

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at the Airport
Albuquerque, New Mexico
September 12, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Mr. Schifani. May I now officially and personally thank this very lovely, charming, beautiful young lady, Miss Teenager of New Mexico, for this fine gift that came from the Valley High School Band. I don't know what is in there, but I know it must be excellent. It is far too good for the Senator from Arizona and just right for the Senator from Minnesota.

Mis Amigos, Saludos, and Viva Joe Montoya. Viva L.B.J. And if you don't mind, Viva HHH.

Let me first of all express my thanks and greetings to your esteemed Governor, my good friend, Governor Campbell, and to your former Governor, Governor Burroughs, and to our Congressman, Tom Morris, and, of course, to your new Congressman, who is going to take Joe's place in the House of Representatives, Johnny Walker.

I want also to say how good it is to meet your lovely county chairwoman, Miss Garcia, and your Chairman, Mr. Kiker.

There are, indeed, many more that I would like to pay my respects to tonight, but I gather you have been waiting quite a little while and we are going to have quite a gathering up in Santa Fe tomorrow, so I won't take too much of your time tonight.

Let me say we left just about a half hour ago a thrilling and exciting, big, huge audience in Denver, Colorado. We talked there about the Democratic Party, its commitment to America, its promise for the future. I have noticed as I viewed this audience, when those lights weren't dazzling my eyes so I could see you, let me say again I see this great spirit of the West, the vitality, the youth.

By the way, let me say tonight that we need the young people, we welcome our young people. And we ask every young Democrat and every young Citizen for Johnson and Humphrey to redouble your efforts, to see to it that everyone gets out to vote and to see to it that Joe Montoya goes to the United States Senate to help Clint Anderson there to help Lyndon Johnson.

You know, as I was coming in on the plane, I asked myself,

what might I say here that would be worthy of your attention.

I am very much aware of the fact that this is the Land of Enchantment. I am very much aware that Albuquerque is indeed a sunshine city, and the sunshine city. But the whole theme of the Democratic Party in this election, and indeed in this period of our history, is to be found right here in New Mexico. And the theme of our party is people, progress, and peace.

It seems to me that when you speak of people, you can think of New Mexico as no other State, because here is a blending of three great civilizations, three great cultures, the culture of the Indian, the Spanish culture, and as some people put it, the culture of the Anglo, all in one great State, one great people that adds so much strength to America.

And the progress here is phenomenal all through the Southwest, fantastic progress, agricultural progress, industrial progress, educational progress, every place you look.

Prosperity -- yes, prosperity for more and more people all the time within this progress.

But then, having mentioned people, where you treat people as human beings with dignity, with respect or equality of opportunity is now becoming a fact instead of a theory, may I say the greatest objective of our party is a peace, an honorable peace, a world of freedom, a world of justice, and a world of peace.

Here in New Mexico, the atomic age was born. Your great laboratories at Los Alamos tell the story of the atomic age.

And what is this atomic power for?

It is for a better life. It is the great protector and the defender of the peace. It is the nuclear deterrent of the United States of America which your great laboratories have made possible, that has preserved the peace and has given mankind an opportunity to search for, to look for and to work for and to plan for a better life.

So, indeed, peace and people and progress, the three great concepts, the three great ideals of our Nation and indeed, the

three great ideals of our party, are to be found right here in our great sunshine State, this Land of Enchantment, this great State of New Mexico.

And I salute you for it.

What a wonderful, wonderful achievement is yours.

Now, may I say one other thing, that you are also very fortunate that you have good contact with Texas and the man from Texas is the man that is President of the United States. If New Mexico does as well in 1964 as it did in 1960, when you did just exactly as mine did -- you cast your vote for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson -- in 1964, all you have to do is to cast your vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, and the Democratic ticket, and we will carry on.

We will carry on the very program that John Kennedy launched for America and we will build on that program. We will build and create new programs for our country and our people.

So, Joe, I come to you as a friend. I want to see you in the Senate, and I want to be up there in that Presiding Officer's chair, so that when Joe Montona takes his office, it will be a Democratic Vice President that administers it.

Welcome into the Senate, Joe, we welcome you there.

Welcome into Congress, Johnny Walker; we welcome you there.

And welcome back to Congress, Tom Morris, where you have done such a good job.

Now, listen, it is time to go to work. I would say it is time to go to sleep except I don't want to tell you what to do except to go to work. From here on out, I hope you will buckle down now and make up your mind that America needs a Democratic victory, and it is in your hands. If you really get down and hustle, if you do your job, we can have the greatest victory that the Democratic Party has ever had since 1936, when FDR carried every State but two, and this time, we will carry all 50.

Thank you.

New Mexico File

Memorandum

New Mexico is privileged to have one of the most effective and outstanding Senators in the person of Clinton Anderson. He has received again and again the vote of confidence and support of the people of your State. He is recognized for his great contributions in the field of conservation, agriculture, irrigation and reclamation, medicare and health, space, science and national security. This man deserves to have a working partner in the Senate. At the present time his vote is canceled by the vote of the Republican Senator. New Mexico's contribution, therefore, to the Democratic program is neutralized. A man with the leadership quality and capacity of Senator Anderson needs a partner like Joe Montoya. I know that Senator Anderson looks forward to serving with Joe Montoya. I know that he has the highest regard and respect for the ability and the character and the competence of Joe Montoya. I know because he has told me so.

Memorandum

New Mexico has two neighbors: one to the west--the Republican spokesman who, when faced with the decision as to whether or not we should wage war on poverty, voted no. And the neighbor to the east in Texas who gave the declaration of war on poverty. He called upon all Americans to eradicate from our midst this blight of economic and social distress. Lyndon Baines Johnson wages war on poverty and your Arizona neighbor wages war on progress. You have a choice. Your vote will help decide which neighbor--the man from Texas or the man from Arizona--will serve in the White House the next four years. I am confident that that choice will be an overwhelming vote for Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Press Conference
at Western Skies Motel
Albuquerque, New Mexico
September 13, 1964

Question. Senator Goldwater has spoken out quite a lot against lawlessness and he has cited, among other things, riots and demonstrations which generally are known as racial in origin. What do you believe he is getting at? Do you regard it as a subtle way of injecting the racial issue in this campaign, if appealing to what is called the white backlash vote?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Mr. Mazo, I doubt that I could draw any other conclusion than the fact that the Senator from Arizona is equating the violence that takes place in certain cities with the race issue and the civil rights bill. I regret to see this sort of display of playing upon the emotions of the American people at the expense of better understanding and better relationships between the races.

Now, let me make it crystal clear as the Vice Presidential nominee of my party, and as a U. S. Senator, as the running mate of President Johnson, that this Administration will extend every conceivable help from the Federal Government that is within the purview of our Constitutional powers to assist state and local authorities in maintaining law and order.

I have said before and I repeat it again that civil wrongs do not make for civil rights, that the first requirement of good government is to maintain peace and tranquility at a community and national level. The President has, as you know, ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to examine into these riots and disorders, these incidents of looting and pillaging to see whether or not there is a pattern. Because there are those who believe, on the basis of some evidence, that these disorders are the product of professional agitators -- Communists, Ku Kluxers, hoodlums, dope addicts, and other nefarious elements.

I wish that the Republican spokesman would also give some attention to the great social injustice which exists in some of our metropolitan areas and some of the problems that local officials face in these areas and that the people face. Let us take one example -- Harlem. There was disorder in Harlem some time ago -- rioting, looting. But it is reported that not more than a thousand people were involved out of a total population in Harlem of over 250,000 living within an area of 3.5 square miles. If the same density of population were found in all parts of New York as in Harlem, the entire population of the United States could be placed in three boroughs of New York City.

Now, this unbelievable density of population, the inadequacy of educational opportunity, the influx of people from the share-crop economy, poorly equipped emotionally and mentally, or I should say educationally, for industrialized living -- all of this has added to the problem. So this is why we insist upon programs of education and manpower retraining, the war on poverty, the youth camps for the school dropouts.

And amongst our Negro youth, regrettably, there is a high rate of unemployment. Unemployed youth power can cause great trouble. What we ought to be doing is finding ways and means of providing opportunity for these young people.

The law shall be enforced, the Federal Government will aid wherever it can, and it is. And I would suggest that national spokesmen for any political party quit playing loose and free with racial problems and the Civil Rights Act. It would be much better to encourage observance of the law, respect for the law, and understanding of the law.

Question. Senator, it appears the President is pitting you against Senator Goldwater while he works in other areas. Is this the case and does this please you?

Senator Humphrey. Well, the President isn't pitting me against anybody. I am traveling around the United States as a candidate of the Democratic Party for the office of Vice President to bring the message of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the record of our achievements and our accomplishments, the statement of our platform for the future, and also to contrast the record of Mr. Goldwater with that of President Johnson, contrast the record of the Republican platform with that of the Democratic platform. I will carry on a good deal of the campaign responsibility while our President undertakes the heavy duties of his offices, the Chief Executive of this land.

Question. Senator Goldwater charged that President Kennedy played politics with the Cuban missile crisis and President Johnson is now doing the same with Viet Nam. What about that?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Mr. Scherer, I deeply regret that Mr. Goldwater has seen fit to make that statement, and I do hope and I fully believe that after sober reflection of what he said, he will retract it. He should. I say that because as a United States Senator and a member of the Armed Services Committee and a Reserve General in the Air Force, and one who is entitled to all information of a security nature from this government, the Senator knows better. He knows that what he said is not true, or at least he can find out that it is not true.

What happened in the Cuban crisis is a matter now of historical record. The missiles were discovered by our aerial reconnaissance after careful examination of photographic evidence by the Intelligence Services of this government, and by the Central Intelligence Agency, headed by John McCone, a Republican and a prominent one. The President of the United States took what action was necessary to safeguard the security of this country. I do not know of anyone who really believes that President Kennedy played politics with the Cuban crisis, and I hope and pray that no one will ever again make that statement, because the peace of the world was at stake.

Now, in terms of Vietnam, it is indeed shoddy and shabby political talk for any person who ought to know better and who has the means of finding out the truth to accuse any President of the United States of trying to contrive an international incident for personal or narrow political partisan purposes.

This is untrue. It is most regrettable that it was ever said, and in order to cleanse the record I think the Republican spokesman ought to retract it and ought to explain to the American people that he has been given the opportunity by the President to have all the information relating to our foreign policy and our national security at his disposal at any time.

Question. Senator, you have had occasion in the Senate to observe Senator Mechem, who was opposed by Representative Montoya. Could you tell us how you feel about these two gentlemen?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I try not to come into a State of another Senator and in any way do him a disservice. I try to be respectful, friendly. You know, it has been said that we Senators have the most exclusive club in the world. I am not sure that that is a factual statement, but it makes good legend. I am here to encourage the election of Joe Montoya. I am here to do that because the Republican Senator from this State seems to cancel out the good that a great Senator from New Mexico, Clinton Anderson, seeks to do for your State.

I have a feeling that New Mexico is going to do in 1964 what it did in 1960, only more so, give a great vote of support for President Johnson. It voted for

President Kennedy in 1960. And if you are going to vote for President Johnson, you ought to send to the United States Senate a Senator that will in the main attempt to support President Johnson's program.

I checked the record of Senator Mechem and he has voted about two thirds of the time opposite to Senator Anderson. He apparently has had a few observations to make about me. He is entitled to do that. But I would only say that I have been elected by the people of my State, three times, and I generally am in the Senate attending to my duties as United States Senator. And I know that Joe Montoya will do exactly that as United States Senator.

The best place to be a Senator, Joe, is to be in the Senate --and be elected.

Question. Senator, can we assume that there is a get-tough policy on the part of the United States in Vietnam rather than a policy of trying to pacify the situation and avoid a conflict at all costs?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I don't think the situation is quite that simple, sir, I say most respectfully. We are in Vietnam at the request of the Vietnamese government. We are seeking to work with what government is there to bring stability, to maintain military strength against the Viet Cong, the Communist guerilla warriors and infiltrators and aggressors. We are seeking to promote a healthier economy and that, by the way, is developing and happening.

Our policy is not one that you can put a label on of get tough or get soft. It is one of doing what needs to be done to assure the territorial integrity and the independence of the free nation of Vietnam. And we have no intention of letting that part of the world be overrun by communist aggression, and we will take whatever steps are necessary in terms of our commitments to that area to assure that freedom prevails and that communist aggression is defeated.

Question. Senator, in your travels around the country, you have been appealing for the votes of the so-called good Republicans. If the polls are any guide, you seem to be making considerable headway. What effect do you think this phenomenon, if translated in a Democratic landslide in November, will have on the country's traditional two-party system?

Senator Humphrey. It is my view from the many conferences and visits that I have had with people that are rather prominent in Republican circles that a large number of good, solid, constructive Republicans are going to vote for President Johnson for President in November. I believe that the views of public opinion measurement, like our polls, demonstrate this. There seems to be at least a rather substantial number of Republicans that you call moderates -- the Eisenhower Republicans, the Scanton Republicans, the Rockefeller-type Republicans, the middle of the road Republicans -- that cannot bring themselves to follow the lead of Mr. Goldwater. They have put their country above their party and they have put their principles above political accommodation.

The trouble seems to be that the Goldwater faction demands complete subservience to their rule and many good people resent that, and justly so.

Now, you asked the question what would be the result if there is an overwhelming Democratic victory, which I hope there is. I think the result will be that the Republican Party will be rejuvenated; that the moderates and those of traditional Republican persuasion, the kind of Republicans that we have known about for years, will move in once again to reclaim the leadership of their party.

Actually, what they feel has happened is that the party has been kidnapped, the leadership has been. And I have a feeling that the regular moderate Republican will make a hard fight to once again reclaim the leadership of the Party, as, for example, recently happened in the State of California. So it will not be the end of the two-party system, Mr. Glass. It may very well result in a much more revitalized Republican Party which will cause the Democrats trouble ahead.

Question. A related question. Do you and Mr. Johnson, both of whom have made some rather definite overtures to the like-minded Republicans, do you feel that their support is necessary? Do you feel there is going to be enough Democratic defection that you are going to have to rely on this element of the Republican Party, and then a very closely related question, if you feel the Republicans are successful -- I mean if the Republicans do give you a great deal of support -- that might prove to be a handicap to you in your actual Administration?

Senator Humphrey. Well, first, I suppose it would be possible to win an election without great defection in the Republican ranks, but one who is running for office always appreciates the support he can get from good, wholesome elements of American society, and we always have a number of people in both parties who cross over somewhat in their votes. But I want to say once again that I think it is important that in this election, people who have basic agreement upon goals and objectives unite, and that for all practical purposes, we have a force of national unity that will demonstrate to certain elements in American life, such as the extreme elements represented by the Birch Society, the Ku Kluxer, the Commies and others of their ilk, that these people are a noisy but ineffective minority and that they have no opportunity or chance to have anything to say about the guidelines of American life in the years ahead. So I think this victory is very important.

Now, the second part. I don't think we will have any trouble as a result of this kind of support; in fact, it will be very good.

The truth is that as a United States Senator, I found out that on most great issues, on the big issues, you generally have support in both parties. As I have said a number of times on the nuclear test ban issue, for example, the majority of Republicans and the majority of Democrats voted for that treaty. On the tax bill, a majority of the Republicans and a majority of the Democrats voted for that bill. On many issues, that is the case.

On most of those issues, may I say that the majority of the Republicans and Democrats voted together, but not Senator Goldwater.

Question. Thank you, Senator.

"Issues and Answers"

KOAT-TV

Albuquerque, New Mexico

September 13, 1964

These are the issues: What will the Administration do about the new crisis in Vietnam? Does the ADA represent your views? What are you going to tell the South about civil rights?

Mr. Rolfson: Senator Humphrey, the news today is that the government we support in South Vietnam has apparently been overthrown again, which leaves the impression that American policy there is floundering pretty badly. What is your administration doing about this new crisis?

Senator Humphrey: Of course the news reports are still rather incomplete. What I have been able to learn about it is to the effect that there has been more or less of a peaceful coup, a number of battalions, army units in Saigon that have insisted upon a rather dramatic change in government with heavier military emphasis and less civilian. There are, of course, as you know, the rather sad differences and unfortunate differences between the Buddhists and the Catholic groups in Vietnam, and particularly in Saigon. I think it ought to be crystal clear, however, that this matter is not one that indicates any surrender to the Viet Cong, to the Communist force. On the contrary, every element is opposed to the Communist force.

What we need to hope for is for the Vietnamese themselves -- that is, this handful of leaders at the top of the Vietnamese political, economic and social structure to place their country first and their individual differences to be set aside. This has been the encouragement of our government, General Taylor, our Ambassador, spoke to us recently about this in Washington, the desire of our government and the emphasis of our government, the United States Government, to encourage these leaders to unite around a common objective.

Now, they are feeling their way yet, John, as to how to put this government together. There have been several shifts of government, as you know, in the last month. General Khanh is still very much an important force in Vietnam and he will continue to be for some time.

Mr. Rolfson: Doesn't this speak pretty badly, though, for our policy and what we are doing there, that there is a constant shuffle of people on our side?

Senator Humphrey: I think the American people must understand that we can't remake the world from our image. We have to deal with the factors that are present there. What we have sought to do is not take over in Vietnam. What we are seeking to do is help the Government in Vietnam to defend itself; that is, for the Vietnamese people to work out their own destiny, to defend themselves. I don't consider it a failure on our government's part at all. We are not operating the government of Vietnam; we are not an imperial power. We are a friendly power that has come to Vietnam at the request of friendly government to give assistance and we will be there and we will continue to give that assistance. I think it is a little too early to draw definitive conclusions or definitive statements as to what the government will be like. I think it will come out all right, though, in terms of a strong anti-communist government.

Mr. Rolfson. Senator Goldwater has charged again that the administration timed the Cuban missile crisis for maximum political advantage in 1962. He suggests that the Johnson Administration might be planning to do the same thing now in Vietnam, to win votes this November.

Senator Humphrey. John, I am very sorry that Senator Goldwater said that. I hope he really doesn't believe that and I don't believe that he really does, because the facts are so contrary to his statement. It is a rather cynical statement and a very misleading one.

Let's just spend a moment on the Cuban crisis of 1962. Nothing was timed about that in terms of our government. Everybody knows every responsible public official of this government knows, and surely Senator Goldwater knows, because he is a reserve officer and he has contact with the United States Air Force -- every person knows, in any responsible position, that the missiles were discovered in Cuba in September and that when those missiles were discovered by aerial reconnaissance, by our U-2 flights, by the U.S. Air Force, that this information was brought to the attention of the responsible officials of our government; all that Mr. Goldwater would have ever had to do was to consult with John McCone, Director of the CIA, who is a prominent Republican and surely is not a partisan in these matters and he would know there was no timing on the part of President John Kennedy about a crisis in Cuba. What the President of the United States did was to meet a situation that developed. And may I say that he met it well; he met it with firmness, with resoluteness. He met it with the kind of courage that the whole world respected and Mr. Khrushchev backed down.

Now, to say that there is any manufactured crisis or any timing of crisis in Vietnam now is to accuse the President of the United States of manipulating international developments that very well might affect the peace and the security of the whole world for a narrow political purpose. No man ought to make that charge.

The President of the United States is harassed, he is badgered enough by the many problems in this world and he ought not to have a fellow American accusing him of political manipulation of a grave international situation for personal or partisan political purposes. It is just not true; it is the most unkind, the most false statement that anyone could make.

Mr. Anderson. Senator, to get back to this country for a moment, you are starting to campaign down south this week. How do you plan to approach the civil rights problem when you are campaigning in the south?

Senator Humphrey. Exactly as I would approach it if I campaigned in the north. You can't have one position on these issues in the south and one in the north. I am sure that our friends in the south know what my position is. It has been talked about a great deal. And that position is one of observance of the law, of support of the law. After all, many a southern Senator since the passage of the civil rights act has called upon the people, their States, to support the law, to observe the law. I think that the southerners have shown me great courtesy and respect by inviting me to come to their States. I shall go to Arkansas, where I shall address the Democratic State Convention, a major meeting of the Rural Electrification Association; I shall go to Texas. Later on I shall go to Georgia and North Carolina, and I hope South Carolina and Florida and possibly Louisiana. Southerners are just like northerners. They have problems and they have many things that they want to talk about. And I will be able to talk to our friends in the south about agriculture, about economics, about foreign policy and national security, about education and health. This is all a part of America.

Mr. Anderson. Senator, do you think the southern States have been observing the civil rights law?

Senator Humphrey. Piers, I am of the opinion that the southern States have a remarkable record of compliance and observance with the civil rights statute since its passage. As a matter of fact, I think it is just about time for

someone to give them a word of commendation.

Today, there is more school integration than there has been at any time in our history. Southern governors and mayors and public officials are attempting to observe the law and enforce the law. And, more importantly, the people in the south, in area after area, are observing the law. They are working at a community level to bring about a compliance with the law.

Might I say that the whole thrust of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is one of compliance, one of observing the law, one of voluntary cooperation.

This is what the Community Relations Service is about, the one that Governor Leroy Collins, the former Governor of Florida, directs at the present time. I really just want to give them a word of commendation and congratulations or as we put it up my way, a pat on the back. I think they have done extraordinarily well.

Mr. Anderson. In general, it has been said that you have moderated your views in recent years. Do you feel that you have mellowed, that you have more restraint?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am a little older, and I would hope that with some age, there would be what you call maturity. I know that as one takes on the tasks of government, and I have been a very active participant in the United States Senate, that he senses the importance of his responsibility. I have been taught responsibility all of my life. President Johnson, when he was the Majority Leader of the Senate, had one theme above everything else that he brought home day after day to those of us in the Senate -- be responsible; act responsibly. Put your country above your party. Be proud of your citizenship. And then, yes, be proud of your partisanship, but put it in proper perspective.

I think possibly I have mellowed some, yes, I would like to think so. I would suppose that some of my sharper edges have been rounded off, but my convictions are the same, yes, my ideals.

Mr. Rolfson. Senator Humphrey, the Republicans are attacking you for your long association with Americans for Democratic Action, which Senator Goldwater has called extremely socialistic with especially dangerous positions on foreign policy. He said Friday night you owe an explanation as to whether you agree on certain things, such as admission of Red China to the UN, the abolishment of the Un-American Activities Committee, and unilateral disarmament.

Senator Humphrey. I expected to be the lightning rod for the wrath of the Goldwater-Miller combination, and I seem to be serving that function quite well. If I can do this to help Senator Johnson, I am extremely happy.

Yes, I can explain my position. I don't intend to explain it, I intend to assert it. May I say if Senator Goldwater and his running mate would take a little time to study the Congressional Record instead of their press releases, they would know what my position is.

Senator Humphrey has always opposed the admission of Red China into the United Nations and recognition of Red China. Senator Humphrey doesn't recommend or advise that there be unilateral disarmament. I have stated my position many times on the matter of being able to negotiate from a position of strength and of having to put up warning signals time after time as to the importance of maintaining strength and not being dragged into any form of weakening position or any form of unilateral disarmament.

The other position on the Un-American Activities Committee, I have never recommended its abolishment; some people have. I have not. I believe in the right of committees of Congress to investigate. I think they should do it responsibly. But I do believe that they have that obligation.

Now, actually, of course, Mr. Goldwater has not given a factual and honorable interpretation of the positions of the Americans for Democratic Action. One of the points I would like to make is that as a United States Senator, my record is a public record and I do not think that it serves the public good of this country for a spokesman of the opposition party, whoever that spokesman may be, to totally distort the printed, known, factual historical of a party or of a Senator.

We have such things as common Senatorial courtesy and the vote in the United States Senate, there is a record roll call vote. And it seems to me that anyone who attended to his duties would know what that vote was.

Mr. Rolfson. Of course, there is a pretty clear drift in attitude of the Americans for Democratic Action. Don't you think it is fair, nevertheless, to hold you to some account for this organization's position, since you have been a founder and a leader for years, and until last month, I guess, vice chairman?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, I must say we owe a great debt of gratitude to this organization for being the most militant and most effective anti-communist force on the United States political scene. This organization did and has continued to battle against any form of infiltration of extreme left wing elements in progressive liberal American politics or any part of the American political structure.

Now, I have noticed that the most bitter critics of the organization, of the ADA, are the Communists on the one hand, the Birchites on the other hand, and now in betwixt these two mad extremes comes in the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party. It is very strange company; very, very strange company. I wouldn't want to be in that company.

Mr. Anderson. Senator, in almost all of your speeches, you say that Senator Goldwater is not emotionally equipped to be President. Do you plan to elaborate on that statement?

Senator Humphrey. Sir, what I have intended to say, and if I have done him any disservice, I, of course, want to apologize, I want to make clear that my relationships with the Senator from Arizona have been friendly and cordial. I consider him a good American, a fine citizen, a patriot, a man of good character and fine family. I want that on the record. I disagree with his point of view on many of the political issues of the day. In fact, on most of them.

It is my view that what Senator Goldwater expects about the use of atomic weapons as if they were little conventional weapons, for example, and he says let's give the use of those weapons and the control of them to the general in the field, he hasn't thought it through, or if he has thought it through, then he has a very dangerous thought. There aren't any conventional atomic weapons. The little weapons he speaks about that are presently in the possession of the United States Army in Europe, but are subject to the control of the President of the United States -- these weapons are bigger than the bomb that was used at Nagasaki. You don't call that a little old conventional weapon. I feel

that the Senator from Arizona has had some difficulty outlining a consistent position of political philosophy and political program. He votes against a tax bill and then a few months later, he recommends a tax -- a tax cut bill he voted against, the one that cut the taxes over \$11 billion. A few months later, he comes around and charges it as being a cynical, politically motivated gimmick and then he proposes a tax cut of his own of 25 percent.

One time he says we ought not to be in the United Nations and another time he says it has some value. He one time condemned Social Security. A little bit later he says, well, Social Security may be all right.

I don't know how you would interpret this, but I would say it is at least political instability, and in a President, you need more firmness of purpose and more stability of position.

Mr. Anderton. Senator, you and Senator Goldwater will appear on the same platform this week in connection with the Doughing plowing contest in Fargo. What are you going to say about the problem of farm surpluses?

Senator Humphrey. Well, first I am going to recite the record of the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate and the Democratic Party on agricultural legislation. I then will cite the record of the Republican nominee and of his running mate. I have a feeling that the farmers that will be in attendance at that meeting will know the difference between those two records and they will know that the Democratic Administration has been the friend of the American farmer.

I will say something about what are charged to be or alleged to be surpluses. I think the time is at hand for a country that has worldwide responsibilities, when famine stalks the earth in many of the friendly countries that are associated with us, that we have strategic national reserves for our own national purposes and for international purposes.

Now, over and above those what you may call strategic national reserves, there may be surpluses. But I don't really think, you know, that you ought to call a stockpile of feed grains for 45 days a surplus; as a matter of fact, you are running on a pretty close inventory. So we will talk a little bit about that.

The real miracle of America today is the miracle of agriculture. It is one of the finest we have.

Mr. Anderton. Don't we have large surpluses of butter and wheat?

Senator Humphrey. We don't have any surplus of butter at all at the present time. We have a surplus of some vegetable oils, but that is moving very rapidly and we are developing commercial markets for those. We have surpluses of wheat, but not large surpluses in terms of milling wheat. Some of the wheat is for feed purposes. I believe if you look over the weather map of America this year, you will see large areas of this great nation of ours in drought and these feed stocks have been vitally important for our cattlemen, vitally important for our whole livestock industry.

Had we not had some of these stocks, we could have had an economic disaster for some of our farm people.

Mr. Rolfson. How do you feel about Senator Goldwater's charge that the lack of administrative leadership and the poor moral responsibility it shows is turning the streets into jungles and causing a decline in public or private morals?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I know this issue has been talked about considerably. In fact, it seems to be the central theme of the Goldwater attack.

First of all, let me make it crystal clear that as the former Mayor of a great city, the City of Minneapolis, I know something about law enforcement. I believe in law enforcement. I neither condone nor in any way will try to explain away violence or riots or disorder or looting; you cannot have this.

I think I can speak for the national Administration that within the limits of our constitutional powers, since we have no national police force and ought not to have one, every resource of the Federal Government is made available to state government, to local government, to local authorities, and to governors to see to it that law and order is maintained. Law and order is essential for a free society. I have said publicly that civil wrongs do not make for civil rights and violence in the streets is a great -- it is a tragedy and it does a great disservice to the cause of civil liberties and civil rights. Therefore, law and order must be maintained and it must be sustained.

As you know, the President has ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to study whether or not there is any pattern here of these riots that are taking place. Does there seem to be a certain element -- communistic or hoodlunism or gangsterism or dope peddlers or Ku Kluxism or whatever there may be -- that is trying to incite these riots?

Don't forget that in Harlem, for example, where you have 250,000 people living in an area of 3-1/2 square miles, less than 1,000 were involved in the riots. I want to say for those fine citizens that went on with their daily lives and tried to maintain their sense of balance and decorum that they deserve our praise.

John, you know that if the same density of population that you have in Harlem were applied to other areas of New York, you would be able to put the entire population of the United States of America in three boroughs in New York City. People are literally living on top of each other. Lack of education, sanitation, proper health protection, lack of jobs, of training -- thousands of people uprooted from a rural background in the south and coming to the north into industrialized areas -- this plus hoodlunism, this plus professional agitators, I think, has caused much of this rioting. It must be stopped and I make an appeal now as I have before that those who want to see America move ahead in the line of order and orderly development must cooperate, must stop this sort of thing. And we will back up every law enforcement official in the country.

I don't think Mr. Goldwater is being particularly helpful, however, by saying that the Civil Rights Act breeds violence and hatred and bitterness. I think we all ought to speak up for law observance. I think we ought to speak up for law and order. And when we see a Governor that does a good job or mayor or chief of police, let's help him.

But at the same time, let it be manifestly clear that President Johnson and Senator Hubert Humphrey, and I am sure Senator Goldwater and his running mate, believe that the laws must be enforced and that rioting and violence must stop.

Mr. Anderton. Senator, you have always been a prime supporter of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. There is some belief that the Alliance is not succeeding. Is that true?

Senator Humphrey. Piers, of all the places one could talk about the Alliance for Progress and the hope of its succeeding, it is here in New Mexico. We are in an area of the world that has a background of Spanish culture; there is a large percentage of this population that is Spanish speaking, and I happen to feel this great southwest can do a lot to help the Alliance through its universities, its agricultural schools, its technical schools.

The Alliance for Progress is making progress. I am very familiar with it, as you know. I am watching it carefully and devoted to its fulfilment. Presently, I think ten countries in Latin America are exceeding the goals in terms of economic expansion and growth that were laid down in the conference of Punta del Este -- ten of them.

Literally hundreds of thousands of new homes have been built, over 1,000 cities and villages today have fresh water and sewage systems that didn't have it. An election was held in Venezuela. The communists and the terrorists tried to destroy the constitutional government of Venezuela; they didn't succeed. Democracy prevails.

In Chile, there was a great threat from the left, but, as you know, a man dedicated to Christian democracy was elected as president of Chile.

The Alliance for Progress succeeds and I think if we keep at it and have the whole world clearly understand that this is our commitment, as President Kennedy said, this is the most critical free area of the world, if we do that, we will succeed in cooperation with our neighbors to the south.

Mr. Rolfson. Senator Humphrey, thank you very much indeed for being with us on Issues and Answers.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Santa Fe Fair Grounds
Santa Fe, New Mexico
September 13, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Viva Joe Montoya.

Como esta, mis amigos. Saludos and Viva LBJ. My dear friends, my very dear friends. First of all, let me say to Joe that I want you to introduce me in Spanish on this occasion. I don't know a word that you said, but it sure sounded good.

Occasionally I would get that word "grande," and, Oh, I liked that one.

Governor Jack Campbell, Congressman Morris, Congressman Johnnie Walker, Governor Burroughs and Governor Miles, your distinguished Lieutenant Governor, Mack Easley, and, of course, our chairman of the day, our outstanding States Senator, Chavez, and my good friend the Chairman of the Tribal Council of the Navahos, Raymond Nakai.

I want to say it is wonderful to see you again, Raymond. We had a very pleasant day together in Washington, and I must say that of all the fine citizens that have been to our nation's Capitol, I have never met one that was more well received, more honorable, more distinguished in his presence and in his performance than the Chairman, Raymond Nakai. Raymond, my blessings upon you.

Governor Campbell, I see that you got the right idea. I look out here and I see the signs that say New Mexico, Go, Go, Go. And then I think of that gentleman from Arizona that keeps saying no, no, no. All I can say is that if the people of the Southwest will follow the example of Jack Campbell and just go, go, go, I can assure you that the gentleman from Arizona won't go any place but home.

My fellow Democrats, my fellow citizens, and our many Republican friends that have gathered here again with us today, this is truly an all-American meeting.

People of many cultures, people of many ethnic groups and many origins, people of many races, but all Americans, every one of us, and proud of it. And I believe today that as I speak to you, I speak not merely as a Democrat or for the Democratic Party, but when I see the great national support that our President has these days, I believe that it can be said now that the Democratic Party under Lyndon B. Johnson is the all-American Party for all Americans.

What a beautiful day you have. What beautiful, beautiful mountains, these valleys, this wonderful sky, the freshness of this air -- it is tailor-made for Democrats, tailor-made for us. It makes one want to say, "Viva" every other word.

And when you look out over this audience, this huge audience, and see these signs, see these expressions of welcome, welcome that has come from the heart, these expressions of support that come from your hands and your mind, and your mind, I would be less than honest with you if I didn't tell you that I love it. I love it and I know that it spells good things ahead. It tells me that on November 3, something is going to happen in this country that you want to happen. On November 3, you

you are going to see to it that Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, and the ~~Democrats~~ are elected.

Let me just reminisce with you for a few moments. I am sure you remember when our late beloved President was in your State. I am sure you remember those sterling words of this bright and brave and valiant, exciting young man that was our President, John Kennedy.

And I am sure that every one of you here feels as I do, that the work that he started it is our duty to continue and to carry on. I am sure you remember in 1960, when John Kennedy was a candidate for President, he spoke to us and he challenged America. He challenged America to get moving, to go. He challenged America to move ahead all over America, and particularly in the great Southwest, in New Mexico.

But like Moses of Biblical times, President Kennedy, was only given to see, not to cross over into the Promised Land. But his chosen Joshua, Lyndon Baines Johnson, has asked us to continue and I think that it is only right that here today, we resolve individually and together that we will continue the work that was so nobly begun.

Now, on the threshold of that promise, President Lyndon Johnson has challenged, Americans to build a better America, to build what he calls the great society. And this call to greatness is a traditional part of American life. But as President Johnson has said in such eloquent words, it is a challenge that is constantly renewed, beckoning us to a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

Like every society, my fellow Americans, the great society that we look towards will have, of course, a government. And it will be, despite the man from Arizona, a government big enough to fulfill its responsibilities, a government strong enough to protect our liberties, a government, Senator Montoya, with heart enough to fill the needs of its people, and with understanding enough to heed the will of the people. That is the kind of government we want.

Now, there are those who would seek to divide us, to divide America so that they may win elections, so that they may conquer. And there are those amongst us who seek to breed hostility between the Federal Government and your state government, between state capitals and city halls, between farmers and workers, between people at all levels of society and government. These are the agents of division; these are the men of retreat.

Now, these persons that I speak of, and they are at loose in the land, some of them seeking high public office, these persons do America and themselves a great disservice. I say these persons profoundly misunderstand the legitimate role which government assumes in the lives of every citizen, and these persons sow the seed of discord and distrust between a government and the people which, if it continues and if it isn't checked on election day, can destroy a great nation and humble a great people.

You know, American Government is not all in Washington. It is much more than Washington. American Government is Washington, the state capital, the county court house, the city and the village halls and up my way, the township board, and the thousands of other independent governmental units. And all of these governments that are government

of the people, by the people, and for the people are united in one effort, to serve the American people, to serve you and to serve me, your friends and your neighbors. And that is what American Government is all about. And it seems it is about time that a candidate for the office of presidency would understand this simple lesson in American civics.

The Federal Government supports and supplements local government. It doesn't take over the job of your governor or of your county commissioners or of your legislature. Most Americans have welcomed the concern of the national government. Most Americans look upon compassion and charity as strength of character, not weakness of spirit. Most Americans look upon your national and state government when it expresses concern over the unfortunate as an act of decency and humanitarianism, not an act of socialism.

But not Senator Goldwater.

Now, most Americans, most Americans and particularly those of us in New Mexico and Minnesota, we believe in help for the depressed areas where there are jobless and where there are needy, and most members of Congress believe that way, too, and voted for the Area Redevelopment Act to help Americans help themselves.

But not Senator Goldwater.

And most Americans thought it was right for the Federal and the State and the local governments to ~~work~~ ^{team} together to build roads and sewage disposal systems, to help cities and towns and villages with necessary public works. And your Congress passed an accelerated public works program with an overwhelming vote.

Yet, Congress passed it and voted for it.

But not Senator Goldwater.

And most Americans, my dear friends, welcome the concern of your national government for better education for our children.

But not Senator Goldwater.

And most Americans have been glad that the government cared about the housing of our people, of our middle income people, of our low income people, of our rural people. And the Congress voted for it. But not Senator Goldwater.

And, my good friends, most Americans rejoiced in the fact that the Congress passed civil rights legislation to provide equal opportunity for all Americans. Yes, Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, overwhelmingly supported it. But not Senator Goldwater.

And most Americans, my good friends, have appreciated the assistance that has been extended from their government to their communities for a host of projects that have enriched our lives and bettered our communities. And Members of Congress in both parties, on occasion after occasion, have voted for these programs.

But not Senator Goldwater.

That is the record, my friends. A record of a thousand noes, and no go, go, goes.

Now, the Senator from Arizona likes to talk about reducing government. He believes in reducing government by pinching people. He has been against the Economic Opportunity Act, the war on poverty program. He is against the Youth Conservation Program to put our young men at work in gainful occupations, helping to build a better America and better lives for themselves, against Area Redevelopment, against expanded vocational education, against manpower retraining. Where the government and the people are concerned, the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party is against, against, against -- no, no, no. And I say no to him, too.

This spokesman of retreat seeks not a government to serve the people of America. He seeks primarily to criticize, and regardless of the impact of that criticism on national defense, upon education, social welfare, veterans benefits, aid to our Indian tribes, and thousands of other essential government services -- despite the impact of the criticism, the criticism has poured down upon us like a desert sandstorm. Government by criticism and complaint never met the problems of any people in any country at any time. And government by destruction and reduction will not meet the challenges of America in the 20th Century,

We seek government not for its own sake. Government is not our master; it is our servant. We seek government for the people's sake and we believe that the new deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman, and the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy, and the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson have served the people of America and the people of America know it.

Of course Government has grown. This is a growing country. Sometimes, some people seeking high office forget that. This is not the America of, you know, the cowboy days. This isn't the America of the 19th century. It is the America of the fast-moving, fast-growing, dynamic second half of the 20th century.

Government has grown because we have grown; our population has grown, our needs have grown. What did anyone expect in these last 19 years during which 69 million new people have become citizens of the United States, when we have added more people to our population than the entire population of Great Britain? That is what has happened in your America in less than 20 years. Maybe we should send those facts to the Republican National Committee and let them study them for awhile.

Government has grown, that is right. The needs of our people have grown for schools and for homes. Your Governor in this State can tell you that the rise in the cost of State and local government has not been because somebody just wanted it that way, but because this State is a growing commonwealth, because this is a great State and has the need for more public services for a greater population and a greater economic activity, need for schools and

homes, for highways and sewers, for police and fire protection, and, above all, in these recent years, a need for national defense.

I have often wondered how the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party can ask for more money for national defense, cut taxes 25 percent, and balance the budget all at one time. If he can pull that one off, he makes Houdini look like a piker. He knows he can't. And one of the reasons he feels free to talk about it, he knows he will never have the chance, because he is not going to be President.

Well, dear friends, here in New Mexico, you know a little bit about government. You know that only a Federal Government with powerful resources could have established the Manhattan Project or could sponsor research at Los Alamos. And you have here in New Mexico one of the largest concentrations of civic and engineering talent in the world. And I want you to know that as the spokesman for this Administration, not only do you have that large concentration of engineering and scientific talent, that you are going to be able to keep it and it is going to be able to grow with the help of your government.

We are fully aware of the remarkable achievements of Los Alamos. The Atomic Age was born here. We are fully aware of the great new research facilities going up at your university.

And might I add that new medical school that is being built, that new medical school is being constructed with the help of the Federal funds under the Aid to Medical Facilities Act, under the Aid to Higher Education, which, by the way, your junior Senator voted against, and which, by the way, Barry Goldwater voted against.

Your great laboratories of Sandia and Albuquerque, the White Sands Missile Range for space research -- these are the results of cooperation between New Mexico and your Federal Government, between the people and their government, and I give you this pledge, that these great installations which mean so much to the safety and the peace of the world, which mean so much to the power of America, which mean so much to the welfare of humanity, that these great facilities will be maintained, they will be improved, they will be expanded, and they will be with you in New Mexico if you help us.

The great San Juan-Chama Reclamation Project is also a part of the free world's total strength, even as it enriches this great State. But one State can't build such a project alone, not even the Great State of New Mexico. The Navajo Indian Irrigation Project which means so much to your great people -- Raymond, that project could not be built by a tribe or a state alone; it required the help of a considerate and compassionate and a friendly Federal Government.

And does the Senator from Arizona think that Arizona can build its own water conservation and development project in central Arizona alone? Oh, no, not when it comes to Arizona.

No, indeed, he wants \$1,200,000,000 of Federal money for the Central Arizona project. And he is going to get it, because it is good for America.

This is an investment in people, an investment in resources, an investment in our strength.

Now, New Mexico is a very lucky State. You have a good Governor, you are going to keep him. I know you are. You have good Congressmen, and you are going to send one to the United States Senate and you are going to elect someone to take his place.

And they tell me, Congressman Morris, you don't even have real competition, so I am just going to salute you now on your re-election.

But let me also add right now that you had a wonderful and beloved man who was taken from us, but his memory lives on and his good works live on.

I knew the late and beloved Dennis Chavez and knew him well. And let me say this for this departed soul, that his heart was big in that little body. His heart was strong and it was compassionate and it was good. He gave of himself to the unfortunate, the lowly, to the needy, and he fought every moment of his life for the welfare of the people that he represented and for the security of this Nation.

And I say to you that a man like that should have a good successor, one that walks in the same shoes, in the same spirit, and that is why Joe Montoya must go to the Senate.

I know that you practically have fulfilled your goal for the money that you are raising for the statue in Statuary Hall in Washington for this great United States Senator, the late Senator Chavez. I want to be there as your Vice President when that statue is dedicated in Statuary Hall.

But New Mexico is privileged to have one of the most effective and outstanding Senators in all the Congress at work in this very hour there. That is your Senior Senator from this State, Clinton Anderson. This Senator has been elected to the Senate, not appointed. And this Senator has been elected again and again, serving not only as Senator but as Congressman and Cabinet Officer. He is recognized for his great contributions in the field of conservation and agriculture, irrigation and reclamation, medicare and health, space and science and national security. This man deserves to have a working partner in the Senate. At the present time, his vote is cancelled out by the vote of a Republican Senator, so that New Mexico's contribution, a contribution that could be great, is neutralized because you sent a no, no, no man down there. Or should I say because he sent a no, no, no man down there.

A man with the leadership capacity of Senator Clinton Anderson needs a partner and he needs a working partner, a fighting partner like Joe Montoya, and Joe, I know as you know that Senator Anderson wants you. He supports you; he welcomes you, and he asked me to urge this audience to redouble your efforts to make sure that Joe Montoya goes to the United States Senate to help Lyndon Johnson.

Yes, sir, Joe, Viva Montoya.

By the way, I like him, too, and I would like to see him down there. You know, I am going to preside over that Senate if you will let me, and I would like to look down there and see Joe Montoya.

You know, sometimes, friends, you forget what good work these men do. Congressman Montoya has been a tower of strength for us in our relationship with Latin America. He has gone all over that great part of the world, the Western Hemisphere, speaking the language of the people, understanding their needs and helping us develop the Alliance for Progress and helping us develop the good neighbor policy once again between the United States and our sister Republics south of the Rio Grande. That is the kind of a man you need these days.

Now, my friends, let me say just a few words now about President Johnson's war on poverty, because this war on poverty affects this State. New Mexico, like many other States in this Union, has pockets of depression, people that need help, people that seek help, and people who are anxious to do something with their lives.

You know, it is no coincidence that the Biblical word for charity is righteousness. St. Paul, the Apostle St. Paul, talks of charity which never faileth. Charity, the Bible tells us, is man's right to self-esteem and self-respect. Charity is a willingness to fight deprivation and ignorance, a willingness to share not only love but to share all things.

It is not a matter of a handout. No one is asking for that. It is a matter of collective effort, community effort, of the richest society in the world, to remove not only the stigma of the handout but also to eliminate poverty itself by adding to our total wealth and building ourselves a tremendous progressive democracy of human dignity for the future.

Never forget this, my fellow Americans; the difference between a free people and a free society and between the Communist Society of collectivism and slavery is basically human dignity and the respect that we have in democracy and democratic society for the dignity of man, for his work, for his spiritual work. And whenever man lives in fear and ignorance, whenever he lives in poverty of spirit and the poverty of mind as well as the poverty of the purse, that man has lost his dignity.

What we seek to do in these programs more than anything else is to help people to help themselves, to lift themselves out of the shadows of ignorance into the bright sunshine of enlightenment; to lift themselves up to accomplishment and from the beds of depression. They can do it if you give them a chance.

The Government of the United States owes no man success or a living. But this Government owes every man an equal opportunity to make something out of his life. And your President and your party are dedicated to the proposition of opening up these pathways of opportunity to every man, woman, and child, regardless of race or color or creed or national origin, and we will do it if you work together as a people.

Now, my friends, the Democratic Party does not intend to let the poor of America become the hostages of a Goldwater victory this fall. The temporary spokesman claims to offer this country a choice, and believe me, he does: A choice between vigor and vacuum; a choice between action and apathy; a choice between vitality and paralysis; a choice between hope and despair; a choice between giving your brother bread or giving him a stone when he seeks your help.

I say that that choice will be made and I think I know the kind of a choice that you are going to make. It is a choice for President Johnson in the White House.

Now, let me leave you with a neighborly note, because we are neighbors. No matter how far we are apart in terms of today, because of modern communication, we are neighbors. But New Mexico has two immediate neighbors, one to the west, the Republican spokesman, who, when faced with a decision as to whether or not we should wage war on poverty, voted no. Then there is the neighbor to the east, in Texas, who gave the declaration of war on poverty. He called upon all Americans to eradicate from our midst this blight of economic, social, and moral distress. Lyndon Baines Johnson, our Commander in Chief, wages war on poverty and the man from Arizona, he wages war on progress. That is the choice.

President Johnson needs your help. He has asked me to come here to ask for your help. We need your hand, we need your heart, we need your willing cooperation.

Never take this election for granted, despite how good it may look now. We are in for the fight of our lives, because those who seek to gain power in this country will do all they possibly can to achieve that goal. And if we do less, we not only fail ourselves but we fail our America. Our President has faith in the vision and the wisdom of the people, faith in the wisdom of the people to create and to control and to conceive a government strong enough to protect their liberties, and with heart enough to understand their needs.

And, my friends, unless I am mistaken, the American people, as of this hour, and in the weeks ahead, have faith in the President of the United States, that President for four more years by your will and your vote, to be President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you.

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news release

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"GOVERNMENT AND THE GREAT SOCIETY"

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

In 1960 John Fitzgerald Kennedy challenged America to get moving again. And we moved.

Like Moses, President Kennedy was only given to see--not cross over--into the Promised Land. But his chosen Joshua--Lyndon Baines Johnson--asked us to "continue." And we did continue.

Now on the threshold of that promise, Lyndon Johnson has challenged Americans to build the Great Society. This call to greatness is a traditional part of American life, but as President Johnson has said: "It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

Like every society, the Great Society will have a government. It will be a government big enough to fulfill its responsibilities, strong enough to protect our liberties, with heart enough to feel the needs of its people, and with understanding enough to heed their will.

There are those among us who seek to divide America--so that they may conquer. There are those among us who seek to engender hostility between the Federal government and the State Capitals, between the people and the government at all levels.

I say these persons do America--and themselves--a great disservice. I say these persons profoundly misunderstand the necessary and legitimate role which government assumes in the lives of every citizen. And these persons sow the seeds of discord and distrust between a government and her people which can destroy a great nation and humble a great people.

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American government is more than Washington. American government is Washington, the State capitol, the county court house, the city and village halls, the town meetings and the thousands of other independent governmental authorities. And all these governments are united in one effort: to serve the American people...you...me...your friends and neighbors. That is what American government is all about.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party cannot understand that people and government are not separated on any level. The people are the government. It is their tool to use--not an enemy to abuse. And that is what democracy is all about.

Federal government supports and supplements local government. It does not supplant it. Most Americans have welcomed the concern of the national government for better education.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have been glad that the government cared about housing and helped middle and low income families obtain it.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have been glad that civil rights and equal opportunity have been the concern of their government.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have appreciated assistance in sewer plant construction and urban renewal.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater believes in reducing government by pinching people. He has been against the anti-poverty program, youth conservation, area redevelopment, vocational education, and manpower retraining. Where people are concerned, he is against, against, against.

Senator Goldwater seeks not a government to serve the people of America. He seeks merely to reduce the size of government, regardless of the impact of such action on national defense, education, social welfare, veterans benefits, and thousands of essential governmental services.

Government by destruction and reduction never met the problems of any people...in any country...at any time. And government by destruction and reduction will not meet the challenges of America in the 20th century.

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We seek government not for its own sake, but for the peoples' sake. And we believe the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman, the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy, and the Great Society of Lyndon B. Johnson have served the people of America--- and the people of America know it!

We hear the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party talking about a Federal government obsessed in enlarging its own role and its own employees at the expense of the people. But what has actually taken place since World War II? What has actually happened in America at the Federal level and at the State and local levels? And what has happened right here in New Mexico?

--Since 1946 Federal spending has increased 53 percent. In New Mexico State spending is up 732 percent.

Since 1946 the Federal debt has risen 13 percent. The debt of New Mexico has grown 221 percent.

--Since World War II, the Federal payroll is up 166 percent. The New Mexico State payroll is up 526 percent.

--Since 1946, Federal taxes went up 118 percent before the recent tax cut which lowered them. In New Mexico taxes are up 406 percent.

--Since the War the number of Federal employees is down 9 percent. In New Mexico, they have increased 277 percent.

This is not a criticism; it is factual analysis that tells the story of a growing and demanding America. The willingness of New Mexico's fine State, county and local governments to assume a greater share of our common burden deserves explicit recognition and commendation. So, let's stop suggesting that the localities have either sold out or caved in to the Federal government. This is one Senator who considers them very much alive!

Of course, government has grown. What did anyone expect in these last nineteen years during which 69 million people were born in these United States, when we have added more people than the entire population of Great Britain, and are still increasing at the rate of 3 million a year?

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Government has grown with the people and their problems-- with the needs for schools and homes, for highways and sewers, for police and fire protection--and above all at the national level, for defense. Government has accomodated the changing needs of the people. It has expanded to protect the public interest.

Here in New Mexico you know that only a Federal government could have established the Manhattan Project, or could sponsor the research at Los Alamos. Here in New Mexico you have one of the largest concentrations of scientific and engineering talent in the world. You know that in this scientific, technological and space age, the nation that is second in these areas is the nation that is last.

The great San Juan-Chama reclamation project is also part of the free world's total strength, even as it enriches this great State. But one State cannot build such a project alone--not even the great State of New Mexico.

And does Senator Goldwater think Arizona can build its great water conservation and development project in Central Arizona alone? No, indeed, he wants \$1.2 billion of Federal money. But this is an investment in America, in its people, in its future, and in its progress.

Let me say a special word about President Johnson's war on poverty. It is no coincidence that the Hebrew word for charity is righteousness. St. Paul talks of charity, which "never faileth." Jew and Christian here do not mean charity as a handout or a permanent soup kitchen or even as a Christmas basket. They mean by charity man's right to self-esteem and self-respect. They mean by charity a willingness to fight deprivation and ignorance, a willingness to share not only love but all things.

No, it is not a matter of a handout. It is a matter of a collective effort of the richest society in the world to remove not only the stigma of the handout, but also to eliminate poverty itself by adding to our total wealth and building ourselves a tremendous democracy of human dignity for the future.

And the Democratic Party does not intend to let the poor of America become the hostages of a Goldwater victory this fall.

The temporary Republican spokesman claims to offer this country a choice...and so he does.

--A choice between vigor and vacuum;

--a choice between action and apathy;

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--a choice between hope and despair;

--a choice between giving your brother bread or a stone when he seeks your help.

America can sustain its faith in the promise of the future if we are led by men of hope, not fear; men of vision, not diversion. And Lyndon B. Johnson is such a man.

He profoundly believes in the capacity for goodness in all men. He has faith in their wisdom to create, to control, and to conserve a government strong enough to protect their liberties--and with heart enough to understand their needs.

And--my friends--America has faith in Lyndon B. Johnson.

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Sp: Santa Fe, N. M.
Sept. 13, 1964

Senator Chavez

Navajo
Chairman

Raymond Nakai Naki

✓ Dennis Chavez

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO SPEECH

✓ Gov Jack Campbell

GOVERNMENT AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Cong Tom Mowles

Sunday, September 13, 1964

Cong Johnny Walker

Mac Easley

Gov Burroughs

Gov Miles

L In 1960 John Fitzgerald Kennedy challenged
America to get moving again. And we moved.

L Like Moses, President Kennedy was only given
to see--not cross over--into the Promised Land.

But his chosen Joshua--Lyndon Baines Johnson--
asked us to "continue." And we did continue.

L Now on the threshold of that promise, Lyndon
Johnson has challenged Americans to build the
Great Society. This ~~is~~ call to greatness is a
traditional part of American life, but as President
Johnson has said: "It is a challenge constantly
renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the
meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products
of our labor."

L Like every society, the Great Society will have
a government. It will be a government big enough to

fulfill its responsibilities, strong enough to
protect our liberties, with heart enough to feel
the needs of its people, and with understanding
enough to heed their will. #

There are those among us who seek to divide
America--so that they may conquer. There are those
among us who seek to engender hostility between the
Federal government and the State capitols, between
the State capitols and the city halls, and between the
people and the government at all levels.

Urban
+
Rural

~~I say~~ these persons do America--and themselves--
a great disservice. I say these persons profoundly
misunderstand the necessary and legitimate role which
government assumes in the lives of every citizen.

And these persons sow the seeds of discord and distrust

between a government and ~~the~~ ^{the} people which can destroy
a great nation and humble a great people.

↳ American government is more than Washington.

American government is Washington, the State capitol,
the county court house, the city and village halls,
the town meetings and the thousands of other
independent governmental authorities. And all these
governments are united in one effort: to serve the
American people...you...me...your friends and neighbors.

↳ That is what American government is all about.

↳ The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party
^{seem to} cannot understand that people and government are not enemies.

^{and are they} separated on any level. The people are the government.

It is their tool to use--not an enemy to abuse. And
that is what democracy is all about.

↳ Federal government supports and supplements local
government. It does not supplant it. Most Americans

< Most Americans for help to depressed
Areas - Congress for ARA
but not Sen Goldwater

< Most Americans for jobs through
Accelerated Public Works -
Congress Voted for it
But not Sen Goldwater

have welcomed the concern of the national government
for better education.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have been glad that the government
cared about housing and helped middle and low income
families obtain it.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have been glad that civil rights
and equal opportunity have been the concern of their
government.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Most Americans have appreciated assistance in
sewer plant construction and urban renewal.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater believes in reducing government
by pinching people. He has been against the anti-poverty

program, youth conservation, area redevelopment,

vocational education, and manpower retraining.

~~Government and the~~
Where people are concerned, he is against, against,

against. - **No! NO!**

↳ Senator Goldwater seeks not a government to
serve the people of America. He seeks ~~merely to reduce~~ *primarily to criticize*

~~the size of government~~, regardless of the impact of

such action on national defense, education, social

welfare, veterans benefits, and thousands of

essential governmental services.

↳ Government by ~~destruction and reduction~~ *criticism + complaint* never met
the problems of any people...in any country...at any
time. And government by destruction and reduction will
not meet the challenges of America in the 20th century.

↳ We seek government not for its own sake, but for
the peoples' sake. ~~And~~ we believe the New Deal of

Franklin Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman,

the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy, and the Great
Society of Lyndon B. Johnson have served the people
of America...and the people of America know it!

← We hear the temporary spokesman of the Republican
Party talking about a Federal government obsessed in
enlarging its own role and its own employees at the
expense of the people. But what has actually taken
place since World War II? What has actually happened
in America at the Federal level and at the State and
local levels? And what has happened right here in
New Mexico? - *Hasn't caught up -*

← Since 1946 Federal spending has increased 53
percent. In New Mexico State spending is up 732 percent.

out ← Since 1946 the Federal debt has risen 13 percent.
The debt of New Mexico has grown 221 percent.

← Since World War II, the Federal payroll is

up 166 percent. The New Mexico State payroll is up 526 percent.

--Since 1946, Federal taxes went up 118 percent before the recent tax cut which lowered them. In New Mexico taxes are up 406 percent.

--Since the War the number of Federal employees is down 9 percent. In New Mexico, they have increased 277 percent.

This is not a criticism; it is factual analysis
that tells the story of a growing and demanding America.
The willingness of New Mexico's fine State, county and
local governments to assume a greater share of our common
burden deserves explicit recognition and commendation.
So, let's stop suggesting that the localities have either
sold out or caved in to the Federal government. This is
one Senator who considers them very much alive!

or could sponsor the research at Los Alamos. Here
in New Mexico you have one of the largest concentra-
tions of scientific and engineering talent in the
world. You know that in this scientific, technological
and space age, the nation that is second in these
areas is the nation that is last.

Gold + Science

The great San Juan-Chama reclamation project is
also part of the free world's total strength, even
as it enriches this great State. But one State
cannot build such a project alone--not even the great
State of New Mexico.

*Navajo Indian Irrig.
Project*

And does Senator Goldwater think Arizona can
build its great water conservation and development
project in Central Arizona alone? No, indeed, he
wants \$1.2 billion of Federal money. But this is
investment in America, in its people, in its future, and
in its progress.

*\$220
million*

Machin-

ARA - NO

Public works - NO

Nuclear test ban - NO.

Aid to 14 year olds

Tax cut -

60% of time on 88th 1st Nov
voted against anderson

*In use
in new office*

L Of course, government has grown. What did anyone expect in these last nineteen years during which 69 million people were born in these United States, when we have added more people than the entire population of Great Britain, and are still increasing at the rate of 3 million a year?

L Government has grown with the people and their problems--with the needs for schools and homes, for highways and sewers, for police and fire protection--and above all at the national level, for defense.

Government has accommodated the changing needs of the people. It has expanded to protect the public interest.

L Here in New Mexico you know that only a Federal government could have established the Manhattan Project,

Funding from
Fed Govt



(new
medical school) ACC — Los Alamos
medical — univ of New Mexico
ACC — Sandia at Albuquerque
- White Sands Missile Range
(Space Research)

To be Kept + expanded

~~New Mexico File~~

Memorandum

Clinton Anderson + Joe Montoya

✓ New Mexico is privileged to have one of the most effective and outstanding Senators in the person of Clinton Anderson. He has received again and again the vote of confidence and support of the people of your State. He is recognized for his great contributions in the field of conservation, agriculture, irrigation and reclamation, medicare and health, space science and national security. This man deserves to have a working partner in the Senate. At the present time his vote is canceled by the vote of the Republican Senator. New Mexico's contribution, therefore, to the Democratic program is neutralized.

✓ A man with the leadership quality and capacity of Senator Anderson needs a partner like Joe Montoya. I know that Senator Anderson looks forward to serving with Joe Montoya. I know that he has the highest regard and respect for the ability and the character and the competence of Joe Montoya. I know because he has told me so.

Viva Joe Montoya

✓ Latin America
✓ Alliance

-ARA

Public works - 10 -

Let me say a special word about President Johnson's war on poverty. It is no coincidence that the ^{Hebrew} word for charity is righteousness.

St. Paul talks of charity which "never faileth."

~~Let me say a special word about President Johnson's war on poverty. It is no coincidence that the Hebrew word for charity is righteousness. St. Paul talks of charity which "never faileth."~~
Jew and Christian here do not mean charity as a handout or a permanent soup kitchen or even as a Christmas basket. ~~They mean by charity~~ man's right

to self-esteem and self-respect. ~~They mean by charity~~

~~a~~ willingness to fight deprivation and ignorance, a willingness to share not only love but all things.

No, it is not a matter of a handout. It is a matter of a collective effort of the richest society in the world to remove not only the stigma of the handout, but also to eliminate poverty itself by

adding to our total wealth and building ourselves
a tremendous democracy of human dignity for the
future.

And the Democratic Party does not intend to
let the poor of America become the hostages of
a Goldwater victory this fall.

The temporary Republican spokesman claims to
offer this country a choice...and so he does.

--a choice between vigor and vacuum;

--a choice between action and apathy;

--a choice between hope and despair;

--a choice between giving your brother bread or
a stone when he seeks your help.

America can sustain its faith in the promise
of the future if we are led by men of hope, not fear; men
of vision, not division. And Lyndon B. Johnson is such
a man.

~~Memorandum~~

∟ New Mexico has two neighbors: one to the west--the
Republican spokesman who, when faced with the decision as
to whether or not we should wage war on poverty, voted no.

And the neighbor to the east in Texas who gave the declaration
of war on poverty. He called upon all Americans to eradicate
from our midst this blight of economic and social distress.

∟ Lyndon Baines Johnson wages war on poverty and your Arizona
neighbor wages war on progress. ∟ You have a choice. Your
vote will help decide which neighbor--the man from Texas or
the man from Arizona--will serve in the White House the next
four years. I am confident that that choice will be an
overwhelming vote for Lyndon Baines Johnson.

He profoundly believes in the capacity for goodness in all men. He has faith in their wisdom to create, to control, and to conserve a government strong enough to protect their liberties--and with heart enough to understand their needs.

And--my friends--America has faith in Lyndon

B. Johnson.

Adios ^{meas} Miss Amigos



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