

## HE - LINO - 132

That first atomic explosion changed the whole power structure of the world, and everybody knows it—I thought everybody did—and that first atomic explosion changed the whole concept of military operation.

On that day, as I said, man acquired the power to destroy himself. 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, 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, honorable grounds, for a lasting peace, then in the fullness of time men may look back upon that frightful glare that burst over Hiroshima and see there not a beginning of terror and destruction, but an end of terror, an end of the senseless cruelty of man bearing arms against his fellowman.

If we act with wisdom and vision we shall not perish but we shall prevail. Nor will we be frightened into a war when our vision is peace. Not peace at any price, oh, no, indeed, but peace with freedom, and peace with justice. Our defenses are strong, and they are going to remain strong, and while the time for the beating of swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall nevertheless continue our moral responsibility to work to eliminate the scourge of war.

Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice but courage.

Gentlemen, I think it takes as much or more courage for a statesman in our time to relentlessly pursue the long trail of a just and enduring peace with freedom. I think it takes as much or more as it does for a man on the battlefield, and the Commander in Chief of this country not only is in charge of the Armed Forces of America, but he has responsibility to future generations.

He has responsibility to the life and to the happiness of the people of this country. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness but wisdom. So let us be wise and let us persevere and let us pursue peace as brave men, morally brave, intellectually brave, politically brave, and with our hard-won freedom intact through statesmanship and through responsibility, yes, responsibility in the use of power, which has been granted to us, we of the American Republic and we of mankind shall survive, and I think we shall flourish.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Detroit, Mich.  
Kennedy Square  
September 30, 1964.

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. Thank you very, very much. Thank you very much, Mayor Cavanagh. I wish to thank this fine progressive mayor of the great city of Detroit for this good and fine generous welcome.

May I say that yesterday at about this time Mrs. Humphrey and I were in Tifton, Ga., and the temperature was just a little warmer in many ways. [Laughter.]

Today I find a good crisp upper Midwest fall day that indicates to me that if you have clear vision you are going to vote Democratic and you sure have got a clear day in Detroit which means you are going to vote Democratic in November. [Applause.]

One of the things that has impressed me in this campaign, above all, is the difference in temperament between the respective peoples that support these different candidates. Whenever I come to a meeting such as this I find people that are looking strong and healthy, that are looking reasonably prosperous but above all, happy.

There is a sense of public happiness in our country, with the exception of a few, and I can plainly understand why those few are not happy. They have got the wrong candidate and they have got the wrong program. [Applause.]

Thank goodness the overwhelming majority of the American people are people who look ahead, are people who want to see a better America, an America that is moving forward rather than one that has its foot on the brake, and then in the confusion of all of the thinking and muddled thinking of the opposition, it shifts the car into reverse instead of forward gear.

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Mr. Mayor, before I go one moment longer, may I first of all say to you how proud you people here in Michigan must be to have in the U.S. Senate such a gifted and talented, humble and yet able man as your U.S. Senator, Phil Hart and I know you are going to reelect him. [Applause.]

He is a strong partner to that fearless, frank, candid, courageous U.S. Senator, Pat McNamara, that you also gave to us. [Applause.]

And I think it is about time, too, that Michigan gave itself the opportunity of having as its Governor someone that knows who he is for, and Neal Staebler does know who he is for. He is for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

And may I say that in his decision he stands with the vast majority of the American people.

I know that you recognize that it is very, very important for a President to have a Congress to work with him, and without going down the list of the many congressional candidates and the incumbent Congressmen, just let me say that you can be very proud in Michigan of those who have represented you in support of the Kennedy-Johnson program. They have done well, they have given a good accounting of their public service, and they are deserving of reelection, and President Johnson is deserving of having more support in the years ahead with the program that is—that he is going to advance for this Nation.

I was in your State just a few days ago, in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Bay City, Flint, Wyland, and a few other places and we are going to come back again, this is a very important State, we are really coming back only to get a note of refreshment, because we trust your judgment, we believe that you will be faithful to the cause of progressive government.

We can't imagine, I don't think even Mr. Goldwater can imagine, this State voting for him.

I know you are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

But I think they went a little too far in Michigan and I would like to register some form of friendly protest because I don't believe you ought to ban anybody or even a product that is named after him. I believe in fairplay in politics, and here I have got a headline story that said, "Michigan bans Goldwater"—now that is not right. I want him to have every opportunity to be heard because that is the best thing we have got going for us is when he is heard [applause] but I will say one thing for him, it is always new. He changes his mind every week. [Applause.]

Well, it says, "Michigan bans Goldwater"—right out of Grand Rapids, September 24, Associated Press, and again I say I don't think you ought to do that. "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"—now I want to say right now this man is not for sale. I will speak up for him here today, and I think your State officials ought to be a little more careful.

It says: "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."

Now, my dear friends and fellow Americans, there is the full analysis of the candidate and the platform of the opposition. [Laughter and applause.]

And may I say it was made in a State under Republican rule.

In all seriousness to you, I want to say just a few words about what I believe is an important development in your great National Government structure. The candidate of the opposition reminds the American people in every message that there is a very evil force at work in America, as he puts it, and that is the Federal Government.

I can't quite understand why he wants to be a part of it if it is so bad, but apparently he thinks he can improve it. He tells us that the major threat of our freedom is Federal tyranny. He tells us that this Federal Government is usurping the rights of the people.

He tells us that this Federal Government of ours, the Government that Lincoln, the great Republican, said, "was a government of the people and by the people and for the people" this man that has repudiated Mr. Lincoln and his doctrine of emancipation tells us that this Federal Government shouldn't work for the people. He tells us that it shouldn't be for the people.



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As a matter of fact, he wants only a very few of the people to have anything to say about it, and one of the things that worries me is some of the people that he recommends or that seem to recommend him.

But let's face it right now. American government is not just in Washington. American government is in Lansing, it is in Detroit, it is in every township, in every county, in every village, in every state-house, in every courthouse, as well as the White House and Capitol Hill.

And those who try to divide America on the basis of promoting division between Washington and Michigan, between city and small town, between urban dweller and farmer, between the races, those who seek to do that do a great disservice to the case of the United States of America, and they ought to be rebuked. [Applause.]

It was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who reminded America that the duty of government was to serve the people.

Yes, Senator Goldwater, we once had government that ignored the people, and the city of Detroit was nothing but an unemployment center. We had a government back in the twenties that denied even the very right of the Government of the United States to be interested in a worker or a farmer or a businessman or a banker, and everything went to pot, and we are hearing this same obsolete, and antiquated, foolish, ridiculous doctrine being preached again from high places.

I don't think this generation is going to let that sort of doctrine be accepted.

Our fathers, and some of us of my age, remember all too well the doctrine that told us that a President should be a weak President, that a President shouldn't be interested and couldn't have any interest in the welfare of agriculture, in the welfare of the city, in the welfare of the family.

There are those of us who remember America without social security.

The other day the candidate, the temporary spokesman of a small section of the Republican Party, said: "Senator Humphrey lies about my comments and my position on social security."

Well, Mr. Senator, when you tell me, and you told the people of New Hampshire, that social security should be only voluntary, that it should become, as you know, just pick and choose, that it should be partial, that is the death of social security, and we don't intend to let it happen, not a single one of us.

We don't intend to let it happen. [Applause.]

And put it down in your mental notebook, my friends, that a man that stands for the Office of Presidency, that even expresses a doubt, an uncertainty, or a qualification, about social security is a man that has forgotten that the American people, almost to a single person, have embraced social security and the social security system as an essential part of the American governmental structure.

Isn't that right? [Applause.]

But what would Mr. Goldwater's plans be for Detroit? Well, I will tell you. It wouldn't be accelerated public works. That has resulted in \$34 million of programing right in this city. He voted against it. He voted against it.

Your 48 miles of city streets that have been repaved because of the cooperation between your city and your State, and the Federal Government, those streets would not have been repaved, and the many programs of water and sewage improvement that have taken place in this great metropolitan center would have never taken place.

The city of Detroit has received more funds, more money, under the accelerated public works program than eight States in the Federal Union, and Mr. Goldwater wouldn't have given you one dime, not one dime.

His vote was no, no, no. [Applause.]

What about urban renewal? What do you think would have happened to your Lafayette project had you relied on his vote. There would have been none. What would happen to your great \$100 million medical center? There wouldn't have been one.

What will happen to your university city which is now in the process of being planned and will be under construction? There wouldn't have been one. Urban renewal is the only way that we can make our cities livable, and yet this man from the sands and deserts of Arizona, has no sympathy, no understanding whatsoever, for the city of Detroit. [Applause.]

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Oh, yes, but he has some understanding for areas where his properties are—\$1 billion for the central Arizona project, \$1 billion, but not one nickel for Detroit, not one nickel for this State. That is his record. [Applause.]

Now, let me make the record clear. I am glad he voted for the billion-dollar central Arizona project. I think it is needed out there and I voted for it also and it was supported by the administration.

But, my dear friends, you can't have something going for Arizona at the expense of Minnesota and Michigan or Georgia, New York and California. We build America together, we build it in every part of this country, we build it in every one of the 50 States, and any man that stands for the Office of President ought to remember he is not running for the city council of Phoenix. [Applause.]

Now, that I mention that, he might go home there and help a little bit on law enforcements, too.

My friends, area redevelopment, manpower training, youth projects to give our young people, who are school dropouts, a chance to get a new start in life, every single one of these, Mr. Mayor, has been vetoed by the vote of the man that asks to be President of the United States, Mr. Goldwater.

I do not think the people of our cities are going to support a man that doesn't understand the metropolitan problems. More and more of our people live in these great cities. More and more of our people will live in these cities.

As a matter of fact, by the year 1980, over 80 percent of the total population of America will live in the large metropolitan centers. We need a government and we need a President and we need a Congress that can think in terms not of the America of 1890, but of the America, if you please, of 1990.

We surely need one that can think in terms of the America of the 1960's, and I say to you that there has been no program, none whatsoever, advanced by the gentleman who seeks to be President on the Republican ticket, no program for America's cities, no program for America's farms, no program for America's schoolchildren, just plain no program, that is all. [Applause.]

We we need is a partnership between all levels of government and industry, and labor, and agriculture. America isn't just government. Government should encourage this Nation to do better. Government should help, Government should assist, Government doesn't need to take over, and no one is recommending it.

But this Government of ours has a role to play, to serve, to do better, to ask the American people to have higher standards of performance, to see to it that the prosperity which this country now enjoys will be sustained, and to see to it that those areas where there is no prosperity, that the people in those areas can share by their own efforts, by being trained and by investment and by education, that they can share in this great and wonderful growing economy of America.

I am proud of a President who on the one hand asked America to begin and that is what John F. Kennedy said to us. This square is named after him. John F. Kennedy said to America in 1961, "Let us begin," and Detroit with massive unemployment in 1961, finds itself in 1964 a thriving, a prosperous city, and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson helped make that possible. [Applause.]

I want to compliment American industry for being willing to move and move aggressively, and it is no wonder, it is no strange miracle, that American industrialists by the hundreds have joined the banner of the Democratic Party, and Lyndon Johnson.

I noticed yesterday that Mr. Goldwater said that these, that all we had were the big cities, and big labor, and big business.

Well, if that is all we got, we are in. [Laughter.]

And then he equated big labor, big business, and big cities with corruption and with power. These are the words of a desperate man. Mind you he got so wild he became so desperate in Cincinnati yesterday—or did Cincinnati lose that ball game, I hope that bear—did they, I might have known it. He has even ruined the Cincinnati Reds. [Laughter.]

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Well, you see what he did, he scared them. He said that Johnson was soft on communism. Well, shades of Nixon—[laughter]—that is the last argument of a dying political man. Lyndon Johnson, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Lyndon Johnson, patriot, Lyndon Johnson, if ever a man steered the middle of the road for progressive government, and here comes this great man from Arizona and he runs out of invective, he runs out of charges, he has called our President everything he could, he has called him a fake and a phony, and now he says he is soft on communism.

On my goodness, I must say, I didn't think the campaign was that close to being over. [Laughter.]

If the Republican candidate has had to reach down into that bottom of the barrel to dig up that old, old smelly argument, then all I can say is that he will die in the stench of his own political argument. [Applause.]

Well, good folks, happy days are here again. The Democrats are going to win, you betcha, and you work to see that it happens. [Applause.]

Your country is going to move forward. American industry, despite the fact that Mr. Goldwater says that it is all, this prosperity is all, phony and artificial, he hasn't been able to convince the bankers in Detroit and New York, and he has not been able to convince the great industries of America as a matter of fact, they don't believe him.

You don't believe him, I don't believe him, and none of the voters are really going to believe him, either.

So, let's get busy and register. I think you have got a few days left, haven't you, you have until October 5 to register. This is when you will determine the future course of America, and on November 3, after you have registered, you have an opportunity to cast your vote for the future of your country.

You can then decide whether or not you want to have America with leadership that looks through a rear-view mirror and puts the car in reverse or whether you want to have an America that has leadership, leadership that looks through a clear windshield with great power and steers down the road safely not too far to the right, not too far to the left, keeping out of the ditches and making sure that America stays safe and stays strong and stays prosperous, and I ask you now to join with Hubert Humphrey, I ask you to join with me, to see to it that on November 3 that the forces of bitterness, the forces of bigotry, the forces of hate, that the forces of regression, the forces of reaction, the forces of retreat, that they are defeated as never before and that you vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States. Thank you. [Applause.]

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Detroit, Mich.

Excerpt from Kennedy Square  
September 30, 1964

Senator HUMPHREY. I noticed yesterday that Mr. Goldwater said that these, that all we had were the big cities, and big labor, and big business. Well, if that is all we have got, we are in. [Laughter.]

And then he equated big labor, big business, and big cities with corruption and with power. These are the words of a desperate man. Mind you, he got so wild he became so desperate in Cincinnati yesterday—or did Cincinnati lose that ball game, I hope that bear—did they? I might have known it. He has even ruined the Cincinnati Reds. [Laughter.]

Well, you see what he did, he scared them. He said that Johnson was soft on communism. Well, shades of Nixon—[laughter]—that is the last argument of a dying political man. Lyndon Johnson, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Lyndon Johnson, patriot, Lyndon Johnson, if ever a man steered the middle of the road for progressive government, and here comes this great man from Arizona and he runs out of invective, he runs out of charges, he has called our President everything he could, he has called him a fake and a phony, and now he says he is soft on communism. Oh, my goodness, I must say, I didn't think the campaign was that close to being over. [Laughter.]

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# HE - LINO - 137

Moline, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa  
Moline Quad City Airport,  
September 30, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Governor Kerner. I surely want to agree with all these wonderful kind and beautiful sentiments that have been expressed about you. I would be prepared to agree you were the most handsome Governor in all of these 50 States but then Harold Hughes reached over and said, "Don't you believe a word of it."

I don't want to get into any fight between the Governor of Iowa, Governor Hughes, and the great Governor of Illinois, Governor Kerner. I will just say this, that there isn't any Republican that can compare with the quality of either one of these two Governors. [Applause.]

May I just say how pleased I am to see these signs here in behalf of Gale Schisler, the candidate for Congress in Illinois' 19th Congressional District. I hope that victory will reward this man's efforts and I ask all of his good supporters to redouble their efforts to give Lyndon Johnson the kind of a Congressman that he deserves to have from this district in the House of Representatives. [Applause.]

A few moments ago one of our friends up here at the platform said to me, "Senator, I hope you won't mind if we introduce these local candidates."

I said, "Not on your life. Not only don't I mind, I am all for it." I have been a local candidate, too, and whenever you see over three people you want to be introduced. [Applause.]

I want to wish each and every one of them all possible success and I want to tell them that they are mighty lucky, because they are running in the year 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, is going to have the greatest victory in the State of Illinois and in the State of Iowa, and in the other States of this great Union that any man has had since 1936, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt swept the Nation. [Applause.]

You know I was just looking around here a moment ago and I saw some of these signs go up of the misguided opposition. [Laughter.]

I notice one thing that I think you want to observe. There are several of them here, and some of them say, "Goldwater in '64," they are not sure which century, but there is one which says—[laughter]—I want to be very nice—there is one fellow here that has a sign here says "1964." I don't suppose he will really keep that sign very long because we welcome him into the Democratic Party and extend a hand of fellowship and friendship to back Lyndon Johnson for he is the candidate for 1964.

I don't think these folks are really dedicated Goldwaterites, because they are smiling. It just really touched my heart, I want them to join with these happy Democrats and all these good happy citizens we have here. One of the characteristics of the supporters of President Johnson and the Democratic Party in this campaign is whenever you see them they have a smile on their faces. They have a sense of confidence and optimism and of joy, and whenever you see a man carrying a Goldwater sign or a woman carrying a Goldwater button that has a smile on their face you know that in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Well, I always feel that when you get to this point in the day in a campaign that you want to really you really ought to enjoy it, and one of the great privileges we have as Americans is the chance to get out here together and to really and truly—[plane noise]—you don't suppose that is my plane, do you. They are just getting it warmed up, that is all.

Among the privileges that we have is the privilege to be out here regardless of our political point of view looking at each other and talk to one another and to have an opportunity to discuss some of the great political issues. [Plane noise.] I believe it is my plane. [Laughter.]



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I am delighted to be in Rock Island County, in this great industrial center of Moline, Ill. I want to thank the local committee for the arrangements that they have made here. We had a perfectly wonderful day. We left Atlanta, Ga., early this morning, traveled through Detroit where I addressed the National Guard Association. A little later we had a splendid meeting down at Kennedy Square in Detroit, Mich., and then we came here and over to your neighboring city of Davenport and from here—[applause]—from here we will go to Des Moines, Iowa, tonight.

Tomorrow morning we take off for North Dakota, Montana, out to the State of Washington and into Los Angeles. So, we have a busy time ahead of us, but I find that despite what seems to be a rather heavy schedule, that it is an enjoyable one. I have been given a privilege given to very few, to get to know our country a little better, to see the most wonderful people in the world, the American people, become acquainted with public officials and private citizens, to see the opposition as well as to see those that support us, and what greater privilege could one have and greater opportunity than to be on a national ticket of a great political party, standing alongside of a fine and big man, and truly a gifted and talented and great President. I must say that the highest honor that has ever come to me in my public life was on that occasion in the Democratic convention when the President of the United States came before that convention and asked the delegates of that convention to give him Hubert Humphrey as his running mate, as his Vice President. I shall never forget that. [Applause.]

And I have but one desire and that is to be worthy of the confidence that was placed in me by the President to do good for my country above all and to be of help to my party and to the President of the United States in this election, and I shall attempt in every occasion, and on every occasion, to be worthy of the high office of Vice President because the office of the President and Vice President are the highest gifts within the power of the people of the American Republic. We ought to look upon those offices as placing a special responsibility upon us to speak frankly, to speak openly, and to speak respectfully to the American people.

You know there is a difference between hitting low and hitting hard, and you can hit hard in a campaign and be clean about it. And this campaign, insofar as President Johnson is concerned, and Hubert Humphrey, will be a hard-hitting campaign, hard fought but it will be cleanly fought and there will be no low blows.

I do not come here to contest the loyalty or the patriotism of the Republican candidates, and I don't speak from this platform to tell you they are evil men because I don't believe they are. I think they are misguided in their political views, very misguided. I think they are wrong in their political program. [Applause.]

But even in our own families we have differences of point of view on politics, and we have many other differences on occasion, but that doesn't mean that we should lose respect for one another.

My theme in this campaign, not only in this campaign, in my life, is to try to bring people closer together, not further apart, to try to unite our country, not to divide it, to try to appeal to Americans to do better, not to do worse. To ask this great country of ours to set its own standards and to live up to its standard, to give our own people the leadership that this great Nation deserves and then to set a standard of public duty, and of public service that will commend itself to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, that is what we ought to be doing, and we can do it in a campaign as well as in public office.

Now, my good friends, let's not take anything for granted, let's not take for granted for one single minute this wonderful prosperity that is ours, and it is wonderful, and it is going to last if we will it, if we work at it, and we can make it even better. There are many things that can be done in America yet, many new schools are needed, new hospitals are needed. Our cities need to be rebuilt in many instances. There are so many great tasks ahead of us, and we have the power if we want to, to do all of these good things that need to be done, but we can't do it if we falter, if we doubt, if we spread suspicion, if we spread fear.

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Fear is a disease that consumes a nation. Hate is a toxin that will devour you. What we need above all is to have confidence in one another, to have a sense of dignity about our personal performance, and to have faith in this Republic and in this system that is ours, in this great system of private enterprise, working side by side with government, and to have faith, if you please, in one another, and the things for which this Nation stands.

So, I leave you tonight to go on to the great city of Des Moines, Iowa, not with a message of fear and division, not to tell you that our Nation is weak and divided, because it isn't; not to tell you that your Government is wrong and corrupt, because it isn't; and not to tell you that America is sick, because it isn't. America is healthy. We seek to make it healthier. America is rich; we seek to make it richer. America is strong, and we seek to make it stronger. America is just, and we seek to make it more just; and America is great but we seek to make it greater, and I know that the young people in particular want to set the standard for their generation, not on the basis of what we did yesterday, but what they do today and what they are going to do tomorrow.

And I have a lot of faith in these young people. I have a lot of faith in them. [Applause.]

I leave you with this message of encouragement. Let's leave nothing undone that needs to be done. Let's never yield for a single minute to the temptation of idleness. Let's make up our mind that this is an important election, too, and it is. It is an important election to make sure that the gains that we have made we sustain, on that high plateau of those gains that we seek to go further, when President Kennedy said to us, "Let us begin"; what a message. When he said to us, "Let's get America moving again," this wasn't just a conversation. This was a mandate. This was a charge to the American people, and I want President Kennedy to know that we have kept the faith. We have begun to move, and we did move America.

He in those 1,000 miraculous days of his administration moved America, and his Vice President, Lyndon Johnson, continued to move America. [Applause.]

Now, may I just make this appeal to the people of Illinois, keep in office a man like Governor Kerner who has worked side by side with our President. [Applause.]

Don't turn your back upon a faithful public servant. Make it possible for those of your public servants that give all that they have to you, make it possible to reward them by your sense of confidence and by your vote of confidence. So, on election day, November 3, be a good citizen. I know we are going to have many arguments between now and then, but I want to say this, regardless of what may be your political view, no matter who you are going to vote for, please be a good American, be a bulwark, because the man in this country or woman that is of voting age and does not take on his or her duty of responsibility of voting is not fulfilling the requirements of American citizenship, and we need the best citizenship in the world if we are going to lead the world, and lead the world we must.

Either we lead it to freedom or others will lead it to slavery, and I want the world to be free and I want America to be the leader of the free world. [Applause.]

Davenport, Iowa

Iowa State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO Convention, Black Hawk Hotel

September 30, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Governor Hughes and President Davis, members of the Iowa AFL-CIO, this great federation, and my young friends who are from these colleges and universities—[applause]—I didn't know so many of you were going to be here but I am going to talk about you today and it is all going to be good, too. [Applause.]

While I have this moment I want to say a word for a fellow political scientist; one who, like Senator Humphrey, has taken temporary leave from his academic duties, John Schmidhauser, who is a candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket. My, I am glad to see the Democrats have such zip and pep and push as they have here today. [Applause.]

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Governor Hughes, every place that I have traveled in these wonderful States of our United States of America, I have found our people, the people of this great Nation, with a sense of optimism, with a countenance of happiness, and with a feeling of confidence in the future. And that is the kind of a people that makes one feel proud of his country. The American people are not listening to the doom and the gloom, they are not listening to the fiction and the myths, they are not listening to the nonsense of that limited faction of the Republican Party that is presently presided over by the man who will be there only a short time as the presiding officer, Mr. Goldwater. [Applause.]

I know that in this great State of Iowa, there are literally thousands and thousands of people that ordinarily might vote for a Republican candidate, that are not going to do so this time, because Republicanism in the Midwest, whatever some of us Democrats may have thought about it or however we may have fought against it, at least it was a Republicanism that was within the tradition of the Republican Party and it was a responsible Republicanism, and this Republicanism of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party is a Republicanism that was repudiated by the Governor of New York, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and a host of other Republicans throughout America, and I make the appeal here in Iowa for people who love their country more than they love their party to join Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Governor Hughes. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, there is nothing that the American people can do this November that would be of more positive value to our country than sending the Goldwater faction down to a thundering defeat. We are not confronted this time by what is a responsible opposition but we are confronted by a radical, yes, an extremist, assault, on the things which you and I and most Americans regardless of party, take for granted in our great country.

For the first time since Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the United States from the depths of depression and presided over the establishment of a national government, which represented all of the people, a significant political movement, has emerged which would seek to drag us once again into the dim and dreary past, and I do not believe that the good people of the State of Iowa want to go back. I think the people of this State want to go ahead. [Applause.]

Now, it is relatively easy for us to take an inventory of the gains that we have made since the days of Roosevelt. We have just reached an all-time high in employment, with more than 72 million people at work. Never in history have we had such a sustained period of prosperity; 43 consecutive months, my fellow Americans, of improved income, expanded production and expanded economy. Never in the history of this great Republic has there been such a long sustained period of economic growth and progress. But these, important as they are, and they are surely important matters with high profits, big dividends, reasonably good wages, with high productivity, with a gross national product of over \$625 billion, all of this is important, but in truth these are surface matters. Beneath them lies a reality, that we overlook at our peril. The whole nature of our community has been strengthened by the policies of the Democratic administrations over the past 30 years, and it is this new American unity, this new American consensus, that the Goldwater-ites, the rear guard of a defeated past, wish to destroy, and that is why I come here to call you into action to see that they do not destroy what we have gained. To see, indeed, that they are defeated as never before in any election. [Applause.]

Now, let me repeat, let me repeat, this is not a normal election and if we rest on our laurels, we may imperil all the great achievements of this century. The Goldwater-ites have drawn the dagger, they have drawn the dagger against everything that we cherish. Their pet solution for revitalizing the 19th century labor relations, and I repeat the 19th century labor relations, the so-called right-to-work laws, which should be called wrong-to-organize laws, constitute nothing less than a death sentence on effective honorable American trade unionism. [Applause.]

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I ask any fairminded American regardless of your attitude on labor or capital, regardless of your politics, to listen to this statement that I am about to read from the Senator from Arizona. It was Goldwater himself who said that Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers were "a more dangerous menace than the sputniks or anything else that Russia might do." ["Boos" from audience.]

This is why—no, Democrats do not boo. That is a monopoly of the Goldwaterites. [Applause.]

Having heard the statement and I have quoted it accurately, is it any wonder that responsible editorial writers and journalists, men who are generally of conservative persuasion, say that this Goldwater movement is an extremist movement, an irresponsible movement, because it is. A man that can make that charge against a fellow American, who is respected by the leading captains of industry of this country, is one who is unworthy of the confidence and the vote and the support of the American people. [Applause.]

Make no mistake about it, my friends, no one can sit at home on November 3 without risking everything that you have won in the long hard struggle, the struggle that has built a better America, a struggle which has substituted the National Labor Relations Act in our labor management relations for the law of the jungle. So, I come to you today, here in this great city of Davenport, to ask you to make November 3 V-Day, "V" for voting, and "V" for victory and victory for the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Now every generation has had its share of complex problems and crises. Read any period of our history and the lesson is always the same. Democracy, government of the people, representative government, is a difficult business. It requires a citizenship interest, yes, an abiding interest in the affairs of politics. It is in fact the most demanding of all pursuits, and in fact, man's eternal struggle to govern himself requires the best that is in us.

In seeking the answers to today's difficult problems, one fact I find stands out above all others. The respective levels of government, our government, our governmental structure from top to bottom, that these levels of government in the American system are partners. They are partners in a common enterprise. Government and the people are cooperators, collaborators, in the common cause of securing the national interest. They are not, as Mr. Goldwater would have you believe, and he says so, mutual antagonists contending against one another for power and glory.

No one advocates running everything from Washington, but all of us who believe in government of the people, by the people and for the people, know that the Government in Washington has a moral and a political duty and responsibility to serve the people, and that is what we intend to make it do. [Applause.]

My fellow Americans, a few weeks before school opened this year, President Lyndon Johnson said that we, the American people, are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times, and the first work of our society is education, because education is but another word, my friends, for opportunity. There is no opportunity in the days ahead for anyone without an education.

Education is the new source of strength and power for this great Republic and democracy of ours. Education, yes. Indeed, advanced enlightened brain power, is the power of a modern democracy and we need to do everything we can to strengthen that power. [Applause.]

Now, Iowans have known this back for a long time. Mr. Governor, you are very rightly proud that Iowa has the highest literacy rate in the United States. You are justly proud that your great universities and colleges, public and private, are amongst the finest institutions of higher education in the country, and you know that as Americans we have an obligation to assist all parts of America, because we are all Americans, to increase their intellectual and educational resources.

Mark my words, ladies and gentlemen, a weak educational structure in any part of this Nation weakens the total Nation. Those who may be denied the opportunity for learning in any part of America, tend to pull down and lower the levels of educational opportunity in all parts of America. This Senator speaks to you not as a Senator just from Minnesota, but I speak to you as a U.S. Senator, interested in every county and very district, every town, village and city, every State in America because I am an American. [Applause.]



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The recent Congress or should I say the Congresses of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, the 87th and 88th, speaking for the American people, have passed more educational legislation than any other Congress in our history. In fact, the Congress has become, as President Johnson called it, our education Congress. And the President in leading the way and in signing more legislation for education than any President before him, can well be called our education President. He was a teacher, proud of it, and he still is a teacher, as every good President ought to be.

Now, for all Americans concerned with American education, this has been a time of great achievement. It symbolizes the will and the determination of Americans to respond to the sweeping social and economic challenges of our time. Because, you see, education changes problems and difficulties. Education when brought to bear upon problems and difficulties makes possible opportunities and challenges. The only way that you can meet a problem is to know something about it and to have the intelligence to find an answer, and the only way that I know that you can face a difficulty is to have the know-how and the sense of self-confidence that comes from learning, so that a difficulty becomes a challenge, and we Americans, we love challenge and we make opportunities. [Applause.]

Yes, my fellow Americans, never was more demanded of education than now. Within this past year the majority of Congress, Democratic and Republican, has passed new and expanded programs to meet education's essential needs, to strengthen our educational structure in every State and community in this land. Listen to the rollcall of what was achieved. It has passed legislation for vocational and technical training, manpower development and retraining, higher education facilities, community libraries, graduate schools and teachers institutes, science, mathematics and foreign language teaching, college loan and graduate fellowships, aid to college dormitories for every college in this State, medical and nursing education, teaching the handicapped children and reaching out to the poor. Educational research to improve the whole process of teaching and learning. This is the record of a Democratic majority in Congress and of two Democratic Presidents. That is why I feel you can place your trust in this kind of an administration. [Applause.]

By these actions that I have just listed, we are making it possible for our young people to become true individuals, to achieve that intellectual and economic self-sufficiency which makes freedom of choice possible. This is what we mean by freedom, not the freedom that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party talks about, not the freedom to remain illiterate. Not the freedom to remain untrained, not the freedom to remain ill prepared for the duties of citizenship, because that is not freedom. That is a form of oppression. Freedom means emancipation from ignorance, and illiteracy, freedom means, may I say to our young people, learning. Freedom means coming to grips with the problems of our day through intelligent answers, and that is available in education.

Freedom and education, the creed of the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Now, the leader of the Goldwater faction has consistently rejected education's needs. He talks a lot about freedom but he does very little to foster genuine freedom. In almost every instance he has parted company with the wisdom of the majority of his own party as well as the wisdom of the American people. He has repeatedly raised the boogeyman of Federal control of education in every effort of our Government to aid our States and communities and educational institutions. His prescription for American education has been the tranquilizer and the sleeping pill. He has voted against the Higher Education Facilities Act which will help build college classrooms for the several hundred thousand more students in this decade of doubling college enrollments which will help to build up to 30 new public community colleges every year, which will help to construct graduate schools in every major academic center, which will help to create new technical institutes, to accelerate our training of vitally needed technicians. Yes, he has voted against the National Defense Education Act and its extension and amendments which will enable up to 90,000 students 90,000 more students to attend college each year under its expanded

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loan program, which will strengthen the teaching of science, of mathematics and modern foreign languages throughout our schools; which will improve our school guidance and counseling services and enable us to identify and encourage exceptionally able students. This man has voted against the Vocational Education Act which will enable our States to expand and modernize our vocational and technical schools for our young men and women, which will help young Americans to learn employable skills in a ceaselessly changing world of work. He has voted against amendments to strengthen the manpower development and training law, which will expand our ability to deal with the problems of unemployment and underemployment resulting from automation, which will help this Nation to meet the growing national challenges of untrained, unemployed school dropouts.

He has voted against the Library Services and Construction Act, which will provide public libraries in cities and counties across this country to bring the culture of civilization to millions and millions of people, which will help to modernize our libraries, which have been long neglected, and create some new ones where none exist.

Yes, this man who asks for your vote has voted against the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act which will help expand our teaching facilities for doctors, for medical and nursing education, which will increase the number of medical school graduates, and which will relieve the growing shortage of physicians and nurses and dentists and other trained custodians of American health.

He has voted against the Economic Opportunity Act which provides in our broad scale assault on poverty in our States and communities a means of raising the educational opportunity and attainments of the children of poverty, and my fellow Americans, it is the children of the poor who need the best education, and ever so seldom receive it, and yet this man who lectures us on the moral tone of America, this man who tells us of lawlessness, who says that America somehow or another is going down the drain through immorality, this man doesn't seem to understand that people who have been deprived culturally, that people who have never had a chance, that these people above all others need the help of the American people to help themselves, to live a better life. I have little time for this kind of talk. [Applause.]

Oh, so often I have heard this false prophet tell the American people about their young. I wonder whether he thinks about the problem of the school dropout. I wonder what he thinks about the rising tide of unemployment among our teenagers. I wonder what he thinks about those in Harlem, for example, where 40 percent of the youth, colored, are without jobs. Is his only answer to their problem a lecture? To tell them how wrong they are, to tell them how lawless they are, or does he have another program. My friends, one thing that I have noticed in this campaign is the opposition is telling everybody throughout the world how bad America is, how corrupt, how evil, how weak, how it falters and stumbles, what a way to portray this, the mightiest, the richest, and I say the best Nation on the face of the earth. [Applause.]

Well, we think it is better and we seek to make it better. Senator Goldwater stands alone and apart from a Congress that has seen and recognizes and enacted on the judgment that education is truly the first work of these times and the first work of our society. He stands alone and apart from the mainstream of American wisdom and American progress, and my friends, he will stand alone and apart in November when the American people say again that our future lies ahead of us, not behind us, and that it is time for us to get on with our work of building a better future. Americans want to go places, and they don't want to return to some past.

Americans want to discover new worlds. Americans want to build a better world and we want to build a better America and the way you do it is to have a leader, a President who believes in America, who speaks for America, and who asks America to go ahead. [Applause.]

My good friends, just one word. Let me say if you have got a choice between Goldwater and a gold key, take the gold key from the mayor. [Applause.]

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Governor, we have to be on our way to Des Moines and I just want to leave you with this thought. I expect everybody in this room to do a job twice what you expected to do before you came here—make sure and get out of here to make sure Iowa gets back into the Democrat fold.

Do for Lyndon B. Johnson what you did for Harry S. Truman in 1948.

Des Moines, Iowa  
Des Moines Airport  
September 30, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much, thank you, Governor, thank you, very much. Governor Hughes, thank you for your gracious and warm welcome once again. We have been together over at Davenport and now we are here at this great city of Des Moines, Iowa, and I am so happy to be back once again with my good friends from Iowa. I want you to know it is a rare privilege for a Minnesotian to hear an Iowan band playing to Minnesota Rousers, it is such a joy when I hear an Iowa band playing the Minnesota Rousers after you have given us a licking on the gridiron. We remember those days, Governor, we remember them very, very much. May I thank those fine young people who are here with us today for their presence. There is nothing more gratifying or more pleasing to President Lyndon Johnson and to Hubert Humphrey and to Governor Hughes than to see so many wonderful fine young people and particularly so many pretty girls as I see over here. [Applause.] May I say this is the first time that I have ever seen anything to my far right that I like so much. [Applause.]

Then I want to thank this very fine group of young musicians that are over here just a little bit to your right and my left that have given us this good music. Every place we go we find young people who are with us and that are helping us and I want them to know that this is deeply appreciated. I want them to also do me a favor, and for themselves. I want every one of these young students of high school or college age to ask their parents, to ask their neighbors 21 years of age and older, to please register and to vote, because if you don't do that then all we have had is a party. We really haven't done very much for America or for the politics of our country.

Now the mayor, Mayor Isles, was kind enough to give me a key to the city of Des Moines and the key is as big as the heart of the people of Iowa and it is a wonderful, wonderful key. I think that it looks sort of like gold, and as I said, it is a whole lot better to have a gold key than gold water. [Applause.]

By the way, I want you to know that the good people of Iowa will never need a key to get into the White House. The door will be open in the front, in the back, on the sides, the east gate, the west gate, the southwest gate. It will be open to you just as your hearts have been open to us.

Well, we are going to have a wonderful meeting tonight in Des Moines, it is going to be a joyful meeting and I want to just leave these words with you:

Four years ago, this very month, I was here in Iowa with a wonderful, gallant, courageous young man, the gentleman at that time who was aspiring to be President of the United States. I said then and I say it again that I knew him well. In fact, I gave him his spring training. We were in the presidential primaries together, and I knew that once he had trimmed me that he would not have to much trouble with Nixon, that I knew. [Applause.]

Well, we had a great time here right in this marvelous city of Des Moines; it was our farm conference, some of you may remember it, and that young man went on to become the President of the United States, and I think that John Kennedy's, one of John Kennedy's great contributions to America and to the world was that he inspired the young people to take an interest in their Government, and I believe that when he was taken from us that the people that grieved the most, and that felt the loss the greatest, were the young, the young men and women, not only of America but throughout the whole

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world because they had lost a friend and they had lost a leader. One of the reasons we are in this campaign and one of the reasons I am in it is because I want to help carry on in that tradition of loyalty to the ideals of the young people. I want to see our young people still believe in their country, in this system of Government, in this great system of our social structure, and I want to help carry on the heritage of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and I want to help our President who was selected by Mr. Kennedy as his Vice President which, by the way, I think was Mr. Kennedy's greatest and most important decision, I want to see our President, Lyndon Johnson, go on to finish the task that was set out for us in 1961. I want him to go on on his own, and to build from the great platform of achievement that we have made thus far, and may I say to you now that the administration of Johnson and Humphrey will be dedicated to the young of America. It will be dedicated to the future of America, it will be dedicated to the concern for the unfortunate. It will be dedicated to the dignity of the elderly and it will be dedicated to the opportunity of our youth, and it is in that spirit that we are going to carry on this campaign.

Now, I am getting somebody to tap me on the leg every 2 minutes and say, "Let's go." Well, you can always leave. I came here to see you, and I am so honored by your presence that I would not want to rush away without letting you know that my heart is filled with gratitude and my spirit is happy. I ask every one of you to enter into this campaign with a zest and a zeal. Be of good cheer. I tell you we are going to win, and on November 3, we are going to have a great victory. [Applause.]

Des Moines, Iowa  
At the Savery Hotel Reception  
September 30, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much, Governor. Thank you again for your generous and wonderful hospitality. What a Governor Iowa has. [Applause.] And I am sure that everyone of you knows one of the reasons that I was privileged to be selected to be on this ticket with President Johnson is because your Governor, Gov. Harold Hughes of the State of Iowa, spoke to the President of the United States and says, "Humphrey is the man I want now." [Applause.]

We are really looking forward to a wonderful evening with you. The Governor told me on the way here from Davenport; he met us there today at Moline, when we came in, he said, "I want you to meet the real party workers of the Democratic Party in Iowa." and I know that I am—[cries of "Hurray"] you have got the spirit. You are pretty, too. [Laughter.] But, we have had such fun. Yesterday we were in the great Democratic State of Georgia, which, by the way, has never gone anything but Democratic in a hundred years. They have got good judgment down there, and we met a few folks off and on that had been politically misguided. [Laughter.] We were able to weather the storm, and come through, and last night we had the largest Jefferson-Jackson day dinner that they have ever had in the State of Georgia at Atlanta, Ga., last night. [Applause.] We got there at 6 o'clock and got on the plane about—we were pretty late last night. I forget about that. This is one way to lose sleep, I assure you. We flew to Detroit and there addressed the National Guard Association. A little later in the day we had a large rally at Kennedy Square in Detroit, and then we left there and came on to Moline, did a little handshaking around the airport; went on to Davenport where we had a wonderful meeting, an enthusiastic meeting and then came back and had a large crowd at the airport at Moline again tonight. Then we arrived here at Des Moines with a splendid reception at your airport, hundreds of people out there, and then here to your party out here in Des Moines, Iowa.

I want you to know we are depending on you, we are depending on you very, very much in this election. We have got to have your help. I read somewhere where the election might be a little bit close in Iowa. Well now, let's not have any of that nonsense. [Applause.] It is tough enough for a Minnesotan to have Iowa to beat the Golden Gophers, for goodness sakes. Don't let Goldwater get any place around here. Oh, please don't.



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Well, Governor, I think maybe your people have got the right spirit here. We are going to have a little dinner tonight, isn't that the general idea? You do the eating, I am going to do the speaking. We are going to tell the truth on the Republicans tonight. [Laughter.] But brace yourselves, that will be quite an event. And besides that we are going to have some fun just talking about our fellow Democrats, and that is going to be a great joy, because things are looking good and they are going to look a lot better with your help.

We want to see Iowa in the Democratic column on November 3d and we want to see it not only for Johnson and Humphrey but we want to see it for Governor Hughes and the State ticket all the way down the line.

Thank you, very much.

Des Moines, Iowa  
September 30, 1964

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

I am always glad to come to Iowa to visit my next-door neighbors. I have come to talk with you as one friend to another and to suggest that we who live in the Midwest can do to carry out our responsibilities toward the rest of the country and the world.

John Donne's most famous sermon begins: "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."

This image of our involvement with one another as individuals, applies also to States and nations. But we of the Midwest have long known this. The isolation of our early communities, which gave them self-sufficiency, was typified also by hardship and difficulty. The neighborliness and spirit of cooperation which those isolated communities and families found both necessary and desirable led to an active search to strengthen their bonds and to widen their horizons.

Long ago in the Midwest we became the heart of the continent—not an isolated part of it. Today our horizons, like those of the Nation, are as wide as the world. We are part of the strength of a national government, as indeed its strength is part of ours.

I have always been astonished at how the agricultural advances in Iowa have contributed to the life of the whole Nation.

One hundred and two years ago this month, your legislature made Iowa the first State to accept the provisions of the Morrill Land Grant Act. As a result, you received 250,000 acres of land from the Federal Government to support your agricultural and mechanical college, which was already 4 years old. At the same college, you Iowans pioneered the movement which linked agricultural colleges with the experiment stations of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Agriculture—in which you have played such a leading role—has not only fed this Nation. America's exports of food and fiber have earned funds on which American industry has been built.

Today you have achieved a remarkable balance between farming and industry in Iowa. You are a diversified and well-balanced manufacturing State—making everything from fountain pens to washing machines, from farm implements to electronic equipment, and so on through a long list of products. And you top this diversity by being one of the major insurance and publishing centers in the United States.

Nor have you forgotten the ancient admonition that "man does not live by bread alone."

You are active and creative in the worlds of art, letters, and statesmanship. For many years Iowa has justifiably prided itself in leading the Nation in functional literacy. Your colleges and universities are among the finest. They pioneer today in atomic energy and space exploration as they once did in agriculture. The first educational television in the Nation began in this State. Your artists and sculptors are visible in the great galleries. Your actors, playwrights, and musicians go to Broadway and the world, and then return here to perform on the largest legitimate stage in the world. Students come from throughout America to study creative writing in Iowa City. A steady stream of public servants has gone from Iowa to serve America in a variety of capacities.

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But I have not come here to compliment you for your achievements of the past. I have come to talk about the future and its necessities. I have come to ask your help in conserving and extending the heritage and accomplishments of this great heartland of America. As one of you, I believe our Middle West has valuable contributions to make to the Great Society.

The broad white center panel of your State flag, symbolizing "the unwritten pages of Iowa's history," expresses this concern for the future and the willingness to accept its challenges.

President Johnson has said that the Great Society is really an old American challenge, but one "constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labors."

The Great Society is one rich in both its material and its spiritual substance. It is a national community which seeks the continual improvement of the quality of life, guided by such goals as justice, prosperity, peace, and progress.

Iowa has "unwritten pages" of history to write as it contributes to this Great Society—and yet you have your own special problems, as does every State. Iowa, along with much of the Middle West, is being buffeted by the national shift in population. This whole region must resist the exodus of people from the heartland of America, people who gravitate to the giant cities along the coasts.

This effort cannot be negative. It requires initiative and planning. It requires economic enterprise to expand old industries and to attract new ones. Even as you continue to train and export superbly trained youths from your schools to serve the Nation and the world, you must find challenging activities to keep many of them here. You must use your pioneering talent as you never have before, to reinvest in the future of Iowa and of America.

This does not happen by stating simply what has to be done. The initiative, the motive force, the energy, and the persistent effort must come from the people, and there is no substitute that Government can provide to replace the people's vitality.

But Iowa, along with the Nation, long ago rejected the idea that the Government should go out of business. You have decided, in your own way, how to use Government at all levels in the service of the people. You long ago abandoned—if you every held—the idea that the Federal system is a layer cake, with the Federal level on top pushing down all the rest.

The actual pattern of Federal-State-local cooperation far more resembles a marble cake—and Iowa's won a blue ribbon.

Consider what Federal-State cooperation has achieved in the field of education. In the past 15 years, the enrollment in Iowa colleges and universities has increased more than 70 percent. It is still going up.

Federal partnership has been essential for scholarships and loans to students. Recent legislation to help expand college facilities to handle this tidal wave of students has come none too soon. This is investment in the future of America—not spending. And as you know so well, the Federal Government's investment in agricultural colleges has been repaid many times.

Highways, hospitals, local sanitation facilities, social welfare programs, airports, and hundreds of other services have been benefited by the partnership among Federal, State, and local governments, on behalf of the people.

This has been a marriage based upon mutual trust, cooperation, and understanding—and let no man put this union asunder.

In light of the progress of the past and the promise of the future, how strange to hear a piper of discontent traveling about America—teaching distrust and disunity—seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion between the Government and the people. It is stranger still to hear a voice so lacking in confidence in our ability to cope with the complexities and problems of our times.

This unreal voice also commands us to shout at and threaten the rest of the world, rather than to seek ways of communicating with it. Your State motto says, "Our liberties we prize; our rights we will maintain." And this surely has been the policy of our entire Nation. We have expended billions to provide us with the greatest military power ever known to man. And he who draws the sword against us will surely perish by it.

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But if nuclear war can be prevented by negotiation, by patience, and by persuasion, we must not abandon such alternatives. If trade can build bridges to captive peoples and strengthen them in their pursuit of freedom, we must not abandon such alternatives. While even one last opportunity remains for maintaining peace with justice, we must not adopt the alternative of threatening the world with nuclear annihilation.

I have been nurtured on this faith in the heartland of America. I recall that the Des Moines Register and Tribune ignited the spark which produced the agricultural exchanges between the United States and Russia nearly 10 years ago. I know that Des Moines hosts an international students' weekend and festival which is a model of community action. I know that Iowa has maintained its faith in the United Nations and applauded its successes, while remaining perfectly aware of the many shortcomings and difficulties which affected this organization.

This is the faith in America which Lyndon B. Johnson possesses. He is a man of the soil who knows the dedication and faith which are required to sustain life. He knows what effort is required to obtain an education, and, as a teacher, he knows what energy is required to help others along the same path.

Lyndon Johnson will spend every ounce of his unbounded energy in the pursuit of peace and freedom throughout the world. His immense dedication—his unparalleled experience—are offered in the service of his Nation and the world.

I seek your support of Lyndon B. Johnson on election day. I ask you to reaffirm overwhelmingly Iowa's tradition of progress and opportunity for all men—regardless of their race, color, or creed. I ask you to join President Johnson in his quest for the Great Society, thereby making all of us creditors of the future, even as we are indebted to the past.

The Midwest—and the Nation—have been presented with a choice in this presidential election. And the choice is not difficult to discern: it is between responsibility and rashness, between opportunity and negation, between unity and division.

With malice for none, with charity for all; surely this is the spirit of Lincoln and it is the spirit of America. Who would have imagined that the party of Lincoln could be captured by those so opposed to this spirit of love and forgiveness. Who would have imagined that the spirit of America would find itself so assaulted and attacked in these grave times.

We have been given a choice. And we must make our choice with courage and determination. Let us uphold the spirit of America. Let us say "Yes" to Lyndon B. Johnson.

Des Moines, Iowa

At the Iowa Veterans Memorial Auditorium, September 30, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much.

My goodness, Governor Hughes, when you introduce a fellow you can't stop them from reintroducing out there, the way they are clapping tonight. [Applause.]

Gov. Harold Hughes, and Mrs. Hughes, Muriel and Hubert Humphrey are honored beyond words to be present at your testimonial dinner when the good people of Iowa salute a truly great and outstanding Governor. How proud you must be. [Applause.] This fine man's humility, his sense of decency, his dedication to the public interest, his love of the people of this State, and his constant allegiance to all that is good in this country are exemplified by his presence, by his word, and by his performance and, Governor Hughes, I am proud to share in the precious gift of your friendship. [Applause.]

We miss our friend Neal Smith tonight from this great district in Iowa, but he is back in Washington. They have some important votes coming up in the House of Representatives, one, Tom, I understand, on medicare and he wants to be present for that important roll call, but he does have here with us, as was indicated earlier, his wife, and I want to salute this Congressman for the great work that he has per-

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formed in behalf of the people of this State and of this Nation. Neal Smith is truly a Congressman of the United States of America. [Applause.]

Now, may I suggest since you have done so well with one Democrat, why don't you try it in the rest of the districts? [Laughter.] [Applause.]

I was so pleased tonight to hear Forest Evashevski speak to you, and indeed speak to me. He has spoken to we Minnesotians on other occasions [laughter] and my how he can speak. The friendly rivalry between our two States is something that we all respect and sometimes we occasionally regret depending on which side we are, but I have admired for many years this outstanding teacher, educator, civic leader that I predicted could have any kind of future he wishes in American public life, Forest Evashevski. [Applause.]

You are loaded with talent in Iowa, and we are mighty proud of you.

My special greetings to you, Lex, and to Sherwin Markman, to all of these good officers of the party here, I am so honored tonight that the national president of the Young Democrats of America is with us today. Al House. [Applause.] I want you to know that those young Democrats are at every airport. They are at every meeting and I think one of the most encouraging signs is the number of young people who are present with us on all these political occasions.

Well, Muriel—that is my president. I told President Johnson I was the most experienced vice presidential candidate he could get, I had been vice president in our house for 28 years. It was that plus the support of Governor Hughes that got me the nomination. [Applause.] Governor, I want you to know that I shall never forget your kindness to me, your early support, and your continuing support and, Governor, I want you to know that I shall never forget your kindness to me, your early support and your continuing support. [Applause.]

I understand she has been doing some campaigning down around these parts. Several people came up to me tonight and said, "We have been thinking about a woman for Vice President, why don't you just resign and put Muriel on the ticket?" Well, we are mighty proud of you, Muriel. We have had a good time here and I guess you ought to know that she has been so effective and she has been stealing the headlines from me so much I suggested that she should take the next trip to Alaska, and she ended up by putting Hawaii on the schedule, too, that is a fact. She's going to both places. [Applause.]

Remind me to go along myself.

You know these Republican friends of ours are having quite a time. Every place that we go they have a little airplane, they are the biggest practical jokers I have ever seen in my life. I come down and walk off the plane, and I look over there and there is a plane that says, "GOP truth squad." If that isn't a play on words, I never heard of it. [Applause.] I want to tell you that GOP in charge of the truth squad is like putting a fox in charge of a chicken coop. [Applause.]

I got to thinking that as long as they are sending that crew around, that maybe we ought to have a followup plane and we will have what we call a consequence squad [applause] just to follow Mr. Goldwater around so that we can tell the folks the consequences of all that will happen if they believe a word that he is saying. [Laughter.]

I have been having quite a time in this campaign. Frankly, I have enjoyed every minute of it. Every place I go, I find people looking very happy, with the exception of a few misguided souls, but as I said to this group over at Moline today, I looked out there and saw 4 or 5 fine people carrying the signs of the opposition and they had a smile on their faces and I say, "You know in your heart you are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson." [Laughter.] And I have sort of a one-man crusade to ask all these good fine kind folks, both Republicans and Democrats alike, that simply can't find it within their heart to support the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, I have asked all of the good friends that we have to be very charitable and understanding, because the real truth is that before election day, many of these people are going to see the error of their ways, they are going to come back home. They are going to join us, and all we ask of them to do is to turn in three Goldwater buttons for one L.B.J. bumper sticker, and that will decide that.



## HE - LINO - 150

But what I really wanted to tell you about is that I have been reading on the stand, on the stump signs I have been examining, a little newspaper clipping. I don't know how much longer I will do this, it is getting sort of beat up but I will go at it as long as it lasts, it isn't very big, it is about a column inch, an inch and a half long, it is dated Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24. I have gotten to be very careful of what I say about this because when you hear the whole story tonight you will see why. It says, "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 grounds that the pop is "grossly misbranded" and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative. That is the shortest description of the Goldwater platform that I have ever read. [Applause.]

Now let me tell you what is beginning to happen. I have a Chicago Tribune article, that paper was really not on our side. [Laughter.] But, it's come a long way. They are printing something about us anyway, and it says in this article under Tower Ticker, by Herb Lyone, a good column, by the way, "The Chicago backers of the Goldwater pop are consulting attorneys to see if legal action is possible against Senator Hubert Humphrey for his mocking assault on the product." [Laughter.]

I am not against the pop. I am sure that the pop is as harmless as can be. I am against what the pop describes, that is all, the candidate, and the platform, so call the attorneys off. My goodness, we will take care of the problem through the election box. We don't need any lawyers. [Applause.]

Governor, I noticed your initials R.H.H., I did not get your middle name. You don't really make it, you know, until they start talking about that middle name. My name is H.H.H., Hubert Horatio Humphrey, and I am so pleased that the candidate of the opposition has found something good to talk about at long last. And I thought you ought to know, Governor, that I am the only candidate to claim that on November 3 there is a feast day for him, because November 3 is the Hubert's feast day. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, I disavow that too because I am not a saint, but I ran into one the other night up in Michigan, his first name was Hubert and he had not been elected yet so he could claim to be a saint because nobody could prove that he wasn't.

I like to come to Iowa. Your Governor has told you whenever they could not find anybody else they would call on Hubert. Darned if he would not come. Well, you Democrats are faithful and loyal to the people, and in fact just the people of this State have been that way to us. I like to come to Iowa because well, first of all, we are neighbors, and I like to come here to talk to you because I think that we in the Midwest have some big responsibilities ahead of us, responsibilities to the rest of our country and responsibilities to the world, and Governor, I believe, that out here in the Midwest we will be able to develop and build political parties that under stand the primary responsibility of politics which is to serve the people, and to serve them honorably, to serve them responsibly and to serve them effectively, and the Governor of this State typifies just that, honor, effectiveness, and responsibility. Those are the hallmarks of Governor Hughes. [Applause.]

I would like to think and I believe they also apply, those same characteristics, to the Democratic Farmer Labor Party in the State of Minnesota where we have tried and, I believe somewhat successfully, built a party that is progressive without being radical, that is constructive without being reactionary, and that is honorable and faithful to the public trust. But we have never felt that we were separate from the rest of the country. I never believe in separatism. There is a great passage, you know, in the literature of the English-speaking world. John Donne's famous passage, "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."

We ought never to forget that. This is another way of saying that there is a brotherhood of humanity, it is another way of saying there is only one United States of America. It is another way of saying that we are all children of God. However you wish to define it or describe it, we are one people.

## HE - LINO - 151

Now this image of our involvement with one another as individuals also applies to States and to nations. But we of the Midwest have known that lesson for a long, long time.

Long ago the Midwest became a part of, became what you might call the heart of, the continent, not an isolated part of it but the heart of it, and today our horizons, like those of this Nation, are as wide as the world. We are a part of the strength of this Nation and, indeed, this Nation's strength is a part of ourselves, and we are inseparable, indivisible, and we ought never to forget that.

One hundred and two years ago this month your legislature here in Iowa was the first to accept the provisions of the Morrill Land Grant Act, a great piece of legislation in the Civil War period for the promotion of education. As a result you received some Federal aid early, 250,000 acres of fertile Iowa land from the Federal Government to support your agricultural and mechanical college, which at that time was already 4 years old. You Iowans pioneered the movement which linked agricultural colleges with the experiment stages of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, to give us the most productive, the most scientifically advanced agriculture any place in the world.

Today, you have achieved a remarkable balance between farming, on the one hand, and industry on the other.

Many people think of Iowa primarily as agriculture. But we know it to be a State of many different occupations and industries. You are a diversified and well-balanced manufacturing State making everything from fountain pens—and good ones, too—to washing machines, good ones, too, and fine farm implements and electronic equipment, and on top of this, you have one of the, you are one of the major insurance and publishing centers in the United States. What a great diverse economy, but all interdependent.

Nor have you forgotten that ancient admonition that man does not live by bread alone.

You are active and creative in the world of art, of letters, and statesmanship. For many years Iowa has justifiably prided itself in leading the Nation in literacy. I commented upon this in your sister city of Davenport today, the remarkable record of education in this, the State of Iowa. In many ways this is your source of strength and riches. Your colleges and universities are among the finest. They pioneer today in atomic energy and nuclear science and space exploration as they once did in agriculture. The first educational television station in the Nation began right here in Iowa.

Your artists and your sculptors are visible in the great galleries. Your actors and playwrights and musicians go to Broadway and the world, and students come from all over America, indeed from all over the world, to study creative writing in Iowa City. A steady stream of public servants, too, has come from this great State to serve America, to serve the world in a variety of capacities.

You know it is most interesting when you study about America to realize that you are studying the richness of this great country of ours, to see how in each of our 50 States there is something unique, something different, but something that not only stands on its own feet but contributes to the strength of others.

I did not come here just to compliment you even though you deserve it, and I compliment this State in the presence of its distinguished Governor because to be a Governor of a great State such as Iowa is indeed a high honor, and to be Governor of a State that has such a splendid record in the arts, in industry, in agriculture, in science, in letters, in statesmanship, is indeed a rare privilege.

But I come here tonight as I have to other parts of America, to ask your help, and I come here to talk to you about the future and its necessities. I am not here to review ancient history or to ask you to vote for it. I want you to think about the tomorrows, where do we go from here. And I have come to ask your help in conserving and extending the heritage and accomplishments of this great heartland of America.

As I recall the broad white center panel of your State flag, it symbolizes the unwritten pages of Iowa's history, and it expresses the concern for the future and the willingness to accept its challenges.

## HE - LINO - 152

Our flag, Governor, has the North Star, which doesn't point to the yesterdays, but lights up the way for new discovery, points the way for people who seek new achievements, and how fortunate it is and how symbolic of the vitality of this area that your flag with its white panel is like the unwritten pages of a history yet to be written, and we in our North Star State of Minnesota have that symbol of the explorer, that symbol of the navigator, that light that directs people to new horizons and new frontiers and new achievements. Is it any wonder that we of this part of America feel so strong and so vital, so optimistic, and so confident about the future of America?

I wish that the man from Arizona could spend a little more time with us. He might then have had a little better perspective on where we are going rather than where we have been. [Applause.]

President Johnson has spoken to us of the Great Society. Every great man should have a goal, and surely every great nation must have a vision because, as the poet has said, "A nation without vision shall perish."

Now, that Great Society is really an old American challenge but one that, as President Johnson said, "is constantly renewed, and beckoning us toward an estimate where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labors." I find those lines a source of inspiration.

This Great Society is one rich in both its material and its spiritual substance. It is a national community which seeks the continual improvement of the quality of life, guided by such goals as justice, prosperity, peace, progress. How much better it is to have a leader and a President that points to the goals of more justice, more prosperity, more progress, and the great goal of peace rather than to have one that tells us of your evil, that divides us, that spreads doubt and suspicion and bitterness. I don't believe the Americans of the second half of the 20th century want to live in an atmosphere poisoned with distrust and suspicion.

Now, Iowa has unwritten pages of history to write in this Great Society, and yet you have your own problems just as everybody else has. For example, there is this whole matter of the shift of population which concerns some of us, and which, by the way, has been given far too little attention in this campaign. Many people have said that there has been too little thoughtful consideration of the future. Well, let me think with you a little while about the future because I believe the campaign ought to have more to it than heat. It ought to also shed some light. It ought to have more to it than rhetoric. It ought to also serve the function of education, and we see this America of ours growing by leaps and bounds, the population of this great land growing evermore, and yet a land that can absorb so many, many, many more. But then there is, as I said, this shift. This whole region of the great heartland of America, unless something is done about it, will have an exodus of people, people who will gravitate to the giant cities along the coasts and the Great Lakes. This is the population projection for the next 20 years, the heartland of America losing its population, the coasts, east and west and the gulf, and the cities of the Great Lakes with exploding populations.

But this can be resisted. In fact, it can be lessened but the effort cannot be negative. It requires initiative, and it requires planning. It requires economic enterprise to expand whole industries and to attract new ones. Even as you continue to train in your great colleges and universities superbly trained people to serve the Nation and the world, I submit that we must find challenging activity to keep many of these young men and women right here to make their own contributions. You must use your pioneering talent as you never have before, to reinvest in Iowa, and in America, and I believe that under the administration of this Governor, and under the administration of John K. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, that we have been able to do this to reinvest, to revitalize, to invigorate this great heartland of America so that its future will be bright. [Applause.]

As you know, this does not happen by simply stating it ought to be done. That is easy and that is what some people are doing. The initiative, the motive force, the energy and the effort must come from your own leaders and from your own people. Iowa, along with the rest of America, long ago rejected the idea that Government should go out of business or it is an evil to be avoided. I thought most every-

body had rejected that idea until I started to read some of the comments of the present tender of the Republican present tender to the Presidency. I was amazed to find him saying that our Government was feasting upon the people a tyranny, seeking to reduce its effectiveness, cut down on its obligations of responsibility. But thank goodness, cut down on its obligations of responsibility. But thank goodness you out here, and we in Minnesota, and others throughout America, have decided in our own way how to put government to good use at all levels in the service of the people, because possibly once again we need our basic lessons in American government. This is a government of the people, representative government. It is a government by the people, and it is a government that has as its only obligation to be for the people, to serve the people, and let no one ever doubt that fact of American public life. [Applause.]

Federal-State cooperation, has achieved a great deal and it can achieve more. I comment today about education. Well Governor, you know as well as any man in America, and you have told your people about it, that in the next few years, in fact in the next 30 years, my fellow Americans, we will have to double the classroom space of American colleges and universities. We will have to build more college classroom space in 30 years than we have constructed in 300. Otherwise, American youth will be denied the key to opportunity, and the key to opportunity today is not to inherit a department store but to get an education, and we ought to remember it. [Applause.]

So your President, first President Kennedy who had to leave unfinished tasks because of the assassin's bullet, and then President Johnson who pledged to continue to complete these unfinished tasks, your two Presidents presented to the Congress of the United States a broad program of educational assistance and, my fellow Americans, every one of those bills was passed by the 87th and the 88th Congresses. The list is too long for me to repeat tonight but let me say it covered everything from assistance to mathematics and arithmetic and foreign languages to higher education facilities and teacher training, to libraries and training of manpower for new jobs, and in every single case without exception, the man who today wants to lead America as the spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, in every instance he voted, "No" against, "No" against education for the American people.

I submit to you that his vote denied this Nation, were it the popular vote, had it been the majority vote, it would have denied us one of the wisest investments we could have made, because aid to education, money for education, is not spending. Education and the cost of education is investment, producing again and again dividends that cannot be calculated by any accounting machine or any computer. The dividends are the good life, and the good society. [Applause.]

Governor, whether it is in education or in highways or hospitals or local sanitation facilities or social welfare programs or conservation or airports or hundreds of other services, they have been benefited by a partnership between Federal, State, and local governments and between the people, between business and labor and farmer. This great cooperative effort has built America, and I do not believe that the American people want to have the wrecker take over. This has been a marriage based on mutual trust and cooperation and understanding, and let no man put this union asunder.

Now, in light of progress in the past which you know, and the promise of the future which we surmise, how strange it is to hear this pied piper of discontent traveling about America, preaching distrust and disunity, and seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the government of the people and the people.

I am confident that the people of Iowa will reject this doctrine. I am confident that they will reject this evil music, and the pied piper of discontent, distrust, and doubt, and I am sure that Iowa will lead the Midwest this fall and give an overwhelming victory vote to President Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party and Governor Hughes as well. [Applause.]

Iowa has been a bellwether State, and Iowa farmers have had an uncanny sense of what was going to happen politically. You know in 1948 Harry Truman's victory came as no surprise to the Iowa farmers.



## HE - LINO - 154

It came as a surprise to some others, but not to them. They knew that Harry Truman was a friend of the farmer and they knew the Republican candidate was not. [Applause.] I have a feeling that the farmers of Iowa have very much the same choice this year, a choice between a man who says with great candor, and I think with great honor and truth, "I know nothing about farming."—Mr. Goldwater, and a man who understands, who understands the problems of agriculture because he is a rancher, he is a farmer, and he has lived close to the soil and he understands the problems that affect American agriculture and the farm families.

Senator Goldwater by his votes in the Senate has already shown very little understanding or little concern for American agriculture. Again that rollcall need not be repeated, but I can say this to this—in this State of Iowa where the feed grain program, Governor, has meant millions of dollars of cash for farmers and millions of dollars of business for merchants on main street and millions of dollars of deposits in the banks of this State, that the Senator from Arizona has voted against every feed grain program, 1961, 1962, 1963. He has voted against the economic interests of the overwhelming population of this State. [Applause.] And he voted against the food-for-peace program extension which is the arm of American compassion abroad and which is the extension of American commerce for agriculture abroad. He has voted even against loan authority for the Rural Electrification Administration.

I said a number of times and I suppose we ought not to be too critical of that. There were 35 rollcall votes, he voted right on 2, both of them for Arizona projects. But more importantly, I just discovered recently they had a carryover of an inventory of kerosene lamps out there in his department store, and they feel they need time to get rid of them. [Applause.]

He voted against programs to expand America's exports which have become ever increasingly important to the American farmer. But one virtue that the Senator can claim however is consistency, a consistent record of opposition, a record of "no," "no," "no," against, against, against and it is consistent with his opposition to the host of other programs.

But there are many subjects more important than this and there is one that is far more overriding and a reason for voting for the Democratic candidates and against the opposition.

I call to your attention that this unreal voice of the opposition commands us to shout and threaten the rest of the world rather than to seek ways of communicating with it. Your State motto says "Our liberties we prize; our rights we will maintain." And your Government has acted in that spirit. We have spent billions for defense to maintain our liberties and we have a military power greater than any country has ever known, and he who draws the sword against us will surely perish by it.

But if nuclear war can be prevented by negotiations, by persuasion, and by patience, then I say we must not abandon such alternatives. If trade can build bridges to captive peoples who are dominated by Communist regimes, and strengthen them in the pursuit of their freedom, we must never abandon such an alternative. And if other nations continue to seek a more peaceful world through the United Nations, we must not abandon such alternatives while even one last opportunity remains for maintaining peace with justice.

We must not adopt the alternative of threatening the world with nuclear annihilation.

Yes, the Midwest and this Nation has been presented with a choice in this presidential election, and the choice is not difficult to discern. It is between responsibility and rashness, between opportunity and negation, and between unity and division.

With malice toward none, said the great emancipator, and with charity for all, surely this is the spirit of Lincoln, and it is the spirit of America, and who would have ever imagined that the party of Lincoln could have been captured by those so opposed to this spirit of love and forgiveness, who would have ever imagined that the spirit of America would find itself so assaulted and so attacked in these grave times in this the second half of the 20th century.

## HE - LINO - 155

There is one central fact of life, and that fact is that we are living in a nuclear age where one ill-informed decision, one hastily-formed decision, one irrational or nervous act, could annihilate our planet. There is no instant peace, and there is no instant solution to our problems but, my fellow Americans, if we ever err in our judgment or if we ever become trigger happy, there can be instant annihilation, and all thoughtful people know that.

So I say to you there really is only one basic issue in the campaign: Which man by training, by intellect, by temperament is best suited to lead the United States and the free world during this dangerous nuclear age? That is the issue. The times call out for a man who can be trusted, for a man who has been tested, for a man of reason, and for a calm leader. I believe that we have such a man, and I believe his name is Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.] And, my fellow citizens, I am confident that the American people believe he can be trusted, the American people know him to be responsible, the American people know him to be a patriot, the American people know him to be a leader, and I think the American people on Tuesday, November 3, will elect him as their leader and as their President for 4 more years.

Thank you.

Article,  
Press release from Des Moines, Iowa,  
September 30, 1964.

### ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey said today that Iowa will lead the Midwest this fall and give an overwhelming vote to President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party.

Humphrey said that Iowa traditionally has been a bellwether State for the Midwest and that Iowa farmers have long pointed the way politically.

Humphrey noted that:

Harry Truman's victory in 1948 came as no surprise to Iowa farmers. They backed President Truman overwhelmingly, as did other farmers in the Midwest, because they knew Harry Truman was a friend of the farmer and the Republican candidate was not.

"The farmers of Iowa and the farmers of the Nation are faced with the same type of choice this year, a choice between a man who says he, quote: "knows nothing about farming" and a man who understands the problems of agriculture because he is a rancher and a farmer himself.

The farmers of Iowa and the farmers of America have a choice between a man who has consistently and enthusiastically supported legislation to help the farmer and a man who has never in his Senate career voted for a bill that would help the farmers.

Humphrey said Senator Goldwater—

by his votes in the Senate has already shown that he has little understanding or little concern for farm problems.

He said Senator Goldwater—

voted against the feed grain programs in 1961 and again in 1962 and again in 1963.

He voted against the Agriculture Act of 1962. He voted against any expanded authority for the food-for-peace program.

He has voted consistently against efforts to support and strengthen the rural electrification loan program.

He has voted against programs to expand America's exports, which have become increasingly more important to the American farmer.

The only virtue the Senator from Arizona can claim with such a record is the virtue of consistency.

This record of opposition, this record of no, no, no—against, against, against—is consistent with his record of opposition to progress and his consistent refusal to face up to the problems and the realities of the 20th century.

## HE - LINO - 156

Senator Goldwater's record on agriculture, by itself, is enough reason for any Iowan, any midwesterner, any American to vote against him.

But there is a far more overriding reason for voting against the gentleman from Arizona.

In this second half of the 20th century there is one central fact of life. We are living in the nuclear age, when one hasty ill-informed decision, one irrational or nervous act could annihilate our planet.

So I say to you there is really only one basic issue in this campaign: Which man, by training, by intellect, and by temperament, is best suited to lead the United States and the free world during this dangerous nuclear age?

The times call out for a man who can be trusted, for a man who has been tested, for a man of reason, for a calm leader.

We have that man in Lyndon Baines Johnson. And I am confident the American people will present him with an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3.

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Bismarck, N. Dak.

Western States Water and Power Conference.

October 1, 1964.

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

This is one of the few places in the country where I can claim to be a southerner—and having just returned from Georgia, I'm becoming more of a southerner all the time.

I'll have to admit that there were some winter days when I was growing up down in South Dakota when I thought your State was just a big icebox with the door open. But I've learned a lot since then. And the warmth of your welcome today reinforces my affection for Dakota people.

Just 4 years ago, Senator John F. Kennedy stood on this platform before you and set forth his program for developing the power and water resources of this Nation. In his 1,000 days in office he halted the aimless mess into which our conservation program had drifted and set it moving forward again.

But only a beginning has been made.

I come here today to deliver one message. The administration of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey intends to continue this forward-looking program of water and power development. We repudiate the Goldwaterite program of retreat and reaction in the development of these essential resources.

You know the President's record, and you know my record. You know our philosophies. Power, water, and resource development have always held the highest priority on President Johnson's and my own list of objectives.

We have fought to protect the preference clause from erosion by congressional or executive action. We have supported the building of great dams. For 10 years the Goldwaterites have waged an all-out war to destroy the rural electrification program and we have been defending the low interest rate and the generation and transmission loan program against the Goldwaterite wrecking crew. We will continue to stand firm in our support for REA—which Senator Goldwater says should be dissolved.

If any one thing is characteristic of the American people it is an unwavering faith in the future. It is the belief that tomorrow must be better than today. This is the essence of the American philosophy and the American dream. It is my own personal philosophy and my own dream.

The America of the future will consider its natural resources to be the irreplaceable property of all its people.

The human value of resource development has been demonstrated clearly in the Tennessee Valley where poverty and hopelessness have given way to regional prosperity and pride.

## HE - LINO - 157

The leader of the Goldwater faction has proposed to sell the TVA "even if we could only get a dollar for it." I want to assure you that President Johnson and I are not going to sell the TVA for a dollar. We are not going to sell the Garrison Dam for 50 cents. And we are not going to sell Grand Coulee for two bits.

The Senator would like to have the billion-dollar central Arizona project in his own State. But his program for the rest of the country adds up to exactly nothing.

I submit that if the leader of the Goldwaterites had been President 60 years ago—and the Nation's first reclamation project, Theodore Roosevelt Dam, hadn't been built—there wouldn't be much business today for the Goldwater department store. In fact, there wouldn't be many people living in the desert region we now call Phoenix, Ariz.

A revolution has taken place in the technology of water and power development, and I believe we have the responsibility to make this technological upheaval produce the greatest benefit to the American people.

Today we can produce pure water from the salty sea. The Johnson-Humphrey administration will devote the necessary money and manpower to achieve the economic breakthrough which lies just ahead of us—to obtain cheap water as well as pure water to benefit our arid West and the parched and hungry desert dwellers in many parts of the world.

Transmission of cheap electric power over long distances by extra-high voltage lines is becoming a reality. The personal leadership of President Johnson resulted in a Federal line between the Columbia Basin and California's Central Valley project and got the Pacific Northwest-Southwest intertie underway after 16 years of struggle in Congress. This is a "first." Soon, all of the major Federal power systems will be interconnected—and the Missouri Basin will benefit from power sales and exchanges which more fully utilize our resources.

Power pooling agreements should be worked out and interconnections built wherever such projects can produce more dependable and lower cost power for the ultimate benefit of American consumers.

Low-cost power and reclamation of arid land often have been called partners in the development of the West. The new farms created by reclamation create new consumers of electricity, and the power revenues from reclamation dams help to pay for the water which makes farming possible.

You will soon see such benefits here in North Dakota if the House goes along with the Senate and approves the Garrison diversion project, which Senator Burdick has worked so hard to establish.

This project will create family farms with dependable water supply, suitable for growing crops other than wheat—crops that are not in surplus supply. It will mean immediate jobs for construction workers and jobs and revenue for the homebuilders, the cafe owners, and grocery store operators who serve them. As the ripples of prosperity spread, they will create new payrolls for local banks to handle, new demands for construction equipment, household appliances, furniture, automobiles, added freight for the railroads and trucks to carry. A new reclamation project in North Dakota will bring important long-range benefits as well—it will help keep our farm population stable. It will mean new customers for farm equipment distributors, new schools and churches, gas stations, and, of course, drugstores.

Tomorrow we will see more and more of our fellow citizens living in what is now rural America as our cities continue to push outward in their endless search for living space. And these people cannot be expected to live in a rural America like that of a quarter-century ago—or even like that of yesterday.

The Federal Government must—and will, I can assure, if Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have anything to say about it—continue to place its weight behind a strong rural electrification program. The favorable financing and the strong encouragement of rural electric co-ops which has been the unaltered policy of the Democratic Party since Franklin Roosevelt must and will be continued.

The rural electric cooperatives have contributed immeasurably to the health and wealth and well-being of this Nation. They were not content just to string a single strand of wire across the last valley and up to the most remote hill in the Nation. They continue to search out ways in which to help build a greater rural America.



## HE - LINO - 158

They are taking the lead in helping to revitalize the industry and economy of those areas of the Nation where it most need revitalizing.

They are working tirelessly at building of heavier facilities needed to meet the ever-growing demands for electricity in rural America.

They are giving freely of their time and experience to help the Agency for International Development build rural electric cooperatives in the less fortunate nations of the world. And they have an exciting and necessary place in the rural America of tomorrow. President Johnson and I intend to see that they are there to meet the demands placed upon them by the future.

The publicly owned electric systems which serve some 2,000 local communities in the United States must also grow and prosper. Americans will continue to have the right to decide for themselves whether they wish to provide electricity for themselves or contract for service for their cities and towns with private power companies.

The goal of a Johnson-Humphrey administration must be to build a stronger economy by using God's bounty wisely and to develop our resources for the benefit of all of our citizens.

With this as our goal, what shall be our program?

1. To give firm Federal leadership to the comprehensive development of our water resources. With only about 25 percent of our hydro-electric potential developed, we must move promptly toward full development of our Nation's great river systems.
2. To implement the letter and spirit of the long-standing preference clause in the marketing of Federal power. President Johnson and I have given our firm support to this principle. We will continue to do so.
3. To promote and encourage the use of advanced technology in our American power industry, keeping in mind always that the ultimate beneficiary of new techniques must be the American consumer. Large-scale generating stations and extra-high-voltage transmission have opened new vistas for more economic power production. We will push forward plans to interconnect Federal wholesale power systems which will insure that customers of all utilities, regardless of size or ownership, will have an opportunity to participate in the benefits. We will back Federal transmission lines where they are needed to insure that Americans enjoy the advantages of abundant electricity at low cost and to provide maximum return from Federal investment. In the movement of Federal power, whenever Federal transmission lines are not built, the common carrier concept should be included in any wheeling or exchange agreement with private companies providing wheeling service for the transmission of Federal power.
4. To aid and advance the cause of rural electrification. President Johnson and I believe in the REA program. We will seek to encourage, not eliminate, this valuable work, which has brought a better life to millions of Americans throughout the United States. We will continue to support the efforts of your leaders to help build a better America, and to stand behind their efforts with favorable financing and Government cooperation.
5. To carry forward the research and development needed to give America a healthy atomic energy industry. We must experiment with many types of reactors, small as well as large, in order to give the consumer-owned as well as privately owned utilities a place in this program. And full Federal responsibility must be exercised to assure the American people of the safety of these new power devices.
6. To hasten the day when cheap, pure water can be taken from the sea. We will continue to expand our efforts in the desalting of water, including research on use of nuclear power for desalinization.
7. To encourage the development of the great lignite coalfields of the West as fuel for the steam plants which will be part of the regional power systems of the future. Here in the Missouri Basin we have seen the signing of the Missouri Basin Systems Pooling Agreement, the first instance in which the Federal Government worked out areawide arrangements with municipalities and rural electric cooperatives for use of the capacity in the Federal transmission system to deliver power to each other. Such agreements make feasible the generation of power from lignite coal in huge regional steamplants. We support this and similar cooperative endeavors in other regions.
8. And finally, to follow the advice of Teddy Roosevelt who told us all long ago to use every drop of water for the benefit of man, as it travels from the mountains to the sea.

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Nowhere in this Nation is there a group of more progressive, forward-looking people than I see assembled here today. No other group shares more of my hopes and dreams for the future of our great Nation.

You are attending this water and power conference because you care about the development of America's water resources, because you believe that such development is critically needed to provide job opportunities for our young people, to invigorate rural communities, to keep the West prosperous and productive.

And I want to assure you that I am here for exactly the same reasons. I wish you success. I ask your help.

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Bismarck, N. Dak.  
Western States Water and Power Conference  
October 1, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much, my very good friends, Senator Quentin Burdick. Nothing pleases this Senator from Minnesota more than to be introduced by his very good friend and one of the most able and dedicated Members of the U.S. Senate, Quentin Burdick, and I know you are going to reelect him.

[Applause.]

This is not just a North Dakota meeting. I know that I am talking to key civic leaders, agricultural leaders, business leaders, civic leaders, people deeply interested in conservation and irrigation and reclamation and power from many of the great Western States of America. My remarks today will be directed not merely to this great State of North Dakota but indeed directed to our national goals and our national purposes. But I would be remiss if I did not take just a moment to just comment very briefly upon some of our distinguished participants and guests at this meeting. You surely do bring out all the big guns. I notice that you have had Lee Metcalf, able Senator, a tremendous person in the Congress of the United States, here with you today, Senator Metcalf, of Montana, and I also know that, tonight, you are going to have as your banquet speaker my next-door neighbor in Washington and a man that I got into politics, his wife scolded me for it but I guess she has forgotten me now, Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota, a wonderful U.S. Senator.

I see that you properly balanced this program by having this wonderful leader of rural America, one who understands how to make not only the economic values good for America but also the spiritual values of it, my friend and one with who I have been closely associated and worked for years, Father Vizzard, I surely am happy to see you again, Father. If they would just listen to the both of us.

And when I got off the airplane out here, I saw Clyde Ellis, and I said: "Now what in the world have they got me here for. You have got the professor, why do you want a student?"

[Laughter.]

Clyde, I see that you are going to participate in this program and give these folks some of the good solid information and solid constructive leadership so many of us need these days, and I am delighted to see you.

[Applause.]

It always makes Hubert Humphrey feel a little better when I see one of the truly great citizens of our country, a gentleman whose heart is as big as the heavens and whose purpose is as sound as the Constitution, and whose life is dedicated to others and that is my old friend, Jim Patton.

[Applause.]

It is dangerous to single out people but I surely would not want to miss saying a word about my good friend Ed Christensen of Minnesota. You never want to forget home base.

[Applause.]

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Well, we have a great program, I could do down the line to each and every one of you and we are going to learn a great deal from this program and I know these two candidates for Congress here in North Dakota are learning a great deal and undoubtedly are making a great contribution in your deliberations, we have Roland Redlin who is out in the west district—out in South Dakota, they call that the west river district. I guess you just call it the western district here.

And you have George Sinner in the east district. So these two men will surely serve a very important role in Congress if the good folks of North Dakota will just back up the President by sending many Congressmen that back the President and back the program and you know who they are, George Sinner and Roland Redlin, so you North Dakotans get busy.

[Applause.]

They tell me that last night you had a birthday party around here, and I think that is great. We had a little party down in Iowa last night, too. I was down there with a great Democratic Governor, Harold Hughes. We had a wonderful party for him, the big testimonial. How I wish I could have split myself last night and been partly in Iowa and partly in North Dakota, because I always feel a little better when I see that the people of North Dakota look a little better every time they have a Democratic Governor and, Governor Guy, I want to say you have done a great job.

[Applause.]

He is a remarkable man. He is a go-getter. He has put some real spark into this economy and into this fine State of North Dakota, and I understand the Governor is up for reelection. I can't even recall who is running against him and I hope no one else can.

[Applause.]

I want to warn you, don't you take anything for granted. We had an election in Minnesota a couple of years ago. We finally were able to arrive at what's the difference between a Norwegian and a Swede. The Republican that was in office up to that election was of Swedish descent and our candidate was of Norwegian descent, and they had an election, and was it ever something, and after casting 1,300,000 votes, it appeared that the Swedish Republican had won, and then we had another count, a more honest count, and then it appeared that the Norwegian Democrat had won. So the joke in Minnesota is what's the difference between a Swede and a Norwegian, and the answer is 91 votes.

[Laughter.]

Ninety-one votes. But don't you ever forget it. Every vote counts, every, last one, and I will tell you if you are elected by 91 votes majority it is just as good as if you were elected by 91,000. It doesn't feel as good but it works just as well.

[Applause.]

Governor, we don't want you to worry, to go along too fast, for I have a feeling the people of North Dakota are going to keep you right here in Bismarck, the State capital, keep you on the job building for this State.

I sure like to come here. As a matter of fact, it seems like I was just here a short time ago. I was over near Fargo, out there at the plowing contest, and now some of the folks have said to me, some of these good folks that don't understand us around this way, they say: "Humphrey, every time you come to North Dakota it rains, isn't that a bad sign"? and I say, "You just never lived in North Dakota or South Dakota. When it rains, it is a good sign. We need rain."

[Laughter and applause.]

I can remember when I was a young man down in South Dakota in the thirties we used to look up in the heavens and we would see these big storm clouds, this was during the drought period and we prayed for rain and I mean we really prayed for it, and people would say: "Well, it looks like it is going to rain now, look at the clouds," and my dad would say: "Don't fool yourself, Hubert, it's not going to rain. Those are just the empties coming back. It rained someplace else."

So whenever we have rain we are grateful in this great agricultural area.

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This is one of the few places in the country where I can claim to be a southerner. I was born in South Dakota, and I have just returned from Georgia. So I feel more of a southerner all the time.

Just about 4 years ago, a great man stood on this platform, he was a candidate for President, his name was John F. Kennedy, and he, on that occasion, set forth his program for developing the power and the water resources of this Nation, and in his 1,000 dramatic days of leadership he halted the aimless mess into which our conservation programs had drifted, and he set our conservation, irrigation, power, and reclamation programs on the forward path once again.

[Applause.]

But as our brave young President said, "Let us begin." It was only a beginning, and we know that. It takes some time to get a country back in motion again once it has been stopped to a halt.

Well, I come here today to deliver but one message, and that message is this: The administration of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey intends to continue and to expand this forward looking program of water and power developments.

[Applause.]

We repudiate the Goldwaterite program of retreat and reaction in the development of these essential resources, and it has amazed me how a man that comes from an Arizona that hungers for water so much, and that should understand the importance of reclamation and irrigation and power and water, how that man can ignore this issue time after time and day after day, how he can talk about all of the emotional issues, charging President Johnson with everything in the book, including only recently that wornout, hackneyed, old, stinky argument called soft on communism, but never ever getting down to the basic issues that face the American people and the needs of the American people.

Now you know President Johnson's record, and I see tonight it is going to be discussed even in some detail because as I look at your program I believe that I saw on the program at 4:30 this afternoon, "The Young Lyndon Johnson," commentary by Michael Straus, consultant on river resources. Well, you are going to find out that Lyndon Johnson as a Congressman, Lyndon Johnson as a Senator, and Lyndon Johnson as a President has dedicated a lifetime of talent and energy and ability to the development of the great natural resources of America and to the conservation of those resources, and that is the kind of a President that America needs.

[Applause.]

I think you people know our philosophies, power, water and resource development always have top priority. We have fought to protect the preference clause from erosion by either congressional or executive action, and we have [applause] we have supported the building of the great dams. For 10 years the Goldwaterites have waged an all-out war to destroy the rural electrification program, Clyde, and we have been defending it, Lydon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, and Senator Burdick, Senator Metcalf and Senator McGovern, yes, we have been defending the low interest rate, and the generation and transmission loan program against the Goldwaterite wrecking crew. [Applause.]

And we will continue to stand firm in our support for REA, which Senator Goldwater says should be dissolved.

Now if any one thing is characteristic of the American people, it is an unwavering faith in the future. We are optimists. This is why I feel that this Republican candidate just isn't with us. He just doesn't have any sense of joy, no sense of optimism, no sense of confidence. I guess he has been reading his own speeches. It is enough to scare anybody. [Laughter.] [Applause.]

But truly most Democrats and most Republicans and most Americans they have a belief that tomorrow must be better than today. That is the way we built this country, that is why we have a North Dakota and a South Dakota and a Montana and Colorado and Wyoming, these great States of the upper Midwest and the Rocky Mountains. It took strong men, men and women of faith.

These were not easy territories to move into, not easy areas in which to build communities and agriculture. But we knew we could do it. My father knew it, my grandfather knew it, on both sides of our family, and we went to work and did something about it.



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Now the America of the future will have to consider its natural resources to be an irreplaceable property of all of the people. The human value of resource development has been demonstrated clearly in the Tennessee Valley where poverty and hopelessness have given way to regional prosperity and pride.

But the Goldwater faction—I say that because there are a lot of wonderful Republicans you know, there really are, and they ought not to be tagged with this fellow, I want them to know that we look to them for some help to save their party and to help save this country. [Applause.]

Well, the leader of the Goldwater faction, he has proposed to sell TVA, and I quote him, "Even if we could only get a dollar for it." I wonder on who he plans on selling it to at that price. It is a pretty good deal. Look into that.

I want to assure you that President Johnson and I are not going to sell the TVA [applause] not going to sell it for any price, and we are not going to sell the Garrison Dam either [applause] and we are not going to sell the Grand Coulee. We are not going to sell these big programs on our great and mighty rivers. We are going to do what I said, to develop these water resources for the American people.

Now the Senator from Arizona, of course, is not against all projects. He would like to have that billion dollar central Arizona project in his own State. I want to compliment him. I believe in the central Arizona project, too, but I also believe in the Missouri River project and I believe in the Grand Coulee project. [Applause.]

Senator Goldwater's program for the rest of the country just adds up to exactly nothing.

The very first speech that I made in the U.S. Senate, which I suppose indicates some of the reasons that I got into some early difficulty in the Senate, because I did think as a Senator I ought to speak up for the people, and that speech was on March 2, 1949, and it was a speech for the development of the Missouri River, along with Jim Murray, and Guy Gillette of Iowa [applause]. Let me say I would make the speech all over again, all over again [applause] because I have lived in this area, and I know the importance of water, I know the importance of power, I know the importance of land reclamation and irrigation. I did not have to read about it in a book. I was here when the dust storms overcame us. I was here through the drought.

I watched our rivers dry up. I saw our crops destroyed, and I don't need to get any lectures from any Republican candidate about the evils of conservation and reclamation. I have heard all that nonsense before, and I know what America needs, at least this part of America, and that is the development and the conservation of its water, its land, its minerals, and its river resources. [Applause.]

As a matter of fact, my friends, the leader of the Goldwaterites, if he had been President, 60 years ago they wouldn't have even had that Theodore Roosevelt Dam. That is the one, by the way, that made possible water for Arizona. In fact I don't think they would even have had the department store. There wouldn't have been enough business to have it. [Laughter and applause.]

And surely there would then be no thriving, beautiful city like Phoenix.

A revolution has taken place in the technology of water and power development, and I believe we have the responsibility to make this technological upheaval produce the greatest benefit to the American people.

Today we can do great things. We can product pure water from the salty seas, and the Johnson-Humphrey administration will devote the necessary money and manpower to achieve the economic breakthrough which lies just ahead of us, to achieve a program that will obtain cheap water as well as power water to benefit our arid West and the parched and dusty desert dwellers in other parts of the world. Wouldn't that be a wonderful day when that was accomplished? [Applause.]

Now, the transmission of cheap electrical power, over long distances by extra high voltage lines is now becoming a reality. It is no longer something that is discussed in just the printed page. We are building them. The personal leadership of President Johnson resulted in a Federal line between the Columbia Basin and California's Central Valley project, and got the Pacific Northwest-Southwest intertie unledway after 16 years of struggle in the Congress. Now, that is the kind of a President you need. [Applause.]

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And this is a "first" and what was done out there in the West Coast can be done here. Soon all of the major Federal power systems will be interconnected, and the Missouri Basin will benefit from power sales and exchanges which more fully utilize our resources.

Power pooling arrangements should be worked out and interconnections built wherever such projects can produce more dependable and lower cost power for the ultimate benefit of the American consumers. That is the way we ought to operate, and that is the kind of a policy that a government ought to support.

Low-cost power and reclamation of arid land often have been called the partners in the development of this great West. The new farms created by reclamation create new consumers for electricity, and the power revenues from reclamation dams helped to pay for the water which makes farming possible, and you will see, soon see, such benefits right here in North Dakota if we can get that House of Representatives to go along with the Senate and approve the Garrison diversion project which your Senator right here, Senator Burdick, and I want to be very fair, which the Republican, Senator Young, and which your distinguished Senator, your distinguished Governor Guy have worked for day in and day out and, may I say, that when the 89th Congress convenes, and President Johnson sends his program to that Congress, one of the items on that program will be to get the Garrison diversion project through and passed and signed and sealed and delivered. [Applause.]

We know what this will do. It will give family farms a dependable water supply. It will make for diversification of our agriculture so we don't have to depend on just wheat or one crop and it will make for jobs for construction workers and jobs and revenue for home-builders. It will help every businessman on Main Street. I think we have got to get this message to the people, my friends.

Those of us who have what we think are special interests, where a farmer, for example, is interested in a farm program or where someone is particularly interested in a reclamation or irrigation program, these programs don't benefit just the farmer or just the rancher. These programs benefit the entire Nation. America is the richer today because of the great power projects that have been constructed. America is the richer today, and North Dakota is the richer today because of a wheat program and a feed grains program and, make no mistake about it, that had the vote of Barry Goldwater been the deciding vote in the Senate of the United States, the businessmen on the Main Street of Bismark would be at the bank trying to borrow enough money to sustain themselves, and we would once again find this great upper Midwest and these Western States, these agricultural States impoverished.

And as one Senator and one spokesman for the American people I don't intend to let that happen. I lived through that once. That is enough. [Applause.]

Now, as these ripples of prosperity spread, due to these many programs, they will create new payrolls for local banks to handle, new demands for construction equipment, and household appliances and furniture and automobiles, and added freight for the railroads and trucks to carry. This is the way you build in time, and a new reclamation project in the Dakotas or any place else will bring important long-range benefits as well.

It will help keep our farm population stable. It will help keep people in these areas.

Last night I spoke in Iowa and I pointed out we are losing much of our population in the center, the heartland of America to the great cities on the east and west and the Gulf States, and the Great Lakes ports, and we need to be able to keep North Dakota and Montana, yes, and Minnesota and South Dakota and Wyoming and Colorado and these other great States, we need to be able to keep them as viable economies and that means keeping the young here, the trained people here, the educated people here.

It means making it possible for people to earn a good living, and you get that done by developing your economy, by providing the power, and the energy and the capital that keeps people on the job in our own States, and that is what we are talking about when we talk about conservation of natural resources. [Applause.]

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Tomorrow and in days ahead, and that is where we need to look, more and more of our fellow citizens will live in what we now call rural America. As our cities continue to push outward in their endless search for living space, and these people cannot be expected to live in a rural America like that of 50 years ago or 25 years ago or even like that of yesterday's. That is why if you want an America that is progressive and prosperous, all of America should be and must be progressive and prosperous. You can't just have the wonders of the modern day in the big cities. You must have them all over America, and that is where your Government comes into the partnership with the people to see to it that the blessings of science and technology and of industry, the blessings of education are available to everybody everywhere, everywhere and in every region of America and that is the kind of a program America needs. [Applause.]

I want to assure you that the Federal Government must, and will, if Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have anything to say about it, continue to place its weight behind the development of a better rural America, and behind a strong rural electrification program, with favorable financing and the strong encouragement of a rural electric cooperative has been the unaltered policy of the Democratic Party since Franklin Delano Roosevelt and it will be continued under Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. [Applause.]

These great rural electric cooperatives that have contributed immeasurably to the health and well-being of this Nation, and isn't it unbelievable almost that a U.S. Senator on 35 rollcall votes where he had a chance to do something to strengthen REA voted wrong 33 times? I want to say he voted twice all right, those were for two projects in Arizona. [Applause.]

I said down at Hot Springs, Ark., when Clyde had the group down there, there was a five-State conference, I believe it was, Clyde, that I wanted to be forgiving. I don't think one ought to charge the opposition with any bad motives, and I have a feeling that Mr. Goldwater found out that they had an extra-large carryover inventory of kerosene lamps and naturally he got rid of those in the department store; he did not want to promote REA. Maybe what you folks ought to do is just buy them up and give them to Governor Guy here for the local museum. [Applause.]

The rural electrics are so much a part now of our life, and they are taking the lead in helping to revitalize the industry and the economy of those areas of the Nation where it most needs revitalizing, and they are working tirelessly at building heavier facilities, more modern facilities, to meet the ever-growing demands of electricity in rural America, and sometimes I think people fail to understand that our farm people and our rural communities have new demands, greater demands, for electricity just exactly as people do in New York or San Francisco or Minneapolis, and these great REA cooperatives that have been self-sustaining, self-financing, that have this wonderful record of the promotion of the public good, they need now to be buttressed, to be strengthened, to be modernized and that is why the job of REA is not done.

We are at the model-T stage. We need to go ahead now and modernize and bring up to date through the new improvements from technology and science our whole REA establishment, and a Democratic administration will help you get that job done. [Applause.]

Might I add that our REA's are doing something else besides helping rural people in America. They are helping rural people all over the world. Right now the REA, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and our own REA administration through the foreign aid program is helping people in Latin America, Central America, South America build rural electric cooperatives, and let me tell you, my dear friends, when you have free cooperatives, where people can really have a part in ownership, where they can run their own business as they do through a cooperative, you don't have communism or collectivism. It is the answer in many ways to this threat of the Communist statist state. [Applause.]

Now Americans will continue to have the right to decide for themselves what they want to do, whether they wish to provide electricity for themselves or a contract for service through their cities and towns with their private power companies. This freedom of choice will be

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jealously guarded. The goal of the Johnson-Humphrey administration will be to build a stronger economy by using God's bounty wisely and to develop our resources for the benefit of all our citizens and with this as our goal what should be our program? You have a right to know and I lay down this program of the Johnson-Humphrey administration.

First, to give firm Federal leadership to the comprehensive development of our water resources. With only about 25 percent of our hydroelectric potential developed we must move promptly toward the fuller development of our Nation's great river systems.

Second, to implement the letter and the spirit of the long-standing preference clause in the marketing of Federal power, and President Johnson and I have given our firm support to this principle and we will continue to do so.

Third, to promote and encourage the use of advanced technology in the American power industry, keeping in mind always that the ultimate beneficiary of new techniques must be the American consumer. Large-scale generating stations, extra-high-voltage transmission have opened up new vistas for more economic power production, and we will push forward plans to interconnect Federal wholesale power systems which will insure that the customers of all utilities regardless of size or ownership will have the opportunity to participate in these benefits.

We will back Federal transmission lines where they are needed to provide abundant electricity at low cost, and to provide maximum return from Federal investment, and the common carrier concept should be included in the wheeling or exchange agreements with private companies providing wheeling service for the transmission of Federal power.

Our program then and our policy then is to aid and advance the cause of rural electrification. President Johnson and I believe in the REA program, we will encourage it, not eliminate it, and we will see that it brings a better life if we possibly can to millions of Americans throughout rural America, and we will carry forward the research and development needed to give America a healthy atomic energy industry. We must experiment with new types of reactors, small as well as large, in order to give the consumer owned as well as the privately owned utilities a place in this program, and full Federal responsibility must be exercised to assure the American people of the safety of these new power sources.

Our goal and our program is to hasten the day when cheap, pure water can be taken from the sea, and we will continue to expand our efforts to the desalting of water including research on the use of nuclear power for desalinization. I believe that this is one of the great promises of the future, and our goal is to encourage the development of the great lignite coal fields of the West as fuel for steamplants which will be part of regional power systems of the future, and here in the Missouri River Basin, we have seen the signing of the Missouri Basin systems pooling agreement, and this is but a pattern that can be followed in many other instances. Such agreements make feasible the generation of power from lignite coal in huge regional steamplants. We support this and similar cooperative endeavors in other regions.

Finally, to follow the advice of Teddy Roosevelt who told us long ago to use every drop of water for the benefit of man as it travels from the mountains to the sea.

Oh, how I wish the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, of a faction of the Republican Party, would read the life and the works of Teddy Roosevelt, a progressive Republican. How I wish he would [Applause.]

Nowhere in this Nation is there a group of more progressive, solidly American, forward-looking citizens than I see assembled here today. No other group shares more of my hopes and dreams for the future of our great Nation.

You are attending this water and power conference because you care—you care about the development of your America, and of America's water resources. You are attending it because you believe that such development is critically needed to provide job opportunities for our young people, and opportunity, my friends, repeated again and



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again, opportunity must be the watchword and the keyword of American life; more opportunity for more people, everything to be done to provide opportunity for people to help themselves and to make themselves a better life. You are attending this conference to invigorate rural communities, and to keep this West, this great heartland of America, prosperous and productive.

I want to salute you. You are really the frontline soldiers in this battle for the development of this great America of ours, this great heartland that offers such promise, and I want to assure you that I am here today for exactly the same reasons that you are here, and I wish you success. And I say to you that President Lyndon Johnson wishes you success, and he asks you to help him bring about the fulfillment of the goals of the programs and the policies that I have set forth before you today, and if you will help him, if you will give him your hands and your hearts, if you will give him some of your time and some of your commitment to a better America in these weeks ahead, we will have a future, the likes of which no other people has ever dreamed of, and it will be our future for our children and for generations yet to come.

Thank you, very much. [Applause.]

Glasgow, Mont.  
Glasgow Fairgrounds  
October 1, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much.

Thank you very much. [Wind blowing.]

We are just coming apart here a little bit, that is all. Other than that we are in good shape.

Thank you very much, Congressman Toole. I think we might just as well get used to calling you Congressman right now, and Mayor Rasmussen, and Dr. Renne, and these wonderful Scotties over here, the Glasgow Scotty Band, I want you to know how much we appreciate your being here. [Applause.]

I understand that little cap or tam that was given to me makes me a band director whenever I want to come around. I am going to do that on the day that Goldwater visits you and then you will be completely out of tune. [Applause.]

The first thing I want to do is to thank my good brother of the Assiniboine Tribe, Chief First To Fly.

Now, chief, you are talking to a regular Indian yourself. I am a member of the Red Lake Chippewa band of Indians of Minnesota and my name is Chief Leading Feather. [Applause.]

And I just can't tell you, I simply can't tell you, how pleased I am to get this, what I would call the end of Goldwater club here. [Laughter.]

I can think of many good uses for this. I can see now where the issue got the idea of the shillelagh.

But truly I am most grateful for the thoughtfulness of Chief First To Fly in this presentation on his behalf, on behalf of the people he so ably represents.

And then may I say that the mayor has been much more considerate to me than I was to him. When he lived in Minneapolis, I didn't give him anything but trouble. When I get out here to Glasgow he gives me a gold key.

I want to tell you, folks, this is the day and age when they talk about gold. Sometimes we are a little short of it in the National Treasury, but I will tell you this, if you have got a choice between a gold key and a Goldwater, take the key any time. [Applause.]

Well, I can plainly see I am talking to some good rugged folks. This little chill in the atmosphere hasn't done a thing to chill your spirits and I am just simply delighted. I can't tell you how much I appreciate your patience and your willingness to be here with us today at a time when it is not exactly too easy for you to be around.

But let me assure you of one thing, that if this is the only trouble we ever have to go through in our country, to face a little cold weather or chill, and a little wind, why I would say we would be pretty lucky.

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As a matter of fact, if you will just vote Democratic we will have the sun shining for you all the time. [Applause.]

Now, you know full well until they had that fracas out there at the Cow Palace the sun was shining and everything was going just jim dandy but they have been stewing up such a storm out there in the Midwest with all these charges Mr. Goldwater has been making about our President that it has kind of put a few clouds up in the sky.

But I can tell you one thing, that on November 3 the sun will be shining, and the whole country will be full of joy, because on that day, the American people are going to cast an overwhelming vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic ticket. [Applause.]

You know I should forewarn you, your distinguished and great U.S. Senator, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, who is my boss, because I am his deputy in the Senate, has told me that I could have all the time that he would have ordinarily used on this occasion; and then I saw Lee Metcalf at Bismarck, N. Dak., this morning where he is participating in a big conference on natural resources, water and conservation, and is doing a fine job, and Lee told me—Senator Metcalf—he said, “Senator Humphrey, you take all my time, too,” and I generally take more time anybody should anyhow, so you are going to have three speeches in one this afternoon.

I just heard from Mrs. Humphrey that is not true. And since I am only vice president in our household and not president, I will take orders from her. So, you have been spared.

I am delighted to come to Glasgow. I am delighted to come here for many reasons. It is a fact that many times these areas of our country are bypassed in the contest of national elections.

In other words, the debate is seldom brought to communities like this, but I hope that we all appreciate, as I know you do, and I hope our visitors who are here with us today appreciate, the fact that Glasgow represents one of the great defense centers of the free world because Glasgow Air Force Base is a Strategic Air Command base, and on that base, on that base, is stationed a wing of our B-52 Strategic Air Command bombers for the defense of freedom, and also a fighter-interceptor squadron.

So, Montana today possibly plays as important or more important role in the national security than any State in the Union. This is the State along with your sister State of North Dakota, that houses many of our intercontinental ballistic missiles.

So, Montana is in the frontline of the cause of freedom. It is in the frontline of the defense of the free world, and everybody in this State can feel that they are performing a great patriotic service for freedom, for America, and indeed for humanity by the contributions that this State and the armed forces stationed in this State are carrying on all the time.

Now, friends, I want now to say just a word about a dear friend that is on this platform. One of the reasons I came to Glasgow was because of the man that is running for Governor in this State, a gentleman who is respected by the citizenry of Montana as he rightfully deserves to be respected, a great educator, a great citizen, a dedicated public servant who serves his country and his State with honor and distinction, and I look forward to the day of November 3 when the good people of Montana are going to elect this fine man, Dr. Renne, as their Governor.

You know, friends, it is kind of foolish to have a Republican Governor when you are going to have a Democratic President. You ought to have a man here in your statehouse at Helena that can walk, that can go down, to Washington, D.C., and walk into the White House without having to explain why he was wrong in November.

Get a man that is right all the time, and Dr. Renne, having served in the Department of Agriculture as an Assistant Secretary, I can testify has done as much or more for the American farmer than any man in our time, and I am deeply indebted to him.

Well, friends, don't forget now that this State also has one of the most powerful and most important men in our Government in the position of responsibility. I wouldn't want you to forget for a moment how important this man is. He is the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, and to be the majority leader of the U.S. Senate I con-

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sider to be one of the most important jobs in our Government. Possibly next to the President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, this man, Mike Mansfield, stands at the top of the Government structure of this great Republic, and he is yours, he is your Senator, he is from Montana, reelect him. [Applause.]

You know it is so nice to see you—the sun is coming out now, Goldwater just quit his speech at the last town. [Laughter and applause.]

It is going to be nice now. Isn't it great to be out in the big country where you can see for miles? Isn't it great to live in a country where you have the plains and the mountains, where you have the rivers, and where you have the rich soil.

You are a very fortunate people. This is the land of the future, not the land of the past. This is the land for the young and for the brave, and for the daring, and this is why this country and this State should be Democratic because this State looks ahead, it doesn't look back. This State wants a future, not a past. This State wants progress, not retreat, and if you want a future, if you want to look ahead, and if you want progress you vote Democratic and you vote for Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States. [Applause.]

The Democratic Party has been faithful to this part of America as it has to every section.

Only a day or two ago I was in Georgia, a State, by the way, that has never failed to vote Democratic in every election. It has a perfect record of good political judgment and I would suggest that we in Minnesota and you folks in Montana ought to try to emulate it. We ought to try to take after that good State of Georgia in the way that it has elected Democrats time after time.

Why should I ask you to vote for Mr. Johnson? Why should I ask this audience and this great community to cast their vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey? I think I can put it squarely to you.

First of all Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey represent the Democratic Party platform and program. We represent the development of our water resources. We represent Hungry Horse Dam. We represent public power. We represent irrigation and land reclamation, and the opposition party doesn't represent it at all. In fact, it refuses to do anything at all to develop the great resources of this country.

The Democratic Party represents the farmer and it has been good to the farmer. This Democratic Party this last year passed a wheat program that, had it not been passed, had the vote of the Senator from Arizona been the controlling vote, Mr. Farmer, your wheat would be selling for a dollar and a quarter a bushel instead of \$2 a bushel, and I submit to this audience that the vote of the Senator from Arizona would have spelled bankruptcy for hundreds of thousands of people in rural America, and surely would have dampened the economy of the State of Montana.

So, a vote for Johnson is a vote for yourself. A vote for Goldwater is a vote for a mortgage, for a debt, for trouble, and I don't think that you folks want any more of that. You had it once. I lived through it once. We went through the depression. We saw what Republicans did, and we don't intend to let them do it to us again, do we? [Applause.] [Cries of "No."]

Now, I am in the country of the cattleman, the country of the rancher, the country of the farmer, the country of the miner, the country of the rugged people, and that is the kind of people that deserve the respect and the attention of a friendly government. We have had some problems in recent months in our cattle industry. Cattle is one of the largest and most important single sources of income of America's agriculture, and we have taken some steps to see to it that this great basic industry of cattle does not suffer any more, and I am happy to say that as I boarded the plane this morning in Des Moines, Iowa, I found the price of cattle, fed steer prices at Chicago now at \$27 per hundredweight or \$6 more than they were in the month of May.

The price is beginning to be rebuilt, and one of the reasons for it is the aggressive program that was launched by your Senators, your two Senators, Mike Mansfield and Lee Metcalf, and the President of the United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture. [Applause.]

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And I am happy to tell you that many improvements have been made. Exports of livestock and livestock products are increasing, and during the first 6 months of 1964, we have had some of the finest increases in exports that we have ever enjoyed in American agriculture, and other major exporting countries are reducing their shipments of beef and veal to the United States.

I am not trying to tell cattlemen who are a rugged group, independent as can be, that we are out of the woods yet. I am saying to you, however, that we have come to grips with the problem. We didn't run away from it and we have been making genuine progress.

We have to recognize that our cattle census, the number of cattle will be increased by about 2 million heads this year and feeds should avoid marketing cattle at heavy weights and you should watch the markets carefully, to avoid bunching.

You folks know what that means. When you put too many in the market at once, you break the price, and when you have those cattle overfed you only increase the poundage as well as the census.

Now, much progress has been made in reducing market weights, and I am happy to say that you are averaging now about 30 pounds under last spring.

Cattlemen are realists, too. You have got to be to survive. Everyone of you know that who have raised cattle or any of you, that have ever been on the farm and you don't depend on empty promises and idle conversation and I don't intend to waste your time giving you any empty promises or any pie in the sky and any bonanza that you think might be offered.

Rather I would say that this administration intends to continue doing what it has been doing, to improve the market price, to improve our exports, to improve retailing, to improve distribution of our cattle products.

What have we been doing? Well, first, we intend to continue our cooperation with the members of cattlemen and beef industry in every feasible way, to consult with them, to make available to them, the services of our Government in the field of research, in marketing and regulatory activities and to continue to preserve fair competition in the marketing of livestock.

Secondly, the conservation programs of the Department of Agriculture and other agencies will be designed to preserve our forests and public lands, and to gain the maximum grazing conditions consistent with sound conservation practices.

Thirdly, this administration will utilize every authority to maximize aid to our cattlemen in need of credit, consistent with sound business practices, and we are determined to use the facilities of our Government so that cattlemen can through Government and through themselves work out their problems.

Fourthly, consistent with the principles I have announced, we do not propose or support any direct price support programs or control programs or subsidy payments. We will support the cattlemen of America in their determination to have a good market, a free market for their livestock.

And fifth, with consultation and the aid of the cattle and beef industry, we will continue to use the facilities of our Government to encourage beef promotion, purchases from school lunches and needy persons, purchases for our Armed Forces, and the development of our export markets, and other actions designed to aid profitable marketing of livestock and livestock products.

Sixth, the United States will continue to urge negotiations to open European and Japanese markets. We are interested in helping beef exporting nations find expanding markets outside of the continental limits of the United States.

And seventh, the import quota legislation sponsored by Senator Mansfield, and recently enacted into law, and signed by the President, is now the law of the land, and this will be used by our President when necessary, taking into full consideration the needs of the domestic cattle industry, the American consumer, and the American agricultural role in world markets.

Now, my friends, never in the history of the world has more beef been produced and consumed in such a short period of time, and I can tell you that we are determined to continue a program that will build markets, that will promise a better future for our cattle industry, and indeed will be of help to all of our agriculture.



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I have taken the time today to say something about cattle because I believe that this is a subject matter that is of vital concern to hundreds of thousands of farmers and ranchers, and may I just add this on this particular topic, may I just add, that we have a President of the United States who is a rancher. We have a President of the United States who raises cattle, and raises them as a farmer and not just as a pleasure thing. We have a President who understands agricultural problems. I think that farmers have a choice in this election. I think farmers have a choice between a man who frankly says, "I know nothing about farming," and those are exactly the words of the Senator from Arizona, and a choice of selecting a man who lives on a farm, who has worked a farm, who runs a farm, who is a rancher and whose record on agriculture is one that has done well for every farmer.

It is a record you can be proud of, and I have a feeling it is a record that you are going to support in November. [Applause.]

Now, just before I leave, I am getting signals down here from an itchy, anxious staff man of mine who tells me that I must go, but before I go I want to say this, as important as these economic matters are, there is something more important, and the most important subject of all, my friends, is the safety of this country and the preservation of this Republic, and indeed the preservation of this world.

And when we boil this campaign issue right down to the central issue, it is the issue of which of these two men do you trust, which of these two men, President Johnson or the Senator from Arizona, do you think is best able to guide America during this nuclear age; which one do you think will serve the cause of peace; which one do you think will guard America during these troublesome days, and I think that when you face up to that issue that you will come to one conclusion, and the conclusion will be that the man that you can trust and the man that you ought to have, is the man you now have, the man that was selected by John Kennedy as his running mate, and who today is the President of the United States, and I ask you to put the same confidence in Lyndon Johnson as President Kennedy put into him, and give him a vote of confidence on that great day in November, and let's let the whole world know that America is unwilling to back a man who is reckless and brash and rash.

But we are perfectly willing to support a man who justly seeks the cause of peace, who builds the strength of America, who seeks to make this a better country and a better world, and that man is Lyndon Johnson.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

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Spokane, Wash.  
Spokane Airport  
October 1, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Governor. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much. [Cries of "We want Humphrey."]

You have got him. Thank you very much.

Governor Rosellini, if there is any way that we could inject some of that youthful enthusiasm that I hear in the front row into the Goldwater camp it would make this fight an even race. [Applause.]

I hope that some of these attractive, enthusiastic, vibrant young ladies would be present when and if the Senator from Arizona visits this great city of Spokane if only to make him understand how it feels when the Beatles are in town. [Applause and laughter.]

Governor Rosellini, we are very honored to be once again in your great State of Washington, and I am particularly honored, may I say, to have you mention to this audience that many of our people in Minnesota worked their way out to the State of Washington and they have established residence here to become some of your finest citizens.

I have often told your two Senators that the State of Washington is twice blessed, blessed first by its own native-born and secondly by all of the folks that came from Minnesota. [Applause.]

And Senator Magnuson reminds me that if I don't do as he wants me to do in the Senate, that he will come home and run against me in Minnesota, and with a name like Magnuson and having been born in Moorehead, Minn., I live in constant fear of his threat.

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So, Governor, it is because of that, and your own persuasive eloquence and your own fine public record, that I have in a sense tried to be sort of a third Senator for the State of Washington even though the two of you can do a job equal to any six that I have ever found in the U.S. Senate. I want to compliment you. [Applause.]

I am looking forward tonight to the opportunity of being with one of our outstanding Members of the Senate, a gentleman who is standing for reelection in the State of Washington and one I am sure will command the vote of an overwhelming majority of the people of this State, and that is your own junior Senator, commonly and affectionately known to us as "Scoop" and known to you as Henry Jackson, and I am sure that Senator Jackson will have your help. [Applause.]

Well, Governor, we have had a bit of a windy day. I knew when I read Mr. Goldwater was going to take that Midwest junket, that tour, when he zigzagged back through Ohio and Indiana and Illinois, that it would stir up a bit of turbulence and storm, and it has. [Applause.]

Every place we have been today, it has been as chilly as the Senator from Arizona's regard is for the welfare of the people, and it has been [applause] and it has been as turbulent and windy as you would expect when you mix hot and cold air.

And when you see the many conflicting statements that emanate from the camp of the opposition, you can plainly see why the forces of nature become a bit confused and a bit turbulent. So, just bear with us, just bear with us, I am sure that things will correct themselves in due time.

I am delighted to see so many young people here from your great college, from Eastern Washington State College, and from Gonzaga. [Applause.]

And from Gonzaga and from Whitworth College. I am particularly pleased to see our young college students here because the program of the Democratic Party surely represents the program that befits the enthusiasm and the sense of idealism and the vibrant spirit of young people, and may I assure this fine group of young people that are present, that we need your help in this campaign, we look forward to your help, we ask you to give us every bit of enthusiasm that you have, and to work ceaselessly for the Democratic ticket, for President Lyndon B. Johnson and for his running mate Hubert Humphrey, for Governor Rosellini, for "Scoop" Jackson, for Tom Foley, all the way down the line.

Well, I see, Tom, you have some youthful enthusiasts here. What do you feed these youngsters out here, Governor? It must be that the Spokane apples are better than ever, and that the vitamins from your wheatfields sort of give extra strength to your fine constituents.

Governor, you have a record in this State for getting things done that is the envy of the Nation. I am very proud of the fact it has been my privilege to be with you, and I want to say to the people of Washington that the Governor of this State, in cooperation with his congressional delegation, the Democrats in that delegation, has vigorously supported the many programs advanced by the Kennedy-Johnson administration to benefit America.

I call to your attention, for example, such programs as the Manpower Training Act to better equip your workers to participate in the growth of this great economy; the Youth Conservation Corps, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Higher Education Act.

Each and every one of these have been programs that have been supported by your Members of Congress, Democratic Members that is, and have had the active support, the active advocacy, of Governor Rosellini of the State of Washington. It is this kind of teamwork that makes for progress. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the State of Washington has one of the fastest rates of growth, economic growth, of any State in the Union?

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It is a State that is growing in population, but it is also a State that is growing in economic opportunity. And the theme of our campaign, the theme of this administration is opportunity, opportunity for the young through education; opportunity for the adults through jobs and job training, and opportunity for the elderly to live in dignity, through better social security, through better health care, through better housing, and through all the things that older people justly deserve from a society that they had served so faithfully. [Applause.]

Governor, may I congratulate you for your close cooperation with President Johnson, and our late and beloved President Kennedy in converting [applause] if you will just wait a minute you will get the rest of the sentence. [Laughter.]

Don't you jump too soon—in converting the huge Hanford nuclear power project into a peacetime industrial complex, because, let me say to my fellow Americans, we ought not to be looking upon atomic energy as only a source of power for nuclear bombs. We ought to look upon atomic energy as man's greatest blessing for the development of a peacetime society, and I see here in this Hanford, this great Hanford nuclear project, an opportunity to put to work this new energy that has been unleashed by the mind of man, to make atomic energy the blessing for mankind that it ought to be, because the good Lord in the heavens gave to us the power of the atom, and man has now harnessed that power, and we can put this atom to work to build a better society, to heat our homes, to provide power for our industries, to convert salt water into fresh water, to do amazing things in the field of medicine.

Atomic energy right here in the Hanford project itself may well save America millions of lives and be a great help to our economy. [Applause.]

Governor, Spokane is not only a fine industrial center, but it also is in the center of a great agricultural area. The wheat, the produce of your farms in this area, help feed not only America but the world, and I am proud to stand here as a Democrat, as a member of this administration, and say that we have tried to keep the promises and to be true to the faith that you give to us, the promises that were made in 1960, to extend a helping hand on the part of Government to American agriculture, and that hand has been extended to the wheatfarmers of this great valley, of this great area, and that hand has been extended to the people throughout the world through the food-for-peace program, and the wheat right from this area today is saving millions of lives in the world, millions of American lives in free countries, helping people to be nourished, helping them to live for a better day.

Now, may I conclude my remarks by saying these thoughts to you:

We are a powerful Nation, and no State has added more to that power than Washington; Washington with its atomic energy, Washington with its great aircraft plants, Washington with its food, Washington with its industry; but the purpose of this power, this massive military power that is ours, that purpose is not for conquest; that purpose is not for death or war; that purpose is for peace and for life.

And what we ought to be thinking about in this election is how we best pursue the noble course of finding a just and an enduring peace, and we need as a President someone who is imbued with the idea that peace is possible, and not someone who believes that war is inevitable. [Applause.]

I am not sure whose side they are on. [Laughter.]

We need someone as President who is reliable, who is trustworthy, who is prudent, and who has experience in the leadership of men and nations. I think we have that man.

I know that we have a President who seeks to unite our great country and to make it a better country. I know that in President Johnson we have a man who understands that the power of America is to be used sparingly and with restraint. I know that we have in President Johnson a man who will go to any part of this earth if it will help to bring about an honorable peace, who will search for ways and means of making mankind's lot on this earth just a little better and a little more secure.

And while at times it may seem interesting to hear a spokesman rattle the saber and tell you only of our might and issue ultimatums to the Communists and the evil forces of the world, let me say what you need in a President is not a man that is bellicose, but one that is firm and reliable and responsible; not one that issues ultimatums, but one that understands the art of diplomacy.

You need in a President someone who understands the world in which we live as being a complex one and not a simple one, and you, above all, need in a President one who has faith, faith in the ability of mankind to find answers to the problems that now beset us, and I think we have that man.

I worked with him for 16 years. I have known him as a friend, as a Senator, as a Vice President, and now as the President, and I come to this audience in Spokane to ask you to help us find the ways to make America an even more prosperous land, to make America a more just land, to make America a better country, and to make the world a more safe world for the things in which we believe.

The process of peace is worthy of the best in us, and President Lyndon Johnson carrying on in the spirit of John F. Kennedy, will work ceaselessly for a world at peace, for a world that is just, for a world that moves ahead to a better day.

And I hope that you will join with me and see to it that on November 3, Lyndon B. Johnson is given 4 years in the Presidency to carry on the work that we have so nobly started, to carry on to make America the pride of the world, and worthy of all of the traditions of our country.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Seattle, Wash.  
Airport  
October 1, 1964

## SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. Thank you, Governor, thank you for your welcome, and may I say how happy I am to see your wonderful U.S. Senator Henry Jackson, Scoop Jackson, here who, undoubtedly will be reelected with a smashing majority. [Applause.]

Governor, I am very happy to see that more and more of our fellow citizens are beginning to repent for their sins, and are bringing in their symbols, and are bringing in their symbols of political transgression. We want to welcome all these sign-carrying Goldwaterites. And we want to tell them that they are more than welcome to return to the paths of political responsibility and we will take them back if they wish to come. [Cries of "We want Barry."] You will have to wait a long time before that happens.

We have a big night ahead of us and a wonderful program I want to thank all the good friends of Washington, the Seattle area, for being here in the airport to greet Mrs. Humphrey and myself. We are very honored to be greeted here by Senator and Mrs. Jackson. We are very pleased that we could have had the privilege of the Governor and Mrs. Rosellini's presence with us on the plane.

We had a wonderful meeting in Spokane. We are going to have now more and more meetings to carry out the program and enunciate the program of Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party. [Applause.] And I am sure that that program will triumph, there is no doubt about it. [Noise of airplane.]

That is not Barry, don't worry. I am sure that that program will succeed and I am confident that the State of Washington will go heavily for President Johnson, for Governor Rosellini and for Henry Jackson. [Applause.]

Seattle-Tacoma Airport  
Airport News Conference  
October 1, 1964

## STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Before opening this news conference to questions, I have a statement to make on behalf of the Johnson administration which is of great importance not only to this area but to the whole Nation.



## HE - LINO - 174

As you know this area is one of the great aerospace manufacturing centers of our country—an industry of vital importance to our economy and to maintaining our defense strength.

I can announce that it is the intention of the administration to help increase production in the aircraft industry by providing fully competitive export financing. We will attempt to accomplish this either through international agreement or by asking our own Export-Import Bank to make its credit policies fully competitive.

With this partnership help of your Federal Government, we are optimistic that the United States can substantially increase the exports of the fine products of our aerospace industry.

We have been told by authorities in the aerospace industry that by supplying this financing, their exports could increase easily from the current level of \$1.3 billion a year to over \$2 billion per year by 1970.

Our aerospace companies estimate that there is a potential overseas market in jet transport planes alone of more than \$2 billion from 1964 until 1969. If this estimate proves correct, we could see an increase of 50,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry.

This policy of your Government is an outgrowth of studies by the White House Committee on Export Expansion.

In today's world marketplace, it is not possible to realize the full export potential of a product—no matter how superior it is—unless suitable and adequate financing can be arranged on terms which are competitive with those offered by other nations. These terms sometimes are not available through ordinary commercial credit channels. Government can be of help in seeing to it that our products have an equal opportunity to compete in world markets, especially when those products are of superior quality.

Let me say that this method of increasing the potential growth of our aerospace industry is in great contrast to that offered by the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party. When he visited Seattle he said—according to the Associated Press—"You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies and you are going to do it again."

This Goldwater approach again is an example of an irresponsible remark and an irresponsible approach in this nuclear age. President Johnson offers a responsible approach, as this announcement illustrates so well.

Through the Johnson policy we will be able to maintain the technical superiority of our aircraft for defense purposes, and the commercial competitiveness in the export markets.

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Seattle, Wash.

Press conference, Hyatt House, Satellite Room

October 1, 1964

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, ladies and gentlemen, first I want to express my appreciation to the Governor of this State, Governor Rosellini, and to Senator Jackson for their welcome, and also I might add in that a welcome from Senator Magnuson who was kind enough to wire me and let me know that the portals of Washington were open, so I come to visit with you, "Scoop" and Governor.

Senator JACKSON. And no rain.

Senator HUMPHREY. I believe you have in your hands now a statement and may I just give you a word of background on it. This statement is the end product of a good deal of discussion on the part of your two Senators, Senator Magnuson and Senator Jackson, as well as the Governor of this State, with responsible officials in our Federal Government and the President, and the Secretary of Commerce.

As you know, this area is one of the great aerospace manufacturing centers of our country, an industry of vital importance to our economy and to maintain our defense strength, and I can announce today that it is the intention of this administration to help increase production in the aircraft industry by providing fully competitive export financing. We will attempt to accomplish this either through international agreement or by asking our own Export-Import Bank to make its credit policies fully competitive.

Now, with this partnership help of your Federal Government, we are optimistic that the United States can substantially increase the exports of the fine products of our aerospace industry.

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We have been told by authorities in the aerospace industry that by supplying this financing, their exports could increase easily from the current level of about a billion three hundred million dollars a year to over \$2 billion a year by the year 1970.

Our aerospace companies estimate that there is a potential overseas market in jet transport planes alone of more than \$2 billion from 1964, that is from the end of 1964, until 1969. Now, if this estimate proves correct, we could see an increase of 50,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry, most of which is located right here on the Pacific coast.

Now this policy of government is an outgrowth of studies by the White House Committee on Export Expansion in consultation, I should say, with your two Senators, and also by the very timely interest of the Governor of this State.

In today's world marketplace it is not possible to realize the full export potential of a product, no matter how superior it is, unless suitable and adequate financing can be arranged on terms which are competitive with those offered by other nations.

Now, these terms sometimes are not available through ordinary commercial credit channels. Government can be of help in seeing to it that our products have equal opportunity to compete in world markets, especially when those products are of superior quality.

Let me say that this method of increasing the potential growth of our aerospace industry is in great contrast to that offered by the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party. When he visited Seattle, he said, according to the Associated Press, and I quote him: "You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies and you are going to do it again."

I think this Goldwater approach is an example of an irresponsible remark and an irresponsible approach in this nuclear age. President Johnson and this administration offers a responsible approach, as this announcement illustrates so well. We do not depend upon enemies for a great aircraft industry. We depend upon commercial markets and the security of this Nation.

Through the Johnson policy, we will be able to maintain the technical superiority of our aircraft for defense purposes, and the commercial competitiveness in export markets.

QUESTION. Senator, will this decision to help exports apply to more than the aerospace industry? Is this just a beginning?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, as you know the Export-Import Bank already has a rather extensive program of export credit guarantees and insurance. It has been developing and I would say has been improving as the needs have been made manifest. We now have substantial amounts of export credit guarantees through Export-Import Bank some of them going up as high as 10 years. Prior to that, of course, the guarantees were limited to 1 to 2 years.

QUESTION. Would there be any ceiling on this particular field, aerospace?

Senator HUMPHREY. I couldn't say to that, sir, because the Export-Import Bank is a bank, and what we are suggesting here is a recommendation to the Board of Governors of that Bank on the part of the administration, to improve its financing operations and its export credit guarantees. I am sure that these recommendations will receive sympathetic consideration because the White House task force or panel on export expansion has been working in the closest coordination and cooperation with the Export-Import Bank.

QUESTION. Senator, the Warren report has revived the public's appreciation for the President's safety. How do you feel about the careless way the President mixes with crowds?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I think the President knows what he is doing, and there isn't any way that I know of that one can really be fully protected. I think you are well aware of that, and the Warren report makes some very constructive suggestions as to better coordination between the efforts of the many protective services such as the Secret Service and the FBI, and the local and State police forces. But it is my honest opinion, sir, that the President is not in very much danger just being in a crowd. He is maybe in much more danger when he is sitting out by himself.

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QUESTION. Senator, in this State and in a number of others, the ADA has come in for some talk particularly by your Republican opponents. As we are on the issue of Presidential security, should you succeed to the Presidency of the United States do you feel your policies would differ from those of Lyndon Johnson?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, one can't say what would be necessary in the days ahead. But let me say this: I subscribe fully to the Democratic platform as I have as a Democrat through all of my public life. I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix, as Sam Rayburn said, without apology, and I will subscribe to the Democratic platform, and will do what I believe to be right as a citizen and as a public official.

My views are well known on public matters. They are no longer matters of theoretical debate or Republican mythology. They are matters of congressional record, and they are there for anyone that stays in the Congress long enough to know what is going on in Congress or to study the record.

QUESTION. Do you feel the ADA should be an issue?

Senator HUMPHREY. Why, I think the Republicans have to have something. I wouldn't want to deny them the opportunity to at least be heard. I think they are entitled to that and if they want to chew on that old stick why let them go ahead.

QUESTION. Senator, what is your answer—

QUESTION. Mike Mansfield today urged the President, Senator Goldwater, yourself, and Miller to avoid risking your lives by mingling with the crowds. Will you give me your reaction to his request to all four of you?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I think one should always be reasonably prudent in all matters, but American public life is not a matter of secrecy, and I don't really believe that you can expect American public officials to closet themselves behind closed doors. We are representatives of the people, we must be close to the people. The American people expect to see their candidates. They expect to see their candidates for Governor, for Senator, for Congress, for mayor, for Vice President and President. I will be very frank with you, gentlemen, I haven't had any real worries. Sometimes I think I am in much more danger when somebody drives me to the airport [laughter] than I am when I am at the airport.

QUESTION. Senator, how far is the administration prepared to go in helping to finance development of supersonic transport?

Senator HUMPHREY. Very far, as a matter of fact; of course, our record in the Congress is already established on that. Senator Jackson, Senator Magnuson, and others have led the fight in the Congress for rather substantial Federal aid in the development of supersonic transports and supersonic aircraft.

"Scoop," it was a billion dollars, about, last time, wasn't it?

Senator JACKSON. Yes. We have appropriated enough money to go ahead with the first phase of the program. I think what we are awaiting, of course, are the reports that will be submitted by the various aircraft companies that will be making their proposals later this year. A decision will have to be made at that time as to the percentage—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Senator JACKSON (continuing). As to what the Government would put up and the percentage that the aircraft companies would put up. I think there is strong feeling that probably the solution will come in connection with a guarantee of x number of planes that will be produced, and that the Government will see to it that they are sold. It is an underwriting affair.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

Senator JACKSON. And something along that line, I think, will be the end result but it is clear that the administration is committed to the idea that this job must be done with Federal help because the aerospace industry as such cannot finance it alone. It would break any one company.

QUESTION. Senator, could we get back—

Senator HUMPHREY. May I just add to this, this is a matter of public record already, and when Senator Magnuson and Senator Jackson made these proposals to the Congress in a bill from the Appropriations Committee, and from the Committees on Commerce and Armed Services, this Senator that is talking to you supported those proposals. I don't think the private industry alone can do this nor should it be expected to. It must have Government help.

Yes, Mr. Kenworthy.

QUESTION. Can we get back for a moment to this question of adjustment of credit terms—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION (continuing). For sales of exports aircraft. Is this because the French Government has in effect been subsidizing sales of Caravelle, and the British Government been subsidizing sales in West Germany also?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes. As a matter of fact, Mr. Kenworthy, the French Government and the British Government, of course, have long subsidized their aircraft industry, and our proposals now are to give us a competitive position so that American aircraft that produces, I think a superior aircraft, and I believe that the market demonstrates that, when there is equal credit terms, that the American aircraft industry will have the same opportunity to compete in world markets on the same terms as good or better terms than any other industry, in any other country, and the Caravelle, of course, is a classic example of what you are talking about.

QUESTION. Have they been doing this, have they been justifying this, as a kind of a foreign aid, is that why they have been giving credit terms less than commercial credit terms on this, France and Britain?

Senator HUMPHREY. You mean the French?

QUESTION. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, the French have been doing this because it is a matter of their national policy of promoting the French goods and French prestige in the aircraft industry, as have the British. We have only recently come around in America to understanding that we do have very severe foreign competition, and in order to meet this competition, not only in the aircraft industry but in many other areas, we have had to come around to credit guarantees, and to the type of financing which would compete with the Dutch, the Belgians, the British, the French, the Italian and many others, may I say, but in this instance, on aircraft, French and British primarily.

QUESTION. But Eximbank loans have always been hard loans. Is it the intent of the administration to revise this policy and make them, if not soft, at least quasi-soft, I mean for export of aircraft?

Senator HUMPHREY. It is the intent of the administration to recommend to the Board of Governors of the Export-Import Bank to make the loan policy so that it is competitive with any other policy of any other country that is engaged in trying to obtain commercial markets for aircraft.

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, your mimeographed text here does not make clear how you interpret this remark of Senator Goldwater's about turning out aircraft again and why you think it is irresponsible. Could you elaborate on that, sir?

Senator HUMPHREY. I thought Mr. Goldwater's remarks were perfectly obvious. Mr. Goldwater apparently made very little recognition of, gave very little recognition to, the commercial aspects of the aircraft industry, which by the way is our leading export item. It is the most important item that we have in the balance-of-payments situation, and I happen to believe that President Johnson's proposal not only meets the defense requirements of our Nation for our aircraft industry, but also takes care of the commercial requirements of our Nation and of the aircraft industry which is an area that I believe that Mr. Goldwater either forgot or avoided.

QUESTION. Senator, in the field of foreign policy the other day Senator Goldwater said that the Democrats have a wishbone where their backbone should be. Would you reply directly to that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I have come to the conclusion that one ought not to reply to each of the Goldwater statements because he changes them so quickly. I thought I would hold up a couple of weeks on that. Of course, Mr. Goldwater knows that is nonsense, and I am sure that he in thoughtful reflection would be ashamed of his own statement. The policy of this Government is one of firmness, it is one of resoluteness without being belligerent or arrogant and it is one of understanding and negotiation without being either appealing or backing down. Mr. Goldwater knows it, and if he doesn't he will soon find out about it on November 3.



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QUESTION. He also charged today, sir, there would be a drastic cut-back in defense spending should Mr. Johnson be elected in November.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Goldwater is reaching pretty deeply into the barrel. The other day he charged that the administration was soft on communism, too. Then he said on second thought that he thought he would wait a while to see how that one reacted. This kind of cynicism is really beneath the dignity of the office of Presidency. I would suggest Mr. Goldwater start talking about a program for America rather than trying to mislead the American people.

QUESTION. Senator, you picked up four shadows, the so-called truth squad of the Republican Party. What is your reaction to this truth squad?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, you have been—you have honored them by calling them shadows, I could think of a better term but I shan't say it. [Laughter.]

To place truth in the hands of this truth squad is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop. [Laughter.]

It is a play on words really and it is a travesty on the English language. But I think these men need a trip, they have been rather provincial in their attitude. It is nice to get them out here, to see the country once again and find out what is going on.

QUESTION. Senator—

Senator HUMPHREY. I am glad it is prepaid, may I say.

QUESTION. Would you comment, please, on today's FCC ruling that Presidential news conferences will be considered under the fair and equal opportunity for exposure ruling?

Senator HUMPHREY. Really, I wasn't familiar with that ruling, I am sorry. I am sure—

QUESTION. It is our understanding that any Presidential news conference will be treated as a political appearance and that the opposition can call for equal time.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, we are perfectly willing to have the opposition have even more than equal time. As a matter of fact, I think the best thing that is going for the Democratic Party right now is the amount of time that the opposition has. If I had my way, I would like to double their time. [Laughter.]

QUESTION. Sir, do you think if the civil rights bill was put up to the people to vote on that it would ever pass?

Senator HUMPHREY. I really couldn't say, because that is not the question in American Government. We have a representative government.

QUESTION. What is your opinion?

Senator HUMPHREY. I really wouldn't know. I think it would be very foolish for a man to cast an opinion on that. I do know that under the Constitution, the representatives in Congress are supposed to legislate. We do not have national referendums. If we were to have national referendums on many questions there might be many different answers. But the duty of a man in Congress is to legislate and to make up his own mind. He is privileged to have a good deal of information there and he ought to exercise wise judgment on that information.

QUESTION. Thank you, Senator.

QUESTION. Senator, some reporters have said that defeat of the Dirksen-Mansfield reapportionment rider indicates that the Johnson administration may have trouble with cooperation by Democratic Senators after the election.

Senator HUMPHREY. I wouldn't think so. I wouldn't think so. We have very good cooperation with the Democratic members of the Congress.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

QUESTION. Thank you, Senator.

[Applause.]

Tacoma, Wash.  
University of Puget Sound  
October 1, 1964

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

To night I want to address myself to a question which has not so far been raised in this campaign—is Senator Goldwater really a Republican?

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Certainly, his fellow Republicans do not seem to flock to him. Republican candidates for office do not seem to relish appearing with him on the same platform. Apparently, they fear that riding his coattails would be like taking a hop with wrongway Corrigan.

Many of the billboards I see are interesting, too. There are big pictures of Republican State candidates, and some words in good, plain, easy-to-read type about what they've done or hope to do. If you stop your car and look carefully, you may find the word "Republican" in small type somewhere—but it's easy to miss it.

I regret this. I'm proud to be a Democrat and I would like Republicans to be proud of their party. But I can understand what they're doing, because in a very real sense it's not their party for the time being, and Senator Goldwater is not in any real sense a Republican.

I think an honest appraisal of what Republicanism means is found in the 1960 platform of the Republican Party. It was a conservative platform, as one would have expected it to be—and I had a lot to say about that in the 1960 campaign.

But it was a responsible platform, too. It reflected the fact that a Republican administration had been in office 8 years, and had dealt with the complex problems of a great nation in a turbulent world.

It was a platform too moderate and too responsible for the junior Senator from Arizona. He is a Radical, not a Conservative—and he'd rather be right than Republican as that platform defined the policies of the party. And in terms of that platform, he is right—far right.

I think that a more detailed analysis will conclusively demonstrate this. I have before me an analysis of the votes of Senator Goldwater on 25 specific positions set forth in that platform—as compared with the votes of Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, Saltonstall, and Hickenlooper.

These are Senators who have been chosen for responsible posts by their Republican colleagues. Senator Dirksen is minority leader. Senator Kuchel is minority whip. Senator Saltonstall is chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. Senator Hickenlooper is chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

The record shows that Senator Goldwater voted against every one of the 25 positions in the 1960 platform.

The record shows that Senator Kuchel supported his party's declared position on every one of these issues.

Of course, Senator Goldwater has called Senator Kuchel an "extremist" (presumably because he was loyal to the party platform), and Senator Saltonstall comes from the eastern seaboard—which Senator Goldwater once, in the spirit of good all-Americanism, suggested should be cut off from the United States and set adrift.

But what about Senator Dirksen, and Senator Hickenlooper?

They are neither extremists nor easterners. They come from the Midwest, deeply committed to the tradition of the Republican Party, and they are universally and rightly known as solid conservatives.

Senator Dirksen voted for his party's platform 18 times, went against it only 4.

Senator Hickenlooper voted 17 times for his party's platform, went against it only 8 times.

These 25 issues were not small ones—on the contrary, they included positions on matters which set the course of the Nation through the treacherous shoals of the complex modern world. Take the following examples drawn from these 25:

One, the Republican platform supported the United Nations, but not Senator Goldwater.

Two, the Republican platform supported the establishment of an Arms Control Agency, but not Senator Goldwater.

Three, the Republican platform supported the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but not Senator Goldwater.

Four, the Republican platform supported the mutual security program, but not Senator Goldwater.

Five, the Republican platform supported the reciprocal trade agreements program, but not Senator Goldwater.

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Six, the Republican platform supported the national defense education program and aid for higher education, but not Senator Goldwater.

Seven, the Republican platform supported aid for medical education and a Kerr-Mills type program of medical care for the aged—but not Senator Goldwater.

And so on, down the list.

On 13 of these issues, all 4 of the chosen leaders of the Republicans in the Senate—Dirksen, Hickenlooper, Kuchel, and Saltonstall—voted in agreement with their party platform.

But not Senator Goldwater.

In fact, he made it abundantly clear that he cared as little for the platform as he did for the Republican administration which drafted it.

Months before the 1960 convention, he had dismissed the Eisenhower administration—the administration of a party to which he professed at least nominal allegiance—as a “dimestore New Deal.”

At the convention itself, he made it clear that he was only biding his time until he could junk the Republican platform and replace it by something quite different. He was willing to wait until there was a presidential candidate more to his liking—himself.

In the ensuing 4 years, he did not concern himself with helping the Republican Party in the Senate to build a record of responsible opposition, proving itself worthy and capable of exercising power responsibly if the voters so elected.

Instead, he and his followers worked constantly to capture the Republican Party, and to turn it into an instrument of a new and dangerous force in American life—the radical right.

None of us will soon forget the time when the distinguished Governor of New York State was booed and jeered. Nor will we forget the gusher of hate that spewed up when former President Eisenhower made a passing—and, he thought innocuous—reference to the press.

No, these were not conservatives, nor were they representatives of the Republicans as we have known them in the past. We must find some other name for them—and I believe they have given it to us out of their own mouths.

Over and over again, we hear them saying that they are “sick and tired” of things as they are—“sick and tired” of taxes, “sick and tired” of our welfare services, “sick and tired” of the Communists pushing us around—“sick and tired” of this and “sick and tired” of that.

Yes, they have said it themselves—they are “sick” Americans and they are “tired” Americans.

They are “sick” of the kind of American Government which fulfills one of the key mandates of the Constitution—the promotion of the general welfare.

And they are “tired” of the unrelenting, patient, demanding and successful struggle to contain communism—and hanker to bring it to an end with one great big bang.

Now, I do not say that Senator Goldwater shares the wilder delusions of some of his admirers—delusions fit only for the pages of a textbook on abnormal psychology.

But I do say he tolerates them and by his toleration has lent them an alarming degree of respectability.

To this day, he has refused to disown or condemn the John Birch Society. Indeed, he finds its members to be “impressive, intelligent people” and says that: “They are the kind we need in politics.”

We are witnessing a strange phenomenon in American history, a strident minority pretending to speak for a major party.

Senator Goldwater makes a clean break with past Republican policies—and, indeed, with the bipartisan consensus of both parties for the past two decades—on the great issues of war and peace.

In all the many thousands of words he has spoken, I find no evidence of any serious and sober consideration of the harsh, the inescapable, the overwhelming fact that our enemies possess nuclear weapons capable of destroying us, just as we possess weapons capable of destroying them.

Speaking in Berlin, N.H., on March 2, when he was already a candidate for the leadership of this country and of the free world, he said:

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"Have the people of New England or the people of the United States changed in the last 200 years? Have we become a nation of cowards? \* \* \* (Is it) any more dangerous today to risk war?" His answer was "No."

I hope that Senator Goldwater knows in his heart—whatever he may choose to say—that war *is* infinitely more dangerous today than it was 200 years ago—or for that matter, 10 years ago.

Faced with the facts of this nuclear age, President Eisenhower said that there is no longer any alternative to peace. Faced with those same facts, President Eisenhower saw that we had a common interest in peace with the Soviet leaders, and invited Chairman Khrushchev to visit the United States in 1959. Much good has resulted from that visit, particularly in helping to widen the split between the Russians and the Chinese.

We may be thankful that Senator Goldwater was not in the White House then, for he said last year—and I am sure that this is still his position:

"I'm against negotiating with the Russians who are in power today \* \* \* I see no advantage in meeting with them."

Unfortunately, in the real world, we do not and we cannot choose the Russians who are in power today—nor can we, in this same real world, evade or ignore the fact that they possess the thermonuclear weapon and the missiles to deliver it.

George Washington as a general never once forgot (as he pointed out to impatient critics) that in 7 long years of fighting he was the one man who, by a single ill-judged action, could lose the Revolutionary War in a single afternoon.

Today, the President of the United States is the one and only leader of the free world who, by a single rash miscalculation or momentary lapse of judgment, can risk the annihilation of mankind.

By what he has not said as well as by what he has said, Senator Goldwater has shown that he is not capable of assuming this heavy responsibility—indeed, that he does not even comprehend its awesome dimensions. Let us give you an appalling example of his reckless judgment.

You will recall that in an interview with the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, the Senator was asked, in connection with his demand for instant victory in the cold war, "But would you go to the brink of war?" And here he gave an answer that defies rational understanding. He said, and I quote exactly, "Yes. Just as your country (that is, Germany) has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Now what does this mean? Twice in this century irresponsible leaders of Imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world *over* the brink. How can anyone with commonsense, let alone a knowledge of recent history, applaud German brinkmanship—brinkmanship so in contrast to the responsible policies of postwar German leaders. In the first place, at fearful cost in human suffering, Imperial and Nazi German brinkmanship were disastrous—for Germany and for the other nations of the world.

Indeed, Imperial and Nazi Germany in this century give us a perfect, and deeply tragic, example of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action without restraint or responsibility. Are they to be our models?

It is for this reason, above all, that so many decent and loyal Republicans have rejected him—and the crew that, with him, has seized temporary control of their party and nailed the battle flags of nuclear adventurism and domestic tumult to the mast.

I think of James Wadsworth, chief disarmament negotiator under President Eisenhower, who has spent more weary hours negotiating with the Russians than any man I know and yet come away undiscouraged.

I think of Arthur Larson, who has given long and devoted service to the creation of an orderly world, and of many others.

Some Republicans, like Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Larson, have come out publicly for the election of President Johnson, and all honor to them. Many millions more will join them in the privacy of the voting booths November 3.

After November, it will be time enough for them to decide whether to remain with us, or to seek to rebuild the Republican Party as the responsible conservative party it once was.



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You have *the* choice—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 Republican and Democratic past, not repudiate our common achievements in the name of rightwing radicalism; who will pursue the vision of a Great Society, not lead us into a wilderness of desolation and despair.

Tacoma, Wash.  
University of Puget Sound  
October 1, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Governor Rosellini, Senator Jackson, my fellow Americans, good people of the State of Washington, I am very happy tonight to be on this platform with an old friend, a fine Governor, a great chief executive of your State, Governor Rosellini. [Applause.]

He is a Governor who because of his energetic programs in behalf of his State has earned the commendation of the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Meany of the AFL-CIO, some 37 Governors. Republicans and Democrats alike, Governors—including men like Governor Romney, of Michigan, Governor Rockefeller, of New York, even Governor Fannin, of Arizona: Governors that depend on your distinguished Governor for his excellent work in promoting the best cooperation in any State between State government, business and labor for the promotion of employment and industry, and I served with Governor Rosellini.

I am very happy to be here tonight with one of the most respected and admired, indeed one of the most able, competent members of the U.S. Senate ever to serve in that body, the man that you are going to reelect as your Senator, Henry Scoop Jackson. [Applause.]

And, Senator Jackson and Governor Rosellini, it just would not be right, would it, if we did not say a kind word about that congenial, that competent, that ever persuasive senior Senator from this State, Warren Magnuson. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, you have made our visit to your beautiful State already a happy one. Tonight I want to talk to you very seriously about deep issues, important issues in this campaign. We have had a good deal of shouting. There has been some booing on one side and a good deal of cheering on our side, but tonight I think it would be a good idea for some sober reflection.

Two days ago, three days ago, I was in Athens, Ga. at the University of Georgia, addressing a very large student assembly, thousands of fine young people, and I addressed them on the subject of conservatism in American politics, and I did so because there is nothing more dangerous than the corruption of a word. The Communists have corrupted the word "democracy." They have corrupted the word "republic." They have even corrupted the word "people." And I do not want to see Americans corrupt any of the English language, and I charged in that address at the University of Georgia, that the standard bearer of the Republican Party in this election or, should I say, the temporary spokesman of that faction of the party [applause], that he was not a conservative, and that he did not fit the classic definition in the history of our Republic or indeed of the English-speaking world in terms of conservatism.

Tonight I raise this issue: Is Senator Goldwater really a Republican in the tradition of his party? There is good reason to raise it, because certainly his fellow Republicans do not seem to flock to him. Republican candidates for office do not seem to relish appearing with him. The Governor of Michigan the other day said he was introducing him but not enforcing him, a neat cut if I ever heard of one. [Applause.]

Apparently these Republican candidates fear that riding the Senator's coattails would be like a hop with wrong way Corrigan, and that is a trip that is not necessary.

When you see Republican billboards advertising the candidacy of people that you know to be Republicans, you have to look very, very carefully; if you are going to find the word Republican it is there in small type, if you find it at all.

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Now, I regret this [applause]—I regret this because I do honestly believe that every person ought to be proud of his family, proud of his religion, proud of his political party, proud of his country. I am proud to be a Democrat and I am a Democrat, like Sam Rayburn used to say, without prefix or suffix and without apology, just a Democrat. [Applause.]

And I would like to see Republicans be very proud of their party. But I can understand what they are doing, because in a very real sense today it is not their party, and Senator Goldwater is not in a true sense and real sense an authentic Republican.

Now an honest appraisal of what modern Republicanism means is to be found in the 1960 Republican platform. It was a conservative platform and some of us had a good deal to say about it, but it was a responsible platform, it reflected the fact that a Republican administration had been in power for 8 years and it had to come to grips with some of the difficult problems that affect this Nation of ours and the world in which we live.

But it was a platform too moderate, too responsible for the Junior Senator from Arizona. He is not a conservative. He is a radical, and he would rather [applause]—yes. I repeat, he is a radical, and he would rather be right, far right indeed [applause], right than Republican as that platform defined the policies of the Republican Party, and in the terms of that platform he is right, and as I say, far out, way out, right. [Applause.]

Let me document my charge because this is a serious charge. Analysis of the votes of Senator Goldwater on 25 specific positions taken by that platform as compared with the votes of Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, Saltonstall and Hickenlooper, tell us an amazing story. Why did I choose these Senators? Because they are the elected, chosen leaders of their party in the U.S. Senate. Senator Dirksen is the Republican leader. Senator Kuchel is the Republican whip. Senator Saltonstall is the chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. Senator Hickenlooper is chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee. These are the Mr. Republicans of the U.S. Senate. These are the leaders, and the record shows that Senator Goldwater voted against every one of the 25 positions in the 1960 Republican platform. The record shows that Senator Kuchel voted for every one of the 25 positions. Of course, Senator Goldwater has called Senator Kuchel of California an extremist, presumably because he was loyal to the party platform; and Senator Saltonstall is sort of out of bounds, too, because he comes from the Eastern Seaboard which Senator Goldwater said in the spirit of good old all-Americanism, that it should be cut off from the United States and set adrift. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, what about Senators Dirksen and Hickenlooper? You can't set them adrift. They are neither extremists nor Easterners. They come from the Midwest, deeply committed to the tradition of the Republican Party, and they are rightly known as solid Republican conservatives. Senator Dirksen voted for his Party's platform 21 times, went against it only 4. Senator Hickenlooper voted 17 times for his party's platform, went against it 8.

These 25 issues, by the way, were not small ones. On the contrary, they included matters that set the course of the Nation through the treacherous shoals of the complex modern world. Let me give you some examples from the 25.

The Republican platform supported the United Nations, but not Senator Goldwater.

The Republican platform [applause]—the Republican platform supported the establishment of an Arms Control Agency, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

The Republican platform supported the mutual security program, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

The Republican platform supported the reciprocal trade agreements program, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

The Republican platform supported the National Defense Education Act, and aid for higher education, but not Senator Goldwater.

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The Republican platform supported aid for medical education and a program of medical aid and care for the aging, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

And my friends, and my friends, you can go down the list one by one, 25 specific proposals, 25 tenets of faith of the Republican Party and in each and every instance the Senator not only did not keep the faith, he even refused to enter the cathedral of republicanism. [Applause.]

Now, on 13 of these issues all 4 of the Republican leaders voted in agreement with their party platform, but again not Senator Goldwater.

In fact, he made it abundantly clear that he cared as little for the platform of his party as he did the Republican administration which drafted it. Months before the 1960 convention, he dismissed the Eisenhower administration with this cute little remark. He called it "a dime store new deal." [Applause.] And, at that convention he made it clear that he was only biding his time until he could junk the Republican platform and replace it with something quite different and he was perfectly willing to wait until there was a presidential candidate more to his liking, and guess who it was, himself. [Laughter and applause.]

In the next 4 years, 1960 to 1964, the Senator and his followers worked constantly to capture the Republican Party, and to turn it [cries of "yea"] [applause]—that is about the number that I figured captured it. [Applause.]

Please don't cheer, there is more to come. [Laughter.] Yes, he worked hard to capture it, to pilot the ship and that he did and to turn it into an instrument of a new and of a dangerous force in American public life and that dangerous force, the radical right, radicalism has replaced republicanism, and Republicans and Democrats and Americans, all know it to be true. [Applause.]

None of us will soon forget that noisy little fracas out at the Cow Palace when the distinguished Governor of the great Empire State of New York was booed and jeered, and when other events took place that for all fair-minded people were shocking and discouraging. No, these were not conservatives, nor were they representative of the Republicans as we have known them in the past. I think we must find some other name for them, and I believe they have given it to us right out of their own mouths. Over and over again we hear them say that they are "sick and tired" of things as they are. "Sick and tired" of taxes, "sick and tired" of welfare services, "sick and tired of Communists pushing us around." "Sick and tired" of this, and "sick and tired" of that. Yes, they have said it themselves, they are sick Americans and they are tired Americans. [Applause and laughter.]

They are sick of the kind of American Government which fulfills one of the great promises and mandates of our Constitution, to promote the general welfare, and they are tired, oh, so tired, of the unrelenting patient, persevering, responsibility, demanding and successful struggle by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to contain and repel communism. These Goldwaterites in their nervous and impulsive manner hanker to bring it to an end, with one great big bang. [Applause.]

I know the Senator—and I don't want to say or have my words mean to say, that Senator Goldwater shares all of the wild delusions of some of his more fanatical admirers and followers, but I do say that he encourages and tolerates them, and by his toleration has given them an alarming degree of respectability. To this day, he has refused to disown or condemn the John Birch Society. Indeed he finds its members to be "impressive, intelligent people," as he says, and he says further, "They are the kind of people we need in politics." Where? Not in America, I can assure you. [Applause.]

Senator Goldwater makes a clean break with past Republican policies and, indeed, with the bipartisan consensus of both parties for the past two decades on the great issues of peace and war. In all of the many thousands of words he has spoken I find no evidence of serious and sober consideration of the harsh, inescapable, and overwhelming fact that our enemies also possess nuclear weapons capable of mass destruction, just as we possess weapons capable of destroying them.

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Speaking in New Hampshire this year on March 2, when he was already a candidate for the leadership of this country, and the free world, here is what he said: "Have the people of New England or the people of the United States changed in the last 200 years? Have we become a nation of cowards? Is it any more dangerous today to risk war?" His answer was, "No."

Well, I hope that Senator Goldwater knows in his heart [laughter and applause]—I hope that he knows, whether he may choose to say it or not, that war is infinitely more dangerous today than it was 200 years ago or, for that matter, 25 years ago.

Faced with the facts of the nuclear age, President Eisenhower said: "There is no longer any alternative to peace." Now, that is the word, those are the words, of the great President of the United States of 8 years of Republican administration. Faced with those same facts, President Eisenhower saw that we had an interest in peace, and he met with the Soviet leaders, and he invited Chairman Khrushchev to visit the United States in 1959. Some good has resulted from that visit, particularly in helping to widen the split between the Soviet Union and Communist China.

We may be thankful that Senator Goldwater was not in the White House then, for he said last year, and I am sure this is still his position, or maybe I am going too far on that, because he changes positions—but I am sure [laughter and applause]. Let us assume that the position remains intact; he said: "I am against negotiating with the Russians who are in power today. \*\*\* I see no advantage in meeting with them."

This despite the fact that he has TV shows with President Eisenhower and says that he supports the Eisenhower policies. How can a man who tries to tell the American people in 1964 that he supports the Eisenhower policies repudiate the very same man that he says he now supports—when President Eisenhower took a position on matters relating to the Soviet Union which Mr. Goldwater refuses to accept and refuses to have as his policy?

Unfortunately, in the real world we do not, and we cannot, choose the Russians who are in power today. Apparently Mr. Goldwater hasn't quite gotten that into his head, nor can we, in this same real world, evade or ignore the fact that they possess the thermonuclear weapon and the missiles to deliver it.

George Washington never once forgot, as he pointed out to his impatient critics—apparently he had some Goldwaterites in his time—he never forgot that in 7 long years of fighting for American independence, he was the one man who, by a single, ill-judged action, could lose the Revolutionary War, as he put it, in a single afternoon.

And today, my fellow Americans, the President of the United States is the one and the only leader of the free world who, by a single rash miscalculation or a momentary lapse of judgment, can risk the annihilation of mankind.

By what he has not said as well as by what he has said, Senator Goldwater has shown that he is not capable of assuming this heavy responsibility. Indeed he does not even comprehend its awesome dimensions.

[Applause.]

Imagine having a man as President and seriously being considered for the Presidency, who says: "I think that general war is probable, I don't see how it can be avoided, perhaps 5 or 10 years from now."

Imagine having a man who is interviewed by the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, and when asked, in connection with his demand for instant victory in the cold war, this question: "But would you go to the brink of war?" He gave an answer that defies rational understanding. He said, and I quote him exactly: "Yes, just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years, and done so very, very successfully."

Now, what does that mean? Twice in this century, my fellow Americans, irresponsible leaders of imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world over the brink. How can anyone with commonsense, let alone a knowledge of recent history, uphold German brinkmanship, brinkmanship so in contrast to the responsible policies of the postwar German leaders. Imperial and Nazi Germany brinkmanship were disastrous for Germany and for the world and we don't want a President that believes in that kind of argument.

[Applause.]



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My fellow Americans, it is because of this impulsive, irrational behavior and remarks that so many decent, loyal Republicans who have stood by their party for years have rejected Mr. Goldwater, and the crew that, with him, has seized temporary control of their party and nailed the battle flags of nuclear adventurism and domestic tumult to the mast.

I think of James Wadsworth, chief disarmament negotiator under President Eisenhower, who spent those many weary hours negotiating with the Russians, spent more than any man that I know, and yet came away undiscouraged.

I think of Arthur Larson who has given a long and devoted service to the creation of an orderly world, one of Eisenhower's most intimate advisers, and many others.

Some Republicans like Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Larson have come out publicly for the election of President Johnson, and all honor to them. Many millions more, I say, will join them in the privacy of the voting booths on November 3.

After November it will be time enough for them to decide whether to remain with us or to seek to rebuild their party as the responsible conservative party it once was.

GOP once stood for "Grand Old Party." It now stands for "Goldwater, Our Problem."

[Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, you have a choice, and I submit to you that Lyndon B. Johnson deserves the support of the American people as a President who will heal the wounds, not scarify them, who will treasure what is best in our American heritage and not repudiate our common achievements in the name of rightwing radicalism. He will pursue the vision of a great society and not lead us into the wilderness of desolation and despair, and I call upon the people of this great State of the Pacific Northwest to once again rise up like a mighty legion and give this man who is now our President—selected by John Kennedy as his Vice President, who today carries on from a fallen leader—give this man 4 years in the White House to help America move forward and to contribute to the cause of security and freedom and peace in the world. This is our charge.

[Applause.]

Los Angeles, Calif.  
Luncheon, Business Executives  
October 2, 1964

### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

All of us agree there is an intimate relationship between business and politics. In fact, we could easily compare the election of 1964 to a business investment. Each American has an invaluable asset to invest: his vote. And there are two different enterprises urging him to invest in them. He can invest his assets in only one of them. Which shall he choose? Let's look at the balance sheet.

One of the two enterprises has a solid record of success. It has, in fact, the best economic record in history. It has steadily increased profits, reduced debts, raised living standards, and helped to put more and more people to work. It has been modern yet moderate, prudent yet progressive. It has set unprecedented records for production and prosperity. This enterprise has enjoyed peaceful labor relations and stable prices. It is led by a man who has been in his line of business for more than 30 years, a steady professional who is recognized and respected around the world as a responsible leader.

Now let us look at the other enterprise soliciting the American voter. This enterprise is an old-line firm but it recently has suffered through a devastating proxy fight. Many of the respected leaders who lost out say that the new crowd in control is really a minority faction who got there by artful manipulation. More than a few of the oldtime officers—and millions of the stockholders—have already pulled out their investments, and they are shifting elsewhere. They are worried about the new man who has taken control of the enterprise. He has no demonstrated record of leadership. He greets modern methods with suspicion and a snort. And most remarkable of all is his advertising policy: he changes his sales pitch almost every time he gets up to speak.

What really worries many investors is that he has also surrounded himself with a team of managers and assistants who are erratic, extreme, irresponsible. But he tells us: "Don't worry; just invest your votes in me, and when I'm in power, I'll get rid of those fellows."

If somebody came to you with that kind of a business proposition, what would you do? I believe you would place your investment in the enterprise that has a proven record of success, security, peace, progress, and prosperity.

Businessmen often say that the Government is their partner—for the simple reason that the Government, until very recently, has taken 52 cents out of every profit dollar. I am happy to say that your administration has voluntarily relinquished its role as the senior partner in this arrangement by reducing its share of the profits from 52 percent last year to 50 percent this year and to 48 percent next year. Let me stress that your administration is pleased and proud to have become the *junior* partner in American business.

In the years ahead, as our economy permits, we hope to steadily decrease our share in this partnership. But we expect to continue working toward common goals, preserving the most uniquely successful relationship between a free government and free enterprise in the annals of man—the relationship of profitable partnership.

Our partnership is really quite simple. Business and Government work together in the best interests of the entire Nation.

You are not hesitating to borrow wisely to expand your facilities, to provide more jobs, and to keep goods flowing to the marketplace. Your Government has pursued prudent fiscal and monetary policies to keep credit available for worthwhile purposes.

You are raising American standards of living to greater heights by turning out a phenomenal variety of products in your mills and factories. Your Government is helping the unemployed, the poor, and the elderly—those not yet fully able to enjoy our affluent society—to avail themselves of the necessities of life: food, clothing, and decent shelter.

You are contributing to the opportunities of every American to earn a livelihood for his family by hiring, and advancing, men and women regardless of the color of their skin or the place of their birth. Your Government is assisting this process with appropriate legislation. You have increased U.S. exports to record levels by offering American goods and skills throughout the free world. Your Government is assisting you with tariff and trade agreements to stimulate trade and international commerce—and with a determined effort to preserve the value of the dollar.

You are budgeting higher expenditures for new plants and equipment. Your Government is encouraging you through such programs as the corporate tax reduction and the tax credit for capital expenditures.

You are employing more people and paying them higher wages and salaries than ever before. Your Government is permitting them to take home a greater share of their pay—to spend on goods and services and to save for their families' future.

On the subject of the tax cut, incidentally, I accept the sentiment that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery—and I suppose we ought to welcome our improbable new conscript to the mainstream of contemporary economic theory as reported in a recent issue of *Business Week*. The conversion to modern economics certainly took a while—but even as there is greater joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over the 99 who were saved, we celebrate Senator Goldwater's faltering steps forward toward a more enlightened view of the American economic system.

What are the results of this profitable partnership between business and Government? Quite simply: for the past 43 months we have enjoyed the longest sustained period of peacetime economic growth in history.

Yet our recent convert has described this prosperity as artificial—evidence of a tendency toward backsliding. I know his announcement came as a surprise to many members of the business community.

What is artificial about a continued rise in gross national product of about \$10 billion a quarter this year?

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What is artificial about the record increase of \$15 billion in consumer spending in the first half of 1964?

What is artificial about the 13 percent rise in business investment in plant and equipment in 1964?

What is artificial about the 1.3 million new jobs added so far this year?

In fact, it really isn't surprising that an automobile dealer recently wired Detroit with a terse appeal for help: "Have only half hour's supply of cars left."

This is surely an impressive record compiled by the profitable partnership between business and Government. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has sought a climate of trust and mutual understanding which is not exclusively probusiness, prolabor, profarmer, or proconsumer. We have sought a climate in which all Americans, regardless of income level, occupation, race or creed can prosper and move forward.

We recognize that problems remain: automation, unemployment, development of new foreign and domestic markets, job training, and many others. But I respectfully suggest that America can solve these problems more effectively where business and Government work together in a climate of mutual trust and understanding. This is surely the lesson of the past 4 years.

I believe you share my conviction that President Lyndon B. Johnson is the one man possessing the sense of vision, the wisdom, and the understanding to preserve the profitable partnership between Government and business. He is the one man capable of continuing to move America forward.

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Los Angeles, Calif.  
University of Southern California  
October 2, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

As a spokesman for the politics of hope, and an admitted optimist, I would like today to put to you an important proposition about contemporary American life. I submit that choice—and this is no echo—is the foundation of freedom, and that never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices, and the capacity to choose, that he has today. And I am not talking about choice as an abstraction—the choice which Anatole France derided when he noted that "Rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges." I am talking about choice in terms of the specific, concrete alternatives that confront Americans, particularly young Americans in 1964.

Let me be specific. In 1900—I have picked the year 1900 as a starting point because it seems to mark the continental divide between Senator Goldwater's utopia and modern subjugated America—4 young Americans in every 100 between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920 this figure rose to 8; in 1940, to 14—and in 1961 it was over 32. Now in 1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards of that time, had the right to attend college. But how much real choice did a poor boy, or worse, a poor girl have, no matter how talented?

These are bloodless, formless statistics, but I want you to try to understand their human meaning. The function of an education is, indeed, to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out dry historical abstractions, to visualize and internalize the hopes and sufferings of others. Remember that the opportunities, the choices, that you fail to appreciate could be your own. Put simply, in 1900 seven-eighths of you would not be here listening to me, seven-eighths of you would not have the choice of attending this university, seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that are open to university graduates.

These opportunities are not merely materialistic. True, your standard of living will profit from higher education—and this is not to be sneered at—but above and beyond living standards you will benefit from your ability to pursue excellence in all its forms. Hopefully, you will find the time—as millions of Americans do—to continue your

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education so that the old ideal of graduation as a "commencement" will be realized in your lives and in your children's lives. Hopefully, the use to which you put your talents and your opportunities will belie the Communist accusation that the American is a demoralized, atomized materialist, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist status seekers.

And it is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear an obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the Nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving, to be truly meaningful, education must also involve giving—of one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith, and compassion. We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged—the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which he is a part.

To conclude, then, I would like to ask you to compare the American as seen by Goldwater with the realities of your own lives, and the realities of our national life. I think that when you do, you will realize that yours is the generation of hope, the generation of fulfillment.

In his historic inaugural address, President Kennedy spoke to the youth of the Nation and the world when he said, "I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation." And I am sure that despite the senseless act which ended his days amongst us, his spirit today echoes this gallant challenge to the past, and to the future. Let us continue in that dedication with President Johnson toward the achievement of the Great Society. This is a vision which calls upon all of us to repudiate the politics of despair and move joyously forward under the banner of hope to the great creative task of building an America worthy of our dreams.

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Los Angeles, Calif.

University of Southern California, Bovard Auditorium

October 2, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Those folks who say they want Barry, I don't know whether it is strawberry or raspberry. [Applause.]

Dr. Topping, Governor Brown, and Senator Salinger, and my good friend Jesse Unruh, I am very honored by the introduction that you have given me in this warm and enthusiastic welcome. I had been told of course by some of my academic friends when I came to the campus of the University of Southern California to speak to a gathering in one of their great assembly halls that I should speak in the tones and in the enlightenment of a college lecturer, that I should appear here as a professor, at least a visiting professor, and that I should keep my compliments entirely objective and nonpartisan. [Laughter and applause.] And, that is exactly what I intend to do because most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.] [Some boos.]

I thought we ought to clear the atmosphere right away; since apparently there was a Republican in town yesterday. I notice a rather heavy smog [applause]. It is nice that they leave something, isn't it? [Applause.]

Let me also pay my homage and respects to the great Trojan football team. This is the year when the Golden Governors are going to take second place and let their Senator be on the first-place ticket with Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

You can't win everything and you shouldn't expect to and since you are going to help us, why we would kind of like to help you.

I also want to just say in passing there is going to be a wonderful drive in your campus next week. I would not want to forget. It is the Kennedy Memorial Drive and I hope that all of us who are deeply interested in the wonderful memorial library that is being established will see fit to participate in it.



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Well, I gather from what I read and what I hear that there is a campaign on. I intend to make a slight contribution to it today. However, I truly intend to speak to you on something more than just a partisan matter, because I believe that a campaign ought to be something that is educational as well as sensational. It ought to lend a little light as well as stir up some heat, and I have a feeling that possibly working together we can discuss some of these matters in an intelligent and informative manner. I do feel it would be a good idea if we had a little question period because in the process of doing that some of our friends of the opposition are able then to ask a question and in so doing confess their political sin and we can do something about it. [Applause.]

I have appeared on this platform enough times to get a few graduate credits, Dr. Topping, and I did not have a chance to finish my doctor's degree because both starvation—and I was one of the first members of the poverty program. [Laughter.] They got around to passing it 30 years too late, that is all, but I have been here before, and I am always honored to be on this campus. This is a great university, and I want to talk to you a little bit about your responsibilities. I come here as a spokesman with the politics of hope and not of despair and I am an admitted optimist and I think I have a right to be because I live in a great country at a great time, and I would like to put one more question amongst the others, to this audience, an important question about contemporary American life.

I submit that one of the facts of American life is choice, and this is no echo. It is the foundation of freedom, freedom of choice, and I might add that never before in the history of America or of the world has there been as much freedom and as much freedom of choice, as we now enjoy. I say this with the backdrop of the constant charge being made that we have lost our freedoms, that somehow or another we are the slaves of a tyrannical government, and that all that our forefathers ever dreamed of or fought for is slowly but surely being taken away from us.

And yet I am sure that every thoughtful man and woman and surely every thoughtful student, undergraduate and graduate knows that there is greater choice available to you today, greater freedom of choice, than ever before in the history of the world.

Now Anatole France derided when he noted, derided this concept of choice when he noted that "the rich and poor have an equal right to beg in the streets and sleep under bridges."

I am talking about a choice, however, that is different from that, a choice in terms of specific or in terms of concrete alternatives that confront contemporary Americans, particularly the Americans that I look at right now.

Let me be specific. In 1900, and I pick that date deliberately, because it seems to mark the continental divide between Senator Goldwater's America and modern America. [Applause.] In the year 1900, 4 young Americans in every 100 between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1920, this figure rose to eight. In 1940, to 14. In 1961, 32. One-third of all Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 attended college.

Now, in 1900, rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified by the standards of that time, had the right to attend college, but I ask you how much real choice did they have. How much real choice did a poor boy or worse, a poor girl, have no matter how talented, and I am sure that no one would say, particularly now in this campaign period that people in 1900 had less moral stamina, and less insensitive and less good solid substance of Americanism than we have today because I am constantly hearing that we ought to return to those good old days.

Well, there were colleges then, and there were boys then, too, even in Arizona. [Applause.] But not very many attended college. [Applause.]

Now, these are bloodless, formless statistics. But, I want you to try to understand their human meaning. The function of an education is indeed to make vicarious learning possible, to enable you to flesh out the dry historical abstractions, and to visualize and to internalize the hopes and sufferings of others. To simplify it, the function of

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an education is to emancipate, emancipate mankind from his ignorance, his prejudice, his fears, his doubts, his suspicions, and you can generally tell how well one is enlightened by the number of doubts, fears, and suspicions that he talks about.

The enlightened man is a man of confidence. The enlightened man is a man of optimism, and the enlightened man is a man of forbearance.

Now put simply, in 1900, seven-eighths of you in this hall would not have been here had you lived at that time. Seven-eighths of you would have had no choice of attending this university or any other university. Seven-eighths of you could not look forward to the opportunities that come today to a college graduate, and these opportunities that I speak of are not merely materialistic. Of course, an education helps you with your standard of living. It is the best investment you will ever make, and by the way, education is the best investment America will ever make, and I think again you can pretty well judge a candidate for public office by how much he complains about how much we are spending on human beings, because the whole purpose of government is to serve humanity, and a government that doesn't spend generously on education is a government that has failed in its first trust, particularly in America, which is to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare and surely in this day and age you know you can't provide for the common defense through illiteracy or ignorance, and you surely cannot promote the general welfare through a lack of education.

I compliment the great State of California through its many years, whether it was a Republican or a Democrat, for forwarding the cause of education. In fact, it is my view that men like Governor Warren, now Chief Justice, the late Hiram Johnson, yes, Governor Knight, Governor Brown, and men of that quality, Thomas Kuchel, and others, a good man, may I add, and others [applause]—Jesse Unruh, Pierre Salinger, these men are the product of a great educational system. Some of the great political leaders have come from this State.

Now, I can't say that everyone that receives an education in California or elsewhere turns out to be the kind of a political leader that I would like. But I will say they are informed, no matter of which party. So, education is important, and California today is one of the most prosperous States in the Union because it has invested in education, and let that ring out to the rest of the Nation.

Now, the other benefits outside of material blessings are the benefit that you receive from the ability to pursue excellence in all of its forms, in the arts, in the humanities, in science, in drama, in every field of human endeavor.

In the book "The Education of Henry Adams" which I am sure most of you have read either willfully or by compulsion, a good book, is written a story that our fathers studied husbandry and mechanics so that they might study economics and political science, and our sons might study philosophy and literature, because what we seek to build in America is not a State or a nation that is merely the product of mechanics and engineering. We seek to build in America, a society that loves the humanities, and the arts, a society of culture. We seek to build an Athens, and not a Sparta. I think that simplifies it once again in this age of where simplification seems to have such drawing power. [Applause.]

I am very happy to say that one of the continuing ideals of the Democratic Party since Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia has been the forwarding of education in every administration, and if there is one watchword or if there is one identification for the Kennedy-Johnson administration, above all others, it is that it has been an administration that has dedicated itself to the advancement of learning, to the advancement of education, in a host of activities: higher education, medical education, National Defense Education Act, Vocational Education Act, the Library Construction Act, student loan programs, one program after another, some 13 of them passed at the request of two Presidents, and by a majority of a Congress.

Now, we know very well we are living in a dynamic and changing world and I hope that that lesson will sink into most everybody's mind. It is really quite distressing in a campaign like this to have people talking about the world that we live in as if somehow or another

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it never quite broke through the barrier of the 20th century. We are in the second half of that century and it is rapidly moving, and the velocity of change is beyond human comprehension, and any man that can only think of today has already lost tomorrow, and the yesterdays [applause] and the yesterdays pass on into ancient history.

I must advise my friends of the university since I am a refugee from a classroom, I must advise you that it is well for you to study ancient history, study it well, but pray, don't vote it. [Applause.]

Yes, we live in a world in which we have big ideas and big dreams, and a nation without these ideals and ideas and dreams is lost. [There was the popping of a balloon]. That one went, too. [Laughter.]

What kind of challenges do we have? Well, we live in a world in which men seek to eliminate ancient enemies of mankind and now for the first time in our lives, for the first time in the history of creation we have ability to eliminate these ancient enemies, injustice, disease, poverty, and war itself. These ancient enemies that have plagued God's creation since the first dawn of life, they are now within the reach of American manhood and womanhood of the science and the culture of this world so that we can defeat them. We are living in a changing world in which science and technology have opened up new vistas in man's unending drive to conquer his environment. A world in which there is an opportunity, as President Johnson put it, "To match the meaning of our lives with the marvelous products of our labor." And, I say that we have at this time and place been called upon by duty, by duty as the inheritors of a great culture, and by those privileged with education, and by right, we are called upon to help build what our President has termed a Great Society of the highest order. [Applause.]

I happen to believe that a nation that has a future for it is a nation that is inhabited by people who believe they can accomplish the impossible. I happen to believe that a nation that is worthy of world leadership must be one that has as its standard excellence of performance. I happen to believe that leaders of a nation should inspire and not conspire. [Applause.] I think the President ought to educate and not negate. I think he ought to unite a people rather than divide them. [Applause.] And above all, I think a President, whether it's of a great nation or a university or of a civic club ought to always remind those with whom he works and to whom he owes leadership, he ought to remind them that the accomplishments thus far are but the launching platform from whence we take off to greater opportunities and greater achievements.

I know that there is some talk afoot in this land that all is bad, that our military is weak, that we are soft on communism, and that we have lost the fight and that our moral structure is deteriorating and that the whole thing is all mixed up. There are those who say that [applause and some boos] and I generally find that is about the percentage of an audience that is mixed up. [Applause.]

But, the kind of America that the world needs to see is not one that recites its pains and its aches, it is not one that even is content with today but it is an America that is inhabited by a people and it is guided by leadership that asks us to be true unto ourselves, true to our ideals, true to our sense of social justice, and true to our concern for the rights of others. It is an America, if you please, that will set the example of total emancipation of a people, emancipation from racial prejudice, religious bigotry, emancipation from illiteracy, from poverty, from frustration, and I think that we are on the road to building that kind of America. [Applause.]

And I say that because this country is not old, it is neither old in age nor is it old in spirit, it is a nation of youth, youthful enthusiasm, youthful drive, and youthful spiritually as well as physically.

More than 10 million Americans will be eligible to vote for the first time in this presidential election, and more than one-third of the electorate is under 35 years of age, and more than one-half of the total population of the United States will be under 25 in the year 1966. This is a young nation, and this is a nation, may I say, that is becoming more metropolitan, more urban, more industrialized every hour of the day, and this Nation of youth, of a growing population, of an urbanized society, this Nation, I submit, needs the kind of leadership and sense of direction, it needs a calling that tells us that what we will to

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do we can do and what we promise to ourselves we can achieve. It needs leadership that looks ahead, and I am confident that the American people, young in spirit, and many of them young in age, will reject any political philosophy of doom and gloom, and I regret to say that that philosophy is being peddled from many platforms today in America by the Senator from Arizona.

The political cynicism, the political cynicism of that faction of a fraction of the Republican Party has no appeal to a generation of hope, and to a generation, if you please, that was inspired by the life and the deeds and the spirit of John Kennedy. [Applause.]

The Republican pretender to the presidency [laughter] I said he reached the depths of cynicism the other day when he accused the President of the United States of being soft on communism. [Applause.] What an argument. What a statement. I think you folks in California have heard that before, and I will tell you what happens. I will tell you what happens. What's going to happen to the Senator from Arizona is exactly what happened to the man by the name of Mr. Nixon when he ran against Governor Brown. [Applause.]

I know many a person that has said of our President in the past that he was a little too conservative. I know some who said he steered in the middle of the road, I have never heard a thoughtful man ever accuse Lyndon B. Johnson of ever being soft on communism, not at all. He is a little soft on Republicans but not communism. [Applause.]

But my dear friends, he did not take it very seriously, I speak of the Senator from Arizona, so maybe we shouldn't, because in fact he conceded at a press conference on the day after he made that wild charge, that he had received some advice about this from a couple of his associates and counselors, that he had received some advice from Mr. Hoover and Mr. Nixon on that this was not a proper thing to do and then he said he would not repeat it again because he wanted to wait and see what reaction there was to it. [Laughter.] Are these the words of a man of principle? If a man believes that someone is soft on communism, he should repeat it again and again, but he should not stand by and say, "I will try it today and we will wait for the public opinion poll." [Applause.]

Is this the kind of an attack, personal attack, we should expect from the man who is running for President. Are these the kind of political morals that we should expect from a man who seeks the highest office in the land. I think the answer is quite obvious.

Throughout this campaign, however, the gentleman from Arizona has been the pied piper of discontent traveling about this great land preaching doom and gloom, distrust and disunity and suspicion, and seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the Government of the people, and between the Government and the people, and I say that is no service to the cause of this Republic. I am confident that the people of America will reject this pied piper of discontent, distrust, deceit and suspicion, and I am confident the American people will want to reach out and extend their hands and their hearts and their votes to someone who heals wounds, rather than opens them, to someone who unites people rather than divides them, to someone who tells us of the miracle of American Government in its relationship to the people, rather than those who divide us by suspicion of that Government. [Applause.]

Now, I would like to ask you students who are privileged to have had an education as I was, attending a great university made possible by the gifts and the grants of thousands of people throughout the land, I would like to remind you that those of us who have had this privilege have a great obligation to a community. We have an obligation to help others. We have an obligation to be our brother's keeper. We have an obligation to be teachers of the full philosophy of democracy, and I would like to ask you to compare the American as seen by Mr. Goldwater with the realities of your own life, and the realities of our national life, and I think that when you do, when you make that comparison by yourselves, you will realize that yours is not a generation of despair, not a generation that has fallen from grace; that your America is not a country that is weak, that this prosperity is not artificial, but rather you will come to the conclusion that most Americans have already come to, that you are living in the promised



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land, that you are living in a country that has been blessed by a divine providence, that has been blessed by a great system of government and economics, and that you are living in a country that is rich not only in material things, but is rich in culture and rich in spirit, and that you have an obligation as one of the custodians of that country to speak up for it, to be with it, and to help it, and to help more and more people enjoy the many benefits and privileges that are yours, that they may share in those benefits. [Applause.]

John F. Kennedy in that great inaugural address stated it simply, directly, and concisely, and I think he said it for you and I know he said it for me. Here are his words:

I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation.

I am sure you would not. I know I would not. In fact what I feel is a great debt of gratitude to this country of ours and all that it has stood for, and I feel that it is my responsibility to see to it that more and more people enjoy this Nation, that wherever there are those that have not been given the opportunity of an education, that they may be brought within the framework of an educational structure, that wherever there are those who are sick from prejudice or from discrimination or bigotry that somehow or another we will be able to work with them; not to shunt them aside, not to reject them, but rather to bring them within the spirit of this great Republic and in one family of the American people.

People who are privileged to have a college education are the people above all that should be forward looking. I can forgive the man that has never had a break in life, I can understand the prejudice or the intolerance of a man who has lived a parochial existence, but I cannot ever understand or forgive one who has been brought into touch with the great literature of mankind, with the history of the world, with the humanities and the arts, these people above all, should be God's children, and they should have a sense of enlightenment, a sense of forbearance and understanding that tells them that they have a duty to their fellow citizens to be of help, and some of that help can be through their government, a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people; not a government that is our enemy, but a government that is our partner; not a government that takes over but a government that helps those who are in need; not a government that ignores human need, but one that comes to grips with the problems that beset humanity.

And I ask college students today to think for themselves and not to think selfishly about themselves, to think of your moral social obligation, to think in terms of how you can expand justice so that the blessings of justice may fall on more and more people, to think of how you can enlarge opportunity so that opportunity will come to more and more people, to think of how you can rid from our society the forces of bitterness and hate, the virus and the venom of intolerance, because mark my words, my fellow Americans, those forces are at work in this country, and one of the reasons that I think it is important to win this election is because some of those forces, not because they are wanted by any standard bearer, I make no such accusation, but I say that some of those forces today, the Ku Klux, the Communists, the Fascist, the Nazi, yes, the John Birchers, they are at work in this land. [Boos and applause.]

They are at work in our America, and for the first time in the history of this Republic, they have been able to gain a respectable platform and these people must be defeated. America must show that it is a land of justice, that it is a land that believes in human dignity, that it is a land of compassion and that it is the land of opportunity, and the only way that I know that we can make that unmistakably clear, no matter how much it may hurt someone in the process, is in this election to rebuke those who would defile this country, to rebuke those who raise their voices in hatred and bitterness and to rebuke them in such a way that never again will that vile force have a standard or have a platform in American public life. [Applause.]

(Question and answer period following address.)

Senator HUMPHREY. I want to go up to the Goldwater section on the extreme right here. [Applause.]

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QUESTION. How can you have confidence in a party which has had a Billy Sol Estes and Bobby Baker?

Senator HUMPHREY. The gentleman said how can you have confidence in a government that has a Billy Sol Estes and a Bobby Baker and all of that, I believe that was your question. Of course, I am sure you recognize that in the instance of the Billy Sol Estes case that the Government lost not a nickel, and that the whole thing started under the administration of Mr. Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture. If I were a Republican I think I would quit talking about that one because you get deeper and deeper and deeper in. [Applause.]

Might I add that in the instance of the other matter that you have spoken of, the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the U.S. Senate is making an investigation and that might be just a little bit more than happened when Mr. Sherman Adams went away with that Persian rug. [Applause.]

QUESTION. Senator Humphrey, do you think that charges against the U.S. Supreme Court have any basis being found in a Presidential election?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I am sure that every one of us feel that we have a right to be critical of decisions of courts, decisions of Congress, decisions of a President. But it is one thing to be critical of a court and it is another thing to attack the members of the court personally and contest their patriotism and their fidelity to the Constitution of the United States. And lest there be any doubt about it, let me say that one of the truly great men of American history is presently the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. [Applause.]

Yes, the gentleman back here.

QUESTION. Do you think that States should invest in education or do you believe that there should be Federal aid to education?

Senator HUMPHREY. I think you will need all you can get, private contributions, State aid, Federal aid. [Applause.]

There is a man way up there, he is near the stars, he must be a Democrat, I want to hear what he has to say.

QUESTION. Do you say that it is incumbent upon the Government to do everything it can to aid education?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

QUESTION. Don't you feel then that it is possibly incumbent upon the Government to help us to travel to those other countries which our Government has closed off to us, some as long as 15 years?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, I understand the question. It is my view that the Government of the United States has a right to make a policy decision in terms of its own national security, which is a decision that it has made. I believe the gentleman is talking about whether or not for example, you should have the right to go to Cuba at a time when we are seeking through peaceful processes, through boycott both economic and political, to bring their regime down and to get the people of Cuba once again an opportunity to give them once again an opportunity to be free, and I think the decision of the Government of the United States in that matter to limit, indeed to prevent, the flow of students into Cuba is a decision that can be justified in the national security interests. [Applause.]

QUESTION. You said that this is a Nation of youth that is to be emancipated through education. What can the Johnson administration do to motivate the poverty-stricken children to stay and finish elementary school and high school much less go on to higher education?

Senator HUMPHREY. One of the things we have tried to do and, may I just say before I go to that, this is not just a Government job as I tried to make it clear. In our society we do things in part by Government, a great deal just by individual effort and sometimes by group effort on a voluntary basis and so we try to get a synthesis of these forces. One of the great problems we are having today are school dropouts. I think that to educators this should be a warning sign to reexamine the curriculum of our schools. Why is it that so many people drop out of school, why is it they have lost a motivation? Is the course of study what it ought to be?

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Then there are other obvious factors involved. There are such things as the breakdown of neighborhoods, the inability of young people to have earned, to have income, to earn income. What do we propose for it? The Youth Opportunity Act, the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act, the Job Corps program, much of this under the poverty program. I am the author of the Youth Conservation Corps program and of the Youth Opportunity Act. I believe that these will be helpful, and then I think we have a greater job to do and when I see, for example, conditions that exist in Harlem, you have 250,000 people living in 3 square miles, and if the same density of population were to prevail in the rest of New York City that the entire population of the United States could be put in 3 boroughs in New York, and when you think about that then you can see what you mean by a lack of opportunity. So we have got a job here of building new neighborhoods. We have a task at all levels of government of trying to build, I say, a better society. I guess I have got to go but I surely want to thank you for a wonderful reception. I also want to thank those that did not agree with me.

Thank you, very much.

Los Angeles, Calif.  
October 2, 1964

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator Hubert Humphrey said today he was confident the young people of America "will reject the cynical gloom and doom philosophy of Barry Goldwater."

Humphrey said:

The political cynicism of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party has no appeal to a generation of hope—a generation inspired by the idealism of John F. Kennedy.

Humphrey told a student audience at the University of Southern California that the Republican pretender to the Presidency "reached the depths of cynicism" when he accused the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson of being "soft on communism."

This is the cry of a desperate politician—  
he said.

This is the cry of a man who knows he faces a crushing defeat.

In fact, the Senator from Arizona conceded this at a press conference on the day after he made the wild charge.

He admitted to reporters that he brought up the charge to wait for reaction before deciding whether to exploit it for political gain. In other words, he is desperately looking for an issue that will strike lightning and win him votes.

Is this the kind of personal attack we should expect from a man running for President—

Humphrey asked.

Are these the kind of political morals we should expect from a man seeking the highest office in the land?

I think the answer is obvious. But it should come as no surprise that the gentleman from Arizona would stoop to such tactics. Throughout this campaign he has been the pied piper of discontent, traveling about this great land preaching distrust and disunity seeking to drive a wedge of suspicion and doubt between the Government and the people.

I am confident the people will reject this pied piper of discontent, distrust and deceit.

I am confident the American people will give an overwhelming vote to a man who seeks to unite America not divide it, to a man who seeks to bind up our wounds not open them, whose only goal is to be a President of all the people.

Humphrey told the students at USC that the—

use to which you put your talents and opportunities will belie Communist accusations that Americans are demoralized, atomized materialists, lost in a lonely crowd of conformist statusseekers.

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It is my earnest conviction that young people privileged to receive a fine college education bear an obligation to return to their communities and participate actively in bettering the society and the Nation which is America. Education can never be just receiving to be truly meaningful; education must also involve giving—of one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith and compassion. We must never forget the obligation which each privileged person bears to those who are less privileged—the obligation to use his knowledge and ability in a manner which perfects and humanizes the society of which he is a part.

I would like to ask you to compare the American as seen by Goldwater with the realities of your own lives, and the realities of our national life. I think that when you do, you will realize that yours is the generation of hope, the generation of fulfillment.

In his historic inaugural address, President Kennedy spoke to the youth of the Nation and the world when he said, "I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation."

I am sure that despite the senseless act which ended his days amongst us, his spirit today echoes this gallant challenge to the past, and to the future. Let us continue in the dedication with President Johnson toward the achievement of the "Great Society."

This is a vision which calls upon all of us to repudiate the politics of despair and move joyously forward under the banner of hope to the great creative task of building an America worthy of our dreams.

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Los Angeles, Calif.  
Shrine Auditorium  
October 2, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Four years ago in the campaign of 1960 a courageous young Senator from Massachusetts—the Democratic Party's candidate for President—came to Los Angeles. And he came to this Shrine Auditorium. He came to ask for your hands and your help in moving America forward again.

Our beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy concluded his memorable address here 4 years ago by paraphrasing the words Abraham Lincoln wrote to a friend in 1860. John Kennedy said:

Now, in 1960, we know there is a God, and we know he hates injustice, and we see the storm coming. We say, if he has a place and part for us, we are ready.

God did have a place for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For 1,000 unforgettable days this man led America and the world. He took a nation mired in stagnation and status quo and made it move forward once again. His love of life, his love of family, his love of people—regardless of their race, color, or creed—captured the imagination of Americans everywhere—young and old, rich and poor, black and white. He truly made this Nation feel young once again.

Who can forget these memorable words from President Kennedy's inaugural address:

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation—a struggle against the common enemies of man, tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

And then, he was taken from us—just as Abraham Lincoln was taken from us.



## HE - LINO - 198

The world—it seemed—stood still. For a few moments of time, violence shattered peace—fear cracked courage—hate stood above reason.

We had lost our President. But we also had lost someone we loved—much as we love a member of our own family. Never before in America had there been such a sense of total involvement by all the people. Never before have we been so united. Never before have we been so aware of our national identity.

With a renewed sense of national unity—fortified by our common sorrow—we rededicated America to the fulfillment of the hopes and commitments of our beloved, martyred President—John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

In that hour of grief and horror, there came another man who spoke to the Nation with fortitude, understanding, and courage. There came a man who took command of America and said to us:

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.

And this man was Lyndon Baines Johnson.

President Johnson has kept America on course. Lyndon Johnson has finished so magnificently the 4 years which John Kennedy began. And Lyndon Johnson has preserved the priceless gift which John Kennedy gave to us—an opportunity for a better life—a more peaceful world.

A better life and a more peaceful world—these were the objectives of John F. Kennedy. In June 1963 he clarified this goal with these words:

What kind of a peace do we seek? I am talking about genuine peace—the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living—and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women—not merely peace in our time but peace for all time.

And these are the objectives which Lyndon Johnson seeks. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has moved boldly forward in the pursuit of peace and in the pursuit of a better life for all mankind.

But we know that the path toward peace is long and slow and dangerous and tortuous. To walk that path in a nuclear age we need all the brains and skill and wisdom, all the wit and courage and compassion that we can find within us.

The world we live in is a dangerous world. A world darkened by nuclear weapons, a world darkened by the sinister attempts of communism to seize control of nations and their destinies, and the minds of men. It is not a world for men of timid spirit. It is not a world for the rash or the impetuous.

But it is also a world of promise. We are at the threshold as never before, of an age when mankind can feed its hungry, clothe and house its needy, bring care and cure to the suffering and the sick, bring justice to the oppressed, bring literacy and learning and opportunity to those who hope.

Yes, there are still challenges before us. You remember President Kennedy's favorite lines from the pen of Robert Frost.

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep,  
And miles to go before I sleep.

And we are beginning—slowly, carefully, painstakingly—to walk those miles, to keep those promises. We have begun here at home to work toward that Great Society for which all men yearn in their hearts.

I believe the people of America desire a safer more peaceful world for themselves and their children.

I believe the people of America support the efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson administration to expand the full rights of citizenship everywhere in this country.

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I believe the people of America seek an end to poverty and deprivation for all peoples everywhere.

I believe the people of America want to provide security and dignity to our elderly.

I believe the people of America desire to improve and expand our educational system to prepare every child for a wholesome and productive life.

I believe the people of America seek to transform our cities into pleasant, stimulating, and decent communities.

How shall we do these things? That is the question which the American people must answer on election day.

Shall we attempt to do them under the leadership of a man who vilifies the past, distorts the present, and shrinks from the future—who curses the darkness and never lights a candle.

Or shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who has been tested as few men in our history? By public service under four Presidents, by leadership in the Congress of the United States, by sudden elevation under tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House itself.

Shall we choose a leader who specializes in driving away those with whom he disagrees, who scorns the path of moderation and accommodation, and who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party.

Or shall we choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division, and consensus from conflict, who pursues his duties as Commander in Chief with responsibility and restraint, and who understands that compassion is not cowardice and concern for others is not weakness.

This is the great question which the American people must answer. And I have great faith in America and her people.

We Americans are children of light—we shall put from us forever the children of darkness.

We shall select the one man superbly qualified to lead our Nation and the world toward the noble goals of the Great Society.

We shall select Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Los Angeles, Calif.  
Shrine Auditorium  
October 2, 1964

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much. Well, I knew the minute Mrs. Humphrey came here she would get you to hush up. She does it to me. [Applause.]

Governor Brown, Mrs. Brown, our dear friend Pat Brown, just to call the Governor of this State Governor is not adequate, because Governor by no other title, does that explain the man and when you say Pat Brown, you are talking about one great man. [Applause.]

Our generous and kind friends of stage and screen and television and radio, the people of entertainment in America, I deeply regret that I wasn't here for all of your performance, but we had some work to do downtown to see if we could not garner a few more votes and save a few more political souls. [Applause.] But, I want you to know that your generosity, your willingness to be of help, you always being willing to come to our rescue and to help us when we need you, is something that touches our hearts and it surely touches mine, and I like to feel that those of us in public life, in politics, are somewhat like those great entertainers, stars, who are in public life in the drama and in the arts, willing to give of ourselves for something that is good, and for something that would help America, and I want to thank you, very much. Besides that Democrats are a happy lot of people and you make us happier. We like it that way. [Applause.]

I am pleased tonight to see on this platform old friends, many good party officers that have carried the work of this party so long, candidates for public office, holders of public office. It is always dangerous to select out but let me say that there are at least two or three that I want to mention without in any way diminishing the honor or the great achievements of the others. But there is a Congressman here who has been a friend to Muriel and Hubert a long time, and I want Jimmy Roosevelt to know that we appreciate this. [Applause.]

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And I want another man to know how much we admire him because he put up a good fight. He is a great Democrat, thoroughly true progressive man, and he is a team player, and he is giving everything that he has for this Democratic ticket, and that is my old friend Alan Cranston. [Applause.]

One should not select out clergy but I want you to know that that good preacher we had in Minneapolis who came out here in North Hollywood has been such a good friend of the Humphreys for so long, it is good to see him tonight. John Sims, I want you to know I am sorry we were not here when you opened this meeting. [Applause.]

Now, let me talk to you about another man. ["Boo" from the audience.] You don't know which one it is. [Laughter.] I want to talk to you about another man that is going to be the next U.S. Senator from the State of California. [Applause.] Or, should I say you are just going to renew his contract and give him 6 years. [Applause.]

Pierre, you are without a doubt one of the most gifted introducers of all time. When I am introduced by Pierre Salinger I just feel so good I am just looking around to see what kind of a job is available. This is indeed a gifted man, and I have watched him these weeks enter the Senate. For a while I watched him with a rather suspicious eye because he was only there about 2 days and I noticed him sitting up there in the Vice President's chair and I said to myself, is there no limits to this man's ambition? [Laughter and applause.] But, I can tell you that I found out after a while what he was really doing was just coming down to tell me once in a while that the chair would fit me perfectly. [Applause.]

I think the best recommendation that I can give to you tonight for the election of Pierre Salinger to a full term in the U.S. Senate is simply this, that if this man was good enough to enjoy the complete and unqualified confidence of our late and beloved President Kennedy he is good enough for any State in this Union. [Applause.]

And I know he enjoyed that confidence. I was there. I saw this friendship, I saw this sense of devotion on the part of Mr. Salinger, I saw this spirit of fellowship between these two fine men, and California is mighty lucky to have one that is so knowledgeable in the affairs of this Government, to have one that understands that the job is not just Senator from California, but it is the position of the U.S. Senator from California. [Applause.]

Pierre, we will forgive you for having been born up north. After all we have a united Democratic Party. Of course, I am a southerner, and I am somewhat sympathetic with southern California. I was born in South Dakota.

I notice tonight when you were proclaimed as being born in the northern areas of this great State there were no cheers and for a moment you hesitated but I am delighted to see the great Commonwealth of California is now united as one. [Applause.]

What I want to talk to you tonight—I don't know, I believe that box is operating up there that Milton Berle said—I want to talk to you tonight about the Republican pretender to the Presidency. [Boos and Hisses.]

And having said that I want to remind my fellow Democrats that you are sort of walking in on the exclusive jurisdiction of the Goldwaterites when you boo. We cheer, we don't boo. [Applause.]

I think I should tell you that our Republican friends, that is that faction of a faction, that they have been sending around the country a team, yes, about four of them, in what they call a truth squad. Now that is a play on words, of course, GOP truth squad. I am telling you to put truth in charge of that crowd is like putting a fox in charge of a chicken coop. [Applause and laughter.]

Possibly I am being a little bit too critical. It may be they are just around to explain how wrong they have been. There was a time that GOP stood for the Grand Old Party, and it is a grand old party, at least it was before they worked it over up at the Cow Palace, and there are hundreds of thousands of good Republicans that have cast their lot with the Democratic ticket in this election. These hundreds of thousands are hopeful to redeem the name of their party and they will be busily engaged in doing it after this election. In the meantime they are going to help us. GOP used to stand for Grand Old Party. Now, it stands for "Goldwater Is Our Problem." [Laughter and applause.]

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Make no mistake about it, he is their problem, he is our problem, and it will take a few weeks before we can do something about this problem, but I think that on November 3, we will have solved the problem. [Applause.]

Well now, let me talk to you about the future of our country, about its promise and its hopes, about where we are going and not where we have been.

Four years ago, as I recall, a courageous young Senator from Massachusetts, the Democratic Party's candidate for President, came to Los Angeles, and he came to this very same auditorium and he came here then to ask for your hands, to ask for your hearts, and to ask for your help in his great effort to get America moving again, and you answered him. And I come here tonight to ask you to complete that answer and to give to the man that he selected as his Vice President your hands, your hearts, and your help so that the unfinished tasks of John Kennedy can be completed. [Applause.]

Our beloved President Kennedy concluded that memorable address in this auditorium 4 years ago by paraphrasing the words of Abraham Lincoln, the words that Lincoln wrote to a friend in the year 1860, and John Kennedy said this, and he always spoke so beautifully:

Now, in 1960, we know there is a God, and we know he hates injustice, and we see the storm coming. We say, "If he has a place and part for us, we are ready."

Indeed we are ready. We were ready that night that John Kennedy spoke and we are ready tonight for any part that we can play in building a more just and a better society. [Applause.]

And God did have a place for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For 1,000 unforgettable days this man led America and he led the entire world. He took a Nation that was mired in economic stagnation and status quo and he made it move forward once again. His love of life and his love of family, his love of people regardless of race, of color, or of creed, that love captured the imagination of Americans everywhere, young and old, rich and poor, black or white. He truly made our America feel young again. [Applause.]

And we will never forget these memorable words in his inaugural address. I think we can ponder on these words, because it seems to me in this campaign all too little is being said to inspire us, to elevate us, to make us worthy of this great precious gift of American citizenship.

President Kennedy's inaugural words that I recall so vividly and which I have written down here:

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out—rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation—a struggle against the common enemies of man—tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Now those were inspiring words, and every man and woman and child that heard them was the better. This was a great moment in the life of America and it still is, because a message such as this does not die, it has a sense of immortality, and those who are worthy to lead this Nation will live by this message or else they are unworthy of the trust of the people. [Applause.]

But this man of inspiration, this man of great leadership, was taken from us, just as Lincoln was taken from us, and the world, it seems stood still. For a few moments of time, violence shattered peace, fear cracked courage, and hate stood above reason. We had lost a President, our President. But we also lost someone that we loved, much as we loved a member of our own family. [Applause.]

I doubt that ever before in America had there been such a sense of total involvement by all of the people in the life of one man nor had we ever been so united as we were on that moment or at that moment of unbelievable pain. Never before had we been so aware of our national identity, and never before had the young people been so moved and so touched.



## HE - LINO - 202

I have been asked repeatedly why is it that so many young people seem to be interested in politics those days, and I think it is the fact that they are searching for some identity with a spirit of John Kennedy. They are trying to find that identity. [Applause.]

We came through this tragic time with a renewed sense, as I said, of national unity and fortified by a common sorrow. We rededicated America then to the fulfillment of the hopes, of the plans, and of the commitments of our beloved and martyred President, and it was in that hour of our pain and grief, of our sorrow, there came another man, one who had been selected by the first, a man who spoke to this Nation with fortitude, with understanding, with humility, but above all with courage, and there came a man who took command of America, and he said to us:

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.

And this man is today our President, Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Now, President Johnson has kept America on course, he has kept this Nation moving forward. Lyndon Johnson has finished so magnificently the 4 years which John Kennedy began, and Lyndon Johnson has preserved that priceless gift to us, an opportunity for a better life, and a more peaceful world. [Applause.]

I want you, my fellow Americans, to know that we do have some common objectives, and they are noble objectives, and those objectives are not merely to applaud for the accomplishments of the day, great as they may have been, nor are they merely the objectives of recitation of the achievements of yesterdays. But the objectives that are worthy of a people of youthful vitality and purpose are the objectives of a better life for more and more people, and of a peaceful world for all the people. [Applause.]

Again, let me share with you what I consider to be the most important paragraph of any message given by our late President. I remember it as if it were given yesterday. It was delivered in American University in Washington, D.C., on the date of June 10, 1963, a commencement address, and I happen to believe that that address set the world on the course long and tortuous though it may be, a course in the pathway of peace, and I believe that historians will record that that was the turning point in this 20th century, the day that we turned away from the senseless pursuit of the arms race into the more noble pursuit of the peace race. [Applause.]

What kind of a peace do we seek?

Said our President:

I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children, not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women; not merely peace in our time, but peace for all time. [Applause.]

And then our President went on to tell us that the true men of courage were the peacemakers, and that peace itself was not something to be obtained instantly, but that peace was a process, a process to be engaged in by men and women for years to come with much of us making our contribution and slowly but surely building step by step and block by block the pathway and the cathedral of peace.

I believe, my friends, without the benefit of applause, I believe that this is the goal that America must place before the world. It is not good enough for us to merely talk about the material blessings. What mankind seeks today is the assurance that there will be the blessing of life itself. [Applause.]

And one of the reasons that I threw myself so vigorously into this election and into this campaign is because I do believe that the issue of peace is at stake. This is not to say that the candidate of the opposition does not want peace, but it is to say that to want it is one thing, and to know how to pursue it and gain it is another. [Applause.]

## HE - LINO - 203

The objectives that were outlined by John Kennedy in the pursuit of peace are in the heart and in the mind of the man that succeeded him. I know, I have been there with both of these men. I have talked with the late and beloved President on the evening of the Cuban crisis alone. I have been closeted with him, and I have been with the President of the United States of this hour alone, and I know what is in his heart and I know that when he says that he will go any place, anywhere in this world to secure the peace, to find an answer to an honorable peace, I know that he speaks from his soul and not from his lips alone. [Applause.]

But we know this path to peace is long and we know that it is slow, and we know that it is dangerous and tortuous, and it is this long difficult ordeal that seems to frustrate so many. It is this long ordeal that seems to befuddle and confuse those of lesser faith, but to walk that path in the nuclear age and the nuclear age, my fellow Americans, is different than any other age, far different, to walk that path we need all the brains, enlightenment, skill, wisdom, all the wit and courage and all the compassion and sense of justice that we can find within us. The world that we live in is a dangerous world, it is a world that is darkened by nuclear weapons, a world that is darkened by the sinister attempts of communism to seize control of nations and their destinies and the minds of men, it is not a world for men of timid spirit and it is not a world for men who are rash or impetuous or reckless or irresponsible. [Applause.]

But I say to you it is a world of promise, and it is a world that can be a better one. The same mankind that developed the weapons that can destroy this world is the same mankind that can develop the tools and the materials and the policies and the programs to remake this world and to make it a place fit for humanity. [Applause.]

We are really at a threshold of history. We are at an age when mankind can feed for the first time in the history of the world its hungry. The ancient prayer of the prophets to have food for the hungry, bread on the table, is no longer a prayer. It can be a reality. We are in an age when mankind can truly clothe all the naked and house the needy, and bring care and cure to the suffering and the sick, and we are at a time when we have developed systems of law, and I trust enlightenment of mind, where we can bring justice to the oppressed, and bring literacy and learning and opportunity to those who yearn for enlightenment. [Applause.]

And it is these promises that should inspire us, and I would hope that in this campaign that we would never lose sight of these promises, and these commitments, because never in the history of the world has so much been given to so few as has been given to the American people, and those few of us, out of a total population of the world, have a tremendous obligation to the many. [Applause.]

Yes, there are still many challenges, and I like to speak of the challenges, and the opportunities rather than the difficulties and the problems. I think you remember those famous lines that our late President used to love so much from the pen of Robert Frost. They are really beautiful and we, as Americans, ought to learn them and we ought to make them like a silent prayer:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep.  
And miles to go before I sleep."

And having said that we ought to promise to ourself that we will walk those miles and we will walk forward not backward, and that we will reach to new frontiers, new horizons, and that we will look to the stars, and not stumble in the rocks of despair. I happen to believe that we are beginning slowly, carefully and painstakingly to walk those miles, to keep those promises, promises to the youth through education, promises to the sick through better medical research, promises to the mentally retarded and mentally ill, the vast programs of your Government; promises to the elderly as we seek better ways to assure them of dignity. [Applause.]

Yes, I think we have begun here at home to work toward that Great Society for which all men really yearn in their hearts.

## HE - LINO - 204

I believe the people of America desire a savior and a more peaceful world for themselves and their children, and I believe they are willing to make great sacrifices to attain it. I believe the people of America support the efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, yes, the efforts of both political parties, to expand and to guarantee full and equal rights of citizenship to every American no matter who he is. [Applause.]

May I suggest that it would be well for us not to calculate this decision that has been made in terms of votes. It is really unimportant whether there is backlash or frontlash. What is most important is did we do right and I think we did. [Applause.]

I believe that the people of America want to provide security and dignity for our elderly. I believe the people of America desire to improve and expand our educational system, and to prepare every child for a wholesome and productive life, and I believe that the people of America seek to remake and transform our cities into places that are livable and pleasant and stimulating and decent communities.

But how shall we do these things? Part of the answer to that question, the American people must make on this election day. Shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who misrepresents the past, distorts the present, and shrinks from the future, who curses the darkness and never asks for a candle? I hope not.

Or, shall we attempt to do these things under the leadership of a man who has been tested as few men have been in history by public service under four Presidents, by leadership of a Congress of the United States and by sudden elevation under the most tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House? And to that I say, yes. [Applause.]

Shall we choose a leader who specializes in driving away from him those with whom he disagrees, who scorns the path of modernization and accommodation, and who sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party? I think not.

Or, shall we choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division, consensus from conflict, and who pursues duties as Commander in Chief with responsibility and restraint and who understands that compassion is not weakness and that concern for others is not socialism but good solid Americanism. [Applause.]

These are the great questions, as I see them, which the American people in their own way must answer, and I have great faith in America and her people. We Americans are children of light, and we shall put from us forever the children of darkness. We Americans are not haters nor do we wish to poison the wells of our mainstream of American life, with the venom of bitterness and hate. [Applause.]

I have a feeling that most Americans deep in their hearts know the kind of America that they want, and they have a very good idea of the kind of a man they want to lead their America. It is my view that we shall select on November 3 the one man specially qualified to lead our Nation and to lead our world toward those high and noble goals of peace and prosperity, and I appeal to my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans to make this election worthy of us.

I ask you to make this election a living memorial and tribute to the life of one that was taken from us, to make sure that the dreams and the hopes and the goals and the ideals that were laid down in message after message, in document after document, that those goals and those policies and that those ideals shall come to full fruition and how shall we do it?

We shall do it by campaigning with honor, by speaking forcefully but frankly and truthfully, and we shall do it by conducting ourselves with a sense of dignity so that when this election is over, whether we have won or lost, and I know that we shall win, when this election [applause]—when this election or this campaign is over, we will be able to say to ourselves we have done what was right. We have met the task of the day. We have fulfilled our responsibilities as citizens of a great republic, and we have said to the President and to the Congress elected, proceed forward, march on, for the goals of peace and prosperity and the backing of Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

# HE - LINO - 205

Los Angeles, Calif.  
Shrine Auditorium  
October 2, 1964

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

The American people must choose a leader who possesses the qualities to create unity from division and consensus from conflict, who pursues his duties as Commander in Chief with responsibility and restraint, and who understands that compassion is not cowardice and concern for others is not weakness.

We shall select the one man superbly qualified to lead our Nation and the world toward the noble goals of the Great Society.

We shall select Lyndon Baines Johnson.

For 1,000 unforgettable days John Fitzgerald Kennedy led America and the world. He took a nation mired in stagnation and status quo and made it move forward once again.

A better life and a more peaceful world—these were the objectives of John F. Kennedy. And these are the objectives which Lyndon B. Johnson seeks.

But we know that the path toward peace is long and slow and dangerous and tortuous. To walk that path in a nuclear age we need all the brains and skill and wisdom, all the wit and courage and compassion that we can find within us.

Article

News release from Los Angeles, Calif.  
October 3, 1964

## SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

The Johnson administration's determination to assure fully competitive credit policies for financing commercial export of aircraft is a major opening step in what will be a continuing effort to stimulate export markets for U.S. products —

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey told a group of Los Angeles businessmen last night.

Senator Humphrey explained to the group further details of a new administration policy first outlined in Seattle Friday night.

"As one of the great aerospace manufacturing centers of our country—an industry of vital importance to our economy and to maintaining our defense strength—southern California has a tremendous economic stake in the announced intention of the administration to help increase production in the aircraft industry by providing fully competitive export financing," Senator Humphrey declared. "We will attempt to accomplish this both through seeking international agreement and by asking our own Export-Import Bank to make its credit policies fully competitive with terms offered by other nations."

Senator Humphrey told the businessmen the plan for the aircraft export aid would be discussed before the aerospace industry's export committee at a meeting in San Francisco Monday by Dan Goldy, White House Export Expansion Coordinator.

Senator Humphrey added:

With this partnership help of your Federal Government, we are optimistic that the United States can substantially increase the exports of the fine products of our aerospace industry.

We have been told by authorities in the aerospace industry that by supplying this financing, their exports could increase easily from the current level of \$1.3 billion a year to over \$2 billion per year by 1970.

Our aerospace companies estimate that there is a potential overseas market in jet transport planes alone of more than \$2 billion from 1964 until 1969. If this estimate proves correct, we could see an increase of 50,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry.



# HE - LINO - 206

This policy of your Government is an outgrowth of studies by the White House Committee on Export Expansion.

In today's world marketplace, it is not possible to realize the full export potential of a product—no matter how superior it is—unless suitable and adequate financing can be arranged on terms which are competitive with those offered by other nations. These terms sometimes are not available through ordinary commercial credit channels. Government can be of help in seeing to it that our products have an equal opportunity to compete in world markets, especially when those products are of superior quality.

## Article

Advance release text from Bakersfield, Calif.  
October 3, 1964

### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Today I would like to unveil a new chapter in the wonderful world of politics.

I hereby announce the first in a series of the great debates of 1964—the debates between Barry Goldwater and his fellow Republicans.

The Senator from Arizona has been shouting for a great debate and I think he's entitled to one. So I'd like to suggest to him a worthy adversary—his new-found friend Dick Nixon, the could-be Secretary of State in the imaginary Goldwater Cabinet.

We will announce the details of the other great debates between Mr. Goldwater and his Republican adversaries at a later date. But today I would like to concentrate on Mr. Goldwater and that refugee from California—that self-propelled exile, Mr. Nixon.

I'd like to compare the views of Mr. Goldwater and his could-be Secretary of State.

Let's take a look at the record—it's mighty interesting.

For openers, let's look at foreign policy:

"It will be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated." These were the words of Richard Nixon in a press conference reported by the Des Moines Register this summer.

Of course, this press conference was held on June 10—before Mr. Nixon laid down his sword on the Goldwater rostrum in the Cow Palace in San Francisco—and long before he was tapped for Secretary of State by the Republican pretender to the Presidency.

Now let's move on and look at Nixon and Goldwater on the role of the Federal Government.

"I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the States and to the individual. Now, if the States and the individuals will handle the problems of schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do the things that the people want done and that should be done, that is certainly the proper thing to do. But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job. And I simply cannot buy what I think is a view which is outmoded and reactionary, that the Federal Government just leaves everything to the individuals"—those were the words of Mr. Nixon on a television program, The Open Question, over WTMJ in Milwaukee, Wis., October 8, 1960.

Goldwater disagrees. Here is what Senator Goldwater said: "The Government must begin to withdraw from the whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate—from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal." The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

Here are their views on agriculture:

Mr. Nixon said: "It is my belief that price supports have a place, and an important place, in a dynamic program for farm progress." Speech at the 1960 Soil Conservation Field Days, Sioux Falls, S.D., September 23, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater said: "Doing something about it (farm price supports) means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program." The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

# HE - LINO - 207

Here's how they differ on education:

Mr. NIXON: "I believe that the Federal Government must do more than it is now doing to overcome economic obstacles that stand in the way of many of our young people attending our colleges and universities. I know of no more indefensible waste of human resources." Statement on health, education, and welfare issued November 6, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it." Jacksonville, Fla., October 3, 1960.

On health and welfare:

Mr. Nixon said: "Washington has responsibilities. We have a program for schools, for housing, in health, in all of these areas that will produce progress \* \* \* Washington shall do those things that the individuals and the States cannot do." Municipal Auditorium, Bangor, Maine, September 30, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "In the general field of public welfare, I would disagree with both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, and that's where I disagree with Eisenhower. I recall once calling his program similar to the dime store New Deal \* \* \* I don't believe in Federal aid to education, or aid to the aged, or any kind of medical assistance." Quoted in the Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1961.

Here's how these two Republican stalwarts differ on the minimum wage:

Mr. Nixon: "I favor the raising of the minimum wage \* \* \* I also favor extending coverage to 3 million people not presently covered." National Telethon, ABC, Southfield, Mich., November 7, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "I do not believe the Federal Government should be in the business of regulating wages at all. No minimum wage measure is going to please me." Congressional Record, August 10, 1960.

They also differ on right-to-work laws:

Mr. Nixon said: "Many who supported right-to-work laws realize it was unwise and I don't think it will be an issue in 1960." Quoted in Portland Oregonian, February 16, 1959.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws which forbid contracts that make union membership a condition of employment."—"The Conscience of a Conservative," 1960.

How do they view social security?

Mr. Nixon said: "I will provide the leadership and sympathetic interest (in the years 1960-64) which will strengthen and expand the social security system." Statement, Fresno, Calif., November 4, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "I would like to suggest one change, that social security be made voluntary."—Concord, N.H., January 7, 1964.

On the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. Nixon said: "I am for the TVA. \* \* \* I think the Federal Government has a responsibility to see to it that the vast resources of America are adequately developed \* \* \* where the Federal Government is the only instrumentality that is big enough to do the job, then it ought to do it. TVA is a project of that type. I am not only for it, I voted for it."—National Telethon, ABC Network, Southfield, Mich., November 7, 1960.

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "I think TVA should be turned over to free enterprise even if they could only get \$1 for it."—Address to the National Association of Plumbing Contractors, reprinted on page 12987 of the 1961 Congressional Record.

And now we return once again to foreign policy:

Mr. Nixon said: "We will have our diplomacy firm, but without belligerence. We will strengthen the instruments of peace, strengthen them by strengthening the United Nations and the Organization of American States, always going the extra mile to attempt to work out these differences but remembering that there isn't any easy way, that we've got to expect rough seas, and the question is not whether you have trouble in dealing with the Communists. They're going to make trouble. The question is how you react to them, how you handle them, whether you lose your head, whether you're rash or immature or whether you have the judgment and the toughness to be able to sail the rough seas as well as the smooth ones."—Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth, N.J., October 4, 1960.

## HE - LINO - 208

Mr. Goldwater disagrees: "Some day I am convinced there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war. I think that a general war is probable. I don't see how it can be avoided—perhaps 5, 10 years from now."—Interview with Irwin Ross, New York Post, May 8, 1961.

The only matter on which Mr. Nixon and Senator Goldwater seem to have consistently agreed is that both think they have been treated unfairly by the press.

Bakersfield, Calif.  
October 3, 1964

### REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Senator Salinger, and good morning my dear friends. Only Democrats would get up at this hour to have a campaign meeting. [Laughter.]

But since we are the children of light and not the children of darkness I suppose it is good to be out here in this great spot.

I am particularly happy to see that once again we have a few of these repentant political sinners that are coming here. [Applause.]

There aren't many, but they are fading. [Laughter.]

Oh, it is nice to see this, it is nice to see this. One likes to start a day knowing that somehow or other the work of last evening has paid some dividends, I am so pleased.

And then may I say it is good to see these wonderful signs that have been hand processed. We are the sort of do-it-yourself group here in the Democratic Party.

I am very happy to be with my old friend Pierre Salinger, and Allen, I want you to know he is some campaigner. I tasted a bit of his campaign ability back in 1960 when he was feeding in suggestions for that wonderful man that became our President, and you, sir, put up a marvelous fight here in California, and I think one of the finest demonstrations of good democracy and good citizenship and good sportsmanship is the fact that Allen Cranston and Pierre Salinger are working side by side in this campaign. [Applause.]

I am delighted to be here and be greeted by your State senator, Mr. Stern, and too, of course, say that it is always good to have a Democrat that is watching over the affairs of the district, and I am delighted also to be in the assembly district of Jack Casey and Mr. Williamson, and to be here with, not with him, but he is your Congressman, and he is our friend, and I want to bring you a special, special greeting from Harlan Hagen, your Congressman of the 18th District. [Applause.]

I have been getting a first-class chamber of commerce snow job on me on the way coming down, up here, I should say, to Bakersfield.

Pierre Salinger is telling me of the fantastic growth of this area. He tells me how big California is going to be in another 10 years, as if it isn't big already, and he tells me how prosperous this community is, he says to me, "Senator, they raise more cotton here than you have wheat in the Midwest, and they have petroleum and industry and jobs, and employment and expansion and investments and colleges, and everything that is good apparently is in Bakersfield. [Applause.]

Well, I am delighted to be in Kern County and I want to tell you something you have got to improve a little bit. I just checked the voting statistics of 1960, and I want to tell you that you were short 1,424 votes, 1,424 votes in that last election.

[Cries of "We have got them now."]

Attaboy. I was afraid he didn't get along on the trip. We had this all worked out. [Laughter.]

I know that you are going to have them, and I surely want to say that we have our job cut out for us, and we have the task to be completed, and that is to make sure that this great area, this county, this 18th district, that it goes strongly Democratic for Lyndon B. Johnson, for Pierre Salinger, and if you have a little time there Hubert Humphrey in there, too. [Applause.]

Well, now folks, we are going to try something new today. I want to unveil a new chapter in this wonderful world of politics, and you know we Democrats enjoy politics, it is really a happy pursuit, particularly when you are going to win. [Applause.]

## HE - LINO - 209

The Senator from Arizona has been going around the country shouting about the great debate, and I think he is entitled to one. Of course, he wanted to debate the President, but last February he said that no man that is President should debate; however, we do not expect consistency in these matters from the Senator from Arizona. [Applause.]

But one thing I feel that we ought to do is to be accommodating and polite and if any way we can be helpful we ought to extend that hand of assistance and fellowship. So this morning I am just full of fellowship, full of helpfulness, and we want, Pierre Salinger and Hubert Humphrey, want to be helpful to the sort of faltering, bogged down, mired down, campaign of the opposition.

We would like to help them and since the candidate of the Goldwater faction, of the faction of the Republican Party, wants to have a debate, we thought we would launch right here at Bakersfield, and I hereby announce now from this platform the first in a series of the great debates of 1964, the debates between Barry Goldwater and his fellow Republicans. [Laughter.] [Applause.]

And I do want you to know that this is just the first, because there are a lot of invitations standing, outstanding invitations during the winter months and the spring months that the Senator from Arizona never had an opportunity apparently to accept, and I think that these invitations ought to be honored, and after he has gone through the list of preliminaries we may be able to book him with the champ but I think he has to prove himself first. [Applause.]

Now, in this first debate I would like to suggest to him a very worthy adversary, his new-found friend Dick Nixon. [Applause.]

The could-be, the wants-to-be Secretary of State in the imaginary Goldwater Cabinet. Now, we will announce the details of other great debates between Mr. Goldwater and his Republican adversaries on a later date. But today I would like to concentrate on Mr. Goldwater and that refugee from California, that self-propelled exile, Mr. Nixon. [Laughter and applause.]

I would like to compare the view of Mr. Goldwater and his wants-to-be Secretary of State, so let's take a look at the record, I think it is mighty interesting.

Now, for openers, let's take a look at foreign policy and I want to bring my friend Pierre up here now because in just a moment I want to describe the ground rules. This gentleman here may not look like it, but he is for the purpose of this little affair, he is Richard Nixon. [Laughter.]

And this fellow who is talking to you for this highly theatrical purpose, this exercise in forensics, will portray himself as Barry Goldwater. My, what a man will do in politics. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, as an opener, I think we ought to call on Pierre Salinger to be Richard "New Laws" Nixon.

Senator SALINGER. "It will be a tragedy for the Republican Party if ever Goldwater's view as previously stated were not challenged and not repudiated."

Senator HUMPHREY. These were the words of Richard Nixon in a press conference reported by the Des Moines Register this past summer. Of course, this press conference was held on June 10, before Mr. Nixon lay down his sword on the Goldwater rostrum at the Cow Palace at San Francisco, long before he was tapped as the make-believe Secretary of State by the Republican Pretender to the Presidency. Now, let's move on and look at the Nixon-Goldwater—Nixon and Goldwater on the role of the Federal Government.

I hereby present to you that courageous son of California, Pierre Salinger, who will now imitate that defeated son of California, Richard Nixon.

Senator SALINGER. "Well, I must say I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the States and to the individual. Now, if the States and the individual will handle the problem of the schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do certain things that the people want done and that should be done that is certainly the proper thing to do."



## HE - LINO - 210

"But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job, and I simply cannot buy the view of what I think is a view that is outmoded and reactionary that the Federal Government just leaves everything to the individuals."

This is Mr. Nixon speaking over WTMJ in Milwaukee on October 8, 1960.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, Mr. Nixon. And now may I speak for the Goldwater faction.

"The Government just begins to withdraw from the whole series of programs that are outside the constitutional mandate, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing and urban renewal." The Conscience of Conservative, 1960. Now, Mr. Nixon, let's hear your views on agriculture.

Senator SALINGER. "It is my belief that price supports have a place and an important place, in a dynamic program for farm progress." Speech at the 1960 Soil Conservation Field Days, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., September 23, 1960.

Senator HUMPHREY. "Doing something about it (farm price supports) means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program." Mr. Goldwater, Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

"Now on education, Richard." [Laughter.]

Senator SALINGER. "You don't seem to be agreeing with me, Barry."

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, after all, every man is entitled to be wrong two times." [Laughter and applause.]

Senator SALINGER. "If we are wrong for a third time, I think three strikes we are out."

"I believe that the Federal Government must do more than it is now doing to overcome economic obstacles that stand in the way of many of our young people attending our colleges and universities. I know of no more indefensible waste of human resources." Statement on Health, Education, and Welfare issued November 6, 1960.

Now, Barry, would you mind talking about education, please?

Senator HUMPHREY. "The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it." Jacksonville, Fla., October 3, 1960.

"And now, Richard, would you give us your views on health and welfare?"

Senator SALINGER. "Why can't we agree on something?"

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, that is asking too much." [Laughter.]

Senator SALINGER. "Washington has responsibilities. We have a program for schools, for housing, in health, in all of these areas that will produce progress. Washington shall do these things that the individuals and the States cannot do." Municipal Auditorium, Bangor, Maine, September 30, 1960.

"Barry, this is what I said when I was running for President." [Laughter.]

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, I shall speak and speak frankly, Richard."

"In the general field of public welfare, I would disagree with both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, and that's where I disagree with Eisenhower. I recall once calling his program similar to the dime store New Deal. I don't believe in Federal aid to education, or aid to the aged, or any kind of medical assistance." Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1961.

"Now, Richard, I would like to get your point of view on such important matters as minimum wage."

Senator SALINGER. "Barry, the more you talk, I think the only people in the world that agree with you are Strom Thurmond and George Murphy." [Laughter.] [Applause.]

Senator HUMPHREY. "You are talking of two of my dearest friends."

Senator SALINGER. "Strom was out here last week and he did more for the fallout shelter program in this State. He had Republicans all over the State hiding." [Laughter.]

"Barry, here is what I think about the minimum wage."

"I favor the raising of the minimum wage \* \* \* I also favor extending coverage to 3 million people not presently covered."

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Senator HUMPHREY. "The shadow of things to come." [Applause.]

Senator SALINGER. "Barry, here is one we ought to really talk about because a lot of people out here are interested in it, the Tennessee Valley Authority."

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Senator SALINGER. "I think the Federal Government has a responsibility to see to it that the vast resources of America are adequately developed \* \* \* where the Federal Government is the only instrumentality that is big enough to do the job, then it ought to do it. TVA is a project of that type. I am not only for it, I voted for it."

Senator HUMPHREY. "Oh, well, this is a very, very serious charge that you may have made. Let me make my point of view perfectly clear. I think TVA should be turned over to free enterprise even if they could only get one dollar for it, and I have not only said it once, I have said it twice. I have said it three times. I even said it at the address to the National Association of Plumbing Contractors."

"And now, I would like to get your views once again, Richard, on the subject of foreign policy. This subject, as you know, is rather foreign to me but I would like to have you bring it up and discuss it."

Senator SALINGER. "Barry, do I get that dollar back before the next stop?"

Senator HUMPHREY. "Yes."

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Senator SALINGER. "We will have our diplomacy firm, but without belligerence; we will strengthen the instruments of peace, strengthen them by strengthening the United Nations and the Organization of American States, always going the extra mile to attempt to work out those differences but remembering that there isn't any easy way, that we've got to expect rough seas, and the question is not whether you have trouble in dealing with the Communists. They are going to make trouble. The question is how you react to them, how you handle them, whether you lose your head, whether you are rash or immature or whether you have the judgment and the toughness to be able to sail the rough seas as well as the smooth ones." Elizabeth, N.J., October 4, 1960.

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"And I must disagree. Some day, I am convinced, there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without war. I think that a general war is probable. I don't see how it can be avoided—perhaps 5, 10 years from now." Interview with Irwin Ross, New York Post, May 8, 1961.

Well now, my friends, I must let my new-found friend from Whittier, N.Y., and other parts, take his seat and we shall return to the realities of life, where we are in Bakersfield, and discuss this campaign. We have given you today a picture of the total conflict of view that exists within the Republican Party on the part of prominent leading Republican spokesmen, and this is why, my friends, that thousands and thousands and thousands of Republicans who believe in the pursuit of peace, who do believe in minimum wages, who do believe that this Government has some responsibility for education, for care of the unfortunate and the needy, and for the help of the elderly, this is why those thousands and thousands of Republicans have joined the citizens for Johnson and Humphrey or have joined in other voluntary groups to help elect Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

We have had some fun here this morning but may I say in all seriousness that it isn't really fun. I think it is rather tragic when we see a man who is the candidate for President, that has so little appreciation of the needs of our country and so little understanding of the foreign policy requirements of this great Republic of ours, and I cannot imagine the people of the United States turning to a spokesman of a faction of a fraction of a great political party and having that spokesman become America's spokesman. I just don't believe it is possible. I want to say that the statements of Mr. Nixon were, in the main, enlightened statements.

I want to say that I believe that he learned a great deal during his Vice Presidency and during the campaign with the late and beloved John F. Kennedy. I hope that he will be able—[applause]—I hope that he will be able to be a good teacher for the Senator from Arizona.

But may I say that to put the student in the professor's chair before he has learned the elementary facts of life, and the fundamentals of the American political structure in the world in which we live, is too high a price to pay for the education of a Senator. [Laughter and applause.]

What I want you to do, therefore, is to redouble your efforts, to redouble your efforts to see that people are registered, to redouble your efforts to see that people turn out to vote, to take this campaign as seriously as you possibly can, to remember that every great gain that we have made in the last 30 years could be lost, and above all, to remember that the gains that we made in this world as the leader of the free world, with the awesome responsibilities of that leadership, that those gains could be lost.

It is a very significant campaign and one in which we must throw ourselves with everything that we have. It appears that the only matter on which Mr. Nixon and Senator Goldwater have consistently agreed is that they both have been treated unfairly by the press.

Now, that is not enough of an agreement to support a man for the office of President, so as we leave Bakersfield today to go on our tour where we will discuss again this great debate between these two Republicans, let me extend once again the hand of friendship to the thou-

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sands and thousands of people who are sick and tired of impulsive, impetuous, irresponsible action and statements on the part of the Republican spokesman, and who want to see America in responsible hands.

Let me ask you once again to do everything that you can for the election of a U.S. Senator that can support and will support the next President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.]

Bakersfield, Calif.  
October 3, 1964

## EXCERPT FROM REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, now, folks, we are going to try something new today. I want to unveil a new chapter in this wonderful world of politics, and you know we Democrats enjoy politics, it is really a happy pursuit, particularly when you are going to win. [Applause.]

The Senator from Arizona has been going around the country shouting about the great debate, and I think he is entitled to one. Of course, he wanted to debate the President, but last February he said that no man that is President should debate; however, we do not expect consistency in these matters from the Senator from Arizona. [Applause.]

But one thing I feel that we ought to do is to be accommodating and polite and if any way we can be helpful we ought to extend the hand of assistance and fellowship. So this morning I am just full of fellowship, full of helpfulness, and we want, Pierre Salinger and Hubert Humphrey want to be helpful to the sort of faltering, bogged down, mired down, campaign of the opposition.

We would like to help them and since the candidate of the Goldwater faction of the fraction of the Republican Party wants to have a debate, we thought we would launch right here at Bakersfield, and I hereby announce now from this platform the first in a series of the great debates of 1964, the debates between Barry Goldwater and his fellow Republicans. [Laughter.] [Applause.]

And I do want you to know that this is just the first, because there are a lot of invitations standing, outstanding invitations during the winter months and the spring months that the Senator from Arizona never had an opportunity apparently to accept, and I think that these invitations ought to be honored, and after he has gone through the list of preliminaries we may be able to book him with the champ but I think he has to prove himself first. [Applause.]

Now, in this first debate I would like to suggest to him a very worthy adversary, his new-found friend Dick Nixon. [Applause.]

The could-be, the wants-to-be Secretary of State in the imaginary Goldwater Cabinet. Now, we will announce the details of other great debates between Mr. Goldwater and his Republican adversaries on a later date. But today I would like to concentrate on Mr. Goldwater and that refugee from California, that self-propelled exile, Mr. Nixon. [Laughter and applause.]

I would like to compare the view of Mr. Goldwater and his wants-to-be Secretary of State, so let's take a look at the record, I think it is mighty interesting.

Now, for openers, let's take a look at foreign policy and I want to bring my friend Pierre up here now because in just a moment I want to describe the ground rules. This gentleman here may not look like it, but he is for the purpose of this little affair, he is Richard Nixon. [Laughter and applause.]

And this fellow who is talking to you for this highly theatrical purpose, this exercise in forensics will portray himself as Barry Goldwater. My, what a man will do in politics. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, as an opener, I think we ought to call on Pierre Salinger to be Richard "new laws" Nixon.

Senator SALINGER. "It will be a tragedy for the Republican Party if ever Goldwater's view as previously stated were not challenged and not repudiated.

Senator HUMPHREY. These were the words of Richard Nixon in a press conference reported by the Des Moines Register this past summer. Of course, this press conference was held on June 10, before Mr. Nixon lay down his sword on the Goldwater rostrum at the Cow



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Palace at San Francisco, long before he was tapped as the make-believe Secretary of State by the Republican Pretender to the Presidency. Now, let's move on and look at the Nixon-Goldwater-Nixon and Goldwater on the role of the Federal Government.

I hereby present to you that courageous son of California, Pierre Salinger, who will now imitate that defeated son of California, Richard Nixon.

Senator SALINGER. "Well, I must say I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the States and the individual. Now, if the States and the individual will handle the problem of schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do the things that the people want done and that should be done that is certainly the proper thing to do.

"But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job, and I simply cannot buy the view of what I think is a view that is outmoded and reactionary that the Federal Government just leaves everything to the individuals."

This is Mr. Nixon speaking over WTMJ in Milwaukee on October 8, 1960.

Senator HUMPHREY. "Thank you, Mr. Nixon. And now may I speak for the Goldwater faction.

"The Government must begin to withdraw from the whole series of programs that are outside the constitutional mandate, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing and urban renewal." The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960. "Now, Mr. Nixon, let's hear your views on agriculture."

Senator SALINGER. "It is my belief that price supports have a place, and an important place, in a dynamic program for farm progress." Speech at the 1960 Soil Conservation Field Days, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., September 23, 1960.

Senator HUMPHREY. "Doing something about it (farm price supports) means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program." Mr. Goldwater, Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

"Now on education, Richard." [Laughter.]

Senator SALINGER. "You don't seem to be agreeing with me, Barry."

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, after all, every man is entitled to be wrong two times." [Laughter and applause.]

Senator SALINGER. "If we are wrong for a third time, I think three strikes we are out.

"I believe that the Federal Government must do more than it is now doing to overcome economic obstacles that stand in the way of many of our young people attending our colleges and universities. I know of no more indefensible waste of human resources." Statement on Health, Education, and Welfare issued November 6, 1960.

"Now, Barry, would you mind talking about education, please?"

Senator HUMPHREY. "The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it." Jacksonville, Fla., October 3, 1960.

"And now, Richard, would you give us your views on health and welfare?"

Senator SALINGER. "Why can't we agree on something?"

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, that is asking too much." [Laughter.]

Senator SALINGER. "Washington has responsibilities. We have a program for schools, for housing, in health, in all of these areas that will produce progress \* \* \* Washington shall do those things that the individuals and the States cannot do." Municipal Auditorium, Bangor, Maine, September 30, 1960.

"Barry, this is what I said when I was running for President." [Laughter.]

Senator HUMPHREY. "Well, I shall speak and speak frankly, Richard.

"In the general field of public welfare, I would disagree with both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, and that's where I disagree with Eisenhower. I recall once calling his program similar to the dime store New Deal. I don't believe in Federal aid to education, or aid to the aged, or any kind of medical assistance." Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1961.

## HE - LINO - 215

"Now, Richard, I would like to get your point of view on such important matters as minimum wage?"

Senator SALINGER. "Barry, the more you talk, I think the only people in the world that agree with you are Strom Thurmond and George Murphy." [Laughter.] [Applause.]

Senator HUMPHREY. "You are talking of two of my dearest friends."

Senator SALINGER. "Strom was out here last week and he did more for the fallout shelter program in this State. He had Republicans all over the State hiding." [Laughter.]

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# HE - LINO - 217

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Let me ask you once again to do everything that you can for the election of a U.S. Senator that can support and will support the next President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.]

Tulare, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

## REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Well, thank you very much, Senator Pierre Salinger, thank you for always giving me the kind of an introduction that results in at least three Goldwater-Miller signs falling to the ground. [Applause.]

I thank these good souls who have come here today to join here with so many happy friendly people. I want them to know there is really very little they have to do. All these folks that are here for the opposition need to do is to walk up here, confess your political sin and join the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

We welcome you, we welcome you just like we have welcomed thousands and thousands and thousands of Republicans who are voting for Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.]

Let me first of all bring you the greetings of your Congressman who cannot be with us today, Harlan Hagen, and I know you are going to reelect him. [Applause.]

And by the way, I want to just say a word or two about your Senator. A while ago I saw a little sign out there that indicated that you wanted to send Pierre home, and I want you to know that is where he is going, right on up to San Francisco with me tonight, and then we are going to see to it that he gets to Washington to work for you for the next 6 years as your U.S. Senator. [Applause.]

Very frankly, my fellow Americans, anyone that was good enough to be the strong right arm, the personal adviser, and the close and intimate friend of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson is good enough for me and I am sure he is good enough for you. [Applause.]

By the way, it is so wonderful to be in this happy valley, this San Joaquin Valley [blowing of train horn], don't mind that, that is just a Democrat engineer, I just want everybody to know he is going to vote for Johnson and Humphrey. [Applause.]

You know the other day I was up in Michigan, and while I was there I found a little news story from Grand Rapids, Mich., that was printed in the New York Times. It is dated Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24. It isn't a very long story but it tells a big story and I want to read it to you. I want all here now to contemplate this with me.

Grand Rapids, Mich.—that was just one of the Goldwaterites squeeling a little bit. We are putting on the pressure a little bit too much, I guess. It says, "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater"—[Applause.]

And then it goes on to say "—a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution for use on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative." [Applause.]



## HE - LINO - 218

Now, my fellow Americans, that is the most concise, the briefest description of a candidate and a platform that I have ever heard.

I am told we have 1 minute. Before we go I want to say you have this great area, this great county of Tulare, is one of the richest, thriving, and prosperous and I hope that the people of this county will remember that the good things that we have today can be even better if we keep on the job the kind of leadership that makes for prosperity and for progress for America, and that leadership is in the White House this very afternoon and we don't intend to have anybody else move in there. We are going to keep Lyndon B. Johnson as our President, we are going to send Pierre Salinger to the Senate, and if you think about it, why not have Humphrey down there, too.

Fresno, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you, thank you very much. It is simply wonderful to see so many very fine and happy people. I can plainly see you are all Democrats because you are so happy out here. At least, if not all Democrats you are most wise and prudent and intelligent Republicans, some of whom are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.]

And she is pretty, too. I am very pleased that Mrs. Humphrey and I have the opportunity to come up this San Joaquin Valley, Calif., this great thriving, prosperous, progressive State in this Federal Union of ours in the United States of America, and I want very much first of all to pay my thanks to the mayor of your city for his presence here, to your commissioners, for your members of the legislature, your State senators, and I want to bring you also the greetings of your Congressman who is doing a fine job down in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., Bernie Sisk and I know you are going to take good care of him.

We have had a wonderful, wonderful time this morning starting out a little bit too early, I might say down in Los Angeles, but a few days ago they had Republicans up there, they have had 2 days of bad smog but we helped clear it out.

For some reason or other every time those Goldwaterites hit town you either have a storm or a fog or a smog, one or the other. So if you want the sun to shine brightly on these beautiful fields and cities of California, if you want that sun to shine every day, just vote Democratic, that is all you have to do. [Applause.]

Well, may I just take a moment to thank those lovely little ladies who came up here and presented me with this gift, the young ladies who presented that basket, they were Helen Gee, Caroline Gee, Pat Wong, and Isabel Wong, I think it is just wonderful we have an America, an America that looks like what I see out here today, an America that is a United States, an America of people of every race, creed, and nationality, an America that is beautiful and we love it, don't we?

Yes, my friends, every time I go to a meeting like this I can always sense the spirit of this country. Once in a while I come across somebody that is a little politically misguided but frankly there are fewer and fewer as we go along. Apparently the message of truth and hope is getting through, and I want to say that as we traveled about our great America, Mrs. Humphrey and I have found people who are very confident about the future, optimistic about our country, we don't come here to spread doom and gloom.

We don't come here to spread distrust and diversity, we come here to unite the people, to ask the people to work together for the great common goals of our country. Those are goals of better living, better education for our young, better care for our afflicted, more dignity for our elderly, better opportunities for our business people, better jobs for our workers, these are the things we are working for, and we have, may I say, in the White House today, as we had in those 1,000 days of dramatic Executive leadership, we have in the White House today the man that was selected by our late and beloved John Kennedy, as his Vice President who today is now President. [Applause.]

## HE - LINO - 219

President Kennedy made many very important and wonderful decisions, but I don't think he ever made a better one than the day in Los Angeles, Calif., in 1960 at the Democratic Convention when he reached out down to the State of Texas and said, "I want Lyndon B. Johnson as my Vice President." [Applause.]

And when that tragic day came in Dallas, a day of infamy, a day of shame for America, a day of tradition and pain, when that day came thank God, and I say it in all reverence, there was a man that had been selected that was capable of taking on the duties of being President of this, the greatest land in the world, and he has been doing a great job as our President. [Applause.]

This man needs help, he needs men in the Senate of the United States and in the Congress that can work with him. He needs people that think to the future, that think ahead and are for the future, and you good folks out here in California have a man standing for election for the U.S. Senate that was one that was the trusted friend and adviser to John Kennedy, trusted friend and adviser of Lyndon Johnson, and I tell you that if Pierre Salinger was good enough for President Kennedy and President Johnson, believe me he is good enough for anybody in the State of California that has a vote. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, let me congratulate all of you for the remarkable progress of this great city and this great area, I am sure you heard it and you know, it is really something that Fresno is growing by leaps and bounds. This great community is one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in all of America and I can plainly see why because there has been teamwork here between the Federal Government, the State and local government, between the people in every walk of life.

The water that comes to this great valley is there because of Federal cooperation, and may I assure you that if you put Pierre Salinger in the U.S. Senate you are going to have the water, you are going to have the power, you are going to have what you need because he will fight for you and he will work for you and you have a friend in President Johnson and I hope who will be the next Vice President of the United States.

Thank you. My friend says they are going to help out. Are you going to help us, friends, tell me.

You know, well there is one over there that said no, there are just a few left like that. But don't worry, we will have him do it. He knows, he is beginning to smile and when he smiles you can't vote for Goldwater. You know that.

Well, friends, let's put together this great program of cooperation, let's put together this program of the Federal Government and State and local government of your private industry, of your workers, of your farmers, and let's build this America, let's make it a better America, let's make it more prosperous, let's make it more just, let's make it finer in every way, and the way to do it is to exercise your right to vote on election day. November 3 is the citizens' day in America and on November 3 I think that deep down in your heart, deep down in your heart, even Goldwater may vote for Johnson. [Applause.]

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Madera, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. Well, Senator Salinger, when I look over this wonderful, wonderful audience and see these many, many happy people, I know full well that California is going to vote Democratic on November 3. [Applause.]

And I am so pleased as we go along this beautiful San Joaquin Valley to come to this great community of Madera that we see so very, very few of those dear souls that were temporarily lost in the fog of Goldwaterite confusion.

## HE - LINO - 220

I am so happy to see that folks here know that when you have got the good the thing to do is to keep it that way and that means that you vote for Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Salinger. [Applause.]

Pierre, may I just take a moment to thank this wonderful band that came to us, all these lovely young ladies who are here, we are just delighted to see so many young people. We know that the young people of America are going to help the Democratic Party and its candidates and we also know that even when you have Old Timers Day at Madera, and you have a lovely lady like Mrs. Desmond who came up here dressed, as they were in the time that Goldwater thinks—[applause]—that even then a wonderful lady that is of Democratic persuasion, thinks young, votes young, and votes Democratic, isn't that a good idea? [Cries of "Yes."]

I wish to say just a word or two about my friend, Mr. Salinger, serving in the U.S. Senate these weeks, your candidate for the U.S. Senate. This man was the trusted friend and adviser of our late President Kennedy, and he is the trusted friend and adviser, and he is also the candidate of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and if a man can have friends like that, in other words, if Pierre Salinger was good enough for President Kennedy, and has the confidence of President Johnson, I think that you will agree with me he will make a great U.S. Senator from the State of California for the people of this State.

It is simply wonderful to come to this area that has such a variety of industry and crops and agriculture, grapes, raisins and corn, feed grains, of orchards, of cotton, you name it, olives, yes, indeed, you name it and you have it.

It is simply marvelous and we want you to know that the program of agricultural diversification and of industry has the full and complete packaging of this administration. We want you to know also that the Johnson-Humphrey administration will cooperate with Mr. Salinger, your Senator, to make sure that the water that is needed for these fields, that that water will be available. You can rest assured that you will have that commitment from the Johnson administration. [Applause.]

And may I say that I have talked to him of your people that own these fine orchards and farms. I know how much agriculture means to you because I come from an agricultural State, and I want to say from this platform that the Democratic administration will not permit anything to happen that will sacrifice the welfare of the agriculture of California, and that goes for every aspect of your products.

We will not permit anything to happen to your labor force, to your price program, to see that anything adverse happens to this agriculture. You have our support, and the merchants in Madera know that the prosperity of your orchards and of your farms, the prosperity of your beef cattlemen, the prosperity of the people in the countryside determines the prosperity on Main Street.

Together we will work, we will work as a Federal Government, a State government, a local government, as business, as labor, as farmers, and are we going to have some good days.

Happy days are here again, folks. Vote Democratic. You are great, great, great. God bless you, so long, folks, goodbye, goodbye, now.

Merced, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, thank you very much, Senator Salinger, Senator Cobey and my good friends, may I just say that as I look out over this audience, I notice that as usual, the Goldwaterites are to your far right. [Applause.]

And by the way, I want you to know there is a very, very historical item here today. There is a sign here that says "Goldwater in '64." Now, Lincoln was President in 1864. I think that Goldwater ought to quit running against that man, don't you? [Applause and laughter.]

Well, now, having disposed of the candidate of the 19th century let's move along to modern times.

## HE - LINO - 221

I am very honored to be on this platform with the next U.S. Senator from the State of California, Pierre Salinger, and that is what you are going to do, elect him, isn't it?

A man that had the confidence and the faith and trust of our late President Kennedy and a man that has the confidence and the faith and the trust of our present President Johnson is the kind of a man that can serve the State of California with great honor and distinction and effectiveness, and I suggest that on November 3 when you start to mark that ballot at the top there where it says Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey and when you come to Pierre Salinger put a great big "X." Vote for him once but vote for him right.

And you know something, folks, you know something, deep down in the heart of Barry Goldwater he, too, may vote Democratic. [Laughter.]

I say that because he changes so often—if we just catch him on the right day. Ah, isn't this wonderful, to have a happy day like this. When you have Democrats out, the sun shines, skies are blue, crops are good, people are happy and even some of the folks that came here with those signs that indicate they have been walking in the paths of political transgression, even they are beginning to smile. Ah, it is contagious, it is contagious. [Applause.]

Now, my good friends, let me just say we have a very serious election ahead of us. We need your help, and we come to you, may I say, unashamedly asking for your hands and for your hearts and for your help in this election.

This election is very, very important to our Nation. It is important to California, it is important to every farmer in this area if he wants to make sure that water supplies are available because your Federal Government working with your people through irrigation makes possible water that makes possible these fine and productive fields, and the gentleman from Arizona says, water for Arizona, but not a drop for California.

Now, friends, remember this, your country is moving ahead, building better schools, better hospitals, training our workers, educating our young, caring for our afflicted and helping our elderly and seeing to it that every American, that every American, will have first-class citizenship, that every American will be privileged to enjoy the benefits of this Great Society without any discrimination, this is the way we want our America. We want our America to be the America that we sing about, America the beautiful, American the strong, America the just, America a better land for more and more people, and America that pursues relentlessly always the paths of peace, seeking ways to bring to this world of ours wonderful peace, peace as we know it to be, the great need of the people that wish to live a good life.

I want to thank the people of Merced for being here in such large numbers. I know that this is a "one of these campaign stops," but it means so much to those of us who are on this platform to have your faith, and to have your confidence.

Now, my friends, will you do me a favor and will you do yourself a favor. On election day vote, be an American that is a voter. Be a good citizen and do what I think that you want to do and that is to vote for the future of America, to vote for the progress of America, not for its past, not for its troubles but to vote for its hopes and for its promises. And when you do that the way to vote is to vote for Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Salinger, and if you vote for President Johnson and Pierre Salinger you get me, too.

Thank you very much. God bless you, it is wonderful to see you, wonderful to see you. Good luck. Goodbye. Goodbye now.

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# HE - LINO - 222

Modesto, Calif.  
Whistlestop "Victory Special."  
October 3, 1964.

## REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much; thank you very much. Thank you very much, Senator Salinger, for your kind remarks. It is wonderful to be here in Stanislaus County, in Modesto.

Nice to see these folks that have these signs from Turlock and from Newman and from Oakdale, Patterson, Ceres, and Riverbank. Very good. I hear that Turlock has gone Democratic. I think that is great.

It is always somewhat interesting to see that those who have been walking in the paths of political sin feel that the time is at hand to repent. Glad to see them, and you will notice, my dear friends, when these folks turn up with these signs of their defeat they are always over on the far right, 'way over, 'way over, 'way over.

You know, friends, I saw a sign over there that said "Barry in '64"; that is 1864 they are talking about. And it is President Johnson in 1964. [Applause.]

I wish you would do something about these folks that keep advertising socialism; we want none of it, and I wish they would quit talking about it, don't you? [Cries of "Yes."]

Well, I can plainly see that 'most everybody in Modesto is happy. There are a few of them that have had some sour apples, but by and large everybody is happy. Isn't that the way you feel? I don't know what we would do without a few of these Birchites just to keep us alive, do you?

Friends, it is wonderful to be in this great country that is so prosperous and such a great garden spot of America. Oh, my gracious, listen to that poor fellow back there; he needs help. [Applause.]

I will tell you, you know, did you ever hear those fellows talk, every time they ever talk about America, they say, "We are sick and tired of this, we are sick and tired of this."

Did you ever meet such sick and tired people in all of your life? Now, what we want, what we want are healthy people, and active people, and when you want healthy people and active people, you want people who are going to vote for progress, vote for the future, people who have some confidence in America.

Now, my dear friends, let me tell you, don't you be too unkind to these souls that are voting the wrong way, because, really, let me tell you something, deep down in his heart Goldwater may vote for Johnson. [Applause.]

You really can't tell, you know, he changes so often.

But there is one thing you can tell, there is one thing you can tell. Pierre Salinger will work for you and the people of California, and Lyndon Johnson will work for you and the people of California. And, what is more, the people of California know it, and on that happy day in November—November 3—I will tell you the people of America are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Senator Goldwater.

Thank you.

By the way, girls, I want you to meet my girl, Mrs. Humphrey. Now, friends, we surely do wish—isn't she a doll? I thank you very, very much. Now, folks, I want you to remember that on election day we have got a big job. Every one of us wants to turn out there and vote. There will be a few that will vote, you know, but most of you are going to do all right; you are going to do all right, and you just continue, you young folks there, above all, you continue to work for a Government and a President that believes in you, somebody that believes in the tomorrows.

You know it is all right to study ancient history, kids, but don't vote it. [Applause.]

Tracy, Calif.  
Whistlestop "Victory Special"  
October 3, 1964

## REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you. Thank you very much, Senator. You know, my friends, when I hear some of these young Goldwaterites boo the way they do, they remind me of the kind of a noise that a Democratic donkey makes once in a while.

## HE - LINO - 223

I am very, very happy to see these Goldwater for President signs up here. May I say to all of my fellow Americans, the only reason they are here is they want to repent for their sins and ask for forgiveness.

You know, friends, the last time that we heard that much noise from a limited number of people was in the Cow Palace. I don't think it belongs in Tracy. I am so very happy to be able to share this platform today with a fine citizen of this State, a gentleman that had the confidence of our late and beloved President, John Kennedy and one today, and one today who has the confidence and the friendship of our President Lyndon Johnson and I speak—[Applause and boos.]

Say, listen, young man, you had better get some manners.

Now, my friends, the Senator from this state, Mr. Salinger, has had a splendid record in the U.S. Senate and he is already working for the people of this State in a manner which should endear him to the majority of the people. I am confident that on election day the people of California are going to place the same trust in Senator Salinger that John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson place in Senator Salinger and that is to vote for him.

Now, friends, this great city of Tracy in San Joaquin County is very near one of the fine great colleges and universities of your great State, and I want to say that we are very proud of the Pacific College, we are very, very proud, we are very proud of their fine contributions to the Peace Corps which today is making one of the great efforts of our country overseas.

I ask those who are here joining with us in this splendid crowd, despite this noisy little minority which is what it will be an election day, I ask you that when election day comes you think of the future of your country and not of its past. You think of the hopes of your country—and you think of the hope of your country and of its promise and when you do, I am sure that on that election day you will go to the ballot box and vote for the Democratic ticket, vote for Lyndon Johnson for President and may I add just to make it a real good package vote for Pierre Salinger for U.S. Senate.

Thank you very, very much. Thank you. [Cries of "We want Humphrey."]

Attaboy, let's go. Bless your hearts. Thank you very, very much. Thank you very, very much.

Martinez, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much. Thank you, thank you very much. Well, I can plainly see up here in Contra Costa County upon know what to do. You just plain vote Democratic, you have got good sense. And if I recall properly I believe that in 1960 this county gave our beloved John Kennedy a majority vote, isn't that right? [Cries or "Yes."]

And I do hope that in this coming election of 1964 you are going to do for this fine man who just introduced me what you did for our late and beloved President, that you are going to give Pierre Salinger a great majority so you can retain him in the United States Senate as the man that fights for you and for California. [Applause.]

I am so pleased to see so many of you here today. This is a very, very happy experience for Mrs. Humphrey and myself. We have had a delightful visit all up and down this wonderful San Joaquin Valley. We are on our way, as you know, to Oakland and San Francisco for tonight. I don't know how many meetings we have had but every one has been simply marvelous. As Pierre did say there were occasionally a few people that were underpaid, and I want all of them to know right here and now no matter which sign you carry, if you carry one of those Goldwater signs we Democrats promise you a minimum of a dollar and a quarter an hour, right?

But more importantly, we promise forgiveness. I think that is what we really ought to do.

## HE - LINO - 224

\* Now, friends, it won't be long, it is about 4 more weeks or about a month from now, this campaign will be over, and on November 3, the people of this country are going to make their decision.

In the meantime I hope we can discuss the important issues of the day. I would hope that somehow or another in a campaign like this there would be something more than just heat and occasionally we would have a little light.

We would have some information on the topics of the day, and I am very pleased to say that the Kennedy-Johnson administration has kept its promise to get this country moving forward once again. Our country today is enjoying a degree of prosperity the likes of which it has never experienced in its life, but we do not say that this is adequate.

We are not saying that what we have at the moment is all that we should have, and we are surely not saying that what we have now we should give up and go back. I have told college students and high school students all across this country they ought to study hard, they ought to do their jobs in school, keep up on their schoolwork and it is good to study ancient history but don't let your parents vote for it. [Applause.]

I truly believe that what America wants for its President is a man that looks to the future, one that understands the problems of this day but more importantly one that knows we have some challenges for tomorrow and may I say particularly to the young people who are here, there is a better tomorrow, and we are going to work for it. We are not going to get it by easy life but we are going to get it if we work for it and if we plan for it, and in a sense if we will it, and sacrifice for it.

And I believe we have in the White House today a man that understands the problems of our current society, and also has the vision of tomorrow, and remember the poet once said, "That a nation without vision shall perish," and this Nation has had vision all of its life, and we need to continue it.

I don't think you can give America the kind of leadership that it needs by looking through a rearview mirror and driving backward. I think what you need to do is to look through the front windshield straight down the road, not to the far right, not to the far left, but right down the center, may I say, so that we can build an America that is worthy of our heritage and worthy of our children. So, will you vote for this man Salinger, give him your support, Senator Salinger, and then on election do what I think Senator Goldwater is going to do, vote for Johnson.

Richmond, Calif.  
Whistlestop "Victory Special"  
October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, thank you, thank you, thank you.

Thank you very much, Senator Salinger. My dear friends, it has been such a joyful day for us and I can't quite tell you, at least adequately express to you, the profound gratitude and appreciation that Mrs. Humphrey and I have for the hospitalities and the enthusiastic reception we have had.

I want to tel Mayor Carroll how much I appreciate this wonderful turnout here at this fine great city of Richmond, Calif. It is a wonderful, wonderful reception. And, by the way while I am here I want you to remember that we need a man down there in the House of Representatives and the Congress that is going to support and help our President Lyndon Johnson and I hope that you will send down there to represent this district Russell Cook. Let's do that. I am so honored to be present with your own State Senator George Miller, Jr., and with members of your assembly.

I do want to say that in the days ahead we have a lot of work to do. Your Senator, Senator Salinger has told you of the challenge ahead of us. This great State of California is a State of the future. It is a State that is growing so fast that it is almost a miracle. It is a State of tremendous vitality and tremendous power, and, therefore, there

## HE - LINO - 225

just doesn't seem to be any reason in the world my a State like this that looks to the future, that believes in the tomorrows, that is filled with the promise of life, that such a State like this must, it must, vote for Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Salinger.

I know that you have one of the great port cities, great industrial city. I know that the agriculture of this area is literally the wonder of the world. I have seen fields and farms and factories, on this trip from Bakersfield up here to Richmond that is the marvel of our country.

If any other country in the world had what we had here they would be either naturally grateful not only to their country but to the Lord himself.

I want to say that one of the things that has impressed me most is the fact that I see people here of every walk of life, young and old, I see people of the different religious faiths, different ethnic and racial groups, and may I say that this picture before me is the picture that everybody in America ought to see and everybody in the world ought to see. I am looking at the America, the America that is brave and the America that is good.

I am looking today at the America that has no fear of the tomorrow, and I am looking at Americans today that want to do a better job than even they have done thus far and I think that the way to do that is to support candidates and political programs that don't hark back to the yesterdays but to support candidates and political programs that look forward to the tomorrows.

That is what John Kennedy wanted us to do, that was his promise to us, that was his 1,000 days in office as our President, and now the man that he selected as Vice President is today our President, and that man—[applause]—and that man that today took on those awesome burdens after the assassin's bullet had claimed the life of our beloved President, that man today wants me to ask you for your help, for your hands, for your hearts, for your energy in these weeks that lie ahead.

We are not going to indulge now in a campaign of vilification. We have good things to talk about. We have to talk about how we build schools for our youngsters, how we help the health of our elderly citizens, how we care for the sick and the unfortunate, how we make America stronger, more prosperous, and how we make it more just, and how we make it a nicer and a better place in which to live, and how we work for peace in the world because everything that we have now, everything that is ours can be lost by one rash decision, by one foolish mistake by a man that has his hands on the nuclear trigger, and I tell you that Lyndon Johnson is the kind of a man that is calm and prudent and strong and resolute.

He will guard the peace, he will promote our progress and he will make you a great President and I ask you to vote for him. [Applause].

Thank you very, very much.

Now, bless your hearts, thank you very, very much. Thank you very, very much. All right. Goodby now.

Listen now, when you vote for Johnson and you vote for Salinger, I come along with the package. [Applause and laughter.]

Oakland, Calif.

Whistlestop "Victory Special"

October 3, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Well, well, well, that is a good band back there. Well, thank you very, very much, Senator Salinger.

All right, boys, we have had a wonderful, wonderful trip. Here is a young lady that has been after me for years, 28 years, as a matter of fact, this is Mrs. Humphrey.

We have had a wonderful trip from Bakersfield right on up here to this great bay area. It has been a happy sunshiny, thrilling, exciting day. Why we have even had a few folks that have been carrying



## HE - LINO - 226

some signs of a fellow who thinks that he maybe ought to be President, and we have been praying for him and we have been asking him to come forward and give those signs and give up and vote for Lyndon Johnson, that is all we have been asking those folks to do.

I am glad to see that sign now, Pierre, that says, "Republicans for Johnson," that is good. Democrats for Johnson, Independents for Johnson, and everybody for Salinger, that is a good combination.

Well, we are going to run along now. We just want to thank all the young folks here particularly. We hope you will come over to the Oakland auditorium tonight. We are going to have a real political hoedown over there.

So you come over. We are going to tell the truth on that man that is the temporary spokesman of a small faction of the fraction of the Republican Party. So, you come on over. And then we are going to tell you a little bit about what we want to do for America to make it a better country and the kind of a country we all love so much.

I thank you very, very much. We are going on now, and you keep that enthusiasm up.

By the way, I want to say this to the young, particularly the real young ones out there. You know your parents always give you some advice, and I want you, of course, to always take that advice, but now is your chance to give them some advice. When you go home tonight, you go ask your mother and your father and your brother and your sister, your aunt, your uncle, your grandfather, grandmother, anybody over 21 in the family, you go up to him and say, "Have you registered?"

Well that is No. 1 and if they haven't, you say, "Shame on you," and if they have registered, you say, "All right, I want to give you some advice, two pieces of advice, No. 1, you must vote on November 3, and No. 2, I want to give you some real sound advice that I heard from Senator Humphrey. Vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Pierre Salinger and George Miller. That is all you have got to do."

And by the way, while you are doing it vote for Jeff Cohelan, too.

OK.

Oakland, Calif.  
October 3, 1964

### SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

It is wonderful to be with you in Oakland tonight.

I come to the Golden West and everywhere find this Democratic enthusiasm—and then I think about that gathering of Republicans here in the bay area earlier this summer and I understand.

Three months ago thousands of Republicans rushed to San Francisco looking for political gold. And what did they get?

They got Senator Goldwater.

Three months ago the Republicans came to their convention in San Francisco in search of a political platform. And what did they get?

They got Senator Goldwater.

Three months ago the Republicans came to San Francisco to try to pick a winning presidential candidate. And what did they get?

They got Senator Goldwater.

And we have all seen what has happened since. Republicans who have always voted a straight party ticket have bolted Goldwater. Newspapers which have always been Republican now spurn him. Republican Governors and Senators and other officeholders are so embarrassed by Goldwater that they deny they are even running on the same ticket.

After watching his recent performances—in which the temporary Republican spokesman misses his cues, muffs his lines, and plays to a rapidly emptying Republican house, I think I have discovered a new principle of American politics.

That principle is Goldwater seeks its own level. It only runs downhill.

And that is no wonder. For the Senator is a backward-looking man. He wants to retreat. He forsakes the present and favors a mythical past. He wants to build the America which he thinks existed before the gold rush. And that—in a word—is why there is no rush for Goldwater.

## HE - LINO - 227

It is traditional in campaigns to look ahead to the next 4 years. But in 1964 this would be shortsighted.

The problems which beset us in 1964—and our responses to them—will shape America not just for the next 4 years, but for the entire next half century.

And few problems in America are more critical than the challenge of the urban frontier—the “Vertical Frontier.”

President Johnson and the Democratic Party bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting the challenge of urban America. The leader of the Goldwater faction brings only his usual record of retreat, reaction, and regression. His answer is always the same. “No, no, a thousand times no.”

In this election, Americans have a right—and a responsibility—to ask the following questions.

Will our next President understand the mammoth task we face in rebuilding our cities as part of the Great Society?

Will our next President understand that between 1960 and 2000 we must build the equivalent of 3,000 cities with a population of 50,000 each just to absorb our population growth?

Will our next President comprehend the urgency of preparing America for the problems of the year 2000 when four-fifths of our 400 million citizens will reside in urban areas?

Will our next President know that we can only solve the problems associated with this population expansion and this population shift to the cities through the active cooperation and participation of the Federal Government with State, county, and local authorities.

How our next President answers these questions will determine in large measure the shape of America for the next 50 years. No problem is more challenging—and none more frustrating—than seeking to transform our great urban areas into pleasant and rewarding communities of work, recreation and family living.

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.

Our capacity to meet this new challenge of the metropolis, whether we can deal successfully with problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, policing and crime detection, crowded schools and hospitals, degrading slums, absence of open spaces for recreation, and even the ordinary logistics of everyday living—how to get back and forth to work.

These problems alone would be enough.

But even as we try to adopt our private and governmental organizations to serving metropolitan man, we confront antiquated local tax structures, wasteful and overlapping agencies of local and State governments, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the tradition of inertia.

These problems are critical and these complexities are urgent because most of us today live in the metropolis.

We must, in short, plan for a renaissance of the metropolis.

In recent years we have made a determined effort to begin this renaissance of the cities.

In 1958 most Senators voted to increase funds for Federal loans to communities for planning and public facilities.

But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1959 most Senators voted to increase Federal assistance for sewer plant construction and urban renewal.

But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1959 most Senators voted against a cut in the housing authority bill and in another rollcall voted for increasing the total for public housing units.

But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1961 most Senators voted for President Kennedy's landmark omnibus housing act.

But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1963 most Senators supported the urban mass transit.

But not Senator Goldwater.

## HE - LINO - 228

And finally, in 1964, most Senators voted on the expanded housing program and on final passage of the Urban Mass Transportation Act.

But not Senator Goldwater. He never even showed up.

This is the record of retreat and reaction in the area of urban problems and housing the leader of the Goldwaterites brings to the American people in this election.

This is the record the American people must evaluate in relation to the one established by the Kennedy-Johnson administration and a Democratic Congress: Enactment of programs for mass transportation and open spaces in urban areas, expanded low-rent public housing, increased Federal assistance for local urban planning, expanded housing for the elderly, a humanized urban renewal program, moderate income rental housing, increased housing starts, and a comprehensive antipoverty program stressing local community action.

But much more remains to be accomplished.

It is obvious that we need a Cabinet level Department of Urban Affairs. The cities of the future will not neatly conform to present city lines. Regional planning is essential.

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

Those cities of the future must provide access to an abundant cultural life.

Those cities of the future must provide employment opportunities which challenge every man's hands and train and satisfy the human need for constructive effort.

Those 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 the beauty of spirit.

Those cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage we can muster. We must begin now—and we must use every resource at our command.

I am convinced that on November 3 you will return Lyndon Baines Johnson to the White House, not merely because he has demonstrated responsibility in the conduct of our foreign policy, not merely because he has shown the capacity to translate abstract ideals into concrete legislative programs, but also because he will lead us in the herculean task of mastering the challenges of the American metropolis.

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Oakland, Calif.  
Oakland Auditorium  
October 3, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much.

Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Senator Salinger. Thank you for your introduction today, I believe for the 11th time, and any man who can introduce another man 11 times and still be enthusiastic about him is some man. [Applause.]

You are a very wonderful and patient audience. I know that many of you have been here for hours, in fact, I understand that some of the young ladies who are serving as usherettes or ushers this evening have been here since 5:30 or 6. [Cries of "Four."]

Or 4 o'clock, all right. [Applause.]

It is that kind of dedication and that kind of hard work that is going to spell victory on November 3 and I want to thank you, all of you. [Applause.]

Yesterday, we had a wonderful day in the Los Angeles area, and we were privileged to have with us the great Governor of this State, Gov. Pat Brown, and I know he would have liked to be here today. Today we had one of those exciting experiences which can only take place in this great State of California. We started out bright and early this morning, far too early, I might add, but we started out at least early, if not too bright, and we had our first meeting at Bakersfield, and coming up the beautiful San Joaquin Valley up into the Bay area, some 10 meetings, each and every place a fine enthusiastic cheering crowd

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of good citizens, most of them with good political judgment, most of them Democrats, occasionally a sinner or so that needed a little redemption. [Applause.]

And I am happy to note that along the line we felt that at least if we didn't make a convert we shook them up a bit.

Tonight we have been with a large group of our friends in California. [Bursting of balloon.]

That was the Goldwater bubble just bursting back there. [Laughter].

We were at a splendid dinner at San Francisco and then to come here to this enthusiastic meeting of this great assembly here in Alameda County in Oakland, well, this is the kind of an evening or kind of an event that tops off a wonderful day and makes you know that the Democratic Party is in good hands, it is filled up with California vitamins, it is bound to win, and I suggest that we get on with the job of getting that victory tucked under our belt on November 3 when we elect Lyndon Johnson President of the United States.

You had some wonderful entertainment tonight. I regret we weren't able to be here to see it and hear it but were indebted to Milton Berle, Allen Sherman, Barbara McNair, these gracious and generous people that help us all along the way, and I want them to know once again even though they are not with us at this moment, having had to go to their work, I want them to know how much we appreciate this generous giving of talent, this generous giving of self.

I am delighted also this evening that this audience has demonstrated once again the great affection that it has for the man that is standing shoulder to shoulder with Senator Salinger in this campaign, and may I say the only way to win elections is to stand shoulder to shoulder, working together as a team, forgetting the yesterdays, working on the todays, planning for the tomorrows, beating the Republicans and that is exactly what Alan Cranston is trying to do with Pierre Salinger. [Applause.]

Alan is a long-time friend of mine, and I must say that when I see these two men working together as they are, it is an inspiring sight to me, and it should guarantee the victory that Pierre Salinger so richly and justly deserves in order to serve this State with that amazing ability that is his. Give this man your help. [Applause.]

By the way when I left Washington, President Johnson reminded me to remind you, to remind every person that would be within the range of my voice, that to elect a President is only part of the struggle, and part of the program. A President without a Congress is a President without a program. And President Johnson is going to need in that Congress not only a man like Pierre Salinger who has had the confidence and the love and the trust of the late and beloved President Kennedy and now our President Johnson, but he is [applause] but President Johnson is also going to need back in the Congress this veteran of many, many years of congressional service, this dean of the delegation of northern California, this personal friend of ours, George Miller, your own Congressman. [Applause.]

And he is going to need Jeff Cohelan and I want to make it crystal clear that he is going to need this very bright and courageous and daring young man that has been serving so well in this first term Don Edwards. [Applause.]

There are others in this area but surely these men deserve your unqualified support.

I am pleased that members of the assembly are with us this evening. I have been visiting here on the platform and I know that you are going to see to it that the Speaker pro tem, Mr. Bee, and John Hondahl and our friend Nick Petros are returned, and I noticed a sign up there that said, "Welcome Senator Hubert Humphrey and Byron Rumford."

I miss my friend Byron tonight and I want to wish him well.

Well, it is good to be in Oakland, I will tell you it is good to be here.

You know I came to the Golden West and everywhere I find this Democratic enthusiasm and happiness that is so evident here tonight. I sometimes feel that we are a little selfish. We have so much enthusiasm, we have so much happiness and that other crowd has so much misery. Sometimes I think we ought to share it. [Laughter and applause.]



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Then as I think about our happiness and our enthusiasm, I can't help but let my mind reflect upon that gathering of Republicans here in the bay area earlier this summer and when I think about it I guess I begin to understand more about what happened.

Three months ago, thousands of Republicans from all over America rushed to San Francisco, looking for political gold, and what did they get? They got Senator Goldwater. [Boos and hisses.]

No, no, cheers but no boos. Three months ago Republicans came to this convention in San Francisco in search of a political platform, and what did they get? They got Senator Goldwater.

Three months ago the Republicans came to San Francisco to try to pick a winning presidential candidate, and what did they get? They got Senator Goldwater. [Cries of "Senator Goldwater."]

There was a time my dear friends, when GOP stood for Grand Old Party, but over in San Francisco they changed it. It now stands for "Goldwater's Our Problem." [Applause.]

And since that time in San Francisco we have all seen what has happened. Republicans who have always voted a straight party ticket have bolted Goldwater, and many newspapers, many of them throughout America which have always been Republican, including the Saturday Evening Post, now spurn him. Republican Governors and Senators and other office holders, like the Governor of Michigan, Mr. Romney, are willing to introduce him but not endorse him, and some Republicans like Senator Keating of New York deny that they are even running on the same ticket.

Well, after watching his recent performances, and I am sure some of you have, in which the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the fraction of the Republican Party [applause] after watching his performances, to see the spokesman missing cues, muffing his lines, plays to a rapidly emptying Republican house, I think I have discovered a new principle of American politics, and this principle needs to go down in the textbooks of American Government.

The principle is Goldwater seeks its own level. [Applause.]

It only runs downhill—[applause]—and this shouldn't be a matter of any wonder, for the Senator is a backward-looking man. He wants to retreat. He forsakes the present, and he favors a mythical past. He wants to build the America which he thinks existed before the gold rush, and that in a word is why there is no rush for Goldwater. [Applause.]

Now, my fellow Americans, it is tradition in campaigns, in every campaign, to look ahead for the next 4 years, but in 1964 this would be downright shortsighted. The problems which beset us in 1964 and our responses to those problems will shape America not just for the next 4 years, but well may shape America for the next half century, and few problems in America are any more critical than the challenge which you see right here in the bay area, which you see all over California, which you see in practically every populous State of this Republic.

It is the challenge of the urban frontier, or should we call it the vertical frontier. The fact of the matter is that the good old simple America that the gentleman from Arizona talks about is on those western TV films but it is not in reality. The America that is here is not Dodge City and it isn't Wyatt Earp, but the America that is here is San Francisco and Oakland.

It is the bay area, it is Los Angeles, it is New York, it is Chicago and it is an urbanized America.

Now, President Johnson—[applause]—and the Democratic Party recognize this and we bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting this challenge of urban America, the America where you live and work.

The leader of the Goldwater faction brings only his usual record of retreat, of reaction, and of regression. His answer is always the same. Maybe it is the same because he does not comprehend the problem, but nevertheless—[applause]—but nevertheless it is always the same. The answer to the problem is "No, no, a thousand times no."

But I have said sometimes we maybe ought not to be too critical of this gentleman because it has been said of him, and I believe with a certain degree of authenticity, that his calendar has no months, his watch has no hands, and his glasses have no lenses. [Applause.]

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Now, if that is the case, one should not expect the gentleman to have any perspective of the past or the future, nor should one expect vision. In this election, though, Americans have a right, and Americans have a responsibility to ask certain questions.

Will our next President understand the mammoth task that we face in rebuilding our cities as a part of this great America and of the vision and the promise of our President of a Great Society?

By 1980 the college enrollment of this country will be doubled. We will have to build more classrooms in our colleges in the next 30 years than we have built in the last 300.

By 1980, America's population will be over 275 million. There will be one solid city from Boston to Washington, D.C., of over 90 million people. This is the kind of an America that a President must visualize, not the America of the covered wagon and the trail across the desert, not the America of the simple life, of the rugged frontiersman, but the America of electronics, the America of the supersonic plane, the America of the vast teeming cities, the America that is double the size of population of this country in less than 40 years.

And I think we have a right to ask our presidential candidates, "What do you think about it? What are your plans?"

Will our next President understand that between 1960 and 2000, just 40 years, we must build the equivalent, we must build the equivalent 3000 cities of not less than 50,000 population each, just to absorb our population increase?

Will our next President understand and comprehend the urgency of preparing America for the problems of the year 2000 when over four-fifths of all Americans, 400 million of them, will reside in cities like Oakland and San Francisco?

Will our President know that we can only solve these problems associated with this population expansion and this population shift to the cities by the active cooperation and partnership of the Federal Government, the State government the local and city authorities.

How our next President answers these questions, my fellow Americans, these serious questions, not these easy soft ones, but the tough hard questions, I think will determine in a large measure what kind of an America that we are going to have the next 50 years.

And if we don't think about the next 50 years now, it will have gone by so fast that we will have lost the opportunity to mold our future.

Now, no problem to me is more challenging and none is more frustrating than seeking to transform our great urban areas which have grown up, many of them without rhyme or reason, without plan or design, to transform these and to change them into pleasant rewarding communities of work, of recreation, and family living.

And I say to this audience tonight in this great bay area of California, an area that is teeming with growth, an area of vitality and of great production, I say that this task of facing the future which ought to be talked about in this campaign requires Government action, and it requires cooperation between Government and industry, between Government and labor, between Government and universities.

It requires the best brains that we can bring to bear upon the issue and if we don't start now we will have missed the opportunity of our lives to make our lives worthwhile. [Applause.]

I am particularly pleased that this audience has a number of college students, and I say this—[applause]—and I say this, that while there is all this obvious and evident useful enthusiasm, there is also a quality of enlightenment and of intellect which indeed is the hope of this country, and I think these young people know full well that whenever a man is incapable, unable or incapable of answering a problem he turns to name calling. It is the last argument or the last refuge of a political defeatist, and I hear—[applause]—and I hear today, yesterday and I imagine that we will hear tomorrow, shouts of "socialism," "soft on communism," "ADA," one thing after another, but the interesting thing to me, and I think young people ought to ask these questions out loud, "What are your answers, Mr. Goldwater, to the problems that face this Nation?" We know your name-calling technique, we know the words that you can say and these words of "socialism," and "soft on communism" are as old as Nixon, and may I say as defeated as him.

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The modern American, the American that you and I know, the real live one, is a metropolitan man, and he is blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic, and referring back to the Founding Fathers will not design a new city.

They did well for their time, and they laid down fundamental principles of government that guide us well, but we in our time are also expected to do our thinking. Our capacity to meet this new challenge of the metropolis, of Oakland, of San Francisco, of a Los Angeles, will decide whether we can deal successfully with the real hard problems of our age, the problems of race relations, of employment opportunities, of air and water pollution, of policing and crime detection, of crowded schools and hospitals, of degrading slums, and the absence of open spaces for recreation.

And even the ordinary logistics of just plain everyday living, how to get back and forth from work, where to park your car, these problems alone would be enough, and I think they necessitate the attention of thoughtful people. But even as we try to adapt our private and governmental organizations to serving this modern metropolitan plan we confront or are confronted by antiquated local tax structures, wasteful and overlapping agencies of State and local government, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the whole tradition of just doing nothing, inertia.

Now, these problems are critical, and these complexities are urgent because most of us today live in cities, and many more of us tomorrow will live there. So, I say that we must, in short, plan for a reverse, a renaissance of the metropolis.

In recent years we have made determined effort to begin this renaissance, and let me cite that record.

In 1958, most Americans, I would say most Senators, voted to increase funds for Federal loans to communities, to plan for the new city and for public facilities, most Senators could see far enough ahead to know that something needed to be done, and voted for the funds—but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

In 1959 most Senators, seeing the growth of population of our cities, the tremendous demands upon the health facilities, sanitation facilities of our cities, voted to increase Federal assistance for sewer plant construction and urban renewal—but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

In 1959 most Senators voted against a cut in the house authority and in another vote in the Senate they voted to increase the total number of public housing units because of the need for decent housing for low-income groups—but not Senator Goldwater.

In 1961, most Senators voted for President Kennedy's landmark comprehensive housing act that was designed to fulfill the goals of the housing program laid down in 1949, but not Senator Goldwater.

And in 1963 most Senators supported a bill in the Senate to provide urban mass transit program—but not Senator Goldwater.

And finally, in 1964, most Senators voted for expanding our housing programs, and voted on final passage to adopt the urban mass transportation act—but not Senator Goldwater.

In fact, he never even showed up. He was still in his covered wagon. [Applause.]

Now, here is the record of a man that asks to be President, President of a country that no longer is, because his country in his vision is a page in history, and now let me cite to you the record of a party and a President that lives in the current day, and has vision for the future, the record of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and a Democratic Congress. [Applause.]

That record includes the mass transportation program, it includes the open spaces program for urban areas; it includes expanded low rent housing, increased Federal assistance for local urban planning, expanded housing for our elderly, college dormitories for our young, a humanized urban renewal program, moderate income rental housing, increased housing starts in every category, and a comprehensive antipoverty program that is designed to strike blows at the roots of poverty in our great cities.

This is the program of a Democratic administration. [Applause.]

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But is this enough, and our answer to that is no. Much more remains to be done. I think it is obvious that we need a Cabinet level Department of Urban Affairs. A nation that has a Department of Agriculture with 15 percent of its people living on farms surely ought to have a Department of Urban Affairs where 85 percent of its people live in cities. [Applause.]

And those cities of the future must be designed well and planned, and those cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality, life in an interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, calls for wisdom, calls for tolerance. Those cities of the future must provide access to an abundant cultural life, opportunity to enjoy a full life.

Yes; those cities of the future must provide employment opportunities which challenge every man's hands, and brain and satisfy the human need for constructive effort, and those cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slum which regrettably is a mark of American cities, but also the ugliness of intolerance, create not only [applause] those cities of the future must create not only the beauty of design but even more importantly the beauty of spirit, and those cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life.

Now, this mammoth task ought to be talked about in this campaign, and this mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage that we can muster, and I suggest that rather than reviewing the pages of ancient history that we must begin now on the job that is set before us and we must use every resource at our command, and I am also convinced that on November 3, because these tasks remain to be done, and because there is a future ahead of us worthy of us, if we but will it and work for it, that on November 3 the people of the great State of California as well as the other 49 States of this Republic will return Lyndon Johnson to the White House. [Applause.]

And they will return him to the White House not merely because his administration has been characterized by responsibility in matters of national security and foreign policy, not merely because he has shown a unique capacity to translate ideals and policies into programs and legislative achievements, but because he also has the ability to lead us in the Herculean task of mastering the challenges of the American metropolis.

I ask, my fellow Democrats here tonight, to dedicate themselves to this election as they have never done anything before. I say this because the tasks that we seek to perform in the years ahead are tasks that were outlined for us by a President that never had a chance to finish his work. [Applause.]

John Kennedy served his Nation well. John Kennedy gave America 1,000 days of the most exciting, exhilarating, and courageous leadership that this Nation has ever known. [Applause.]

President John Kennedy thought enough of his America to make sure that if anything should happen to him that there would be somebody by his side that could take up the torch, that could carry on, and that could continue the efforts which had been so nobly begun, and that man is now President of the United States.

I suggest to my friends, particularly the youth of this Nation, that you make this election a living memorial to the man that inspired you, that you make this election a living tribute to the life and to the works and the deeds of a fallen President, and I suggest that you conduct yourself in such a manner throughout this campaign that whatever may be the outcome, that you can honestly say that the battle was cleanly fought, that we did it with dignity, and that we carried on with honor, and I am sure if we do this, if we pledge ourselves now to the struggle of winning this campaign with honor and with dignity and with dedication, that our efforts will not be in vain, and that on November 3 the American people will once again respond to the challenge of an idealism, to the challenge, if you please, of a vision for a better America, and when they do that, they are going to send to the U.S. Senate a man like Pierre Salinger from California, and to the White House Lyndon Johnson.

Thank you. [Applause.]

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Article

Press release from Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
October 3, 1964

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, OAKLAND, CALIF.

The problems which beset us in 1964—and our responses to them—will shape American not just for the next 4 years, but for the entire next half century.

And few problems in America are more critical than the challenge of the urban frontier—the “Vertical Frontier.”

President Johnson and the Democratic Party bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting the challenge of urban America. The leader of the Goldwater factor brings only his usual record of retreat, reaction, and regression. His answer is always the same “No, no, a thousand times no.”

This is the record the American people must evaluate in relation to the one established by the Kennedy-Johnson administration and a Democratic Congress. Enactment of programs for mass transportation and open spaces in urban areas. Expanded low rent public housing, increased Federal assistance for local urban renewal planning, expanded housing for the elderly, a humanized urban renewal program, moderate income rental housing, increasing housing starts, and a comprehensive antipoverty program stressing local community action.

San Francisco, Calif.

National Association of Retail Druggists  
October 4, 1965

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

I am here tonight in a dual capacity—as an old friend who has met with you many times, and as a candidate for Vice President of the United States.

These circumstances remind me of the time President Lincoln visited his Secretary of War and left his stovepipe hat on a chair in the reception room. When Lincoln returned he discovered that a rather large woman had sat down on the chair—and his hat. The woman rose from the chair, bowed to the President, who paused briefly to bow in return. Then Lincoln picked up the remnants of his stovepipe and shaking his head sadly, said, “Madam, I could have told you my hat wouldn’t fit before you tried it on.”

But I believe I do fit with my many friends from the National Association of Retail Druggists and I am overjoyed to be with you this evening.

You are all independent retailers. But you are also small businessmen. So I would like to make some observations tonight relating to the concerns of retailers and small businessmen in general.

Today you are doing business under some of the most favorable economic conditions in our history.

Our economy is growing and has produced an unprecedented gross national product of \$625 billion per year.

Corporate profits after taxes are up \$10 billion since 1961.

Federal taxes have been reduced by \$11.5 billion.

New schedules of depreciation have been developed for the business community.

Tax credits for capital investments have been enacted.

Weekly wages for the average factory worker have risen from \$89 in 1961 to \$103 today.

Unemployment has fallen from almost 7 percent in 1961 to an average of 5 percent in recent months.

Wholesale prices are slightly below the 1961 average.

These developments can only produce the following results: more jobs, more customers, better products, greater demand, and—at the end of the month—more profits.

As the overall economy goes, so goes small business. Your collective share in the prosperity of the past 43 months has been enormous. And I hope and trust this has been true for each of you individually.

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And—for the first time in recent history—the success of small business achieved top priority in our agenda of national goals. President Kennedy proclaimed this policy in 1961:

This administration is determined to insure a strong, diversified foundation of healthy, small firms to expand the markets for American enterprise; to preserve a system of free and open competition; and to develop constructive policies and programs in behalf of the small business community.

What a contrast to the attitude which prevailed in the previous administration. Do you remember the famous letter sent in August 1959 from the Small Business Administrator to all regional directors? I quote:

\* \* \* Do what we can to moderate demands for credit from the Government \* \* \*. We should ——— off any activity that tends to attract applicants or encourage program expansion.

And this directive was followed, in the midst of a recession, small business loans dropped by 50 percent within a short time.

President Kennedy changed this approach to the problems of small business. He established a White House Committee on Small Business with one sole purpose: to help small businessmen compete successfully in the American economy.

He charged the Small Business Administration to work actively in behalf of small businessmen. And SBA has done a remarkable job:

Loans under SBA's loan program have risen to \$1.1 billion during the last 3½ years. The previous administration granted only \$727 million in the comparable period.

SBIC's have made available \$500 million in loans to 10,000 small businesses.

Management training programs, so vital to the small businessman, have tripled in enrollment in the last 3½ years.

Small business set-aside contracts have more than doubled in the last 3½ years. In fact, President Kennedy in one of his first actions as President, directed that the share of defense contracts set aside for small business should be increased by 10 percent.

Antitrust enforcement has been used as an instrument to encourage healthy competition between large and small firms.

The new SCORE (Service Corps of Retired Executives) program enlists retired executives to provide management assistance to small business without charge.

The 1964 tax cut reduced tax liabilities for corporations earning \$25,000 or less by an estimated 27 percent.

And I believe the results demonstrate clearly the wisdom of these policies.

Business failures, for example, have decreased from 17,000 in 1961 to 14,000 in 1963. This reduction is encouraging. But the 14,000 business failures last year also demonstrate that small businessmen and the American economy face a time of unparalleled challenge. Will we be able to maintain a rising level of prosperity—and a stable level of prices?

Will we be able to maintain record profits for our businesses—and record wages for our workers?

Will we be able to reduce unemployment to more acceptable levels—and find work for the millions of young men and women entering the labor market every year?

Will we be able to compete successfully with the challenges of automation in our plants, technological changes in our economy, and increasing competition from the nations beyond our shores? You know, and I know, that your own problems are not over. The 1960's and 1970's will test your ability to respond to the changing pattern of our economy as you have never been tested before.

You face the threat of the shopping center—or its opportunity; the hazards of urban renewal—or its promise. You must wrestle with the intricacies of the Robinson-Patman Act, and walk the slippery tightrope of joint and cooperative advertising.

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But it is a law of nature that challenge produces opportunity—opportunity to grow, to expand, to capitalize on the continuing rise in our national prosperity, to carve out of an ever-changing economy the niche which is ever reserved for the enterprising man.

That opportunity is what the Democratic Party offers you in 1964. What do we promise you in this election year?

What we do not, and will not promise, is the quick and simple solution—for history teaches that those who offer the easy answers are likely to be those who do not understand the questions.

What we do not promise is contrived remedies—like an inflexible 5-year program of tax cuts, which takes into account neither the facts of today nor the unknowns of tomorrow—for we know that the wrong medicine is worse than none at all.

What we do not promise is guaranteed success—for we know that the taking of a risk is inherent in a free enterprise economy.

And finally, what we do not promise is a society in which the decisions are made for the people, rather than by the people—for we know that, as President Johnson recently told a group of small businessmen meeting with him at the White House: "Today, in this land of yours and mine, the future of our system and our society is being determined not here in this city, not in this house, not on Capitol Hill. The quality of the America your children and mine will know is being determined in the communities where Americans live and where you lead."

What we do offer you is opportunity—that priceless gift which no totalitarian state can afford to grant to its citizens—that right without which all our other liberties are as naught—the opportunity "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield"—to build for yourselves and your families a secure today and a promising tomorrow.

What we do offer you is our record—a consistent record of support for the goals and objectives of small business.

Lyndon Johnson has always fought for stronger antitrust laws and for their vigorous enforcement. He supported the formation of the Small Business Administration in 1953; he backed legislation which made SBA a permanent agency; he sponsored the Small Business Investment Act; and he insisted on the special provisions of the recent tax cut according especially favorable treatment to small firms.

Compare that to the record of Senator Goldwater, who has consistently voted against legislation vital to the small business community and to the economy—and who vigorously asserts that a man making \$5,000 a year should pay taxes at the same rate as a man making \$5 million a year.

And finally, we offer you our hands, our heart, and our ears. In a society where so many voices are raised so insistently in their own behalf, the lonely, sometimes inarticulate voice of the small businessman is in danger of being stifled. I give you my solemn pledge that we will hear your voice.

I have offered a resolution in the Senate calling upon the President to convene a White House Conference on Small Business shortly after the inauguration in early 1965, called for the purpose of making a special, top-level study of the problems of small business. If the Senate adopts it—and if a receptive President is in the White House at the time—I am confident that your industry, and your views, will be given prominent and careful consideration. President Johnson recently welcomed a group of small businessmen to the White House with these words: "This is your house."

I know of no more eloquent way to express the attitude and beliefs of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey.

Thank you.

San Francisco, Calif.  
Hilton Hotel  
October 4, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, President Perkins. You launched me with such rapidity that I am not at all sure I can stay in orbit. [Laughter.]

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I am deeply grateful to the president of this great association for his introduction, and for the honor that has been accorded me of just coming by to say a few words to very dear and good friends and to at least once again before I can get back to Minnesota to shake hands with some of my fellow Minnesotans who are here, fortunately if not in the largest numbers, at least in the best of quality.

And I am delighted to see my old friend and your very able executive director and secretary, Willard Simmons, on hand. Willard is doing a great job for you. [Applause.]

He always has a smile on his face. I guess that is one of the reasons he makes me feel so good most of the time. I sure thank you, Willard, for all of your kindness. And I want to also take this moment to thank my young friend in Washington who is so diligent and so attentive to his duties for this association that he ought to be getting a gold star or something and that is Phil Jehle.

I gather most of you know there is a little event taking place known as a national election, and if perchance during the moment's, the evening's proceeding, I shall occasionally make a partisan reference it is because I intended to, it isn't by accident.

I also want to thank at this time the many members of the National Committee of Pharmacists that have been so willing and generous, willing to serve and generous in their efforts, the Committee for Johnson and Humphrey. I hope you are very, very successful. It would mean a great deal to all of us. [Applause.]

I am here tonight in a dual capacity. I am here as an old friend who has attended so many NARD conventions that I hesitate to keep tabs on them any more, it keeps revealing how long I have been in political life and how long I have been in pharmacy, but it is good to see those old friends.

And I am also here tonight in another role, the first time I have been able to appear before you as a candidate. Of course, in Minnesota I appear before the boys and girls out there, the men and the ladies, as a candidate and they take me in stride, some are for me and some aren't, and I gather that is the way it generally adds up.

But tonight as an old friend and as a candidate for Vice President of the United States, these circumstances reminded me of a story which I jotted down so that I can portray it to you somewhat accurately about the time President Lincoln visited with the Secretary of War and left his stovepipe hat on a chair in the reception room, and when Lincoln returned he discovered that a rather large woman had sat down on the chair and on his hat. The woman rose from the chair, she bowed to the President who paused briefly to bow in return. Then Lincoln picked up the remnants of his stovepipe, and shaking his head sadly said, "Madam, I could have told you my hat wouldn't fit before you tried it on." [Applause.]

Well, if I may use that story as a point of departure, I believe that I do fit with my friends of the National Association of Retail Druggists and I am overjoyed to try you on and I am overjoyed to be here with you this evening. [Applause.]

Many times in my visits with you, either as a group, an organization, or individually, I have encouraged this organization and its members to take an even greater interest in the affairs of government. It is quite commonplace for us in America to be critical of government, and in a sense that is part of the responsibility of citizenship and of democracy.

But it is even more important that we understand government and not merely be critical, because to be critical may be to criticize without knowledge, but to understand it and to understand government, I think gives you the kind of power, the kind of influence, that a great organization such as the NARD ought to have, and I know many of you have interested yourselves in your respective communities in government policy, in your local government, in your State governments, in your State legislatures. I know my friend Henry Moen who is here tonight from my home State has been very active in my State government and very actively successful in promoting the best interests of the healing arts and of pharmacy, and at the same time protecting the public welfare and the general welfare.



## HE - LINO - 238

Therefore, I talk to you tonight as people who ought to have a continuing interest in every aspect of government. That includes our national security, our foreign policy, our fiscal policies, the many domestic policies of government, and let's lay it right on the line, there isn't ever going to be a time in your lifetime that there will be less government.

People that tell you that deceive either you or themselves, and if they deceive themselves that is pardonable, but to deceive others knowingly is not.

This is a growing country, and it is going to get bigger, it is going to have more problems, and it is going to have more demands, and there isn't any way that a country that grows as rapidly as this one, that has as many problems as this one will have in the future, and now has, that you can actually substantially reduce what we call the total government of the country.

That doesn't necessarily mean only Washington. I had hoped tonight if I had the time to share with you some very interesting statistics. Most people are of the view that our Government at the Federal level has grown by leaps and bounds. The simple truth is that since 1946 local government has grown four times as fast in revenues expended, in personnel, as the Federal Government, despite the Federal Government has had to be in charge of our national defense and national security.

Today over 70 percent of all of the money collected by the Federal Government is spent on security either for wars that have been fought or for defense in the hope that we do not have to fight, and another 10 percent is expended upon the care of those who were in those wars.

So, I think it is fair to say that government is here to stay, and it doesn't do very much good to abuse it. It does a whole lot better to understand it and try to improve it.

So, starting with that as a base, and I think this base is needed, because I occasionally hear noises that indicate to me this somehow or another there are those that believe that you can more or less just dissolve the Government, you can't, and you won't and you know it and you ought not to fool yourself any more than you can quit operating your own business if you really want to stay in business.

It just doesn't make sense.

Now, you are independent retailers with few exceptions in this group. You are businessmen, independent businessmen, some people say small businessmen. It is rather difficult to know where you draw that line. So, I would like to make a few observations tonight relating to the concerns of the retailer and the businessman and his Government.

Now, let me make it crystal clear, Government does have a direct bearing upon what you do and what you do not do, and the task, it seems, of a man in Government is to try to be of some help to see that the Government does not do more than it ought to do and does not do less than the public interest requires it to do.

Today you are doing business under some of the most favorable economic conditions in our history, and also under some of the most challenging and changing conditions in our history. Our economy is growing, and it is growing rapidly. As a matter of fact, the American economy is growing more rapidly now than any other country in the world, which was not the case a few years ago.

It has produced an unprecedented gross national product, which is the sum total of all the goods and services, public and private, and it is running at the rate of over \$625 billion a year.

May I digress to say that this is only a beginning. When I come back to speak to you 4 years from now you are going to say to me, "Why, I can remember when you were talking about an economy that was creeping along at \$625 billion," because I predict that before the year 1975 we will be doing a trillion dollars a year, and maybe more.

The trouble with many people is they can't even seem to understand that things change. They can't seem to understand that people still have children, they can't seem to understand that people still want to buy cars and homes.

May I just drive a point home. This country is going to double itself in the next 30 years, double its population.

Now, that is a minimum that will happen, and according to some of the youngsters I see nowadays and the size of their family they may set new records. [Laughter.]

## HE - LINO - 239

And I am not against it. There is a lot of room in this country. As a matter of fact, the population increase is good for the baby talcum business and a few other items. [Laughter.]

Now, corporate profits after taxes are up over \$10 billion net since 1961. We have the highest corporate profit level in the history of this Republic. We have the highest rate of dividend rates. The stock market is at an all-time high. We are moving, and there isn't any reason to believe that it won't get better. Federal taxes this past year have been reduced by \$11½ billion. Next year that tax reduction will maybe be from \$12 to \$13 billion, just on the basis of the percentage reduction, and by the way, next year we intend to repeal as a commitment of this administration, the excise taxes on retail items. [Applause.]

Some of you were a little disappointed in me that I didn't vote for it this past year. I was a little unhappy myself. But my task was to get through the \$11½ billion tax bill, and I want to tell you one thing I have learned, don't overload the elevator. It gets caught in between floors, and don't overload a tax bill in Congress, it gets caught between committees, and you would be surprised how big the crack is in the floor sometimes and it can fall right down in the middle, and the job of a responsible leader in the Congress is to know how far you can go, and not go further than that. That is what we call responsibility.

You can pretend that you want to go much further and if you are lucky enough you may get somebody to go much further but the other fellow in the other House decides you have gone too far and the whole thing falls out, no progress. That is one of the lessons Hubert Humphrey learned. You have to pace yourself, you have to know how far you can go and still bring people along with you, otherwise you will be running out in front so far that you will be unable to find those that you were supposed to lead. It is a lonesome existence. I tried that a couple of times. [Laughter.]

One other thing we have done, new schedules of depreciation have been developed for the business communities. This Senator speaking to you helped develop those. I worked with the Treasury Department on that; tax credits for capital investments have been enacted and some of you have shared in those tax credits. It has been very helpful, that bill. I supported it.

Weekly wages for the average factory worker have risen from \$89 in 1961 to \$103 today and that doesn't hurt any retailer. I always go back to what my father taught me. He said, "Son, we are not a bit more prosperous when the customer comes through the door. When they are doing well and if we have got any salesmanship we are doing well. When they are not doing well, it doesn't make any difference how much salesmanship you have got, you are not doing very well."

Very simple lesson, basic economics.

Unemployment has fallen, and it has dropped from 7 percent now to below 5 percent, in this age of automation and the change of, employment of, people it is not too bad but it needs to be better. Wholesale prices are slightly below the 1961 average.

Now, these are good indexes, these are good signs of the economy. These signs show health, progress, growth, expansion, and it is on this base that we build. There isn't any use of spending much time telling you how good it is because this is like trying to tell your youngsters about the depression. They are not really interested. What really we need to talk about is how good is it going to be, because it has to be even better than it is.

But I say that these developments can only produce the following results: more jobs, more customers, better products, greater demands, and at the end of the month, with careful management and it takes a lot of that, better profits.

Now, as the overall economy goes, so goes small business. Your collective share in the prosperity of this Nation for the last 43 months of continuous growth, continuous expansion, has been enormous, and by the way, my fellow Americans, never in the history of this Republic have we had 43 consecutive months wherein each month the figures of production and of profit and business were better than the month before, never before. This is the first time we have ever had it.

## HE - LINO - 240

I hope and trust that this prosperity that has been enjoyed by the whole economy has been shared in somewhat individually by you. For the first time in our history the success of small business achieved a priority in our agenda of national goals which was stated in 1961 by the late and beloved President Kennedy and I want to make it clear, very clear, that the statement that I am about to read continues to be the policy of the Johnson administration, and will be the policy of the Johnson-Humphrey administration if that develops, and I am kind of hopeful that it will.

Now, this administration, and I read the statement, this administration is determined to insure a strong diversified foundation of healthy small firms, to expand markets for American enterprise, to preserve a system of free and open competition, and to develop constructive policies and programs in behalf of the small business community.

That is the policy statement of this Government, and it is exactly what we are going to adhere to.

By the way, I digress to say I wish people would call what is happening in America—would quit calling what is presently happening in American socialism. I have been to some of these socialistic countries and they have never had anything like this in their lives and I don't think we ought to go around advertising to the world that if you want to see what socialism is, look at the United States.

This is really doing the enemy a great service and doing ourselves an injustice, and yet I hear constantly even responsible business people talking about as if this country was going socialistic.

Now, that is a lot of bunk, and everybody knows it. There are more free enterprises in America tonight than ever before in our history, many more. [Applause.]

And may I add that there are more individual bank accounts tonight than ever before in our history; there are more stock ownerships tonight than ever before in our history; there are more dividend checks tonight by individuals than ever before in our history; there are more profits than ever before in our history.

Why do people talk about socialism? What kind of nonsense is this?

It is one thing, I repeat, to deceive yourselves, but to deceive others is unpardonable, and yet I found people, I regret to say, who go around believing this. Our drugstore still operates and it has not been socialized one bit. As a matter of fact, it has been so individualized my brother won't even let me claim any ownership in it. [Applause and laughter.]

Now, for some poor, misguided politician to talk about socialism, that is all right. You can forgive him, because you can get rid of him. But for any businessman that is enjoying the fruits of this economy, that is enjoying the prosperity that this country has, to say that this country has gone socialistic—that either shows he is a fool, or he is deliberately indulging in falsehood, and I don't think that either one is the kind of a standard that American business ought to embrace.

Thank goodness, most business people don't believe that. But every once in a while, while I am out in the campaign route, I will hear, "Do you want socialism?" as if who does. I am the biggest capitalist of them all.

As a matter of fact, I want more of it. My only complaint is that it took me too long to get what I have got, and I think that is the way most of us feel.

Now, President Kennedy and President Johnson have charged the Small Business Administration to work actively and to work in behalf of the small businessmen, and I want to say that a man from my home State is in charge of that organization now—Mr. Eugene Foley—and he is as filled up with private enterprise of the American system as you can possibly get, and he is a good man, and he is working hard, and I think SBA is doing a remarkable job.

Loans under SBA are repayable loans; there are no gifts. All this nonsense about how much the Government is dishing out for nothing—I have been around in Washington 16 years, and I never found anybody getting anything for nothing yet. You generally pay for it, one way or another, and SBA loans at going rates.

## HE - LINO - 241

The SBA loan program has risen to \$1,100 million, during the last 3½ years. The previous administration granted only \$727 million in a comparable period, and may I say that the purpose of the bank is to loan money. That is the way you make money. You don't make it by sitting on it, and the SBA is a bank. [Applause.]

And may I further add that the SBA doesn't make loans unless they are participating loans. They are working in cooperation between the American Bankers Association, the Independent Bankers Association, the SBA is one of the most heartening things in our country. So, we are working together, not government doing it, but government and the private institutions hand in hand, building and helping make a better America.

Loans under SBA's loan program also include the Small Business Investment Corporation, which has made available over \$500 million of loans to 10,000 small businesses.

Then there are management training programs, and the enrollment has tripled in the last 3½ years, and in the areas of manufacturing, small business set-aside contracts have more than doubled in the last 3½ years, and antitrust enforcement has been used as an instrument to encourage healthy competition between large and small firms. I wrote an article here some months ago for Look magazine, and I said the Government is not against big business, because you need big business, and we know that.

It is kind of foolish for people running around the country talking about big business as if it was a mortal enemy. What we need, however, is a policy on the part of Government that is procompetition, not merely that of being the policeman or trying to push somebody down, but of trying to establish standards so that people who have something on the ball, people who want to work, who have management skill, who have the capacity to do something, that those people can live in a competitive society under fair standards of competition, and this is what this organization has fought for all the way down the line—fair competitive practices, and that is what this administration is committed to. [Applause.]

Some of you are familiar with what we call SCORE—or the Service Corps of Retired Executives. This is a program that enlists men of real competence, retired now, to provide management assistance to small businesses without charge.

In 1964, the tax cut bill reduced tax liabilities for small-sized corporations earning \$25,000 or less by an estimated 27 percent so that those businesses could plow back into their business more of the capital, retain their capital, reinvest the capital that they earned.

Now, I believe the results demonstrates clearly the wisdom of these policies. Business failures, for example, are decreasing substantially. The reduction is encouraging but business failures last year also demonstrate that the independent or small businessman in the American economy face a time of unequalled challenge.

Here are some of the challenges as I see them. Will we be able to maintain a rising level of prosperity, and at the same time a stable level of prices? We have done very well so far. As a matter of fact, my fellow Americans, not one country on the face of the earth in these postwar years has been able to curb inflation as well as the United States of America, and none of them in the last 5 years have even come close to equaling us.

So, when I hear about the wonders of Germany or of Belgium or of France or something else, that is storybook philosophy. The truth is that your country and your economy has provided the most solid base of security on investment and return on investment of any country in the world. We ought to be proud of it. [Applause.]

Will we be able to maintain the record profits for our businesses, the record wages for our workers? Will we be able to reduce the level of unemployment to more acceptable levels, and at the same time, my friends, to meet the problem that I now mentioned?

For the foreseeable future this economy must provide not less than 300,000 new jobs every month, the equivalent of the manufacturing division of General Motors every single month.

That means over 3 million new jobs every year. That is just to take care of the population increase and some of the effects of automation, 80,000 new jobs every week. I think this is something that ought to be talked about in this campaign.



## HE - LINO - 242

One of the things that has bothered me about this whole election period is there has been an awful lot of shouting, a lot of name calling, but when are we going to get down to talking about what we do about some of the basic problems, the growth of our cities, when 400 million people will be living in America in the year 2000 or 1990 or 280 million people will be here in the year 1980, when there will be one solid city from Boston to Washington of 90 million people?

No countryside, just one city inevitable. When are we going to get down to talking about how you are going to meet the impact of automation which is just taking its first bite; 300,000 or more jobs every month for the next 10 years, this is no small task, and that is why you have to have fiscal policies and tax policies and investment policies, encouragement by Government in cooperation with industry so that we can meet these needs and you don't get it by looking back to the good old days.

I am so fed up with that and it is running out of my ears. What was so good about those good old days? [Applause.]

I wish some of us when we would go home tonight would just ask ourselves, what was so good about them? What I remember about the good old days, nobody could pay their taxes, I lived through the depression, at least I want to say since 1930 and that gives us 34 years, I don't think there have ever been better days than you are looking at right now, none at all. [Applause.]

Then when I heard my grandfather tell about it, he was a country man, a good honest man, very, very honest, he wouldn't even buy coffee. They used to grind up barley, back in those cold country days in the Dakota plains.

What was so good about those? Ask your relatives and your grandfathers and grandmothers and ask how good it was.

My gracious, it is plenty good now. When I went to the university hardly anybody had a car. Now, you have got to build parking lots before you build university buildings. [Applause.] [Laughter.]

So, I can't quite get as excited about those good old days as some folks talk about. If they were so good why did they have to work so hard, I have often wondered?

He wanted his son to go to college and he used to tell me, "The reason I want you to go, son, is to have it better than I did," and his father before him encouraged him to become a druggist so he would have it better than grandpa had it.

Grandpa left the East so he could come West and have it better in the West than the East. The folks who came over on the *Mayflower* came over here so they could have it better here. What was so good about the good old days? Even Christopher Columbus didn't like it where he was. [Applause.]

I think we have to ask ourselves will we be able to compete successfully with the challenges of automation in our plants, technological changes in our economy, and the increasing competition from nations beyond our shores. Now, these are some of our problems.

But every one of them I might add poses a great challenge to us. The 1960's and the 1970's will test our ability to respond to changing patterns of our economy as it has never been tested before, but I happen to believe that it is the law of nature that challenge produces opportunity.

When you really are put up against it, you find out whether you have got anything to really offer. Most people do better when they are challenged, and we are going to have plenty of challenges. I hear people say that life is getting soft, for whom? I never worked harder in my life. When is it getting soft?

My son says he studies harder at college than I ever did. He sure does, either that or he must be an awful slow learner. Take a look at your children when they come home from school with those books. Did you ever bring home that many? It isn't any easier, let's quit kidding ourselves. Maybe in some areas but there are many challenges and your son and your daughter are going to have to have more education than you ever dreamed of needing. Everything is stepped up, and where we used to get by by just being average, now we have got to be better and in the years ahead we are going to have to be much better.

## HE - LINO - 243

Challenge produces opportunity, opportunity to grow, opportunity to expand, to capitalize on the continuing rise in our national prosperity, to carve out an ever-changing economy, to carve out a niche which is ever reserved for the enterprising man, and that opportunity is what President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have been talking about and what we offer because we are committed to it.

I have gone out around this country and said, "Look, there is just one thing I want to get to the people. I want to see this America of ours be a land of genuine opportunity." The duty of government is not to guarantee quick solutions. The duty of government isn't to guarantee that everything will be wonderful. The responsibility of government is not to make sure that everybody is a success. The responsibility of a government of the people and by the people and for the people is to at least see to it that the standards and the rules of conduct in this society are such that if you really work, if you have got something to offer, that there will be an opportunity for you to use what you have and that is why we emphasize education.

[Applause.]

Now, what do we promise you then in this election year, because you expect promises out of people who run for office? What we do not and will not promise is the quick and simple solution, for history teaches us that those who offer easy answers are likely to be those who do not understand the questions, and what we do not promise is contrived remedies like, for example, a 5-year program of tax cuts which takes into account neither the fact of today nor the unknown facts of tomorrow for we know that the wrong medicine is worse than no medicine at all and what we do not promise is guaranteed success for we know that the taking of a risk is inherent in a free enterprise economy, and finally what we do not promise is a society in which decisions are made for the people rather than by the people for we know that as President Johnson recently told a group of you businessmen meeting at the White House and some of you were there and I quote him:

Today in this land of yours and mine the future of our system and our society is being determined not here in this city, not in this House, and not on Capitol Hill. The quality of America your children and mine will know, is being determined in the communities where Americans live and where you breathe.

What we offer, therefore, is just opportunity, that priceless gift which no totalitarian state can afford to grant to its citizens, that right without which all of our liberties are as of nothing, the opportunity to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield, the opportunity to build for yourselves and your family a secure today and a promising tomorrow.

We offer a friendly government, a government that has as its legal and constitutional duty as well as its moral duty to serve the people. We offer you in that friendly government, my fellow Americans, encouragement and not harassment.

This Government will not harass the American businessman, and I think this message is getting through to business. There may have been a time when Government seemed to be picking at you, when there was constant harassment, but I say to you that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey that know a little something about your problems are going to see to it and we have seen to it, that this Government doesn't act as an agent of harassment upon a legitimate enterprise and we can pledge that to you here today. [Applause.]

Might I add that when I had that privilege of being in the Soviet Union one time, you read about it and heard about it, I was on a Soviet TV show, the first Westerner ever to appear on a Soviet TV show, and I told them about our enterprise system. I told them about small business, about my drug store, about our farm groups and our laboring people and our cities and villages, and I have one word that they could find no word for in Russian, the word was "opportunity"—opportunity and when we were trying to translate that word, when they were trying to translate it, they couldn't find a word, they not only can't find the word in their society, they can't even find the system, at least they refused to find the system that offers that opportunity.

## HE - LINO - 244

Now, this Senator believes in our system. I think we have got the most marvelous political, social, economic system the world has ever known. You can't really describe it in a book. You have to live it. It is like trying to describe what happens in your family. Why do you love one another so much? What does it mean to you to be in a particular community?

I have watched people grope for words as they tried to explain their heartfelt feelings about a set of circumstances.

All I can say is we have got the finest political, social, and economic structure that man has ever created and it works well. [Applause.]

What do we seek to do with it? We seek it to be a system, we seek this system of ours to provide more justice, not less, more freedom of choice, not less, more opportunity, not less, more concern for the afflicted and the unfortunate, not less.

May I add to my friends of the drug profession that compassion is not weakness, and concern for the afflicted and the unfortunate is not socialism, not one bit. [Applause.]

I happen to think it is Americanism. I think this is what distinguishes this America of ours from any other country, that we are concerned about the littlest guy, the poorest one, the least fortunate, the man with the least opportunities, this is what has characterized us. This is the humanitarian part of our country, and I deeply resent attacks upon our Government and our country that say we are being too concerned. I would rather be guilty of the sin of commission of too much humanitarianism than the sin of omission of not doing anything about humanitarianism. [Applause.]

So as I leave you tonight, I want you to know that our President, the man that I am privileged to stand with in this election, that we offer you our hands and our hearts and we offer you our attention and our concern in a society where so many voices are raised so insistently in their own behalf, the lonely, sometimes inarticulate, voice of the small businessman is in danger of being stifled.

Well, I give you my solemn pledge that we will hear your voice and listen with concern and with understanding.

President Johnson recently welcomed a group of businessmen to the White House with these words: "This is your House."

I know of no more eloquent or more profound way to express the attitude and the beliefs of Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey than to say, "This is your House."

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

San Jose, Calif.  
October 5, 1964

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

The tremendous growth of the city of San Jose and San Jose State College represents what we're so proud of in this country and what we want and must continue. Growth stems from opportunity, and I believe that one of the basic issues in this election campaign is whether the United States will remain the land of ever-increasing opportunity by rejecting the apostles of opposition.

Those who use the gospel of opposition as their political creed—and I refer mainly to the Goldwater minority fraction of the Republican Party—should visit and study this beautiful and great Santa Clara Valley.

Here in this home of higher learning and advanced technology, you know that government working as a partner of labor and industry and agriculture has helped create an unprecedented rate of growth with prosperity to match.

The apostles of opposition scoff at government help and participation in providing opportunity. They call it waste. But most of us know it is investment, an investment of the highest kind, and investment in human beings.

How inspiring it is here in San Jose that such an investment is now being used to help others take advantage of opportunities opening up throughout the world. San Jose State College, I am told, has the highest per capita enrollment in the Peace Corps.

## HE - LINO - 245

I am proud that I introduced the Peace Corps bill in the Senate in 1960. There were apostles of opposition to the Peace Corps then—including the well known leader of the faction that has captured control of the Republican Party.

But the Peace Corps is only one of the programs that gave our Nation new hope and promise under the administrations of the late and beloved John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Our country was founded on the basis of popular government and equal opportunity and we Americans know that education is one vital means of providing them.

We must continue our new energy, new faith, new dedication which men must have to preserve freedom. We need an America with the wisdom of experience. We must not let America grow old in spirit, deaf to new ideas, opposed to investments in a peaceful and prosperous future.

San Jose, Calif.  
San Jose State College Campus  
October 5, 1964

### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Congressman Edwards, thank you for welcoming me to your hometown, to this great campus of San Jose State College.

First, I want to thank the local officials and the chamber of commerce for giving me something that is in gold that I can really enjoy [applause] I want you to know that this gold key will get into the White House and Goldwater will not. [Applause and booing.]

My friends, you have to forgive those who are the subject of, you know, that are afflicted by all of the vagaries of high altitude. [Applause.]

You know that is as high as they are ever going to get. And my fellow Americans, be of good cheer, be for Barry, forgive them, they will come home to the land of the their fathers [applause] every young person is entitled to be wrong a little while, and they are just going to be wrong again now and November 3, and deep down in their heart they know that Lyndon Johnson is going to win. [Applause.]

Well, you know after that fracas up in the Cow Palace [laughter] somebody came around to one of the Goldwater leaders and said, "Now, that you have got him nominated, what do you intend to do when he is elected?"

The fellow said, "We will jump off that bridge when we come to it." [Applause.]

I just say that as a word of warning. We don't want anybody to jump. We would just like to have them up there and listen.

Well, friends, it is a joy to be here and I hope you will forgive me if I tell you that after having been out in the beautiful bay yesterday, first enjoying the sun, and then getting a little of that brisk breeze, I found myself with a little bit of a cold this morning but what I have to say, I think can be said even with the static to the extreme right.

Did you ever notice that, did you ever notice, you just look up and see, they are always off up there far out, way out [laughter and applause] well, friends, I am singularly honored by this massive turnout of the interested citizens in what is happening in our country and what can and is going to happen. I want to talk to you this morning seriously about your politics, about your Government, and your country, and I want to say a word or two in reference to some of the men that are on this platform.

First of all, may I thank Dr. Clark, the president of this great college, for the hospitality that has been extended to me and for the privilege of speaking to members of this student body and indeed, the citizens of this community, and I am honored to have on this platform some of the great scientists, some of the truly great professional leaders of our country, Dr. Russell Lee, and Dr. Robert Hofstadter, Dr. Kornbert cannot be with us, they are men who have carved out for them through their own brilliance a record that is respected not only in America, but throughout the world.



## HE - LINO - 246

I am particularly pleased also to be joined in this platform with a Congressman, a Congressman from the Ninth District who in one term in the Congress of the United States, has demonstrated those qualities of leadership, those qualities of personal integrity, those qualities of ability and intelligence which should endear him in the hearts of every young man and woman, and which indeed should assure him of reelection in this coming campaign. We need Don Edwards in the House of Representatives, and I ask for your help. [Applause.]

I want Day Carman of the 10th District who is running against a gentleman, I can't remember his name because his record was hardly such as would make one remember him, I want to ask you to give your help and your support to Day Carman, the Democratic nominee for Congress in the 10th District.

Now, Day has many wonderful assets the first of which was that he was born in Minneapolis, Minn., and he had the good judgment to come to California and now he has the ambition to go to Washington. All three may serve to mark him as a man of distinction, and I think you ought to elect him from the 10th District. [Applause.] [Drinking water.]

They are going to see that I stay fit through this speech. It is not Goldwater. You are so right. Say that reminds me, the young lady, she says, "Not Goldwater," you are right. I have a little newspaper clipping here that I hadn't intended to refer to but you just refreshed my memory, and it is from Grand Rapids, Mich., and of course, you know this is exhibit A, and it shows an Associated Press, datelined Grand Rapids, Mich., and it appeared in the New York Times but it appeared also in every other newspaper in America dated September 24, and it reads as follows and the young lady that saw me take a sip of that water is responsible for what is about to happen now. [Applause and laughter.]

It says: "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater." I didn't think anybody was going to buy him anyway but that is all right. Then it goes on, there is a comma, "a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater." I appreciate that initiative and that energy, then it goes on to say, "some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the grounds that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative." [Applause.]

Now, friends, as a political scientist, a former teacher, professor, may I say that that is the most concise, the most concise, definitive description of a candidate and a platform that I have ever heard.

This campaign deserves more than just good humor, even though I think this is a characteristic of the supporters of President Johnson that is very helpful and healthy. I have noticed all too often that there is an unusual amount of booing coming from one particular segment. I would hope that American politics could be conducted in good humor. I would hope this—that it could be conducted with a bit of just the joy of living, and I would hope that we could talk about these problems as Americans recognize that you do not have to have an agreement in order to have understanding and fellowship. There seems to be, however, a growing group in America over these past 25 or 30 years that have clearcut, simple answers to complex and difficult problems, and I have always felt you ought to beware of the person that seems to know the easy answer to the most difficult of all assignments. What we need to do in America today is to understand the role of our country, the role of our country in foreign affairs, the role of our Nation as a leader in the world, and the role of our Government in its relationship to the people of America.

Let me take the latter first. I am in an area now that represents one of the great aerospace complexes of America, and the aerospace industry today is the going, the growing industry of this Nation, and that aerospace industry today is not only the produce of brilliant management, of heavy investment by individuals and corporations. It is not only the produce of scientists as a private initiative, but it is also the product of cooperation between a Federal Government and the people, Federal Government and industry Federal Government and labor, Federal Government and scientists, and may I say that

if there ever was an example of where the Government has demonstrated that it can serve the people, and that it is designed to serve the people, and that it has a role in serving the people, it is in this great area of research and development because your Government today pours in some \$15 billion into research and development in America.

In fact, it puts in over 80 percent of all the research dollars that are expended today, and research leading developments, is the heart and the core of new industry, and new jobs.

Now, our friends of the opposition go through the land and spread doubt and suspicion about this Government.

Not long ago I heard the leader of the temporary—the temporary spokesman of the fraction of the faction of the Republican Party—[laughter]—I heard that man say that we were in more danger, we were in more danger, from our own Government than we were from Russia. How bad can you get? How bad can you get? [Applause.]

I have heard the leader of the opposition talk of the tyranny of the Federal Government.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the Government of this country isn't all in Washington. It is in Washington, it is in Sacramento, it is in San Francisco, it is in San Jose, it is in the thousands of governmental jurisdictions. The simple truth is that since World War II, local government has grown much more rapidly than Federal Government, far more rapidly, 400 percent more rapidly. These are facts which apparently the opposition ignored, if they ever knew them.

I think there is a time when young people, intelligent people, when people of every age and group, have to face up to what are some of the facts of American life. Now, the first fact is that the duty of national security rests upon the National Government, and many other programs that lend themselves to industrial growth, to better social and educational conditions are cooperative between Federal, State and local government. We haven't lost our liberties, and when I hear the leader of the opposition telling us that we are on the road to socialism, he knows that is bunk, and those that talk about it know that it is bunk. And why do I say so? Because America today has more business institutions, more free enterprise, more bank deposits, higher dividends, greater profits, and greater gross national product than any time in its history, and if Barry Goldwater doesn't know that he is unfit to be President. [Applause.]

And yet my friends, far off, out on the far right somebody will holler "How about socialism?" Well, how about it? Who likes it? The only one who seems to talk about it is the leader of that temporary fraction of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

So, my friends, the young people today have a greater choice than they have ever had, more of us can go to universities, more can attend schools. There are over 72 million people at work, there are more individual businesses, there are more schools, more homes, better communities, and anybody that doesn't know that America looks better today and is better today than it was 10 years ago, 5 years ago, 4 years ago, or 20 years ago, that man, may I say, is either fooling himself or he is blind or possibly he is the kind of a man that has a calendar with no months—[laughter]—or maybe a watch with no hands, or a pair of glasses with no lenses [laughter and applause].

The real question in America today is which of these leaders that seek our support, President Johnson or the Senator from Arizona, which has faith in the future of this country, which has the expression of hope, who talks of the future.

You know I notice Mr. Goldwater, he gives us some very inaccurate lessons but at least he tries, some inaccurate lessons, in ancient history. Now, I want to be very frank with you. I think everybody ought to know history, I think everybody ought to know ancient history but I don't think you ought to vote it.

[Laughter and applause.]

And I think that when you recite it, you ought to know what you are talking about, and I hear this man say to the young people of today, of 1964, "Let's go back to the good old days." What were so good about them? Ask your folks.

[Laughter and applause.]

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There were thousands upon thousands upon thousands of people that came to California back in those "good old days" from Arkansas, Oklahoma, from Nebraska, from the Dakotas, from the drought-stricken areas, the depression area. Were they good? I don't think so. I think that America is much better today, physically, economically, politically, socially, and spiritually, and I would suggest that the leader of the opposition as he tells us how about our morals, that he would think about the morality, if you please, of some of the votes that have been cast in the U.S. Senate.

For example, the Peace Corps: The American young people have wanted to do something for this world of ours, there is still extensive idealism among us. Some of us said, "Let's put together a program and we will call it the Peace Corps to have young men and women who are trained and able and intelligent and healthy that want to give of themselves that they can go abroad and help."

You know what the leader of the opposition called them? Well, he called them, let's see it here, he said they would be nothing more or less than international beatniks, international beatniks. And yet this State college has the highest per capita enrollment in the Peace Corps of any college in the United States.

[Applause.]

When I offered the program of the Peace Corps and introduced it in the Senate, the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party attacked it as wasteful, attacked it as another one of those Utopian idealistic socialistic schemes. And yet today, my friends, the Peace Corps is doing more for a better world than all of the speeches and efforts of Barry Goldwater put together. [Applause.]

So, we try to do something to help our industry. Four years ago we found America with a high rate of unemployment. We found our industry lagging, we found our gross national product down, our rate of growth at about 2 percent, and the Kennedy-Johnson administration backed up by labor, by the Chamber of Commerce, by most Republicans and by most Democrats set out to do something with our tax policy and we reduced taxes \$11½ billion, 9½ billion to individuals, \$2 billion to corporations, and the product of that reduction has been a tremendous intensive growth in the American economy. Private industry has flourished, new businesses have been established, expansion of plants, new purchasing power, but what about the Senator from Arizona that says he believes in private industry?

He voted "No" as did the Congressman from this district. He voted no faith in America, no faith in our industry, no faith in our bankers, no faith in our labor. I voted for it, and Lyndon Johnson asked us to pass it and he signed it and it is one of the great achievements of this administration. [Applause.]

Now, the Senator from Arizona knows full well that between now and the year 1990, in the next 30 years, that we will have to build more classroom space in America than all of the classroom space we have constructed in the last 300 years.

He knows that. If he doesn't he hasn't done his homework. Every prominent educator in America has warned us of the need for tremendous college expansion like you have had here in California, and it has been wonderful what has been done here. But let me say this: The college expansion in California, like other places, has benefited from Federal funds, great amounts of Federal funds. \$6 billion of Federal funds in this wonderful State. Not bad, \$6 billion, and here is the man—[applause]—here is the man from Arizona that when an aid to higher education bill is before us, when a bill to build more medical colleges is before us, when a program to train nurses and medical technicians is before us, when there is a program offered to help America, to help itself, to invest in education, to make possible more trained manpower, because everybody knows that the future requires people well educated, when that bill and other bills, the National Defense Education Act, the student loan program, the higher education bill, the library construction bill, every one of them when they are before the Congress for a vote to help America, to help train our manpower, to make us a better nation intellectually, to make us a better nation scientifically, to make us a better nation in terms of understanding, what does the Senator from Arizona do? He votes "No."

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Yes, he votes "No." In fact, what he says is, "The Government has no right to educate children." That is his own statement. The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. "The child has no right to an education. In most cases the children would get along very well without it."

Incredible, isn't it? A speech at Jacksonville, Fla., October 3, 1960, and I would have thought in the ensuing 4 years he would have changed. But no. Who has the opportunity and the obligation then to educate children? Are we unaware of the Northwest Ordinance; are we unaware of the Morrill Act? Are we unaware of the many acts that have been passed by Federal and State Governments?

The Government of the United States and the government of the 50 States of this Union not only have an obligation to educate children but school attendance is compulsory, even if Mr. Goldwater doesn't seem to understand it. [Applause.]

Now, I want to conclude on this issue, there are many that you could talk about. A Senator that asks to be President votes against the Trade Expansion Act, votes against education, votes against the U.N. bond issue, votes against library construction, votes against area redevelopment, public works, the poverty program, water control and pollution control, the tax cut; votes against an increase in our space program to keep us on top of this great advance in science and technology. But the one vote that I think tells more than any was when the Senator from Arizona decided that he would not help slow down the arms race in the nuclear field.

Our President, our late and beloved President, John Kennedy, after that memorable speech of June 10, 1963, at American University, proceeded carefully, methodically in cooperation with other countries, to find if we could break through this Soviet intransigence and to move into the frontier of nuclear energy and see if we couldn't do something about preventing further pollution of the air and of the earth and of the seas, and we engaged in long negotiations.

Many of us in the Congress have been a part of this effort. I have given a good deal of my time and life to it. And President Truman, President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy, all three Presidents tried desperately over the years, without regard to partisanship, to bring a halt to the nuclear expansion, to stop these tests before this nuclear arms race got completely out of control and before the atmosphere was polluted and the food and the milk that we drank and air was polluted and before there were serious genetic problems.

And we did negotiate a treaty. I was present at Geneva, Switzerland, when some of the preliminaries took place. I went to Moscow with a bipartisan group for the signing of that treaty, and I am happy to say that the overwhelming majority of Republicans, and the overwhelming majority of Senators in the U.S. Senate rallied as one to see to it that America, the land of decency, a nation committed to an honorable peace, a nation that wants to see atomic energy used to save lives, not to destroy them, I am happy to say that regardless of partisanship, that the great Members of the Senate rallied and we ratified that treaty, yes, my dear friends, over three-fourths of the Members of the Senate ratified that treaty, but as the gentleman said just a moment ago, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

And then to top it off, my friends, when the great opportunity came for America through the Representatives elected in Congress to declare for once and for all that the Emancipation Proclamation was more than a promise, that it had to become a reality, when that great leader of the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln, had before the Congress a hundred years after his death, the very promise that he had made for its fulfillment, and when leaders on both sides of the aisle, and let me say that men like Senator Dirksen and your own Senator Thomas Kuchel who was my co-floor leader in this fight, stood there like stalwarts and fought for that program, and we designed a good bill, we didn't say that it would cure all the problems but we did say it would provide a framework of law within which men of good will and reason could work out this problem of human relations, we saw to it at long last that the moral commitments of America were lived up to because the abuse of civil rights is not regional, it has become national, the need for this legislation was not sectional, it was both national and international, and I am happy to tell you that an overwhelming majority of the Members of the U.S. Senate, Republicans



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like Senators Saltonstall, Dirksen, Kuchel, Aiken, men of distinction in public life, and Democrats, that we stood together and we passed the most important piece of civil rights legislation that has ever been adopted by any country on the face of the earth, we did it because we knew it was right, not because it had any political benefits, in fact, maybe it has got some political liabilities, we knew it was right morally, we knew that the time had come that we had to do it, that America could no longer go before the world with a dirty face of bigotry and of segregation and intolerance, we had to cleanse ourselves, and we stood up like men and women, and we voted for the civil rights bill.

But the man that talks about morality and the man that talks about the spirit of America, and the man that says we have got to go back to those ancient virtues, he didn't vote for it. He not only voted against it, he denounced it as a police state measure, which it surely is not, and on those two issues of nuclear power, and of human rights, I say that the gentleman from Arizona has disqualified himself to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Friends, I leave you with this hope and with this suggestion. It seems to me that a nation as young and as vital as ours would want to look to the future, that even though we have made great gains thus far, that we know that this is but a beginning.

We are in an age of discovery, we are in an age where mankind has literally proven we can perform miracles and do the impossible. We do not need leadership that calls us back to some never-never land, but we need leadership, if you please, that asks us to explore the universe, to look to the heavens, and to see, too, if we can't make it a little better on earth for God's creation, and I am convinced that the American people are not going to rally around the standards of a bygone past poorly described, and unfortunately inadequately articulated. I think the American people are going to want to lift their sights; they will not only want to accomplish the New Frontier and to see those new horizons, but I think they will want to look to a whole new age, a new age of promise, and of hope, not only for ourselves but for mankind everywhere. The cause of peace is at stake, for a just and an honorable peace, and the duty of this Nation is indeed to remain strong, but to know that that strength is to be used with restraint and to know that that strength whenever used must be used for noble purposes.

And I ask the people of California who are really a blessed people because of the very conditions that exist in this State, I ask you to place your faith in the future, I ask you to make a commitment to it, I ask you to back candidates and programs that at least are willing to move and venture forth into new areas of discovery, and I think that if you do it there will be but one choice. You will find that you need a man in the White House today that not only can advocate but can educate, that not only can point ahead but also can inspire, and I am proud to stand alongside of the man today who is President, the man that was selected by John Kennedy as his Vice President, and I ask you to join with me to help us complete the unfinished work of our late and beloved President, John Kennedy, and to move forward with new programs for a better America in the days ahead. [Applause.]

Berkeley, Calif.

For release October 5, 1964

SPEECH OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY PREPARED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

"No man is an island," reads the well-known line of the Poet John Donne. In the history of men and nations this judgment rings true. Yet our opponents in this campaign have failed to perceive this truth.

I believe as strongly as any man in the necessity for protecting individual liberties and rights. But what some exponents of "rugged individualism" fail to understand is that men and nations must live together—must strive together, must reason together—to obtain the benefits of civilization.

In touring this great western empire named California and in visiting this vibrant San Francisco Bay area, I am again impressed by what men can accomplish if they will but work together. You who study here at this splendid university—a shining star in a State educational galaxy unsurpassed in the Nation—must perceive what men can achieve together. For this institution is a living tribute to cooperation in the pursuit of truth.

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This message of interdependence, as old as the prophets, is one of which you are well aware; but it seems to need repeating in every generation. Today, more than ever, it requires repetition. For we are now hearing preached in our land a philosophy which threatens to license individual selfishness and greed at home, and to isolate America from the family of nations.

Whether in California or in the country as a whole, no American can afford an ostrich-like isolation from his fellow men. Nor in this world, can Americans afford leadership that is isolationist either in practice or in spirit.

Such isolationism can be bred by illusion, impatience, frustration, or just plain ignorance. But whatever its source, it must be repudiated.

It is the danger of isolationism in relation to the United Nations that I wish to discuss with you briefly today.

Up until this year, our country has maintained a bipartisanship that rejected the counsels of withdrawal from the community of nations.

Just as many distinguished Republicans like Arthur Vandenberg, James Forrestal, and John McCloy supported the policies of President Truman in our relations with other nations, so did Democrats like Lyndon Johnson, John F. Kennedy, William Fulbright, and myself support the policies of President Eisenhower. A consensus prevailed that these matters were too important to our Nation to permit them to become pawns for partisan political gain.

What is tragic and ironic today is the drastic departure of the temporary leader of the opposition from the great highway of bipartisanship.

His views are now well known on a wide range of issues: From foreign aid to negotiation, from the test ban treaty to the control of nuclear weapons. This is the man who greeted the Peace Corps not as an opportunity for service but as a "haven for beatniks."

But among the most striking in his breaks with bipartisanship have been his views on the vital issues of U.S. support for the United Nations.

Within the bipartisan tradition, no one issue has united leaders more solidly than that of support for the United Nations. Since those fateful days in San Francisco 19 years ago when Arthur Vandenberg joined the U.S. delegation in the establishment of the U.N., leaders of both parties have supported the U.N. as one of man's best hopes for peace and stability in a turbulent world.

Yet hear what the temporary spokesman of the opposition has said on the subject of the United Nations—and judge where he stands today if you can.

In Arizona, in December 1961, he announced that "The United States no longer has a place in the United Nations." On CBS television in March 1962 he reiterated, "I just can't see any sense in keeping on it in it." On May 12 of last year, on New York's WOR-TV, he repeated, "\* \* \* Frankly, I think the fact that it's proven to be unworkable is grounds enough for us to quit wasting our money on it." Asked whether as President, he would favor getting out of the United Nations, he said again, "\* \* \* I would, at this bet, having seen what the United Nations cannot do. I would have to suggest it."

More recently, we have heard some hedging from the spokesman: He thinks perhaps we should stay in, but the United Nations should "do more"—and somehow do it better.

These are his confused views on a vital institution that for two decades has commanded the overwhelming endorsement of the American people and their leaders. They are views that should be dismissed by millions of Americans who understand the deep truth that "no man is an island"—and that no nation can be isolated from the world at large.

For the past 4 years the Kennedy-Johnson administration has supported the United Nations as "our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace." We have consistently sought "to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak" and to "enlarge the area in which its writ may run." And we have been wise to do so.

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Consider the United Nations record: In the last 19 years, it has played a major part in dealing with 13 different threats to the peace of the world. Though border patrols in the Middle East, through supervision of truces between India and Pakistan, through its present mediation in Cyprus, the United Nations has played a uniquely constructive role. In an age where a great power war could breed unparalleled nuclear destruction, we should never belittle the record of the United Nations in preventing the escalation of brush-fire conflicts.

And what of the future?

Under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy our Government has supported—and is supporting—the expansion of the United Nations activities in a number of significant areas. Last Friday, President Johnson proclaimed 1965 as International Cooperation Year in recognition of the United Nations 20th anniversary. The President has indicated that his administration will use this commemorative year to press for measures which would strengthen the United Nations.

What are specific measures that would increase the United Nations effectiveness? Among the steps which should be taken, I would attach special importance to better resources for factfinding and observation; the development of an effective mediation and conciliation service; the streamlining and expansion of its economic development programs.

Most important of all is progress in the vital area of peacekeeping. We need to achieve agreement on improved procedures for the initiation and financing of peacekeeping proposals.

The United Nations cannot fulfill its peacekeeping responsibilities if it can be frustrated by a Soviet veto. We must therefore preserve the authority of the General Assembly to launch peacekeeping operations if the Security Council is unable to act, and we must preserve the Assembly's power to assess payment for such operations.

To improve peacekeeping procedures, we must achieve the adoption of our proposals that the General Assembly initiate a major peacekeeping operation involving military forces only after it has been discussed in the Security Council and the Council has been unable to act. In assessments for peacekeeping, our proposals also require recommendation by a special committee in which the large and middle powers would have a greater representation than they have in the Assembly as a whole.

Needless to say, our efforts to reach agreement on these procedures must be accompanied by efforts to deal with the U.N.'s present financial crisis. Certainly we cannot be satisfied with any agreement unless past obligations—including those of the Soviet Union—are discharged in accordance with the charter. But if we can agree on improved procedures for the future, we should be able to settle out disputes about the past.

Another essential step for the strengthening of peacekeeping is the establishment of a flexible troop callup system for future emergencies. The U.N. cannot do its peacekeeping job if there are long delays in getting its forces to world trouble spots.

I strongly support the Secretary-General's request that members maintain special U.N. peacekeeping contingents, and I rejoice that some nations have already responded—Canada, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Iran.

We ourselves should assist in this strengthening of the peacekeeping capacity by helping to train and equip contingents of other nations earmarked for U.N. use—by transporting these units when necessary—and by paying our fair share of the costs of peacekeeping operations.

Let us never forget that one of the best investments we can make is investment in U.N. peacekeeping—an investment which will save American lives.

We do not aspire to any pax Americana—we could not if we would. We have no desire to play the role of global gendarme—we could not if we would. And we have no desire to interject American troops into explosive local disputes, whether in Africa, Asia, or the Middle East.

But disputes do occur; and if hostilities are to be ended and the peace preserved, there must be some outside force available to intervene. A stable professional U.N. force can best play that role.

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I make you here a pledge: That this administration will continue to provide the leadership to strengthen the U.N., to extend the area where its writ may run. I have only contempt for those who would: "Get the United States out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the United States." They are blind to the realities of our world. Nor can I understand those who wish to scrap an imperfect institution for preserving world peace because of their impatience with an imperfect world. Nor do I agree with those who will salute the U.N. on the one hand—and on the other hand condemn it because it does not bow to our wishes within 24 hours.

The United Nations has proven its value as an instrument for world peace. Our faith in it is strong—and our hope is firm that it will one day become what it was intended to be—a world society of nations under law, not merely law backed by force, but law backed by justice and by popular consent. The answer to world war can only be world law. And the best hope of achieving world law is through the United Nations.

This was President John F. Kennedy's great dream. Again and again he held up the idea of world law as the most essential goal of mankind in our time. He said that we must end the arms race, or the arms race will end the human race. He called for the establishment of workable world law as the best way to accomplish that purpose.

World law doesn't come into being just because a lot of people want it. It can grow only as there are institutions behind it—institutions to enact it and enforce it. I believe

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Berkeley, Calif.  
University of California  
October 5, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, Chancellor Strong. Thank you, you three or four misplaced Minnesotans here. I heard you respond with such courage. [Applause.]

You won't live long but it will be a very exciting existence that you have.

I was going to read a telegram here of congratulations to me from the Senator from Arizona on that football game but I decided maybe I shouldn't be that unfair. [Laughter and applause.]

This is a beautiful setting and to me it is a rare privilege and a wonderful opportunity to visit with students of one of the greatest universities in all the world in this great State of California. [Applause.]

I regret that my friend President Clark Kerr is not here, he was my rival for the office of presidency. You might have ended up with me being president of the University of Berkeley. [Applause.]

I don't know how to interpret that applause. [Dog barking.]

Let me say that I will—will you get that Republican out of here. [Laughter and applause.]

I think that is somebody left over from the football game here.

I am delighted to be on this platform today with one of the great public servants in this State, Mr. Alan Cranston, your State comptroller.

Just to show you what a grand fellow he is, he is out today working with me to campaign for the next U.S. Senator from California, Pierre Salinger. [Applause.]

If you want to tune into something good why tune in tonight to that debate that is going to take place between Mr. Salinger and, I have forgotten the name of the other fellow. It is quite a debate.

The Congressmen from these two districts are not with us today. districts surrounding this area, but I would not want to come to the University of California without saluting Jeff Cohelan and without saluting George Miller. [Applause.]

Much of the wonderful work that has—that is being done here at this great campus is at least in some small part due to the splendid cooperation of your congressional delegation and the two Congressmen I have just mentioned, George Miller being the senior man on the



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Committee on Space and Aeronautics of the U.S. Government, and the Congress, and if there is any one university that today is in the forefront of the aerospace research and development, it is the University of California and its many very fine institutions. [Applause.]

I am going to use this platform today not for frivolity or for some of the good political jokes I would like to tell. Of course, there are one or two that may slip in as I go along, but I want to talk to you seriously about our country, I want to talk to you about our foreign policy, I want to talk to you about where I believe we go from here.

It has been said by some of the columnists that this campaign has lacked what we might call the production of new ideas. Well, in any campaign there are those who are in office that try to point with what we call pride to our achievements, and there are those that seek office that try to point with dismay and sometimes with doom and gloom to what they think are the problems of our country.

I think both of those are to be expected, but I think we also have an obligation to restate our commitments so that there can be no doubt as to where our country stands or where a particular party or administration may stand, and I think we also ought to look a little bit to the future.

If there ever was a State or an area of America that typifies the future, I am in that State now, and you are students of a university that is molding that future.

I have become a little bit unhappy when I hear candidates for public office only recite the glories of yesterday. You would think that somehow or another than the yesterdays were the finest days of the Republic. But the people that lived through those days thought they were rather difficult. The further away you are from the day that you left the better it seems to be.

I am of the opinion that everyone, and every student, should, of course, study the humanities, and I want to underscore that. Even in areas of great science and technology, it is important to be acquainted with the humanities. I believe that students should study ancient history, I think even politicians should study it, but I want to advise you as citizens and as voters, don't vote it.

[Laughter and applause.]

It seems to me that what we ought to do is to see what we are and then make some plans about where we are going to go. I don't think you can guide this country by looking through a rear view mirror. I think somehow or another you need to chart a course, you need to feel that each generation or at least those of us in each decade make some gain, and from that gain it is like a launching platform, we probe to new areas of discovery, new achievements.

So, the first thing I should like to emphasize to any student body, to any audience, is that while we have made great gains economically and socially in America, our gross national product today is unbelievably high, our employment is over 72 million, the profits of industry are \$10 billion higher than they have ever been before, wages are higher than they have ever been before, more people at work than have ever been before, and all of this is good, but there are still new areas and new frontiers to conquer.

There are still, as we have said, some pockets of poverty. People have been left behind in the technological advance, people that are the victims of the change in our economy from a primarily rural to an urban society, and as a matter of fact one of the great needs today is for people to understand more fully the problems of the metropolis and to chart a course of action in government and in private life, so that our cities become more than places to work, they become places in which you can live, and live a good and wholesome and beautiful life.

We Americans ought to set our own standards, we ought not to try to judge ourselves by others and, above all, we ought to come to grips with the unbelievable change that is taking place at home and abroad, a whole world that was literally thrown into convulsions at the end of World War II.

And in these years since World War II, empires that had broken apart, peoples all over the world that are demanding their place in the sun and getting it, peoples that are no longer willing to be subservient, but prefer to have a national identity.

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And, may I say to you in this audience, that we as Americans have had a great deal to do with stirring up this evolution and revolution that takes place in the world. We give the Communist far too much credit. We say that he is the one that stirs up the masses. Not at all. It is a philosophy of life and government that places important emphasis upon human dignity, a philosophy of life and government that places emphasis upon government as a servant of the people, a philosophy of life and government that tells us that change is in the pattern of life itself, and that we ought to come to grips with change, embrace it and direct it in constructive forces.

We are the real revolutionaries of the 20th century, we the people.

[Applause.]

Who would have ever dreamed a hundred years ago of great universities like we see in California and throughout America. Why, in the year 1900, only one out of eight ever had an opportunity to attend a university or a college. Now, not only one out of eight, I should say seven-eighths of the young people had no chance.

Today one-third of all high school graduates are in universities, and in the years to come it will have to be much more.

This is why I take such exception in one area and many more, with the spokesman of the opposition. I happen to believe that it does us very little good to recite only the problems of today and then try to just glorify the virtues of yesterday. I think what we need to do is to face what is coming, and I think we need to talk about it.

[Applause.]

I think we need to plan how we are going to have living space, decent, wholesome living space for 400 million Americans by the year 1990 or 2000; how we are going to provide for people to live a good life in an area of America like on the west coast or the east coast where there will be one solid city of millions of people running for hundreds of miles. I think we need to ask ourselves how can we expand our university setup in the next 30 years so that we will build as many classrooms in 30 years as we did in 300, because that is what we are going to have to do.

How are we going to train the teachers and how are we going to afford the investment? All of these things we not only know we must do, we need to get on with the job of getting them done.

Let me turn to another area. The spokesman of the opposition apparently feels that somehow or another that the United States has such power that all it needs to do is to issue an ultimatum, and the problems fade away. I want to say to this distinguished gentleman that even if there had never been a Communist in the world we would have problems that wouldn't fade away because of the nuclear weapons being waved around and saying, "Be good. If you don't we will clobber you."

[Applause.]

I think the fact of our time is interdependence, not just independence, interdependence. If that interdependence has made this term of brotherhood mean a whole lot more than it has ever meant before, and it has also placed a great premium upon respect for human dignity or to put it in the simplest language, it has told us, this fact of interdependence, that a great power, a great people, a people or a nation that aspires to be the great society, can no longer indulge itself in any form of intolerance or bigotry or discrimination because of race, creed, or color.

[Applause.]

Greatness does not permit parochialism, and greatness does not permit selfishness, and I am of the opinion that as we think of America's role in the world today we must remember that there has never been a military power that by military power alone was a great nation. It takes more than that.

We want military power, we want military strength, but we want it as only a part of, a much broader complex of, social forces, of areas of influence and impact. To rely entirely upon the mighty power of the military as a means for the conduct of foreign policy is to fool yourself and indeed to bring catastrophe to the world.

[Applause.]

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The great poet, John Donne, said that "No man is an island," and that is just another way of saying that we are of one another, and it is my view that every man that seeks the high office of President must understand that fact. I believe as strongly as any man could possibly believe in the protecting of our individual liberties and rights.

But what some exponents call rugged individualism turns out not to be individualism at all, but to be license. Those rugged individualists fail to understand that men and nations must live together, and they must strive together, and they must reason together, and they must do this in order to obtain and preserve and extend the benefits of civilization.

Now, I know what has been happening here in California. I shan't take the time to discuss it in any detail. I will only say that this splendid university is but one of the great stars in a State educational galaxy unsurpassed in the Nation, and this university is the product of interdependence, the product of cooperation, the product of cooperation on the part of the State government with the people, and with the Federal Government and indeed with the Nation. We have a lesson right here in your own State of California of this great doctrine of interdependence.

Now, this doctrine is as old as the prophets, but it seems to need repeating. As sort of a refugee from a college classroom, I come to the conclusion a long time ago that education was essentially saturation and repetition and most people learn by osmosis.

[Laughter.]

So, maybe we just need to keep repeating some of the relevant facts of our time, and I think now that this concept of interdependence needs more repetition than ever before. For we are hearing preached in our land from false prophets a philosophy which threatens to license individual selfishness at home, and to isolate America from the family of nations.

I think this is a dangerous philosophy. It is a philosophy which, if you please, says that compassion is weakness, and that interest in or concern for the unfortunate is socialism. But this speaker and this Senator says to you that compassion is courage, and that interest in and concern for the unfortunate is not socialism at all, but it represents the full tradition of what I like to think of as our Americanism, a concern for the other fellow. [Applause.]

Whether in California or in the country as a whole, no people and no American can afford an ostrich-like isolation from his fellow man, nor in this world can Americans afford leadership that is isolationist, either in practice or in spirit.

Let me tell you what I mean in specific details. The spokesman for the opposition in this campaign says as follows, just a year ago: "I don't give a tinker's dam what the rest of the world thinks about the United States as long as we keep militarily strong."

I say to you that that kind of thinking is disastrous and could be catastrophic and it must be repudiated by the American people. [Applause.]

Ever since World War II we have had built a great national security and foreign policy on the principle of bipartisanship, and that foreign policy has had such architects as the late and beloved Senator from Michigan, Arthur Vandenberg, James Forrestal, John McCloy, Dwight Eisenhower, and others, and it has been supported by Democratic Presidents as well as Republicans.

There were men that I have mentioned that supported the bipartisan foreign policy goals of Harry Truman—[applause]—yes, sir, I see you have somebody from Missouri here, too. That man has got the right idea. Recently we have heard the voices of men like Bill Fulbright, Lyndon Johnson, John F. Kennedy—[applause]—and we supported the bipartisan foreign policy goals of President Eisenhower. A consensus prevailed that these matters were too important to our Nation to permit them to become the political playthings or playthings of partisans or to be the pawns for partisan political gain, and what is tragic and ironic this hour is the drastic departure of the temporary leader of the Republican Party from this great highway of bipartisanship. [Applause.]

I think his views are well known, they are well known on a wide range of issues. I surely compliment him for candor, and I also want to say that he is a very good explainer. [Applause.]

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His views are well known on issues from foreign aid to negotiation, from the test ban treaty to control of nuclear weapons. This is the man who greeted the Peace Corps not as an opportunity for service, but as he put it, "a haven for beatniks."

I submit that that kind of thinking does not qualify a man for the highest office of the gift of the people of the United States. [Applause.]

But the most striking break in this consensus of bipartisanship are his views on the vital issues of U.S. support for the United Nations. Listen to this statement.

The United States should begin acting like a world power and quit groveling on its knees to inferior people who like to come to New York. [Laughter.]

I submit to any intelligent audience that a statement like this disqualifies a man for the leadership of the American people [applause] and a statement that reads as follows:

Some day I am convinced there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without a war, real nuclear war—I don't see how it can be avoided—perhaps 5 to 10 years from now.

That kind of a statement announces the inevitability of conflict, and may I say the task of American statesmanship is to move heaven and earth to see to it that this tragic possibility of nuclear conflict be avoided if it possibly can, be avoided with honor and be avoided in the sense of preserving our freedom and that is what President Lyndon Johnson is trying to do. [Applause.]

I ask you to contrast that statement with the words of a great President who on June 10, 1963, standing before the commencement audience at American University in Washington told us that "Peace is a process, and that the pursuit of peace is the noblest of all aims."

That was President Kennedy who worked for the peace of the world.

As this man worked for peace, spoke for peace, planned for peace, he didn't weaken our defenses, he didn't insult our allies, he didn't call people inferior. He didn't preach the doctrine of inevitable war. He preached the message that is written in scripture, "Let there be peace, let my people live in peace." I submit that this is the doctrine of a courageous man, not of an appeaser; of a brave man, not of a weakling. [Applause.]

Former President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, said the other day, and I want to quote him accurately, when asked about some of the statements in the present campaign, General Eisenhower said, that he just was confused about what was being said [laughter] and I want to say I sympathize with him, and I am about to show you why [laughter] because he is trying to keep up with the latest editions, with the latest emphasis, with the newest statement of the spokesman of the opposition.

In Arizona in December 1961 Mr. Goldwater announced "The United States has no longer, no longer has any place in the United Nations." And on CBA television in March 1962 he reiterated "I just can't see any sense in keeping on in it."

On May 12 of last year on New York's WOR-TV he repeated, "Frankly, I think the fact that it's proven to be unworkable is grounds enough for us to quit wasting our money on it." And asked whether as President, he would favor getting out of the U.N. he said again, "I would, having seen what the United Nations cannot do. I would have to suggest it."

Well now, that is quite interesting that would leave one with a view that he really planned on getting out. [Laughter.]

Even a slow learner would catch on. [Laughter and applause.]

More recently, however, the Senator from Arizona has made some hedging remarks. He said that maybe we should stay in. But the U.N. should do more and somehow do it better. Let me read to you what he said in Der Spiegel, June 30, 1964—well, maybe I should say first of all from Phoenix, December 31, 1961, "I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the United States no longer has a place in the United Nations."



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Los Angeles Times, October 20, 1963, "I have advocated withdrawal from the U.N. in the past. I would have to say at best I am lukewarm about it now."

On June 30, 1964, "I have never advocated withdrawing from the United Nations." [Applause and laughter.]

Now, that maybe you can take, but listen to the next line, "I have given more support to the U.N. than some of my critics." [Applause.]

This despite the fact that this Senator when the House came in the Senate of the United States to help with the financing of the U.N.'s peacekeeping operations, for the bond issue that was recommended by two Presidents, this man voted "No." I must say that if one can't make up his mind where he stands on the United Nations, I don't think he can make up his mind about the future course of American foreign policy.

Let me be crystal clear that the Johnson-Humphrey administration is committed to a program of support to the U.N. We will follow the dictum that was laid down by the Kennedy-Johnson administration when President Kennedy said of the U.N., "It is our last peace hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace."

We have consistently sought to strengthen its shield, of the new or the weak, and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run and I think we have been wise to do so. The U.N. has performed marvelous services for the world. To be sure it is not a perfect instrument because it is manmade but like other things in life it grows, and it matures, and it changes, and it also needs care and attention and encouragement, and I am happy to say that it has been receiving that from our Government.

Under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson and John F. Kennedy our Government has generously and vigorously supported and is supporting it, the expansion of the U.N. activities in a number of significant fields. Last Friday President Johnson proclaimed 1965 as the international cooperation year in recognition of the U.N.'s 20th anniversary, and this Government has worked through the U.N. in one program after another, in an effort to do what, to strengthen our own foreign policy, yes, but to use an international instrument in international problems so that the big and mighty power of one nation would not be called upon in every instance, so that it would appear that America was intending to impose a Pax Americana over the entire world. We have done what was right. We have recognized the internationalism of our day. We have recognized the interdependence of nations and peoples and we have sought patiently, perseveringly and may I say at times with great, great sacrifice, we have sought to strengthen the many instrumentalities of the United Nations so that it can fulfill its functions of helping people to build a better society for themselves and of keeping the peace so that society can endure, as a means for mankind to improve his lot.

Now, let me just—we know the problems of the U.N., the Soviets' veto, but we have sought ways and means, my friends, to move around it. By using the peacekeeping machinery of the General Assembly, and by working with those in the General Assembly that are interested in peace, to provide for peacekeeping forces, and the next proposal of this Government in the years ahead, in the United Nations will be to see to it that the United Nations has available on a moment's notice the peacekeeping forces that are necessary so that we don't have the long delays and the wait and the indecision, so that when we need them in the Middle East or in Africa or if you need them in southeast Asia or any place else, that they will be there, and that those forces will have the complete support, financial, logistics support of the United States of America.

I believe the American people would prefer that to American involvements in every struggle in every area of the world. [Applause.]

Let me just conclude my remarks with you today on this interesting subject of the U.N. by saying that I have only contempt for those who keep mouthing the very words that Mr. Khrushchev himself regrettably on many occasions has mouthed and some of these that mouth the words are the ones who claim to be super patriots in our

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midst. They say, "Get the United States out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the United States." The Birchers and the Communists join hands. They are always in the same bed but they are fighting for the covers. [Applause and laughter.]

Nor do I agree with those who will stand and salute the U.N. on one day and then the next condemn it because it doesn't obey our every wish within 24 hours. It seems to me that what we need is to see the United Nations help develop a body of world law, a world law if you please, that can be enforceable. This was the dream of President Kennedy.

Again and again he held up the idea of world law as the most essential goal of mankind in our time. He said and I say, we must end the arms race or the arms race will end the human race. He called [applause] he called for the establishment of a workable world law as the best way to accomplish that purpose. He was no idle dreamer and I trust that none of us are. They knew we needed our military power during this period of instability but he held out before mankind, not just before the Americans, but for the whole world he held out the dream of a world that can live under law in justice, under law in freedom, and I submit to you that a leader of a great nation like America must not be one that points to man's meanness, but he must be one that arouses in mankind their desire for goodness.

He must ask of us to do the impossible. He must seek from us to do new things. He must ask us to join in the age of discovery. He must be one who seeks to unite us for common goals and common purposes, and he must above all be a dreamer, and an educator. He must lift our sights, not only to the new frontiers, not only to the new horizons, but in a very real sense he must lift our sights to the stars because really we are living now not just in a world. We are living in a universe, and the next President of the United States by his every word and by his every deed, by his every pronouncement will be laying down guidelines for America and the world for another century, and I want that man who is President, to have a sense of vision because I know and you know the poet was right, a nation without vision shall perish, and I know and you know that a President that thinks in terms of one people, a brotherhood, and who thinks in terms of the old prophet, who said, "Come, let us reason together," is a President that can lift people to higher ground, can lead them to work within the framework of institutions, that are dedicated to the process and the pursuit of peace.

I leave you with this thought and this commitment. The President of the United States has said recently that he will go anywhere, any time, in the honorable pursuit of peace. He will meet with anybody at any place to talk about the conditions for a just and an honorable peace. This is not weakness or appeasement. It is courage and bravery like a soldier on the battlefield. If we can call upon our manpower to meet the enemy head on with weapons, I think we can call upon our leaders to meet our antagonists head on with better ideas and greater commitments for the love of humanity.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Cheyenne, Wyo.  
Cheyenne Airport Rally  
October 5, 1964

### REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much, Gale. Senator McGee to you, Gale to you and to Muriel and myself, it is wonderful to see Gale and Loraine McGee once again, to see them back here with their own people, the people that they serve so faithfully in the Congress, and that they love so much, and believe me I can tell you that because there isn't a day that goes by but what this fellow, Senator McGee, comes by my desk or my office like the chamber of commerce of Wyoming, telling me that for all practical purposes there only ought to be one State in the Federal Union. I have to contest that on occasion [laughter] and must admit that he is a very persuasive fellow. I am delighted also to see my old friend and next door neighbor in the Senate Office Building, former Senator Joe Hickey. Joe, it's grand to see you here, and to see your wife.

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We sort of shared the one wing of the New Senate Office Building, and there wasn't hardly a morning that I did not stop by to say hello to the Senator or to come in and look over his staff with all those pretty young ladies, to see if I could hire some of them. And frankly, I did. I am very proud of this warm friendship with these two fine Senators, former Senator Joe Hickey and your present Senator Gale McGee.

I do want to encourage the people of this great State of Wyoming, a State of the future, a State of great promise for its own people and for America, to send to the Congress to back Lyndon Johnson, our President, send to Congress a man that will work for you and that will give you some help. [Applause.]

I know you have that Congressman right here on this platform and I have a feeling that you are going to give him a great majority vote in this election and send Teno Roncalio down to Washington, D.C., down with his wife Ceil. [Applause.]

By the way, I suppose the word has gotten out here but I heard just the other day that our President was so interested in this State and so interested in the reelection of Senator Gale McGee, and so interested in seeing to it that he had a Congressman that would support him and work with him, that our President Lyndon Johnson is going to make a trip to Wyoming. I think that is wonderful. [Applause.]

Where that man is going to land, I don't know. I will tell you the way that man moves he may hit every place in the State in one afternoon. I think it is a great tribute to your Senator that the President of the United States, busy man that he is, with the tremendous demands on his time, with many populous States, States in which there are millions of people, that he finds it in his interest and in the interest of his country to come to the great State of Wyoming to ask you not only to back him, but of equal importance to send to the U.S. Senate one of the finest men that you have ever had serve there, and a man that is carving out for himself a record second to none, your own Senator Gale McGee. What a man. [Sounding of drum.] He agrees with me. [Laughter and applause.]

Well now, that plane down there that is warming up, do you think that was sent in by the Republican central committee? The trouble with those Republican planes, they just get on the end of the runway, whirl their props, rev their motors and never take off. [Laughter and applause.]

Gale, I noticed that the Republicans were going to send in here a truth squad. Now, that is a play on words if I ever heard one. I want to tell you that its like putting a coyote in charge of the sheep. [Laughter.] Or, as we say in Minnesota, to put a fox in charge of the chicken coop. You beware of those two fellows who are going to come in here. You might ask them how they voted and when they get through telling you how they voted and why send them right back home and let the constituents where they come from take care of them in this election. [Applause.]

I can't help but feel rather honored though that it takes a whole crew of those Republicans to keep up with me. [Laughter.] As a matter of fact, I think they ought to recruit a couple of more plane-loads. If we can get them traveling around and expose them to enough people, we will have a sweep for the Democrats, the likes of which this Nation has never known. [Applause.]

Well, I want to talk to you about your country. I want to talk to you about the future of our country. I think I also ought to say just a word about the future of the Republican Party.

First of all, let's make it quite clear. A large number of people that ordinarily vote Republican are voting for Johnson this year and they are going to vote for Gale McGee as well and they are going to vote for Teno here as well. They are going to vote for progress. Did you notice today that the New York Herald Tribune which is the Republican paper of New York City, that has not endorsed a Democrat for over 100 years, came out today and endorsed Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey for President and Vice President of the United States? [Applause.]

And, did you know that the Life magazine, the editorial chairman being none other than Henry Luce of Life Publications, endorsed today by editorial in Life magazine, Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey for President and Vice President of the United States? [Applause.]

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And, the Saturday Evening Post hasn't endorsed a Democrat since its first issue back in 1797 but it endorsed Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey for President and Vice President of the United States. [Applause.] [Plane taking off.] They have got a Democrat in charge, it is going to take off. I can plainly see that the captain of that ship is from Texas.

Off he goes, down towards Arizona, to set the folks right down there. [Laughter and applause.]

I mentioned these endorsements of our Republican friends because I think it tells us something about the importance of this campaign. It is very unusual in a national election to have leaders of a great political party leave the candidate of that party and to have publications that are historically Republican in orientation endorse a Democrat candidate. And why? Because Mr. Goldwater, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party [laughter and applause] does not represent true Republicanism, and you don't have to take my word for it.

The other day, Mr. Goldwater said, he wanted to debate. Oh, he made a big fuss about that. He said he wanted to debate the President of the United States. That poor fellow doesn't know when he is in trouble. Imagine asking for that? [Laughter.] He said, "I want to debate him. I want him to look the American people right in the eye." It was only a few months ago, of course, that Mr. Goldwater said that it would be foolish for the President of the United States, as the President, to debate anybody. But Mr. Goldwater has a capacity for changing his mind. [Laughter.] This man has more explanations, I want to tell you, than Carter has pills [laughter] and by the way, his explanations are not as good as Carter's pills. [Laughter.]

But you know I was intrigued by Mr. Goldwater's desire for debate, so I started looking over the record, and I found out that that fellow has got two or three outstanding invitations that he has never accepted. He missed his whole spring training, you know on debate. There was Governor Rockefeller. He wanted to debate him, and the Senator from Arizona, every time that Governor Rockefeller reached out and wanted to debate the issues, the phantom candidate was gone, you could not find him.

And then there was Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Republican, he wanted to debate him. He issued more invitations one after the other—there are more invitations lying on Barry Goldwater's desk than there are pages in Sears Roebuck's catalog—to debate Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania. But everytime it looked like Governor Scranton was just about ready to get the debate the phantom candidate disappeared.

Then there was Governor Romney of Michigan; he wanted to debate, but Mr. Goldwater could not be found. As a matter of fact, [noise of airplane] I will tell you, this is the danger of having a Reserve general in the Air Force. [Laughter.] Sergeant, I wasn't picking on you. [Laughter.] I think this loyalty in the Air Force can be overdone here a little. [Laughter.]

But let me just cite once again here was Romney of Michigan. He extended an invitation. In fact, he issued really a sort of a challenge to the Senator from Arizona, but the Senator from Arizona just could not be found.

Now, the other day I might add that the Senator from Arizona was in Michigan, and Governor Romney pulled one of the neatest tricks of political life that I have ever witnessed. He introduced Mr. Goldwater but he did not endorse him. I will tell you that Romney knows when he is in trouble. [Laughter.]

Well, Mr. Goldwater says he wants to debate. He wants to debate President Johnson. And I think that maybe he has something going there for himself, but I have suggested that before he takes on the champ, he ought to clean up some of these old invitations, don't you think? [Applause.]



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And what an interesting experience it would be to hear Governor Rockefeller debate Barry Goldwater. That would be the kind of fratricidal political warfare that really ought to take place in Madison Square Garden and the tickets ought to sell for \$10 apiece. When he got through with that debate if he had anything left to say—the Governor from Pennsylvania wrote him a letter you may recall out at that fracas at the Cow Palace, that letter will go down as one of the great State papers, stating the principles of the Republican Party, and Mr. Goldwater could not identify a single one of them. And just the other day I found out that Mr. Nixon was going to support Mr. Goldwater. This is after Mr. Nixon, of course, has disagreed with Mr. Goldwater on every issue, but they are having fun. We really shouldn't deny them this opportunity for a good deal of fun. They are playing make-believe government. [Laughter.]

Why Mr. Goldwater has appointed Mr. Nixon as his Secretary of State. [Laughter.] If you don't think that is fun, I understand that the chancelleries of Europe and Asia and Africa are in a turmoil. But we have had to reassure them that not only was Mr. Nixon not going to be President, he isn't going to be Secretary of State either. [Laughter and applause.]

Well, I have suggested that if Mr. Goldwater gets these debates all through, and I would be willing to take him on for a little exhibition bout, and we will give the proceeds to the casualties of the Republican Party from the last convention. [Laughter and applause.]

Have you listened to the message of the opposition? What is that message? Is it a message that speaks of America that is going places? Is it a message that speaks of America that is confident of its future? Is it a message that inspires the young people? Is it a message that encourages those who are presently guiding the destinies of our Nation in our economy? Is it a message that assures our elderly of proper care and dignity? I think not.

The message that has been given to the American people and to the world by the Republican pretender to the Presidency is a message of doubt, of suspicion, and of distrust. It is a message that says that our Federal Government is a greater danger to our freedom than the Communists. It is a message that says that our Federal Government is a tyrannical force. It is a message that says that we ought to get out of the United Nations. It is a message that tells us that America has no room for people that might want to come here and live in the blessings of freedom. The message of our opposition is one that seeks to divide the American people, to divide people on the basis of Federal Government and State government, to divide people of the East from the West, to divide people because of their races, to divide people because of their economic status, and, my dear friends and fellow Americans, if there ever was a time in the history of this country that we needed a united America, that we needed an America that practiced the principles of brotherhood and understanding, it is now. We need, as a President of this country, someone that asks us to do better things, not someone who divides us, not someone who preaches the doctrine of disunity, but we need as a President a man like we have, who talks of America as one people, one Nation. [Applause.] We need a President that makes the same speech in the South that he does in the North: the same speech in the East that he does in the West, and we have that kind of a President. We have a President today that asks people to join hands and to build a better America. Do you remember that time when President Johnson was asked by one of our commentators this question, this commentator said on a TV show, "Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had his New Deal, Harry Truman had his Fair Deal, and John Kennedy had his New Frontiers. What are you going to call your administration?" And Lyndon Johnson quietly, confidently, and calmly said, "My administration shall seek but one thing: A Better Deal for America and for the world."

And that is the commitment and the promise of President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

And this better deal that we talk of, my friends, is one that is in the making right now. Your country is more prosperous than it has been for years, and yet this prosperity which is shared by many

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of us, can be improved, and we intend to do it. We do not intend to live on the laurels of yesterdays. As I have said to every college audience that I have talked to, it is one thing to study ancient history, and proper too, but don't vote it. [Laughter and applause.] Vote for the future. Vote for the future, vote for the coming generations, and we ought to think and think big. This is the big country where I am in now. The vast stretches of your plains, the bigness of your mountains, the bigness of your ideas, these characteristics of the people of Wyoming are not made for a political leader or a political party that thinks little, and that thinks in parochial and provincial terms. We Americans need to think today of building our country to new heights of glory, and our President has talked that way and the man that preceded him lived that way and talked that way, too.

I am happy to say here that we have experienced in these last three and a half years some of the most dynamic and courageous leadership that America has ever known. The 1,000 days of dramatic leadership of John Kennedy will live in the history books of the American Republic forever, and in the hearts of the people for generations yet to come. [Applause.]

And my friends, these 10 months of leadership on the part of Lyndon Johnson are 10 of the most dramatic months of accomplishments that any President has ever recorded.

The record of Congress under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson has been spectacular. Every critic, every columnist, every commentator tells us so, and why? Because this man will not settle for mediocrity. He asks of us to do the best and to do better all the time. That is why I come to you tonight to ask you to send back to the U.S. Senate the kind of a man that will not settle for second best, the kind of a man that looks after the interests of your farmers, the kind of a man that has led the fight in the U.S. Senate for the cattlemen of the West, the kind of a man who works for resource developments here in the great mountain country and in the great plains of this great West of ours, and that man sits right on this platform and he is your U.S. Senator, and he is a friend of President Johnson, and Gale McGee and President Johnson are needed in Washington, and you see that they stay there. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, in the few remaining moments let me just say this: We want to develop the resources of America. Our country has just begun to live. This is a young country, and the greatest resources we have are not only the resources of land, of water and minerals, but the resources of people, and this is why this administration is well known today for its accomplishments in education.

We know that Americans must be educated, we know that our young must have opportunity, and there is no opportunity without education, and I am glad that you have sent to the U.S. Senate an educator, and may I say that you have in the President of the United States a teacher, and you have in the candidate for Vice President a teacher. We know that the task of leadership today is not merely to make public statements but the task of leadership today is to educate, and to advocate, and to urge people to do more, and therefore, we call upon you in this great western State of Wyoming to help us to help you—[noise of plane].

I am going to speak to the Commander in Chief about this when I get back. I thought we were working together, I am not sure of it. [Plane taking off.]

Let me finish this sentence, we are here to ask you to help us, the President and the Vice President and the Congress, to do the job that America needs to have done.

Our responsibilities, my friends, are immense, and the only way that I know that you can build the peace of America, and preserve the peace of the world, is for an America that is strong, America that is prosperous, America that is just, and America that is growing, and we are going to see to it that this America of ours is more just, that it grows even greater, that its resources are developed, and that its people have enlightenment, and in the process of doing that, I say that we make the greatest contribution to the safety and the security of and the peace of the world that we possibly can. [Applause.]

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You have been a wonderful and kind and warm audience on a rather cool evening, and I want to thank you so much for your patience here for being with us. We have had a wonderful time in this campaign and let me just give you this little advice. Be of good cheer. When I travel around the country, I find the people supporting President Johnson and the Democratic ticket, I find them with smiles on their faces, they are happy. They know they are living in a blessed country, they are grateful for it. By this very countenance they express a prayer of thanks for the America that is ours.

I find some of the opposition that is temporarily misguided, for whom we hope that they will come back to the home of their fathers, I find them with scowls, I find them booing, and may I say that all I can hope for them is that they will join with us and be the happy people, be the people of gratitude and appreciation.

Let's love our America enough to have a smile on our faces so that whenever anybody sees you they know that we are confident of the tomorrows, that we are unafraid, that we look forward to meeting the challenges, that we welcome every challenge, and that we know that we can face them and conquer them and that we are going to do the best job that any generation ever did for this great Republic.

Thank you, very much.

Omaha, Nebr.

For release October 5, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

I am always glad to come to Nebraska, and to the city of Omaha, one of the great gateways to the West.

I wish I could stay this October for your magnificent Ak Sar Ben Festival, when you turn this land into the mythical kingdom of Quivera, and celebrates its goodness and blessings to you.

There is another mythical kingdom about which you hear a lot these days—it is called "blusterland."

It is a land where you go forward by going backward.

It is a land where words substitute for deeds.

It is a land where every statement is explained by a contradictory one.

It is a land where threatening war is the way to peace.

It is a mythological never never land—a land that never was and never can be. And Nebraskans do not believe in it.

There is only one myth about Nebraska that needs to be dispelled—The myth that Nebraska can be taken for granted and counted safely this year in the ranks of the Goldwater party. And this is what I want to talk to you about—for *in your hearts you know it is wrong*.

Nebraskans are too independent, too progressive, for that. You have always looked forward, not back. You have always respected and used the processes of government at every level; and you have understood the unique partnership which exists today between the States and the Federal Government.

You join in partnership with the Federal Government to link the Nation in a highway system. This is a gilt-edged investment in the future of this State and the Nation.

Nebraska is unique among the 50 States of the Union in having all of its electric power facilities either State or municipally owned. According to the leader of the Goldwater party, this should have ruined your economy and turned you into slaves, but I find no evidence of either.

In enabling legislation for your statehood, Nebraskans made provision to participate in the Land Grant Act. In 1867 an act of Congress granted 90,800 acres of land whose proceeds were to go to your great State university at Lincoln. And this has not destroyed your freedom.

And finally, in anticipation of the Economic Opportunity Act, the city of Omaha is actively cooperating with the Federal Government to improve the educational process in its already fine public schools. And this has not weakened your moral fiber.

The Goldwater party today does offer you a choice, or characteristically, several. You can choose between the unquestionable disaster of the candidate's initial statements, or the probable catastrophe of one of his later clarifications.

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In the case of agriculture, he initially offers "prompt and final termination" of all farm supports. Now he proposes that the collapse of the farm economy occur a little more slowly, "not right away," he says.

Now he promises, if elected, to consult with the farmers before terminating farm supports. Vocational education is always good, but it ought to come before the Presidency, not afterward.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has been deeply concerned with the problems of agriculture. We know that the American farmer is the guardian of a proud heritage. He believes in a free market and is willing to work. The only thing he asks is that he share, and rightly so, in the services of Government. For all America needs a sound and free agriculture. We will continue to help the farmer help himself through the maze of adjustment problems in a technological age.

But although agriculture is a large part of your life, I refuse to believe that Nebraskans know nothing and care less about other problems of the Nation. I never fail to be moved by the statue that stands in front of Boys' Town, Nebr., of one small lad carrying another and saying: "He's not heavy, Father, he's my brother." This is the real Nebraska.

In this richest of all lands, there are still poor people. Millions of Americans have not been equipped with the education or training to survive in this economy of science and technology. They and their children stand condemned to perpetual poverty unless opportunities are available whereby they can help themselves.

We need area redevelopment, manpower retraining, urban renewal, school lunch programs, and indeed a full-scale attack on poverty. This administration is pledged to that and has begun much of it.

The goal is to make people independent and self-supporting—to get them off welfare rolls and onto the tax rolls. Above all the goal is to restore their self-confidence and self-respect.

The Goldwater party says nothing about the plight of our fellow Americans living in poverty. And in your hearts you know that is wrong. For this is still "one nation, under God, indivisible."

Another overriding concern to all our people is the protection of our society and the preservation of a world safe for peace and freedom. And our national defense is secure, for we are powerful beyond any adversary or any possible combination of them. More than half of our national budget goes for national defense.

As the home of SAC, and with missile silos on your land, you know something about our power and its alertness. When anyone tells you that American military power is deficient, or has been neglected, you know in both your heads and your hearts that this is wrong.

We are willing to use this strength if necessary. But instant victory in a nuclear age also means instant annihilation. We believe that our power and its peaceful intent is best known by coolness and restraint, and not by rash talk and irresponsible threats.

The Goldwater candidate—I use this term for I can find nothing remotely Republican or conservative about it—indeed offers you a choice. In policy, it is a set of contradictory statements. It confuses individualism with selfishness, action with reaction, and bravery with bravado. It is liberally laced with name calling. It is, indeed, a sorry choice.

This administration offers you the tested and proven experience of Lyndon B. Johnson:

A man of the people who has not forgotten them;

A rugged individual, who remembers that no man lives alone;

A man who knows the whole Nation, and sees it as one;

A man of superb courage, secure enough in it that you can trust him.

This is your kind of man. Nebraska will serve itself in his support. Get out and get to work.

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# HE - LINO - 266

Omaha, Nebr.  
October 5, 1965.

## SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, very much. Thank you, very much, Governor Morrison, and my thanks to you, Mrs. Morrison, for your gracious, kind and hospitable reception and for your lovely gift to Mrs. Humphrey. I know that she will cherish it, and no matter if Nebraska should bet us two or three times more we will still love you. [Applause.]

What a wonderful, wonderful audience this evening. What a fine enthusiastic Democratic reception. We have had just a wonderful day. We started out this morning in San Francisco, then in San Jose, Calif., where we had 10 to 12, 15, I don't know, it was over 10,000 people jammed in better than 2 blocks. Then over to the University of California at Berkeley, in the great Greek Theater that holds over 10,000 people and jammed and packed, and then this afternoon late in the cool breezes of the Great West we were at Cheyenne, Wyo., and tonight with Democrats in Omaha, Nebr. [Applause.]

And, it surely seems good to come to a great midwestern State that has such an illustrious, able, and effective Governor that is a member of the Democratic Party and is proud of it. Governor Morrison, I salute you. [Applause.]

Chairman Mitchell, my congratulations to you for your party organization and I want to tonight call to the attention of every person in this district, this is Second Congressional District, the importance of the election of the gentleman who was speaking to you just a moment ago, a man that will help our President and not hinder him, one that will look to the future and not to the past, and I think you know him but in case you have forgotten his name, let me repeat it once again, Richard Swenson. [Applause.]

Well, I am always glad to come to Nebraska, even on football days. While you folks tripped us up here a couple of weeks ago, you know what happened in California last Saturday. I am delighted to come to this great thriving growing city of Omaha, one that is known throughout the Nation as the great gateway to the West.

And I wish I could stay this October, stay here long enough to share with you your magnificent Aksarben Festival, Nebraska backward, that must be a Goldwater spelling of it. [Laughter and applause.]

But, the Aksarben Festival is one of the great ones of our country. It's when you turn this wonderful land of Nebraska into the mythical kingdom, and I guess you call it Quivera, and celebrate the goodness and the blessings of that mythical kingdom as well as this real solid State of Nebraska.

But, my dear friends, there is another mythical kingdom. I don't want you to celebrate it but I want to describe it, a mythical kingdom about which you are hearing a lot these days, and it is called Barry's Blusterland. [Applause and laughter.] And, it is not nearly as interesting as Aksarben, not at all.

Let me describe [applause] let me for a few moments describe some of the characteristics of Barry's Blusterland:

It is a land where you are supposed to go forward by going backward.

It is a land where words substitute for deeds.

And, it is a land where every statement is explained by a contradictory one. [Applause.]

It is a land where threatening war is called the way to peace.

It is a land where ultimatums are substitutes for negotiations and diplomacy.

It is a mythological never-never land, a land that never was, and never can be. And Nebraskans do not believe in it and neither do the majority of the American people. [Applause.]

Now, there is one myth about Nebraska that needs to be dispelled and I think your Governor started doing it quite well. It is the myth that Nebraska will be in the ranks of the Goldwater Party comes November. [Cries of "No."]

You have learned your lessons well. [Applause.] And, my response to that myth is as yours, never, never, and that is no never-never land, and this is what I want to talk to you about, for you know in your hearts that that myth is not true. [Applause.]

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Now, why do I say that? Because Nebraskans are too independent, too progressive, to believe in such mythological nonsense. You look forward, not backward. You believe in the future, not the past. You have faith in America, and you don't distrust her, and you believe in the partnership that truly exists in this country of ours, between our States, our localities and our Federal Government. You know, even if Mr. Goldwater doesn't, that our Government has the duty to serve the American people. The first great Republican knew it, too; his name was Abraham Lincoln and he said this was a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. I suggest Mr. Goldwater read that. [Applause.]

Is it any wonder that thousands and thousands and thousands of sincere Republicans, people who love their party, who have worked for their party, will have nothing to do with this temporary spokesman of a faction of a faction of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

These Republicans that I speak of are Republicans that walk in the paths and in the philosophy of Lincoln or walk and work in the philosophy of an Arthur Vandenberg or walk and work in the philosophy of some of the great Republicans of the Midwest and the Far West, men who have served with us well, and these Republicans have put their country above their party, and they are voting now for Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States. [Applause.]

I think every thoughtful American can give pause to why a great publication like the Saturday Evening Post that has never since the year 1797 endorsed a Democrat except this year. I think that should make people stand up and wonder why. Or a great newspaper like the New York Herald Tribune that is known as the Republican publication in the great metropolitan area of New York, these great publications, and only today, Life magazine, endorsed not the man from Arizona, but the strong, tall, able man from Texas, Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States. [Applause.]

And they have done so because they see in our President one that understands the workings of American Government at home, and the responsibility and the conduct of American foreign policy abroad and you in this State, your Governor, in particular, have joined in partnership with the Federal Government in many programs.

Tonight we heard just a word about the great highway system that is being developed, well, let me say to Governor Morrison that his record as Governor in the promotion of better roads in this State in cooperation with the Federal Government is second to none and he deserves great praise for it. [Applause] And, Governor, your administration has joined in partnership with our Federal Government in the development of industry, in research and development, in the expansion of our great schools of higher learning, in a host of activities, the Government of the United States, Federal, State and local, one great governmental system, is designed but for one purpose, to open up the great ways of opportunity for America; to make America a better place in which to live, to make America a stronger nation, a more just nation, a nation of greater hope and greater promises, and this is the philosophy of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Governor Morrison and the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Now, Nebraska is unique among the 50 States in many ways, but it surely is unique in having all of its electric power facilities either State or municipally owned. According to the leader, however, of the Goldwater faction, this should have ruined your economy and turned you into slaves, and destroyed your moral fiber. But I see no evidence of it. Any State that can take on Minnesota on a Saturday afternoon and can win has got plenty of strength. [Applause.]

In 1867, and that is a year that the man from Arizona ought to respect, it is in his period [laughter and applause]—in 1867, an act of Congress established Federal aid to the State of Nebraska, very important Federal aid, the best, a grant of 90,800 acres of some of the most productive land in the entire American scene, a grant to your State and your great State University at Lincoln, a land-grant college. And, Mr. Goldwater [applause] this has not destroyed the freedom of the people of Nebraska. In fact, it has made freedom and opportunity available to hundreds of thousands of young people in Nebraska through education. [Applause.]

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And, in anticipation of the Economic Opportunity Act, our war on poverty, the city of Omaha is actively cooperating with your Government to improve the educational process in its already fine public schools. A man on this platform tonight that seeks to be your Congressman in the second district, has had a great hand in this, and I don't think that this cooperation between your schools and your Federal Government has weakened our moral fiber or in anyway denied you freedom.

In fact, Omaha is freer today and better today than it was 10 years ago, 20 years ago, 30 or 50 years ago, is it not. [Cries of "Yes".] [Applause.]

Oh, yes, oh, yes, the Goldwater faction does offer you a choice. Oh, characteristically, in fact, it offers several choices. You can choose between the unquestionable disaster of the candidate's initial statements or the probable catastrophe of one of his later clarifications. Take your choice.

In the case of agriculture he initially offers "prompt and final termination" of all farm supports. But now, since he went to Hershey, Pa., and met the other Republican Party [laughter] he proposes that the collapse of the farm economy should occur a little more slowly, and now he says, "not right away shall these supports be withdrawn," but by stages.

Now, he promises if elected to consult with farmers before terminating the farm supports. It is sort of like talking about your suicide. [Laughter] I want to be crystal clear. I believe in education, and I strongly support vocational education, I think it is good. But I think it ought to come before a man seeks the Presidency and not afterwards. [Applause and laughter.]

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has been deeply concerned about the problems of agriculture. We know that the American farmer is the guardian of a proud heritage and the custodian and the steward of our great resources of land and water. We know that he believes in a free market and he is willing to work. The only thing that he asks is that he share and rightly so in the services and in the benefits of government. America needs a prosperous, a sound, and a free agriculture, and this administration, the one to be, the Johnson-Humphrey administration, pledges itself to an agriculture in America that is not only abundant, not only the miracle of the world but one that is solvent and prosperous and one that will fully share in the benefits of this economy. [Applause.]

The American farmer knows who is his friend, and he knows that a man that says, "I know nothing about agriculture," which is another one of the Goldwater truisms, he knows that that man is not a friend. But, he knows that he can rely upon a farmer and a rancher who for years and years of public service as well as private endeavor has demonstrated his knowledge of agriculture and his support of the American family farm one of our best institutions and finest developments. [Applause.]

But I have a feeling that the people of Nebraska, city and rural alike, while they know that agriculture is a large part of your life, I have a feeling that Nebraskans care no less about other problems of the Nation. They are concerned with people.

I never fail to be moved by the statue that stands in front of Father Flanagan's Boy's Town, Nebr. That statue of one small lad carrying another and saying, "He's not heavy, father. He is my brother." and my fellow Americans, that is the spirit of this Nation, that is the spiritual truth of this Nation, that is the real Nebraska, that is the real America, and we ought to be proud of it, and we ought to salute it. [Applause.]

Those who believed with Father Flanagan and those who worked with him, that he is not heavy, father, he's my brother, those are the people who knew that compassion is not weakness, and they know, as you and I know, that concern for the afflicted, the sick, and the needy is not socialism. They know that it is the finest Americanism, and I say to you that a political party that forgets that lesson is unworthy of public trust and a candidate that doesn't remember it should never even be considered for high public office. [Applause.]

In this richest land of all lands, our America, and we are proud of our great prosperity, there are yet poor among us. Millions of Americans through no fault of their own have not been equipped either with

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education or training to survive in this economy of science and technology. They are the backwash, so to speak, of a society that has changed from predominantly rural to industrial and urban. They and their children stand condemned to perpetual poverty unless opportunities are available whereby they can help themselves.

I have a hard time reconciling the ideals of men like George Norris, and Dean Pound, your own Ted Sorenson and his illustrious father before him, your own Governor, with the fact that the Congressman from this area was one of the original supporters of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, a man who said in Jacksonville, Fla., on October 3, 1960, and I quote the Senator from Arizona, "that the Federal Government has no right to educate children," and then added, "the child has no right to an education, in most cases the children will get along very well without it."

I can't imagine the American people entrusting the responsibilities of the Presidency of the United States to one who doesn't believe that children have a right to an education in this great America of ours. [Applause.]

Well, let the record be clear, let this record be manifestly clear: The President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, we are educators by training and we are dedicated to education by commitment. We think that education is the wisest investment that America can make, and we feel that education is the pathway and the gateway to opportunity, and we believe that if America stands for anything at all, it stands for opportunity for everyone, even the least of these, even the poorest of our group. [Applause.]

And with these beliefs we back up these beliefs by action. We need area redevelopment for the underdeveloped areas of our own country; manpower training for our workers, urban renewal for our cities, school lunch programs for our children. Indeed a full-scale attack upon poverty in this, the richest of all lands, and this administration is pledged just to do that and has begun, we have made the start, we have declared the war and we will win this war against man's ancient enemies of poverty, of disease, of hunger, and of unemployment. We will win this battle with your help. [Applause.]

Our goal, our goal is not to guarantee people success. Our goal is not to guarantee people riches. Our goal is to help people become independent, individualists, self-supporting. Our goal is to help them get off the welfare rolls and to become self-sustaining taxpaying, self-respecting citizens. Above all the goal of this administration, and I think it is the goal of most Americans, is to restore to those who have been denied, those who are the victims of economic poverty, self-confidence, self-respect. This is what we mean by human dignity. This is what we mean by the rights of the individual.

Now, the Goldwater party, it says nothing about the plight of our fellow Americans living in poverty, and in your hearts you know that this is wrong. And you know it. [Applause.] And you know it for, as we say in our pledge of allegiance, there is still one Nation under God indivisible.

Now, the overriding concern of all of our people is the defense of our Nation and the preservation of a world safe in peace and freedom.

And our national defense is secure. We are powerful beyond any adversary or any possible combination of them. More than half of our national budget goes for national defense, and this administration has seen to it that our defenses are strong.

Here at the home of SAC, the Strategic Air Command, and with missile silos on your land, you know personally something about our power and its alertness, and when anyone tells you that American power is deficient or has been neglected; you, my fellow Americans, know in your heads and you know in your hearts, that is not true. [Applause.]

Now, we are willing to use this strength, if necessary. But instant victory in a nuclear age also means instant annihilation. We believe that our power and its peaceful intent is best shown by coolness and restraint, not by rash talk and irresponsible threats.

We believe that a man that is President of the United States must above all other things be responsible, be prudent, he must be resolute without being arrogant. He must be firm without being belligerent, and we have such a man, and I suggest that we keep him.



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The Goldwater candidate—and I use this term for I can find nothing remotely Republican or conservative about him—offers you a choice in policies; that choice is a set of contradictory statements. It confuses individualism with selfishness, and action with reaction, bravery with bravado, and it is liberally laced with name calling, and is indeed a sorry choice.

This administration offers you the tested and proven experience of Lyndon B. Johnson, a man of the people who has not forgotten them, a rugged individual who remembers that no man lives alone, a man who knows the whole Nation and sees it as one; a man who unites us and does not divide us, a man of superb courage, secure enough in it that you can trust him.

This is your kind of a man, and Nebraska will serve itself in his support and I ask the Nebraskans as I ask all Americans, I ask you tonight, will you support Lyndon B. Johnson for President? Let me hear from you? [Shouts of "Yes."]

St. Louis, Mo.,  
Old Post Office Building  
For release October 6, 1964

### SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY PREPARED FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

I am honored to be with you—the men and women of Catholic Charities whom I have admired for years.

Your principles are matched only by your deeds. Because of your convictions about the interrelationship of faith and works, you have never become excessively otherworldly—you have applied the teaching of the Sermon On The Mount in concrete fashion transforming the city of man into the city of God.

And you have applied the teachings of Pope John XXIII, the beloved spiritual leader who touched the hearts of men of all faiths, as expressed in his magnificent encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*:

Human society, as we picture it, demands that they be animated by such love as will make them feel the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values.

Your responsibilities to God have been evidenced by the exercise and fulfillment of your responsibilities to man.

You have been teachers, as well as doers. As my colleagues in the Congress and I have so often observed, the whole process of social and humanitarian legislation has been enriched by your appearances before congressional committees and your continued support of enlightened legislation.

You have always shown devotion to the principle that wise legislation can make men better by making society better. You have never fallen into the trap of blaming the poor for their poverty—you have never attempted to rationalize or excuse the neglect of the poor either by deliberate oversight or callous neglect.

In short, you understand there is an inseparable connection between human progress and social justice.

How truly blessed we are in America. I, like many of you, have traveled among the underdeveloped nations of the world. These lands can achieve little social justice in the short run. Their meager resources must be rationed between improving standards and accruing sufficient capital for the industrialization which offers a better life for their people in the longer run.

America is faced with no such choice. Even in the short run, we cannot afford to do without the highest measure of social justice. We cannot afford to tolerate poverty. And this situation becomes more intolerable as it becomes more avoidable.

I do not intend to demean your intelligence by rebutting the notion that poverty is simply the fault of the poor. But we should be concerned with another remarkable notion uttered recently; namely, that those of us concerned with the poor have "manufactured" poverty by redefining the "luxuries of yesterday as the necessities of today."

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Such a statement only demonstrates the most profound misunderstanding of America—of its spirit, of its traditions, of its faith, and of its compassion.

Of course the luxuries of yesterday are the necessities of today. This is the exciting story of American progress. Just 60 years ago, for example, an automobile was a luxury; but it is not a luxury today for a poor breadwinner to drive to work when that is the only way to reach his job. Just 30 years ago electricity was a luxury on most farms; but it cannot be considered a luxury today for a poor farm family to snap on the switch.

Poverty, in short, 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 days is poor.

If most Americans have adequate clothes, shoes, and books, for school, then the children who lack these things are poor.

Certain persons may take conforming comfort in the fact that the average income of the poor "represents material well-being beyond the dreams of a vast majority of peoples outside the United States"—but Lyndon Johnson does not—nor do I.

We cannot measure the poverty of today against that of other lands, or even against our own past. We measure it against what we can do today and should do tomorrow. And we measure it, as you do, against our own conscience.

What are the dimensions of poverty in America? Is it simply a question of redefinition or relative standards of living?

During 1963 there were 47 million families in the United States. One-fifth of the total and annual incomes below \$3,000. This figure includes some 14 million children—one-sixth of our youth—whose parents cannot give them enough to eat, cannot clothe them properly, and cannot afford proper medical and dental treatment. And even more alarming, 5.4 million families containing 8 million children had total annual incomes of less than \$2,000.

The bitter facts of poverty among lonely people—men and women living on meager pensions, social security, family charity—are equally shocking.

In 1962, 5 million persons had incomes of less than \$1,500 and about one-third of this number received a total annual income below \$1,000.

These statistics cannot tell the whole story. They cannot convey the devastating consequences of living in slums, the long-range effects of deficient medical care, or the psychological impact of suffering the multiple bruises which poverty inflicts.

The acid of poverty corrodes the human spirit. It corrodes faith in oneself, it eliminates hope for the future, and it makes charity to others a rare virtue.

One point must be made abundantly clear: Waging war on poverty is not a question of taking from the "haves" and giving to the "have-nots." It is, rather, the principle of Jesus' miracle of the loaves and fishes. We must expand the blessings of this land so that all may participate more fully.

This is not to underrate the improvement in living standards which has taken place during the past generation. These gains are substantial, and you and others who share your concern deserve a full measure of credit. But our future as a nation and a people will be determined by how wide a gap we maintain between our potential for social justice and its achievement.

When any new governmental program is presented, there inevitably are those who instantly and automatically bewail its cost. President Johnson's antipoverty program is no exception. In recent days we have heard the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 described as "plainly and simply a raid on your pocketbooks."

Those who perennially raise this cry wear the green eyeshade of a poorhouse accountant. They only see a single ledger sheet before them. But they should look at all the costs: The costs of inaction as well as the costs of action—the costs of delinquency and crime, of unemployment due to ignorance and lack of skills, and of welfare payments and unemployment compensation.

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The fact is we can afford to do whatever we make up our minds to do—if it is of sufficient urgency. When President Kennedy made the decision to strengthen our defenses, no one doubted that we could do this—if we were willing to expend the resources. We resolved to do it—and we did.

So it is with the war on poverty. We can do whatever we resolve to do. And because our efforts to eradicate poverty are an investment in our future prosperity, we will surely reap the dividends.

This means using the powers and policies of the Federal Government to assure maximum growth and employment. It means recognizing that the surest road to a balanced Federal budget is a balanced national economy. It means planning ahead and investing in those areas where investment is needed to assure growth: Education, natural resources, transportation, communications. It means waging a continuing war not only on poverty, but upon ignorance and discrimination and prejudice—which President Johnson so correctly called “poverty of the spirit.”

Let none of us delude ourselves that the war against poverty will be easily won. But we must begin now—and we must learn by doing. This is the American way. As we overcome some aspects of the poverty problem, others may loom before us. It is foolish to expect that all aspects of all kinds of poverty will be permanently eradicated and require nothing more from us.

No matter how complex the world might be, it is still our world. As President Kennedy said, “here on earth God’s work must truly be our own.” The forces which direct our destiny remain blind and frightening only if we refuse to open our eyes and exert our own strength in control.

But if we resolve to make no small plans, to accept no small results, and to regard each partial victory as a stepping stone, we can reach our stated goals within a decade—a summit where all Americans can enjoy fully the air of freedom because poverty no longer threatens them—because they will have gained further evidence of the validity of our democratic institutions.

We should always remember the profound wisdom expressed so eloquently by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt:

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 on a different scale. Better occasionally 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.

I can assure you that Lyndon B. Johnson and I will never be indifferent to the plight of our less fortunate brethren. We recall—and shall always follow—the wisdom of St. Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians:

“Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have no charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal—and now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity.”

St. Louis, Mo.  
National Conference of Catholic Charities  
October 6, 1964

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

(Senator Humphrey was speaking when reporter arrived)

And you have applied the teachings of the great peasant priest that became the Holy Father, Pope John XXIII, that beloved spiritual leader, who touched the hearts of men and women everywhere of all faiths on this side of the Iron Curtain and on the other, as expressed in his magnificent encyclical, “Pacem in Terris.”

May I just quote a few words from that encyclical. By the way, I took the liberty as a Member of Congress to have printed in the Congressional Record those great encyclicals, “Pacem in Terris,” and “Mater Magestra.” [Applause.]

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Pope John said in that encyclical, "Human society, as we picture it, demands that they be animated by such love as will make them feel the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values."

You have taken this encyclical to heart and put it into action. Your responsibilities to God have been evidenced by the exercise and fulfillment of your responsibilities to God's creation, man.

You have been teachers, as well as doers, and as my colleagues in the Congress and I have so often observed, the whole process of social and humanitarian legislation has been enriched by your appearance before congressional committees and your continued support of enlightened legislation.

And your testimony from time to time has had a great deal to do with the modification and the improvement of legislation. I know of no time that the representatives of the Catholic charities have not been welcomed with open arms and with gratitude by the Members of Congress of both political parties.

You have always shown devotion to the principle that wise legislation can make them better by making society a little better, and you have never fallen into the trap of blaming the poor either by deliberate oversight or callous neglect.

In short, you understand that there is an inseparable connection between human progress and social justice.

I have always loved that word "justice." There is a beauty about it, and the Old Testament prophet, Amos, told us so much about it. Sometimes I feel that in our desire in America to be efficient, to be practical, to be productive, to be rich, to be powerful, we forget the word "justice."

Totalitarian societies can be efficient, they can be powerful, they can be rich, they can be all of those things, but they have never been just, and one word that we ought to cherish and literally pull to our heart is this beautiful word that means so much in terms of humanity, the word, "justice," and social justice is indeed the work of the very people that I now address.

And it has been a great part of the whole system, the whole set of values of America.

I can't help but say, as I have said all across the country, how truly blessed we are in America. I sometimes wonder if we really appreciate it, how fortunate, how blessed we are. I, like many of you, have traveled in many parts of the world, visiting these underdeveloped developing areas, as we call them, of Asia and Africa, Latin America. We know of the immense problems that these people face, and how good it is and how fortunate we are that organizations such as the Catholic Charities and other voluntary organizations are doing great work in these areas, remote areas, of the world.

When we designed legislation for the Peace Corps and for the foreign aid program and for the food-for-peace program, I am happy to say it was my privilege to see that in that legislation was incorporated provisions that not only made it possible but that directed the Government of the United States to work through the great voluntary organizations wherever that was possible. [Applause.]

These lands that I speak of, they have such immense problems, they can achieve very little social justice in the short run. Their meager resources must be rationed between improving standards of living for the immediate and the accumulation of capital for rural developments, rural developments and industrialization which offers a better life for their people in the longer run, and I hope that we Americans will be understanding of these people.

Sometimes as I travel across our country I become a bit concerned with our impatience. We fail to understand the staggering problems that some areas of the world have. Let me just cite one, this Latin America area, some of you may have been present at our conference in Chicago in January, the conference that was sponsored by Cardinal Cushing. I was privileged to speak there at that conference and I tried to point out the gains that were being made in Latin America, but the gains that were being made against tremendous odds, and fortunately we not only have a government working there, our Government, and others, but we have organizations of people who want to give of their lives, not just of their substance but literally give of their soul, of their spirit, of their lives, to help other people.



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Slowly but surely the levels of the standard of living are rising in these countries south of the Rio Grande. Slowly but surely the whole doctrine of Christian charity is beginning to find its way and to make its impact, and I, for one, have never seen anything wrong with the Government of the United States, a government that has as its pledge of allegiance not only a pledge to our country but to our God. I have never seen anything wrong with a government of the people, by the people and for the people that believes in a divine providence acting compassionately and helping people and extending the warm hand of fellowship and charity to those that need it. [Applause.]

Or, if I can put it quite simply, what's wrong in translating your religious and spiritual convictions into social and political action? Why separate them? I have never believed that my religion was only for Sunday and I don't intend to practice it that way. [Applause.]

There, in many of these areas of underdevelopment, the choices are not easy. The choices of immediately doing, doing something to immediately alleviate suffering must always be set off against the long-range needs of how you develop a country and the decisions are difficult, but here in America, we are not faced with such a choice.

Even in the short run we cannot afford to do without the highest measure of social justice and, might I add, that we can afford to do what we want to do. We cannot afford to tolerate poverty, particularly in the midst of our plenty at a time when we proudly boast of our affluence and of our richness and of our prosperity.

How can we as an ethical and moral people even contemplate or tolerate conditions of poverty amongst the least of these?

And, as I say, this situation of poverty becomes all the more intolerable as it becomes avoidable, because we know now we can do something about it. There is something which has happened in our time. There was a time that it was very difficult to do something about poverty, but one of the facts of our age is that poverty can be met, something can be done about it. We have the tools, the means, the resources, the skills to wage war upon it.

I tried to outline that in this book that Mr. Kelley referred to. I am not putting in a plug for my book per se [laughter] but it is filled with some meaty information. [Applause.]

Now I would not want to demean your intelligence by even rebutting the notion that poverty is simply the fault of the poor. But I do think that we should be concerned with another incredible notion which seems to be gaining some currency in our country; namely, that those of us who are concerned with the poor have manufactured poverty by redefining the luxuries of yesterdays as the necessities of today.

I get a lot of letters that tell me that. I wish you could read some of my mail sometime. [Laughter.] I did not know people were so interested in me.

Well now such an attitude of saying that we manufactured poverty, to have something to talk about, so to speak, or that we have redefined it by having the luxuries of yesterdays become the necessities of today, I think this demonstrates a most profound misunderstanding of America, of its spirit, of its traditions, of its faith, and of its compassion.

Of course the luxuries of yesterdays are in many ways the necessities of today. This is the exciting story of American progress. Just 60 years ago, for example, an automobile was a luxury, in fact it was an oddity. But it is not a luxury today for a poor breadwinner to drive to work when that is the only way that he can reach his job, and an automobile may be as important to many as a pair of shoes. Just 30 years ago electricity was a luxury on most farms. I well recall that. But, it surely can't be considered a luxury today for a poor family to snap on the switch.

Poverty, in short, is measured by the standard of a man's own community, and I don't intend to have the standards that we apply to Americans to be measured by the poor impoverished in the streets of Calcutta. This would be intolerability. [Applause.]

If most Americans are well fed, then the man who can't provide his family with three good meals a day is poor. If most Americans have decent and adequate clothing, shoes and books for the children at school, then the children who lack these things are poor.

If most Americans live in good homes then those who live in the shanties, in the slums of our cities, they are poor.

## HE - LINO - 275

And if most of our young people are privileged to attend good schools then those who are out of school or those that never get to school, or those that are so far behind in their learning processes, they are poor.

Nor can we measure the poverty of today, as I said, against other lands or even against our own past. We measure it against what we can do today, and should do tomorrow.

In other words, we must take an inventory of what we have to do, and then see what we are doing with what we have, and if we are not doing the best with what we have, then we are failing in our duty and we are avoiding our responsibilities and we will be held accountable if not by this generation, then by others.

What are the dimensions of poverty in America?

Is it simply a question of redefinition or relative living standards? May I say that poverty is not merely economic. I think frankly that is the easiest thing to deal with. The poverty of the purse. The poverty that concerns this man most is the poverty that comes of the spirit, the poverty as a result of hopelessness, of frustration, of prolonged unemployment, of not being wanted, of no place, no accommodation in the community; the poverty of illiteracy, the poverty of cultural deprivation, and the poverty of sickness, chronic sickness.

This word "poverty" has many dimensions but let's just take a look for a moment at the economic aspect of it because it relates and, in a sense, describes much of the other poverty.

In 1963, as your conference has undoubtedly articulated already, there were 47 million families in the United States. One-fifth of the total, had annual incomes of less than \$3,000. This figure included some 14 million children, one-sixth of our youth, whose parents cannot give them an adequate diet.

These children are inadequately clothed, and frequently they cannot afford adequate medical and dental treatment. And even more alarming, a little over five and a quarter million families containing 8 million children have total annual incomes of less than \$2,000.

Now, if we could by some series of programs and actions over a continuing period of time elevate those incomes not by gifts alone, but by the improvement in skills and adaptability to the society of which they are a part, this not only helps the poor, it helps everybody.

Poverty is like a low-grade infection in your body. It is not enough to make you bedridden, but just enough to slow you down, just enough to deny you the full exhilaration of your power and of your capacity, and we have these pockets of poverty which hold us back just a little bit. It's like a person that has a lingering cold, not enough to keep him away from work, not enough for him to draw sick pay, not enough so that he really can say that he is ill, he just simply says, "You know, I don't feel quite right." And this is what the pockets of poverty do to the American economy and, I think, to the American conscience, because there isn't a one of us that lives such a good and rich and full life but what if we pause for a moment must somehow or another feel a sense of personal guilt and shame that we have permitted so many of God's children to go unnoticed or unheeded or unhelped or at least that we had permitted ourselves not to make the effort to be helpful.

Now, the bitter facts of poverty among lonely people, and I underscore the words "lonely people"—you can be awfully lonely in a big city, in fact I think you can be more lonely in a great metropolis where there are thousands of people around you than you can be in the smallest town, because the sense of indifference that seems to grow in the metropolitan area—these facts of poverty among lonely people, men and women living on meager pensions, inadequate social security, family charity are equally shocking; and one of the real shocking discoveries of America today is the kind of poverty that exists among our elderly. We have shunted too many of them away to third floor apartments, pushed them into the back rooms, and in the hope that somehow or another we would not see them, just as we once did with our mentally retarded.

We must come and face up to these problems and bring them to the forefront, and recognize that the whole purpose of our lives is to make human dignity a reality, and not just a prayer; to make human dignity a living fact of life and not just a promise.

## HE - LINO - 276

The difference again between the totalitarian and the free man is this belief in human dignity, and human dignity is only true because it is God-given.

The spiritual context of life comes out when you understand that human dignity is there because God did create man in his own image. This is the whole feeling [applause] this is the whole meaning of democracy, very little other justification for it except because man has the soul and spirit, he is different than any other form of creation.

In 1962 we had 50 million persons in this country with incomes of less than \$1,500, 1962. And about one-third of this number received a total income of less than a thousand dollars.

Now these statistics cannot tell the whole story because these are just arithmetical figures. There is a dramatic story here of human anguish, a drama of human experience. These figures cannot convey the devastating consequences of living in slums, the long, range effects of deficient medical care, or the psychological and spiritual impact of suffering the multiple bruises which poverty inflicts.

When I hear us talk about lawlessness, and we can't condone lawlessness, but, my dear friends, when I think of Harlem, with 250,000 people in 3 square miles, with 40 percent of the Negro youth of teenage unemployed, and growing, with inadequate housing, with rat-infested apartments and tenements, with inadequate playgrounds, I come to the Middle West, I love grass, I love the good earth, I don't like asphalt, I want to feel the earth. How many of you realize that if the same density of population as they have in Harlem were applied to the rest of New York you could put the entire population of the United States of America in three boroughs in Metropolitan New York.

People live in a pressure cooker, and they explode.

I want to see my America think not only of how we enforce the law but how do we make the law just, how do we bring justice. [Applause.]

This acid of poverty corrodes faith in one's self. It eliminates hope for the future and it makes charity to others a rare virtue.

Now one point must be made abundantly clear. Waging war on poverty is not a question of taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots. That is not waging any war. That is just robbing Peter to pay Paul as they would say. You don't do that. It is rather the principle, this waging war on poverty is the principle, of Jesus' miracle of the loaves and the fishes.

In other words, we must expand the blessings of this land so that all may participate more fully.

And waging war on poverty isn't just the Government. This country of ours is not just government, thank goodness. Waging war on poverty is a partnership between a government, as I said, of the people, and for the people and by the people. With what? With State governments and local governments, but primarily with the great American people organized in their churches, in their voluntary organizations, in their many social groups so that as we wage this war on poverty we get a spiritual experience cleaning our selves as we help others to live a better life. This is my view of it, at least.

Now this is not to underrate in any way the improvement in the living standards which have taken place over the past generations. Of course, we are proud of that. These gains are tremendous and substantial. You and others have helped make these gains. But our future as a nation and a people will be determined by how wide a gap we maintain between our potential for social justice and its achievement. We have heard about the missile gaps. I tell you, my dear fellow citizens, that the justice gap in America is one that we ought to be concerned about and we ought to close that gap. [Applause.]

But I have good news for you. The fact is that we can afford to do whatever we want to do and whatever we make up our mind to do. Any nation that says that it can put a man on the moon and bring him back, and any nation that can plan and plan it with complete objectivity, that we will orbit the earth, that we will travel to other planets, that we will visit Mars, and this is exactly what our scientists are doing and we, the taxpayers, are paying for it, any nation that says that it can do these things to explore the heavens, I think that nation can do something about the earth and the people that live on it, too. [Applause.] All we have to do is to realize that it needs to be done.

## HE - LINO - 277

Anybody can do what's possible. That is no standard for modern Americans. We have to do what is impossible. We are—this isn't a matter of just getting by anymore. It is like I talk to my sons as they are in college. I say, "Look, don't bring home these grades about, you know, that you are doing as well as the fellow next to you. I have heard that stuff before. Don't give me any of that average business. Anybody can get by. What I want you to do is to perform with excellence."

The astronaut that orbits this earth, if he got up there and just simply said, "OK," it means he is in trouble. He has to say "A-OK." [Applause.]

What I guess I am saying is that what we will to do we can do. We can arm our Nation, we can build an atomic bomb, we can build a hydrogen bomb, we can orbit the earth, we can land on the moon, we can do greater things than man ever dreamed possible. We expand our defenses, we spent some \$35 to \$40 billion, my dear fellow Americans, in the last 3½ years than the preceding ratio of spending for defense because we said we needed it and I think we did.

All I am saying is that what we will, we can do.

So it is with our war on poverty. We can do whatever we resolve to do. But we need to get started, and it isn't the Government that is starting it. I want to make it quite clear. The Government is now coming along. But you started it, the society of St. Vincent DePaul, you started it. St. Francis of Assisi, he started it, others started it long before Governments, and this is the way it should be. The Government should be a reflection of popular will. The Government does not make popular will. The Government should represent popular will, and it should put into action what people want to have done, and you have blazed the path, you have pioneered, and now it is our task to make sure that we follow some of your guidelines, and that we use your great expertise.

Because our efforts to eradicate poverty are an investment in our future prosperity, I say we are going to reap great dividends.

Now this means, as I said, using the powers and the policies of the Federal Government in cooperation with voluntary groups to assure maximum growth and employment. It means recognizing that the surest road to a Federal balanced budget is a balanced national economy and, might I add, also a balanced sheet of our social and spiritual values. This is important.

It means planning ahead, and investing in those areas where investment is needed to assure growth in education, in natural resources, in transportation and rebuilding many of our cities so that they are not only a place in which you can work but rather a place in which you can live.

The American city has an ugliness of the slum and sometimes an ugliness of the spirit all too often, and we need not only the beauty of design for our buildings, but we need the beauty of the spirit for where the people live in happiness and in an environment that is conducive to human mankind.

Why not build cities for men rather than twisting and molding men for cities? I think we are going to. It is going to take some forward looking people to think about this, and some people are going to be accused of being dreamers, and very impractical. If I ever fail to be accused of that then I have outlived my usefulness. [Applause.]

Yes, this balanced national economy means waging a continuing war not only on that economic poverty, but upon ignorance, bigotry, discrimination, prejudice, in other words, waging war on the poverty of the spirit.

So let none of us delude ourselves for a moment that this war will be easily won but we must begin now and I want us to be as fervent in our desire to win this war as we are to stop the onward rush of Communist totalitarianism, two wars in one. [Applause.]

And by the way, we can wage both of them at once. As somebody said not long ago, we have arrived at a time when we can have both guns and butter. We can. In fact we have a little too much of both. [Laughter.]



## HE - LINO - 278

But the idea is what President Kennedy said, and I hope you won't mind that reference. President Kennedy said [applause] "Let us begin." "Let us begin." All over America I see these young people, their late and beloved President inspired these young people. They loved him, and they are taking a new interest in their country, and what he did to them was to lift their sights, and he said to us, "let's start. Let's be courageous, let's be daring, let's be adventuresome, let us begin."

Too many people want to wait for everything to be, all the evidence to be in, and by the time it is all in, the court is adjourned. You are dead. [Applause.]

And because we have the faith to begin we learn by doing. Now that is the American way. We don't have to have a blueprint for every action. Learn by doing. Sure we will make some mistakes. The man that has never made one could hold a conference in a telephone booth. [Laughter.]

And as we overcome some of these mistakes, learn from them and as we overcome some of the aspects of the poverty problem, others may loom before us. But it is foolish to expect that all aspects of all kinds of poverty will soon be eradicated and require nothing more from us. And I hear people say, "if you can't do it in a hurry what do you start for?" Well, there are a lot of things we can't do in a hurry. You did not build the great church in a hurry. We did not build America in a hurry but we keep at it, and both look pretty strong to me. [Applause.]

So I say no matter how complex the world may be it still is our world and it appears that at least for a few days we will be here. [Laughter.]

As President Kennedy once said, "Here on earth good work must truly be our own." The forces which direct our destiny remain blind and frightening only if we refuse to open our eyes and exert our own strength in control.

But if we resolve to make no small plans, to accept no meager or small results, to regard each partial victory as but a stepping stone, I say that we can reach our stated goals within a decade or a generation or maybe two generations. A summit where all Americans can enjoy fully the air of freedom because poverty no longer threatens them, because they will have gained further evidence of the validity of the democratic institutions.

Great cathedrals were not built in a day. The story of every cathedral is the story of generations of loving care, of artisans and skilled workmen, of church men and of faithful parishoners, over the years, some of them centuries, and the cathedral of the Great Society of America isn't going to be built in a day, but let's start, let's get with it.

Build its foundations, that we have; and we are building this mighty edifice and great towers to the heavens, but let's keep building and if we find that we have planned wrongly, let us change. Let us not stand there and condemn one another for our mistakes but let us join together in forgiveness and move ahead to accomplishment.

I think we should often remember the profound wisdom that once was so eloquently expressed by President Roosevelt. I have always loved this statement, I guess maybe because it gives me a little feeling that I am not so bad after all.

He said:

Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells that divine justice weights the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on 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.

Those words were said in the thirties. They need to be said in the sixties, and they will need to be said in the year 2000.

I would hope, therefore, that no American leader, public or private, that no President any time in our history, would ever be indifferent to the plight of our less fortunate brethren. I think we ought to remember that America is as strong basically as its weakest, and that our solemn moral duty is to be concerned with the least of these.

# HE - LINO - 279

I think that every President might well be advised to try to share in the wisdom of St. Paul as expressed in his epistle to the Corinthians:

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal \* \* \* and now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

God bless you, thank you.

St. Louis, Mo.  
Downtown Rally  
October 6, 1964

## SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much.

[Cries of "We want Hubert."]

You have got him. All right. You have called loud enough and you have me. Here I am.

[Applause.]

Senator Long, will the good Democratic friends put their signs down. We don't mind if that other one is up.

[Laughter and applause.]

I hope—you know we were in California the last couple of days and they were paying the young fellow out there 50 cents an afternoon to carry those signs. I hope they are doing much better than that here in this fine community of St. Louis.

Senator Long, it is a great pleasure to be here in this great city of St. Louis that tomorrow will be the setting and the home staging area for America's great sport, the World Series and the St. Louis Cardinals—[applause]—and the St. Louis Cardinals that have given America such amazing baseball teams over the years and have given to America the one and only Stan Musial.

I have a feeling that while everybody here, with a few exceptions, I see one or two, though most everybody here is very, very happy, that tomorrow you are going to be a whole lot happier.

[Applause.]

I am delighted to have the privilege of sharing this platform with some of the fine public servants of this State, and indeed to be here with my colleague in the Senate, Senator Ed Long. I regret that our good friend, the senior Senator from this State could not be with us. He is campaigning elsewhere. He knows very well that he can rely upon us to say the world for him that ought to be said and he justly deserves.



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