter.] And, that is why I want to come here today and talk to you and see whether or not I could get you to agree with me that the way to continue the forward progress of this America, the way to fulfill our responsibilities, as a great people and a great nation, is to continue in leadership one who has proven that he can be trusted, one who has proven that he understands the dynamics of the American society, one who has proven that he has the experience and the ability to guide this Nation during these difficult—during these difficult years, none other than Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause and cheers.]

You know it is an amazing thing, every time I hear somebody in the audience speak up for Goldwater they are always over on the far right. [Applause.]

Well, friends, I want to talk to you today about what I believe are some of the issues in this campaign. I said that in 1960 America made a choice, just as it is going to make a choice in 1964. In that famous inaugural address of President Kennedy, one that is accredited with being one of the greatest state papers of our time, President Kennedy said, "I do not shrink from responsibility, I welcome it"; and I say to my fellow Americans that if there is one key word that characterizes the administration of 1,000 days of John Kennedy as President and 10 months of the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson as the successor to our late and beloved President, if there is one single word that stands out that is the hallmark, it is the word "responsibility." And, America cannot afford to have anyone in the Office of President that lacks that quality of responsibility. I say that the Kennedy-Johnson administration has kept faith with America.

A few weeks ago another Senator came to Michigan and he, too, came as a candidate for President, but he did not come here to seek your help in meeting the challenges that are before us. He did not ask for that. He came here to threaten, to warn, to impugn, and to accuse, and to say, if I may repeat it, "No" to the challenges of the 1960's. What a contrast that is with the vision of a gallant young President who asked us to look ahead, to begin, to get this country moving again, and who expressed his faith in the great capacity of the American people to meet any challenge. What a contrast to all Americans, Democrats or Republicans, who believed that this generation has a, say, credit obligation to make freedom in diversity prevail in these difficult and dangerous times.

Contrast the confused empty words, if you please, the blurred vision of Senator Goldwater, with the words of John F. Kennedy, that he had planned to say on that fateful day in Dallas, and I found these words only but yesterday, but they seem to me to be so appropriate for this occasion and permit me to read them to you.

"We in this country," said President Kennedy, or he was planning to say, "We in this country and this generation are by destiny rather than by choice the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and our responsibility, that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint, and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, good will toward men."

These are words of commitment, of courage, and of inspiration and of greatness. They are not the words of a carping critic. They are not the words that ask us to return to some never-never land. They are not the words that ask us to about face and retreat into the yesterdays. They are the words of a man that asked us to come to grips with the challenges of the tomorrow, who had great faith in our capacity to deal with the future.

Now, let me add that these words should be of some special significance to the people of Grand Rapids, because in this community, and from this community came a very great American, and I speak of Arthur H. Vandenberg, a great Republican, and a great statesman, who possibly more than anyone else, helped build the foundations of a bipartisan foreign policy. Arthur Vandenberg is no longer with us. I knew him as a friend. I had the privilege of that man putting his arm around me as a freshman U.S. Senator and encouraging me. I shall never forget it. I had the privilege of that man saying to me, "Senator Humphrey, we would like you on the Foreign Relations

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Committee" which was an assignment that only a few months after his death, it was my privilege to receive. Vandenberg is no longer with us but his spirit is, and his voice lives on, and let me assure you that Americans of both parties—that is, Americans of both parties who have a responsibility to those parties—are determined to see his legacy preserved despite the ominous threat to all he held dear from the present temporary spokesman of the Republican Party.

So, we stand today here committed to the continuance of the basic tenets of that bipartisan foreign policy which today is under assault. But, may I say it will weather this storm as it has others.

So, I come to Grand Rapids not to spread the doctrine of fear or distrust or suspicion. I come here to preach the doctrine of unity and to ask the American people to stand as one and to believe in one another. I come here to speak the doctrine of equality and human dignity because America is only as strong as its people united and committed, to the ideals of this Republic.

I said that the hallmark of this administration was responsibility, and let me outline what I mean by it. Responsibility is more than talk, and it is revealed by deeds, and it is on the basis of the deeds that President Johnson and the Democratic Party come to you, and it is on the basis of those deeds that we say we have demonstrated our capacity to move America. Responsibility is converting a limping recession-ridden economy which Michigan experienced in three recessions in 8 years from 1952 to 1960. The automobile industry of this State knows it. But you know, responsibility in Government with a program to get America moving again, that responsibility has resulted in the most dynamic economy that the world has ever known, with a rate of economic growth unprecedented until today throughout this land there are more people employed than ever before, profits are higher than ever before. The gross national product is up \$125 billion. That is responsibility and it came under the administration of Kennedy and Johnson. Is it any wonder that Mr. Ford supports him? [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, it is no mystery why some of the captains of finance and industry today have joined under the banner of Lyndon Johnson. I will tell you why. Because they see in him a responsible man. They see in him someone who wants to literally unleash the tremendous creative capacity, productive capacity of America.

I met this morning in New York City with Republicans and Independents for Lyndon Johnson headed up by one of the great campaign directors of the late and beloved Wendell Wilkie, and what did he say? He said, "Republicans who have responsibility for the management of finance and the direction of industry cannot afford to take the chance with an irresponsible man who has made no commitments to the progress of American industry." So they stand with Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Responsibility is guaranteeing the workers a fair and decent wage, and we kept that responsibility in the Minimum Wage Act. And responsibility is reducing taxes, individual and corporate, in order to release in America tremendous purchasing power so as to expand this economy and yet at the same time, improve Federal revenues. Isn't it interesting, my friends, that most Republicans and most Democrats in the House and in the Senate voted for a tax reduction, but not Senator Goldwater.

Responsibility is insuring that America will be first in military power, and also first in the pursuit of a just peace.

Responsibility is the signing of a nuclear test ban treaty, and we celebrated its anniversary only yesterday. That treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States 1 year ago and, ladies and gentlemen, it was that treaty which gave America the first glimmering hope of a more peaceful world. It was that treaty which spared future generations from atmospheric pollution of radioactive debris, and most Senators charged with responsibility for the ratification or the rejection of a treaty, most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for peace, voted for the progress of peace, voted for the nuclear test ban treaty, voted for it because they knew it was morally right, they knew it was politically right, they knew it was militarily right. Most of them voted for it. Over two-thirds voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

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This great city is known for its sense of idealism, and I believe that one of the characteristics of this administration and one that we will forward is the continuation of that idealism, an idealism that gave us a Peace Corps which really exhibits to the world the genuine spirit and the true image of America, an idealism, if you please, that calls upon the American people to help feed the hungry in other lands, to help heal the sick and to help teach the illiterate. These are not merely expressions of reality by the Government of the United States and the people of the American Republic. We have made them into law. In area after area, in program after program, the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Democratic Party has demonstrated responsibility.

I say to this audience today that we cannot afford impetuosity, we cannot afford recklessness, we cannot afford the uncertain trumpet, we cannot afford indecision. We need in a President a man who knows what he says and says what he means, and doesn't have to explain it and reexplain it and rereexplain it time after time. [Applause.] We need a President who, above all, recognizes that we are a great nation and asks us to be greater, who lifts our sights to the new day and doesn't ask us to view America through a rearview window and through a mirror that tells us only of that which we have passed.

I said to some students the other day that it is a wonderful thing to study ancient history and it is. But, may I give you some advice, don't vote it. [Laughter and applause.]

We are a great nation, and we strive to be greater; that is our goal. We are proud of our accomplishments, but they are but a platform from whence we will proceed to greater achievements. We must strive for greater freedom. We must be a just nation, but we must strive for greater justice. We are a compassionate nation, but we must strive for greater compassion. So, I return to Michigan 4 years after John F. Kennedy stood in this place to again ask for your help, ask for your hands, ask for your hearts. Let us join together therefore in seeking the election of a man for America and for the world that we can trust and one in whom we can place our reliance, and I believe that that man is, and I believe that you know he is, and I think you are going to demonstrate that you know he is the man on election day, and that man is Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States. Thank you.

Wayland, Mich.  
September 25, 1964

### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thanks very much. May I first of all extend my thanks to this fine community for greeting us with so much fine hospitality and this gift. I want first of all to again thank the band for their wonderful reception of us. We are just so pleased that you have the band out, the school band, to welcome us, and I am glad to know that in Michigan as I come along these many communities that they are playing the "Minnesota Rousers," because already in Michigan we have that football season on and it is hard to get a Michigan band to play the "Minnesota Rousers." They want to cheer the Michigan band on. We are good friends in Michigan and Minnesota and I want to think all of us can be good friends.

There is a great campaign going on, a tremendous campaign, and I want to say I am very privileged to be right in the middle of it, and the campaign I am talking about is for the president of the student council at Wayland High School. [Applause.]

Now, I believe that everybody is entitled to equal time and equal opportunity and I think right now what we ought to do is to ask these candidates to say why they should receive a majority vote. Do you think that is right? (Cries of "Yes.") I think we have got to let President Johnson and Senator Goldwater know they are not the only two running forces. Right here we have Jerry Parks [applause] and here we have Tom Consel. I have just been informed what their platform is. Their platform is easier grading and better and more student activities. But truthfully, Jerry and Tom, I am honored by your presence, the fact you would make this presentation. May I say that we don't carry along with us cow bells but this one was presented to me by these two distinguished young fellow citizens of yours, and it is 125 years old, and it really and truly is what you might call an

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antique. I am glad my wife isn't along, she might want to buy it. This way I get it for nothing. But it is the sort of bell that calls all good men and women to the aid of their country, and if you don't mind my saying so since this is a political campaign, I want every good person when he hears this bell tolled and he hears that familiar old sound that he will remember that what he is supposed to be doing is voting for that Texas Rancher, that knows what a cow bell is for and how to ring it, Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

We have to get along very shortly.

First of all I want to say that I hope you find that your interest in politics is not the most unhappy experience of your life. I call my airplane, the plane we charter to fly on these trips, I call it the Happy Warrior because I am of the opinion when you are engaged in something as important as representative government, and politics is what makes possible representative government, you ought not to go around complaining and grouching and being mean and ugly, you ought to go around at least with a sense of happiness and hopefully with a sense of confidence. I don't mean to say that politics must always be fun in order to be enjoyable. I always felt a person when he enjoyed his work he felt good. Sometimes some of the men and women who travel with us in the news media from radio, television, and press will say to me, "How come you always feel so happy?" Because I like what I am doing, that is why; because I believe in what I am doing. I have always enjoyed public life. It is sometimes very demanding, there are times when it becomes a little unhappy for you. There are things said and things done that you wish did not happen. I think it is harder on the youngsters, if you are the son or a daughter of a man running for office, it is tougher on them than a person who is aspiring for that office.

But, I want to leave this message with the young people here of Wayland School and of St. Theresa's, I want to say—St. Theresa, I imagine, isn't that right, grade school—I want to leave this message with you: American politics is a part of your life. I know many times people say politics is dirty. I used to be a teacher and I said to my classes, "If you think it is dirty, get a bar of soap and go in and clean it up. Don't stand on the sidelines criticizing, everybody get in and do something about it."

One of the most rewarding experiences I have had in this campaign, and I say this to the parents that are here, is the presence of so many young people wherever we go, there are hundreds and hundreds of young people that are interested in American political life. I think that one of the greatest things that our late President, beloved President John Kennedy, did for America, as a young man, was to interest young people in their country. I think when he was taken from us, that the group that wept the most, and that felt the saddest were the young ones, and I am so happy now to see so many young people that want to learn more about their Government, know more about the candidates. They got very excited, we all do.

I ask you, however, to study your Government, to learn about your candidates, to learn about the issues, and as I said to some grade school students here just a moment ago I am going to make two requests of you. When you go home you ask your parents and your neighbors of 21 years and over, "Are you registered?" because if you are not registered, you can't vote, and if you are not registered, you really are not doing a good job as a citizen.

I found when I was mayor of Minneapolis that the people who complained the loudest were the people who never took time to vote in an election.

You know one time I remember a group came in to see me, they were complaining, and I asked them this question: "Did you vote?" And of that group of 10 there were only 3 that had voted, and I said to them, I said, "Listen, if you did not have 10 minutes to vote either for me or against me, I haven't got 10 minutes to listen to your gripes."

And the truth of the matter is that you must have people who are willing to do something about their country, and you can't all be in public office, we don't have that many offices at the same time. You can aspire to them. But you ought to have people that are willing to cast a vote for or against, for their favorite candidate, for their program, for whatever is on that ballot or against it, however you may feel.



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So, ask you parents, ask your neighbors. "Are you registered?" and then would you ask one other thing and I mention this particularly to young teenagers because I am a parent, I am not just a Senator and candidate, I am a husband, I am a father, I am a parent and I give a lot of advice to my family, you know—most fathers and mothers do—and sometimes we have a little trouble about getting our young ones to abide by it, I guess when we were young we had some of the same troubles. When you get home you go and give your folks some advice, and this is a chance of a lifetime to sort of get even, you know. You go home and ask a simple question, "Mother, Dad, are you registered?" and if they say, "No," then you say, "Well, you have a few more days to prove whether or not you are a good citizen because if you don't register you really are not fulfilling your obligations of citizenship," and if they are registered then you say to them, "I hope you are going to take time on November 3 to vote." Encourage them to vote.

I am going to give you some advice, and if you want to believe me and I hope you will, you can even go a little further on the advice that you give your folks: first you advise them to register; second, advise them to vote; and then if you just really want to nail it down so you are really doing the right thing, you advise them to vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and a Democratic Congress. [Applause.]

We have got to run along now. I want you to know this man here. This is Neil Staebler, Congressman and candidate for Governor. [Applause.] Right here alongside of me is one of my close and dear friends, as is Mr. Staebler; we have been working together for years. He has worked in the U.S. Senate, he is considered one of the most brilliant and able and, may I say, one of the kindest and humblest Members in that body. We are so proud of him. I might add he is also the father of eight wonderful children. He gives them a lot of advice, too. [Applause.] And they are going to give him some, too, and this man is your U.S. Senator from the State of Michigan. He is up for reelection this year and there isn't a shadow of doubt what you are going to do. You are going to keep him there because he is doing such a good job for you and that is my friend, Philip Hart. [Applause.]

And we also have with us another young man, Mr. Erendowski, where are you here, here you are, this is your candidate in the State of Michigan on the Democratic ticket for Lieutenant Governor, a fine young man. [Applause.] This father, this young man, has six children, age 5 to 21. He gives them a lot of advice, too, and they give him some. All right. Right down there is the candidate for the Michigan Legislature [applause] and listen, we never want to forget the county officials here and Mr. Stoddard, a fine looking healthy man, just the kind you need for Senator. I have completed my part of the program except to tell you you have been so wonderful. I thank you, very, very much and when I get back to Washington I am going to tell President Johnson that no matter how you vote—and that is your privilege, nobody will ever know, you keep that big secret—but no matter how you vote, I am going to tell him I was in such a town where the people were the most considerate, polite and most generous people I have been in. [Applause.]

Kalamazoo, Mich.  
Western Michigan University  
September 25, 1964.

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

What is new under the sun?

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, this Nation was new, but was founded on ancient ideas of popular government and equal opportunity. What made it new—what made it ring with hope and promise—what made it America was the new energy, the new faith, the new dedication that men brought to an old dream of freedom.

It is the new energy that constantly renews this weary world. It is the new imagination that energetic men bring to old ideas that keeps the world going and gives it renewed hope.

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The pioneers of this Nation were not content with the old—they sought the new on the farthest reaches of our continent. America did not grow by turning inward on what it had, but by reaching out for new frontiers of opportunity. The American dream was not conceived in the conscience of conservatives but in the hope of visionaries. Its theme was ingenuity and innovation.

What was new in America after the decade of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover was the New Deal, with its compassionate and realistic social programs for Americans and its good neighbor policy for the nations of the world. This was certainly one of the great eras in the history of our political leadership.

What was new in America—and the world—after the destructive years of World War II was the creative force of the Marshall plan and point 4 which helped restore dignity and optimism to a world which sometimes seemed without hope.

What was new in America after the lull of the fifties was the New Frontier with its infusion of talent youth, and vigor into our own national life.

It is a lucky generation of students that is enjoying university life in the 1960's—when the national administration is fully committed to bringing the vigor and enthusiasm of youth into the mainstream of public affairs.

I agree with our late President John F. Kennedy that this generation of Americans would not willingly change places with any other generation. I agree with President Johnson that we can take giant steps toward creating the Great Society in our time.

What should be the goal of our efforts in this generation? I think it should be the same as that expressed by the noted historian Arold Toynbee when he said:

Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which man dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

We will make available the full benefits of civilization first to our own poor and underprivileged, but at the same time to other peoples of the world in their quest for self-fulfillment.

I am not one who believes that in helping others we will deprive ourselves. In fact, I think human understanding and self-knowledge often result most vividly from confrontation with the real problems of others.

A few years ago, we heard many complaints about the complacent and self-indulgent generation of the 1950's. But the charge was ill directed. Americans have always been willing to meet a challenge if they are made aware that the challenge is directed to them. It is one of the functions of our political leadership to properly define and present the challenge.

Under this administration, the challenge has been presented and accepted. We have witnessed a true resurgence of American youth in accepting this challenge. The most dramatic evidence of this is seen in the response to the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps, when first launched, was greeted with more skepticism than many would care to remember—including the skepticism of a Republican presidential nominee. I am happy to report that everyone agrees that the Peace Corps is a resounding success. I am particularly happy because I introduced the Senate bill to establish the Peace Corps in 1960.

President Kennedy lent the weight of the presidential office to the launching of the Peace Corps, and President Johnson has maintained this strong support. But the people who bear primary credit for the success of the Peace Corps are the volunteers themselves—those Americans who realize that there is a moral imperative to service beyond that of mere self-service. And this ideal of public service continues to touch the lives of the returned Peace Corps volunteers. For many returning volunteers, the Peace Corps is a training ground for future careers in the Foreign Service, in the foreign aid program, or in community programs at home designed to deal with culturally deprived young people.

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In addition to new programs abroad, this administration has new standards of vigor and excellence, and brought them into our established diplomatic structure. We have upgraded the role of the ambassador, placing in his hands full responsibility for direction of the multiagency team that we maintain in many countries. In our recruitment and placement of men and women abroad, we have insisted upon and obtained a greater knowledge of relevant foreign languages. We have demanded and obtained a greater sensitivity to the problems of the new nations.

In choosing noncareer ambassadors, for instance, this administration made the greatest effort in history to seek out the man who could do the most for our country, and not merely give the job to the man who had done most for his political party. This administration has realized that the ambassadorship to Brazil, to India, or to Japan is an assignment that is parallel in importance to the post in Britain or France.

To Brazil we sent as Ambassador a distinguished political economist, an expert in the Brazilian economy—a man who has now served with distinction in this giant of the Americas—Lincoln Gordon. To India, a bulwark of democracy in Asia facing staggering economic problems, this administration appointed one of the world's leading development economists, John Kenneth Galbraith. To Japan, this administration appointed a leading authority on Asian affairs, a man fluent in Japanese and highly respected in the country to which he is accredited, Edwin O. Reischauer.

Although presidential elections tend to focus too exclusively on the candidates for the two top offices, the quality of our Government depends equally on the caliber of people appointed to key positions in the Government, both at home and abroad. No administration since 1933 has attracted more able, imaginative people to positions of responsibility; ability, not party affiliation, has been the criterion for appointment.

We have been able to recruit and, equally important, to keep good men in high positions because President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life the spirit described by John Adams as one of "public happiness." It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action, a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication.

In using new resources at home to meet new needs abroad, no program has made a greater impact than the food-for-peace program. It was 10 years ago that I proposed and saw enacted the law which has made available to the millions of hungry people across the globe the bounty of America's agricultural miracle. Under this administration the food-for-peace program has been expanded both in scope and in volume. Today, food for peace feeds more than 100 million people, including 40 million schoolchildren.

Instead of viewing this program as a mere means of disposing of our farm surpluses, this administration has used the local currencies engendered by food-for-peace sales as a lever to build schools, highways, hospitals, and irrigation projects. And, in helping to develop the stability necessary to preserve freedom of choice, we have not hurt ourselves economically. The market development programs under food for peace have been one of the causes for a 35-percent increase in farm exports in the last three and a half years.

In confronting the new challenges to U.S. ingenuity abroad, we have not rested on the conventional approaches to aiding foreign countries. We have reorganized our foreign aid program worldwide and have brought all facets of it within one agency, the Agency for International Development. In our own hemisphere, President Kennedy launched a bold new program of hemispheric cooperation with the nations of Latin America, the Alliance for Progress. Through the Alliance for Progress, which enjoys President Johnson's strong support, we hope to assist our friends in achieving social justice, and economic development, and free constitutional government.

Historians will also note another forward step in the conduct of our foreign affairs—our renewed effort to tame the atom before it maims us. During this administration, we and the Soviets have agreed on a resolution prohibiting the orbiting of nuclear weapons in outer

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space; we have established a "hot line" to avert the accidental miscalculation which might result in all-out nuclear war, and we have achieved a test ban treaty—the greatest victory of all. This treaty, now a year old, serves to halt dangerous radioactive fallout, to retard the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons to other nations, and to reduce the international tensions caused by continued testing.

While we work to help eliminate the possibility of the atom being used to destroy mankind, we also struggle to bring to mankind the benefits of peaceful use of the atom under Operation Plowshare. Plans are underway to dig a new Panama Canal at sea level, to control two great Asian rivers, the Indus and the Mekong, to create lakes and canals bringing irrigation and electricity to the Sahara, and to achieve a goal of which man had dreamed about for centuries; to change sea water into fresh water and spread it upon the arid regions of the earth.

Let us continue to tame the atom and to explore the stars. On earth, let us continue to bring people to America, and send our students and teachers to foreign lands, so that we can better understand each other and break down the barriers of nationalism and ideology which lead men to war with one another.

All these great plans require only creative ideas and willingness of the spirit—the very qualities that have built the United States into the great Nation it is today. These are the qualities that we must continue to demand of our leaders and of ourselves.

We need an America with the wisdom of experience. But we must not let America grow old in spirit.

Let us continue to be an America of new faith in old dreams. Let us continue to be an America eternally vigorous and creative. Let America continue to be an arsenal of ideas and hope for this weary planet. Let us retain compassion in the midst of indifference, ideals in the midst of cynicism, belief in the midst of despair.

Let America continue to be what it was meant to be by its founders—a place for the renewal of the human spirit.

If there is anything new under the sun, let it be America.

Kalamazoo, Mich.  
Western Michigan State University  
September 25, 1964

### REMARKS BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. First of all, my greetings to an old friend, a fellow student, a gentleman who now has the honored position to be president of this great Western Michigan University, your own Dr. James Miller, but to me, just my friend, Jim Miller. Mighty happy to see you, Jim, and mighty happy to see you doing so well, may I say. [Laughter.]

Secondly, may I express my thanks to Mike Bellind for his courtesy and hospitality in his introduction; and thirdly, I am happy to report to this excellent student body and faculty at the administration of this university that Mr. Kenneth Gray, the legislative assistant to the great Senator from Illinois, Paul Douglas, whose wife is my secretary, is a graduate of this university in 1953, and now is sort of in charge of our airplane and our tour. Come on, Ken, stand up there. [Applause.]

If every one of you turn out as well as Kenneth Gray, there will be a job waiting for you on some senatorial staff in Washington. [Laughter.]

Well, this is indeed a wonderful audience, and I must say that I am singularly honored by not only the size of it but also by its quality. Today we will have a little give-and-take. I have always believed that every good red-blooded American ought to have an opportunity to take one good bite at it, a live U.S. Senator. I am going to give you that chance because today we are going to have at the request of your student president, and also at the request of your president of the university, a question-and-answer period. I have a feeling that the questions will be better than the answers but at least we will have some fun.



## HE - LINO - 14

So lean back, open up your minds, think out those tough questions, my friends of the Goldwater faction [applause], and I am glad to know there are so few of you, it's very reassuring [applause], and all of you of the Johnson-Humphrey faction, prepare to do battle from this moment on.

You know, there is an old phrase about, "Well, what's new?" And I suppose that we have asked ours a thousand times through our lives, what's new, and most say "there is nothing new under the sun." In fact, they say history is a report of new things to come but I believe that when you think of the word "new" and you think what that word means that it has a deep application to our own country.

Yes, it's called a New World, at least it was in its period of discovery, and in fact America is always new because it seems to revitalize itself in every generation. America is a continuous discovery of better ways to do things and, in many ways, America was a discovery of how a people could translate the spiritual concept of human dignity into political reality. That is in fact what the Constitution of the United States seeks to do, and the purpose of representative government is to make this truth, which is, when it's a spiritual truth, of the importance of the individual, this concept of human dignity, to make that a living fact in the lives of our people and of our Nation.

The desire for human freedom is not new. It's as old as man himself, and it surely is as old as recorded civilization. And the desire to change is not new. People always want a change. And the definition of a Liberal is "a person who can accept the fact of change and to guide those forces of change within the standards of the ideals and the commitments of a Nation or of a society."

Now America did not grow by turning inward. We grew by extending ourself, by reaching out, reaching out for new frontiers. In fact, reaching out for opportunity. The American dream was not conceived in the "conscience of a Conservative" but in the hope of the visionary. In fact, it is true that those who are the dreamers, those who are the idealists of today, those who are the prophets of the present hour are, in fact, the only practical people in the world because if you hesitate or fail to dream, if you lack the capacity of imagination, if you fail to have that great strength of hope, then it is fair to say that you are dead without knowing it.

The theme of America, and I think the theme of our current society, is ingenuity, and its innovation—and when I hear people constantly reminding us to return to some nostalgic past, I can't help but feel that they have been cheating the calendar. They don't realize it but they have run out of life, except they are still physically with us.

Now what was new in America, might I add, after a decade of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover? Very little happened during that decade. But what was new was the New Deal. What was new was the Good Neighbor Policy, a new deal for our people at home and a good neighbor policy as an expression of our attitude toward people abroad.

What was new in America and the world after the destructive years of World War II? I'll tell you what was new, not reciting merely the pledge of allegiance, not merely referring to days gone by, not merely reminding Americans of old virtues, but what was new was coming to grips with the kind of a world which we faced which was a changed world, a world that required rebuilding, a world that required rehabilitation and leadership. And what was new was the Marshall plan; what was new was the United Nations, the Charter of the United Nations representing the hope of mankind. And what was new was the point 4 program where Americans for the first time decided to take the promise of America not only to our own shores but to take it to people throughout the world.

And what was new in the Americas after the lull of the 1950's? I'll tell you what was new, the call of John Kennedy for a New Frontier, to get America moving once again, the willingness of a young man to stand up and say, "I welcome responsibility. I accept it." The willingness of a great young President, valiant and vigorous, to say to the American people, "Let's get moving. Let's get this country on the move once again." That is what was new. [Applause.]

## HE - LINO - 15

I fully agree with the late President Kennedy who said that this generation of Americans would not willingly change places with any other generation, and I agree with President Johnson who has had the vision—who has had the vision of a Great Society of tomorrow, not the sort of a recitation of the history of yesterdays.

May I say to every student in this body: study ancient history, it reminds you of the past, of the goals of yesterdays. Study it and learn it well, but don't vote it. [Applause.]

Now what should be the goal of our efforts in this generation? It was expressed, I believe, most aptly and appropriately by a noted historian, Arnold Toynbee. Arnold Toynbee said:

Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which men dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

Yes; he said we would be remembered because we had the vision to want to take what science and technology and education had given to some of us and to make it available to all of humanity. He knew that what would make this generation known and remembered was not a riot or as some say the crime in the streets, but rather, may I say, the humanitarian impulses that have led the American people in these postwar years to do more for their fellow human beings than any people in the history of the world has ever done for anyone else [applause] and we are going to continue to do that. We will make available the full benefits of our civilization, first, to our own, to our own war, in our war on poverty, in our efforts in education, to our own underprivileged but at the same time we are going to make these benefits available to other peoples of the world in their requests for self-fulfillment, and I warn young people to beware of those voices that tell you that we can't do it. There are so many of the cannot-doers, the people who view with alarm, and speak of doom and gloom; there are so many that tell us, "Don't do it now. Don't start it."

What we need in this world are some people who look up ahead and when they see the traffic sign, it says go, not stop, not halt. People who see the signs of life and say yes to it; people who look to the future and accept it, and embrace it.

Now I am one of those who believes that helping others we help ourselves. I am one of those that believes that the way you build a strong and a better America is not only to show concern for our own, but also to show interest in others that are not of us.

Americans have always been willing to meet challenges. That is one of the great qualities of our people. That is, if the challenges are made aware to us. But if all we talk about are our problems, if all we see are our difficulties, then we will never get around to understanding that challenges and opportunities are available.

I think the difference between a man that believes in the future and one that is addicted to the past is the one of the past sees nothing but problems and difficulties, and the man that believes in the future sees every problem as a challenge and every difficulty as an opportunity and it's on that side that I stand.

I come here today as a spokesman for the Kennedy-Johnson administration, an administration to which I have given the best of my efforts, limited as they may be.

It has been my privilege to sit at the conference table with these two Presidents, to hammer out and help hammer out, I think, the most important and dramatic and the most comprehensive legislative program that has ever been designed or passed in our years of American Government. [Applause.]

We saw the problems and we made them challenges, and the challenge has been presented and it's being accepted. We have witnessed a resurgence of America and particularly of American youth in accepting that challenge, and I think the most dramatic evidence of what I speak, one should present evidence when he presents generalities, he should present a bill of particulars, so let me particularize.

I believe that we have demonstrated in America that we do accept challenges and that we are unafraid, that we do understand the world in which we live, that we are going to do something about it.

The Peace Corps: This is our answer to one of the challenges. When first launched, however, it was greeted with cynicism and skepticism. In fact, it was greeted with skepticism of a leading candidate for the presidential office of a fraction or faction of a major political party. [Applause.]

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I am happy to report that nowadays practically everyone agrees that the Peace Corps is a success. I am particularly happy to report it because when I first offered it in the Senate, I was accused of being one of those far-out liberals. I was accused of being way out there with all this so-called New Frontier-New Deal idealism. It was said that it wouldn't work, it was said if you turn these young people loose in the world all they will do is get in trouble. All the old fogies had their word and had their say. [Applause.]

By the way, it's bad enough to be an old fogie, but to be a young one is intolerable and unforgiveable.

And President Kennedy put the weight of his office behind the launching of the Peace Corps. And President Johnson has maintained that support. And truly, it's not Presidents and Senators that ought to be given praise for it; in fact, the people who bear the primary credit for the Peace Corps are the volunteers themselves, and if I am not mistaken, President Miller, I believe that this great Michigan western university is one of the leading training places or one of the leading institutions for volunteers for the Peace Corps, and I want to salute you on that wonderful record of service to country and mankind. [Applause.]

If the Kennedy-Johnson administration had done nothing more in the field of national security and foreign policy than to have advanced the idea of a Peace Corps and brought it to fruition, it would be deserving of high honor and respect.

Now the volunteers are returning and new ones are going out into the field, and the volunteers that return come back citizens, mature and responsible, come back to be teachers, come back for public service, for foreign service, for community development. We have helped others, we have served others, and in the process we have served ourselves so that America today has been enriched by a whole cadre of trained and competent, mature people of the Peace Corps that are prepared to do better things, to give America for Americans. [Applause.]

I might add that something else has happened that I think is new and worth while. We have strengthened our Foreign Service and our diplomatic service. I encourage young people at this great university to look forward to a career in the service of your nation. You can do that many ways, indeed in private work, private enterprise, community institutions, education, but we are going to need better people all the time in Government, because the Government of America has such tremendous responsibilities, and I have very little patience with those who seem to work their way through a rather unhappy and miserable life by going around condemning the Government of the United States. We expect this from our enemies. We expect this from people who do not believe in or understand democratic institutions. But to spread rumor and doubt, to spread suspicion about the Government of the United States, to put it as the enemy against the people, to put it against the State and local government is to do a disservice to representative government, and those who are guilty of it should be rebuked by being denied the opportunity of public trust. [Applause.]

I mentioned that we have been able to recruit and, equally important, to keep, good men, good personnel, in high positions because President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life a spirit that was best described by John Adams as "one of public happiness."

Now what's that spirit? Well, it was the spirit, said Adams—

that possessed the American Colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought. It's a spirit which is reflected in the life, in participation of public discussion and public action. This spirit of public happiness is a joy in American citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, in dedication.

And I have said from every platform that I have been permitted to use or to speak from, that I believe that the cause of American politics, efforts in the political campaign ought to be undertaken in a spirit of happiness. American politics ought not to be a grimy, miserable, gloomy business. We are talking about the business of a great people, and American people essentially are optimistic, they are outgoing, they are enthusiastic, they are idealistic, and

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they are happy and I think that is what differentiates them from any other people in the world. Public happiness is a state of mind, but it is also a state of conscience and of spirit, and those that go around peddling the virus that politics is bad, that those who are in it are worse than anyone else, and that somehow or another the only way to be sanctified or purified is to remain aloof from it, I say they are the enemies of representative government and democracy, and I have little or nothing to do with them if I can help it. [Applause.]

Well, it was 10 years ago that another great effort was started. Some of us were told repeatedly that America was in serious trouble, in terrible trouble. The bounty of our fields and of our orchards, of our farms, what a terrible thing. Some of these prophets of doom and gloom said we have too much to eat, too much in our warehouses, too much in our graineries in a world of hunger, in a world of hunger. And there were too few people with vision to see that divine providence had blessed this earth with enough to eat if but man knew how to use it and distribute it.

America came out of World War II unscathed, its cities intact, its fields unblemished, its agriculture improved, its industry warproof, and of all the segments of our economy that have demonstrated efficiency and have used technology and scientific research, agriculture is at the top of the list.

The miracle of America today is not its factories, important as they are; the miracle of production in America today is America's agriculture, the family farm. With all of Mr. Khrushchev's satellites, with all of his sputniks, with all of his propaganda there is one thing he has never been able to claim, and that is agricultural success, and there is one thing they haven't got in the Soviet Union, a single family-owned, family-operated farm, and I think that is why his agriculture is a mess. [Applause.]

Some of us had a dream, yes, we were dreamers. Some of us had an ideal, we had imagination. We were called far-out liberals. But we dreamed of putting food to use, the abundance of our agriculture to use, and I am happy to say in this instance there were dreamers in both parties, and together we designed the beginning of a program. First it was nothing but a surplus disposal program, and it was my view that if all we had in mind was attempting to dispose of surpluses which made the rest of the world sort of a disposal unit, that we were losing much of the moral value of what we could do with food. So we recreated the program, we redesigned it and I had a hand in it, and we designed what we called food-for-peace program and what have we been able to do with the food-for-peace program? More people in this world are hungry than fed. More people in this world are sick than healthy, and more people in this world are illiterate than educated.

We, the well fed, we, the healthy, we that are educated, we that represented the privileged minority, and it's always been my view that those who embrace great spiritual concepts as we do in our respective religions that we had an obligation, a moral obligation to translate those concepts and those beliefs into practical action, and so we set forth a great program known as food for peace, and we began to use the abundance of our farms and of our soil, and today millions of people have been saved, their lives saved, because of America, because of you, because of your parents. We used the production of our farms to feed the hungry, to heal the sick. We used the production of our farms through food for peace not only to feed people but to build hospitals, schools, roads, ports, to provide payment for work. Food for peace, it is like in the days of the medieval age, when the duke or the king would think he found a scientist of a sort, and he would put this man up in the tower. I guess they called them alchemists, and they would ask that man to produce from base metal gold, and if he couldn't off his head. Needless to say many heads were lopped off and with very little gold to be found.

But in our time, in our generation, within your lifetime we have been able to take wheat from Michigan and Minnesota and in Kansas and we have been able to use wheat to feed the hungry, to take the proceeds from that wheat to build schools, to educate the illiterate,



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to train scientists, to build roads, to build homes, to build community centers. We in turn have made food life and how did we do it? By worshipping the past? By asking us to look through a rear view mirror at the yesterdays? Not on your life? We did it by having some vision of a better tomorrow, by being dreamers, by recognizing America is dedicated to the new, that America is a nation of innovation, a nation of creation, a nation of inventiveness, and a Government of the United States, your government, a good government, a wholesome government, a government of the people, and by the people and for the people. That Government today is feeding over 100 million people in other lands and 40 million school-children under food for peace. I am proud of it. [Applause.]

Let me just conclude on this note. We have had many problems, and I know we have people today who say this is a terrible thing, we haven't settled them all. But there are problems of this world which are not to be settled in your lifetime or mine. The mark of maturity is patience. A government worthy of respect is one that pursues relentlessly the cause of justice, and leaders that merit your confidence must be responsible. The only way that I know that America will lose its role of leadership, the mantle of leadership, the only way that I think the free world can lose to the totalitarian is if we become too impatient, too impetuous, if we yield to our frustrations, if we fail to think it through.

Let me give you some real ray of hope. We are not losing. The free world is not in retreat. A whole world that was demolished by war has been rebuilt. Freedom is stronger in Europe today than it has ever been in the history of the world. The Alliance for Progress is beginning to take hold in Latin America. Millions of homes are being built. Thousands of classrooms are being constructed. Millions of schoolbooks for the first time are being made available to the young. Ten countries in Latin America have already exceeded the goals of the Punta del Este Conference. More people today have heard the message of freedom than ever before. People that lived under the boot of an imperial power are today struggling with the first experiences of freedom. Freedom does not come easy. Independence isn't something that is guaranteed. It is fought for today. And when I hear loud voices in America telling us that America is weak, when I hear those voices telling us that the Communists are winning, I say to myself, "You are doing unwittingly and I know unknowingly the work of the enemy." America is not losing nor is the free world. The burdens are heavy, the costs are high, but the stakes are high, too, and this American has no intention by his vote, by his word or by his deed aiding and abetting or adding any comfort to the enemies of freedom, to those who are espousing the cause of totalitarianism.

And I say to those who preach from political platforms that when you spread doubt about your Government, when you say that our military power is weaker today than it was some years ago, when you say we are losing the cold war, all you are saying is what the enemy wants to hear, and I think it is too high a price for political victory at home. [Applause.]

And there is another price that is too high, the price of negative thinking. Oh, what a future ahead of us, a whole new world to explore. The age of discovery is ours, it didn't belong to Magellan and/or Columbus, it belongs to us. What we have done thus far is but a launching platform for greater accomplishments. We are not content with today. Today is better than yesterday. It should be, but tomorrow needs to be better than today.

I am supporting the candidate for President that has made as his declaration of war, war on poverty. I have no intention of helping a candidate for President who wages war on progress. [Applause.]

Unless there be any misunderstanding, I am unwilling as a price of our victory to fan the flames of prejudice and intolerance in this country. I am unwilling to preach one doctrine in the South and another in the North, to print pamphlets on civil rights for northern audiences and to deny them in North Carolina and South Carolina. I am unwilling, if you please, to spread the virus of hate, the virus of hate and bigotry. I am unwilling to divide America, and that is why I support a man as President of the United States whose very life, whose very

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life is a symbol of a united America, a life that knows no North or no South, no East or no West, a President, if you please, that speaks of national unity and means it, a President who asks us in the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "Come let us reason together." A President that knows that America, if it is to survive in the coming decades and generations, must be an America that has common goals and common objectives, and above all an America that symbolizes for the world opportunity in freedom, full opportunity for every man, woman, and child that wants to participate in the dream of American life and the hope that is America, as Lincoln said, the last best hope on earth. Thank you. [Applause.] Thank you very much.

Where are those tough questions?

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, this question has two parts. President Johnson has implied that he cannot and should not delegate the authority to field commanders to use nuclear weapons. Has not President Johnson delegated just such authority during his administration and in view of the fact that the Democratic platform states "Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the President," does President Johnson intend to delegate such authority—(balance of question could not be heard).

Senator HUMPHREY. This question of nuclear power policy or nuclear weapons policy is one that has had, I think, far too much free and open discussion at the expense of national security. The President of the United States as Commander in Chief has sole responsibility for the control and use of nuclear weapons. That responsibility is his and only his, and for us to get into the details of every possible condition that might exist in this world as to how the President will use that authority it seems to me is bordering upon exposing ourselves to revealing classified important defense information.

I have a suggestion on nuclear power and nuclear energy. My suggestion is this: that we accept what is the known fact since the time of Harry S. Truman, that the President of the United States and only the President has that responsibility for the control of that weapon; and how that weapon is deployed, or how and when it is used, is a matter of the highest importance to the security of this Nation, and I repeat once again, that if the price of election victory is bickering over every little exigency, every little possibility that might come in some faraway or some unknown place, then the price may be the price of American security. I think it is too much. I won't pay it. I think the policy is mistaken clearly and from here on out the best thing to do is to maintain a supremacy of civilian control of the Presidency over that weapon. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, what is your interpretation of States rights as outlined by Senator Barry Goldwater, and how does it in principle differ from segregation in principle?

Senator HUMPHREY. You heard the question. There is some sort of a myth running through this country that State governments are a thing of the past. But they are not. The figures are not here with me but let me say that the increase in activities of government has not been at the Federal level except in defense. It has been at the State and local level; 200 to 300 percent increase in personnel, 400 percent increase in State indebtedness or local indebtedness. The Federal Government is not paralyzing State government. As a matter of fact, the State governments have a lot of vitality. But more important, let's have a little lesson in American government. American government is not at Washington alone nor is it at a State capital alone. American government is government from the independent commission or political subdivision, a township, a village, a town, a city, a county, a State government and a Federal Government. It is a total picture of government each having its respective role to play. There isn't any natural-born enmity between Federal and State government. Government is used where it is best able to be used for a particular purpose. What Mr. Goldwater sought to do is to try to tell the people of America that somehow or another State government is no longer a viable force in America today. Of course, that is not true. There are 50 State governments, and they are bigger than they have ever been before. They tax more than they have ever taxed before. They spend more money than they have ever spent before. They hire more employees than they ever hired before. They do more

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things than they have ever done before, and why? Because it is a bigger country, because there are more needs, because there are more people. State governments haven't died. State governments aren't out of date. What is out of date is the thinking of Mr. Goldwater. He is a poor study of American government. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, this question concerns the ADA. (The question could not be heard.)

Senator HUMPHREY. I hope the audience heard that question fully. It was in reference to a favorite topic of fiction and of happiness for the unhappy fraction of the Republican Party known as the Goldwaterites. It is related to what they call ADA. Now may I have the question so I can repeat it because of its length.

Concerning the ADA with its present support, with its support of proposals such as the recognition of Red China, let's start with that one: what ADA has suggested is that there be exploratory negotiations as to the possibility with our allies of recognition of Red China provided that Nationalist China was still recognized and maintained as an independent national entity with its membership in the United Nations on the Security Council. Now they didn't go as far as John Foster Dulles who advocated open recognition of Red China. Now there are many people who agree with this position. I don't. I do not happen to believe in a recognition of Red China. Many of my friends are very critical of me because of this. I do not want Red China to be admitted to the United Nations. But I think it is a disservice to ADA to say that it has asked immediate recognition. It has not. It didn't go nearly as far as the former Secretary of State, the late Secretary of State of the Eisenhower administration, before he became Secretary of State.

Now the next question is their admission to the U.N., that is Red China; I discussed that. Loans and easing of pressure on Castro. Never been suggested at all. What has been suggested is that if the Castro regime became representative of the people, if the Castro regime no longer exported its revolution, if it ceased its Communist activity, may I say, is a highly improbable set of circumstances, and my friends in ADA occasionally get into that situation, if that happened, then ADA should be—then Castro and his regime should be brought into the Organization of American States. Now what is Humphrey's position? My position is that Castro's regime is a Communist regime in this hemisphere, established here for the purpose of infiltration, of subversion, and that every means possible should be used outside of open military aggression to bring that regime down, and that every means should be used to weaken it, and everything should be done to isolate it, and believe me, a pretty good job of isolation has been accomplished in the most recent meeting of the Organization of American States.

The next is ADA's proposal of loans to Yugoslavia and Poland. That was the Eisenhower proposal which I voted for. That was initiated in 1952 and 1953, and every time a Democrat voter for aid to Poland and Yugoslavia at the request of the Eisenhower administration he was immediately branded by every Republican out of the hustings as soft on communism. By the way, Yugoslavia hasn't always been the best little pal of the Soviet Union, and some of us believe that the best policy to pursue is to try to split off from the Soviet Union these Eastern European states, to break up this monolithic body, to try to press forward for greater autonomy. Yes, I have supported foods and loans to Yugoslavia, food to Poland and, may I say, that it has been a very, very good policy. I wonder what the Republican spokesman has to say about the Holy Father, the Pope, negotiating with the Hungarian Government. Does he think that is soft on communism? I don't. I think the Catholic Church knows what it is doing, and I think the Pope knows what he is doing, and he has a special responsibility to his people, to the people of his faith, he has a special responsibility in Christianity, and communism and Marxism in Hungary and Poland of less than 20 years' duration is no match for 2,000 years of a great church and a great faith. I am not worried. [Applause.]

Senator HUMPHREY. Finally, by what reasoning do you declare that the Communists are against the ADA? The reasoning is they are. They say so. ADA was established to be an anti-, non-Communist-

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nist organization, an anti-Communist, militant non-Communist liberal organization. When? At a time when the CIO was infiltrated, at the time that many a liberal movement was infiltrated, and this organization was established to cleanse them, and it did a job. May I say the loudest critics of this organization are the Communists, are the Birchites, and are these misguided candidates of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

Thank you. Has anybody else in the audience got a question? How much time do we have? Well I am very sorry that I can't take more, but I gather you put up your three best pitchers, and I know this great university is known for its baseball teams, and I want to thank you very much; I have enjoyed this hour with you greatly. Thank you.

Bay City, Mich., Friday, September 25, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Thank you very much, Sandy Brown. I want you good friends from Michigan to know I was enjoying all of that applause. I know that we are not on live television so I wasn't trying to hush you up because I thought if we were paying for the time even though generally that is what I do when it happens, being a prudent and frugal man. [Applause.] But I looked out the door here a moment ago, and I saw my staff with the St. Vitus' dance out there wondering whether or not we were going to get over to Flint, Mich., and since we do have another meeting tonight I thought I would get right down to business even though, may I say, I am enjoying this immensely. It is simply wonderful.

I want to first of all thank Charlie Moskowitz and Charlie Brower, 8th and 10th District chairmen, for their sponsorship of this meeting, for their direction and all county officers. I do this because I understand there are 23 counties, is that right, Charlie, 23 counties represented in this hall tonight, and I know what it takes to win elections. I have had a little winning and some losing, and I like winning better than losing and I know what it takes to win, and it takes organization. [Applause.]

I am mighty proud to be a Democrat. I looked out here and saw Millie, our good friend, and John Swainson. We have been up and down the hustling of this State so many times that there isn't anything new that I can state that they haven't heard. One thing about Millie Jeffreys, she always looks interested. I thank you a lot. You are really wonderful. [Applause.]

I come here tonight to help our cause, if we can. I think our cause is good. I think our case is just. I think our cause is right, and I come here as a Democrat with no apologies for the Democratic Party or for the cause that we represent, and I come here tonight to speak to you about the people, the American people, and the progress of those people, the prosperity which we enjoy for most of the people, and some of the difficulties that some of our people encounter, and I come to you to talk to you about what we are doing about those difficulties, and also about the greatest challenge of all, the pursuit of peace or as President Kennedy said, "Peace is a process." I shall do this within the limits of reasonable time because we all have things to do tonight.

But before I get on with, I want to express the thanks for these Johnson-Humphrey girls out here. You have been so nice to me in this city, out at the Tri-City Airport and here as we came into the community, I want to thank you for the warmth of your reception, and for the kindness which you give to us. Sometimes those of us who are in the headlines, we forget the people who are behind the line doing the real job. I never want to have that happen to me, because when that happens to you I think you get to be less than useful in politics and become somewhat of a burden, and I would like to be helpful to you, to my country, to our President, and I hope to the people of this great Nation. [Applause.]

It's good to be here alongside of my friend Phil Hart. We miss Pat McNamara tonight. What a wonderful State that gives such two fine Senators to the country and to the Senate. [Applause.] I could get all wound up in a speech telling all the wonderful things about your fine Senator who stands for reelection this year. But I



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have a feeling that you know him as well as I do, and I have a feeling that you are so proud of him, that you are so honored by his wonderful work in the Congress, that you are going to get out there and work for him as you have never worked before in your life, and I say that because it would be nothing short of a national calamity if this man that has represented so honorably every good thing of this State, and every good principle of government were not to be returned to the Nation's Capital, and so I just challenge you tonight to make the majority for Phil Hart the greatest majority that any man has ever had in the State of Michigan. [Applause.]

While you are busy doing that, well, you need a new Governor so you had better elect Neil Staebler, too. [Applause.]

What I said about Phil goes for Neil. We are sort of a trio. We have been working together for a long time. I sort of feel half Michigan anyway, you know, I have been over here so much. But it is wonderful to come to a State where the candidate for Governor, and the candidate for reelection to the Senate know who they are for and who they are against. That is a refreshing thing. [Applause.]

I just left New York, I spent yesterday afternoon with Bobby Kennedy, and he was getting on the platform up there and he said "I am the only Senator, only candidate for the Senate, in the State of New York that can honestly say and is willing to say that I am for Lyndon Johnson and against Barry Goldwater." [Applause.] I guess the Governor of New York is sort of for Barry, not much, but sort of, just enough to sort of get a slight amount of contagion but not enough to really get, you know, the fever.

In this State, I know that there has been some problem here as to just who is for whom. I hope that before this campaign is over, that we will be able to find out. I have been reading the paper, that headline was pretty interesting. It says "Romney Is With, Not for Goldwater." That is a Goldwaterism if I ever heard of it. It is as confusing. [Applause.] You read the darndest things these days. [Applause and laughter.]

Well, I want to also tell you that when you elect the President, and I think I know how Michigan is going to vote, I believe that Michigan will do in 1964 what it did in 1960 only it will do it in a bigger and a more generous and in a more overwhelming way. I expect you folks to do just that. [Applause.] In fact the President of the United States expects you in this important election in this pivotal State to give to the Democratic ticket the most overwhelming majority that a Democratic ticket has ever received from the State of Michigan. Now that is your work, it is cut out for you, and let's get out and get the job done. [Applause.]

You know I saw something today—before I go to that I want to say just a word. I mentioned if you are going to elect the President, and you know before I forget it, I am on the ticket, too. You get two for one in this job. [Applause.] I just thought I would mention it in case some of my friends would forget. [Laughter.]

And we need also Members of Congress. I seldom come into a district to speak against someone. I like to speak for someone. In this instance, I am proud to speak for a gentleman who has served this State well and faithfully for I believe 10 years, and that is your State treasurer, that is Sandy Brown who ought to be, who will be, if you get out and get busy, will be the Congressman from Michigan's Eighth Congressional District. [Applause.] And I have a very special reason for you to elect a new Congressman in the 10th District. There are only a few of us by the name of Hubert. [Applause.] And whenever a man has a monicker like that he deserves some special treatment, so I think you ought to elect Hu Evans as your Congressman from the 10th District. [Applause.] By the way [cries of "give 'em hell"] I am going to start doing it in a minute. I don't do that; I never give anybody that. It's just that I tell the truth and they think it's that way. [Applause.]

By the way getting back to this name business, I wonder if you realize that November 3, November 3 is St. Hubert's Day. [Applause.] Absolutely, it is St. Hubert's Day, the Feast Day. Now, no other candidate can claim sainthood. [Applause.] And I want to be very honest about this, I don't claim it. I claim it for Hubert Evans. [Applause.] So Father Burkhardt and Reverend Kahlberg, may I pay my respects to you distinguished men of the clergy. Thank you for your presence here tonight.

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Well, I saw something in the paper this morning in New York City that has just been bothering me all day. It's been so interesting, I must share it with you. I have shared it along the route. A few of the folks didn't read it because it wasn't very large. There it is. It was just a small little news story, but you would be surprised the wallop that it packs. Now listen. I want to read it, and if I got it out here, you know I am getting a little older, I have to adjust a little bit here. It is datelined Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24, AP—Associated Press. It says "State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water." [Applause.] I want to make it, I want to be perfectly clear about this. I didn't say he was for sale. That is just what it said here. It said "State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded'." [Applause.] But bear with me, bear with me. "And because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." [Applause.] I want to say that is without a doubt the most significant capsule of political fact that I have read over the years.

There really isn't much more to say, and if I were a lawyer, and I were preparing my case to a jury, and in a sense we are because it is the jury of the American people, I would say that is the summation of the argument; yes, the summation of the argument that it is grossly misbranded, and it lists as its ingredients only artificial coloring, and preservative.

Now you preserve the things that are just really not with much life, and I think that the story speaks for itself.

Well, let's see if we can't be a little more serious.

Senator Hart spoke to you about the possibilities of what could happen in this country. I think most of us just take it for granted we are going to win this election and win it big. But I want to raise a note of warning and caution. No one enjoys reading the polls when they are favorable to our cause, no one enjoys it more than the man who is now speaking to you, and I must say that a great deal of effort has gone into public opinion sampling to make these public opinion surveys as accurate as man is capable of doing. But it is a fact nevertheless that they can err, and it is also a fact that they act somewhat like an opiate. They tend to calm you down, slow you down, put you in a state of semiparalysis, if you believe everything that you read.

I talked about this to former President Mr. Truman when I visited Kansas City not long ago. We had a wonderful evening together, and I asked him a question about polls, and he said, "I never pay any attention to them." He said, "The only thing to do is to get out to work, work, work," and as he put it, "to do your damndest to win an election," that is exactly the way he said it. [Applause.]

Now I say that because it is possible, it is possible—I don't think it is probable—but it is possible that we could lose this election, and if we do, I want to tell you whose fault it will be. It is like an old friend of mine who worked for the Steelworkers when he came up on the iron range back in 1948 he was talking to us then about the election and he spoke with an old-country accent. He is a wonderful man, he still lives, thank God. He is not too well; I talked to him on the phone the other day. I guess the happiest moment of his life was when I was nominated by the Democratic Convention for the office of Vice President. He has been my friend for 20 years, and he said to these people, "If we lose this election I will tell you whose fault it will be. You go to the dime store and buy yourself a mirror and look in it. That is whose fault it will be." [Applause.] And my good friends, that is exactly whose fault it will be. If we lose this election, which we are not going to lose, because we dare not, but if we do, it will be because we failed in organization, failed to carry through, failed in registration, failed to take our case to the people. You cannot rely all the time on Barry Goldwater making mistakes. He may change somewhere along the line. [Applause.] In fact he is making some effort at it now. I must say that this has been, this campaign has had some worthwhile aspects to it. I think we will

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term this in the pages of history the prolonged education of a U.S. Senator who was a candidate for President. Senator Goldwater seems to be occasionally getting in tune with the first half of the 20th century. We are making progress. [Applause.] But I remind you again that many of the gains we have made could be jeopardized.

What are those gains? Well, your Senator mentioned some of them to you. It seems incredible at this stage of American history that any candidate for high public office, any candidate for any party, for any office, would ever even contemplate much less say that social security should be voluntary. Why social security is as accepted in America as a part of the American system as Mother's Day, except for Barry Goldwater. He doesn't. [Applause.] And I want every person in this room that has a mother or father that is eligible for social security to remember that Mr. Goldwater does have commitments, does have convictions, and I worry about those convictions. He didn't say it once, he said it a dozen times. He is doubtful as to whether or not the present system of social security should be sustained. Let every person aged 62 and 65 remember that because there are people who believe, limited in number, but in this instance very vocal, and now in strategic positions of power in the Republican Party, there are people who would change it. One of the reasons that some of us are out fighting as hard as we are is to see that doesn't happen and it can only happen if we let it happen. It won't happen because of what he does. It will happen because of what we fail to do.

I can't imagine with people unemployed, the victims of technological unemployment, the victims oftentimes of an industry leaving a community and going elsewhere, I simply can't imagine one that would veto or vote against manpower training, so that men and women could be trained for new jobs and new occupations, so that management and capital could have skilled and trained workers. I said I couldn't imagine it. But I have served in a body of the government where I have witnessed it with my own eyes. I have watched the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, I have watched him vote against it, and yet every businessman, every worker, every local government official, anybody that is concerned about America knows that manpower training is a sound program, sound economically, sound morally, sound educationally, and it has been needed and it has proud results.

(Applause.)

It seems incredible to me knowing the problems that we have in education, particularly in higher education, where within the next 30 years we will have to double the classroom space of our colleges and universities—in the next 30 years, my dear friends, we will have to build more classroom space than we have built in the last 300 years. Now you can't do this without some forward planning, and we need our private colleges as well as our public colleges. We need our schools that are supported by charitable contributions, by religious organizations as well as the great public colleges and universities, and so the Congress of the United States, with the help of this Senator, Senator Hart, and with the help of Senator McNamara, initiated legislation for aid to higher education. It is constitutional, it is desirable, it is needed, it is in the national interest, and most Democrats and most Republicans voted for it and it became law. Yes, most of them voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. Oh no, he didn't see the need of it. And yet he talks about freedom. He talks about opportunity; he talks about the moral tone of American life. Well let me say right now lest we forget it for another moment, that the commitment of the Democratic Party and the commitment of President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey is to see to it that every boy and girl that wants an education and has the ability to get that education, has the desire, I should say, for that education, that that boy and girl will be given an opportunity to have the best education that modern education can provide. That is our commitment. (Applause.) This is what we mean by opportunity.

There is no opportunity for a person that is the victim of poverty, the poverty of illiteracy. There is no opportunity for the person that is the victim of the poverty of the spirit, of hopelessness; and when President Lyndon Johnson launched his war on poverty, he wasn't launching a war merely upon the poverty of the purse because that

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poverty is easier to overcome than many others. He was launching a war on the poverty of the spirit, people who have become frustrated and feel a sense of being unwanted and hopelessness because there seemed to be no place for them in society, and above all, he was launching a war upon poverty that comes from ignorance and illiteracy and prejudice, and yet when the antipoverty bill came before us, which is better known and should be known as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the gentleman today who seeks to be President on the Republican ticket was there and present to vote against it, to vote against the poor, to vote against the helpless, to vote against the children, to vote against the school dropout, while he lectures you on lawlessness, and lectures you upon violence. None of us condone lawlessness or violence. You can never condone it. Those of us who are public officials and have been mayors or Governors have had responsibility for law enforcement. We know that the law must be enforced, but let me also say that the law must be just. [Applause.] And a just law means opportunity for those who live within the law and under the law.

So we see a whole series of programs to which this man who today asks the American people to make him President, a whole series to which he has said no, no, no.

All this record, opposition to medical facilities, and he wants better medical care, he says, for the American people, and yet doctors and deans of medical schools knew and know and asked the Congress for aid to medical schools, the training of more nurses, medical technicians, and the Senator from Arizona said "No."

He even said "No" to rural electrification. I didn't think there was anybody left in Congress who had ever been there and ever wanted to be there who was against REA. REA has been good for the farmers. It has been good for the appliance dealers, it has been good for everybody. But apparently they still had some kerosene lamps left over in Goldwater's department store. [Applause.]

I am getting conflicting reports; one says, "Stay here, Hubert;" the other one says, "You had better hurry," so I guess I had better hurry. What do you want me to do? [Cries of "stay here" and applause.] Well, I will tell you, some of my friends think I should stay; some of my friends think I shouldn't, so I will stay with my friends. [Applause.]

Well let me just summarize then my message to you. Whether it is a tax cut that was designed to stimulate this economy or whether it was a bill to expand our medical facilities and our hospitals or whether it was a program to get at the root causes of poverty or whether or not it was a program to train workers so they could once again be productive, or whether or not it was a program to help our farm people or our city people, the record of opposition is there.

Now my fellow Americans, this country didn't get where it is by saying no. This country got where it is today by saying yes, yes to the problems, yes to the challenges, and yes to the opportunities, and what America needs today is not a man in the White House that tries to guide this Nation by looking through a rear view mirror but what America needs today is someone who has a clear vision of where America should go, that has a vision of a Great Society, that has a vision of a New Frontier and has a vision of the kind of America that we can really say is America the beautiful, where our cities are more modern and where they are livable and where our people in rural areas have the same opportunities as their cousins and brothers and sisters in the big cities. Where our young have opportunity for an education. Where our afflicted and our sick can have the compassion of a government that cares and where our elderly can live in dignity.

Now how do you get that kind of a society? Well you don't get it by supporting or backing someone that wants to turn off all of progress, that wants to turn back, that wants to retreat. You get it by supporting a party and a program and in this instance may I say a President who in 10 months has demonstrated almost unbelievable ability as a leader of this country. You get it by backing a man that wants to take America forward and that man, you know who is and so do I, and on the day of November 3d let's have the whole world know where we stand. Let's vote for progress, let's vote for people,



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let's vote for peace, and the way we get it is to vote for the man that symbolizes it, and in America today that man is none other than Lyndon B. Johnson and his administration.

(Applause.)

Thank you.

Flint, Mich.

September 25, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. MUMPHREY,  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

I have been giving some attention these past 2 weeks to a subject that has long fascinated me—political quackery.

As most of you know, I began my professional career as a pharmacist. I had some opportunity to see quacks at work, and found they came in two brands.

The journeyman quack had to find someone who was really ill before he could peddle his nostrum. The really accomplished quack, however, could take a man who was fit as a fiddle, scare him into thinking he was gravely ill, and sell him a useless remedy for a disease he didn't have.

Well, when I got into politics, I found that there were quacks at work in it as well.

Some years ago, there were people telling us that we were on the verge of fascism, and only communism could save us. Now other people are telling us that we are on the verge of communism, and only a stiff shot of John Birch beer will save us.

Recently the American people have been exposed to a new brand of economic and political quackery.

We have been told—in the face of all the facts—that there is something drastically wrong with our economy. The prescribed nostrum? A 5-percent cut in personal and corporate income taxes every 5 years.

I don't know where this idea came from. Maybe the leader of the Goldwater faction is harking back to that.

It is true that, when President Kennedy entered the White House and took immediate inventory of the condition of our defenses, he had to spend some money to make up for past neglect.

That was a sound investment in our Nation's survival—and the fact that we were able to meet and master the Berlin and Cuban missile crises showed how sound it was. And today our defenses are in better shape—and more soundly and economically administered—than ever before in our history.

Yes, there is nothing wrong with our economy—and the remedy that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party has prescribed is sheer fiscal quackery.

He has labeled his nostrum as "safe, sane, and regular"—like a patent medicine huckster—and called this year's tax cut impulsive, massive, politically motivated gimmickry \* \* \* designed to drug the economy into an artificial boom that would carry it at last past election day.

What, I ask, is impulsive about a measure that was carefully deliberated in Congress for more than a year?

Why was an alleged election-day ploy proposed to Congress 22 months before election?

Why did two-thirds of all Republican Senators vote to enact it? Senator Goldwater's own "No" was, he has subsequently said, nothing more than a "nickle flipping" decision.

You could say, of course, that the Senator has seen the light since then—but he hasn't seen it very clearly.

He has seen that a tax cut can be good medicine—but he hasn't yet understood that it has to be used at the right times and in the right measure.

I have already warned that this five-by-five plan, piled on top of all the other tax cuts and boosts in spending that the Goldwater platform promises, would result in a deficit for 1966 of \$16 or \$17 billion—enough to curl George Humphrey's hair into corkscrews.

It may be that he has plans to cut that deficit—plans he hasn't yet revealed to us in the course of this campaign.

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He has told us that "the Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate—from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal \* \* \*." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Congressional Record, Sept. 3, 1963, p. 15360.

Since he became a candidate he has begun to hedge a bit. He has said that: "We must proceed with care in our task of cutting the Government down to size."

I still say, whose size? Senator Goldwater's? Or the size the American people want and need in this year of 1964? And I think we are entitled to straight answers from the Senator to these questions.

How rapidly are you going to eliminate aid to education?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate social welfare?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate public power?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate the farm programs?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate public housing?

How rapidly are you going to eliminate urban renewal?

I think that we are entitled to these answers—and I believe that, when we have them, we shall find that this 5-by-5 tax cut is the sugar coating on a very bitter pill.

At best, what the leader of the Goldwater faction offers is reckless adventure in economic clairvoyance—a proposal to freeze tax policy for 5 years to come, without regard to changing business conditions, military and civilian needs, and the total shape of the domestic and international challenges which may confront us.

At worst, it looks like a covert effort to rewrite the Preamble of our Constitution, which sets forth as one of the great purposes for which this Government was established: *the promotion of the general welfare*.

The Democratic Party is proud of the economic growth which has taken place in the past 4 years. We are proud of our efforts to serve the people of America who seek the assistance of Government in a variety of areas. And we are proud that after 8 years of stagnation and status quo, America is now moving forward again.

With your help and support, we can guarantee 4 more years of prosperity, progress, and justice. We can keep America moving forward. We ask your help.

Flint, Mich.

September 25, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you. May I say to my enthusiastic young supporters you have Humphrey, here I am. [Applause.]

Senator Hart, my good friend of the Seventh District, Bob Collins, your chairman, and to all the many county officials and candidates for county and State offices, I want to bring you some good warm friendly Democratic greetings, and I want to wish every last one of you the greatest success that you could possibly have in this election, namely a great victory for the Democratic Party in this area. [Applause.] And I sure want to join with the many friends of Neil Staebler who has served so ably in Congress, whom you know so well as a great Democrat and a great citizen out here, and wish, with you, his success in the coming election, and ask you to make that wish come true by working day and night to see to it that Michigan gets a Governor who knows who he is for, a Governor who is for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

And you ought to have a Lieutenant Governor also who knows who he is for, and Robert Derengoski does know just who he is for.

I see here on the platform with us tonight, and he was out in the entryway to greet me as we came here from Bay City, the man that undoubtedly, unquestionably, will be in Washington next January, when the 89th Congress opens its 1st session, and I want right now since I may be kind of busy over in the Senate, at least I hope to be presiding there at the time, I want to extend—[Applause]—I want to extend right now a warm cordial welcome to a big Democratic majority in the House of Representatives to your new Democratic Congressman from the Seventh District, John Mackie.

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Yes, folks, it sort of looks good out here in Michigan for Democrats this year and it is going to look a lot better when you folks go to work and make this we see ahead of us a reality.

We have had a wonderful day in your State and as we draw this day to a conclusion starting very early this morning in New York City, actually since 7:30 this morning, I want to take this moment, if I may, to express my personal thanks and gratitude to the people of Michigan for their hospitality, for their enthusiastic reception and for the inspiration that they have given to me, an inspiration that I hope that I can carry for these next few weeks all over America, because we have a big job to do, my fellow Americans, we are in a very, very crucial election, an election, as I told a reporter as we walked into this hall tonight, when he asked me what does this election mean to young people, and what can young people do, I said this election possibly means more to boys and girls of school age than any election in the memory of any of us in this particular hall tonight, because we are going to decide in this election the future course of America. We are going to decide whether or not America says "yes" to the future, whether America looks forward with optimism and confidence to a future or whether America is going to spend its time teaching the history books of the past, and I think I know enough of our wonderful country to know it is so filled with vitality, so filled with the love of life that Americans are going to reach out and they are going to say "yes" to life, they are going to say "yes" to the future, and they are going to say "yes" to the Democratic Party, and they are going to vote "yes" for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

I must share with you just a few personal and little intimate thoughts on matters of some concern. You know the new 1965 cars are now on display, and if there ever was a State in the Union that should be thinking about being up to date it is Michigan. I understand that here in Flint they are having the display of some of the new 1965 models. Well a city and a State that is displaying 1965 models ought not to want to vote for a 1905 political model. [Applause.]

Now, may I say lest anybody be critical of my remarks, I want to say I think I was rather generous. [Applause.] Because as I recollect I believe I am the first spokesman of either party that ever claimed that Senator Goldwater had entered the 20th century. [Applause.]

I am going to talk to you tonight about a subject that has always fascinated me, and I haven't talked about this subject along the campaign trail at all, and I am going to refer to a few notes so that we can really talk scientifically about it, because I am going to talk to you about a subject that is so interesting, it is called political quackery. Now many of you know that I started my career, my professional career as a pharmacist, so I have had an opportunity to see some quacks at work, and I find they come in two brands at least. As a matter of fact, when I came into Michigan today, even before I left there, I found a little item which I have shown around the State today in the newspaper in New York City, the New York Times. I want you to know Michigan made it in the Times big today and it says, it is from Grand Rapids, Mich.—our first stop, by the way, today was in Grand Rapids—it is datelined September 24, Associated Press, a very reliable press service—reports objectively—and here is what it says, so that all of you may know. It says "State officials"—and by the way this is a State in which there are currently temporarily some Republican officials, so this cannot be partisan, it must be objective—it says "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"—[applause]—you interrupted me, you didn't let me finish the sentence. "Outlawed the sale of Goldwater, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater." I continue to read "Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." [Applause.] Now I want the record clear again, I only read what was in the paper. You draw your own conclusions. And I think you drew the right ones. So let me go on and talk to you a little bit about quackery and nostrums. You know the journeyman quack had to find someone who was really ill before he could pedal his fake medicine. The really accomplished quack, however, the fellow who put on the medicine show, he could take a man who was as fit as a fiddle and scare him into thinking he was sick, and sell him a useless remedy for a disease he didn't even have.

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Well, you know when I got into politics I found there were quacks at work in there as well. In fact some years ago, they were telling people that we were on the verge of fascism, and only communism could save us. Now other people are telling us that we are on the verge of communism and only a stiff shot of old John Birch beer will save us. [Applause.]

Well, I thought for a while we were going to be able to get a good shot of Barry Goldwater, that Goldwater stuff they were telling about but you folks in Michigan ruled it out. You can't even have that.

Recently the American people have been exposed to a new brand of economic and political quackery. We have been told in face of all of the facts, and people in Flint, Mich., should surely know it, because this city has been zooming ahead with unbelievable economic growth and progress. The wage levels in this community are very good, and because of the great labor-management program in this community over the many years, there has been a constant rise in the standard of living, but despite this we have been told that there is something drastically wrong with our economy. Oh, yes, even if you are not sick you have got to believe it because Dr. Goldwater says so, and what is the prescribed nostrum?

Well, he came up with a quick one the other day, almost as phony as that new pop that was taken off the market here in your State. He came up as he was flying through the clouds, and you know there is something about, exhilarating about, that experience, when you are up there, you know, way above reality, and you are going there in one of these jets about 600 miles an hour, and the Senator from Arizona decided that this was the time to write a tax program. Oh, yes, he conjured up some real economic medicine for us, a 5-percent cut in personal and corporate taxes every year for 5 years, whether you need it or not.

Now, I don't know where this idea came from. Maybe the leader of the Goldwater faction is harking back to that old jukebox tune, some of you older folks will remember it, I am afraid our younger element here tonight will not, but let me just acquaint them with it, an old jukebox tune that he wants to be known as "Mr. Five-by-Five."

Now of course he doesn't, he can't, deny that times are good. He just thinks we shouldn't feel good about it. That is all. And he says that we are enjoying an artificial boom. If he means that there is something phony or fly-by-night about the prosperity that we are enjoying which is the highest level of production, gross national product, wages, profits, dividends, the highest level that we have ever enjoyed in all of our history, if that is what he is trying to tell us, that it is artificial, then I say he is full of beans, he is full of nonsense, and he knows better. [Applause.]

It isn't phony. That prosperity has been going on for 43 straight months, going up, up, and up in terms of all the factors that indicate a more prosperous economy. We have the longest period of peacetime expansion in our history.

Everyone remembers that the Kennedy-Johnson administration took office in the middle of a recession, the third recession in 8 years, and the people of Michigan and the people of Flint, Mich., remember it, because they remember some 4, 5, years ago what the employment levels were in this community, and in this district. I remember going to the great automobile center of Detroit, Mich., and hearing of the high rate of unemployment 4 years ago, and when John F. Kennedy came into this State 4 years ago, he promised the people of Detroit, he promised the people of Flint, he promised the people of Grand Rapids, he promised the people of this State that if you would give him your confidence, and if you would give him your hands, your help, and if he became your President, that he would do everything within his power to get America moving again, to get people employed, to get industry growing and expanding, and I say to you that John Kennedy kept his word and Lyndon kept it, too. [Applause.] And all of the explanations and all of the scarecrow talk of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party won't change this a bit. The facts are the facts.



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Now, recessions don't just happen, and sustained economic growth doesn't just happen either. Recessions are the result of defects in a manmade system, and sustained economic growth of the past better than 31½ years, these 43 straight months that I speak of, that straight economic proof is proof that we can do better. We the people of the United States, in cooperation with our Government, we can do better if we try.

Now these are the facts, and every thoughtful American recognizes them. Indeed I might say that one of the reasons, and I think one of the primary reasons, that so many great captains of industry, so many bankers, so many men of influence in finance and corporate structure in America are supporting Lyndon Johnson, I think the reason for it is because they know in supporting Lyndon Johnson they are supporting a program of economic progress in America that means more business, more jobs, more profits, more wages, a higher standard of living for every American, and when that happens, it means better things for every American. [Applause.]

Now, of course Dr. Goldwater, he speaks of a wild spending spree begun by this administration. We could take the time tonight to analyze this statistically. Let me just give you one little measurement. The best measure of a spending or of spending is the ratio of Federal purchases of goods and services to the gross national product. In other words, how much is the Federal Government expending as compared to how much we are producing. Now that ratio during the 8 Eisenhower years was 12.3 percent, and it is now down to 10.7 percent, and it has averaged, I should say, down to 10.8 percent. It seems to me that the man that is talking about a wild spending spree should have discussed it up at Gettysburg last week when he was visiting with Mr. Eisenhower. [Applause.]

Let me be very clear about this. I don't think General Eisenhower was on a wild spending spree, and I never made any such ridiculous charge. I think the former President of the United States, while I was in the other party and disagreed with him on many occasions, I think he tried to the best of his ability to see that the expenditures of this Government were related to the needs of our people, and to the needs of our security, and all of these charges out of the wild blue yonder, which the Reserve general brings to our attention of these wild spending sprees, are generally nothing more or less than just a little clear air turbulence that he has run into. [Applause.]

But I might add that when John Kennedy became President, one of the first things he did was to take a look at our defenses, and he took an inventory of our national security, and he found that he had to spend some money to see to it that America was strong, and I say tonight that was a sound investment in our Nation's survival, and the fact that we are able to meet and master the Berlin or the Cuban missile crises showed how right John Kennedy was. And tonight, my fellow Americans, when you leave this hall, you can walk out of here knowing that your country is stronger than any nation that ever lived, stronger than any power on this earth today, and stronger than any combination of powers, and I say that the money that we had to spend for that defense was a wise investment in freedom and in the survival of this Republic and in the freedom of the entire world. [Applause.]

Now there is really nothing that is basically wrong with our economy. We have some soft spots, but those are the very ones that the Senator from Arizona seems to ignore or not be able to see. He has labeled his nostrum or his political medicine as "safe, sane, and regular." This is the way that you used to be able to sell those old patent medicines, and he called this year's tax cut, the one that you are getting the benefit of right now, the one that is going to plow back into this district \$27 million, John, of released free capital for your business people, and for your individual citizens, he labeled this year's tax cut, the largest tax cut in our Nation's history, a product of 22 months of study, a product of many months of hearings, a product of two Presidents, supported by the chamber of commerce, supported by the AFL-CIO, and supported by an overwhelming majority of the Members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, Dr. Goldwater called that as he indicated about it, he called it nothing but a gimmick. He gave it a nice pat on the back, of course. He found himself voting "No" when the rest of the country was saying "Yes." He called this year's tax

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cut impulsive—that is the only thing that worried me about my statement because he has such an expert knowledge of being impulsive. [Applause.] He said the tax cut was an “impulsive, massive, politically motivated gimmickry \* \* \* designed to drug the economy into an artificial boom that would carry at least past election day.” [Laughter.]

You are right, laugh good and loud my friends, because that is the biggest joke of the year. [Applause.]

There isn't a single banker, a single investment specialist, not a single corporation, or a single responsible, respectable businessman that would say that this great boom and this growing prosperity of our country wouldn't go much longer than beyond election day. In fact people are investing by the billions. Americans are looking ahead with confidence. The pages of the Wall Street Journal, the pages of every economic journal in America tell us that America is just now beginning to move forward with the kind of speed and the kind of determination that a great economy ought to have. Everybody is going forward except the man who looks at things through a rear-view mirror and puts the car in reverse and goes backward. [Applause.]

Well, I must say that we have convinced the Senator from Arizona, however, that a tax cut can be good medicine and as I said he came up with his own prescription, but he hasn't yet understood how it is to be used, and as an old pharmacist, may I say when you get a prescription, follow the doctor's advice, and don't go around just sipping out of the bottle or chewing the pills. Take them according to the directions at the right time and in the right measure.

What Senator Goldwater did, he came to a conclusion that a tax cut must be worth while, so he got behind the prescription case and he compounded some kind of political concoction that he called a tax program and then he said “take large doses of it, and I hope you live through it.” [Applause.]

Now, he has told us that Government must begin, and listen to this, every one of you particularly that are concerned about our welfare programs, he told us that “Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal,” and then he continues to list them. What Mr. Goldwater seems to be proposing is that we stop the Government. He has got the stop sign on for the Nation, and for the Government. Since he became a candidate, however, he has begun to hedge a bit. He has said that “we must proceed with care in our task of cutting the Government down to size.”

Well, my dear friends, whether it is sudden death or slow death, when you are dead you are dead. [Applause.]

Now I say to the Senator from Arizona, whose size shall it be cut down to? Senator Goldwater's or the size the American people want and need in this year of 1964, and in the years to come? And I think we are entitled to some straight answers from the Senator on these questions, so I pose questions because I understand that they have a Republican “truth squad” which is a play on words and a conflict of interest, I might add, within these precincts.

Senator, how rapidly are you going to eliminate social security? Since that is one of the basic social welfare programs, I think every person in this room has a right to know. There are people in this hall tonight, people in this great State and throughout this Nation, that depend on social security, not depending on a diminishing social security but depending, if you please, upon a sense of justice in Congress to give you additional social security. [Applause.]

Mr. Goldwater, how soon are you going to cut out the hospital construction program because I think the people of this community would like to know? Hurley Hospital in this city received \$67,000 in Federal grants. Other hospitals have received money and more will get it under a Federal aid program.

I think the people of the State of Michigan and the people of the city of Flint, Mich., have a right to know, Senator Goldwater, when are you going to do away with that program if you get to be President. This is an exercise in theory, my friends, because he is not going to get to be President. [Applause.]

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Then I ask this question: How rapidly are you going to eliminate rural electrification, and the great public power systems? How rapidly are you going to eliminate the farm programs? How rapidly are you going to eliminate the housing programs, public housing, middle-income housing, how rapidly are you going to eliminate aid to our cities, urban renewal, how rapidly are you going to eliminate manpower training and aid to higher education? I think people have a right to know.

When a candidate for President made the statement that I quoted, and it is from his own book where he tells us about the conscience of a conservative, and he says "the Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate" and then he lists what he thinks is outside the Constitution, social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal, when a candidate for President tells you that he is going to do away with those programs, I think you ought to ask him what the time schedule is. [Applause.]

Now I must say that Mr. Goldwater's economic nostrums, his five-by-five economic tax program, is a reckless adventure in economic clairvoyance. It is a proposal to freeze tax policy for 5 years to come without any regard to changing business conditions, military or civilian needs or the shape of the domestic economy or the international challenges that we face. At worst, it looks like a covert effort to rewrite the Preamble of the Constitution which sets forth as one of the great purposes for which this Government was established, the promotion of the general welfare. I wonder whether or not it wouldn't be a good idea for every candidate for public office to testify that he has read the Constitution and knows the mandates of that Constitution, and two of the mandates are to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. [Applause.]

Now my fellow citizens, let me say this, that one of the most encouraging notes of our time is the fact that many people are concerned about what I have talked to you about tonight, thoughtful people, conservative people, middle-of-the-road people, Republicans, Democrats, and independents. Most Americans are fairminded, most of them are just, most of them want to see this country advance, most of them accept the gains that we have made, and many of them want to go further, and I wouldn't want my message tonight to be concluded with just this criticism because it ought to be something more than criticism of an opponent. It ought to also give a ray of hope.

The Democratic Party is not a party of criticism. It is a party of construction. The Democratic Party in your lifetime and mine, for most of us at least, has had the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of that fighting Democrat Harry S. Truman, and the New Frontier of that valiant, brave, fine man that served as our President for 1,000 days.

And now it has the promise and it has the vision of the Great Society that is being outlined step by step like an artist paints a beautiful portrait of Lyndon B. Johnson, his dream for a better America. [Applause.]

Not long ago a TV commentator asked President Johnson that he would call his administration, and he said to the President, "You know, Mr. President, Roosevelt had his New Deal, Harry Truman his Fair Deal, and John Kennedy his New Frontier, what will you call your administration?"

Very quietly and thoughtfully, the President looked at this TV commentator who asked that interesting question and he said, "Sir, I have but one objective and one aim, and that is a better deal for all Americans," and that is what we are seeking to do. [Applause.] And that better deal, my friends, includes better schools for our young, it includes hospitals and nursing care under social security for our elderly, and it includes a guarantee as best we can of the peace, and I remind you tonight that the main responsibility of a President of the United States is to safeguard this Republic, see to it that America and the world if possible can live in peace. This is the noblest of all aspirations, and I am of the opinion that when we vote for a President and a Vice President, but above all when we vote for a President, what we are really doing is placing our trust in him. We want to be sure he is a man that is responsible, we want to be sure

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that he is a man who understands America, its hopes and its aspirations, and we want to be sure that he is a man of vision and, my fellow Americans, I can say to you tonight that millions and millions of people across this land trust Lyndon Johnson. They have faith in him, and they have faith in the party that he leads and above all they have faith in the promise that he gives to the American people. I ask you to join me tonight in placing your trust in a man who has proven in his 10 months since that tragic day in Dallas that he understands the people, and he works for the people, that he pursues the process of peace, and that he is a giant of a man in these difficult days. Stand with me, will you tonight, and pledge your support, pledge everything that you have, to the election of Lyndon B. Johnson as President on November 3. [Applause.]

Louisville, Ky.  
Airport  
September 26, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Thank you, very much. [Applause.]

[Cries of "Give it to 'em."]

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, I will try.

Governor Breathitt, and our new Congressman-to-be from this great Third Congressional District of the State of Kentucky, Charles Farnsley, and may I pause for just a moment to express my thanks and appreciation to the good folks from Indiana who are visiting here, that fine delegation led by Mayor Bissing of Jeffersonville, Ind., we are just delighted that you could be with us today and I know, Governor, that two of your outstanding musical organizations, these two fine bands from Pleasure Ridge Park, Ky., and from Southern High School are here and I want to say, will you tell both of them and thank them very, very much. [Applause.]

One of the joys of a campaign is the participation of our young people and I know today the large number of teenage Dems of the young citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, of just young people from our many schools, high schools and colleges that are here [applause] may I just say a word to our young friends.

We need you very much in this campaign. We need your energy, we need your vitality, we need your enthusiasm and your intelligence, and I make a personal request of you that between now and November 3 that you make it your business to see that every voter that you can contact is registered to vote, and that you ask your parents, ask your neighbors, ask your brothers and sisters of voting age to give President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, to give the Democratic ticket a helping hand every hour of the day, every day of the week until November 3. [Applause.]

You know, Governor, when you see that amount of pep and enthusiasm, I must say that any political party and any candidate that has that much power behind it, simply can't lose and I see President Johnson being elected. [Applause and cries of "Teen Dems for Humphrey."]

Well, I got the message.

I want to thank our friends that are here today from the rural areas of this great State, I want to thank those that are here from your cities, those of the labor movement that are present with us, our senior citizens, and the many people who make up these fine audiences that greet us as we launch our campaign into this great State of Kentucky.

Governor Breathitt, the State of Kentucky was the home of many great people throughout the history of this Nation, and this great State on so many occasions has helped the Democratic Party and helped our candidates. The man that I always admired so much, and to me is in a sense a political idol, and is Mr. Veep, the real Mr. Veep, was the late and beloved Alben Barkley of the State of Kentucky. [Applause.] This dear man gave me guidance and counsel and comfort when I needed it. He always extended the helping hand of a friend. He symbolized to me what I call our airplane and what some



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people call me, the Happy Warrior, because I never knew a man that was more happy in his work that gave more of himself, and that did more for his country and that always could see the better side of life than the late and beloved Senator from this State, Vice President from this State, one of the truly great men of American politics, the gentleman that I have referred to, Alben Barkley. [Applause.]

Well, we have much to talk about. You know I was in Michigan yesterday, the day before we were in New York, and did we have a time in New York, I tell you it was really great. [Applause.] Such crowds, such enthusiasm, and we feel that real genuine political progress was made on that occasion—and yesterday in Michigan, starting at Grand Rapids and ending last night at Flint, talking to young and old, to Democrats, Republicans, and independents, we had a marvelous and a cordial reception. Every once in a while when we go into an audience I find somebody there with a Goldwater banner or a Goldwater button and I found out the only reason they came was to confess their sins. [Applause.] And that is why I ask my fellow Democrats and those who are supporting President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, be very considerate of these people, welcome them, extend the hand of fellowship, and ask them to come into our midst and be one of this happy household. Many of these people come to you weary and heavyladen. [Applause.] They want to enter the happy home of democracy, and let them come in, open the portals wide, open your hearts and let them open their minds and they will join us. [Applause.]

Just a few words. We had not planned on stopping here too long because we have a very heavy schedule but I am so grateful for this wonderful reception. You know when I was in our neighboring State, I will see if I can find that card, oh, yes, I was up there in Michigan, I found as I left New York City yesterday morning, my, how we do get around these days, I found a little newspaper clipping. It was in the New York Times, an Associated Press dispatch out of Grand Rapids, Mich. It isn't very big, it is a one column, about one and a half inches long but it tells a great story and in a sense it summarizes the whole campaign insofar as discussing the opposition is concerned. Here is what it said:

"State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water," [applause]—you mustn't interrupt me, I just got to the comma [laughter] "Have outlawed the sale of Gold Water, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded,'" and now listen to this, "because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative."

Goldwaterism, Goldwater artificially misbranded, the ingredients, artificial coloring and a preservative.

Ah, yes, preservative for the things of the past, not a bit of bubble, not a bit of effervescence, nothing to give you the spark of the future. [Applause.] So, I think we have had the most concise and, may I say, the most revealing description of the opposition's program that I have heard thus far.

Why I was in a community the other day where they manufactured Metracal and it just dawned on me that was the stuff they were drinking out at the Republican Convention and that is why their platform and their program is so thin. [Applause.]

But our program is not thin. Our program has substance, our program [applause]—our program is filled up with the meaning of America, and that program has been of great help to this beautiful State of Kentucky and to all of the Nation. The programs that have been constructed over the many years of Democratic leadership are in jeopardy today unless we take care of them, and unless we maintain in the White House the kind of leadership that will not only guard the accomplishments of yesterdays, but will build on those accomplishments to a better tomorrow, and this party is dedicated to a better tomorrow. [Applause.]

I can't imagine the people of Kentucky, a fine people, a good people, as much a part of the great history of America as the Declaration of Independence, the great new frontier of early America and still a new frontier of progress, I can't imagine the people of this State wanting to back a pretender to the Presidency that advocates making social security voluntary, that advocates selling the TVA [applause]

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and advocates doing away with our farm programs which mean so much to every tobacco producer, to every farm producer in the State of Kentucky, I just can't imagine this State voting for that kind of a candidate [applause].

And I cannot imagine, my dear friends, backing a candidate that traveled all the way across the country, all the way across America to cast his vote against the Economic Opportunity Act, to cast his vote against the war on poverty, that kind of a candidate has no place in the State of Kentucky. [Applause.]

The issue in this campaign is very simple and very meaningful. The issue is which of these two men, and of these two parties, can you trust. Which one offers you the promise of a better tomorrow. I know that those of the opposition tell us of the mistakes of yesterdays. They are experts in the catalog of our mistakes but they have no vision, no prophecy, they seem not to know that even a tomorrow is in the offing. They don't even want to think about the kind of America that we want to build. They prefer to tell us of the errors of judgment that some may have made. They prefer to tell us of the mistakes that someone may have committed, rather than the promise of a better day. I am a Democrat, and as Sam Rayburn said, "I am one without prefix or suffix and without apology."

My party and your party, the Democratic Party, has always pointed to a better day. The New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman, the New Frontier of John Kennedy and the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

So, we ask ourselves as we approach that day of election, we ask ourselves what kind of America do you want. What kind of a people shall we be, and I say that we will be a people that has concern at home for our needy, a people that are dedicated to opportunity for every American, and a people that will do the noble job of pursuing the cause of a just peace, and we need to elect a President that we can rely on, someone who is competent, experienced, someone who is resolute and firm and calm, and someone who understands the nature of our governmental structure, and above all we need to elect a President that every mother and father, every son and daughter can unqualifiedly place his trust in and that man is none other than the man that I am privileged to work with, and to support, and to speak for on this platform, and you know who he is, and you are going to give him your vote, and the man is Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Louisville, Ky.  
Airport,  
September 26, 1964

### PRESS CONFERENCE OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. May I have your attention, please. If we could just get a little quiet on this side, then I am sure the press conference might proceed more orderly.

Well, ladies and gentlemen of the news media, and our friends from Kentucky, I first of all once again want to thank the Governor of this State and former Governor, Mr. Combs, for their gracious and warm welcome. I understand you have had a visitor or two around these parts, and possibly some of you will want to ask some questions, and so, without holding you up at all, why don't we proceed as we are accustomed to. Go right ahead, any of the press people here.

QUESTION. Senator, I wonder if you could clarify what differences you have with Senator Goldwater about REA. That is a big issue in Kentucky.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, the rural electrification program is a very important issue all over America, and of course, it is one of the great achievements of the last 30 years or 29 years of American public life. Senator Goldwater has made it manifestly clear in every statement that he believes that the REA has served its purpose, and as he has said, that the REA administration should be dissolved. It should be, in other words, stopped. He has voted against REA programs in a long line of recorded votes. There were 35 recorded votes on REA

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since Senator Goldwater—since Senator Goldwater served in the Senate and he voted no on every single issue that related to the improvement or the continuance of rural electrification loan authority, with two exceptions. I want to make this clear, he voted no every time on 35 rollcalls except twice. And on those two instances it was when an REA project was for Arizona.

Now, I appreciate the loyalty to his State but farmers needed electrical power in other States as well as in Arizona. So REA people should look upon the candidacy of Mr. Goldwater as a direct attack upon the rural electric cooperatives. It will be death by attrition to their program if he should be elected.

QUESTION. Senator, what is your position on section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits States to pass so-called right to work legislation in light of Senator Goldwater's S. 87?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. The Democratic platform and the Democratic administration opposes section 14(b) of the amended Taft-Hartley Act. We oppose what we call the State right to work laws, feeling that the National Labor Relations Act should have priority jurisdiction.

Mr. Kenworthy.

QUESTION. Senator, Louisville was a leader in the border States that took action on civil rights voluntarily. Lately there seem to have been some second thoughts here in Louisville. I wonder if you could comment on that or whether Louisville could provide some sort of an example under the volunteer procedure under the new act.

Senator HUMPHREY. Louisville did and has and continues to provide a very good example of local leadership, local initiative in coming to grips with some of the basic and difficult community problems, particularly in this area of race relations. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 places its priority emphasis upon compliance with the law through voluntary action, local cooperation, local government and State government, and the enforcement of said local and State laws.

It establishes also the Community Relations Service headed by the former Governor of Florida, Mr. Leroy Collins, and that Community Relations Service has as its purpose to encourage voluntary compliance, to encourage community responsibility in the development of human relations programs and better relationships between the peoples.

If these matters break down, that is, if there is a failure of local and State authority, of voluntary action which the emphasis in the law, may I say, then and only then is there Federal enforcement, and I want to repeat what I have said on other occasions. I think it is the duty, in fact the moral responsibility, of everyone of us who have taken an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and those of us who seek national office, to encourage compliance with the law, to encourage voluntary community action, and to encourage respect for the law in every word and every deed, and I deeply regret that this doctrine has not been followed by the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party.

QUESTION. Senator, you are reported to have spent several hours, I believe it was, last Sunday in a State by State discussion with the President of his campaign. What, in the opinion of the President and in your opinion, are the restraints and your weaknesses here and is it such that the President might campaign in Kentucky?

Senator HUMPHREY. I really can't give you a firm answer on whether or not the President plans to come to Kentucky. We place great reliance, of course, upon your local leadership here in the Democratic Party, the Governor, former Governor, the citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, the young people, our friends in the labor movement, the rural electric cooperatives, and farm organizations. We did go over what you might call the political picture of America and it looked very bright, very good.

QUESTION. Senator, specifically about Kentucky, what is the situation here as it looks in Washington?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, we never take anything for granted, sir. But, we think that Kentucky will again demonstrate the good judgment for which it has long been known by voting Democratic and giving President Johnson a rather sizable majority if we go to work and if everybody buckles down here to the task and understands how important this is to Kentucky.

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QUESTION. Do you think you might be in trouble in western Kentucky?

Senator HUMPHREY. No, sir. We think that—we are not in trouble. If there is trouble in western Kentucky we want to help people solve that trouble. The purpose of the Democratic Party and of the Johnson administration is to encourage the expansion of opportunity, to help people live a better life, to lift the sights of American public and private accomplishment, and we believe that this message is getting through to the American people.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, there was a comparison made between the ADA and the Birch Society. Would you clarify that point, the relationship—

Senator HUMPHREY. This is like trying to compare a civic club with a conspiracy, and I mean that quite sincerely. The ADA is an open organization. It supports the Constitution of the United States. It feels that General Eisenhower is a loyal American, and so is the Chief Justice. It is an anti-Communist, non-Communist, liberal organization. It believes in constitutional government, and it believes in human rights and constitutional rights. The Birchites have attacked every prominent American with few exceptions, as being a part of the Communist apparatus or at least giving aid and comfort to it, and I must say that any organization that can so viciously attack the patriotism of President Eisenhower, the patriotism of the Chief Justice, and the loyalty of the Chief Justice is an organization that is beneath even civil contempt, it is a contemptible organization unworthy of the trust and faith of the American people. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator, have you said—

Senator HUMPHREY. Excuse me. It is kind of difficult to hear.

QUESTION. Do you consider that your affiliation with the ADA will be a political liability or political asset in the campaign?

Senator HUMPHREY. No; I think it gives the Republicans a little something to talk about. They don't have much else to talk about. I am serving a very useful function here, I am sort of the lightning rod for these short circuits of the Republican apparatus. I don't think it hurts.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, may it be believed that Senator Goldwater is opposed to most of the programs designed to aid the rural economy? If he were elected and he failed to request sufficient funds for these programs in his budget, do you think that Congress would have enough strength to overcome his philosophy on Federal spending and appropriate the funds anyway?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, may I say that if Mr. Goldwater has the conscience of a conservative that he says he has, and if he believes what he says, if he believes what he has said and what he has written, and I presume that he does because I think he is a man of his word, then I would say that the farm programs that you referred to would be on the way out. I said that the election of Barry Goldwater as President is a death sentence to American agriculture, and I repeat it. He has no sympathy for this program, he has shown very little understanding of American agriculture and again, he has been very candid. He says, "I know nothing about farming." This is the most candid expression of a candidate who says he knows nothing about one of the major sections or sectors of the American economy. Yes, he would. I am sure, reduce appropriations. He would recommend repeal of certain programs unless he has been deceiving us. He has said that he thought the program ought to go out. Now, he wants to slow it down a little bit. But, I am an old druggist, and there are a lot of ways, you know, to poison a cat. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Another point in issue in Kentucky is the war on poverty. Many criticisms, particularly the Congressman from Missouri, Dean Snyder, said, this war on poverty will create an artificial economic system in eastern Kentucky, an area that is already seriously depressed. Would you care to comment on this charge.

Senator HUMPHREY. Your question indicates that Mr. Goldwater feels that the Economic Opportunity Act, the war on poverty, will create an artificial economic structure in western Kentucky?



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QUESTION. Eastern Kentucky and destroy most of the initiative.  
Senator HUMPHREY. Destroy most of the initiative of the people? I repeat the question because it is difficult to get it here.

Well, sir, this is the old argument that was used on practically every program that was ever advanced, and it has no substance, no merit, and no truth. What people need in America is an opportunity to make something out of their communities and out of their lives, and the purpose of the Appalachia program, the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act, is not to guarantee to everyone a good life, but to make possible, through training, through investment, through the development of the natural and the human resources of an area, the possibility of an individual and of a business firm or of a farmer to gain a good life, a better economic life, and social life. These programs, I believe, will have great benefit, they have before. The same argument was used, for example, on the old farmers—Farm Security Administration. It was used on a number of programs of the past.

QUESTION. Senator?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Senator, in your reference were you indicating that the John Birch Society does not support the Constitution of the United States?

Senator HUMPHREY. I was indicating that it had made vicious, unwarranted, unprincipled attacks upon very responsible, respected Americans.

QUESTION. Senator, could you expand on the difference between the Goldwater program and the Democratic program in tobacco support in Kentucky?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes; very simply. Mr. Goldwater is against it and we are for it. [Applause.] And may I say that when I spoke at North Dakota at the National Plowing Contest I singled out this program as one, the tobacco program as one, that was effective and that should be continued and that was a pledge of this administration.

Mr. Goldwater says it should be phased out.

QUESTION. Senator, you made a statement in Arkansas that the rural electric program had done more for the urban economy than any other Government program. Could you elaborate on this?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes; I feel that the—the question was that I had made a statement in Arkansas that the rural electric program had done more for the rural economy than any other program?

QUESTION. And referred to the urban economy as well.

Senator HUMPHREY. And urban. It is helped a great deal. I make the statement because first of all it did bring new energy, new power to the rural economy, which indeed improved the standard of living of farm families and improved the productive capacity of farms and helped the farmer in this period of technological and scientific change. It was good for the farmer. It brought light and power to rural America. It is good for the city.

As a matter of fact, the appliance industry, the electrical appliance industry, in the United States today is in a large measure predicated upon the continuance and the expansion of rural electrification. For every dollar that is being invested in REA there are \$6 of sales of electrical appliances to rural families. I think that is pretty good for most of these cities.

QUESTION. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. All right. We will get one more here.

QUESTION. Mr. Goldwater, in Boston, said that the administration was not enforcing the civil rights bill. Would you care to comment on that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes; I commented Mr. Goldwater knows better, and again he is merely using that act as a way of inciting differences amongst our people.

Thank you.

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Louisville, Ky.  
Airport  
September 26, 1964

## DISCUSSION PANEL OF SENATOR HUMPHREY AND GOVERNOR BREATHITT, MRS. DORAN, AND TOM HARRIS

GOVERNOR BREATHITT. We are very fortunate that while Senator Humphrey is in Kentucky, in support of the candidacy of Lyndon Johnson for President, he has taken the time to meet with these distinguished Kentuckians to discuss issues that are vital to Kentucky and to the Nation.

Today with Senator Humphrey is a very attractive lady, Mrs. Adron Doran, the wife of the president of Morehead State College and who has served for 2 years as president of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. Mr. Tom Harris from Carter, Ky., a tobacco farmer, warehouseman, and president of the Jersey Cattle Association. Mr. Harris.

MR. HARRIS. Senator Humphrey, when we think of Kentucky we think of tobacco and our tobacco program. The tobacco raisers in Kentucky are worried, real worried, right at this point because we think we have got the greatest farm program that has ever been introduced and used. I am worried, they are worried. We hear that Senator Goldwater might even scuttle this program and certainly would not lend his support to a tobacco program. I say we are worried, and we would like to hear what you think about this.

SENATOR HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Harris, if my memory serves me correct, Kentucky is one of the two major Burley tobacco producing States in the Union. This is a great part of your economy and, of course, it means a great deal to everybody, not just to the tobacco producer but it means something to your industry, to your cities. I mention that because so often when we talk about farm programs, people are thinking all we are talking about is that farm producer. Now, that is important, and he is important, but the economic well-being of your farmer is the—really determines the—economic well-being of merchants on Main Street and of manufacturers and of workers as well as of farmers.

The Democratic Party and the Democratic platform has given a commitment to the continuation of those programs in agriculture that are effective, and one of those programs is the tobacco program, a program of acreage allotments and production controls, and of marketing practices. This program has worked for many, many years. It has been a successful program since the very beginning of the agricultural programs of the New Deal. It has cost the taxpayer little or nothing, because the tobacco producer has actually managed his own production so well that insofar as the taxpayers are concerned there has been no, no real burden on the taxpayer.

Now, our party is committed to continuation of this program, and we will do just that, and Mr. Goldwater is committed, first he was committed, to doing away with the program at once. Then he modified that slightly and said that they would have to phase it out.

Well, I might say to you, Mr. Harris, that this really means if it takes place, if Mr. Goldwater should be elected, this means 10-cent tobacco for you people in Kentucky. We, up in our way, know a little bit about farm programs and we had 10-cent corn. We don't want any of that either.

So, I will just draw it up to a conclusion, we are pledged to a continuation of the program that now works so well, including, may I add, the developments of exports under Public Law 480 for your tobacco producers. This is very, very important because this means that you will be able to maintain your acreage allotments and not have to cut back. And the opposition, Mr. Goldwater, is committed by program and by statement to the withdrawal of the tobacco program and cutting it off.

Mrs. Doran.

Mrs. DORAN. Senator Humphrey, my husband is president of Morehead State College—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mrs. DORAN (continuing). A college in eastern Kentucky in which we are part of the Appalachia, so naturally we are materially interested in that area. I know, too, how interested you are in the youth of that area, and the opportunities that may be provided for them through legislation that I know you have spearheaded.

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Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mrs. DORAN. I would like to ask you what are your plans, your and President Johnson's plans, to further our—or further implement this antipoverty Appalachia, social security programs which you have started and which I know you are deeply committed to?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mrs. Doran, I am delighted to see you again. I was so pleased to have the opportunity of saying hello to your illustrious husband once again.

You know, in Minnesota we have a Moorehead State College, too.

Mrs. DORAN. I know you do.

Senator HUMPHREY. And the president of that college is one of my closest friends, Johnny Neumaier, we have worked together for years in that area in education. I am sort of a refugee from a classroom myself having been a teacher and professor of political science, having done some teaching at the University of Minnesota and down at Louisiana State. So, I am deeply interested in education and deeply interested in opportunities for our young people.

The keynote of our effort, not only now but the effort that the Democratic Party has been making for years, but the keynote of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, now President Johnson, is the expansion of the frontiers of opportunity, and very frankly, Mrs. Doran, there isn't any opportunity for young people unless they have an education. That means good education at the elementary and secondary level and it surely means higher education, and these State colleges, both public and private, must have an opportunity to grow.

I said to a group here the other day, we are going to have to build classroom facilities in the next 30 to 40 years equal to all the classrooms that we have built in the last 300 years and that is going to take some cooperation between the Federal Government, the State government, the local government, and private groups. So, we are committed to a program of aid to higher education; number one, Mr. Goldwater voted against that. We are, also committed to a program of vocational education and manpower training and job training and youth training under the Economic Opportunity Act, which is the antipoverty act.

We feel that this is basic, you cannot rehabilitate an area or help an individual without this kind of thing. Mr. Goldwater voted against it. He flew all the way across this continent, Mrs. Doran, to cast a "No" vote on the Economic Opportunity Act, in other words, to vote against the war on poverty.

Now, on the Appalachia program, it is the same thing. As you know the Senate of the United States just passed the Appalachia program, and the Appalachia program, it is on target, you see; it is related to a certain region that comes from, even included Kentucky, way down to Alabama up into West Virginia and into the coal fields of Pennsylvania, and that program is designed for improvement of industry, investment capital for industry, job training, education, the development of water and mineral resources, rehabilitation of an area that had been literally scraped out; those old coal mines, we have iron mines in northern Minnesota like it, the areas that have been, where the trees have been taken off, and massive cutting in the past has left the countryside barren.

Now, that program of Appalachia or the Appalachia Redevelopment Act can provide a tremendous new industry to this part of the world, to this part of America if in nothing else but tourism and recreation.

As a matter of fact, you have the opportunity of a lifetime here to develop your recreational facilities, and your industrial facilities, and your agricultural base, and we will do it through these programs, and each one of them, I say again, Mr. Goldwater says, "No," "No," "No." I find this man sort of living under the no-no tree in the shadow of his own indifference to these programs and the same is true of social security. I believe you mentioned that.

Mrs. DORAN. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. I did not believe, Governor, that anybody was against social security anymore, I really did not. We fought that campaign in 1936, and since that time, as you know, Mr. Landon, who was the candidate of the Republican Party, who opposed social security then is now strong for it. But Senator Goldwater says it ought to be voluntary and, of course, that means that there will be a weakened program, a watered down program. So every single person in America that has an interest in social security ought to have an interest in this election.

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I presume Mr. Goldwater means what he says and when he says that he wants social security voluntary, I think he means it. That threatens the whole program. When he says he is against Appalachia redevelopment, I think he really means it. When he says he is against higher education assistance, I know he means it, he voted against it, and the same thing is true of the antipoverty program.

Mrs. DORAN. I intended to ask you the difference of your views and the views of the opposition but I believe you have clearly covered that.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mrs. Doran, I thought I at least owed you an explanation of the differences of our views.

Mrs. DORAN. I think you did it very well, Senator.

Mr. HARRIS. Senator, we have just recently dedicated an REA steamplant down in Kentucky, and they named it after John Sherman Cooper.

Senator HUMPHREY. Oh, yes.

Mr. HARRIS. And Senator Goldwater has said that he would like to liquidate REA. We would just like to know how you feel about that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I am unalterably opposed to that sort of philosophy, as you know, and I am pleased this plant was named after Senator Cooper. I think very highly of your Republican Senator. I don't want to cause my fellow Democrats any dismay or concern but I believe in giving people credit where credit is due and we are personal friends.

The REA has been a great boon to America. It's been a tremendous thing. In my home State every Minnesota REA is, well I think it is, one of the greatest programs that we have. Our whole State is electrified through rural electric cooperatives and the private utilities. We don't have much public power up our way.

But REA is a basic part of the total agricultural economy, and it is not only good for the farmers. Many people say, "Oh, that is all to help the farmers." Not on your life. REA, for every dollar that is being invested in REA there are \$6 worth of electrical appliances that are sold, and that is going up everyday because farmers are putting in mechanical equipment, electrical power equipment in their farms so we don't need less REA, Mr. Harris; we need more. You can't get by with the old model T anymore, you have to update it.

Mr. HARRIS. It would help the kerosene sales.

Mrs. DORAN. Senator Humphrey, let's talk a little bit about the nuclear weapons. Women with whom I have been associated in Kentucky do not believe there are any conventional nuclear weapons. We believe that any nuclear weapon could set off a chain reaction that could destroy mankind, destroy civilization, so we just don't think there are any conventional nuclear weapons. We are interested in peace, and I think that the wives and mothers of Kentucky would like to hear you talk a little bit about the test ban treaty.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mrs. Doran, your comment is about the most convincing argument that I have heard and it is the most sensible statement I have heard on this whole subject of nuclear weapons. You are absolutely right, there are no conventional nuclear weapons because nuclear power is not conventional. Nuclear power isn't just explosive power, Mrs. Doran, it is also radioactive fallout and in the use of nuclear weapons, in any kind of military encounter, we may sometimes be compelled to do that, if our country were threatened, but we have to remember that it isn't just the impact of the weapon, that is the destructive power, the explosion, it is also the aftereffects. It is the radioactive debris, it is the contamination of the earth, the atmosphere, and rightly so that mothers should be concerned, rightly so, because there are aftereffects that can affect generations, yet unborn, and surely can affect the air that we breathe, and the soil that gives us our food and sustenance.



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That is why, Mrs. Doran, this whole subject of nuclear power is so delicate, and that is why the President of the United States must be the man, he is elected by we, the people, he must be the man, that has this basic authority and responsibility for the use or the control of nuclear power, and we don't want this authority vested in some field commander, nor do we want this authority to be bandied as if somehow or another it was just another weapon because it is not, and once that you start to use nuclear weapons you can rest assured that the nuclear holocaust is on and that means death and destruction.

I think, you know, to be quite honest about it, I believe that we have the power, I know we have the power, to win a so-called nuclear war, but what would be left? What would be left of our democracy? What would be left of our people? What would be left of these beautiful cities? What would be left of Louisville? What would be left of Minneapolis? These are all targets and, therefore, the task today of a Government and a President, of a Congressman or a Senator, as John Kennedy put it, is to pursue peace with honor, not appeasement. Peace isn't appeasement. We have got to think of it as really an act of courage, and this is what we have been trying to do with our foreign aid program, with our diplomacy, with our alliances, with our fabulous military power which is the greatest power that the world has ever known. The purpose of all of this power is so that we won't have to use it, Mrs. Doran, so that my wife and you and my daughter and her daughters, my granddaughters, won't have to worry about this. That is what we are building this power for.

And I must say that the great, one of the great steps in the path of peace was the nuclear test ban treaty that we signed just a year ago.

I went to Moscow and was one of those who witnessed the signing. I was one of the early advocates of such a program and, as you know, President Eisenhower advocated it, President Kennedy, and now President Johnson, when he was Vice President. The Senate overwhelmingly supported the nuclear test ban treaty. The purpose of that was to prevent, prohibit further nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, under water, and on the ground so as to prevent contamination of the air, so as to prevent strontium 90 in the milk that you drink and that your children drink, so as to keep the air clean, and to slow down the nuclear arms race.

A hundred nations have signed that treaty and we did it in the knowledge, and I assure everyone of you, we did it in the knowledge, of our great superiority in the nuclear weapon field and we have it as well as the capacity to deliver it if we need to. It was an act of courage and an act of peace and I think an act of real conscience—of the real conscience of the American people, because the American people are a peace-loving people.

Senator Goldwater did not vote for that treaty, Mrs. Doran. He did not. He was one of a few in the Senate that did not vote for it and he has literally said that it should be abrogated, that we should repeal it. I mean his vote indicated clearly that he did not believe in it and as a President, if he did not believe in it, because he said it weakens us, I imagine that he would advocate that we remove ours from its limitations.

I would be unalterably opposed to that. I think this is one of the great acts, one of the great accomplishments of this century, the nuclear test ban treaty.

GOVERNOR BREATHITT. Senator Goldwater when he was in Kentucky recently criticized the President in his actions on the Gulf of Tonkin. Do you have any comments on this?

Senator HUMPHREY. I read that, sir, I read that in your paper. I heard it on radio and television. I was absolutely shocked and stunned. I don't know what we can do about these kinds of statements, Governor. The President did what he had to do in the Gulf of Tonkin to protect the security of American personnel and American Fleet in their waters and we could not tolerate having these nests of PT boats that could sweep out upon our ships in their national waters.

But what Mr. Goldwater commented about was that we had given the enemy forewarning so that the enemy could shoot down our pilots. What did the President do? I was at the White House for the meeting where this was discussed, a bipartisan meeting, Republicans and Democrats alike were at that meeting, yes, the highest councils of the Government, and we, the President notified an hour, and hour and a half

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before our attack was made, he put it on the radio and television for one purpose only, to warn the Chinese Communists of what we were doing so that they would not launch a counterattack with their massive power, with their big airplanes.

In other words, so that we could localize it. Now for Mr. Goldwater to say that this was something done for politics, and I believe that is what he said, I think he said, yes, he said, that this was done for political purposes, this attack and this forewarning, it is wrong. A man that is a member of the Armed Services Committee, and is a reserve general in the Air Force knows that is wrong, Governor, and I just have to say, "Shame on you, Senator, for ever having indicated that to the American people." It is a misleading statement.

Governor BREATHITT. Senator, I want to express the appreciation of every Kentuckian for the great services you have rendered to the State of Minnesota and to the entire Nation and to our State.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you.

Governor BREATHITT. Recognizing our problems. We appreciate your coming to our State, meeting with these two very distinguished Kentuckians, Mrs. Doran and Mr. Tom Harris, for the purpose of discussing issues that we feel are vital to Kentucky and I would like every Kentuckian to read the Saturday Evening Post editorial which is a first in the history of that great publication.

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Huntington, W.Va.  
Airport  
September 26, 1964

### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much. Thank you, very much Governor Smith, because that is what is it going to be. I am singularly honored to be back in West Virginia again and back in one of my favorite communities, this great community of Huntington, W. Va., which was so grand and good to me back in 1960. You know we sort of had a birthday party back about that time, some of you may recall it. We were out at Camden Park. I don't know at any time I had more fun before the roof fell in on me. [Laughter.] It was a birthday party then and now I will tell you, you forgot to give me a present in 1960, so in 1964 I want you to make it a big present by electing as President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.] And, when you do that, you know you get me, too, so that will make it nice.

May I just take a moment to express some thanks. First, I want to express my thanks to your city council here and your community government in Huntington because a key was presented to me. If one of my good staff men will give me the key, Robert, thank you, I want to show it to you, because this is quite interesting. It is a beautiful key, a beautiful key to your city and it is a big key from a big heart, and it is the heart of West Virginia, a heart that I love very, very much. [Applause.] There is a lot of difference between this gold key and gold water. This has got some solid substance to it. To John Burke, I want to express a special note of thanks, and then I surely want to say thank you to Bob McDonough for the work he has done here, and to Sam Harshbarger and to others of the committee, particularly Michael Prestera, and to the community leaders from the neighboring communities.

This is the Tri-State Airport, so we are really today having an opportunity to communicate to the great State of Ohio, the great State of Kentucky, and the great State of West Virginia. And I can't think of a more, a happier set of circumstances than to have that trinity, that great trinity, here in the Ohio River Valley that represents such a great future for America, such tremendous potentiality, for three marvelous States of this great Federal Union of ours, the United States of America, and I want to come here to talk to you just a little bit about these States.

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By the way, shortly you are going to have a visitation. I understand, it is sort of a play on words, it represents a conflict of interest, and it surely represents what you would call a contrast in meanings. They tell me that there is a GOP truth squad coming in. The last time they told you anything like that was when they admitted in 1936 that they had had the licking of their life. That was the last full complete utterance of truth from the GOP. By the way, you know what GOP stands for now. It used to stand for the Grand Old Party and it is a grand old party, a party of many distinguished people, but ever since that fracas out at the Cow Palace at San Francisco, a large number of the members of the Grand Old Party have decided to join up with the Democrats and help elect Lyndon B. Johnson for the President of the United States. [Applause.] GOP has a new meaning now. The meaning is, "Goldwater, our problem."

Now, dear friends, this airport will be visited by a flying machine that will bring with it a number of Members of Congress, and a couple of Senators, and they are going to come to West Virginia to tell you something, but when they get here I want you to ask them what they did for West Virginia. This crowd that is coming here represents the first major attack, the first major act of aggression, upon this great Ohio River Valley, that area of Appalachia, this area of promise for America. Yes, they have got a truth squad coming and I just examined the record. Every last one of them has voted against everything that the people of this area want and need. That is the kind of help they are going to give you. So, I think maybe what they wanted me to do was to tell the truth on them. Well, I will. It is going to be hard to take but I guess we ought to tell them.

No. 1, they are opposed to the Appalachia program. No. 2, they are opposed to the war on poverty. No. 3, they voted against every aid to education. No. 4, they all weasel on social security. They have a record of no, no, no, a thousand times no when it comes to the people of this great Ohio River area, and when it comes to the people of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. So, remind them of it when they come. [Applause.]

Now, I should tell you so you will be perfectly clear on it, that distinguished standard bearer of the Goldwater faction of the Goldwater party, he did not really vote against Appalachia, he just denounced it. He was silent as to his reported attitude in the U.S. Senate.

I come here today to say a word of support, not only for this wonderful man that is your candidate for Governor, a gentleman that I have known for years, he and his lovely wife and family surely are a credit to this great State of West Virginia, I, also, come here to bring my greetings to your present Governor, Governor Barron and to the administration of the State but I want to say a word about this fine Congressman from this district. Ken Hechler. Every time I see Ken Hechler he has a crowd of college students around him. I guess he will never get over being the teacher but he teaches us well, he has taught the Congress of the United States in the House of Representatives to have some interest in the welfare of the people of this great region. I know of no man that has been more steadfast, more true, more responsible, I know of no man that has been more steadfast in support of the programs that mean so much to this growing area of this great State. [Applause.] I sure do wish to wish him well and I am delighted to see my friends, my young friends, from that great university, Marshall University right here. Some of you young folks may remember when we paid a visit to your university. It was a very happy day and, by the way, I see once again that we have occasionally a few of our friends from the opposition to join us and we are delighted. May I say that there is no better place in the world for a person to confess his political sin and transgression than out under this beautiful sun that is with us here in West Virginia. [Applause.] I just suggest to these wayward souls that they put down those sins that have led them astray and that they walk forth in the bright sunlight of this beautiful day and join the ranks of progressive democracy and help back Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

By the way, if you trade in two Goldwater buttons, you get one LBJ.

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Now, let us talk just a little bit about what we want to do. In 1960 I traveled widely in this State, and I grew to love every bit of it, and it is a fact that Mrs. Humphrey and I have had a very sincere sentimental attitude and feeling about the people of West Virginia, and this great and beautiful State. I know of no area of America that has more potentiality, more great possibilities for a bright and a shining future than this wonderful area that we call part of Appalachia but this great Ohio River area. What a beautiful and magnificent place.

As we flew over these lands, and looked out our plane window, I could not help but remark to Hulett Smith how lovely, how blessed is this land, how kind the Good Lord has been because the resources are here, and the people are here, and I sensed as I traveled these roads in this State 4 years ago and as my then opponent, and later on my dear and good friend, as President Kennedy, then a candidate in the prime race traveled these same roads, we both came to one conclusion, that this is the land of promise, that this is the land of the future, and can I say to you now in all sincerity, can I say to you from the very depths of my heart there wasn't a week that went by, not a month or a year, that President Kennedy did not think of this State, and of the assurances that he had given to you, and in that [applause] and in those thoughts he had a friend who shared those thoughts with him.

I sat at the conference table in the White House many an hour with the late and beloved President. I sat there with members of your congressional delegation, with your Governor, and I know that not a day went by, not a month or a year, that President Kennedy did not say, "We must do something to help the people of West Virginia, to help the people of eastern Kentucky, to help the people, if you please, of the Ohio River Valley to live a better life, to have better opportunities." And we did things together, together. [Applause.] And, the then Vice President of the United States was there, too. Every Tuesday morning we would sit at the breakfast table together and plan and look ahead, not back, but looking ahead and sitting directly across from the late and beloved President in those days would be Lyndon Johnson, then Vice President, making his contributions to the plans and the programs, and after those 1,000 eventful and dramatic days of John Kennedy's leadership, and after that terrible tragedy at Dallas, the mantle of freedom, the baton of leadership, was taken up by Lyndon Johnson, and Lyndon Johnson, like the man that he followed, or the man that preceded him, has kept the faith with the people of this area. He has been your friend and he will continue to be your friend. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a fact, and let the truth squad, let the truth squad try to refute this, the Republican Party and the Republican leadership never lifted a finger for this area, not once in your distress. [Applause.] And, what is more, they have not learned. They are like the old French kings, they never learn anything and they never forget anything.

The new leader of the Republican Party, new only because he is different from the last one, no new ideas, a man who seeks to guide this country by looking through a rearview mirror, what has this man made as a promise to you? What has his party promised to you? Well, number 1, he flew across the Nation from the west coast to the east coast to cast his vote for you, but against you; to cast his vote against the Economic Opportunity Act for America, against President Johnson's war on poverty. This man wages his own war, this Reserve general. His war is against progress, not against poverty. His war is against opportunity, not for the people, and I hope that the people of this area will never forget it. Every program that has meant something to you from housing to agriculture, from rural electrification to manpower training, every program that would have helped you, all of them, Appalachia, economic opportunity, housing, name it, the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party has said, no, no, no, to the people of this area. [Applause.]

Let me say to you, what do we say to you? We say we want to move ahead, and we have done it. I just checked a few facts and it will take just a minute. Public works projects in this State, 248 of them, \$41,328,000 of a program sponsored by President Kennedy and President Johnson providing 52,500 jobs. Where was the Senator from Arizona? Voting "No."



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Area redevelopments which has brought new industries, rehabilitated old industries, 98 projects in this State, bringing you in Federal assistance \$39 million and 4,500 jobs. Where was the Senator from Arizona? Voting "No." Voting "No." And, it is true of one program after another.

Now, what then does the future offer? Well, you are making your future and that is what we want to talk about. We are not content with the accomplishments of today, even though unemployment has been reduced, even though West Virginia is better off, even though we are doing bigger things all the time, even though our national prosperity is unprecedented. Is this all we ask? Is this all we plan? No. This is a base from whence we will move forward. It is a launching platform to even greater gains and greater goals. We will not be content until every boy and girl that wants an education can have it. We will not be content until every person that is capable of work and wants work can have it, and we will not be content until America is even a more beautiful and a more just and a more wonderful country than it is. I want to say to the students that are here, above all, we are just beginning to live, and the Democratic Party and what it represents says "Yes" to tomorrow. We embrace it, we are not afraid of it. We look to the future as the great period of opportunity, as the opportunity to do a better job than we have ever done before. [Applause.]

So, if you want a future, if you believe in the tomorrows, if you believe that tomorrows can have more justice, if you believe that the tomorrows can present more opportunity for all of us, if you believe that the tomorrows can give us a world at peace, and they can, if you believe this, then join with those who work for the tomorrows, not those who recite the transgressions of the past.

I have told every college audience, every young people I have mentioned, that I have talked to, that it is all right to study ancient history, but don't vote it. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, as I leave you because we have other things to do, we are going on over into your neighboring State of Kentucky for a big meeting, I would not want to leave you without telling you just a word about your two Senators who have helped us so much in the Congress, and these men, Jennings Randolph and Bob Byrd, have represented you well, and I know my friend Bob Byrd is up for reelection this year. Bob Byrd is a friend of the President, the President is a friend of Bob Byrd, and I ask that you reelect him. [Noise of airplane.]

I thought that might have been that plane of truth, but those folks aren't going to come in while I am here as they may find out somebody really tells the truth on them.

My friends, it has been a really great reception. You see those little planes over there, we are going to take those, fly out over into Prestonburg, we are going to talk to thousands of people in your neighboring State. We are going to stay close enough to the ground as to get a vision of this good earth, and high enough to have vision and to see new horizons.

Thank you very much.

Huntington, W. Va.  
September 26, 1964

### PRESS CONFERENCE OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, we are very happy to see so many good folks from the great State of West Virginia, Kentucky and other areas. So, why don't we proceed. We have here with us the next Governor of West Virginia, and any questions that I can't answer, why I know he can. So, we will take off.

QUESTION. Senator, I have one. Mr. Smith was with President Johnson in Morgantown, last week, he is here with you here today. Can we expect the same spirit of cooperation in the next 4 years for West Virginia that we had during the past 3½ years under the Kennedy-Johnson administration?

Senator HUMPHREY. Absolutely, and if it can be improved it will be, but I assure you that the same spirit will prevail and the same desire of cooperation will prevail, and the results will come about. We are looking forward to Governor—to Mr. Smith's election as Governor. He is a personal friend of the President and of mine, and he will have all possible cooperation.

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QUESTION. What—

QUESTION. Any comments, Mr. Smith, from your side?

Mr. SMITH. I am delighted because I have known Senator Humphrey and President Johnson for so many years, to be able to continue the teamwork that we have had that has meant so much to West Virginia. I think it is obvious that this type of cooperative efforts have brought about many major improvements and looking toward a brighter future for our State in all activities, economic, social fields, and really lead toward the Great Society to which we are all so dedicated.

QUESTION. Senator, on the handling of nuclear weapons, is there any arrangement in case something happens to the President that these field commanders can use nuclear weapons?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, sir, the matter of military strategy and the employment of our military forces in the most unusual of conditions which, apparently is what you refer to, is not something that I discuss publicly, and I don't think it is anything that ought to be discussed publicly, unless we wish to just telephone the Kremlin and tell them what our plans are, and I am not about ready to do so.

QUESTION. This seems to be quite a campaign issue.

Senator HUMPHREY. The issue is not that at all.

QUESTION. Of course.

Senator HUMPHREY. Whether or not the man in the White House has the temperament and the background and the experience as well as the judgment to properly control the great nuclear power which is ours, and to use it for the best interests of our national security.

QUESTION. Has the President discussed any arrangements with you in the event of his incapacitation or indicated any general understanding with you as to what you as Vice President would do?

Senator HUMPHREY. I am not Vice President yet, sir, and the President of the United States would be violating every rule of security if he were to do that.

QUESTION. He has indicated some jobs you would take over if elected?

Senator HUMPHREY. When I am elected Vice President then he will confide with me in terms of the law of this country of the information that I should have. Until then, we would not only—he not only hasn't but he shouldn't.

QUESTION. Senator, there has been considerable Republican and farm State opposition to the cropland grazing provisions in both the poverty bill and the Appalachia bill, and up to this stage it's been knocked out of the Appalachia bill on grounds that we already are producing too much beef. Do you think that this, the grazing provision, should go back into the Appalachia bill?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, there has been some opposition that has been expressed, but I don't think it is of major proportions, and I see no reason that limited grazing provisions could not be included in the Appalachia bill without any injury at all to the agricultural economy.

QUESTION. Senator, there were published reports this morning that you planned to slow down the pace of your campaign, is that so?

Senator HUMPHREY. You don't really believe that, do you? [Laughter.] I want to set that rumor at rest. That is about the only rest we are going to get, too, I might add. [Laughter.] I did this to make some of my friends that are traveling with me feel a little more at ease because most good health is partly attitude, you see. I noticed several reporters brighten up right away after that.

QUESTION. Last night in Flint your colleague in the Senate, Mr. Curtis, of Nebraska, said that a Democratic Party was a war party. He said there had been no war in Vietnam until the New Frontier came along. How about that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, that just shows that Mr. Curtis hasn't been either reading the papers or doing his homework because the simple truth is that the commitments of this country and our Government to Vietnam were made in 1954. Additional commitments were

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made in 1959. The Vietcong, and the Viet Minh of the north were most active in 1959, and 1960, when they saw that South Vietnam's economy was progressing and that their economy was faltering and in fact drying up. What we are doing in Vietnam is what ought to be done if we wish to resist Communist aggression.

These Goldwaterite Republicans are really, well they are contradictory, they are paradoxical. I don't know how better I can describe them. On the one hand they want to make a terrific rhetorical effort against communism but whenever there is any paying to be done to check it, whenever there is any resistance that has to be made that might call for some sacrifice, then they brand it as war or as reckless. Now, you cannot face up to the Communist menace unless you are willing to pay some of the prices that you have to pay. And I don't believe that the statements of the Senate from Nebraska have much merit, have much sense and they have no historical accuracy.

QUESTION. Do the Democrats have a truth squad following Mr. Goldwater?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, we have more faith in the American people. I think the American people can detect truth from fiction. You know there used to be a program called "Truth and Consequences." Well, when you get the truth on these Republicans, the people realize the consequences. [Laughter.] I don't think we will need any squad to go around and further expose them.

QUESTION. Senator, Senator Goldwater was in West Virginia last week. During his speech in Charleston he talked about the training of youth under the antipoverty program—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Costing \$10,000 per person.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Do you have any comment on that. I want to go on one a little bit further: Mr. Shriver said a couple of days later that it was less than \$5,000.

Senator HUMPHREY. That is correct. It was estimated in the Congress around \$4,800, as I recall. That was the argument that was then made by the Republican from Vermont, Mr. Prouty, who was on the committee, and he then thought that was too much. But, let me tell you what it costs to have one juvenile delinquent, an estimated cost of \$25,000, just in terms of the social costs to a community, on the basis of number of social programs we have to have and detention homes and what have you.

We are much more interested in building good lives than in reformatories, and the youth program is designed to help rebuild the life of young people rather than trying to extend the penitentiary and penal system or leaving young people to rot on the street corners. We will stake our case on this program very well.

QUESTION. Also, in his Charleston talk, Senator Goldwater suggested a marshaling of the resources of private industry to take care of youth unemployment. Would you comment on that possibility?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, of course, we depend upon private industry for the great bulk of our employment, and this administration has done more to encourage private industry than any administration in the history of this country. This is why men like Mr. Ford, for example, are supporting this administration. This is why there are large and important business executives headed up by a man like Mr. John Loeb, one of the great financiers of this country, supporting Lyndon B. Johnson; this administration has encouraged business, and that has made for jobs and it has made for profits.

However, industry does not hire people who have no training for work, and many of our young people today regrettably, and there is a rising number of them, are without any work experience and without any work training. The real problem facing this country is youth unemployment. There is a rising tide of young people between the ages of 16 and 20.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, many of the critics of this proposed Appalachian antipoverty program say it discriminates against the poor and jobless in other parts of the country. What do you think about that?

Senator HUMPHREY. I think that is a very phoney argument. Because other parts of the country do have other programs, and what is more if other parts of the country need a similar program, they can be designed. It is like saying that you ought to be against the VA

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because you did not get a program similar to it some place else. What's good for Appalachia is good for America, and what's good for America is good for Appalachia, and one of the great qualities of America is that we have believed that by being helpful to any one section of the country we are helpful to all of the country. The same argument has been used like when you help the farmer that the city man has to pay for it. But when you don't help the farmer the city man doesn't have a job.

QUESTION. Senator, in Wellsburg, W. Va., they had the first mountain area where they solved the unemployment problem by bringing in industry, plastics. Do you think if you get the people trained in the mountain areas you could persuade the American industry to locate plants there?

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Kenworthy, I am sure that this is already happening. The Appalachia program includes, first of all, a very large road building program to get transportation into the area, to unlock these areas, because communication is the key to any type of industrial growth or development. It included also training. It included the improvement of natural resources, of watersheds, the cut-over areas of the mountain sides. It included loans to new industry in the area. There isn't any doubt but what industrial development is needed, and it will come. Along with it will come a great program of tourism. Now in the State that I am privileged to represent, the third largest business in the State is recreation and tourism, in northern Minnesota, and I might add, that there are 100 million people on the Atlantic Seaboard in close proximity to these potentially beautiful areas of recreation. This could become as you might say the little Alps of the eastern part of America, and I think it has that potentiality and can be developed.

QUESTION. Senator, to go back to the question about how much secret information you have access to, do you have no more access to secrets than any other Senator?

Senator HUMPHREY. That is correct, sir. That is correct. And Mr. Goldwater can have access to it as a presidential nominee to all of the information from our Government. He has been so advised but he has decided not to take it because it is easier to be a little bit irresponsible if you haven't had responsible information presented to you.

QUESTION. Can I ask one more question: Any significance to Senator Byrd not being with you, Senator Byrd of West Virginia?

Senator HUMPHREY. Not a bit, I was with him on a trip recently into West Virginia.

QUESTION. Eastern Panhandle, Martinsburg.

Senator HUMPHREY. Martinsburg, none whatsoever, just as there is no significance that sometimes, like Senator McNamara could not be with me in Michigan yesterday.

Mr. SMITH. Senator, here is a telegram just received from Senator Byrd that says, "Please express my good wishes to Senator Humphrey and all candidates present. Regret I cannot attend because of commitment to address Democratic rally in Pendleton County at 2 p.m. With best wishes for a Democratic victory in November. Robert C. Byrd."

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Prestonburg, Ky.  
September 26, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Appalachia is beautiful mountain country stretching from Pennsylvania to northern Alabama. Here we have stretches of some of the most beautiful scenery in the United States. It has been scraped bare here and there by rapacious lumbering techniques and scarred by strip mining but even with these dishonorable wounds, it is a lovely sight.



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No person wants to leave this region covering nearly a dozen States. Nor should any person have to. Yet 15 million live here, and many have suffered severely from the social and economic upheaval which has descended upon Appalachia. These good people could neither foresee nor control this catastrophe. In desperation, not hope, some have been forced to leave this magnificent region. More often than not, these departures have been tragic. The real hopes of these people, their real opportunities, lie here—in Appalachia—the land of their forebears. The Nation needs these people here—where they want to remain. The Nation also needs the full productive power of the people who have remained.

But if this is what the Nation wants, then America must care. In its role as "neighbor," the rest of America must lend a hand. Good neighbors will not leave you to charity—Good neighbors will provide opportunity for personal initiative and self-help. A good neighbor will not damn your pride and independence with faint praise. Rather he will believe in it enough to invest in it—and in you.

We know the nature of the difficulties that have crept up on Appalachia over many years. There have been three main ways to earn a living for most people in Appalachia—farming, lumbering, and mining.

Improvements in production methods mean that more can be produced with fewer workers. If demand for the products is growing and if the supply of natural resources is limitless, no unemployment, no human displacement would occur. But much of the lumber is gone and the growth in demand for coal is limited by other energy sources.

We have made progress in production but we have also created victims of that progress. They must not be left forlorn—in a world they helped make.

The region is still potentially rich in terms of physical resources and in terms of its human resources. But these riches must not lie dormant; they must be used. They must be given the dignity of productive meaningful labor.

Many people of Appalachia—steamrollered by history—have been getting relief from the Government. This has the bare virtue of being better than nothing, but is far from good enough. It is demeaning to the spirit of proud people. They need jobs. They need pay checks, not relief checks. They need liberty—economic liberty. This demands a practical program, not moralistic mysticism.

It demands putting people first and keeping them foremost. You can tell what any man really thinks—what his basic values are—by where he puts the word "But" in a sentence. The leader of the Goldwater faction always says "I believe in people, but \* \* \*" or "I believe in compassion, but \* \* \*." People—in the philosophy of the Goldwaterites—always seem to bring up the rear.

In the economics of Goldwaterism, people suffering from poverty get lost in relativity. Poverty, it seems, is a "relative" matter. And American family earning \$2,000 per year is still better off, we hear, than many people in the world.

I suppose such a family is better off than the poor of Africa, Asia, and parts of the Middle East where the poor die by the hundreds in the streets. They are better off than emaciated laborers of China herded into communes by Communist tyranny.

But poverty is measured by the standards of a man's own community.

If most Americans are well fed, the man who can't give his family three good meals a day is poor.

If most Americans are well housed, the man who can't fix the holes in his roof, or have running water in his home, is poor.

If most Americans have enough medical care to stay alive for the Biblical "three score and ten years," then the man who can't afford to live to 55, is poor.

If most American children have adequate clothes, shoes, and books for school—then the children who don't have these things are poor.

Americans are people—not bloodless statistics. They must be accepted in their own community—not given status only by comparison with the most depressed peoples of the world.

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As President Kennedy noted, the region of Appalachia had become, through no fault of its own or of its people, "the most severely distressed area of the Nation."

So John F. Kennedy began, and Lyndon B. Johnson has continued, to promote a program to restore, revitalize, and stabilize the economy of this region.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act is currently pending in the Congress. This program is vital because it will develop the economic base of the region, the roads and the waterways, the provision of power and light, all the utilities and services which form the basis for services and industry.

The provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act authorize \$840 million in Federal funds to finance the construction of development roads and highways in Appalachia. These roads will be built as instruments of economic development. They will be built to generate traffic where none now exists. They will be built to end isolation. They will be built to afford Appalachian families greater educational, social, and economic opportunities. Of no less importance are features of the Appalachian regional program which address attention to the development of water resources, timber resources, the reclamation of coal lands, the construction of vocational education facilities, and the construction and development of other public works.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has also sponsored the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and your Congressman, Carl Perkins, is the author of this legislation. This program will enable sizable expansion of services and facilities at your area schools—at nearby Mayo, Hazard, and Ashland—as well as the development of new facilities throughout the area.

A 5-year program increasing assistance to States for maternity and child health services and for crippled children's programs with research projects to prevent mental retardation has been enacted into law. Our housing and FHA mortgage programs have been expanded to afford greater opportunities for our communities and our families.

Special attention has been given to the training needs of the older unemployed workers under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the area redevelopment program, both of which, while operating on a limited scope, have pointed the way to further progress envisioned by the Economic Opportunity Act.

The vast watershed area is not only a tremendous potential for new industry but it can provide a recreation industry for the 100 million persons who will soon live on the eastern seaboard. This industry alone can surpass all that agriculture and mining ever contributed to this region.

The possibilities are tremendous. But they will not "just happen." It will take the cooperation of the Federal, State, and local governments—and that indispensable ingredient—the initiative of the people.

Democrats have never believed in "spending" for its own sake, but we have always believed in "investing" whatever is required to help create opportunity, to help people survive the impact of economic collapse in a region, to help people preserve their social and economic independence.

We do not apologize for this philosophy of government. We stand with President Franklin D. Roosevelt when he said, "Government can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

Let me make this pledge to you today, the Democratic Party will never rest until Appalachia is fully restored to the burgeoning mainstream of the American economy.

The United States of America is the richest nation on the face of the earth today. It is also the richest nation that ever existed. Our economy is booming. More than \$100 billion has been added to the gross national product in the last 4 years. Barring war or national disaster, the United States has, for the first time in its history, the energy and resources to build the kind of a nation, for all of its

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people, envisioned by our Founding Fathers. When Jesus of Nazareth began His ministry, He took at the text for His first sermon, the words from the Prophet Isaiah, "I come to bring prisoners their release, give sight to the blind, and good news to the poor."

For 3,000 years this has been ethic of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Western civilization is built upon it.

The Democratic Party has not forgotten it.

Lyndon Johnson is dedicated to it.

And, on November 3, the American people will not be found wanting in giving it a mandate.

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Prestonburg, Ky.  
September 26, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Governor, first my respects to Reverend Jagers, and then may I just say a word of thanks to these wonderful bands that have learned the Minnesota Rouser in this split-second timing that you have had. I believe we have the best congregation of bands we have had for a long, long time, one from McDowell, Martin, Maytown, and Prestonburg. I want to congratulate all of you. You play together beautifully. You sound just like one.

Now, Gov. Bert Combs, once a Governor, you know, always a Governor; Governor, I have been listening to the wonders of Prestonburg every since I got in the car with you and the plane with you. I thought that this was the second New York City according to your description [applause] or, if not that, at least Minneapolis, Minn., or San Francisco, and I find it has all of those wonderful qualities.

But, the first thing I need to do with this grand audience of eastern Kentucky, is to set the record straight with this distinguished son of yours, this outstanding former Governor and your great townsman, and let him know that I know all about that poke salad, all about it. And it tastes mighty good with hog jowl too, I will tell you. [Applause.] And, Bert, if you will just add a little buttermilk and cornbread with it you really have got something. And then, wash it down with a little sassafras juice, that is even better.

And then this good man of the soil would have you believe that I have never plowed new ground. Well, I want him to know that at one time two-thirds of the entire land area of the State of Minnesota was covered by timber. Now, I did not take it all off. I don't want you to think that. But, I have had my opportunity of plowing a straight furrow out in the plains of South Dakota, and at least looking at some new plowed ground in northern Minnesota. So, I want to become a member now of the community of Prestonburg where you have poke salad and where you plow new ground.

I am singularly honored, my fellow Americans and my good friends, singularly honored to be in the presence of your Governor, Gov. Ned Breathitt, and also to be in the presence of your former Governor and so many of your distinguished officials and to be here on the same platform with a gentleman who serves in the Congress of the United States, with such ability and distinction that he is looked upon as a giant in the workings of the Congress on behalf of the people of his district and of this great country of ours, and I want to extend right now my thanks and appreciation as a fellow American to Carl Perkins, the Congressman of the Seventh District of Kentucky. [Applause.] Carl has a host of friends, not only in Washington but throughout our country because may I just say to you, that while he is your Congressman, and you have been so kind as to send him to us in Washington, he is, also, in a sense, my Congressman, because a Congressman does not just legislate for his own district. He votes for the laws of the United States of America, and when this man fights for education, when he works for the farm people, when he seeks to build and create new industry and new jobs, he does it for Minnesota, he does it for Kentucky, he does for West Virginia, and California, he does it for everyone of the 50 States, and I salute a man who has the great capacity to be a U.S. Congressman and yet so brilliantly and ably representing the Seventh District of this great State of Kentucky. [Applause.]

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On the way here from the airport, and by the way, there was a wonderful trip in here, that trip was a little bumpy, it is sort of like the Republican platform, you are not sure whether you are going up or down at times but it was a lot more fun, [applause], it was a lot more fun than riding on any sort of or standing on any Republican platform because I was sure of the pilots, and that is a far cry from being sure of anybody that is running the Republican organization or anybody that is their candidate, but once I got off the plane, landed on that fine airstrip that you have, and I want Barry Goldwater to know that that airstrip was built through the cooperation of Federal, State, and local government, all working together, and once I got there I was met by your mayor, Dr. George Archer, and I found out from the mayor almost more than I found out from your former Governor. Between the two of these, by the time I got in here, I almost wanted to transfer my residence from Minnesota into Prestonburg. [Applause.]

A remarkable man, what a remarkable man, and we are so proud and so pleased that he is with us and working with us and giving such guidance to this community.

Now, there are many I could single out for special consideration. The committee here in Floyd County, the chairman of our activities, on behalf of President Johnson and myself, the Democratic Party, but you wanted me to do something besides just express my greetings and best wishes to one and all. Your judge, Judge Hill, and all of those who are up for office, and I want to talk to you a little bit about what we are going to do.

When I came here I saw a thriving community and what has impressed me about my travels around America is the sense of public happiness there seems to be. The only one that seems to be gloomy is the fellow that is in charge of the party of, you know, of gloom and doom, is that man from Arizona. Everybody else seems to think things are coming along fairly well. When I see people at an airport they have a smile on their face with the exception of the two or three that have come with Goldwater signs and generally leave a little later by leaving them and joining us but most everybody else seems to be feeling good. Of course, the Senator from Arizona keeps telling us that it is all a fake, it is all artificial, I suppose he has been telling that to some of the large men of industry and of finance that have done better than they have ever done before in their lives but you know what's happening. Men of industry, and men of finance, people who never before ever supported the Democratic ticket are today joining in support and they are joining in support because they see America that is moving ahead, they see America that is on the move and is moving to great new achievements, and one thing I like about our beautiful country is that most people in this country like to get things done. Americans are an impatient people, Americans like to accomplish things, and besides that Americans are a just and a happy people. Americans want to be a united people as well. They don't want somebody that comes along and puts one group against another. They don't want to have somebody that says, "Why don't you want to help Kentucky" or "Why do you want to help West Virginia. Don't you know that somebody else has to help pay for that." We are neighbors in America, ladies and gentlemen, and the spirit of neighborliness is a part of the life and part of the tradition of every community of every State all through this great United States, and it is just as it was when I was a boy, so it is now, that when one family was in trouble others came to help. When one area is in difficulty others are willing to come to help, and we have never really had much faith in people who said, "If they are in trouble, let them stew in their own juice" as some have said. We have preferred to have people around us and lead us when they saw some difficulty they would mobilize the resources of the community and they would go together and work together to help one another so that we could get back on our feet, so we could do our job in making this a better community and a better America. [Applause.]



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You know I landed at the airport in Huntington today, and when I got off the plane there I read those folks a little clipping, I am trying to see if I can find it here. Maybe I left it back—yes, I did. It is a clipping that I found in a paper in New York and it tells about a particular preparation that was being put on the market and was taken off the market. That preparation was known as Gold Water Pop. They found 350 cases of it up there at Grand Rapids, Mich., and the State officials of that government—Republican officials, mind you, too—took it off and here is what they said. They said it was misbranded, No. 1, and they said it consisted only of artificial flavoring and preservative. [Applause.]

Well, my friends, that is a rather short synopsis, isn't it, of the platform and the program of the opposition. But artificial flavoring and preservative is not enough for America, and what's more is we don't want anything that is misbranded. We want to know what we are getting and we want a man in the office of the Presidency that means what he says and knows what he means when he says it too, don't we? We don't need somebody who has to replay the record every week and figure out what he meant, when he said something last week [applause] and we need somebody that loves America. We need somebody that trusts America. We need somebody that finds something beautiful in every part of America, and we need somebody as President of the United States that is going to call out the best in us, not the worst. That is going to help us lift our sights and not have them down on the ground. We need somebody that is looking way down the road of the future, rather than somebody that has got his eyes on the rearview mirror and driving that way. You don't get very far that way. This is 1965. Why did I say it? Because the new car models are out. Why, my friends, the automobile industry does not ask you to look at the 1922 models. They don't even want you to look at the 1964 models now. They are saying to the American people, "Look ahead, we have got a brandnew car for you for 1965." You know what Goldwater says. He says, listen you ought to learn to drive that one we had in 1905. [Applause.] I was kind to him. I gave him 10 more years than he deserved. We need somebody in this office of the Presidency, my dear friends, that can see the good that is in this country, right here, not someone who votes against it, not someone that speaks against it. We need a man in the office of the Presidency that sees worth in every human being and wants to do something about bringing out that worth, bringing out that importance and dignity of that human being.

I say all of this because I flew over this country and I have driven through it many times, it is so beautiful. Appalachia; you are a part of it, a part of a great region in America that is filled with the history of this country, filled with the folklore of America, and filled with the promise of the future. Here is one of the most fabulous areas of beautiful scenery in the United States, rich in resources, and rich in people.

Now, let me make the record clear. No person wants to leave this region, covering nearly a dozen States, by his own will, nor should any person be compelled to, or have to, because of economic or social pressures. Fifty million people live in this area, and many have suffered very severely, haven't they, very severely, because of social and economic upheaval, an upheaval that has affected every one of the States in the Appalachian region. Now, these people could not foresee their catastrophe. They could not see what was going to happen to lumbering, they could not see what was going to happen to the coal industry. But here they lived in desperation and not hope; some have been forced to leave this magnificent region of America. More often than not these departures have been sad. They have been tragic. I remember, my friends, I lived in Dakota during the depression, and I can remember some people said, "Oh, what we ought to do is just pick the people up and get them out of here." We have had people saying that about northeastern Minnesota where our iron mines are located, the iron ore that makes America's industry. Many of those mines have been worked out, much of the ore is now less than high grade, and we have had people that said, "Oh, just move the people out." But, you don't move people out when they have buried their loved ones in the local cemetery, when they have had their children baptized in the local

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church. People want to stay there. They love it, and there is something more to life, you know, than just traveling around looking for a job. There is something about the love of the country, the love of the land, and people that love their country and love the land, and love the water and love the trees. They tend to love their families, too. So what we are talking about is not to move people, but to do something about moving America so that the people that are here can live the good life and have the jobs and have the kind of a future that they justly deserve. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, the Nation needs this area, and the Nation needs the people that are here. But if this is what the Nation wants, and I think it is, then America must care, and the difference between the Republican philosophy of government under Mr. Goldwater, and the Democratic philosophy of government under Mr. Johnson, is that under Mr. Johnson, the Government does care, the Government has a heart, and the Government cares deeply about the people of this country, because it is a government of the people, and by the people, and it should be a government for the people. [Applause.]

Now, good neighbors don't only want to provide charity. Good neighbors want to provide opportunity for personal initiative and self-help and a good neighbor, my neighbors and we are all neighbors today in this little world in which we live, a good neighbor will not damn your pride and independence with faint praise. Rather he will believe in it, enough to investigate in it, and in you, and might I add that is exactly what the Government of the United States has been doing here. Your Government, it is a part of you, it is not your enemy, it is your partner, and your Government has been investing right here in this community, right here through all of Appalachia. As I came to this city I saw a sewage disposal plant, a cooperative effort between your government, State, Federal, and local. I saw a community college, and may I commend you. Oh, what a wonderful thing it is to see a community college in an area like this, and may I commend the Governor of this State and the legislature of this State for making that community college possible, and your local people. [Applause.]

As I mentioned, I saw the airport, I saw better streets, I saw big highways. This is what we mean by investing, investing, not charity, investing. And everyone of these dollars that has been put in here by Federal, State, or local government or private enterprise is an investment in the finest country in the world, it is the wisest investment you could make, it is an investment in the people of the United States of America, and there is no better investment and there are no better dividends that you can get than to have invested in such people. [Applause.]

Now, there are great resources in this area. I mentioned them, the resources of timber, the resources of mountain and stream and water and land, the resources of coal. These resources must not lie dormant, they must be developed, and when they need to be developed it requires the teamwork, the cooperative work of everyone that is interested in them, to be developed. The people of this country, yes, they need liberty, they need jobs, they need paychecks, not relief checks, and they need independence and liberty, economic liberty, and this demands, as I have indicated, a very realistic practical program. It demands putting people first, that is what we need to keep in mind, put people first, and keeping them constantly in mind.

You can really tell what a man thinks and what his basic values are by where he puts the word "but" in any sentence, and the leader of the Goldwater faction always says, "I believe in people but \* \* \*" or "I believe in compassion, but \* \* \*" people in the philosophy of the Goldwaterites always seem to bring up the rear. They are never first in the economics of Goldwaterism, people suffering from poverty get lost, relatively. Poverty, it seems, is a relative matter to Mr. Goldwater and those associated with him. Why he says an American family earning \$2,000 a year is still better off, isn't it, than many people in the world.

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Now, that is supposed to make you feel good. Well, I suppose a family earning \$2,000 even here, let's say, in Appalachia or in eastern Kentucky or up in northern Minnesota that such a family is better off than the poor people of Africa or Asia or Latin America where the poor died by the hundreds in the streets and we are surely not going to use that standard, are we. Poverty is measured not by the standards of other parts of the world but poverty must be measured by the standards in our own America, in our own communities.

Now, my friends, if most Americans are well fed, the man who can't get his family three good meals a day is poor, and I don't care how you explain it, he is in trouble, and if most Americans are well-housed, the man who can't find a good home, can't afford one, can't fix the holes in the roof of his house, can't have running water in his home, that man is poor. I don't care how you describe it. And if most Americans have health and some don't and they need some help from your doctor, that man if he can't get that help is poor.

And I might add if most American children have adequate clothes and shoes and schoolbooks, then the children who don't have these things are poor, Mr. Goldwater. Everyone can't inherit a department store. [Applause.] Oh, even a piece of Humphrey's drugstore, some people are worse off. Americans are people. They are our neighbors, they are our brothers and sisters, they are our fellow citizens. Americans are not just numbers or statistics, and they must be accepted in their own community and not given status only by comparison with the poorest people in the world. Of all the insulting things to say to a fellow American when he is down and out, so to speak, when his income is miserably low, of all the insulting things to try to comfort him by telling him, "that you have met somebody else who is worse off." That is little comfort.

As President Kennedy noted, this region of Appalachia had become, through no fault of its own or of its own people, the most severely distressed area of the Nation. So, President Kennedy began and Lyndon Johnson has continued to promote a massive program to help restore and revitalize and stabilize the economy of this region, and that program is taking hold at this very hour, as I speak to you. [Applause.] The Appalachia Regional Development Act passed the Senate yesterday, with only 13 votes in opposition. Mr. Goldwater was too busy to register whether he was for it or against it. But, this passage of this act in the Senate, is heartening evidence that the Nation is determined to see this part of America restored to full prosperity, and this part of America that I speak of goes from the mountains of Pennsylvania to the foothills of northern Alabama, it is a mighty part of this Nation, and the provisions of the Appalachia Act, the Regional Development Act which just passed your Senate yesterday, authorized \$840 million in Federal funds to help finance the construction of development roads and highways right here in this area. Roads, access, highways, transportation, this is the heart and core of an economic development for an area. The more roads you have, the greater the prosperity. The more communication you have the more we know one another, and these roads will be built as a part of economic development, and they will be built to generate traffic where none exists, and they will be built to end isolation, and they will be built to afford Appalachian families greater education, social and economic opportunities, and might I add of no less importance in this bill that passed the Senate and must pass the House, you help us get it through the House, are the features of the Appalachian regional development program which pays attention to the development of water resources, of timber resources, of the reclamation of the coal lands and the construction of vocational educational facilities and the construction and the development of public works. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has also sponsored the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the man that is on the platform today, your distinguished Congressman Carl Perkins is the author of that legislation, and what a boon it would be to you. [Applause.]

Let me say that this program is going to make possible the expansion of educational opportunities to the young people in nearby Hazard or Ashland or all of the other communities that are within this area, as well as the development of new facilities throughout the county and State. There is a 5-year program increasing assistance

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to States for maternity and child health services and for crippled children's projects, and research projects to prevent mental retardation. All of this has been enacted into law. And therein, there is housing, public housing. I saw it here on your own streets.

Mayor Archer, I want to commend Prestonburg for having one of the finest appearing public housing projects that I see any place in America. It is a tribute and a compliment to your community. [Applause.]

So, my friends, there is a massive program of many facets that is underway, for what purpose? For these young people, for everyone of them. Programs of housing, programs of education, programs of regional development, programs of developing new industry, programs of water conservation, cleaning the streams, damming up the creeks and the rivers, making possible lakes where before there was little or nothing, doing something about the bare lands, the stripped out coal mines. Programs of training workers. Many a worker has been displaced by a job by a change of industry. He needs retraining. He can learn. Every American can learn, and your Government has seen fit, in cooperation with your Governor, to put into action large programs of manpower training, and all of this, my friends, is a part of the program of President Johnson, a part of the program of the Kennedy-Johnson Democratic administration. [Applause.]

I asked your mayor when I came in, I said, "Mr. Mayor, you know what has happened in your community that makes it look so well and he started ticking them off, and I want to say that I could not help but think as I listened to him what an answer this was to that man from Arizona that runs around this country trying to tell Americans that that terrible Federal Government in Washington is your mortal enemy. Well, it is not your enemy. That Government in Washington is part of the total social, political, and economic structure of this country. It is your partner and it can be a helpful one or it can be a harmful one, and let's take a look at what's happened right here because we have got a case example, we don't need to talk theory.

Your own community college was done by your own efforts but the Higher Education Act voted for by your Congressman, supported in advance by the Kennedy-Johnson administration, that Higher Education Act is going to make money available to expand and improve your community college, to help the University of Kentucky, to help every college in this State so that these young people can go to school. [Applause.]

And, mothers and fathers, we have provided funds for student loans so that if there is a family here with a daughter or a son that wants to go to college, and that family cannot afford it, your Government thinks enough of the young people of America, thinks they are good enough, thinks they are reliable enough, thinks they are decent enough to say to them "Here is some money, you can borrow it, and you can pay it back when you are through your school and have a job. We are going to invest in the youth of America, because it is the best investment in the world." [Applause.]

But, oh, no, the Republican spokesman, the man who says he wants to be President, he says "I am against that." He said if you want to go to school, make it on your own. "Don't make any loans." Well this is no charity. This is an investment. I mentioned housing. Has this hurt this community? I think it has helped it. The sewage disposal plant. This is one of the great programs of public health. It makes for a modern community. It invites industry. Why, you are getting help on a new courthouse and a library. Expanded health department, and you are going to get assistance on your new park, and there are many other things. Your streets. Now, has this harmed anybody? Do you feel any the less moral, do you feel that somehow or another you have been degraded? I have a feeling that when people see their town grow, when they see a new building, when they see a new school, when they see an airport, when they see good streets, when they see a college, when they see decent homes, I have a feeling they feel like they are better people and they are; aren't they? [Applause.]



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And my friends, we have just scratched the surface. Why, you are living in an area that can become the greatest recreational area of America. It can become like the Alps of Europe. It is every bit as beautiful and even more so. You live in an area where there are 100 million people on the eastern seaboard that are less than 2 hours away by airplane from where we are right now, and they can come here by the thousands, and a whole new industry could be created, by the co-operation of Federal, State, and local government and private enterprise, not where the Government owns it but where the people own it, where an individual entrepreneur, you can build big parks and wonderful highways, and what a marvelous, great new future this can be.

In my home State of Minnesota, the third largest industry is in recreation, the third largest. First, agriculture, second, mining, and then recreation, and we are just touching it. Oh, you have great possibilities. You know we Democrats are always accused of spending. You know I think that Barry Goldwater must think that the A.T. & T. just spends itself into bankruptcy because they spend more and so does General Motors than almost any other companies in America. The A.T.T. doesn't think a bit, they don't stop a minute, the Bell Telephone System, they don't stop 1 minute to reinvest or invest a billion dollars. They have got faith in America. They know more people want more telephones and if you don't want them they talk to you about it and get you to want it. There are all these young folks wanting one special one right in their own room and most parents want one too so they can get on the phone. [Laughter.] But, is that spending? The Republican would have you believe that it is wasteful spending. How do they know whether the telephone is here to stay. It has only been here for about a hundred years, they are not quite used to it. And they say of the Federal Government, it spends. That is what they say of ARA, that is what they say of housing, that is what they say of public works, they call it in Congress, spending. They call the highway program, spending. Well, without the highway program there would not be any General Motors or any Ford Motor Co. We are not spending. We are investing, and we are investing in the best investment in the world, in this country. We are investing to create opportunity, to help people survive in a changing society and to make new ground and new gains, and I am here as an advocate of my party. I am not here to apologize for our programs. I am not here to take any nonsense from any Republican critic. I think the money we have spent on highways, I think the money you are going to spend on a courthouse, on this housing, on these streets, on this sewage disposal plant, I think the money that is spent on that airport, I think all of it is the best investment that this country and this State and this Federal Government has made. [Applause.]

Finally, my dear friends, I don't think it is spending or wasteful to share surplus agricultural commodities with the needy, and the first act of President Kennedy's administration was to see to it that our surplus foods were made available to Americans that needed them. The second act was to initiate the food staple plan which only this year we have made a permanent program, to upgrade the diets of our people. We expanded the school lunch program, we have expanded the special school milk program. We have done these things, for home, for somebody way over in the moon. No, we have done them for our own people, and if the Republican candidate for President wants to say that this is spending, if he wants to call it waste, let him call it. But I say to you that if the Lord God Almighty has made it possible for us to have abundance in our farms, more than we can eat ordinarily, then the needy and the poor of America are entitled to share in that abundance. [Applause.]

I join with Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the philosophy of government that he expressed so brilliantly and so pointedly in 1936 and listen to what that amazing man said, listen to these words:

Governments can err and Presidents do make mistakes but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weights the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional fruits of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omission of a government frozen in the eyes of its own indifference. [Applause.]

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My dear friends, Mr. Barry Goldwater, candidate for President on the Republican ticket, he lies under his no, no, no, tremendous in the shadows of his own indifference to your problems and the needs of this Nation. So, let me make the pledge to you today on behalf of our President, and on behalf of the Democratic Party. We will never rest until Appalachia is fully restored to the mainstream of the American economy, until every person in this area can enjoy opportunity to the fullest of his or her capacity. The United States of America is the richest Nation on the face of the earth. It is also the richest Nation that ever existed, our economy is booming. We are \$115 billion richer today than we were 3 years ago. And barring war, or national disaster, the United States for the first time in its history has the energy and the resources to build the kind of nation for all of its people envisioned by the Founding Fathers. When Jesus of Nazareth began his ministry he took as the text for his first sermon the words from the Prophet Isaiah, Jesus sayeth this, "I come to bring prisoners their release, give sight to the blind, and good news to the poor."

For 3,000 years this has been the ethic of the Judeo-Christian tradition, compassion, kindness, love, forbearance, brotherhood, this is what it is all about. Western civilization is built on it and so is the great country, and the Democratic Party has not forgotten it, and Lyndon Johnson is dedicated to it and on November 3, my fellow Americans, I think the American people will not be found wanting in giving this philosophy of understanding and of kindness and of compassion and of helpfulness a terrific mandate by electing Lyndon B. Johnson President of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Airport, Memphis, Tenn.  
September 26, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much. Thank you, very much for that good southern hospitality, that wonderful Memphis cordiality and good friendship. Oh, it is so nice to be here with you tonight and I just can't tell you how much I appreciate your outpouring of friendship and enthusiasm. It was great to come here and see my old friend who has been working so hard for you down there in the U.S. Senate and taking care of things while I was away, that wonderful Senator Albert Gore, your grand Senator.

And I might add it is awfully nice to see Pauline, too. We are mighty glad to see you.

I know that the gentleman that is our candidate for the U.S. Senate could not be here with us tonight because he is off, as his wife said, doing a little politicking elsewhere but I want to tell you anytime Ross Bass wants to leave Memphis and leave Mrs. Bass here it is OK with me. [Applause.]

And we also have with us another charming lady that is here representing her husband, and again I might say I am not complaining even though I would like these men very well, Mrs. Dick Vought, it is awfully nice to see you here too. [Applause.] You have been having a lot of elections around this place. You are all tuned up for the main event, I can plainly see, and I am just delighted to be here and say just a brief word this moment in behalf of sending to the Congress from this, the Ninth Congressional District, I believe I am correct, the Ninth District from Tennessee, that new young man who is going to represent this district so ably in the Congress of the United States and to help Lyndon B. Johnson get his program through Congress, George Grider. George. And, we also have with us Mrs. Grider. We want to see her, too. [Applause.]

I will let you folks in on a secret. I don't think a single one of these Tennessee politicians really get elected on their own. It is their pretty and intelligent wives who do the job. I was particularly honored to see one of the fine gentlemen of this State we have heard so much about over the years, and a distinguished patriot of your wonderful State of Tennessee, and I am delighted that Gordon Browning was out there at the airport just to say hello to us. Governor.

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It is good to see you.

Your fame has spread far and wide, Governor, and I am delighted also to see my old friend, Buford Ellington here, too, Buford.

Well, we are going to have some fun tonight. I hope some of you can be out to the fairground, I have a few choice remarks to make about the Republican pretender to the Presidency, we would like to have you out there. [Applause.]

You know, the other day, every once in a while I see one of these Goldwater signs around at one of these meetings. We never, we Democrats never boo, all we do is cheer because we are happy folks; we leave the booing to the other folks, you know. [Applause.] But I will tell you what they are doing, don't you ever be impolite to them, be very considerate, in fact, be forgiving. [Laughter.] Why, these dear souls haven't seen the light yet; and you know what they are doing, they are bringing their badges and their signs to these meetings because they want to turn them in and it takes two Goldwater buttons to get one Lyndon Johnson button. [Applause.]

The other day I was, well, just yesterday, as a matter of fact, I was in Grand Rapids, Mich., and the same morning I had left New York City and there was a little bit of a story in the New York Times, and if my staff member doesn't find that, David, if you can't find that story, you are fired pretty soon, I have got to get it soon. But, there was a little story, about one column and a half long, datelined September 24, Grand Rapids, Mich., AP, it says here, "The State officials of Michigan, this is a Republican administration I want you to know, "The State officials in Michigan have confiscated 350 cases of Gold Water Pop." That is how they start out and they said the reason was that "it was misbranded," I read, and then secondly they said, "Its contents included only artificial coloring and preservative." [Applause.] That is the most concise, the most, really the most definitive explanation that I have ever heard of the Republican platform and the candidate—"Misbranded, artificial flavoring, and a preservative." [Applause.]

But, we are going to talk to you tonight about not the mistakes of the other people or even some of the mistakes that all of us may have made. But a little later I want to talk to you about where we go from here. The kind of America that we really want, and the kind of America that we can really have, and the kind of America that we are busy building. As President Johnson said one time when he was asked this question, he said a commentator said to him, "Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had his New Deal, Harry Truman had his Fair Deal, and John F. Kennedy had his New Frontier. What are you going to call your administration?" And very quietly and thoughtfully the President said, "Well, we are going to try to do just one thing. We are going to try to give a better deal to all Americans and all of humanity." [Applause.]

And you know what, I find that that is what most Americans want. Here is one nice thing I have learned in this campaign. We have been now into 34, 35 major cities of this country. We have been out on some of the rural areas of America. You know what I find out, that most people in America today are very happy. They are looking ahead, they are not looking back. They want to do something. I find that people are very congenial, and I think they want a President that unites them and doesn't divide them. I think they want a President that points the way ahead and doesn't keep motioning backward. They want someone that is looking through the windshield down the road, rather than in the rearview mirror and putting the car in reverse, and they have got the man that they want. [Applause.] So now, if all of you good folks will come on out to the fairgrounds, I am going to tell you about the man. I am going to tell you about the program, but in case some of you don't get there I want to remind you of something. I want to remind you, you have got some obligations here in Tennessee.

First of all you have one of the finest U.S. Senators that ever came to the Congress of the United States and you had better reelect him, Albert Gore. And you surely better send down to Congress a man that you have nominated here in your primary election, Ross Bennett in the U.S. Senate, Ross Bass, and you also want to make very sure that you send this good man, Mr. Grider, down there to do a job for you. [Applause.] And may I suggest that when you do all of these tasks that you keep one thing in mind, we Democrats have a special

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obligation this year, we have lost two very great people, among others, and in these past months, yes, indeed, these last 10 months, 11 months. We first lost a great President who was taken from us. He did not have a chance to finish his task so we have got a job to do to complete those tasks for him under the leadership of the man that he selected as his Vice President and that we are now going to select as our President, and then we have another task, particularly in Tennessee. I happen to be a personal friend of the late and beloved Senator from this State, as many of you were his friends, and we want to make sure that the kind of honest government and progressive government and decent, wholesome government that Estes Kefauver stood for, that that kind of government can be continued in America. [Applause.]

So, let's get on with our work. I will see you out to the fairgrounds; in the meantime, God bless you. It has sure been wonderful to see you.

Thank you a lot.

Memphis, Tenn.  
Mid-South Fair  
September 26, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

I come to Memphis—and to the South—to discuss with you openly and frankly, the human side of government. A democratic government is not something set against the people. It is not an enemy. A democratic government is a part of the people—an extension of them. You are—along with every other citizen in this land—a part of the Government of the United States. It exists for you, because of you, and is answerable to you.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party preaches a different doctrine. To him, government is a kind of foreign agent. "Government is," he says, "the greatest threat to freedom."

I respect your judgment and commonsense more than that. Therefore, I will speak to you as a Democrat—both big "D" and little "d."

Your Government has progressed farther and prospered most, when your President cared for the people, identified with them, and used the power of his office to help them. No one illustrated this better than did Tennessee's own great gift to the Presidency—Andrew Jackson.

The Jacksonian era got America moving in another day. The laboring man and the farmer achieved their full and rightful place in the American democracy. Free discussion was extended. The number of elected officials was expanded. State constitutions were revised. Industry and commerce bloomed in general economic growth. Government was brought close to the people in a spirit of confidence reflected in Jackson's statement, "There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses."

The same spirit, enterprise, and trust has characterized this Democratic administration. Under it the United States began to move again. Under Lyndon Johnson it will continue. As independent and strong in spirit as Andrew Jackson, he has the same sensitivity for the people—all of the people.

Our national economy is growing. After three recessions in 8 years of Republican management, the United States is now in its longest sustained period of growth in all our history. You know that, and also that your Tennessee economy is sharing in it and setting new records.

Your nonagricultural employment is at an alltime high.

Your retail sales have set new records.

Your automobile sales are a record peak.

In sales of fire insurance, in construction contracts, in industrial power consumption, and other economic indicators, Tennessee is growing with the Nation.

Your agriculture is also a concern of the Nation. Your Democratic administration this year passed a cotton bill which was not only in the interest of your farmers. It also made possible an increase in wages, an increase in employment and increased competitive power in your growing textile and apparel industry.



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The most important question to you, however, is what would result from the proposal by the temporary Republican spokesman for a "prompt and final" termination of all farm price support programs. This would bankrupt a quarter of a million southern farmers and cost the South more than \$3 billion a year.

In gross income, southern farmers would lose—from cotton, \$350 million—at 20 cents a pound.

From tobacco, \$250 million, at 42 cents a pound.

From livestock, \$400-\$500 million.

From other crops, \$500-\$700 million.

This adds up to nearly \$2 billion. But every dollar lost by a farmer is also one lost by the merchant from whom he buys. So the entire region would lose closer to \$4 billion.

One out of five farmers—250,000 of them—would have no income at all. They would be driven out of farming. As Senator Goldwater says they would have to, "work for somebody else," or "become mechanics."

In addition to this, the high-tariff policies of the Republican platform would wreck our export markets, as similar Republican policies did in the 1920's. This would not only be disastrous to the economy of the South, but also to our international balance of payments.

Senator Goldwater's proposals on REA were adopted—to force rural electric cooperatives to turn profitable areas over to private companies, and pay higher interest rates for their loans—the co-ops would have to charge prohibitive rates or go out of business. Rural families could go back to the kerosene lamp. I understand that a certain department store in Phoenix carries a large supply.

Senator Goldwater says he does not know anything about agriculture. His ignorance is indeed a fact, but it makes his proposals for agriculture not only a poor choice, but a dismal echo of the views of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

Senator Goldwater offers another choice of importance to this region—to sell the TVA for \$1, or to turn it over to Congress and the public for disposition. Here I take it, he wants to make sure you elect a Democratic Congress as well as a Democratic President, for this is the only serious answer to his proposals.

I would like to quote myself, in testimony before a congressional committee in 1945—3 years before I went to the Senate. I have not changed my mind on what I said about the TVA:

TVA did not injure business, it created it. TVA did not deny democratic rights, it gave meaning to the term "democracy" \* \* \* River development has proven to be successful, has proven to be democratic, and has proven to be a creative force for business, labor, and agriculture. It has brought Government on an economic and political level close to the people. It is the middle way in a world that is now caught between forces to the left and to the right.

Some people fear that after 30 years you take the TVA for granted. I do not believe that. Here in Shelby County you fought hard to save yourselves from the Dixon-Yates power grab, and indeed left the TVA. But you are returning on January 1, 1965, and incidentally you are going to save \$10 million in power costs the first year. With characteristic inconsistency—to put it most charitably—Senator Goldwater thinks what is not good for you, is good for Arizona. Apparently, Arizonans will not be turned into slaves by the expenditure of a billion Federal dollars on the central Arizona irrigation project. Our reply to this double standard is that the United States is one Nation. We are neither so poor nor so provincial that we have to rob Peter in one region to pay Paul in another.

But here in this region you know of many other areas where you have been in creative partnership with your national Government. Your growing universities are a shining example. Your great medical center in Memphis is a pride of the Nation. Your scholars are pushing back the frontiers of ignorance on disease with research grants from the Public Health Service. At all levels, it is your Government, and your initiative that is accomplishing this.

However, the full power of this great people and Nation is yet to be developed and unleashed. In the midst of the greatest prosperity any people has known, there is still poverty in the land. And in your heart you know that is not right.

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Sometimes Senator Goldwater appears to believe that the poor do not exist. He questions, "Do you know of anyone who is living in such abject poverty, they are miserable?" "Unfortunately, I believe there are families in Tennessee, and in nearby Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri who can answer that—families which have failed to adopt the Goldwater remedy for combating poverty. Inherit a department store.

But again he says that if a family has as much as \$2,000 a year they should count their blessings in comparison to many people in the world. The Democratic Party and Lyndon Johnson believe that in America we measure such things by American standards. The level of an emancipated Chinese laborer in a commune, is not a good enough benchmark.

If poverty is a national problem—for its pockets are scattered—so is the problem of equal rights, for all regions must face it. We must solve it as a nation, and within the framework of public law and order. I congratulate the city of Memphis for giving to the Nation a splendid model of enlightened progress.

Perhaps the greatest responsibility of America today however comes from its role as the world's best hope for freedom and peace.

Once again we are the arsenal of democracy. We have nuclear power beyond any nation or combination of nations in the world. We have equal superiority at intermediate levels. At Millington nearby, you have the Naval Technical Training Command—the largest station of its kind in the world. Men were trained near here who gave the appropriate—as well as the prompt—replies in the Tonkin Gulf.

In a day when nuclear war can mean instant annihilation, there is no such thing as instant victory and it is of overriding importance to all mankind that we have both the means and the rationality not to utilize nuclear weapons as a panicky response to provocation.

As President Johnson has said, "We must not only be strong enough to wage war; we must be wise enough to prevent it." Indeed we must have presidential leadership with courage and responsibility, and above all, a President who would not reverse the chain of command and pass the buck of his constitutional responsibility down to field grade level. We need a Commander in Chief, not a "Chief Buck Passer," and this is no joke.

Men who are truly strong do not talk tough, nor advocate policies of bluff, belligerence, and brinkmanship. This is not time to play Russian roulette with a nuclear arsenal.

We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of opportunity for all, peace for all, and justice for all. Ours is an age which demands our best efforts, our finest thoughts, a determined spirit of unity, and all of our heart and courage.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party welcome that challenge, even as we pray to God for guidance.

Memphis, Tenn.,  
Fair Grounds,  
September 26, 1964

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### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, thank you very much, my good friend and colleague of the U.S. Senate, Albert Gore, and my sincere thanks to that hearty friendly outgoing welcome of your distinguished Governor Clement who is a fighting Democrat if I ever met one in my life and a fine Governor for this "Volunteer" State. I am singularly honored by the presence of so many of your public officials, so many of your municipal, county and State officials. I regret, of course, that our good friend, Ross Bass cannot be with us tonight, but he is out on the political hustings, and Governor, the people of this State do love you enough to want to keep you here as their good Governor. I don't blame them a bit. [Applause.]

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They also want to send down to Congress a man that is going to work for them and fight for them in the House of Representatives, and I know that the people here of the great Tennessee Ninth Congressional District are not going to disappoint President Lyndon Johnson. They are going to send him a man to help him and that man is none other than George Grider. [Applause.]

I am so pleased, Governor Clement, that two of your predecessors, very prominent men in the affairs of our Nation, are on this platform with us tonight. I have already mentioned earlier this evening my high regard and esteem for that great patriot of your State, the great Gov. Gordon Browning, and I also want to add to that your great Gov. Buford Ellington. One thing about Tennessee politics, when you have a man in public office we hear about him, and we know that he is doing things, and now having said that, may I say that my heart is somewhat saddened tonight because when I come to Tennessee, I always think of a dear friend that so often came to my State, so often played an important role in the life of our Nation, and I say that it is a sad loss for Tennessee and a sad loss for America when that wonderful, fine, gallant, courageous Senator Estes Kefauver was taken from us. [Applause.]

By the way, I want to commend the authorities of this city and of this State, and I might add because the Federal Government had a little something to do with it, the Federal authorities, on that magnificent airport, this Memphis Municipal Airport that you have here. I don't believe I have ever seen one that equaled it and it surely represents the thriving, progressive spirit of this great commercial center, the heartland and the gateway, I should say to the South and indeed one of the great commercial centers of America.

So, to those that are responsible I salute you and may I say in a few years from now it is going to be too small because this community is going to grow so fast that you will have to extend the runways and enlarge the administration building, at least we hope so.

Now Albert, Albert Gore, we have been working together so long there is little new that Senator Humphrey could ever say to you and I doubt that there is much new that I can say to anyone here tonight.

I do want to start out by saying, however, that I come here in the spirit of that great former Speaker and late Speaker of the House of Representatives. I come here as a Democrat. Speaker Rayburn said, "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology."

And that is where I start, just that kind of a Democrat. [Applause.]

And I come here to speak for a man that is giving this country great leadership, and one that understands not only the North and the East and the West, but who comes from the South, who understands the South, and who has the welfare of the entire Nation at heart, Lyndon B. Johnson, our President.

We in the North Star State of Minnesota, you in the Volunteer State of Tennessee, we have a bond that binds us together, and if it were nothing more than just the fellowship that is ours, and the fact that we are in this great Federal Republic it would be enough, but as I came into your city tonight, I looked down and saw the mighty Mississippi, which is the greater arterial highway of commerce for this vast area of America, that affords this great city transportation, gives it the opportunity to become one of the great commercial centers of the world. But the Mississippi River which is your mighty stream of commerce has its headwaters at Lake Itaska in Minnesota, so Tennessee and Minnesota are bonded together by God's good clean water that starts up there in Lake Itaska in Minnesota and comes down here to Memphis to give you the mighty Mississippi, "Old Man River," that just keeps rolling along. [Applause.]

And as I traveled around this country these past few weeks, I find something about America that apparently has escaped the observation of the Senator from Arizona. I find my America and our America a happy country. I find it a prosperous country. I find it a going country. I sense as I see the people that even though this is a country that they love with all their hearts, and that they know it is a great country, they want to love it more, and they want it to be even greater. I wish that more people would speak up as has been said tonight, for a united America, for a country that stands together and lives together and works together and plays together and enjoys what John Adams said that sense of public happiness which ought to be the sense of the American people.

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I come to Memphis and I come to this warm hospitable friendly area called the South, to discuss with you some things openly and frankly, and I want to discuss with you the human side of Government. A Democratic Government is not something set against the people. I think it is about time we took some basic lessons in American Government, because there are some false prophets traveling across this land. This Government is not your enemy. A Democratic Government is a friend of the people, it is a part of the people, and it is an extension of them, and you are, along with every other citizen in this land, a part, and a very important part, of the Government of the United States. It exists for you. [Applause.]

It exists for you, it exists because of you, and it is answerable to you. It is a government of the people and by the people and for the people, and anyone who says to the contrary does a disservice to the heritage of this great Republic. [Applause.]

Now, the Republican pretender to the presidency and the temporary spokesman of a great party preaches a different doctrine. Yes, he preaches a much different doctrine, to him our Government appears to be some kind of a foreign agent. Here is what he said. Mind you a man that seeks to be President, a man that seeks to occupy the White House, and guide this Republic, here is what he says of our Government:

"Government is the greatest threat to freedom." A man that can make that statement has not understood the great spirit of America and the spirit of this Republic, and he is not equipped to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

I respect your judgment and your commonsense more than to make such a ridiculous statement, and therefore I will speak to you tonight as a Democrat, both with the big "D," and the little "d." Our country has progressed further and prospered more when your President and your Congress cared for the people identified with them and when the President of the United States who is the spokesman of all the people, used the power and the authority of his office to help the people; we Democrats are not ashamed to say that we believe Government should have a good hear, and we are not at all ashamed to say nor do we apologize for the fact that our philosophy of Government is one, a Government that cares, and cares deeply for the people. The Senator that graces the platform with me tonight has again and again raised his voice in the Halls of Congress to demonstrate that great principle of government, that government is the servant of the people, government should care for the people, and only recently in the Senate, Albert Gore led the fight successfully to see to it that those who are our elderly, that those who are in the twilight of life may have the great opportunity for adequate hospital and nursing home care under social security, the medicare program.

And this Senator follows in good steps. I have been to the Hermitage. I have visited the home of the great Andrew Jackson, the tribune of the people. No one illustrated this concept of government, of a President that cared for the people more than Tennessee's own great gift to the American Presidency, Andrew Jackson.

Now, the Jacksonian era is apparently one that has escaped the attention of the limited historical knowledge of the man who tells us of history and knows little or nothing about the future.

The Jacksonian era got America moving in another day. Jackson was the John Kennedy and the Lyndon Johnson of his time.

The laboring man and the farmer achieved for the first time their full and rightful place in American democracy with Andrew Jackson as their spokesman. Free discussion has extended the very lifeline of freedom. The number of elected officials was expanded. State constitutions were revised. Industry and commerce boomed and blossomed in general economic growth throughout the land. Government was brought close to the people in a spirit of confidence reflected in Andrew Jackson's statement, "There are no necessary evils in Government. Its evils exist only in its abuses."



## HE - LINO - 66

Now, that same spirit, that same enterprise, and trust has characterized this Democratic administration. Under this administration the Kennedy-Johnson administration, the United States has begun to move again, and we are moving in the right direction. We are moving forward. [Applause.]

And with 4 more years of Democratic administration under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, this great Republic and this great economy of ours, which is at unprecedented heights of prosperity today will continue to move forward to break new ground for even greater days in America.

Lyndon Johnson is a people's President. He is a President of all of the people of this country.

You know the other day I noticed where the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party said that this great era of prosperity that we were living in was an illusion. He said that it was artificial, artificial. The largest gross national product in our history, 43 months, consecutive months, of growth and prosperity, compare that, if you please, to three recessions under the previous Republican administration in 8 years.

The only thing artificial about what Mr. Goldwater says are the glasses that he wears. [Applause.]

Of course, one shouldn't expect too much from a person who has a calendar with no months or years, who has a watch with no hands, and who has glasses with no lenses. [Applause.]

But most of us can see better than that, and we know that this is the second half of the 20th century.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this prosperity is not just general. It is also specific and regional. The Tennessee economy, right here in this great State, Governor, is sharing in the prosperity and setting new records, setting new records because of the close cooperation between Washington and Tennessee, between Government and private enterprise.

Industry today has confidence in the Government, and that is why some of the greatest industrial and financial leaders of America today are betting on Lyndon Johnson, and supporting Lyndon Johnson and leaving Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

Let's take a look at the factors or the facts in Tennessee. Governor, correct me if I am wrong, but your employment in this great State as of now is at an alltime high, your retail sales in your merchants on main street have set new records, your automobile sales are at a record peak, and I find that in sales of life insurance in construction contracts, in industrial power consumption, and at other economic indicators, Tennessee is moving ahead and in a sense is pacing the Nation. Tennessee has a record to be proud of. It contributes immensely to the prosperity of this great economy.

Let Mr. Goldwater come here and tell your people who are at work and tell your captains of industry who are having high production, let him come and tell them that it is all a fake, that it is all artificial. You know everybody in the country is feeling good, but Senator Goldwater goes around and tells them, "You are sick. You just don't know it." [Applause.]

And then he comes up with some pretty, pretty, let me say, risky remedies. You know I am a pharmacist, and I know a quack remedy when I see one. [Laughter.]

Now, just a word about your agriculture, because agriculture means so much to Tennessee just as it does to my State and to this Nation. Your Democratic administration this year passed a cotton bill which was not only in the interest of your cotton farmers even though it was very helpful to them, but also in the interest of the textile industry. It was in the interest of the workers, it was in the interest of the bankers, it was in the interest of the total economy. It provided increases in employment, it made possible increased competitive power for your growing textile and apparel industry.

But ask yourself, ask yourself tonight, Mr. Textile Manufacturer, Mr. Worker in these plants, Mr. Cotton Farmer, ask yourselves tonight what would have been the result from the proposal of the temporary Republican spokesman, Mr. Goldwater for a prompt and final termination of all farm price support programs. What would have happened? Mr. Goldwater voted "no." He voted "no."

## HE - LINO - 67

Maybe I can detail for you what would be the result of the lack of policy of the lack of policy of Mr. Goldwater. Mr. Goldwater who says that the farm programs must be brought to a prompt and final halt. We had something like that once before, but it was a long time ago. We had that under Harding and Coolidge and Hoover. I thought we outlived those days. [Applause.]

Well, Mr. Goldwater is a very expensive luxury for Tennessee, if he were elected, perish the thought, but let's consider that for the moment as a theoretical possibility. This would bankrupt a quarter of a million southern farmers, and cost the South more than \$3 billion a year if the cotton program alone were stopped as Mr. Goldwater says it should be. And yet his man goes up and down the South telling the South that he is the friend of the South. I will say he is a friend. He would put you in the poorhouse if he had his way with this program.

The loss on this program, this lack of program, this Goldwater prompt and final end of agricultural programs from cotton, about \$350 million the first year, from tobacco about \$250 million, from livestock about \$400 to \$500 million, from other crops \$500 to \$700 million. This adds up to nearly \$2 billion. But every dollar lost by a farmer is a dollar, there must be more than another dollar added as loss to the merchant from whom the farmer buys. So the entire region of the South that Mr. Goldwater loves so much, that he goes to and says, "Follow me," the false prophet that he is, that kind of leadership would cost these great States of the South that have meant so much to America, would cost them not less than \$3 billion. I don't think you can afford it, even under a Democratic administration that is giving you prosperity.

Senator Gore, I had the record checked by some of our great land-grant colleges, and I find that if the Goldwater prompt and final determination or ending of the farm programs would come about, 1 out of 5 farmers, 250,000 of them, could have no income at all. They would be driven out of farming, but as Senator Goldwater says, and he has a program for those poor souls, too, they would have to "work for somebody else or become mechanics."

"Hurray." Of course, he votes against the training program that can even make them mechanics. [Applause.]

And then mind you to add insult to injury he votes against the anti-poverty program so they will just have to stay poor.

And then, ladies and gentlemen, if the high tariff policies of the Republican platform were put into effect it would wreck our export markets, and every cotton merchant, every tobacco merchant, every person that farms in the South knows that the export market is the lifeblood of this economy, and yet the man that goes up and down the South trying to get a southern accent tells you that he is your friend. I tell you he is not. Your friend is Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, let's take a look at another little program. If Senator Goldwater's proposals on REA were adopted, and by the way he has got a proposal for that, too, get rid of it. This is a great program. It starts out by saying no, and it repeats it a thousand times no. This is a man who sits under the no-no tree and sits there in the shadow of his own indifference.

Mr. Goldwater's program for the farmers rural electrification, eliminate the REA Administration. We are going to have a clean sweep. Start by doing it by reducing loans and raising the interest rates.

I didn't say it, that is what he says. The rural electric cooperatives should get out of business. Rural families, apparently for Mr. Goldwater, to go back to the kerosene lamp. I gather they have got a little extra inventory of kerosene lamps back in that Goldwater Phoenix department store they have to got to clean them out.

Well, Senator Gore, we used to have kerosene lamps in Humphrey's drugstore but we sold the last one in 1935.

We came to the conclusion then that electricity was here to stay. Senator Goldwater isn't sure, isn't at all sure. He thinks it may be short circuited.

## HE - LINO - 68

Now, I must say, however, that one shouldn't be too unkind about this. Because the distinguished Senator that seeks to be President has made a very frank confession. There is one thing I will say about this good man, and he is a good man. He is just misguided. I will say this about this man. He is a man of his word. Now, sometimes he changes it but he is a man of his word. [Applause.]

This depends upon which week you are reading the word. One thing he said, though, and he stuck with it. He insists that it is true. I quote him. He said, "I know nothing about agriculture."

Well, we accept that. It is pitiful, but we accept it. It makes his proposals however for agriculture not only a poor choice, but a dismal echo of the views of some other Presidents back in the 1920's. Senator Goldwater offers you another choice of importance to this region. Just a Jim Dandy.

He says "Let's sell TVA even for a dollar." [Cries of "boo."]

Oh, no, my friends, wait a minute. He said that in his book, then somebody talked to him and said, "You know maybe you ought not to sell it for a dollar." So he said, "I don't know whether we will sell it or not" and then he came back into this very region, I believe it was Knoxville, and Memphis and said, "No, I meant every word of it. Let's sell it and get rid of it." What a friend of the South. What a friend of the South.

Oh, you had better be sure, you had better be sure in this election, my friends. This one isn't any game. This one is the most serious election you have ever faced. You had better be sure that you elect a Democratic Congress as well as a Democratic President, for this is the only safe answer to Goldwater's proposals. [Applause.]

Now, Lyndon Johnson is for the TVA and he has been for it ever since he came to Congress, and Hubert Humphrey is for TVA and has voted for it on every opportunity he had in Congress.

In fact, may I say that when I was mayor of Minneapolis, Minn., back in 1945, 3 years before I went to the Senate, I came to the Senate to testify as a public official on behalf of this great program, and let me read you what I said:

TVA did not injure business, it created it. TVA did not deny democratic right, it gave meaning to the term "democracy." River development has proven to be successful, has proven to be democratic, and has proven to be a creative force for business, for labor, for agriculture. It has brought Government on an economic and political level close to the people. It is the middle way in a world that is now caught between the forces of the left and the forces of the right.

That is Hubert Humphrey, 1945, and I repeat every word of it on this night in 1964.

Now, some people feared that after 30 years of TVA you took it for granted. I don't believe it. Here in Shelby County you fought hard to save yourself from the Dixon-Yates power grab. Right on this platform, tonight in your senior Senator, is the courageous man that exposed that power grab, your own great Senator, Albert Gore.

You temporarily left TVA, you got a little vaccine of Goldwaterism there, but I understand that you are returning back to the home of your fathers on January 1, 1965, and incidentally, I understand you are going to save about \$10 million a year in power costs the first year. That is not bad. That ought to make the Senator from Arizona happy.

Now, with characteristic inconsistency, to put it charitably, Senator Goldwater thinks what is not good for you is good for Arizona. Apparently the people of Arizona will not be turned into slaves of the Federal Government by the expenditure of over a billion Federal dollars on the central Arizona irrigation project. "Oh, no," the Senator from Arizona says, "one billion dollars for Arizona, but not one nickel for Tennessee." And he says he is your friend.

Well, may I say that I want Arizona to have their project. I think that the power project, the Arizona irrigation project is necessary. I think the investment is worthwhile, and I think TVA is worthwhile, and I think the development of the Missouri River in my part of the—my part of America where I live is worthwhile, and I think the development of the Columbia River is worthwhile; it has made America a better country.

## HE - LINO - 69

We are neither so poor nor so narrow minded that we have to rob Peter in one region to pay Paul in another. What is good for Tennessee is good for America, and what is good for America is good for Tennessee.

But you good folks here know a lot about cooperation between Federal and State government and local government. Your growing universities are a shining example, your great medical center here in Memphis is the pride of the Nation. Your scholars are pushing back the frontiers of ignorance on disease, with research grants from the U.S. Public Health Service, and I might add this hasn't in any way impaired our great medical profession.

To the contrary, it has made American medicine the finest medicine in the world, and we are justly proud of the great healing arts of this country. At all levels, at all levels, my fellow Americans, it is your Government, and your initiative that is accomplishing these things. But let's take a look ahead. The full power of this great people and Nation has yet to be tapped. It is not fully developed or unleashed. In the midst of the greatest prosperity any people has ever known there still are pockets of poverty. There are still some people who have been left behind, and in your heart you know that is not right. [Applause.]

Now, sometimes Senator Goldwater appears to believe that the poor do not exist. He questions, "Do you know of anyone who is living in such abject poverty that they are miserable?"

Unfortunately, Mr. Goldwater, I believe there are families in Tennessee, in nearby Mississippi, in Kentucky, in Arkansas, in Minnesota, Missouri, and elsewhere who can answer that question; families which have failed to adopt the Goldwater remedy for combating poverty and what is his remedy? Inherit a department store. [Laughter.]

But again he says, "That if a family has as much as \$2,000 a year they should count their blessings in comparison with many people in the world."

Now, isn't that a fine standard. The Democratic Party and Lyndon Johnson believe that in America we measure things according to American standards. We are not going to compare the economic lot of America with a Chinese laborer in a Communist commune camp in China. Nor are we going to compare them with the poor people of Asia and Africa and Latin America. Our standards are our own. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, our President and the Democratic Party has seen fit to do something about this, and we have launched an all-out war on poverty through the economic opportunity act. Lyndon Johnson wages all-out war on poverty, Senator Goldwater wages all-out war on progress. That is the difference, and that is the choice.

Now, let me just briefly call to your attention one other item. If poverty is a national problem, and it has been so, for its pockets are scattered in many areas, so is this problem of constitutional rights and equal rights, for all regions must face it, and we must solve it as a Nation and we must solve these problems within the framework of public law and order, and we need as a President one who seeks to unite us, not divide us, one who seeks to encourage us, not discourage us, one who asks us to observe the law, rather than to ridicule it, and that is why I think you need Lyndon Johnson for a united America. [Applause.]

I stand here tonight to congratulate the city of Memphis for giving to this Nation a splendid model of enlightened progress. You have done well, and somebody ought to come to this community, yes, not somebody, but many, to congratulate you and commend you on the tremendous strides that you have made in providing equal opportunity to all Americans regardless of race, color, or creed. [Applause.]

But the greatest responsibility of America today comes from its role as the world's best hope for freedom and peace. Once again we are the arsenal of democracy. We have military power beyond that of any nation or any combination of nations in the world, and don't you listen to anyone who tells you that we don't. Our military power is the most unbelievable reservoir of strength that mankind has ever known, and we have a right to be proud of it.



In Millington nearby you have the Naval Technical Training Command, the largest station of its kind in the world and men were trained near here who gave the appropriate as well as the prompt replies in Tonkin Gulf. Like Sergeant York in World War I, the U.S. Navy with men trained here in Tennessee at the Naval Training Station, once again fought for freedom and did their job well under a great Commander in Chief.

In a day when nuclear war can mean instant annihilation there is no such thing as instant victory, and it is of overriding importance to all mankind that we have both the means and the judgment not to use nuclear weapons as a panicky response to provocation. Serving nuclear ultimatums is dangerous diplomacy, and may I say that there is nothing more dangerous than having a President that is ultimatum happy. This we cannot afford.

As President Johnson has said, we must not only be strong enough to wage war. We must be wise enough to prevent it. Indeed we must have the Presidential leadership with courage and responsibility. We must have as a President one who is strong and resolute, but not arrogant or belligerent. One who is patient and firm but not appeasing or impulsive, and I submit to this great audience tonight that you have that man and that you had better keep him and his name is Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States. [Applause.]

Men who are truly strong, men who are truly strong don't talk tough nor do they advocate policies of bluff and belligerence and brinkmanship. This is no time to play Russian roulette with a nuclear revolver. This is a time for firm and calm leadership, and as the great Senator from this State said, a mighty blow was struck for peace and for a better world 1 year ago this week when the great nuclear test ban treaty was signed and sealed so as to guarantee to future generations that the air that we breathe shall be free of radioactive pollution and that the milk that we drink shall be free of strontium 90, and that the earth that we depend upon for our food and fiber shall not be contaminated by radioactivity. [Applause.]

Most Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, voted for the ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty because they believed it was a step forward in peace. Most of them did, a majority of Republicans, an overwhelming majority of Democrats, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of opportunity for all. We believe that tomorrow holds the promise of a just peace for all, and we believe in this party and in this Nation that our tomorrow can bring greater justice for all. Ours is an age which demands our best efforts, not our worst. Our finest thoughts, a determined spirit of unity, and ours is an age where we must give all of our heart and all of our courage for that in which we believe.

Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party are willing to accept that challenge, and we pray to God Almighty for guidance in our pursuit of happiness and in the achievement of this great dream of our fine President, who asks Americans all, regardless of party or region, wherever you may be or whomever you may be, asks us all to work with him in the achievement of a better America, and in the achievement of what he calls and what I like to call the Great Society.

Thank you, my friends of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Cleveland, Ohio  
Airport  
September 27, 1964

#### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very, very much. I think I will hold up and not try to compete with that Electra. They say if you put a tiger in your tank you feel like a Democrat, and that is a Flying Tiger over there. Thank you, very much.

May I first of all thank the major for his reception, and may I express my appreciation to my distinguished colleague in the U.S. Senate, your own U.S. Senator Steve Young for being here with us today. And to all the members of the Democratic congressional delegation of this great metropolitan area of Cleveland and the neighboring areas, I want to express our thanks on behalf of Mrs. Humphrey and myself for your gracious reception.

## HE - LINO - 71

I know it is good to come to these airport receptions because every time I come I notice we have more and more people who want to confess their political sins and come and join us. [Applause.] I have been trying to get our young Democrats and our older Democrats to understand that they should be very tolerant and very considerate. [Plane noise.] I don't know, that fellow must be from Arizona. That quieted him down a little bit.

I have been trying to get our young Democrats, in particular the young citizens for Johnson and Humphrey [applause] to be very understanding and very tolerant of those who have lived in the paths of political sin and are the victims of kind of a wayward way in American politics, and you will notice when they are here, they are carrying signs, it is sort of like the vanquished that are coming in to lay down their swords. [Applause.] I think we ought to tell them that any three Goldwater signs will get them a small L.B.J. button. [Applause.]

You know, not long ago a great man in our country said it is one thing to be an old fogey, that is understandable, but to be a young one is intolerable. [Applause.] So, now having said that we invite all of you young chaps here that are looking so healthy and fresh, you really are not in the spirit of Goldwaterism because you have got a smile on your face. [Laughter.] As long as you have we would like to have you with us and we will welcome you and we are just delighted.

May we just say we have had a remarkable wonderful trip. Every place we have been there have been enthusiastic audiences to greet us, there has been a sense of friendship and hospitality and we have named our plane that we fly in here, I think, the appropriate title for the spirit that we manifest. We know that we are fighting for a good cause. We know our party and the program it stands for is good for America but as we carry on this battle we do it with the fellowship and friendship and we do it with a happy heart, and so we call our plane, "The Happy Warrior," and we think that it exemplifies the kind of an attitude we ought to have in this campaign. There is no room in America for hate. There is no room in America for bitterness. There is room in America for honest disagreement. But we ought to approach our problems on the basis of trying to find answers and solutions rather than trying to see who can shout the loudest and who can make the most noise. I am of the opinion that the American people are looking to President Lyndon Johnson for constructive and for reliable and for trustworthy leadership and in him, they find it.

If there is one word that characterizes the Johnson administration it is responsibility. If there is another that indicates the attitude of the people, it is trust. The young people of America can trust in this President. They can trust him because he is interested in their welfare. He is interested in their education. He is interested in their future. The elderly of America can trust this President because he is interested in their welfare, interested in their sense of dignity, interested in their health, interested, if you please, in their good life, the opportunity to live a good life.

The workers of America in the factories can trust this man, because he talks to them not just as workers but as citizens of a great republic, and the businessmen of America trust him, and the great captains of industry and finance that ordinarily would be on the other side find this time that they cannot support the man who temporarily speaks for the great party known as the Republican Party, and therefore, by the thousands, they are turning to the Democratic Party, and by the hundreds and the thousands, the captains of industry and finance are turning to Lyndon Johnson, and why—because they can trust him, because he is reliable, because he is experienced and because he is going to be the next President of the United States.

Well, we are going to have a little fun out at the steer roast. I want you to know that you ought to enjoy politics, you really ought to.

## HE - LINO - 72

A lot of times people get so excited about it they start fighting with their neighbor. You don't need to do that. What you really ought to do is discuss these things with your neighbors and you who are Democrats and those Republicans who have come over to help President Johnson because they are concerned about the faith of their Nation, you talk these problems out in your neighborhood, talk them out neighbor to neighbor, friend to friend, talk them out in the office and in the shop, and when you get through talking about them and discussing them I am convinced of one thing, I am convinced that most Americans, comes November 3, most Americans are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Senator Goldwater.

Cleveland, Ohio  
Democratic Steer Roast  
September 27, 1964

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC  
VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Today I speak to one of the greatest Democratic gatherings in America.

This steer roast has known many dramatic moments. But none can surpass the visit 4 years ago of a courageous and eloquent young Senator from Massachusetts—the Democratic candidate for President of the United States.

Many of you will recall his vision of a greater America:

I would like it to be said that in our administration, our country moved here at home; it began to solve the problems that face our people; it put special emphasis on education, because no free society can survive without the best educational system in the world; it took care of our children and gave medical care to the aged, so that our older citizens could live out their lives in some security \* \* \*. I would like it to be said that we ended discrimination of all kinds in the United States \* \* \*. We want fair treatment for all Americans.

This was a vision worthy of a great Democratic President and a great Democratic Party. And for a dynamic and unforgettable 1,000 days, our beloved John F. Kennedy kept his promises to America. And when he was taken from us, and the whole world faltered, it was Lyndon B. Johnson who stepped forward bravely and told the Nation: "Let us continue \* \* \*."

As the running mate of President Johnson, I rejoice to say that with your help, we shall continue to move America forward.

The Democratic Party believes in the philosophy of government expressed by Woodrow Wilson, when he said:

"I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being."

To Democrats, people are partners in the government. Government exists for the people, because of the people, and is answerable to the people—all of them.

Believing this, and acting upon it, a Democratic administration began to release the energies of America and bring opportunity to all its people.

Four years ago, our economy was floundering in the midst of the third recession in 8 years. Today it is enjoying the longest sustained growth in all our history—releasing the energies of the American enterprise system.

Four years ago unemployment was dangerously high and no plans were made to meet the effects of automation or absorb new people coming on the labor market. Today employment is at an alltime high of 72 million people and we are slowly cutting the unemployment rate—releasing the productive energies of American workers.

Four years ago there were no plans to improve the woefully inadequate facilities of higher education to educate our children. Today, we have provided means to construct facilities, add new institutions, and provide more loans—releasing the intellectual energies of American students.

## HE - LINO - 73

Four years ago our economically depressed areas had been ignored. "Poverty" was an unmentionable word—even though millions of Americans lived in its misery. Today the ARA, the accelerated public works, and the antipoverty bill are law—releasing the dormant energies of forgotten towns and forgotten people.

Four years ago the moral issue of human rights had not been faced. Today the civil rights bill has been passed—releasing millions of Americans from the indignities and humiliations of second-class citizenship.

Four years ago the world remained gripped by the tense, oppressive black cloud of nuclear fright and anxiety. Today the test ban treaty has been signed and we have taken the first steps toward a lasting peace—releasing the world from the effects of radioactive fallout.

Four years ago John F. Kennedy set before you a vision of a better America. You responded to this vision. America responded. And we started to move forward. This progress did not just happen. It took courageous leadership. It took government that cared for people identified with them, and above all trusted them.

Ohio has shared in the progress of these past 4 years. Your manufacturing employment is up. Your educational institutions have grown. Your retail sales are up. Your cities have begun urban renewal and to attack the problems of our rapidly growing urban society.

This thriving city of Cleveland is the eighth largest city in the United States. But Cleveland is going to get larger. So are all of the many large cities in this State. You still have problems to work out in urban renewal, in clean air and water, in good transportation, in decent homes for all of the people.

Industry in Ohio must grow and innovate to provide jobs for all your people. But likewise the considerable agriculture of this State must not suffer neglect. The wonderful orchards and vineyards of this western reserve, and the varied agriculture all over the State must be strong—both for you and for the Nation.

On election day, Cleveland—and all America—has a choice. You can choose the party of Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson—the party that believes in releasing the energies of America. Or you can choose those who have said "No" to every constructive piece of Democratic legislation in the past 4 years, and will continue to say "No" to the challenges of the next 4 years.

You can choose the Democratic Party that seeks to revise and improve our outdated and inhumane immigration system, or you can choose those who seek to replace the Statue of Liberty with an iron, padlocked gate.

What is wrong with immigration legislation that has been supported by the last four Presidents of the United States—including General Eisenhower?

What is wrong with an immigration bill permitting family unification of blood relatives of U.S. citizens? What is wrong with a bill providing for immigration of persons with special skills and exceptional ability needed by the United States? Such people will not take jobs away—they will create jobs in our economy. What is wrong with a bill providing for refugee asylum for persecuted persons? It is not a question of opening the "floodgates." It is a question of opening the "fair-gates" to admit 45,000 more immigrants—one-fortieth of 1 percent of our present population.

I believe we will be a better Nation when those 45,000 live among us.

I believe we will be a prouder, richer Nation when the administration's immigration bill becomes law.

I believe we will be a more compassionate and common-sense Nation when it becomes law.

I was proud to testify for the administration bill in these words:

A great society is not a closed society. It is open to enriching ideas and contributions of many cultures. It thrives on diversity. Immigration reform means substantial progress toward this goal. If our society sincerely judges its members on worth instead of birth, then our immigration policy should be based primarily on merit.



## HE - LINO - 74

Worth—not birth—that is the Johnson-Humphrey promise to you. It is our pledge. It is our faith.

We have a job to do in the next 6 weeks. Let us make November 3 a resounding V-day—"V" for voting; "V" for victory—for all that is just, noble, courageous, and decent in American life.

In every precinct, in every ward, in every State, we must spend the next 6 weeks unleashing the energies of our people in behalf of Lyndon B. Johnson and his vision of the Great Society.

We have a job to do. We must keep America moving forward.

Cleveland, Ohio  
Steer Roast  
September 27, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much. Thank you, very much, Bert Porter. Thank you for an introduction that was as short as Steve Young's speech and every bit as good. I am so grateful for the invitation that was extended to me to come to this wonderful party, and I have already been described here by a number of your speakers as a man fully qualified to be Vice President and I want every lady in this house to know that I have had a lot of experience at this job because I have been vice president in my house now for 28 years. [Applause.]

I would like to have you meet the president of the Humphrey household, Muriel Humphrey. Muriel.

Mrs. HUMPHREY. I deny every word of it.

Senator HUMPHREY. Muriel has been campaigning all around the Midwest, and she just joined us last night at Memphis, Tenn., and it is sure wonderful to have her back with us. All the newspaper reporters say it is great because it will make Humphrey make shorter speeches. I deny that. It will not. Others tell me that it will make Humphrey a little happier and more contented. I agree with that. And I am mighty proud of her and she has done such a remarkable job for us. [Applause.]

It is very good to be here in Cleveland, Ohio, this great metropolitan center in Cuyahoga County out here on the shoreline of this great and beautiful Lake Erie which is a part of our Great Lakes system, and may I say that it surely is great to be greeted by a fellow mayor. I was once a mayor of Minneapolis, and I know what a big job it is. I also know what a rewarding job it is, and I want to thank Ralph Locker for being there at the airport to meet me, and for his generous welcome here at this great meeting today. He is a wonderful mayor and I know you are proud of him. [Applause.]

That fellow, O'Malley, really gives a speech, doesn't he? Every time I hear a good Irishman like that up here making a rip snorting speech I simply feel sorry for the Republicans. [Applause.] But I never feel sorry enough for them to vote for them, I want you to know. It is sort of sympathy on the Sabbath, not on election day, that is all.

Patrick, I remember our meeting, and I remember the occasion that you spoke about, and I told you the truth, that we really had to hustle to get those votes, and to win those elections, and I did have to crawl up the side of that haystack with no ladder and I got there and that Republican came up with a ladder and he did not get there. [Applause.]

I am particularly pleased to be on the platform of Charlie Vanik, with Mike Feighan, men who have served you so well in the Congress.

I am also pleased to once again speak a good word for that fireball that already spoke to you, this man who has got more faith per square inch and per pound than anybody I have found for a long time, Robert Sweeney, and you folks ought to get him elected.

What I like about Brother Sweeney is he knows what he believes in and he knows who is for and he believes in the Democratic Party and he is for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Sweeney and Steve Young and I, too, want to join in wishing Norbert Dennerl not only good luck but lots of good workers.

Well, before I say what I am about to, I want to say that I am also very happy that I once again can be here to say a kind word for an old friend, Chat Paterson. Chat has been a hard worker for this party [applause]—I know there are others.

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I travel a bit in your State. I was up around Akron, and up around Youngstown, and I have been speaking for some of your congressional candidates. But you know when I come here to speak for them, I do so because I realize the importance of organization. I have been told a number of times, "Look, you are a candidate for Vice President, you don't have to go around and tell people about organization." Well, I want to tell you, you can be a candidate but the main thing to do is get elected and you don't get elected unless people help you and you don't get elected unless there is organization, and you don't have organization unless all of us pull together.

Now, I don't know whether you Democrats have got any fights going on amongst you but if you have, just stop the training now, you are in good shape, turn all the energies loose on the Republicans, they are the ones you ought to be fighting. [Applause.]

I gather you are feeling fit as a fiddle and more power to you.

Well, Johnny Blatnik, bless your heart, say, that Johnny can speak Slovenian, don't you think he can't; he really can, at least he tells me. I can't understand a word about it. He tells me it is Slovenian. But John Blatnik is our most popular Congressman from Minnesota, he is a longtime lifelong friend of ours, and has been as close to the Humphreys as anyone could be and almost like a member of the family. I am so proud that he is here with me, because it is sort of like a character reference to have John Blatnik with you. This is a man who has never in all of his life been anything else but worked for the people. His record of progressive government is second to none and Johnny, I am as proud of you as I could possibly be and if every Congressman in America will do what John Blatnik has done in Minnesota, the Democratic Party will always be able to hold its head high and never lose an election. [Applause.]

Say now, that music is pretty good. I want to compliment you, I like that music, it's got some pep. We get the rhythm and you know what it keeps saying, "vote, vote, vote, vote, vote for L.B.J., vote for H.H.H." You just keep that rhythm up and you won't have a Republican around. We are going to win this going away. [Applause.]

I have attended one or two Republican meetings and I wasn't sure whether I was at a meeting or whether it was a funeral dirge. The difference in our music and the difference in the attitude and the countenances of our people and that of the opposition is something really to behold, really and truly it is. We are a happy crowd and we look at this great effort, at politics, not as a grimey, dreary business. We look at it as an expression of our citizenship and whenever you can, express your citizenship in America you ought to lift your voice in happiness, in glee and be joyous about it and that is why I call my airplane that we fly around in the "Happy Warrior," we are fighting for a good cause and we are happy about it and we are going to win on November 3.

Say, I found a little newspaper story here that I want to read to you. I have been reading this around the country. We had a wonderful time. We just came in from Memphis, Tenn., down in the Deep South. They told us that we would not do too well in the South. Never had a better time in my life, never had more enthusiastic Democrats. Those folks down there know who is on their side. They like to flirt around with the Republicans just a little bit so when they come, help them appreciate the fireside of the Democratic Party, that is all. [Applause.]

They don't intend to get married to Goldwater, they just want to pinch a little bit, do you know. [Applause.] They are beginning to find out that isn't even fun. You want to pinch? Pinch a good Democrat.

Well, I have got a little newspaper clipping here and it is from Grand Rapids, Mich. I found this in the New York Times of September 24. It isn't very big. It is about one column, about an inch, about an inch and a half long. But it tells an awful lot. It's like Steve Young's letters back to his constituents. It gets right to the point and gives you an answer in a hurry, and here is what it

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says, it says, "State officials, Grand Rapids, Mich., dateline September 24, Associated Press, "State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water [laughter]—not a bad idea, really it wasn't a very selling item anyway so that—but then it goes on there, it says "outlawed the sale of Gold Water, a new soft drink promoted by backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop," it didn't say poppycock, it said pop, "the pop is grossly misbranded because it lists as its ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." [Applause.]

Isn't that the best description you ever heard of a candidate and a program. Misbranded, is misbranded because he says he is a Republican and spokesman, because he really is not. He is just the special man for a splinter of the Republican Party, large numbers of good Republicans that love the GOP will vote for L.B.J. They are going to vote for L.B.J. [Applause.]

Those are the people who knew that GOP meant Grand Old Party, instead of Goldwater is our problem. [Applause.] [Laughter.] We will have to go along here and I said this is a good description, it says it is misbranded, that is true, and now it comes down to the program, because its ingredients, it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative. Well now you know what a preservative is for, don't you, something that is dead. Oh, yes; that is for the museum.

May I say to you that that description which I have just read to you is the most concise political analysis of a program and a splinter group and a candidate that I have ever read in my life. You remember every word of it and you have got an argument to answer any criticism in your neighborhood.

Now, I mention this because my friend, the head of the druggists' organization here in Cleveland, this lovely lady, we vote no when you get patent medicines that are nothing but, you know, sweet water and sugar and a little coloring. We have never sold any, but we have seen some like that, and we also know a political quack when we see one, or a medical quack. So, I am glad to see my druggist friends that are standing up now for medicine of substance, the kind of medicine that America needs, is a good dose of confidence and optimism and some good solid Democratic programs advanced by the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Well now, I want to talk to you about some of that program. I am sorry it rained today, but it seems to me that you folks weren't held back too much, and I look around this audience and see this wonderful crowd, may I say to Bert Porter and Bill Coleman, and may I say to the members of the committee that it looks mighty good to me. But I found out one thing about your State, and I want to be very candid with you because it takes more than crowds to win elections. It takes work. John Kennedy had larger crowds in Ohio than any State in the Union, and he loved this State as he loved his own Massachusetts, and I say to the people of Ohio, you owe something to the memory of that man, you owe something, you redeem his faith. [Applause.] I want you to undo what you did in 1960, I want you to give the Democratic Party, I want you to give the man that John Kennedy selected as his Vice President, the man that he reached out and said, "I want Lyndon Johnson," I want you in honor of the late and beloved President to redouble your efforts. I want you to go to work and I want on November 3, on that night, a majority vote from this State that will literally send that message to Heaven so that John Kennedy will know that he won. [Applause.]

By the way, when you are doing that don't forget that President Lyndon Johnson will be a great President, only if he has a Congress working with him and if you don't send that fireball, that hard-working young U.S. Senator, Steve Young, back to the U.S. Senate, you ought to be ashamed of yourselves. He deserves your help. [Applause.]

You know we call Steve in the Senate—we call him Mr. People, that's whose side he is on all the time. And that kind of a man deserves the confidence and the support of the people.

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Well, I know I am speaking to the greatest, one of the greatest Democratic meetings in the country. I can just feel it, I can see it, and I have been wanting to come here for a long time and when the invitation came I did not hesitate a minute to accept it, because this steer roast has had known many, many dramatic moments. As was indicated here when our President spoke here, our late and beloved President Kennedy spoke here. But I think that none of these great moments that it has known can surpass that visit that was recalled to us today of 4 years ago about this time, of a just and eloquent young man and Senator from Massachusetts, the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States, John Kennedy, and here is what he said. I want you to think now of what he said, he said, "I would like it to be said that in our administration our country moved here at home. It began to solve the problems that face our people. It put special emphasis on education because no free society can survive without the best educational system in the world. It took care of our children and gave medical care to the aged, so that our older citizens could live out their lives in some security. I would like it to be said that we ended discrimination of all kinds in the United States. We want fair treatment for all Americans."

Ladies and gentlemen, those were the words of a young man that was about to become President of the United States. He outlined for us the vision of his America. He outlined for us in real concrete proposals America the beautiful as he saw it, and I say this was a vision worthy of a Democratic President and a great Democratic Party, and for a dynamic and unforgettable one thousand days, one thousand days from January 20 to November 22, 1963, our beloved John F. Kennedy kept every one of those promises that he made to you here in Cleveland. He kept those promises to America, and when he was taken from us, and the whole world faltered, and wept, and was struck with grief, it was Lyndon Johnson who stepped forward and prayerfully told the Nation, "Let us continue" and as the running mate of President Johnson, a high honor, may I say, and one that I cherish and feel so obligated to, I rejoice to say that with your help, we shall do what President Johnson asked us to do. We shall continue to move our beloved America forward. [Applause.]

This Democratic Party of ours believes in a philosophy of government that was so beautifully expressed by Woodrow Wilson when he said, "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being."

The Democrats and to the Democrats, people are partners in government. Government is not our enemy, it is our friend. Government exists for the people, and because of the people, and it is answerable to the people, all of them, and we are proud as a party to believe in a government with a heart, and to believe and support a government that cares, that cares for the children, that cares for the afflicted, that cares for the elderly, that cares for business, that cares for labor, that cares for all of America. We don't apologize for that. As old Sam Rayburn used to say, "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology," and I stand before this audience to say that I am a Democrat that believes in a government with a heart and a kind heart and a government that cares. That is our kind of government, isn't it? [Applause.]

Well now, believing this we have set to work to do something about it in these past 4 years, just as we did in the years of Roosevelt and Truman. Four years ago, I want you to ponder this, as I looked over this active, thriving city, talking to your mayor and your leaders, 4 years ago our economy was in trouble. It was floundering in the midst of a third recession in 8 years. People were in trouble in this community, jobs were scarce. Unemployment was rising, factories were closing down, retail sales were off. Today, this great city of Cleveland, this great State of Ohio, is enjoying the longest sustained growth and economic expansion in all of our history, releasing the energies, that is what we have been doing, releasing the energies, of this great American enterprise system with government and labor, and capital all working together, all welcome in the White House, all the partners of the President, all of us building a better and a more prosperous and a more just America. That is the kind of a government and a party that we represent.



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Four years ago, unemployment, it was dangerously high. And no plans were being made to meet the effects of automation or absorb the ever increasing number of people coming on our labor market because of the growth of our population. But today employment is at an alltime high, unemployment is down. Employment is up, and we are providing, my dear friends, hundreds of thousands of new jobs every month for a growing America. The Government of the United States under the Kennedy-Johnson program has released the productive energies of the American workers. Now, of course, Senator Goldwater says that this is all poppycock. He says that this prosperity is all artificial. He knows you are feeling good but he doesn't think you should. He says you are sick. [Applause.] He says if you will just listen to me you will be even sicker."

Yes, Senator Goldwater says, he has said that all of these things are nothing but political gimmicks, political gadgetry, that the boom that we are enjoying is artificial, that it won't last. Well, thank goodness that the bankers don't believe it. Thank goodness that the corporate executives don't believe it. Thank goodness that the American people don't believe it because everybody that I know is planning to an even bigger and better America, everybody but the man from Arizona who hasn't caught up with the America we already have, much less a better one. [Applause.]

You know the trouble about Barry Goldwater is every time he looks at America through those glasses of his he forgets he doesn't have any lenses in them, you know. [Applause.] Very hard to see straight.

Now 4 years ago, there were no plans to improve our woefully inadequate facility of higher education, to educate our children, and here is this great State of Ohio, this great city of Cleveland, with a growing population, with more and more people wanting education, today, however we have provided the means to construct facilities, educational facilities, to build whole new institutions and to provide more loans for colleges and for students. The Kennedy-Johnson program, the promise made to you here 4 years ago released the intellectual energies of America's faculties and America's students. Four years ago, our economically depressed areas had been ignored.

Poverty was an unmentionable word. Even though millions lived in it, and today, the Area Redevelopment Administration, accelerated public works, vast programs of housing and hospital construction, programs of highway construction, and the antipoverty bill, all of those proposals that were pledged to you by John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson 4 years ago, today they are the law of the land, releasing the energies of the American people. [Applause.]

And 4 years ago as was said from this platform, the moral issue of human rights, constitutional rights had to be faced, and John Kennedy asked you to face it. He said, "\* \* \* want to live in America where there is no discrimination." His words were repeated right from these lake shores, and today the civil rights bill has been passed. John Kennedy's civil rights bill; yes, a bill that was presented to Congress by our late and beloved President that was forwarded by this President Lyndon Johnson and that was passed in the Congress, may I say, most respectfully by bipartisan cooperation. We have struck a blow for decency. We have released millions of Americans from the indignities and humiliations of second-class citizenship, and I am proud that it happened under a Democratic administration. [Applause.]

Four years ago the world remained gripped by tense, oppressive black cloud of nuclear fright and anxiety, nuclear tests taking place all over the world, bigger bombs, more radioactive fallout. Today because of the leadership of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, the nuclear test ban treaty has been signed, and nuclear bomb tests in the atmosphere, on the ground and under water have been stopped, and today may I say, to the mothers in this room, the milk that your children drink can be free of any dangerous amount of strontium 90 because a President loved humanity enough to do something about it and to negotiate that treaty. [Applause.] This was one of the first major steps toward a lasting peace, releasing the world from the effects of radioactive fallout. And how did we do it? By building strength, by taking an inventory of our national security, by being strong, and also by being patient, never being afraid to nego-

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tiated but never negotiating from either fear or weakness. The Kennedy-Johnson administration, my dear friends, in these 4 years, has built up military power of this country, the defensive strength so that it is the wonder of the world, at the same time we proudly pursue relentlessly every path to peace, and as President Johnson has said he will go to the farthest part of the farthest corner of this earth to seek a honorable peace with anybody that wants peace with honor.

Yes, we have done a lot in 4 years. John Kennedy sat before you here as I read it, a vision. He looked ahead. He saw new frontiers. He saw new horizons. He did not think you guided a country and directed the forward movement of a country by looking through a rearview mirror, and going backward. He said, "No, let's go down the road to progress and let's steer a straight course. Let's not get off to the extreme right with Barry or the extreme left with the Communists. Let's stay right down the straight road of American democracy." [Applause.]

And my dear friends and fellow Americans, we have steered that course. We have pursued it with no extremes, but with a sense of balance, with perspective and with vision, and you responded to that vision, and America responded, and we started to move forward. We shook ourselves up and we came alive. Now this progress just did not happen by accident. It took leadership, and it took a government, as I said, that cared for the people, and a government that identified with the people, and above all, a government that trusted the people.

Ohio has shared in this progress. I have indicated it to you, it has been a great sharing. In the prosperity of the Nation you have shared and you have contributed to it, and Cleveland is growing. It is the eighth largest city in the United States, and you are going to get larger, so are many of the other big cities and you have many problems to work out, such as urban renewal, clean air and water, good transportation, recreation, decent homes for all of the people. I ask the residents of this great metropolitan center, Have you heard the Republican candidate say one word about how we will build better cities? No, this man is specializing now in displaying not the 1965 models, he has got the latest covered wagon on display, that is his. [Applause.]

Is it any wonder that the automobile companies are for Johnson? [Applause.]

Industry in Ohio, this industry must grow, it needs a government that is to help stimulate it because you can't have jobs without industry. We don't believe in the class struggle in this country, my friends. We are not Marxists. We are Democrats. We believe that there is a proper role for capital and labor. We believe in our system. We believe that when there is investments there are jobs and when there are good jobs it encourages investments, and that is the kind of America we are going to build. We, also, have to have something for agriculture. This State surely depends a great deal upon it. The wonderful orchards and vineyards of this western reserve, and the varied agriculture all over your State must be strong—both for you and for the Nation, and the Democratic Party, every farmer in America knows, that we have never received even a friendly handshake from the Republican Party, they have never received a fair shake, that is for sure, and they are going to vote for the Democrats in this election. [Applause.]

So, my friends, on election day, Cleveland and all of America has a choice. You can choose the party of Wilson and Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson, the party that believes in releasing the energies of America, or you can choose those who have said time after time, year after year, "No, no, no" to every constructive piece of legislation that has ever been advanced, and I say to you that these people are victims of habit. They will continue to say "No" and they have got the special list in the whole program of saying "No" right now as their contrary spokesman and that is none other than Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

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So we move to the future. Now you can choose a Democratic Party, to seek to improve this land of ours, because what we want to do is build a better America. We are not content even with the one that we have. It is good, it has made progress, it has done much, but all of this is like a platform from whence we take off for new gains. We are not going to tear down what we have built and look to the past, we are going to build on that which we have constructed and looked to the future, and we are going to revise and improve our immigration laws or you can choose those who seek to replace the Statue of Liberty with an iron gate and a padlock. What's wrong, for example, with a program advanced by John Kennedy when he was a Senator, I was his cosponsor, for this legislation, it was known as the Kennedy-Humphrey bill, and when he became President he advanced it as his legislation, and now it is known as the Kennedy-Johnson program, and what's wrong with it? It has had the support of the last four Presidents of the United States, including General Eisenhower, what's wrong with the Kennedy-Johnson bill permitting family unification of blood relatives, of U.S. citizens, and here is your own Senator Steve Young, who is one of the active sponsors of this legislation, along with Philip Hart of Michigan, along with the late and beloved President Kennedy, along with President Johnson, President of the United States, and along with Senator Humphrey who, if you help us, can be your Vice President of the United States. [Applause.]

I would like to ask the Republican spokesman, what's wrong with the bill providing for immigration of persons with special skills, to reunite families, and of exceptional ability needed by the United States. Such people will not take any jobs away. They will create new jobs, and a better economy. I have some feelings about this. My mother was foreign born, and I don't think she hurt America. I think she helped this country.

And I just might as well be frank with you, the Slovenians were not an Indian tribe, they came here from someplace else. [Applause.] And my good friends, the Italians and the Poles and the Greeks and the Hungarians, they came here too, and America is the richer because of it. [Applause.]

The only time this country ever got in trouble, my fellow Americans, is when it closed its gates to people that wanted to come in, closed its hearts to the poor, closed its gates to trade and closed its minds to new ideas. You know when that was, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, that is what happened. [Applause.]

I ask you what's wrong with President Kennedy and Johnson's bill providing for refugee asylum for persecuted persons? Don't we believe that people that are the victims of Communist oppression ought to have some home? I do. [Applause.] Now, it is not a matter of opening the floodgates. Opening the floodgates, somebody said, I can't remember his name. [Cries of "Goldwater."]

Senator HUMPHREY. I can't hear. It is not a question of opening the floodgates, it is a question of opening "fair gates," f-a-i-r gates, to admit not more than 45,000 more immigrants, some of them people who want to join their daughters and their sons so they can live here the remaining years of their lives and be buried with their loved ones if you please, in a free country. I believe it will be a better America when those 45,000 people live with us, people that can tell us something of freedom because they have watched it being taken away, people who have skills that we need, and mothers and fathers who want to be near their blood, their loved ones, and I believe we will be prouder, a richer Nation when the administration's immigration bill becomes law, and I believe we will be more compassionate, and more—and have more commonsense when this becomes law.

I will tell you what my standard is for people, not where you are born, but your individual worth. Not your place of birth, but who you are and what you are, that is the Johnson-Humphrey program, and that is the Johnson-Humphrey promise to you, individual worth. We will judge you on that basis. It is our pledge and it is our faith.

Now, my friends, let me leave you with this thought: America is known as the United States of America. We must get over the idea of regionalism. There is no north and there is no south, there is no east and there is no west, there is but one country, one great Republic, one people, the American people in this, these United States of America.

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Let's think that way. [Applause.] Let's not listen to the false prophets that try to divide the North and the South, the east and the west, the Midwest from the Northwest, these people do no one any good. We have had them before and we should repudiate them again, and there is only one people. Beware of the spokesman, my friends, who tries to divide the city from the farm, that tries to divide the Catholic from the Protestant and the Jew, beware of those, my friends, who try to divide people on the basis of race or ethnic group. I will tell you what I think is the greatest thing about President Johnson. President Johnson knows only one kind of citizen, the American citizen. He knows only one kind of America, the United States of America. [Applause.]

President Johnson lives and preaches and practices national unity, and America today as it faces the world of terrible power from our enemies, America needs unity today, and it needs a President that is a President of all the people and that loves all of the people. [Applause.]

What are we going to do about it? Well, we have got a job to do in the next 6 weeks, not long, just 6 weeks. Let us make November 3 a resounding V-day, V for voting, V for victory for all that is just and noble and courageous and decent in American life, and I say to my good friends, I say to you that in every precinct, in every ward, in every State we must spend the next 6 weeks not taking anything for granted, assuming that we have got the fight of our lives, and we need to take these next 6 weeks unleashing the energies of our people in behalf of the Democratic Party, in behalf of Lyndon B. Johnson and his vision of the Great Society, we have a job to do, I ask you to help me get that job done.

I hope you will. Will you? [Cries of "Yes, yes."]

Thank you.

Moultrie, Ga.  
September 29, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. May I first of all thank the wonderful young people here in this band for their type music and for the wonderful way in which they have played our Minnesota rouser, thank you, thank you very much.

And then may I thank all these enthusiastic supporters here of the loyal opposition. My good friends of Moultrie, it is very, very nice to see you. I gather we have got a little static here today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to be in your wonderful community of Moultrie, and I am very pleased to see these charming young people who have been so courteous, so gracious as one would expect a fine young man or woman from the Deep Southland to be. I am very honored by your welcome, by your Minnesota rouser, and by the kindness that most of you have demonstrated to Mrs. Humphrey and myself. [Applause.]

I have had a wonderful trip in from your great airport, and seen this beautiful countryside, much of it reminding us of our northern Minnesota with the cutover land and the pine trees, and beautiful farmland and the lovely homes. We have been privileged to be received by your great and distinguished and much respected, highly honored Governor of this State, Carl Sanders, one of the fine men. [Applause.]

And by his very lovely wife, Betty, who surely is a great adornment to the State of Georgia and a great help to this wonderful fine dynamic Governor that has made such a splendid record for your State.

I was asked to bring the greetings of two great and distinguished Georgians to you today, two men I have served with in the Senate for many years, one your most able, honorable distinguished U.S. Senator who is a beloved friend of our President, who is loved by Mrs. Johnson and their daughters as if he were a member of the family, your own great Senator, Richard Russell. He asked me to bring his greetings to you. [Applause.]



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I am also very, very happy to bring you the warm greetings of your junior Senator, a gentleman that I have served with on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, one who is gaining ever new respect in the U.S. Senate for his leadership, not only for Georgia but for all of America, Herman Talmadge. [Applause.]

And I am pleased to be in the district of that fine Congressman, Congressman Pilcher who has done so much to represent this great area.

Now, my friends, you know I want to just say to a few of you here, you know I was born in the South, in South Dakota, and I have a very keen interest in all of you folks and I must say I am glad to come to a State that has never, never, never in all of its history ever left the Democratic Party, that has had a solid record of support for the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

And I am very proud to come to a State that has been able to understand that the Democratic Party has been the friend of the South and the South has been the friend of the Democratic Party, and I am proud to come to a State that will understand that in 1964, because the Republican Party has never lifted a finger for the South for this county of Moultrie in the history of America and I am very proud to come to an area that is showing America the way for a prosperous and a progressive agriculture, a people that are making tremendous advances, and may I say that when you want to make advance, when you want to move forward you get behind the Democrats who look ahead, you don't get behind the Republicans who lead you backward. [Applause.]

And now having said these few words, to you, may I say that I have always been of the opinion that when the friends of the opposition come to us, with their placards and their buttons what they are really doing, my friends, is to come to confess their political sin, to lay down their sign and to join with the Democrats.

Thank you very much.

Tifton, Ga.  
September 29, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. I thank you very much, Mr. Harrison for that wonderful generous introduction, and I do want to thank this wonderful group of people for your hospitable and kindly and friendly reception. Both Mrs. Humphrey and I are most grateful and we want to thank you very much.

Now, friends, I notice one of our gentlemen out here has one of those old-fashioned horns that sort of call in the wandering sheep. I gather that—he has got a good L.B.J.—H.H.H. sign on there which indicates that he is thinking right and he is going forward but he has apparently witnessed a few folks who are not thinking right and going backward and he is lifting that horn to the heavens to call in those who have strayed from the fold. [Applause.]

I surely want to thank you. You have done a great deal already. I have noticed two or three are starting to repent for their political sins.

May I thank your distinguished and much honored and respected progressive Governor of this State, Governor Carl Sanders.

And I surely want you to know that Mrs. Humphrey and I are extremely grateful for their reception, for their welcome but more we are grateful for more than that. We are grateful for the fact that Georgia has this remarkable man as the leader of this great State, that has a reputation that I wish that my own State of Minnesota could have had, a reputation along with the State of Arkansas, of having exercised the best political judgment of any State or any people in the Union. You have never failed the Democratic Party in the past, and you are not going to fail it in the future. You are going to vote on November 3, I know you are, because of your sense, your commonsense, your good judgment, and your faith in America, you are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States. [Applause.]

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By the way, I was very honored to have with us today our Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman and one of your fine fellow statesmen down here, John Duncan, who is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture representing so well the great agricultural interests of our country. I also note that some reference has been made to the fact that the Republican truth squad is around. Now, that is a play on words if I ever heard it. I hope that they will be around because I want them to tell you the truth of how they voted against everything that would have helped Georgia. I want them to tell you that truth. [Applause.]

And if they don't get around to telling you about it I am going to tell on them, because they need to be told on. The Republican truth squad, a play on words, a conflict of interest, a joke if I ever heard one, but an expensive one for the South, and don't forget it. [Applause.]

As I came by here, Mr. Gillis was saying to me, he said, "You know the Republicans are spending a lot of money down here in this campaign."

Well, I thought it is about time they did something good for Georgia, they never helped you out before, and if they are willing to come down here and keep the printing shops busy, I imagine most of those signs are printed up North, not here. If they are willing to come down here and spread around through these countrysides and all through these wonderful counties of Georgia and the South their propaganda, if they are willing to say they are paid workers, if they are willing to bring down here everybody they can possibly get their hands on to tell you about the Republican Party, and the Republican candidate, more power to them. Frankly, I think you deserve a little help from them. They have never helped you before and if they can help you now, take it and then vote against them on November 3. [Applause.]

I see we have some signs here by some of our young people and I am so delighted to see them, people down here from Val Dosta State College for L.B.J. and Humphrey.

May I say, I am very delighted to be here in the home of the Abraham Baldwin College [applause] one of the truly great educational institutions and one that has done so much in promoting these fine adult vocational education programs that have meant so very, very much to the farmers and the homemakers of this State. I know how much these college programs mean, and what a great source of strength this has been for your wonderful area.

Well, I am glad to meet at Tifton and I want to thank the editor of the Tifton Daily Gazette. I like that kind of editorial, that is the kind of gentleman I like. He isn't on our side, but he is a gentleman. [Applause.]

Let me just say a word to my fellow Democrats. You know we were over at Moultrie a little while ago, we had some mixed emotions, I might add. There were a few folks there carrying on from the Cow Palace out at San Francisco, yes, they were, they were still booing.

Let me say the Democrats don't boo. Democrats cheer, because we have got something to be happy about. We have got a great country, we have got a great party, we have got a great leader so Democrats never boo anybody, just cheer and raise your voice in happiness for this country. [Applause.]

So, I come to Tifton. Some people said, "I will bet that Humphrey won't dare to come down here." Well, here I am. Other people said to me, "I know you won't come down, Humphrey, because they think you have got horns."

I said, "It is not horns at all, I have just been worried about what the Republicans have been doing and my hairline is receding. There are not horns there."

Friends, we are neighbors, this is a small world we live in today. This is one great country, and we ought to think about our country as America, as America. As Sam Rayburn once said about the Democratic Party, speaking of himself, he said "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix. I am a Democrat without apology," and that is the kind of a Democrat that Hubert Humphrey is. He comes to you today as a Democrat, delighted to talk to Georgia Democrats, delighted to talk to Georgia citizens and I come to you today speaking

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as an American, not an American from the North, not from the East or the West or from the South, but an American, if you please, who sees one United States of America, one Republic and one people, united in one purpose, to make this country strong and prosperous and progressive and to make this country a force for good at home and abroad, and I think that is our goal. [Applause.]

I come here after having spent many years in the Congress of the United States with a distinguished U.S. Senator from your great State, who is chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the leading member on the Appropriations Committee, one who has possibly done more for the security of our land and for the farm people of America than any man that I can think of, your own great Senator, your senior Senator Richard Russell, whom I can call friend, and who is a friend of the President of the United States. [Applause.]

And I am proud to say I have served with the junior Senator, one that is carving out for himself a splendid record of achievement in the Senate of the United States. Oh, Georgia has done much for this land, Georgia has given to us these two Senators, Senator Russell and that fine Senator that you sent there a few years ago, Herman Talmadge, these are men that you can be proud of and your own Congressman Pilcher, too, from this District who has done so much for your great area. [Applause.]

You know I could tell you one thing that we Democrats, one reason you are a Democrat is because you don't have to agree with somebody all the time. If you want to agree with somebody all the time you are going to have to join that very little fraction of a faction that was hatched out there at the Cow Palace at San Francisco. They agree on everything, namely, to agree on to do nothing.

It is very easy to get people to agree to stop the clock but it is a little bit difficult to get everybody to agree as to how far we are going and where we are going and what the pace will be. So, we Democrats occasionally have our differences, but there is one thing I can tell you, that one of the major things that we agree on is that the Democratic Party has been the friend of the South and that the South has been the friend of the Democratic Party, and I submit that there is no person living in this area that can show you what the Republican Party has ever done for a farmer or for a worker or for an American or for a school teacher or for a child in the Southland.

The Republican Party has never helped you.

This party is best for the North, this Democratic Party is best for the South. It is best for the East and best for the West, it is a national party, and it is the best party for America, too, and it is the party that is best able, and you well know it, to keep America strong, and it is strong today; to keep America prosperous, and it is prosperous today; and to build toward those conditions that will make possible peace in this world of ours, and that is the objective of the party of Wilson, of Roosevelt, and of Truman, and of Kennedy and of Lyndon B. Johnson, namely better servants of the people. [Applause.]

Mr. Harrison, you were kind enough to remind us a moment ago of what Bob Kerr had to say, cool under Coolidge, hard under Harding, and hunger under Hoover; don't forget, the only difference now is that the Republican Party is just a little older. It is like those old French kinds, they never learn anything and they never forgot anything. Not for you but what to do to you.

I would like to remind this audience of days gone by, of cotton at 6½ cents a pound at New Orleans, of Flue-cured tobacco at a little over 6 cents a pound, of peanuts down to \$32 a ton, and hogs at 3¼ a hundredweight if you could get anybody to haul them to market. Up our way it used to be they would say corn is 9 cents on the cob and 10 cents less shucked, that is the way it was back in those wonderful Republican days.

Now, of course, they changed a little bit. We had 8 years of Republicanism under Benson. We had it, and I thought possibly they would come up with something new. The only thing that was new was shoelaces and a necktie, not another thing. They came up with no new programs, same old philosophy, same old economics, same old lack of concern about the people of this country.

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So, I want to talk to you now a little bit about your part of America, which is so similar in many ways to ours, agriculture. Agriculture is kingpin in your economy, and you can't do without it and you can't afford a political party that doesn't understand that. You are the peanut capital of the world, the seedbed of the Nation, and your tobacco goes to the world markets and your pecan orchards are without equal, your watermelons have a national reputation, we love them in Minnesota, too, and your ham and your fried chicken grace the tables the world over, your livestock ranks among the best of our Nation, winning blue ribbons in every 1 of the 50 States of this great Republic, and your cotton, cotton remains a powerful factor in the agricultural economy of the South, of the agricultural economy of America, and surely of this great State of Georgia.

Your farm products are a class to themselves, and I frankly marvel at this wonderful section of America, and what it has meant to America. I marvel at this section and what it means to Georgia. Right here in this area, and what Georgia means to our Nation. I am sure all of us are familiar with these facts but maybe we ought to just re-examine them for a moment because the campaign ought to be a period of education and we don't get much education, my friends, when those who do not want to hear the truth shout "boo" or those who just want to applaud, merely cheer.

What we need is some thoughtful consideration of our country, and what the respective political parties stand for, and what the candidates stand for.

Now last year, you spent here in Georgia \$81 million for fertilizer on your farms. You paid out \$41 million for machinery, and motor vehicles.

In 1963, lubricants and maintenance cost you about \$47 million, and feed alone, you spent \$150 million. That is a lot of money. When you total it up it is quite a sum. However you marketed products last year valued at \$800 million—\$800 million of marketed products from Georgia's farms. So you are really involved in agriculture, and you in Georgia last year had income from poultry and livestock of \$7 million over what it was a year ago and far up over what it was in those days of the last years of the Republican administration.

Income from Georgia broilers was the highest in the Nation, totaling over \$168 million, and Georgia's billion-dollar wood-using industry is supplied with over half of its timber, stumpage right out of Georgia, by Georgia farmers.

Georgia's 106,350 farms are the lives and the fortunes of so many of you, and by the way, your number of farms are just about the same as in my own State, and these farms, I say, deserve attention, and they deserve the best that the minds of our country can give to them, because when agriculture prospers, America prospers. When agriculture is in depression America is in depression. I want to remind every boy and girl in this audience and every senior citizen that farms, the depressions are farm led and farm bred, and don't forget it. You can't have a prosperous America in Philadelphia or Cleveland or San Francisco if you have depression and recession on the farms of America.

Therefore, we need a prosperous agriculture.

Now, there are, regrettably, those among us in this Nation who do not know of the importance of agriculture, some of them carry signs, and they don't realize the value in the lives, they don't realize the value to the lives of men of agriculture, and I say there must be some knowledge, some understanding and some appreciation of the relationship of soil and water and trees to a healthy society before a person can really be a good citizen.

Now, the standard bearer of the opposition party, my Republican friend that seeks your votes, what did he say when he was down speaking in Dillon, S.C.? Well, I will quote his exact words, and this is the man who wants to help the farmers of Georgia, that is what he says. He is down here whistling "Dixie," well, let me tell you it is the most expensive whistle you will ever hear in your life, if you pay attention to it. [Applause.]

That Republican candidate for the Presidency said, "I am not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming." I take him at his word. He surely has demonstrated it. And I am going to show you what that lack of knowledge means to you. You know it is an interesting thing, our friend that is on the opposition ticket, the Republican



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spokesman in this election, goes around telling the American people in the big cities, "You have got to get rid of these farming programs."

I am going to quote his own words. He wrote a book, the "Conscience of a Conservative," a very expensive publication if you follow it, I will tell you. He goes around the country saying, "I don't know anything about farming."

Mr. Harrison, he says, "We ought to liquidate REA." He says "I think the REA is useless in most States," and he comes down here in the great Southland, the economy of which is so deeply involved in agriculture, and he comes down here and pleads for your votes, not pleads, he says, "I am your friend." Of course, he prints pamphlets up North that are slightly different than what he says down here, and before I am through in the State of Georgia today you are going to hear about that pamphlet.

One up north says: "Hurray for Barry, the Champion of all the People," and down here he says: "Follow me, I know what to do, I am only for some of the people and you know who I am against, and you know who I am for."

Up north he is the champion of equal rights. Down here he is the champion of Goldwater, period. [Applause.]

It is kind of hot around here. I am going to take my coat off. When you get to talking about the Republicans and how they mess things up you get sort of warm. I think it is about time we started talking about them.

I didn't come down here, may I say, to pick magnolias. I came down here to expose this great Republican fraud that is being perpetrated on the people of this Southland and we are going to talk about it.

Let's just talk about cotton. I voted for every bill that has ever been brought in Congress that was sponsored by your Senators to help cotton. That is something that the Senator from Arizona can't say. Not on your life. Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, when the roll was called in the U.S. Senate on bill after bill, that meant something to your farmers, they voted for the farmers of Georgia but not Senator Goldwater. [Cries of "Not Barry Goldwater."]

Now surely there is a program that means a great deal to every man, woman, and child in the world as well as America, it is our food-for-peace program. More than 8 million bales of cotton have moved in consumption channels abroad because of that program. Under that program 400 million pounds of tobacco have been programmed for export. Eight million pounds of fats and oils, your cottonseed oil, your soybean oils. Without this, the cottonseed producers would have received sharply lowered prices.

Exports, farm exports, right here in Georgia, 13 cents out of every farm dollar and every farmer's farm, 13 cents.

And yet my good friends, what do you think happens? On every one of these programs the food-for-peace program, which means acreage for the cotton farmer, which means acreage and price for the tobacco farmer, the food-for-peace program which means a good price for the cottonseed produce and processor, on every one of these programs the man that come down here and sings "Dixie" to you and says, "Vote for me," he voted against you, in the U.S. Senate on every occasion. [Applause.]

Now from the inception of this Kennedy-Johnson administration we put food to use, we haven't gone around complaining about our farmers. We haven't told the farmers: "If you can't make it, go to the city," and that is what has been said time after time by the spokesmen of the opposition. We haven't told you you are unneeded, that you are unwanted, and that you are inefficient and that you produce too much. No, we have said, "Thank God Almighty for the abundance of our land and thanks for the efficiency of our farmers, thanks for the productivity of our agricultural establishment," and we have backed up those words of thanks with sound policy and program.

We established the food stamp plan to improve the nutrition of the people who were on poor diets. We used, if you please, the surplus food to feed our hungry all over America, and we put school lunch programs at an alltime high, and every boy and girl in Georgia ap-

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preciates the school lunch program, and we have increased our special school milk program. Goods produced in America today is available to the schoolchildren of America, because a Democratic President asked for it, because a Democratic Congress supported it, because Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge supported it, but not Senator Goldwater. Now, my friends, there are forces at work in this country that want to do away with all these programs, and I mean every one of them. You know they have been up to Hershey, Pa., up to that hot chocolate town, the two Republican parties have been up there, the one out of power and the one in power.

They got together up there, and the Senator from Arizona took a little Republican baptism. It didn't stick very long but he had it for a few days and he got up there and he said: "Well, I am not really against these farm programs all at once."

Now, I am a pharmacist, and I want to tell you, friends, there are a lot of ways to poison a person, and there are a lot of ways to die. You can die quickly, you can get a little shot of atropine and you are dead in a second or you could take a little arsenic and you can linger on for weeks and months, but when you are dead you are dead, and that is exactly what this proposal means.

No, the standard bearer of the Republican Party says to the farmers: "I am not against you, I want to know where you want to be buried. I don't really want you around." But let me quote you what he said, because I tell you that he is at work and he is at work to do away with these farm support programs, for the food-for-peace program, for the REA, the school milk and the food stamp, voted against them all. Ye shall know them by their deeds, and I have been there when that roll was called up yonder.

[Applause.]

And I have been there when the roll was just called on the Senate floor, too. And that is the one that is worrying me right now. In the Saturday Evening Post of August 31, 1963, this new-found friend of the South who asks for your vote as he votes against you, here is what he said—Reporter Stuart Alsop says: "Senator Goldwater, you were quoted some time ago as favoring 'the prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies.' Do you still believe that?"

"Goldwater: Yes, I believe that. Oh, it might take 3 years, it might take 5 but I believe that."

In other words you may have just a few more years, my friends, he said it might take 3. Well, if he will get elected he will be in office for 4 and he will get you, he will get you, he will turn off the lights in the countryside. They still have got kerosene lamps back in that department store back in Phoenix that he wants to sell you.

I quote the man's own words. He says: "I know nothing about farming and I am not a farmer." He then goes on and says that he favors the prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies. And that means every one of the programs that we have talked about.

Now, I ask you, do you want to see farm commodities, or farm communities, I mean, shrink to ghost towns? Do you want to see the nutrition of our children adversely affected? Do you want to withhold food and fiber from our food-for-peace program which is supported by every church, every religious faith in America?

I ask every God-fearing person in this audience to remember that the food-for-peace program was asked for by every religious faith in America. They have asked for it. They say: "Give us the food to help feed the hungry, let us carry out some of the great work we are asked to do."

Mr. Goldwater said: "No, no, that costs too much. We can't afford that." We can afford a billion dollars for the central Arizona project for Arizona but we can't afford a hundred million dollars for hungry people abroad.

I guess you know what would happen if these support prices were promptly terminated. You would have the worst farm depression since the 1920's—by the way, I never heard a Republican candidate, since the time of Hoover, advocate the end of farming programs, not one. That is why I say I can't hardly call this fellow a Republican, it is hard to tag him. I think he just sort of got a little program of his own.

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Well, now, let's see what would happen down here if these support prices were taken out. Let's talk a little bit about dollars and cents, bank accounts. Let's talk about how much we have in assets and liabilities because when you get all through with it, my friends, it doesn't make any difference whether you are Republican or Democrat, when you go to the bank to borrow some money they don't ask you about your politics they want to see your collateral and when you can't pay your bill, if you can't pay them they don't give you better terms because you are a Goldwater Republican. Oh, no. You might get a little better if you are a Democrat because they know you are a little more reliable.

Tobacco: According to your land-grant colleges, this is the estimate, if the support prices were taken off, would drop from 60 to 40 cents. It averages out now about 67.

Cotton would drop from about 23 to 24, and peanuts from \$220 a ton to \$120. This would mean a drop in net farm income from \$12½ billion a year to about \$7 billion, a drop of nearly \$6 billion and that spells one word, "depression," maybe I should say two words, "Goldwater depression."

Where is my coat here, I have a little something I want to tell these folks about. I have an item in my inside pocket if I can find it. Yes, I have it right here. Oh, me, oh, my.

I will tell you what it was, on September 24, there was a datelined story out of Grand Rapids, Mich. You know they have been trying to sell what they call Goldwater pop. Pretty flat stuff, didn't have any effervescence in it, didn't have any Democratic juice at all. And in Michigan the State officials of Michigan, they condemned all the 350 cases that were in Michigan, and the Associated Press story said that they refused to permit the sale of Goldwater pop, and then they said the reason was because it was misbranded and that its ingredients were only artificial flavoring and preservative. That is the best concise statement of the Goldwater program I have ever heard.

Friends, when you look over the program it is pretty thin, and what it is is an appeal to emotion. It is not an appeal to your sense, it is not an appeal to your needs, it is not a genuine appeal to your economics. It is an appeal to emotion, and let me just say right now that I happen to believe that when the people of Georgia face the facts that that farm program of Mr. Goldwater would cost you about 20,000 farmers bankrupt, that they are not about ready to sacrifice that many good people because Mr. Goldwater can come down here and say some things down here that he doesn't dare say up where I live in order to get your vote. That is why I feel more confident every day that you will vote November to reject these careless, callous, reckless, reactionary theories of Mr. Goldwater who would force you off your land to root, hog or die in the cities and that is just about what it boils down to.

Force you off your land to root, hog or die in the cities, and you can boo it or not, that is what would happen to you, and generally the boopers are the ones that don't understand it.

This is why, my friends, I feel more confident every day that despite all the noise and all of the clamor, despite all this new Republican money that finally finds its way down South, to sell this phony package of false promises, and that is what it is, that the good people of Georgia that sent to the U.S. Senate a Walter George, and a Dick Russell and a Herman Talmadge, the good people of this State that have elected a Carl Sanders, that have a record for democracy and support of this country that is second to none, I think that when the chips are down on November 3, they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson as President, the first southerner to sit in the White House in more than 100 years. [Applause.]

Lyndon Johnson—in Lyndon Johnson you have a friend, not an enemy in the White House. He is a friend of the South, he is a friend of the farmer, he is a man of compassion for the poor and for the needy, he is a President for all the Americans, he wants a united America, he wants our people working together, so I ask you let's keep Lyndon Johnson in the White House so that we can continue with the job for you and for the Nation, and Georgians, I ask you now, don't you want Lyndon Johnson as your President for the next 4 years? [Cries of "Yes."]

Thank you.

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Tifton, Ga.  
Press conference,  
September 29, 1964.

QUESTION. I have a question.

Mr. Vice President, can you tell us about a pamphlet that I understand was issued by the Republican Party, what that pamphlet contained and why it was withdrawn?

Senator HUMPHREY. I have prepared, sir, a little statement on the way coming down, if I may just—I want to—they are very hard to find, may I say.

QUESTION. If I may identify myself, I am a Thomas Jefferson Democrat.

Senator HUMPHREY. I want you to take a look at this. This is a pamphlet, "What About Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?" is that right, is that the one you are referring to?

QUESTION. That is right.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I am going to give this to your Governor after I leave here because it is about the only one in captivity.

Now, my dear friends if you would permit me, I had intended in the press conference to make an opening statement and I am going to make this statement because I don't travel under any false covers.

You are well aware of my views on the issue of constitutional guarantees and equal opportunities for all Americans. This is a matter of public record, and I realize that in this area it is very controversial. But I can tell you this: the views I state in Georgia are the same views I state in Minnesota. I don't have one speech for you and one up there, and I will not speak out both sides of my mouth and I am not going to try to deceive you.

I am sorry to say, however, that some politicians masquerading as national candidates cannot make the same statement. I have with me a copy of the Wall Street Journal, that is here with me, and I want to read to you something from its Washington wire which is its central news story, the Wall Street Journal, Capital bureau, here is what it says:

"Goldwater nears a campaign crossroads," the item begins. "Will he soften his stance?"

The Wall Street Journal goes on to point out that the Republican candidate tempered his criticism of President Johnson in Wisconsin last week and praised the late President Kennedy in Boston. And—quote now from the Journal—"many Republicans expect he'll regularly sound less conservative now, as he speaks more in the urbanized Midwest and Northeast \* \* \* some politicians figure he simply had to take a strong conservative line in the South and the West."

We come a little further. In other words, quoting from the Journal, "tell the people only what you think they want to hear. Don't level with them. Don't dare reveal your real beliefs, your honest convictions."

Now I'd like to read you another article, this one written by two nationally syndicated columnists, Mr. Novak, and Mr. Evans, it is entitled "The Missing Pamphlet," and "The Missing Pamphlet" my friends, is right here, and if your Governor will step up here I will give this pamphlet to him because I know he will want it.

I would like to read from this. The column begins:

The most ironic incident—and in many ways the most embarrassing—in the presidential campaign thus far is the incident of a disappearing Republican pamphlet called "What About Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?"

Now, he comes down here, I speak for myself now and tells you what he is against, he tells you about Johnson and about Humphrey. You know about us. He doesn't have to tell you, and some of you don't like what you know, but some of you are understanding and willing to give us the benefit of your doubts and of your support. The column points out, and here I would like to quote it directly:

The title page of the eight-page brochure quotes the Republican presidential nominee as follows: "I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color, or creed or any other basis."



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Inside, an elaborate defense of the Senator's civil rights record stands side by side with an elaborate attack on President Johnson's civil rights record, with these highlights:

Goldwater: "I believe completely in vigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill for I believe in majority rule \* \* \* I believe it is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same schools as whites and that to deny them this opportunity carries with it strong implications of inferiority."

Then they quote Johnson: "Lyndon B. Johnson has fought vigorously against civil rights legislation and voted against it," says Mr. Goldwater, "39 times out of 50."

To document this charge, the pamphlet claims that the President said during the 1956 Democratic National Convention: "I am not now and never have been an advocate of civil rights. I don't think I ever will be."

Financed by the Republican Committee of the District of Columbia (headed by Washington Attorney Carl Shipley), the pamphlet was unveiled with appropriate local hoopla about 2 weeks ago. From an initial publication of 50,000 copies, party workers distributed hundreds to Negro homes in the Capital.

Then came the great awakening.

Out of the Republican National Committee crackled an order: Stop distribution immediately, track down every single pamphlet already distributed and cancel the operation forthwith.

The reason for this sudden about-face is known in the political trade as "the risk of reverse circulation."

The national committee was scared stiff that while the pamphlet might help the Goldwater ticket in the North, it would help the Johnson ticket even more in the South \* \* \*

It is still possible that the national committee will rescind its drastic order to the local committee 2 or 3 days before the election, and plant millions of copies of the pamphlet in Negro neighborhoods all over the country. It is said that 3 days would not be enough time for the South to catch up with the Goldwater civil rights record.

I think the lesson here is obvious.

I know I for one would never put any trust in a candidate or a political party that tries to have it both ways.

I think the American people and the people of Georgia are more intelligent than that.

And I would like to remind Senator Goldwater of the words of one of the great leaders of the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln:

"You can fool some of the people some of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I would also remind many of this, remind this audience of that old saying, fool me once, shame on you, fool me twice, shame on me.

[Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator, we think for that you deserve a plate of barbecue.

Senator HUMPHREY. I am going to have a coke, they make coke in Georgia.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, I would like to ask one question. The Republican Truth Squad said today they quote the Americans for Democratic Action as wanting to abolish the House Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Just what is your position on this?

Senator HUMPHREY. The question was that the so-called Republican Truth Committee, that is quite a title, that thing sort of floors me, but anyway that committee, that that committee said the ADA was for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and—

Question. And the Senate Internal Security Committee.

Senator HUMPHREY. Senate Internal Security Committee, what is my view. My view has been quite clear, I voted for the Senate Internal Security Committee and I voted for its appropriations. I have not asked for the abolishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I believe the Congress has the duty to investigate, I don't think it ought to abuse people, I don't think it ought to enter into

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reckless charges but I think the Congress of the United States has that responsibility and, may I say, that the Republican so-called Truth Committee or Squad knows what my record is, and I am rather surprised that a fellow member of Congress that reads the Congressional Record even if they don't contribute to it might make such comments about one of their colleagues.

Question. Senator Humphrey, Senator Goldwater has voted every time for the Adam Clayton Powell amendment. You remember that amendment was attached to the appropriations bill. I think you voted against the Adam Clayton Powell amendment.

Senator HUMPHREY. I did.

Question. Well, last summer when the civil rights bill was before the Senate, he said that he supported title VI on taking away Federal funds wherever there was discrimination, and he told us that the way to stop the South from discriminating is take away from them road funds.

Do you think that he would do this if he was President?

Senator HUMPHREY. The question of Mr. Kenworthy of the New York Times is a matter of record.

First of all that Senator Goldwater did vote for the so-called Powell amendment on every bill in Congress that that amendment was attached to. There was a special amendment that was attached to a bill that would relate, for example, to health or soil conservation or to housing or whatever it was, saying that if there was any discrimination in any part or in any jurisdiction in any part of this program that the funds would be withheld.

Now, I felt that was wrong to pick on each program like that. I thought that it wasn't the way to legislate, and I voted against those amendments, as did the majority of Democrats. Mr. Goldwater voted for them. Then along comes the Civil Rights Act. I voted for that act, and I make no apologies. I felt that the act that we wrote was a balanced and a proper act.

Mr. Goldwater, however, said that in title VI of that act, which relates to Federal funds coming to the Southern States or any other State, that he was for that because he said, "That is the way that we can bring you to heel," if you cut off the funds, the road funds, the school funds, the farm funds, just cut off the money from American citizens. We didn't provide for that. We provided a process wherein if funds were to be cut off, they could only be after a proper hearing, and there had been notice to the committees of Congress, after there had been long delay and after the President himself had found that these funds needed to be cut off because of the refusal of local government jurisdictions to make any effort to comply with the law. That wasn't Mr. Goldwater's position.

I can simplify it, my friends. You know my record, I don't parade under false colors and that is one of the reasons that occasionally we get a boo or two, but let me tell you this, I don't have much time for a fellow that is hot on civil rights in the District of Columbia and comes down here and whistles "Dixie" with you, that is what I was trying to tell you today.

There is only one better barbecue that I know and that is in Texas.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, may I ask a question?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

QUESTION. What is the Democratic Party going to do about textile imports? We have 600 people in this area on a 4-day work schedule directly attributed to textile imports.

Senator HUMPHREY. May I say the Democratic administration working with the textile industry, working with the textile worker and their unions, working with the cotton producers designed a bill that we thought would permit the American textile industry to compete in world markets, this is the payment bill, the so-called cotton bill, that we passed just this last year, and there is no administration that is more conscious of the threat to the textile industry from foreign imports than this one. But we also believe that we must have foreign trade and we don't want to set up tough barriers that prevent the flow of commerce, so what we have sought to do is through a system of payments to the textile mills themselves and back then to the farmer to provide a system where our mills can compete, where the price of the

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raw cotton to the textile mill here is no more than it would be to Japan, or to France, or to England, or anybody else, and where we can have a competitive situation for our own textile factories, and I think if given a chance for this bill to get to work—by the way, it has only had a couple of months to be at work—it will be able to solve the problem.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, speaking primarily of the woolen and worsted industry—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. The wool bill as you know is another payment program. That bill is up now for reexamination next year. I think recently it has worked pretty well but it may well be that the payment program under that is too little because of our foreign competition and those of us—by the way, we have a lot of sheep, may I—you understand this, in Minnesota. We are concerned with our domestic wool industry and manufacturers of domestic wool products.

I can assure you that the Secretary of Agriculture who is here with us is very sympathetic to the need of reexamining that Wool Act for the purpose of providing a more competitive position for our wool processors.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, Mr. Miller has made a great deal in the last few weeks about your connection with the ADA.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Is the ADA on anybody's subversive list to your knowledge?

Senator HUMPHREY. Not at all. Not at all. Up my way, if you will just permit me a little joke, up in Minnesota ADA, they call it the American Dairy Association. They don't know much about the other and even though, may I say, the ADA was organized as a militant anti-Communist organization to clean out Commies and leftwingers out of liberal movements and that is why Hubert Humphrey became a part of it. And my record is second to none in that area, and the only ones, the most rigorous opposition to ADA are the Commies, and the Birchites and the Goldwaterites and if they want to be in that company that is their privilege. I don't want to be.

It supports the Constitution, it supports our defense program, it supports NATO, it supports education. It supports law and order, and it isn't a conspiracy. It is more like a civic organization.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey—

Senator HUMPHREY. One more; we have got to go.

QUESTION. Would you comment on the statement that Senator Goldwater, if elected, which I doubt, would name Mr. Nixon as the Secretary of State?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I want to tell you, my friends, that just about broke up my day when I read that.

OK, I think we have had enough here.

Mr. HARRISON. One behalf of the peanut growers of Georgia I want to present to you a symbol of a great commodity which we hope you will be able to preserve the price structure and the continued production of this very heavy edible nut.

Senator HUMPHREY. I sure want to thank you. Let me say if everybody ate as many peanuts as Hubert Humphrey you would never need to worry about the price of peanuts. You know all of us family folks, we know kids like peanut butter and jelly. That is what you start life with; when you get a little older you just like peanuts. I want to tell you that Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey like peanuts enough to make sure the peanut economy is worth more than just peanuts and it is going to be a good and prosperous economy and we are going to back it. So don't worry. You have got a friend in the White House.

That is the best press conference we ever had.

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Tifton, Ga.,  
September 29, 1964

### STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

You are well aware of my views on the issue of constitutional guarantees and equal opportunities for all Americans. This is a matter of public record.

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I can tell you this—the views I state in Georgia are the same views I state in Minnesota. I will not speak out of both sides of my mouth.

I'm sorry to say, however, that some politicians masquerading as national candidates cannot make the same statement.

I have here a copy of the Wall Street Journal and I'd like to read you something from its "Washington Wire"—a special weekly report from the Wall Street Journal's Capitol bureau.

"Goldwater nears a campaign crossroads," the item begins. "Will he soften his stance?"

The Wall Street Journal goes on to point out that the Republican candidate tempered his criticism of President Johnson in Wisconsin last week and praised the late President Kennedy in Boston. And—quote—many Republicans expect he'll regularly sound less conservative now, as he speaks more in the urbanized Midwest and Northeast \* \* \* some politicians figure he simply had to take a strong conservative line in the South and the West. End quote.

In other words, tell the people only what you think they want to hear. Don't level with them. Don't dare reveal your real beliefs, your honest convictions.

Now I'd like to read you another article, this one written by two nationally syndicated columnists. It's entitled "The Missing Pamphlet."

The column begins:

The most ironic incident—and in many ways the most embarrassing—in the presidential campaign thus far is the incident of a disappearing Republican pamphlet call "What About Civil Rights and Barry Goldwater?"

The column points out and here I'd like to quote it directly:

The title page of the 8-page brochure quotes the Republican presidential nominee as follows: "I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color, or creed or any other basis."

Inside, an elaborate defense of the Senator's civil rights record stands side by side with an elaborate attack on President Johnson's civil rights record, with these highlights:

GOLDWATER. "I believe completely in vigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill for I believe in majority rule \* \* \*. I believe it is both wise and just for Negro children to attend the same schools as whites and that to deny them this opportunity carries with it strong implications of inferiority."

JOHNSON. "Lyndon B. Johnson has fought vigorously against civil rights legislation and vote against it—39 times out of 50."

To document this charge, the pamphlet claims that the President said during the 1956 Democratic National Convention: "I am not now and never have been an advocate of civil rights. I don't think I ever will be."

Financed by the Republican committee of the District of Columbia (headed by Washington Attorney Carl Shipley), the pamphlet was unveiled with appropriate local hoopla about 2 weeks ago. From an initial publication of 50,000 copies, party workers distributed hundreds to Negro homes in the Capital.

Then came the great awakening.

Out of the Republican National Committee crackled an order: "Stop distribution immediately, track down every single pamphlet already distributed and cancel the operation forthwith."

The reason for this sudden about-face is known in the political trade as the risk of reverse circulation.

The national committee was scared stiff that while the pamphlet might help the Goldwater ticket in the North, it would help the Johnson ticket even more in the South.



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It is still possible that the national committee will rescind its drastic order to the local committee 2 or 3 days before the election, and plant millions of copies of the pamphlet in Negro neighborhoods all over the country. It is said that 3 days would not be enough time for the South to catch up with the Goldwater civil rights record.

I think the lesson here is obvious.

I know I for one would never put any trust in a candidate or a political party that tries to have it both ways.

I think the American people and the people of Georgia are more intelligent than that.

And I would like to remind Senator Goldwater of the words of one of the great leaders of the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln:

You can fool some of the people some of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

I would also like to remind this audience of an old saying:

"Fool me once—shame on you.

"Fool me twice—shame on me."

Athens, Ga.,

Pharmacy School, University of Georgia,

September 29, 1964

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Dean Wilson, and may I also thank our friends from the American Pharmaceutical Association, the student chapter.

Dean, you have given me a wonderful book, "Drugs and Pharmacy in the Life of Georgia from 1733 to 1959," which indeed represents 226 years of very great achievement and contributions to the healing arts of the United States and of the world.

Now, I have got a book here, too, Dean, it is not nearly as good as yours and it isn't nearly as big. You can plainly see who is the scholar in this book. The book on "Drugs and Pharmacy in the Life of Georgia," represents the great contributions of a very distinguished scientist, and a great research scholar and one of the most eminent scholars of our country, your own Dean Emeritus, and your great Dean Wilson.

I have a little book here called *The Cause Is Mankind*, by a chap by the name of Hubert H. Humphrey that was written in between prescriptions, filling prescriptions, Dean. However, the prescriptions we were trying to fill at the time were those that were given to us by Dr. Kennedy and Dr. Johnson, and while I was attempting to first of all find out just how—what they had written on that prescription, knowing how most doctors write, and then trying to compound the product that the doctors at the White House had prescribed, I found a little time in between prescription filling and customer greeting to write a book entitled "*The Cause Is Mankind*," and while it is a poor substitute for the wonderful work that you have completed, may I say that it won't take long to read, and I have looked it over.

There isn't much in there to hurt anybody and there is a little in there that may be provocative and I want to present this to you as sort of reciprocity, Dean.

Dean Wilson. Thank you very much, sir, I will read yours if you will read mine.

[Laughter.] [Applause.]

Senator HUMPHREY. May I say, Dean, that there is only one way to make sure that I will have time to read this, they say that Vice Presidents don't have much to do but Senators are very busy, and if you can get enough folks around here in Georgia and elsewhere to give me that soft job of being Vice President I will read this difficult book—[laughter]—and find the time to do it.

[Applause.]

Mrs. HUMPHREY. I just want to say thanks to you all for having us here in this lovely State. We are very, very thrilled to be here to visit our friends in Georgia.

Thanks for having us. [Applause.]

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Senator HUMPHREY. Dean, before I go, I want to say this, your suggestion of me to come here and take a refresher course is appreciated because this business of politics is an uncertain and precarious business and I want everybody in Georgia to know I am a good pharmacist, I know how to operate a drugstore, even fill a prescription, and I would be more than happy to take this refresher course. I can honestly say I am the only man on the ticket that really understands how to fill these political prescriptions. So, with good luck to all of you friends here for your kindness and thoughtfulness to us, may I assure you that you are in a noble profession, the pharmaceutical profession. It is one of the finest that we have, and as you know recently the Federal Government passed a bill that included aid to pharmacy schools as a part of the higher education facilities aid program. I want to encourage every one of you to go about your work and to pursue this great profession of pharmacy with the zeal which it requires, which is required in these days.

Thank you very much.

Dean, do you use that old pharmacy yell here, physo bring them here and we will dose them.

Physo Stigma Benonosum, bring them here and we will dose them.

Athens, Ga.,  
University of Georgia,  
September 29, 1964.

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

In the midst of a hectic campaign—where one finds himself talking to businessmen in Houston one day and labor leaders in New York a day or so later—a candidate is inclined to stay pretty close to ground level. It is refreshing, therefore, to greet a university audience and take the opportunity to reflect a bit on the broad issues of the campaign. It is particularly pleasant for me to speak here at the great University of Georgia, in that enlightened State which is leading the South toward a new era, both in economic development and race relations.

The Bible warns us against the "corruption of the Word." And for a politician this warning has particular force. In an election year, as the rhetoric begins to flow, one must often wonder if words have any meaning. Today I would like to take a few minutes with you to examine the corruption of one word: "Conservatism." The Goldwaterites claim to be the authentic spokesmen for American conservatism—to reflect the "conscience of a conservative." It is my contention that they have kidnapped the conservative tradition and are using it to mask a radical assault upon the very fabric of American community.

In 1780 the men of Massachusetts set out to write a constitution for their commonwealth. It might be well to recall the opening statement of that document, written by that wonderful realist who is the father of genuine American conservatism, John Adams.

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life.

I have quoted this excerpt from Adams' great document because it echoes, of course, the sentiments of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence that all men have been endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And if Adams was the father of American conservatism, Jefferson was the father of American liberalism.

What is important for us today is that here, at the very outset of our national history, conservatives and liberals were in full agreement on the responsibility of the Government to nourish and buttress the "blessings of life" or the "pursuit of happiness."

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It is tragic that this year the temporary leader of the Republican Party, who claims to be a conservative, has renounced this fundamental consensus, has denounced the role of Government as an instrument for facilitating the good life, for implementing the age-old Judeo-Christian ideal (which is both conservative and liberal) of community responsibility.

Liberals and conservatives in America may differ on tactics, on methods, and on pace of public policy, but they share, and have always shared the objective of securing the blessings of liberty and the blessings of life.

Indeed, in the case of Georgia, this tradition goes back beyond the establishment of the Nation. Georgia was the setting of the first anti-poverty program in the world. The King's Charter of 1732 put the matter explicitly:

Whereas we are credibly informed, that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage, and other expenses, incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America whereby cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase trade, navigation, and wealth of these our realms.

In 1964, we find ourselves working with the responsible conservatives to preserve, to *conserve*, the essentials of our national tradition from a group of radical adventurers, historical wreckers, who would repudiate it. In the best traditions of a college term paper, this could be documented until the listener collapsed from fatigue, but I shall only highlight a few conspicuous points.

Let us take the Presidency for a starter. What our opposition calls conservatism in the case of the Presidency is diametrically opposed to the thinking of authentic conservatives like Alexander Hamilton and the authors of the 1861 Confederate constitution.

To our opposition, conservatism requires an inert, weak President. It means destroying the powers vested in the President by the Constitution, and by Congress. But listen to what Alexander Hamilton had to say on this subject. In the 70th Federalist Paper, he wrote:

Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and highhanded combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy.

And Hamilton concluded:

A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government.

When the authors of the 1861 Confederate constitution met in Montgomery, Ala., they reached precisely the same conclusion. If anything, they went far beyond the Federal Constitution in their arrangements for a strong Presidency. The Confederate constitution provided for a single 7-year term of office for a president, instead of 4 years. It provided that members of the president's cabinet could sit on the floor of the Confederate congress and take part in the debates. It gave the president the power of item veto over appropriation bills passed by this Confederate congress. Most important of all, it provided that when a president admitted his budget to the Confederate congress, nothing could be added to or subtracted from the president's budget except by two-thirds vote of the Confederate congress.

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Our opponent's concept of conservatism stands in direct opposition to what it has meant to great American conservatives from the first days of the Republic. Yet, although he is completely alien to American conservatism, he might possibly bear some resemblance to English conservatism. So, to be fair, I took a look at English conservatism, and sad to relate, Senator Goldwater's views are as much of a caricature of English conservatism as they are irrelevant to the realities of American life. English conservatism was not a reactionary force. It was not a money grubbing force. It was not antigovernment. English conservatism in the most dreadful years of England's industrial revolution made common cause with the industrial worker who was being brutalized by ruthless money grubbers. It was English conservatism, under the leadership of men like Benjamin Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain, which helped curb the exploitation of industrial workers by factory owners, which helped win for industrial workers a place under the English sun.

And well before their day, Edmund Burke, the philosopher of English conservatism, proclaimed the existence of a "perpetual charter" or a social contract binding successive generations of Englishmen to the kind of spiritual partnership that makes for orderly progress.

This is what Burke said:

As the end of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are about to be born.

Has Senator Goldwater, as a self-styled conservative, respected the existence of such a perpetual charter among generations of Americans? On the contrary, he has stumbled upon, seized, and given eager currency to a corrupted version of conservatism whose acceptance by any sizable number of Americans can bring to an end the "perpetual charter" that has existed among generations of Americans since the founding of our Republic.

He has made that corrupted version of conservatism the very foundation of his political posture. It provided the strategy for his drive for the Republican presidential nomination. It was the acid that eroded the Republican platform. It has supplied the organizing principle of every speech he has uttered in this campaign. And nowhere has he more zealously tried to win a public acceptance of his corrupted version of conservatism than among Americans who reside in our Southern States.

Directly or indirectly, the leader of the Goldwater faction has told you that conservatism means an attack on the Supreme Court and the legitimacy of judicial review—though it was a southern *and* a conservative, Chief Justice John Marshall, who first established the Court's right of judicial review.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means the repeal of much of the social legislation that has been enacted in the last 30 years. Yet, far the greater body of that legislation was piloted through Congress by southern leaders who knew how vitally important it was to the health and well-being of all Americans, North and South.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism envisages a Military Establishment independent of civilian control. Yet, it was a southerner, your own Senator Richard Russell, who, at the time of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's recall from Korea, performed a service for constitutional government none of us can ever adequately repay. It was Senator Russell, beyond all other men, who, in the confusion surrounding General MacArthur's recall, bravely, fairly, and brilliantly conducted Senate hearings whose net effect was to reconfirm the constitutional principle of civil supremacy over the military.

Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means that government must not seek to promote the general welfare. Yet, the South, like all other parts of the Nation, has urgent present needs that cannot be met by State and local sources unaided by the Federal Government.

Above all, Senator Goldwater has told you that conservatism means a sharpening of the differences between our political parties, and their fundamental realignment along clear-cut ideological lines. Here on this point, we have the greatest danger to a breach in the perpetual charter between generations of Americans—a breach that once led to the terrible War Between the States.



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The genius of American politics, and the source of its true conservatism, is that it has stayed close to the realities of life, and has understood that life is larger than logic. It is the conservative who insists on a union between thought and action, between theory and practice. It is the conservative who insists on a union between power and responsibility. It is the conservative who is the enemy of a utopian or an apocalyptic approach to political questions. It is the conservative who skeptically questions the panaceas of those who spin abstract political theories, and then insist that reality be altered to fit their formulations.

Yet, all these marks of an authentic conservative are missing from the picture of Senator Goldwater. He issues ringing theoretical manifestoes on every subject. But where is the followthrough? He says:

Widespread poverty can only be solved by providing good paying jobs and greater opportunities for all our people who are willing and able to work.

Splendid. But then we listen for him to say precisely how he intends to provide good paying jobs and greater opportunities. And we wait in vain.

If Senator Goldwater, as a self-styled conservative, has any specific program in mind to implement his ringing manifestoes, it is contained in this dour comment: "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them."

This is not the language of a conservative. It is the language of a nihilist. And to all men dedicated to the American tradition—whether liberal or conservative—nihilism is the politics of catastrophe; is an approach to community problems which renounces our common ideals; and substitutes bitterness and suspicion for compassion and trust.

In short, what we Americans have in common is far greater than those things which divide us. And I submit to you that Lyndon B. Johnson deserves the support of the American people as a President who will heal wounds, not scarify them; who will treasure what is best in our past, not repudiate our achievements in the name of right-wing radicalism; who will pursue the vision of a great society, not lead us into a wilderness of desolation and despair.

Athens, Ga.  
University of Georgia  
September 29, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, thank you very much, Miss DeDee Sharpe. All I can say is if I want a good introducer to really put me over even before I had a chance to say anything which may be the best way to be put over is to ask Miss Sharpe to do the introducing. I am going to take her along with me and I hope the professors will excuse her from the classes for a little while. Thank you, Miss Sharpe, for your gracious and very generous introduction.

I am very honored to be greeted here today by the president of your university, Dr. Ederhold and by Neal Ray, the president of the IFC, and indeed to be joined on this platform with one of the graduates of this great university, who is a personal friend of mine, and has served for many years in your State legislature, comes from that great city nearby, Commerce, Ga., Jay McBarber, many of you may know him, and I am so pleased that he has seen fit to take time from his very busy professional life and his family life to be with Mrs. Humphrey and myself on this campaign tour. He was up north with me only recently, we were up pitching bundles in North Dakota in a day that was a lot colder than this one.

Dr. Ederhold, when I came through the door out here a while ago, one of your students looked at this sunburned face of mine and said, "It looks to me like he has had a drink of bourbon." [Laughter.]

Know that is a good Southern phrase, but the truth is the only thing that has been warmer than the reception that we have received today has been the sunshine of Georgia. I want to thank

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the people of Tifton who were so kind a short time ago, to welcome us enthusiastically in one of those great outdoor rallies. I want to express a personal note of thanks to Dean Wilson and Dean Waters of the Pharmacy School for taking me into that fine new building and permitting me to once again look at a prescription counter and at least see a prescription. I wrote out sort of a formula on a prescription blank. I know it is a violation of professional ethics to have done, but I want to confess it right now.

One of the young ladies as I left the pharmacy school handed me a prescription blank and said, "Write something on here," and it had that Rx on there, you know, and so I said, "The prescription is vote Democratic, says Dr. Hubert H. Humphrey." [Applause.]

I hope to emphasize that somewhere along the line today [laughter] most of the ills that beset this complex society of ours can at least be alleviated and in due time, I think corrected, if we but exercise some sound political judgment. And since I am a man of great academic objectivity I would inform you that that sound political judgment requires that every man and woman of voting age and thank goodness in this State it starts at 18, should cast a vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and all other Democrats. [Applause.]

I think I should confess that the opinion hasn't been unanimous, however, as I travel around this area. There are—[applause]—a few that yet have not seen the light—[laughter]—if I can get President Johnson just to turn on those lights for 1 month I think they will see it.

I have been so impressed by your community; I know your university. I have been told many times by my two colleagues in the Senate, Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge, I have surely heard a great deal about it from your very distinguished and much respected, highly honored Governor of this State, Carl Sanders, one of the finest men I know. [Applause.]

Even the county sheriff, Tom Huff, told me that this university was the best university in the country. But as I came through, I saw your beautiful stadium, your new coliseum. I am fully aware of your science center. How could anyone that works in Government today not be aware of the remarkable science center that is being established here in this great campus? Your outstanding work in the field of agriculture, agricultural research particularly. This is an area in which I have had great interest over a long period of time, so, Dean, or Dr. Ederhold, may I congratulate, and as a graduate of a land-grant college, University of Minnesota, and LSU, I am very happy once again to be on the campus of a great land-grant college, a land-grant college, I believe one of the first chartered colleges in our country.

You know it is kind of difficult moving from speaking to 900 top businessmen in Houston on one night, and moving to New York and speaking to the AFL-CIO labor leaders the next day, and then out to the national plowing contest of the farmers in North Dakota a day or two after, and then back down to southern Georgia to speak to a group of people in a great agricultural area and then ending up here on a college campus. These other meetings keep you pretty close to the ground, and I have actually asked my staff to permit me in their scheduling, in fact, to schedule me into some university meetings.

I want to come to the environment of the university, not only because I am a refugee from the classroom myself, having been a teacher, but because I truly love to talk to students. I hope that today we may have a little time if you may want, to ask some questions because then I think you will have a chance to probe a little more deeply into one's thinking.

Anyway, I think every red-blooded American ought to have the right to take a bite at a real live U.S. Senator once in his life and I am perfectly willing to be chewed on a bit.

I come here, however, to discuss not every little topical issue of the day, but to get a little deeper into some of the more profound and broad issues of the campaign. Some of the commentators have said that this campaign regrettably has not produced what we would call far-reaching thought moving out beyond where we are. I hope that before it is through with it will, because a campaign ought to be a period of education as well as a period of vote solicitation.

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It ought to be a time to refine ideas, as well as to work over old ones, and I find the campus such as this great university campus, a splendid place in which to talk about some ideas, reflect on the meaning of words.

I come to this campus that has done so much for the new South. There isn't any hope for this Nation of ours until we have enlightenment, we have built America not because it has more minerals and more land and more water than any place else, because it doesn't have that. There are other countries that have more of these resources. I think America is what it is today because of a unique political system, because of popular government, because of our emphasis upon individual initiative and voluntary cooperation, because of the partnership between Government and the people, and above all, because of the great system of public education; education, the enrichment of the spirit and the mind; education, the power of the people, a nation that is educated not only in science and technology but in the humanities is a nation that is rich. There is no way to stop it. It has an unlimited future and, as I see these great universities swelled at the moment, as I see the people pouring their substance, their resources into these universities, then I realize that the future of America is bright.

I notice that your slogan or motto is "Tradition with Progress," if I am correctly informed, and I want to talk about tradition, and I want to talk about progress.

The Bible warns us, you know, against the corruption of the Word, and for a politician this warning has particular force. In an election year the rhetoric just flows like a mighty stream and you must begin to wonder if words have any meaning at all or any true meaning.

Today I would like to take a few minutes to examine the corruption of one word, and ask for your thoughtful consideration of this analysis, and the word is "conservatism."

To me the definition of "conservatism" is tradition with progress. You have defined it, but I sense that there are other definitions being written, and one of the dangers in the world today is the corruption of the word. The Communist talks about the people's republic. Everybody knows that a Communist society has little interest in the people. Everyone knows that it is not a republic. The Chinese Communists talk about the democratic people's republic. This without a doubt is the worst corruption of the world. There is no such thing as democracy in a totalitarian state. There is no such thing as respect for human dignity or the people, and there isn't a republic.

So, we have to understand the lexicon of democracy and we have to understand the meaning of such words as "conservatism" and as "liberal" and I want to talk to you a little bit today about these words, and particularly about the word "conservatism," because it is my contention, and I lay this proposition before a thoughtful faculty and student body, that the Goldwater forces have kidnaped the conservative tradition and indeed the control of the Republican Party, and are using both to mask a radical assault on the very fabric of the American community.

Let's see if I can document that case. In 1780, the men of Massachusetts set out to write a constitution for their Commonwealth, and the opening statement of that document was written by that true realist, John Adams, a real conservative, and the father of American conservatism.

What did he say? He said in that statement, "The end and purpose of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life."

Now, the statement of John Adams echoes, of course, the sentiments of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence, when Jefferson penned those immortal words that all men have been "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," and, if Adams was the father of American conservatism, and I think he is, then Jefferson was the father of American liberalism, and yet these two great stalwarts of American history never disagreed on fundamentals, never disagreed on purpose or objectives or goals.

Here at the very outset of our national history, conservatives and liberals were in full agreement on the responsibility of the Government to the people, and the duty of the Government to nourish and to buttress the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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No, there was no talk of a government of negation, of a government in paralysis, or of a government in absentia. There was talk of the positive role of Government with people, to secure the blessings of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and, of course, this great philosophy was written directly into the Constitution of the United States.

The only two mandates of the Constitution, may I say as a political scientist, that the only two instructions of the Constitution of the United States to the Government of the United States and to the people of this Republic, are to provide for the common defense, and to promote the general welfare. The rest of it is optional, but these are mandates, and this means positive government, not negative government.

Now, it is tragic that this year, the spokesman of a great party who claims to be a conservative, in his consistent denunciation of the role of the Federal Government, has renounced the fundamental consensus of history about government and has denounced the role of government as an instrument for facilitating the good life, for implementing the age-old Judeo-Christian ideal, which is both conservative and liberal, of community responsibility.

Liberals and conservatives may differ on tactics. We do. We differ on methods and on the pace of public policy, but liberals and conservatives, my fellow Americans, share and have always shared the common objective of Government helping to secure the blessings of liberty and the blessings of life.

Now, in 1964, we find ourselves working with responsible conservatives, and there are many, to preserve, to conserve the essentials of our national tradition from a group of radical adventurers, historical wreckers who would repudiate that tradition, who repudiate tradition with progress.

This is why, may I say most respectfully, from this honored platform of a great university that men who have, men and women who have, for years been what would be called conservatives in American public life, leaders in the Republican Party, have today come over to the other party, at least for a moment, because they feel that their traditions and their principles and their party has been captured not by the authentic conservatives, not by someone who represents this great tradition of conservatism which is tradition with progress, but by adventurers, people who are out of the mainstream as Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania put it, out of the main stream of American life, or as the Saturday Evening Post put it, a leader who is astray, who is away from the great multitude of the American people in their common purpose and common objective.

Now, in the best traditions of this college platform and college term paper, I could document this thing until you became weary with fatigue but I am not going to do it. I shall highlight only a few conspicuous points to prove or at least to authenticate my case.

Let's take the Presidency for a starter. What our opposition calls conservatism in the case of the American Presidency is diametrically opposed to the the thinking of authentic conservatives from the time of Alexander Hamilton up to Robert Taft and up to this very hour. It is diametrically opposed to the office of the 1861 Confederate Constitution, and I wonder, I wonder, as I hear some of the voices here in this area of America that speak up for States rights, that speak up for Mr. Goldwater, I wonder if they have ever read the Constitution of the Confederacy. I have seen the Confederate flag on display many places today. I listened to one of my colleagues for a moment on the radio who was in Moultrie, Ga., Senator Strom Thurmond; I wondered if these men really have read the document of their forefathers. To listen to our opposition, their so-called conservatism requires a passive and a weak President.

In fact, we have been told repeatedly that the Federal Government is imposing a tyranny upon the people. Only one other place have I heard that language, from the Politburo. I have heard no other responsible freedom-loving person say that this Federal Government imposes a tyranny upon our people.



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Their conservatism means destroying the powers vested in the President by the Constitution, and by Congress.

But listen to what Alexander Hamilton had to say on the subject and he is supposed to be the granddaddy of the Republican Party. In the 70th Federalist Paper he wrote:

Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks. It is no less essential to the steady administration of the laws to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and the assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy.

And Hamilton concluded the 70th Federalist Paper with these words:

A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the Government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government.

These are the words of the Mr. Conservative of his time, the brilliant young Alexander Hamilton, the Federalist who asked this Government to have an executive of will and of power, and of competence, because he saw what had happened under the Articles of Confederation. He saw what had happened to a republic that drifted where there was no sense of common purpose, no sense of direction, no sense of leadership from the highest office in the land.

Now, what about the authors of the Confederate constitution when they met in Montgomery, Ala.? They reached precisely the same conclusion. If anything, they went far beyond the Federal Constitution in their arrangements for a strong Presidency. The Confederate constitution provided for a single 7-year term for the office of President, instead of 4 years. It provided that members of the President's Cabinet could sit on the floor of the Confederate Congress and could take part in debates to defend the position of the President of the Confederate States. It gave the President the power of item veto to offer appropriation bills, passed by the Confederate Congress, and most important of all, I wonder what Mr. Goldwater or Mr. Thurmond or someone else would think of this, it provided that when a President submitted his budget to the Confederate Congress nothing could be added to or subtracted from the President's budget except by a two-thirds vote of the Confederate Congress.

Now, this is the doctrine and the document of a constitution in this country of 1861, one to which this State once adhered.

Our opponents' concept of conservatism stands in direct opposition to what is meant by the great American conservatives from the first days of this Republic. Frankly, it is out of the mainstream of American life, it is almost un-American. It has no relevancy whatsoever to the American tradition of conservatism. Yet, although he is completely alien to American conservatism, it may be that the Senator from Arizona has some resemblance to English conservatism.

Let's look around the world a bit. So, to be fair, I took a look at English conservatism, I am a student of political philosophy, particularly of American and English philosophy, and it is sad to relate that Senator Goldwater's views are as much a caricature of English conservatism as they are irrelevant to the realities of American life.

English conservatism was not a reactionary force. It was no moneygrubbing force. It was not antigovernment. English conservatism in the most dreadful years of the industrial revolution, made common cause with the industrial worker, passed a vast number of social welfare measures. It was English conservatism under the leadership of men like Benjamin Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain, both of whom would turn over in their graves if they could hear once now how some people are defining conservatism, it was this conservatism which helped curb the exploitation of the industrial workers by factory owners, and well before their day Edmund Burke, the philosopher of English conservatism, known to every student of government, in every land in the world, proclaimed the existence of a "perpetual charter"

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or a social contract binding successive generations of Englishmen to the kind of spiritual partnership that makes for orderly progress, and here is what Burke said:

"As the end of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are about to be born."

BBurke knew that the task of governing was not something that was accomplished overnight. He knew there were no simple solutions to even the problems of his day and, may I say at this point, that one of the things that defies all reason is for any person seeking high public office to preach to the American people that life is simple, and that all you need are simple, just down-to-earth, little answers. Life is never that simple. It was not simple for the caveman. It wasn't simple for the days of the prophets of old in the Old Testament. It never was simple and it never will be, and what we need are people who understand that enlightenment, that education, is necessary to do something about these complicated and difficult problems that have plagued humanity since the birth of man and the birth of civilization itself.

Senator Goldwater is a self-styled conservative, has stumbled upon, and seized and given currency to a corrupted version of conservatism whose acceptance defies history and the accepted conservative philosophy. In fact, may I respectfully say he ignores history, if he has given any attention to it at all.

Now, he has made that corrupted version of conservatism the very foundation of his political posture and political venture and is misleading thousands upon thousands of people with this noble title of conservative. It provided the strategy for his drive for the Republican presidential nomination. They said, "Give us a conservative." It has supplied the organizing principle in every speech that he has uttered in his campaign when he says the conservative believes in less government, the conservative says that the Federal Government must be trimmed down to size.

Oh, if Alexander Hamilton and John Adams could hear that, and nowhere has he more zealously tried to win a public acceptance of his corrupted version of conservatism than amongst the Americans who reside right here in the Southern States. Directly or indirectly, the leader of the Goldwater faction has told you and your families and your people, that conservatism means an attack upon the Supreme Court, and upon the legitimacy of judicial review, though it was a southerner and it was a conservative by the name of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that first established the doctrine of the Court's right of judicial review which from the day he established it has never been denied by any responsible American citizen. [Applause.]

Senator Goldwater has told us and told you, told me, that conservatism means the repeal of much of the social legislation that has been enacted in the last 30 years, and he means it. And let every voter weigh that. What would he repeal? Let them ask themselves that question.

Yet the far greater body of the very legislation he now denounces and that he now asks you people to join him in repealing was piloted through the Congress by southern leaders who knew how vitally important it was to the health and the well-being of all Americans, North and South, southern leaders, Joe Robinson, of Arkansas; Sam Rayburn, of Texas; Lister Hill, of Alabama; Richard Russell, of Georgia; Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; and many others like them. [Applause.]

Senator Goldwater has told us that conservative envisages a Military Establishment independent of civilian control. Yet it was a southerner, your own Senator, Richard Russell, who, at the time of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's recall from Korea, performed a service for constitutional government none of us can ever adequately repay. It was Senator Russell beyond all other men, I would add with him John Stennis, of Mississippi, who in the confusion surrounding General MacArthur's recall, bravely, fairly, brilliantly conducted Senate hearings the net effect of which was to reconfirm and reassert the constitutional principle of civil supremacy over the military.

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Conservatism doesn't mean letting generals running loose in this country. Conservatism above all means civilian control. [Applause.]

What is more, most generals don't want it that way. Thank the good Lord for the fact that in America we have in the main been blessed with a military that is people oriented, that respects the traditions of our democracy and that are dedicated to democratic principles. I think of such men as Gen. Omar Bradley, General Marshall, General Eisenhower, men who are civilians at heart, while generals in terms of their professional training.

Now, Senator Goldwater has told us that conservation means a government must not seek to promote the general welfare, he denounces the efforts of the Federal Government in these respective fields, despite the fact as I said in the beginning of my remarks that one of the two mandates of the Constitution, not a suggestion, not an option, but an order, a command, to the Government by the people through their Constitution to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

This is the duty of a government worthy of the respect of the people. This is what we mean by government being a servant of the people.

Yet the South, like all other parts of the Nation, has urgent needs that cannot be met alone by State and local sources unaided by the Federal Government. May I be very frank with you? No section of America has been more richly benefited by the Federal Government, than the area in which I now stand. All over our great land—[applause]—I met today the author of the George Dean Vocational Education Act, Mr. Dean. It hasn't hurt education. The land-grant college system didn't hurt education. The social security system hasn't broken down the moral fiber of our people. The Securities and Exchange Act hasn't ruined the stock market. The Public Utility Holding Company Act did not hurt private enterprise. The wage-and-hour laws didn't make American workers slaves of the state. The farm programs didn't injure our farm economy, they helped it.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federal Government has poured out from the resources of this land because we are one people, one United States of America, one Republic, hundreds of millions, yea, billions of dollars which have been shared throughout America by Americans, by the Federal Government of the Americans. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Goldwater tells us that conservation means sharpening the ideological differences between our political parties, and their fundamental realignment among clear-cut ideological lines. Here on this point, I think we have the greatest danger to a breach in the perpetual charter between generations of Americans, a breach that once led to a terrible War Between the States. The genius of American politics and the source of its true conservatism is that it has stayed close to the realities of life, and has understood that life, and the realities of life is larger than logic. It is the conservative and the liberal who insist on a union between thought and action, between theory and practice. It is the conservative and the liberal who insist on a union between power and responsibility, and it is the conservative who is the enemy of a utopian approach to political questions. It is the conservative who skeptically questions the panaceas of those who spin abstract political theories and then insist that reality be altered to fit their formulations. [Applause.]

If I have ever seen a radical in my life or read a radical book, it is the radicalism of the Senator from Arizona who insists upon twisting and carving and molding American life to his theories, whether it does any good or not. [Applause.]

All of these marks of the authentic conservative that I have documented from the pages of history of this Republic are missing from Senator Goldwater. He issues ringing theoretical manifestos. He says to the Communists "Drop dead" and he says that is the answer to communism. [Applause.]

A distinguished learned columnist, a great political scientist and philosopher of contemporary America, Walter Lippmann, has said he is ultimatum-happy. He insists all you need to do to solve these serious problems of a world in which the power structure has changed, a world in which there is revolution and evolution, a world under the impact of science and technology, a world in which colonialism has broken apart, a world in which the power structure itself changes

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literally by the year, all that you have to do, says Mr. Goldwater, is to tell those bad boys to get in line, serve them an ultimatum, and they will do it. [Applause.]

Well, my dear friends, you can't even bring up a family that way, much less a world. You can't run a university that way, much less a country. [Applause.]

With these theoretical manifests that ring so clearly, where is the followthrough? He says, "Widespread poverty can only be solved by providing good paying jobs and greater opportunities for all our people who are willing and able to work." Splendid. Hurray. But then we listen and we await to see for him to say precisely how he intends to help provide good-paying jobs and greater opportunities in areas like Appalachia, in areas in America that for better than 10 years have become pockets of unemployment and of poverty. What is his answer? "Well, some of these people just don't want to work."

Now, there may be some but may I say that it is a strange thing that when opportunity is provided and when training is provided and when investment capital is there, somehow or another these folks seem to work despite the manifestos of Mr. Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater as a self-styled conservative has no specific program in mind to implement his ringing manifestos. His manifestos and proposal is "My aim"—and I quote him, here is manifesto and here is his proposal. "My aim is not to pass laws but to repeal them." [Applause.]

That is a very interesting statement. My question is which ones, Mr. Goldwater? The Higher Education Act that you didn't vote for? The poverty bill that you didn't vote for? The cotton and wheat bill that you didn't vote for? The Vocational Act that you didn't vote for? The Youth Conservation Corps that you didn't vote for? Social security that you think ought to be voluntary? The TVA that you think ought to be sold for a dollar? Are these the laws you want to repeal? [Applause.]

May I add most respectfully, that this Senator that speaks to you, of course, is known for his position and stand upon the great issue of constitutional rights commonly called civil rights. I never travel under false colors. I don't believe in coming to Georgia and saying one thing to you and going back to Minnesota and saying another thing because somehow or another people find out, don't they? [Laughter.]

It just doesn't work any more. [Laughter and applause.]

Yet I have never heard the Senator from Arizona who voted against that act say he was going to repeal it. I do know, however, that if he is elected President he must take an oath of office to enforce it, despite all of the whistling of Dixie that has gone through these many States. Ah, my friends, let's be very frank about it, we have entered a new day, and what we need today are people who think ahead, who recognize that the promise of America is not to turn back but the promise of America is to reach out for a better future. The land of a man who says, "My aim is not to pass laws but to repeal them," that is not the language of a conservative. It is the language of a nihilist.

It reminds me of that chapter in American history of the Know Nothing Party in the middle 1800's, and to all men dedicated to the American tradition, whether liberal or conservative, nihilism is the politics of catastrophe, it is the approach, is an approach to community problems which renounces our common ideals and substitutes bitterness and suspicion for compassion and trust.

In short, what we Americans have in common is far greater than the things that divide us, and I submit to you that what we need in the Presidency today is not one who reminds us of every little division, who seeks to broaden it, broaden the gaps of our misunderstanding, but what we need in the Presidency today is an educator, is a leader, is in a sense a philosopher who seeks to bind up the wounds, heal the wounds, not scarify them, who will treasure what is best in our past, and not repudiate our achievements in the name of rightwing radicalism.



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We need a President who can unite America, and who speaks of one America, not the America of the North or of the South, or of the East or of the West, but one who has read the preamble to the Constitution that says, "We the people of the United States of America," and then the pledges of justice and tranquility and freedom that are there, to preach this doctrine, if you please, of a united community, of a community living in respect and in brotherhood, of a community that is dedicated to the proposition of the extension of opportunity, of a President who seeks to emancipate America, to emancipate it from its poverty, to emancipate it from its areas of illiteracy, to emancipate it, if you please, from its apathy as to social problems, to emancipate it from its bigotry, from its discrimination or from its prejudice. We need in the White House, a man, yes, a great, potential man, and one who can see a horizon, and beyond it, one who reaches out to a future, rather than trying to guide America by viewing this Nation through a rear-view window or a mirror, that takes his looking through the window of the past.

Yes, I think that we have got such a man, and that is why I am proud to be at this university.

I think that in President Lyndon Johnson, a man born in the South, who today is President of this entire Nation, that we have one who has as his purpose a consensus of the American people for common goals and objectives, who seeks to preach the doctrine of tolerance and understanding, who asks us to be better, who says that the achievements of today are but a plateau from which we work for tomorrow, who appeals to the best in us.

I say to the college students that are here, beware of people that only preach to us of the evil that is in us. We all have got some problems, we all have some prejudices but what we need above all today is a leader that will teach us to do better, one who will tell us that we can do the impossible, one who will call from us excellence, not mediocrity, and one who will make us proud of the fact that in this great Republic of ours there is but one citizenship for one people, for one country, for one goal, namely the welfare of this Republic and its contribution to a peaceful and a more just world.

Thank you. [Applause.]

### *Questions and answers*

QUESTION. Sir, I would like to know if you think the people of Georgia are entitled to the right of trial by jury since you voted against Herman Talmadge's amendment to have a jury trial in the civil rights bill?

Senator HUMPHREY. The fact of the matter is that I was one of those who helped to work out the arrangements, my good friend, that the civil rights bill trial by jury is in the law and that is a matter of record. [Applause.]

QUESTION. How could you possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party because he was selected by such a large majority; is that correct?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I just took the word of Governor Scranton, and Governor Rockefeller who stated that.

I never attended a Republican Convention in my life but I will tell you this, my dear friends, that Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller were much more unkind in their comment and I would say much more cutting in anything they said about Mr. Goldwater than anything Senator Humphrey has said today. I think it is fair to say that a substantial number of people in the Republican Party today are leaving that party to come to the Democratic Party to support President Johnson, and they are doing it not because they are Democrats, not because they want to join the Democratic Party.

They are doing it because they feel, as they have said and as Governor Scranton said and as at that time Mr. Lodge said and as Governor Rockefeller said, that Mr. Goldwater was out of the mainstream of American life, he was away from the mainstream of the Republican Party.

Is there another question out there?

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, I just wonder if you believe in the American free enterprise system since you voted to take freedom of choice away from such a large segment of American businessmen through the Civil Rights Act of 1964? [Hissing from audience.]

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Senator HUMPHREY. I think that is a very fine question. By the way, I want to say one thing—that I hope one thing no man who supports President Johnson will ever do and that is to “boo” anybody else. I think that is a monopoly of our opposition. [Applause.]

May I say most respectfully to my friends that asked the question, I surely do believe in the American free enterprise system. I don't only believe in it, I live in it and I practice it. I think Senator Goldwater believes in the free enterprise system, too. He inherited the department store and I haven't yet inherited our drugstore but I am close to it. But we both believe in the profit system. I think I may believe in it a little more than he does because I voted to give it some tax relief here in the last Congress and he voted against it but I give him credit in believing in the free enterprise system.

You asked me whether or not I believe in freedom of choice. Of course, I believe in freedom of choice but I believe when you run a public business you let the public come into that business. If you run a private club then it is a private matter. And I know exactly what you are talking about. We might just as well come to it, it is this matter of public accommodations and may I say most respectfully to you that 35 States of this Union—most of them under Republican Governors and Republican legislatures—have already passed public accommodation statutes that were far more severe than anything that ever went into the Federal civil rights statute, and they didn't think they were violating private property, may I say. A Republican State like Vermont that has only had, I think, two Democratic Governors in a hundred years has got one of the toughest of such a statute. California got one under a Republican Governor.

In fact, I think that most every State with the exception of a few in the South have those statutes, and many of the cities now of the South have them without any violation of private rights or private property. This question, by the way, as you know, is now in the courts and may I say that whatever that court decision is this Senator is going to respect it and I am not going to denounce either a court that says my vote was wrong or praise it by saying that my vote was right. I am going to live by the law of this land and when I hear a candidate for public office talk about lawlessness and disorder in the streets I would suggest that he could help preserve law and order, help preserve peace in the streets by asking people as your Senators have done, as your own Senators have done, to abide by the law, to live by the law, to observe the law, I think that is a fine standard for everyone to rally to.

I have just been told they—many times that I have to go. I hate to run away from here because someone might have a question here and they will say, I didn't get a chance to take a bite at that fellow. If you would let me come back sometimes, and I would like to come back, by the way, I would like to come back when I have much more time. And they tell me when you are Vice President you don't have nearly as much to do as a Senator.

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWING SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, ATHENS, GA., SEPTEMBER 29, 1964

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QUESTION. How could you possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party when he was selected by a majority?

Senator HUMPHREY. I believe the question was how could I possibly say that Senator Goldwater kidnapped the Republican Party because he was selected by such a large majority, is that correct? Well, I just took the word of Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller who stated that.

## HE - LINO - 108

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In fact, I think that most every State with the exception of a few in the South have those statutes, and many of the cities now of the South have them without any violation of private rights or private property. This question, by the way, as you know, is now in the courts and may I say that whatever that court decision is this Senator is going to respect it and I am not going to denounce either a court that says my vote was wrong or praise it by saying that my vote was right. I am going to live by the law of this land and when I hear a candidate for public office talk about lawlessness and disorder in the streets I would suggest that he could help preserve law and order, help preserve peace in the streets by asking people as your Senators have done, as your own Senators have done, to abide by the law, to live by the law, to observe the law, I think that is a fine standard for everyone to rally to.

I have just been told they—many times that I have to go. I hate to run away from here because someone might have a question here and they will say I didn't get a chance to take a bite at that fellow. If you would let me come back sometime, and I would like to come back, by the way, I would like to come back when I have much more time and they tell me when your are Vice President you don't have nearly as much to do as a Senator.

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, thank you very, very much. We are going to hold up until that drum corps down there dies down.

My dear friends, your wonderful mayor was telling me that I would have a very fine reception when we came here to this area of Atlanta with this great Atlanta University center where all these many institutions of higher learning are gathered together and I just want every one of you to know what a joy you have brought to me and Mrs. Humphrey who is here with me.

Now, when I was trying to convince President Johnson that I was the logical choice for his candidate for Vice President, I told President Johnson, I said, "Look, you need a man of experience"—[applause]—and I said, "You know in my house, in the Humphrey house, I have been Vice President all my life."

And that is really what sold President Johnson on the whole idea. I want you to know that.

We are here in Atlanta to carry on the campaign for what we believe is the best interest of our country, and I want you folks to just listen to me just these few moments.

We have a big dinner on downtown tonight. I have been in the southern part of your State today, I have been at the great university at Athens, Ga. We had a wonderful reception. We met a few folks who were misguided, you know. But do you know something, this great State of Georgia has given an awful lot to our country and one thing it has exemplified is awfully good political judgment. I was checking back and I find that in Georgia, through all of its history that Georgia has never failed to support the Democratic Party and the Democratic nominee for President and I don't think Georgia is going to get in any bad habit in 1964. [Applause.]

You know the other day, friends, I was up in Michigan and I was talking up there to a group of our young student friends up in Michigan, and when I got there on the way out I picked up the New York Times and the New York Times had a story in it that read like this, it says, "Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24, Associated Press. State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"—now just listen, you haven't heard the best yet, it says, "A new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withdrawn from distribution on the grounds that the 'pop is grossly misbranded,' " and it says it lists "as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." [Applause.]

Well, friends, I just gave the Republican platform, that is all. Now, what is the Democratic platform? We are a political party and we have a President that believes that this country can do better than it has done even though we have done well. We believe, my dear friends, that America's future is ahead of it. We believe this is the land of opportunity and the President of the United States for whom I speak to you today and tonight, the President of the United States has told me time after time, he said, "Hubert, when you go out to the people tell them this, we have done well, yes. Our country is relatively prosperous, yes. We have made great progress, yes. But all that we have done is only the beginning of what we intend to do. We are interested in the tomorrows. We are interested in a better America. We are interested in a more just America. We are interested in an America where every person can have all the opportunity that he is willing to give of himself.

"If he will educate himself, if he will train himself, there will be no limits of what we can do. We are going to open up the gates of opportunity to every man, woman and child in America, regardless of where they come from, regardless of race, color, or creed." [Applause.]

We must go, and I want to say you have a wonderful mayor here. By the way, I have got a friend here I want you to know about, too, Mr. Mackey, who is going to be your next Congressman from the Fourth District right here.

And don't you forget that wonderful Congressman Charlie Weltner. Now, folks, here is my prescription for you, study hard, work hard. Remember November 3, vote for Johnson and Humphrey and the Democratic ticket.



# HE - LINO - 110

Atlanta, Ga.  
Outside Dinkler Plaza Hotel  
September 29, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. Thank you, folks, for that rousing, enthusiastic welcome. You stay with us here. Mr. Mayor, Mr. Mayor, I want to thank you as the mayor of this great thriving progressive city of Atlanta for your welcome, for the enthusiastic welcome, of your fellow citizens. It is simply marvelous. We thank you very, very much.

Friends, I noticed that there are a few signs around here. I also notice that there are a few signs around here that show a couple of your constituents are misguided. We have to do something about that.

All right, I want you to know that all of us in Washington are ever mindful of the fact that the State of Georgia has set an example for the Nation when it comes to political judgment that is the best. It is tops, it is superior. You not only have a fine Governor in Carl Sanders, you not only have a fine Congressman in Charlie Weltner, but you are going to have another good Congressman in Congressman Mackey. [Applause.]

And you have a couple of good Democratic U.S. Senators up there that are working with us, Senator Russell and Senator Talmadge. But what I really wanted to tell you is that Georgia has been good to the Democratic Party and the Democratic Party has been good to Georgia and Georgia has—[applause]—Georgia has never failed to vote for the Democratic nominee for President and I don't think you are going to get in any bad habits in 1964.

So, as they say everywhere, "All the way with L.B.J.," and, listen, friends, vote for Humphrey, that comes in the package. There is a young Democrat right there, attaboy.

Now, my friends, most Americans, most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, and Independents, too, most Americans on November 3 are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

Thank you very much. It is great to see you.

Atlanta, Ga.  
Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner  
September 29, 1964

## SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

I come to Atlanta today to celebrate the New South and to talk with you about its place in the Great Society.

In so doing, I want to give full credit to that man of extraordinary vision—Henry W. Grady, orator and editor of the Atlanta Constitution—who more than 75 years ago so eloquently advanced the theme of which I speak tonight: the cause of the new South.

Henry Grady was a magnificent story teller. One of his favorite stories was about the old preacher who, on Saturday night, informed some young friends about the sermon he planned for the next morning. Since the boys were pranksters, they found the place marked in the old preacher's Bible and proceeded to glue some pages together when he wasn't looking.

The next morning the preacher was reading from Scripture to his congregation, saying, "When Noah was 120 years old, he took unto himself a wife who was \* \* \*"—and turning the page—\* \* \* "140 cubits long, 40 cubits wide, built of gopher wood, and covered with pitch inside and out."

This puzzled the old preacher. He read it again—and his eyes did not deceive him. Then he looked up at his congregation and he said steadily. "My friends, this is the first time I have ever met this in the Bible. But I accept it as evidence of the assertion that we are all fearfully and wonderfully made."

I know that you here in Georgia—like Henry Grady's old preacher—have faith. You have shown faith in America, faith in the South, and faith in the Democratic Party.

## HE - LINO - 111

Indeed, the relation between the South and the Democratic Party has been very special. It has been warm, long, and historic. It is neither new nor transitory.

I need not remind you that Georgia is the State where Woodrow Wilson spent his formative years. This is the State which Franklin D. Roosevelt loved so much, where he came to live and work, and where he died. It was at Warm Springs that President Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Rural Electrification Administration when he discovered that his electric bill was four times higher than at Hyde Park.

It is not surprising that Franklin Roosevelt felt at home in Georgia. For the past 25 presidential elections the citizens of Georgia have supported the Democratic ticket. In 1964, for example, Georgia returned such a high percentage of votes for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson that it surpassed even Massachusetts and Texas.

The speech that Franklin Roosevelt was working on at Warm Springs when he died included the phrase:

The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow is our doubts and fears today.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy banished the doubts and fears which had prevented a man of his religion from becoming President of the United States. President Kennedy's victory established the fact that a man's religion is not to be a factor in electing a President, that a man is to be judged by his personal qualifications, by what he is, and not by what prejudice whispers about him.

This November—when Lyndon B. Johnson is elected President of the United States—he will banish another form of doubt and fear—the prejudice which in recent years barred a man of southern origins from being considered seriously for the Presidency. Like John Kennedy, President Johnson is proving that a man can be true to his own heritage and conscience—and be a faithful President of all the people. And never again will regional prejudice prevent a man from serving his Nation.

Henry Grady would have enjoyed seeing a southerner as President of a united people. He was a wonderful and wise man whose central theme was forgiveness and love—love of people and love of country. Henry Grady has his dream of a new South, a land of—

surpassing beauty, a South the home of 50 millions of people, her cities vast hives of industry, her countrysides the treasure of which their resources are drawn, her streams vocal and shirring spindles.

Grady knew how remote his dream was back in the 1880's. His best known story is about the Georgia farmer who was buried in Pickens County, his tombstone was made of Vermont marble, his pine coffin came from Cincinnati, its nails from Pittsburgh. He wore shoes from Boston, a suit from New York—and all that the South contributed to the funeral was the corpse and the hole in the ground.

Today the South is no longer an undeveloped enclave within a developed Nation. It is an energetic, creative, and productive region within a modern, dynamic America.

But Grady's dream has been a long time in coming. More than 40 years after Grady's death, Franklin Roosevelt felt justified in calling the South the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—and he sought to do something about it. Today, we can see all about us the evidences of an authentically new South. Henry Grady's dream is now being realized in our lifetime.

Look how far the South has come. We now see a South that produces 40 percent of our Nation's forest products; half the Nation's minerals; 53 percent of its petroleum; 76 percent of its natural gas; and 100 percent of its natural sulfur and bauxite. We see a South where the unemployment rate is lower and the growth in production and income is higher than the national average.

And the nature of the entire economy has changed. No longer is this a low-income, cheap-labor region, nor is it primarily a source of raw materials. The South is now a solid producer of industrial goods. It has a secondary level of industries and services to supply the primary industries, which is the mark of a mature economy.

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Since the boom year of 1929, the real income of the United States has risen 56 percent, but here in Georgia it is up to 140 percent. *That is progress.*

But progress in the South is not simply a matter of economics or of statistics. Progress can be measured by the contributions of the South in science, in literature, in art, in the humanities, in education. The new South today has a mature cultural life and a mature economy—and for both, we are proud of you.

There are, however, those who would go back. There are those who think the American dream is behind us, not ahead of us. There are those who seek to recall the good old days that have gone with the wind.

Would you really go back?

Would you go back to the good old days that the Republican standard-bearer of the moment seems to cherish?

Would you go back to the days when many children of the South were afflicted by rickets, the days of pellagra and hookworm and all the other stigmas of poverty and inadequate food?

Would you go back to the days of bank foreclosures, of lost farms, to the days when old age was looked to with dread and insecurity, when youth was a time of despair and lost opportunity?

Would we, as a Nation, go back 30 years, when infant mortality was three times higher than it is now; when life expectancy was 10 years less for every man than it is now—60 year instead of the Biblical allotment of “three score years and 10” that it is today?

Would we go back 30 years to those days before a compassionate and enlightened Government helped bring these advances to the people?

There is a small town in one of your neighboring States which has erected in its town square a monument in the form of—and in honor of—the boll weevil. The town raised this statue to recognize the part the boll weevil played in forcing the local economy to turn necessity into a virtue. When the weevil destroyed the cotton crop, the community was forced to shift away from the traditional single-crop economy, and thereby saved itself.

That is an expensive way to learn a lesson—too expensive. Let us resolve today that towns of the future will not feel impelled to erect monuments in the form of an ostrich—that creature, why by burying its head in the sand, shuts out those facts it does not wish to know; those sights it does not wish to see; those sounds it does not wish to hear; and creates for itself a world of unreality.

As John Stuart Mill said a century ago:

Great economic and social forces flow like a tide over half-conscious people in accordance with the most constructive change \* \* \*.

The people of Georgia and of Atlanta have been demonstrating to America their understanding and appreciation of John Stuart Mill's message. Atlanta is a city of new buildings, new industrial might, new financial resources, a rich cultural life, and bright young people. There will be no monuments to ostriches on Peach Tree Street.

We have problems today, but we have left the problems of stagnation and status quo behind. The problems which we face today are the problems of a society in progress—the frictions and gaps created in a dynamic growing region.

President Roosevelt understood the South and its problems, and knew that—

There is no simple solution. The solution must be part political, with the Federal Government participating along with State, county, city, town, and township government. But there must be participation also by industry, business, and schools—and by citizens, North and South.

The South, and Georgia in particular, knows there is no conspiracy in the partnership of all units of government at every level working to do together what none could do apart.

What is desirable in the South—and throughout the United States, for that matter—is not a planned region, but a region that plans. State and regional planning must be done if the South is to utilize its resources and capitalize on the great opportunities now open to it.

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Regional development agencies such as the Georgia Port Authority established by Governor Talmadge, cooperating with the Federal Government, are a fine example of a partnership which brings results.

But it is the caliber of your elected officials in this State which demonstrates most dramatically your claim to a bright and rewarding future. Carl Sanders surely stands today as one of his Nation's most successful Governors. Charles Weltner has won for himself respect and admiration seldom accorded a freshman Member of Congress. And Ivan Allen has rightfully been called one of the most enlightened and progressive mayors in America.

Of course, I treasure particularly my friendship with your two U.S. Senators—Richard Russell and Herman Talmadge. No two men command greater respect and affection from their colleagues in the Senate. And Georgia can take full pride that Carl Vinson—one of the greatest Members of Congress in our Nation's history—was among those honored at the White House this month with a Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Today the Republican Party is making a strong appeal for the votes of the new South. The temporary Republican leader has often been charged with being outside the mainstream of Republican thinking. In my acceptance speech at Atlantic City, I pointed out that the leader of the Goldwater faction is not in the mainstream of anybody's thinking. He is most certainly *not* in the mainstream of Georgia thinking.

Let me recite to you a few facts:

In 1962, Senators Russell and Talmadge and I, along with virtually every Member of the Georgia delegation in the House of Representatives, voted *for* a new foreign trade law. It enables Georgia's textile industry to compete favorably in selling its products abroad. Georgians in Congress voted for that bill—but *not* Senator Goldwater.

Senator Russell and Talmadge and I—and virtually every Georgian in the House—voted for the 1962 farm bill that is so important to Georgia farmers. *But not* Senator Goldwater.

Last year Senators Russell, Talmadge, and I—and virtually the entire House delegation—voted for a water projects bill that included Federal aid for the Flint River flood control project here in Georgia. We voted for the Cotton Act of 1964, of vital importance to the cotton farmers and the cotton industry of this State. *But not* Senator Goldwater.

Most of Georgia's congressional delegation and I voted to lower taxes by \$11 billion in order to increase take-home pay and boost the economy. We voted for better medical schools. We voted for the wilderness bill to preserve wilderness areas throughout the country, including those in Georgia. *But not* Senator Goldwater.

The contrast between the enlightened leaders of Georgia and the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party is both stark and revealing. Your leaders have faced the problems of the new South with open minds and courageous hearts. The temporary spokesman has relied upon empty slogans and the wishful thought that somehow modern life—with its complexities and difficulties—will conveniently vanish.

The new South faces one problem of special difficulty, as does every other section of America. Until we, as a nation, solve the problem of equal opportunity for all our citizens, our hopes for a Great Society cannot be obtained.

I firmly believe that our goal of equal constitutional rights for all citizens—our goal of equal opportunity—will be reached. We must all dedicate ourselves to this attainment.

You in the new South are building an environment in which the economy flourishes and cultural life quickens. And you know that every citizen can contribute to this effort, if he has the opportunity.

The quality of your understanding, the vigor of your enterprise, and the boundlessness of your vision can be a guide and model for us all. In that spirit of the new South, Henry Grady observed: “\* \* \* We await with confidence the verdict of the world.”

One hundred years ago, our ancestors were engaged in a struggle which was—in retrospect—as much a drain upon the Nation's spirit as it was a tragic waste of manhood.



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Let us so conduct ourselves today that when our descendants look back—100 years from now—they will see a generation which faced the facts of life in 20th-century America.

This is precisely the pledge which the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Johnson makes to the American people. This is the promise which will enable America—and the new South—to “await with confidence the verdict of the world.”

Atlanta, Ga.

Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, Dinkler Hotel

September 29, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

Governor Sanders, our good friend, Carl Sanders and his charming, lovely lady Betty, members of the Georgia delegation that are here with us tonight, my friends Phil Landrum, Charlie Weltner, I see Congressman Pilcher is still with us; he has been with us all day, and that new man you are going to send down to Congress, because we need him so bad, James Mackey [applause] and that fine young friend of mine from that great center of commerce and industry, Jay McBarber, I am so delighted to be here I simply can't tell you how much Mrs. Humphrey and I have enjoyed this wonderful day of southern hospitality.

The only thing that was warmer than the reception we received was the sun that was beating down on my brow at Tifton this afternoon. But it was a wonderful fine reception.

I want the Governor to know that I am fully aware of the activities of this Republican truth squad. If there ever was a play on words, that is one. This is like asking a fox to take charge of a chicken coop. [Applause.]

One of the Congressmen in that truth squad is from Minnesota, he is down talking to these southern Georgia farmers. The only thing that he has got that looks like a farm in his district is a petunia plant. [Applause.]

But I think the folks around here will see through them because there is one thing that I found out a long time ago is that Georgians have a uncanny capacity for being able to get at the truth when it comes to politics.

First of all, they elect a fine man like your Governor here and that is within itself, that is a fine thing. You have two fine U.S. Senators that I have served with, Senators Russell and Talmadge. These good men in the House of Representatives that can serve you so well, but then may I add that Georgia has a record that is only equaled by one other State, that is the State of Arkansas.

How I wish I could say it was true of Minnesota. Georgia has always demonstrated unique, unbelievable political judgment by voting Democratic in every presidential election. [Applause.]

Now, speaking about that GOP truth squad, you know what GOP stands for now, don't you? “Goldwater is our problem.” [Applause.]

That is what they are out explaining.

The other day I was up in Michigan, I had an opportunity to speak at Grand Rapids, Mich., supposed to be Republican territory but I have never seen so many happy people in my life turned out for a Democratic rally and while I was there I read a little newspaper clipping that came to my attention and I want to read it to you because I think you ought to share in this bit of wisdom and political analysis that was give to us.

Here it is, exhibit A.

It isn't very big, one column inch, about an inch and a half long. It appeared in the New York Times, it was a little longer in Michigan, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Associated Press, September 24, “State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater.” [Laughter.]

Now, folks, I didn't even know anybody wanted to buy him. But I stopped too soon there. It says, “Goldwater, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is ‘grossly misbranded’” [applause] “and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative.”

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Now folks, there you have it, one column inch, the whole platform of the Republican program, all at once. I knew that you would understand exactly what I was getting at.

Well, I want to talk to you tonight about the Democratic Party. I am like old Sam Rayburn, one of the greats of all times. I am a Democrat, without prefix or suffix and without apology. I just come to Georgia as a full-blooded Democrat, that is all, with Democrats in Georgia. [Applause.]

And, Mr. Mayor, I came through Georgia to come to Atlanta so I could celebrate in this great big wonderful progressive, thriving, enterprising city, the new South, which this city of Atlanta typifies more than any other place that I know in all of this great area. [Applause.]

And I came here not only with the blessings of the President of the United States but I come here with his greetings and I come here to tell you that he needs you, he wants you, and he asks you to give him your hands and your heart for November 3, that great election victory that we will have. [Applause.]

If you will let me reminisce just a little bit. I don't want Republicans to think they are the only ones that reminisce. We reminisce for a purpose. We reminisce to learn, not just to present. We reminisce to have a base from which we can move forward. You will—you all remember, of course, your own great Henry Grady, the orator second to none and the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who more than 75 years ago so eloquently advanced the theme of which I speak tonight, the case of the new South. Henry Grady was a wonderful story teller. Most of the good southern politicians are, they can make a good story and make a point.

One of his favorite stories was about the old preacher who on Saturday night informed some young friends about the ceremony planned on making the next morning and since the boys were pranksters, that is Democrats at heart, they found the place marked in the old preacher's Bible and proceeded to glue some pages together when he wasn't looking, and the next morning at the service when the preacher was reading from the Scripture to the congregation saying, "When Noah was 120 years old he took unto himself a wife who was,"—and then turning a page—"142 cubits long, 40 cubits wide, wood covered with pitch inside and out."

Well, now, the old preacher was puzzled and he read it again and his eyes did not deceive him, and then he looked up at his congregation, and he said steadily, "My friends, this is the first time I have ever met this in the Bible, but I accept it as evidence of the assertion that we are faithfully and wonderfully made." [Laughter.]

Now, my friends, I know that here in Georgia, like Henry Grady, the old preacher, you have faith, you have shown faith. You have faith in yourself because you have demonstrated that by everything I have seen today in this wonderful State. You have faith in America and rightfully you should. You have faith in the South and indeed you should, and you have faith in the Democratic Party, which is exactly what I was referring to by your constancy, your constant loyalty to this great party that belongs to you, is of you, been good to you, and you have been good to it. [Applause.]

I don't think I need to remind a single Georgian that Woodrow Wilson spent his formative year here and, that this is the State that that beloved great President Franklin Delano Roosevelt loved so much, where he came to live, and to work, and to rest, and play, and where he died. It was at Warm Springs.

Yes, it was a Warm Springs that President Roosevelt conceived the idea of a Rural Electrification Administration, when he discovered that his electric bill—[applause]—when he discovered that his electric bill was four times higher than it was at Hyde Park—a prudent and frugal man, that Democrat.

Now, it is not surprising, is it, that Franklin Roosevelt felt at home in Georgia? I see people here in this audience tonight that knew him well, and that knew how much he loved this great area.

For the past 25 presidential elections as I have said you have proven your faith.

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In 1960, I was surprised when I found this the other day because I had forgotten it, Georgia returned a higher percentage of votes for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson than even in Massachusetts and Texas and, believe me, that is a wonderful record. [Applause.]

I might add we gave them a majority in Minnesota, too, I don't want to be left out. And the speech that Franklin Roosevelt was working on at Warm Springs when he died included this phrase, "The only limit to our realizations of tomorrow is our doubts and fears of today."

I think that is the theme of a party that believes in progress. The only limits to our realizations of tomorrow, and it is tomorrow that we think about, the only limit is our doubt or our doubts and fears of today, and if I could take a moment to characterize the difference between the two great political parties in this election or should I say the two men that lead these parties, President Johnson that leads a united Democratic Party, and Mr. Goldwater that leads a faction and a fraction of a broken Republican of 1929, the real income of the United States has risen only 56 percent. But the income of Georgia since 1929 as compared to the national average of 56 percent is up 140 percent, Carl Sanders, the Governor of this great State, and I say it is because of men like yourself, working with the Democratic administrations, with industry, with labor, with agriculture, that this phenomenal record has been made. What progress.

Be cheerful, my friends. Of course, we ought never to boo. What have we got to boo about? If you will see a Goldwaterite, be sympathetic. [Applause.]

Progress in the South isn't just economics and income. It is in science, it is in literature, it is in art, it is in the humanities, it is in education. Look at this fabulous great State, with its universities and its schools, with its unbelievable fine system of education.

The new South of today has a mature cultural life and a mature economy. There are, however, those would take you back. I want to tell you, friends, as an old teacher it is all right to study ancient history, but don't vote it. [Applause.]

There are those who would seek to recall the good old days, that have gone with the wind. Would you really go back? Would you go back to the old days that the Republican standardbearer at the moment seems to cherish? Would you go back to the days when many children of the South were afflicted with rickets, the day of pellagra, of hookworm and the other stigma of poverty. Would you go back to the days of bank foreclosures, lost farms, the days when old age was looked upon with dread and insecurity, when youth was a time of despair and lost opportunity?

And I am not exaggerating, those were the old days. Would you go back as a nation 30 years where infant mortality was three times higher than it is now, when life expectancy was 10 years less for every man in the South than it is now, 60 years instead of the allotted three score and ten? I ask, my friends, would you go back to those days before a compassionate and enlightened Government helped bring these advances to the people?

Do we want to go back to the days before social security [cries of "no"] before the great farm programs that helped your agriculture? [Cry of "no."]

I don't think that anybody that has any sense about today or tomorrow wants to go back to anything. The only thing we ever like to go back to is back to the old hometown to see the folks and then get busy again and start building new communities and a new America, new opportunities for a new generation. [Applause.]

No, friends, there is a town in one of your neighboring States that erects a very peculiar monument; they erected it to the bollweevil and the reason they erected that statute was to recognize the part that the bollweevil played in forcing that local economy to change from a one-crop economy to a diversified one.

Now, I think that is a rather expensive way to learn a lesson and I think that we had better make sure we don't erect some other monuments, because let me tell you, there is another kind of creature running around that doesn't resemble a bollweevil but has peculiar qualities that resemble certain national figures. The creature goes around burying its head in the sand, shoves out the facts that it does not want to know, those facts it does not wish to see, and those sounds

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that it does not wish to hear, and it creates for himself a world of unreality. I guess they call it an ostrich but there is another name to call it, too, just a Goldwaterite. [Applause.]

My friends, Franklin Roosevelt understood the South and its problems, and he said to you there is no simple solution. The solution must be part political with the Federal Government participating along with State, county, city, town and township government, but there must also be participation by industry, business and schools, by citizens, North and South, and the South and Georgia, in particular, knows that there is no conspiracy in your Federal Government, knows that there is no conspiracy in a partnership of all of the units of government working at every level together, so that we can all do better.

What is desirable in the South and throughout the United States, for that matter, is not a planned region, but a region that plans, a region that plans as this region has, to utilize its resources, and to capitalize on the great opportunities now open to it, and regional agencies such as your own Georgia port authority established by Governor Talmadge, cooperating with the Federal Government, are a fine example of the partnership which brings this about.

Now, my friends, let me conclude in this television broadcast by just citing a few things of the partnership that we can have which some people don't want you to have. I want to, for example, tell you of the days in the Senate where certain of your leaders in the Senate had been working together to make a better South.

Senators Russell, Talmadge and I, virtually every Member of the House of Representatives, of your delegation, voted for a Trade Expansion Act, because Georgia depends a great deal on trade, and what happened? All of your members, with at least one exception, almost every member of Georgia's delegation in the Senate and the House voted for foreign trade, voted for better trade, but not Senator Goldwater.

Senator Talmadge, Senator Russell and I and virtually every Member of the House of Representatives voted for the 1962 farm bill that raised Georgia's farm income, but not Senator Goldwater.

Senators Russell and Talmadge and I fought against the efforts to impair the 1962 act giving the President power to regulate textile imports, but not Senator Goldwater. And Senators Russell and Talmadge and I and virtually every member of your delegation supported the 1963 water projects legislation that included Federal aid for the Flint River flood-control project here in Georgia, but not Senator Goldwater. And we voted for the Urban Mass Transportation Act for the city of Atlanta to help this great city, your whole delegation, but not Senator Goldwater.

Well, my friends, we voted for Federal aid to construction of medical schools. Your Senators, your House Members, but not that Republican spokesman. [Laughter.]

And may I add finally, that most of the members of your delegation voted for the tax cut that gave industry in this State a shot in the arm, so to speak, that gave consumers additional purchasing power, that have put America forward in the economy of this Nation, yes, almost all Senators, and Congressmen, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for a better America, with a better economy for a tax cut, but not Senator Goldwater.

And may I add just as a little extra that your two Senators voted for social security amendments to increase social security benefits and so did Senator Humphrey, and to provide programs of medical assistance to our elderly, but not Senator Goldwater.

So, finally, my friends, may I say that the record of cooperation on the part of the leader of the Republican Party with the Members that you have elected to Congress is a record, may I say, that deserves your careful examination, it is a record that will show that the only time Mr. Goldwater appears to be your friend is when he is down here on the speaking stump but when he is in the Senate he votes against Georgia, he votes against the South, and believe me he votes against the economic well-being of the vast majority of Americans. [Applause.]



## HE - LINO - 118

Well, I want to talk to you a little while more. You are a good audience [applause] I have been asked time after time what is the central issue in this campaign, and I think I can tell you. The central issue in this campaign is which of these two candidates can you believe—can you trust; which of them can you put your trust in? Who is it? Is it Senator Goldwater? Is it Lyndon Johnson upon whom you can rely? The President of the United States, my fellow citizens, is no longer just the President of this country, a big enough job for any man to be sure, but the President of the United States today is the leader of the free world.

He must be a man of great vision. He must be a man that understands the international developments; he must be one that has the respect of and the confidence of nations abroad. He must understand the thrust of the Communist aggressor. But he must also understand the art of negotiation.

I have said repeatedly that the thing that worries me about the Republican candidate more than anything else, he wants simple solutions for complex problems. He gives us childlike answers for man-sized problems. And he constantly spreads amongst us doubt and suspicion and fear.

You do not build a great America by dividing it. You do not build a strong America by downgrading it. You do not make a lawful America by telling people that a law incites them to bitterness and hostilities. You do not build the kind of America that we want by constantly berating your Federal Government, a government, if you please, of the people, by the people and for the people, and a government that has played a distinct role of benefit right here in this sovereign State of Georgia.

I ask Georgians, any Georgian, to ask themselves how well off would his economy have been had it not been for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal, for Harry Truman and the Fair Deal, for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, ask yourself that question. [Applause.]

Ask yourself this question. What kind of a man do you want in charge of the great national security apparatus of this country? What kind of a man by experience, by temperament, by background do you want, with his hand on that nuclear trigger? Ask yourself whether or not the man that you have in the White House has demonstrated to you the kind of purpose, of calm, resolute spirit that gives you the sense of confidence in him. I think we need a President who is firm and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent. I think we need a President who is strong without being bellicose, who is fair without being an appeaser, and I think we have that kind of a President.

I also think we need a President who knows how to unite us, and not divide us. And if anything bothers this Senator in this campaign, it is that somebody is trying to win an election not by a program of construction, but by a philosophy of division and destruction.

I have yet to find out what the program is of the opposition. The program that we offer you is the program that was fashioned by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party. It is a program we have enacted in part in the Congress but upon which we can build in the 89th Congress. President Lyndon Johnson doesn't try to divide city from country, worker from farmer, Federal Government from State government, State government from city government.

Lyndon Johnson doesn't try to divide people on the basis of religion or race. Lyndon Johnson speaks to the American people as their President. He calls upon them to be good people, he calls upon them to be law-abiding people, he calls upon us to be people that are educated, that seek enlightenment. He asks us to work together. He is trying to make out of America a great positive progressive brotherhood, and you and I know that in the kind of world in which we live that is the only kind of America that can survive.

An America divided and torn apart cannot live. [Applause.]

I respect and admire our President for many things, but above all I respect him because, even as we see this unprecedented prosperity in which so many of us share, he has the insight, yes, Reverend, he had the spiritual quality that saw that among those who had so much there were some who had so little, and this President had the courage at a

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time when he could have just talked about prosperity, when he could have just painted a beautiful picture of what most of us are enjoying, this great President had the courage to say: "Yes, but among us there is a brother or a sister, there is a family or there is a community that is not enjoying the full fruits of the American economy."

And this President called upon the American people to wage war on poverty, and in this audience tonight sits Phil Landrum who led the fight in the House of Representatives for a program that was designed to help the poor, to help the needy, to help the little guy. [Applause.]

What would this program do? Will it hurt the rich? No. Will it overtax us? No. Will it weaken America? No.

What it will do is to help some people help themselves. It will strike mighty blows against ignorance and illiteracy, it will attack these pockets of economic poverty, it will permit us to raise our sights, to lift ourselves, because, remember this, none of us are any better than the total of us. And I admire President Lyndon Johnson for the fact that he has had the courage to seek out these injustices and to wage war against them.

The difference between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater is Lyndon Johnson wages war on poverty, Barry Goldwater wages it on progress. That is the difference. [Applause.]

I want a President, and I want a country, that wants the best out of every American. I do not want a President that tells us that we are failing. I do not want a President who tells us that we are weak. I don't want a President that tells us that our Government is a tyranny, because it is not. I want a President that inspires the young, and offers to the young of America the opportunity that they deserve. I want a President that understands that this country should have compassion for the afflicted, and I want a President that understands that people who are elderly should be able to live in dignity.

Let me tell you, my good friends, compassion is not weakness, and concern for the afflicted is not socialism. It is good, wholesome, today Christian Americanism, and I am proud to support it. [Applause.]

And I want a President that tells me of a better day, that inspires the young to look ahead, that encourages them in the pursuits of learning, that understands the importance of something more than brick and mortar, that understands that America is more than its industries or its banks or even its farms or its buildings; that America, after all, is a spirit of human dignity.

And what have we been trying to do during these turbulent days? What is the struggle all about with the Communist world? It isn't over just means of production. It isn't only economics. It is over something that is much more fundamental. It is over this great spiritual concept of human dignity. God did create man in his own image, and the reason that we are believers in democracy is because we believe that mankind is entitled to a dignified existence. We do believe as a people in human dignity, the Communist does not.

The Communist sees government as the master. We see it as the servant. And I want a President, if you please, that makes young people understand the heritage of our country and also the promise of it. I want him to inspire me to excellence, I want him to tell my sons and daughter to do better, and anything they will they can have if they will work for it.

We Americans have always been able to do the impossible, and if ever we needed to do the impossible, it is in the second half of the 20th century. We are not going to win this struggle for a free world, we are not going to win the struggle for peace, my friends, by half-hearted efforts, and we are not going to win it by having our vision in a rearview mirror. We will only win it if we look to the stars, if we have ideals, if we can think big, if we have the bigness of heart and the bigness of mind and the bigness of character that America should so much symbolize, and that is why I am for Lyndon Johnson, he is a big man. [Applause.]

I have been told that these folks of the opposition have a crusade. I have been told that they are fanatical in their zeal. Possibly that is so. But I ask you not to be fanatics. I ask you only to be dedicated. I ask you to be sacrificial, I ask you to give of yourself, I ask you to help.

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I remind you that there are vicious forces at work in America. There are forces of bitterness, there are forces of hatred, there are forces of prejudice, there are forces of reaction, there are forces of retreat and they parade themselves as being superpatriots. They are not. They knowingly or unknowingly are doing this country a great disservice, and I ask you to win this election not only for Lyndon Johnson, I ask you to carry this State not only for the Democratic Party, I ask you to win this election and carry this State for the future of this Nation, for all that it stands for, for its wholesomeness, for its decency, for its liberty, for its opportunity, for its dignity, yes, for its great responsibility for peace and justice in this world, and I know that if you put yourselves to the task we can do it.

I am going to give everything that I have to it. I am proud to be on this ticket with President Johnson, and I am here to tell you that we are going to win this election. We want your help in the process of doing it. I want to hear on election night that Georgia once again demonstrated its love of America, its faith in the Democratic Party, its belief in the future by voting with an overwhelming majority to give its electoral votes to Lyndon B. Johnson, your friend, and to Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Detroit, Mich.  
Airport  
September 30, 1964

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Let me thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and I do want to express a very sincere and warm thanks to the members here of the township board and the city councils, the mayor, and local officials that have gathered here from the western part of Wayne County.

I am very pleased to have this wonderful band with us, too, today; they are great, and they look mighty sharp. One of them over there said, "Maybe you can get us a little aid for some new uniforms." [Laughter and applause.]

I want you to know that you take that up with Senator Philip Hart; will you do that? He is a man with great influence in the U.S. Senate.

I am particularly pleased to see these fine signs that have been put together here, I am sure, by some good local talent. They look just wonderful, and I want to thank all of you for coming out here to greet Mrs. Humphrey and myself.

Where is Mrs. Humphrey? Did we lose her around here? She must be running for something, around here shaking hands all the time.

This is my wife, Mrs. Humphrey; Muriel. [Applause.]

You know I told President Johnson one time when he was looking around for somebody for Vice President, I said: "Look, don't look any further, I am a man that has had more experience being Vice President than any other man in the United States. I have been vice president of my house since I was married 28 years ago."

And you know Vice Presidents don't have much to say about what goes on. So, he accepted me on that basis.

We have just come from the State of Georgia, and we had a marvelous meeting last night at Atlanta, the largest Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner that they have ever had in the history of that State.

We had a fine reception. We had a few folks around there that were politically misguided. There were a couple that were still coming through with the cheers or the jeers, I should say, from the Cow Palace. I feel a little sorry for some of those dear folks that have forgotten how to be happy.

The best thing about Democrats is they know how to be happy and how to smile. [Applause.]

I want you to be that way right down to the final day of that election. You be happy, you be confident, you be optimistic. The American people need to know that politics is not a grimy and glum and miserable, dismal business. They need to know how that it is the pursuit of a people that have much to be grateful for and much to be thankful for, and we ought to express that thanks and that gratitude by our countenance, by our words, by our deeds, and by our smiles and by our sense of genuine happiness, and I know that is the way you are going to do it.

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I am happy to be back in Michigan once again, I was here just a few days ago. We were in Grand Rapids and we were in Bay City and we were in Kalamazoo and were in Flint, Mich., and we are going to be back in here again for other meetings because this is a crucial State in this election, and I am confident that this State is going to be carried for the Democratic ticket.

I know that you are going to give your support to Neal Staebler, that fine man that is running for Governor here on the Democratic ticket, and I know that you are going to [applause] I know you are going to help my friend, Bob Derengoski to become the Lieutenant Governor of this State, and I know you are going to reelect that wonderful, fine, kind, humble, brilliant man that is your U.S. Senator, Phil Hart.

So, get on with the job.

By the way, don't forget there are a couple of other fellows running, too, and I have a feeling that you will keep it in mind and you get out and double your efforts now, work real hard, because President Johnson has asked me wherever I go to ask you for your help, and we want your help. We need your help. We need you to work real hard and if you will vote for Lyndon B. Johnson on November 3, you will get me, too.

Thank you very, very much.

Detroit, Mich.

National Guard Association

September 30, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing the members and friends of the National Guard. We have many venerable military organizations in our country, some of which extend in an unbroken line back to the War of Independence. But the National Guard is, in a sense, the oldest of them all. It is in a very real sense the direct descendant of the Minutemen at Concord, and the other brave citizen-soldiers of the Revolution who created this great Nation of ours.

But times have changed, and so has the role of the Guard. For the first time in our history, the National Guard has an active defense mission in peacetime. As an integral part of the Air Defense Command, Army National Guard NIKE missile battalions are on site and in operation around the clock.

In the Air National Guard, elements of a number of fighter-interceptor squadrons and aircraft and warning squadrons stand on "runway alert". In these—and many other ways—the National Guard is on the frontline of America's defense. I believe that the Guard has been indispensable in the past and is indispensable in the future.

In this great industrial city of Detroit I am sure that businessmen and employers know the importance of the National Guard in our country's defense system. I am sure that they and their colleagues across the country grant without hesitation the 15 days' leave each summer necessary for you to keep up your training. American employers know that the temporary inconvenience caused by summer leave is a small price to pay for the large contribution made to our Nation's defense.

I can think of no more fitting group with which to discuss the very vital subject which I propose to talk about today.

I am here today to talk to you about peace and about strength.

I do not doubt that—like most Americans—you feel deeply the overriding need for world peace and for national strength, and that you recognize a relationship between the two.

Peace is best preserved through strength and preparedness: how fully has tragic history taught us that lesson.

Yet there is another truth that history proclaims: that strength alone neither gives nor guarantees peace. For between strength and peace lies a vital way-station, a life-giving, life-preserving link.



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I speak of responsibility. And by responsibility I mean those qualities of reason, restraint, maturity, and compassion that make men morally accountable for their actions.

Strength employed without responsibility is the force of the jungle unleashed. Strength without responsibility is the formula for blind violence. Strength without responsibility is the very denial of peace—the shortcut to war. In a nuclear age it is also the shortcut to mutual annihilation.

So I want to talk not only of peace and of strength, I also want to talk of responsibility in the use of strength and in the pursuit of peace.

These matters are central to the present election campaign. They have been made central by those who daily seek to cast doubts upon our Nation's military strength. They have been made central by those who offer shortcuts to annihilation—who glibly speak of "peace through strength," yet who fail to understand the test of responsibility.

These are men who have never left the simplicity of the schoolyard—who see our problems today in the simpleminded image of good-guys versus bullies.

What I have to say today concerns the state of our Nation's defenses. But more than that, it concerns the state of mind and spirit of those men who control our defenses—who hold as a trust from the American people a stewardship over the life and death of our planet.

The plain and sobering truth is that our country is today the strongest military power in the history of the world. We are not only stronger than another nation; we are also stronger than any possible combination of other nations. I will not ask you to take my word for it, or Secretary McNamara's, or even President Johnson's. Instead, let me cite some hard statistics about this vast military force.

First of all, how do our forces compare with those of the second most powerful nation—the Soviet Union? Is there a missile gap? A submarine gap? A bomber gap?

What about long-range missiles? The United States now has more than 800 dependable intercontinental ballistic missiles that can reach any military base or city in the Communist world. Almost all of our ICBM's are protected in steel-and-concrete underground shelters, ready to fire in minutes.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only one-fourth as many—200 ICBM's, few of which are in underground shelters.

So, there is a missile gap. It is in our favor by more than 4 to 1 today, and it will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

The second basic strategic war weapon is the submarine-carried missile. Our Navy now has 256 Polaris missiles carried on 16 submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire on minutes' notice. These nuclear submarines, hidden beneath the seas of the world, could if necessary alone destroy 30 to 40 million people.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has a smaller force of sea-based missiles carried on inferior submarines. Our Polaris submarines are nuclear powered; most of theirs are not. Our missiles can be launched from beneath the surface of the sea. The U.S.S.R. has no such operational missiles. Our missiles can strike deep into the Communist world; theirs have less than one-third our range.

Another 25 Polaris submarines are under construction. They will carry another 400 Polaris missiles.

So, there is also a submarine gap. It is in our favor today, and it will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

On the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the enemy. Half of the bombers are ready at all times to take off on 15 minutes' notice. They are loaded with nuclear weapons tailored to the targets they must destroy, and they carry secret devices to confuse and penetrate enemy defenses.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only a small fraction of the total number of bomber which we possess which can be sent on a round-trip mission of destruction.

In other words, there is a bomber gap—and it is in our favor. It will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

Clearly, America is strong. And our people know we are strong.

Those who cry alarm and rush to the panic button either do not know the facts—or they think the facts are too complicated for the rest of us to understand. I believe that they sadly underestimate the intelligence of the American people.

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They try to tell us, for example, that America's strength is deteriorating, that we are living on the inheritance of the past, that we have placed economy ahead of security. After 4 years in which this administration has invested over \$30 billion more than was projected in the last defense budget of the previous administration, Americans are asked to believe that they have less military strength than before.

Let's look at the record.

Here is the record of 4 years of defense planning by this administration. Since January 1961 this administration has achieved:

A 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200-percent increase in total megatonnage in our strategic alert forces.

A 60-percent increase in the tactical nuclear force in Western Europe.

A 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

A 44-percent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.

A 75-percent increase in airlift capability.

A 100-percent increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.

An 800-percent increase in the special forces trained for counter-insurgency.

There is the record, clear and irrefutable. But the self-styled military strategists persist in their doubts: "What about 1970? We may be ahead today," they admit, "but under the policies of this administration, we will soon fall behind."

Well, what about 1970? The truth, is, as Secretary McNamara has repeatedly stated:

Our strategic forces are and will remain sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war.

The fact is that this administration has increased by 50 percent expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last 4 years of the preceding administration. We have initiated or brought to completion 208 new weapons research projects, including 77 costing \$10 million or more each. Consider for a moment just a few of the new projects:

The SR-71, a long-range, manned, supersonic strategic military reconnaissance aircraft, which will employ the most advanced observation equipment in the world and fly at over 2,000 miles per hour and at an altitude of over 80,000 feet.

The new A7-A aircraft, which will give the Navy superior attack capability at more than double the range of the A4-E that it will replace.

The EX-10, a heavy new type of torpedo for use against deep-diving, fast, nuclear submarines.

The new main battle tank, which will give our ground forces armor superiority throughout the 1970's.

An amazing new family of radars which actually sees around the curvature of the earth and will provide more advanced warning of enemy missile attacks.

The two new interceptor systems capable of destroying armed satellites.

The revolutionary variable sweep-winged F-111 fighter-bomber, a supersonic aircraft which has double the range and several times the payload of any previous fighter-bomber.

I could continue with this checklist of progress for another hour. But facts apparently have little effect on those who like to cry alarm. We daily hear wild charges that fly in the face of these facts.

In recognizing our great military strength we should acknowledge our debt to a man from Michigan—one of the men most responsible for organizing our overwhelming military power—Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Secretary McNamara, through his brilliant, energetic, determined leadership of the Defense Department, has spectacularly executed President Kennedy's and President Johnson's

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twin mandates: first, to develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy, without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings; and, second, having determined the force structure needed, to procure and operate it at the lowest possible cost. Through economies he has introduced into the Defense Department, Secretary McNamara achieved savings for the American taxpayer of \$2.5 billion last fiscal year alone and by fiscal year 1968 plans to achieve savings of 4.6 billion tax dollars annually—and while continuing to increase the growing military power of our Nation.

We have heard from the Republican candidate that tactical nuclear weapons should be considered "conventional" weapons, no different from those of the last World War—that these "small" nuclear weapons should be handed over to military field commanders.

How "conventional" we might well ask, and how "small" was the bomb that devastated Hiroshima?

The average tactical nuclear bomb in Western Europe today is five times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The average tactical nuclear weapon in Western Europe, other than bombs, has a yield at least that of the Hiroshima bomb. The smallest nuclear weapon in Western Europe today has a force tens of times greater than the 1,000-pound bombs dropped by the Flying Fortresses during the Second World War. The nuclear firepower available to a single U.S. infantry division in Europe is sufficient to destroy the combined population of the 50 largest cities in the United States.

How unimportant, furthermore, is the nuclear radiation which accompanies all nuclear explosives, large or small? In fact, the smallest nuclear weapons kill primarily not by blast, but by radiation. This doesn't seem to worry Barry Goldwater. But it worries our allies in Europe, where those weapons would have to be used. It worries me. It worries the President of the United States. And I shudder for the day when we have a President of the United States whom it does *not* worry.

No, my friends, there is a line between conventional and nuclear weapons which we can ignore only at our peril. Once we step over that line, we enter a great unknown from which there will be no turning back.

The true role of nuclear weapons is to deter aggression before it begins. To do this successfully, we must be prepared to use whatever force is necessary. We are prepared. We have the will to use nuclear weapons if necessary. And if such weapons must be used, the man to make that decision is the President of the United States.

Of course, the true measure of our defense cannot be found by merely weighing bombs or counting missiles, even when it is true weight and honest count. One of the grave dangers in this campaign of deliberate confusion—all this talk about bombs and bombers, and missiles and megatons—is that we may lose sight of what nuclear power *cannot* do for our defense.

Nuclear power can deter a surprise attack with bombs or missiles on the United States because those in a position to launch such an attack know that the result would be total, instant national suicide for themselves. But nuclear weapons cannot prevent our enemies from attempting to devour freedom bit-by-bit, in Latin America, in Asia, or in Africa. I doubt that the Communists intend to blow this world to pieces—they prefer to try to take it piece by piece.

Through a flexible military posture, combined with a tough and realistic political policy, we are preventing the Communists from accomplishing this objective.

In this continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the enemies of freedom, we have already won a large part of the battle. We have driven our adversaries further and further down the scale of violence.

We have taught the Communists the futility of trying to expand their empire through large-scale military invasion. We have taught them the futility of trying to terrify Americans by rattling their nuclear rockets. And in southeast Asia we are, today, meeting their test of our will and patience in the low end of the spectrum of force—in the twilight zone of assassination and guerrilla terrorism.

And what, finally, are the facts of free world strength in Europe? Europe today enjoys both the shield of nuclear weapons and the strength of conventional power. Here the NATO alliance offers a striking example of mutual trust and common purpose. Today the strength of this alliance is steadily increasing.

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We have reequipped our Army in Europe with the most modern equipment. Sergeant and Pershing solid-fueled missile battalions have been deployed to Europe replacing obsolete Corporal and Redstone missiles; 175-millimeter artillery battalions are now in Europe; the equipment for 2 divisions and 10 supporting units has been prepositioned in Europe; and the concept of rapidly flying in troops to man this equipment has been tested in Exercise Big Lift.

The United States today has 18 nuclear missile submarines available to support NATO; in 1961, there were 2. Our capacity to airlift troops and supplies to Europe has increased by 75 percent since 1961. Finally, there has been a 60-percent increase in the number of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe. And most important of all, we have made clear to our European allies that our nuclear guarantee stands as firm as ever, that our nuclear shield protects Europe today as it has in the past.

I have told you today of the nature and substance of our Nation's military strength, I have done so because the American people must continue to know the truth regarding our defenses in an age of peril. I have done so, too, because you of the National Guard have a special right to candor and specifics on this crucial subject.

The firm statistics of our strength should be deeply reassuring to Americans of both political parties. For partisan politics cannot obscure our common dedication to the Nation's strength.

But I return once again to that vital human factor which gives meaning and direction to strength: the factor of responsibility. The stuff of strength is a raw substance to be put to use—for evil purposes or for good, with recklessness or with restraint, toward deepening chaos and war or toward order and peace.

And it is in this vital area of responsibility that the American people are confronted this November with a clear and unmistakable choice between two men. We can choose a man whose recklessness in words foretells a recklessness in deeds, whose instinctive zest for belligerence belies his professed dedication to peace. We can choose another man whose deeds and words in the world's most powerful office are the essence of responsibility.

I submit to you that President Johnson—as President Kennedy before him—has that greatest of all gifts we seek in statesmen: an understanding of the uses of strength in the relentless pursuit of peace. Under his leadership, the raw substance of strength will continue to be transformed into the lifeblood of peace.

Americans are not, by nature, a warlike people. No people in history every possessed the absolute military superiority that is ours today, over all other nations, friends and enemies alike. Yet, our armaments are used, not for conquest, but for the prevention of conquest.

American arms are used, first of all, to assure our own safety. But beyond this, American arms today are a potent factor in discouraging the use of force in the pursuit of national ambitions. They are the shield behind which men labor to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish. Our friends and allies around the world know this, and have given us their trust. We will be true to that trust.

America seeks no wider war because we wish to end *all* war.

America will not abandon the search for peaceful settlement of dispute among nations because we are opposed to *all* settlements imposed by force and violence.

America will not try to impose her own will upon our allies because what we seek is not an American world, but a *free* world. We seek a world of diversity—of free and independent nations, pursuing their own happiness according to their own wishes.

My friends, this generation of Americans faces a challenge unparalleled in history. The last day of the gunslinger—the quick-draw man—dawned at Alamogordo. On that day, man acquired the power to obliterate himself from the face of the earth. Since that day, war has worn a new face, and the vision of it has sobered all men and demanded of them a higher order of responsibility.



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Our generation knows war as no other people in history have ever known it. And in this grim fact, I see cause for hope. If we continue to use our might only in the pursuit of peace, if we continue to seek grounds for lasting peace, then in the fullness of time, men may look back upon the frightful glare that burst over Hiroshima and see there not a beginning of terror but an end to terror—an end to the senseless cruelty of man bearing arms against fellow man.

This is the hope some of our political leaders would reject in their search for quick and easy solutions. This is the goal they would have us abandon in their impatience and frustration. This is the challenge they refuse to face because they can envision neither the prospects of success nor the consequences of failure. And where there is no vision, the people perish.

If we act with vision and wisdom, my fellow Americans, we shall not perish, but shall prevail. Nor will we be frightened into war when our vision is peace. Not peace at any price, but peace with freedom.

Our defenses are strong. They will remain strong. While the time for beating swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall continue to work to eliminate war. Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice—but courage. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness—but wisdom. Let us be wise, let us persevere, and America will prevail. With our hard-won freedom intact, we shall survive and flourish.

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Detroit, Mich.

National Guard Association, Cobo Hall

September 30, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Thank you, gentlemen, thank you very much, General Cantwell, and my warmest thanks and appreciation to the distinguished Minnesotan who greeted us at the airport, General Mogeline, and members of the National Guard who are gathered together here in your 86th conference.

I am highly honored by the invitation that was extended, and I am deeply appreciative of the privilege that have been accorded to me this morning to discuss with you as a Member of the Congress of the United States for some 16 years, matters relating to national security and national defense, because it surely is a fact that the Congress of the United States as well as the executive branch plays a very important role in the development of national security policy as well as providing the resources and the policy guidelines needed for adequate national security for our great Nation.

I want to also assure this distinguished assemblage that the administration of President Johnson is keenly aware of the many duties that you perform, of your vital role in our total national defense structure, and of the importance of the National Guard as an organization intimately associated with the American people at the community level in thousands of communities across this land.

And lest I fail to properly emphasize it, may I dispell any concern or doubt that you have as to the policy of this Government for the continuity of your great organization, the National Guard.

You will have the kind of support and consistent support, that is required for the maintenance of high moral and efficiency of operation and training your National Guard units. [Applause.]

It is a very great pleasure for me to address the members and the friends of the National Guard. We have many venerable military organizations in our country, some of which extend in an unbroken line back to the war of independence, but the National Guard is in a sense the oldest of them all.

It is in a very real sense the direct descendant of the minutemen of Concord and Lexington and the other brave citizen-soldiers of the Revolution who created this great Nation of ours.

But times have changed, and historical reference gives us some feeling of tradition, but tradition must be with progress, and not just with memory and with these changing times so has the role of the Guard changed.

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For the first time in our history the National Guard has an active defense mission in peacetime. As an integral part of the Air Defense Command, of the Army National Guard Nike missile battalions, are on site and on operation around the clock.

In the Air National Guard elements of a number of fighter interceptor squadrons and aircraft and warning squadrons stand on runway alert.

In these and in many other ways, the National Guard is on the front line of America's defense, and I believe that the Guard has been indispensable in the past, and I believe that its maintenance and its strength and its efficiency is indispensable in the future. [Applause.]

I am here today to talk to you about the most serious of all subjects, one that must have priority consideration by every American. I am here to talk to you about peace, and about strength.

Like most Americans, you feel deeply the overriding need for world peace, and for national strength; and you, above all others, know that peace and strength are related.

Peace is the first—is best preserved through strength and preparedness. History, our history, yes, tragic history, has taught us that lesson. Yet, there is another truth that history proclaims, that strength alone, military strength alone, neither gives nor guarantees peace, for between strength and peace lies a vital way station, a life-giving, life-preserving link.

What is it? I speak of responsibility, and by responsibility I mean those qualities of reason, of restraint, maturity, and compassion that make men morally accountable for their actions.

Strength employed without responsibility is the force of the jungle, unleashed. Strength without responsibility is the formula for blind violence. Strength without responsibility is the very denial of peace.

It is a shortcut to war, and in a nuclear age it is also the shortcut to mutual annihilation.

Now, these matters are central to the present political campaign, and they have been made central, yes, they have been made central by those who daily seek to cast doubts upon our military strength.

They have been made central by those who speak glibly of peace through strength and yet fail to understand the test of responsibility.

What I have to say today concerns the state of our Nation's defenses. It concerns the state of mind and the spirit of those men who control our defenses, who hold as a trust from the American people a stewardship over the life and death of our planet, and what an awesome responsibility and stewardship that is.

Our country is today the strongest military power in the history of the world. This is an undeniable fact. We are not only stronger than any other nation, we are also stronger than any possible combination of other nations.

Now, I will not ask you to take my word for this. I claim to be no great military expert. I don't ask you to take the word of Secretary McNamara or even President Johnson, your Commander in Chief.

Instead, let me cite some hard statistics about this vast American military force, and may I digress a moment to say that I serve on the Committee on Appropriations in the Congress of the United States. I have been a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations since 1952. It has been my privilege in recent years to sit with the top leaders of this country on many an occasion, the Cuban crisis, the Vietnamese problem, the Berlin crisis, the problems in Laos, in every area of the world, in Panama, and to review with the Commander in Chief and with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the Secretaries of our different Departments—the Secretary of Defense, Air, Navy, Army—to review the military posture and the military defense and strength of this Nation, and sometimes I wonder after these meetings how there can be so much loose talk, because there all the facts are laid on the table.

May I give this audience this reassurance. That the President of the United States, whoever he may be, and I have had the privilege of serving now with four, President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson, I have never known a President to deceive the American people on the issue of national security, never. [Applause.]

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And above all he never has deceived the leaders of the Congress and we never meet as Democrats or Republicans. We meet as Senators, and as Congressmen trusted with the responsibility or entrusted with the responsibility, of providing the means and the policy guidelines by the Congress for the defense of this great Republic.

Well, now, let's talk about this vast military force.

First of all, how do our forces compare with those of the second most powerful military nation, the Soviet Union? Is there a missile gap? Is there a submarine gap? Is there a bomber gap? What about long-range missiles?

The United States now has more than 800, and I repeat, more than 800 dependable intercontinental ballistic missiles that can reach any military base or city in the Communist world or any other part of the world.

Almost all of our ICBM's are protected in steel and concrete underground shelters ready to fire in minutes. The Soviet Union, by comparison, according to the best available allied intelligence, has only one-fourth as many, few of which are in underground shelters.

There is, in other words, my friends, a missile gap, but it is in our favor, and with your help and with the cooperation of a Congress it will remain in our favor.

The second basic strategic war weapon is the submarine-carried missile. Our Navy now has 256 Polaris missiles carried on 16 submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire on a minute's notice.

These nuclear submarines hidden beneath the seas of the world represent to any potential enemy who seeks to destroy the United States, the loss of 30 to 40 million people, pray God that may never have to happen, and that we may never have to use that weapon, but let it be clearly understood the Polaris missile today is one of the most vital elements of the national security structure of this country, and it is without a doubt almost a miracle weapon, and it is a fantastic deterrent.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has a smaller force of sea-based missiles carried on inferior submarines.

Our Polaris submarines are nuclear powered. Most of theirs are not.

Our missiles can be launched from beneath the surface of the sea, the U.S.S.R. has no such operational missile.

Our missiles can strike deep into the Communist world. Theirs have less than one-third our range.

Another 25 Polaris submarines are under construction. They will carry another 400 Polaris missiles, always improved, always more technically proficient. Yes, my fellow Americans, there is a submarine gap, and it is in our favor, and it will remain in our favor.

Now, on the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the enemy. Half of our bombers are ready at all times to take over on 15 minutes' notice. They are loaded with nuclear weapons, tailored to the targets they must destroy, and they carry secret devices, as you well know, to confuse and penetrate enemy defenses.

The Soviet Union by comparison has only a small fraction of the total number of long-range bombers. Yes, again, there is a bomber gap, and it is in our favor, and it will remain in our favor.

So, clearly America is mighty, and it is strong, and our people know that it is strong, and those who cry alarm, and rush to the panic button either do not know the facts or they ignore them.

Now, let's look at the record. Here is the record of the 4 years of defense planning by this administration, an administration in which I have had some hand as one of the legislative lieutenants, the majority whip of the U.S. Senate.

It has been my privilege to sit at the council tables of this Government with two Presidents, and with the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. What are the facts of these 4 years?

A 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads, and a 200-percent increase in total megatonnage in our strategic alert forces.

A 60-percent increase in the tactical nuclear force in Western Europe. A 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions. This all since 1961.

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A 44-percent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons, a 75-percent increase in airlift capability, a 100-percent increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet. An 800-percent increase in the special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

There is the record, but some self-styled military strategists persist in their doubts. They say what about 1970, what may be ahead? They worry, and they worry us. Well, what about 1970? Secretary McNamara has given to us his answer, and I quote him:

Our strategic forces are and will remain sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war.

Now, that is the statement of your Defense Secretary and subscribed to by the Commander in Chief of the United States.

It will require to fulfill that statement the support of the American people through their elected representatives. The programing of this Government, with which I am thoroughly familiar, assures us an indefinite, long into the future superiority of military power the likes of which mankind has never known in all the history of this planet.

Now, this administration has increased by 50 percent expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last 4 years of the preceding administration. We have initiated and brought to completion 208 new weapons research projects, and indeed many new weapons systems.

Secretary McNamara, through his brilliant, energetic, and determined leadership in the Defense Department, has spectacularly executed President Kennedy's and now President Johnson's twin mandates—first, to develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings. And may I suggest that we have added over \$30 billion of increased military expenditures in the last 3 years over the rate of expenditure of the last year of the previous administration.

We put in 1 year \$6 billion alone by act of Congress in 1 week over the budget, following the first Berlin crisis of 1961. These dollars have produced results.

The second mandate, the two Presidents that I have mentioned—having determined the force structure needed, the mandate to the Secretary of Defense is to procure and operate it in the most economical manner at the lowest possible cost, and this has been done.

We have heard the Republican candidate declare that tactical nuclear weapons should be considered conventional, conventional weapons, no different from those of the last World War; that these so-called small nuclear weapons could and should be handed over to military field commanders.

But how conventional and how small was the bomb that devastated Hiroshima? You men know. The average tactical nuclear bomb in Western Europe today is five times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The average tactical nuclear weapon in Western Europe other than bombs has a yield at least that of Hiroshima's bomb and the smallest nuclear weapon in Western Europe today has a force 10 times greater than the 1,000-pound bombs dropped by the flying fortresses during the Second World War.

The nuclear firepower available to a single U.S. infantry division in Europe is sufficient to destroy the combined population of the 50 largest cities in the United States.

Now, how unimportant, furthermore, is this nuclear radiation which accompanies all nuclear explosives, large or small? In fact, the smallest nuclear weapons kill primarily not by blast, according to our nuclear atomic experts, but by radiation.

This doesn't seem to worry my colleague in the Senate from Arizona, but it worries our allies in Europe where these weapons most likely would have to be used, and it worries me. It worries the President of the United States, and I shudder for the day when we have a President of the United States whom it would not worry.

Now, therefore, there is a line between conventional and nuclear weapons which we can only ignore at our peril. Once we step over that line and we may have to, but once we do, we enter a great unknown from which there will be no turning back.



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The true role of nuclear weapons is to deter aggression before it begins. To do this successfully we must be prepared to use whatever force is necessary, and we are so prepared, let no one spread any doubt about that. Our problem today is not enough nuclear weapons but where to store the ones we have.

We will have the will to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, we demonstrated that will in October 1962, in a major confrontation with the Soviet Union which was for keeps.

And if such weapons must be used, the man to make that decision is the President of the United States. The true measure of our defense cannot, however, be found by merely weighing bombs or counting missiles, even when it is a true weight and an honest count.

In fact, I once recall a speech of General Eisenhower at the time that NATO was being formed when he spoke in the Library of Congress at the Coolidge Auditorium and there he said to us that the military strength of America was but the cutting edge of the strong sword of the American economy, of an America educated, of an America at work, of a healthy, prosperous, strong America, spiritually, economically, and politically, and we ought never to forget it.

One of the great and grave dangers of this campaign, where there is so much confusion and some of it deliberate, all of this talk about bombs and bombers, and missiles and megatons, is that we may lose sight of what nuclear power cannot do for our defense.

Now, nuclear power can deter a surprise attack with bombs or missiles on the United States because those in a position to launch such an attack know that the result would be total instant national suicide for themselves. But nuclear weapons cannot prevent our enemies from attempting to devour freedom bit by bit in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa, or even in Europe.

I doubt that the Communists intends to blow this world to pieces. I think they prefer to pick it up piece by piece, intact. Through a flexible military posture combined with a responsible and realistic political policy we can prevent and we are preventing the Communists from accomplishing this objective.

In this continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the enemies of freedom, we have already won a large part of the battle. The problems of the Communist world far outweigh those of our free world, and every responsible American citizen knows it.

The monolithic structure of the Soviet bloc has been shattered and fractured, and every thoughtful student of government and foreign affairs knows it. The Soviet Union's economy is in deep trouble and every responsible person knows it.

The United States and its allies are so powerful today that every responsible person knows it including the men in the Kremlin, and I see no reason to frighten Americans by saying that we are weak or that we are in danger of being overrun, because of Communist monolithic structure and power.

It is no monolith. The Communist world is already in mortal ideological combat between the Soviet Union and Communist China, and the Soviet bloc itself is having trouble with its eastern satellites.

As Premier Khrushchev indicated they are getting too big to spank. And our policy ought to be one of encouraging this autonomy, encouraging this fracturing of the monolithic bloc rather than pretending somehow or another that all is well in the Kremlin and all is trouble and chaos in Washintgon.

That is bunk, and everybody knows it that is a thoughtful citizen in this country. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, we have taught the Communists the futility of trying to expand their empire through large-scale military invasion. We have taught them the futility of trying to terrify Americans by rattling their nuclear rockets, and in southeast Asia today, we are meeting their test of our will and patience in the low end of the spectrum of force, in the twilight zone of assassination and guerrilla terrorism, and let me assure this fine audience of distinguished patriots, we have no intention of withdrawing from southeast Asia and permitting that part of the world to be overrun by Communist aggression and subversion.

That is a policy statement. No intention whatsoever. [Applause.]

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And what finally are the facts then of free world strength in Europe? Europe today enjoys both the shield of the nuclear weapons and the strength of conventional power. Here the NATO alliance offers a striking example of mutual trust and common purpose, and even with its minor difficulties the strength of this alliance is steadily increasing, and our job is to strengthen it even more.

We have reequipped our Army in Europe with the most modern equipment. Sergeant and Preshing solid-fueled missile battalions have been deployed to Europe replacing obsolete are now in Europe. The equipment for 2 divisions and 10 supporting units has been prepositioned in Europe, and the concept of rapidly flying in troops to man this equipment has been tested in Exercise Big Lift.

The United States today has 18 nuclear missile submarines available to support NATO. In 1961 there were but two. Our capacity to airlift troops and supplies to Europe has increased by 75 percent since 1961. And finally, there has been a 60-percent increase in the number of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe.

And most important of all, we have made it clear to our European allies that our nuclear guarantee stands as firm as ever and that our nuclear shield protects Europe today as it has in the past.

Now, the firm statistics of our strength should be deeply reassuring to Americans of both political parties for partisan politics cannot obscure our common dedication to this Nation's welfare and this Nation's strength. But I return once again to that vital human factor which gives meaning to this strength, the factor of responsibility.

The stuff of strength is a raw substance, gentlemen, to be put to use, for evil purposes or for good, with recklessness or with restraint, toward deepening chaos or toward order and peace, and it is in this vital area of responsibility that the American people are confronted this November, with a clear and unmistakable choice.

We can choose a man whose recklessness in words foretells a recklessness in deeds. We can choose another whose deeds and words in the world's most powerful office are the essence of responsibility, and I submit to you that President Johnson, as President Kennedy before him, has the greatest of all gifts that we seek in statesmen, an understanding of the use of strength in the relentless pursuit of peace. Americans are not by nature a warlike people.

No people in history ever possessed the absolute military superiority that is ours today over all other nations, friends and enemies alike. Yet our armaments are used not for conquest, but for the prevention of conquest, not for aggression, but for the protection of the independence and the freedom of people.

American arms are used first of all to assure our own safety. Beyond this American arms today are the potent factor in discouraging the use of force in the pursuit of national ambitions. They are the shield behind which men labor to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish.

My fellow Americans, constructing a world order is not something that you do instantaneously. There isn't any instant order, and there isn't any instant peace, and their aren't any instant solutions to the problems.

The only thing that I know that is instant in all of this is instant annihilation if a nuclear war is triggered by miscalculation or irresponsibility.

We have got to have the moral strength to be able to stand the long test. The only way that I see that the Communists can overcome us is if we become impetuous, overly frustrated, impatient. We are winning. Their system is weakening, they are changing. They even have to bring in now the incentive system of private capitalism to get production.

Oh, if we will only persevere, and not permit ourselves the luxury of asking for a new-made world, a world made over instantly, at a time when the world is in convulsions. Even if there had been no Communists at all this world would have been in trouble and in a period of almost violent evolution and revolution.

Our friends and allies around the world know that this shield of strength of ours is there to protect them and they have given us their trust, and I say to you and to them, we will be worthy of that trust.

My friends, this generation of Americans faces a challenge unparalleled in history. The last day of the gun slinger, the quick-draw man, dawned at Alamogordo. On that day man acquired the power to obliterate himself from the face of the earth.



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