

TRANSCRIPT

ADDRESS

of

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
Noon, September 17, 1964  
Wichita County Court House

SENATOR YARBOROUGH: Senator Hubert Humphrey.

(Wild applause.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Ralph. Thank you very much.

Senator Yarborough; Dr. Wright, thank you for your invocation.

Congressman Purcell, Opal, Muriel, and our fine county chairman here, Professor Edwards, and my fellow Americans from this great northern part of Texas, my fellow Democrats, it's wonderful to be with you.

(Applause.)

I have been sitting here on this platform looking at this beautiful, magnificent city of Wichita Falls. I want to commend the city fathers. I surely want to commend the citizenry. I want to compliment the State of Texas for such a fine, progressive, growing, modern city. It is a wonderful place.

(Applause.)

Ralph, I want you to notice "way across over there on the second floor of that building, a fine, modern building. There is a sign saying "Welcome, Hubert and Ralph." I think we are going to add a line also saying, "Welcome, Graham," because also Congressman Purcell is with us.

I have been privileged to bring a special message to you, a message from a fellow Texas, a gentleman who occupies the high office of President, because yesterday morning before he left on his tour to the West, he called at our home and Muriel and I both spoke to the President and Lady Bird and I was asked to bring two greetings: first, a greeting to all the good people of Wichita Falls and this area, and he told me about these Oklahomans, too, and asked me to remember him to them, and secondly, he said, "I want you to tell that good friend of mine that runs that Wichita Falls paper, Rhea Howard, "hello", too, and tell him to keep printing the right kind of news.

Now, Rhea, I want you to be sure to report back to the President that I have fulfilled his first order on my visit to Texas.

I was told by a Goldwaterite that the minute I got off the plane here at the airport that somebody would come up to rescue me and I'll be darned, I think it was almost right. There was a fellow, Cheriff Boyles, right out there putting the arm on me. I can tell you, I have never been taken into custody by a better law man, never a better. He had a Cadillac and he votes Democratic.

(Applause.)

Now, Senator Yarborough said that Senator Humphrey is a very forthright man because he praised Mrs. Humphrey and told you of what is always the truth -- all we husbands know this, that whenever there is any way or any success in your life or when it appears there may be some, you can always give a large measure of the credit to your wife.

I want to set the record straight. I said "Behind every successful man stands a surprised mother-in-law!"

(Laughter.)

And also a good wife! We are certainly blessed, those of us in public office, by that happy set of circumstances known as a good marriage and a good wife.

Wichita Falls Court House Rally

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Today I come to talk to you after being in your state just a few weeks ago. As I recall, I was here just less than three weeks ago and I spent a rather delightful weekend at a rather well-known ranch operated by a rather well-known Texan. I enjoyed it immensely.

While there, he told me I would have to do and, being a loyal, faithful, running-mate to the man that is going to be the next President of the United States, I am here. He is the boss!

I stood here with one of the finest men who ever served in the United States Senate, and one who has the people of this state at heart in every vote and every action. I am here to say the people of Texas would do themselves proud, and a great honor, by re-electing by a thumping majority, Ralph Yarborough to the United States Senate.

And, I might add, they will sure do themselves well by supporting that grand Governor that they have round here, too, Governor Connally.

Here we have with us on this platform a gentleman that encourages me to come to his District, brave man he is! And I hope before I leave, you can say he is a wise man, but he is one of the finest representatives for any District in any part of America, a clean-cut gentleman, a man that constantly thinks of the and well-being of his District, his state and his Nation.

And I am very proud that I was accompanied by, on this trip, by your own Congressman Graham Purcell.

(Applause.)

Graham, they tell me you are going to be re-elected. I have already had the word and I am sure that this is going to be the case.

Now, this state, this area, I say, reminds me of the area I visited last week and where I was born, my native State of South Dakota. We always told a story in South Dakota. You can stand at the depot and see 15 miles straight down the track in the flatlands of the Dakota lands.

Ralph Yarborough stole my best line. I was going to say the only difference was you had the Comanches; we had the Sioux. He said it.

I want to repeat it. That is the only difference, except I think you have a greater number of people, but there are a number of people, Dakotans, here. I have already found that out, that South Dakota is famous for our exports.

I found also the State of Minnesota, which I am so proud to represent in the Senate, has sent a large advance guard to Wichita Falls and I feel at home. I feel at home where the main industry is agriculture, and yet where that agriculture blends in with the urban life and life of small towns, where the farmers are ranchers and cattle men and wheat men, and where they produce grain, sorghum, and where they understand soil conservation, where they appreciate the importance of modern agriculture that is energized and served by modern electric facilities, I feel right at home. This is the kind of country in which I was born and reared.

(Applause.)

In fact, as we came down the street, I saw a drug store. Well, I was born above one, and raised inside one. I can honestly say I do know a little bit about the problems of a small business man. I didn't inherit a department store but I worked in a drug store.

(Applause.)

As I said, I wanted to note very openly that there is a sign out there that says, "Oklahoma Wheat Growers." They know who their friend is, Lyndon Johnson. They know.

(Applause.)

By the way, will you good folks from Oklahoma take back greetings and hard

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work for Carl Albert and for Senator Mike Monroney, and the state of Oklahoma, and that new Senator they are going to send up there, Fred Harris. They need him.

We have got a lot of things in common, we folks from Oklahoma and South Dakota, from Texas. The first thing we have got in common is we are all Democrats.

(Applause.)

As a Senator used to say, "I am a Democrat without prefix, suffix, or any apology."

I know what the purpose of this gathering here today is, and I am happy to see the bands here today. You want to be sure to keep in practise because on November 3rd, you are going to play the greatest victory march you have ever played in your life because on that day, Lyndon B. Johnson is going to be re-elected President.

(Applause.)

You people keep your band in good shape; keep that smile on your faces; look like a Democrat; vote like a Democrat, so you can live like a Republican. It's a good idea.

Now, when I announced I was going to come down here, why, there were a lot of expressions of \_\_\_\_\_ among the members of the press corps, and others. They wondered why a Northern Senator would be coming down this way.

Well, I go back again to the great statesman of this state in contemporary times, the one and only Sam Rayburn, whose homespun philosophy was the kind of common sense that all of us can well respect.

He said he wanted to -- in his first speech, you may recall -- he wanted to live in a country that knew no North, no South, no East, no West. I think that one of the worst things that can happen to America is to have some form of discrimination or segregation on the basis of regions. We are Americans. Sure, we are Texans. Sure, we are Minnesotans, surely, we are Oklahomans, but what we are interested in is the United States of America and its welfare.

(Applause.)

This is one country. That is what it means when we say "these United States of America," and this is one people, "We, the people", says the Constitution of the United States of America. And we talk in that Constitution of a "common defense" and of the "general welfare", and we are one country, one people, with common problems and common goals.

I traveled the length and breadth of this land, my friends, and our problems are very much the same. Families have the same worries; business men have the same competitive spirit; workers have the same trade or skill; farmers have the same concerns over weather, disease, prices and marketing. This is not a country of conflict. It has its differences, but above all, what it has is a great national unity.

The farmer of South Dakota has the same problems as the farmer of Northern Texas. He is being caught in the cost-price squeeze, between the cost of doing business and the prices he is paid for his products.

Your Congressman here on this platform today, my friends, knows this as well as anybody in the country. He is a member of the new Special Commission that has been named to study the price spread between what the farmer gets for his products and the price the consumer pays in the store and the Congressman, I am sure that this study will bring forth recommendations that will give the farm producers of Northern Texas and Oklahoma and Central Minnesota, and all of America, a better break.

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In fact, there are better days here. They are better now than they were and there are better days to come. I could not help but note in our press conference today questions about agriculture.

Well, cattle prices are up. We passed legislation to strengthen the hands of the President. We have expanded our beef exports and the Democratic party platform pledge is parity of income for our farmers and one thing about the Democratic Administration and Democrats with a Democratic party platform, we like farmers. We include them in the American community. We don't forget them, as has been the records of every Republican administration in this country.

(Applause.)

The pledge I made to you is the pledge of Ralph Yarborough, the friend of agriculture, and friend of Main Street, the friend of labor.

All those voices of America that seek to divide us, I have listened to those candidates that go up and down the land trying to divide the South from the North, trying to divide labor from farmer, trying to divide the city from the world, trying to divide you from the Federal Government and local government.

Those are the voices of disaster and doom; those are the voices that should be repudiated by every red-blooded American. We need America unified.

(Applause.)

In case you have someone who has to voice his, just listen. The voice that comes to the South and says one thing, and then has somebody go to the North and say the other, there aren't two messages for America. There is only one for America. That is the message of building every section of this country, helping our people enjoy equal opportunity, seeing to it that America grows in every single state and region, that every person regardless of race, age or religion has an opportunity to enjoy America for America.

What we are trying to do is open up the pathways of opportunity. We want every American in this land to give his best; that is the pledge and promise of your President. We are not asking that some people take a back seat. We are asking that everybody do their best. We are asking that everybody do everything that they can to make a contribution to the strength and might and wealth and world commitment of this land.

That is our policy. That is our pledge that comes to you.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, understand that up in Des Moines spokesman for a Republican party decided to say something about agriculture. If I may be a bit pointed in my comments, he doesn't know the difference between a ukelele and the corncob when it comes to agriculture, or if he does, his voting record doesn't show it.

But we in the Midwest and we down here know something about it because we live with it. The Democratic party can go before any farm audience, before any audience of any kind of people, and say frankly and honestly that it's been the friend of the farmer and it always will.

As long as you elect to the Senate men like Ralph Yarborough, and men to the Congress like Congressman Purcell, and as long as you keep a man in the White House like Lyndon B. Johnson --

(Applause.)

We know that America and agriculture hasn't shared equitably and fully in this country and because we know it, we are trying to do it, and you don't do something by saying "No, no, a thousand times no."



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What this country needs is people that are for something and I have yet to find out what the opposition is for.

(Applause.)

I said something about the wheat farmer. The Democratic party wants to help the wheat farmer and the cotton farmer by passing the wheat and cotton bill this year and that gave hundreds of millions of dollars of income, not only for the farmer, but farm machinery, operators, salesmen, workers, you AFL-CIO, business, deposit in the city bank. The customers in the restaurants, people that could pay their bills. I tell you it could not have been done without your Congressman who was Chairman of the Wheat Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, and could not have been done without the help of Ralph Yarborough in the Senate.

(Applause.)

But I don't suppose it's any secret to you good folks, intelligent as you are, how that Republican pretender to the presidency of the United States voted on the bill, as usual. He voted no.

Yesterday, Mr. Farmer, when you were in distress, he said no to you. And he has a habit of it. He voted against the wheat farmers of America, and that is a vote against every business man on Main Street and every farmer in this area and against the economic well-being of this country.

I must say it is a consistent vote. He voted no on REA. He voted no every time on 35 roll calls on REA and that was something when it was over.

What else has he done? He voted no on all the cotton legislation.

VOICE: Get him out of there.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Anybody for that? You've got the right, I hear.

Now, he has voted his conscience because his conscience tells him to vote no, but I am a little intrigued by Mr. Goldwater's consistent indifference to the American farmer. After all, he was the son of a merchant, a merchant, and the grandson of a merchant. He should know better.

I, too, am a son of a merchant. I can tell you I know people. I can tell you unless the farmers are prospering, Humphrey's Drug Store goes broke.

(Applause.)

I'll bet the same thing will happen to Barry's Department Store, too.

I should think that Senator Goldwater should have learned this but he looks at things differently than most Americans. This is a man whose clock has no hands and whose glasses have no lenses, and when you are looking through glasses with no lenses, you come up with a "no".

My intention in this campaign, and I am glad to start it here in this rugged State of Texas, where we can talk straight from the shoulder, is to contrast the record of the Republican pretender to the presidency, a record that is against, against, against, against, no, no, no, with that of the record of Lyndon B. Johnson, a leader who has consistently preached the doctrine of responsibility, who has worked tirelessly to promote progressive programs to help all Americans.

(Applause.)

My friends, this is just one of the many messages we hope to bring to you and the American people in general. We are going to remind in this campaign every mother, every father, yes, every citizen, every voter, that the power of life and death of this country lies in the hands of the President of the United States.

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People here in Wichita Falls have special reason to realize this fact because here within a few miles of where I speak is a Strategic Air Command unit of our powerful Air Force, stationed at nearby Sheppard Air Force Base. And I don't have to tell anyone in this audience, each B-52 bomber carries more explosive power than was used all the time in every day, month and year in World War II. That is the kind of power we are talking about, and the responsibility for using that nuclear power must rest in the hands of only one man, the elected civilian President of the United States, and not with some field commander, as some political candidates have urged.

(Applause.)

Yes

## Wichita Falls Court House Rally

Yes, my good friends, the American people are fortunate indeed that we have today in the White House a reliable, a responsible, a strong leader of this great State of Texas, who understands the use of power, but who realizes because of moral commitment that restraint and patience are virtues and that the extremism of impetuosity and bellicosity are sins.

The late Sam Rayburn, the greatest leader who ever served in the House gave us a bright bit of advice to every member and he did it to me. It took me a little while to catch on but I did.

"Just a minute," Mr. Rayburn used to caution. "Wait just a minute." Those three words, "Just a minute, this was his way of saying that every problem requires analysis, were complex and terrible and that every answer should be carefully weighed and that every utterance of a responsible public official should be a responsible utterance.

Lyndon B. Johnson, friend of Sam Rayburn, Lyndon B. Johnson, United States Senator and now President of the United States, learned his lessons well from the beloved Speaker who was a great teacher for this.

The American people can be very grateful. They owe a debt to that philosopher of the countryside, Mr. Rayburn, and I am sure that the American people will express their gratitude this fall to the late and beloved Sam Rayburn, and express this confidence this fall in the President of the United States by giving to your man from Texas, this big man from the big country, that has such an opportunity for greatness, that you are going to give this man an overwhelming vote of confidence, and that you are going to give Lyndon B. Johnson a chance to serve America and the Free World four more years in Washington.

(Applause.)

Goodbye, folks, come to see us in Washington.

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Prepared Text  
Wichita Falls, Texas  
September 17, 1964

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

It's good to be back in the great state of Texas. Less than 3 weeks ago I spent a delightful weekend in your state at a rather well-known ranch operated by a rather prominent Texan.

He told me I should do some extensive campaigning in his native state and here I am.

I flew here from Washington with your able and gifted Senator, Ralph Yarborough, and your outstanding Congressman, Graham Purcell. As we flew here, I told them how much this country reminded me of my native state of South Dakota.

I feel at home here on the plains. I feel at home in an area where the main farm products are cattle and wheat. I feel at home in an area where most of the voters are Democrats.

I want to say the same words to you good Oklahomans who crossed the Red River today to attend this Democratic Rally.

Whether we're from Texas or Oklahoma or Minnesota or South Dakota, we all have one thing in common: We're all good Democrats.

And we're all going to make sure that Lyndon B. Johnson is given an overwhelming victory on November 3.

When it was announced that I was coming down here, there were a lot of expressions of interest among the press. They wondered how well I would be received.

I'm a little amused, and perhaps even a little annoyed, by this interest because it shows that far too many people in this country still think in the narrow terms of their own section or their own region.

They forget that each and every one of us is an American, that this in one country, that we are one people, that we all share common problems and all aspire to common goals.

The farmer in South Dakota has the same problems that the farmer here in north Texas faces. He's being caught in the cost-price squeeze -- between the cost of doing business and the prices he's paid for his products.

Your Congressman Graham Purcell knows this as well as anybody in the country. He is a member of the new special commission that has been named to study the price spread between the price the farmer gets for his product and the price the consumer pays in the store.

I am sure this study will bring forth recommendations that will give the farmers of North Texas and southern Oklahoma and central Minnesota and all America a better break.

This is the pledge of your Senator, Ralph Yarborough. This is the pledge of your Congressman Graham Purcell. This is the pledge of Hubert Humphrey and this is the pledge of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

(MORE)



The Democratic Party has always been the friend of the farmer and it always will be as long as we have men like Ralph Yarborough, Graham Purcell and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Democratic Party moved to help the wheat farmer by passing the wheat-cotton bill this year.

I was deeply involved in winning passage of this bill and I can tell you that we could not have done it without the help and leadership of your Congressman Graham Purcell, who is the Chairman of the Wheat Subcommittee in the House, and the effective work of Ralph Yarborough in the Senate.

But I don't suppose it's any secret to you folks how the Republican pretender to the Presidency of the United States voted on this bill.

As usual he voted no.

He voted against the wheat farmers of America -- he voted against the economy of north Texas.

But I must say this was a consistent vote. He's always voted no. He's always voted against. He's allergic to progress.

You know, I'm a little intrigued by Barry Goldwater's consistent indifference to the American farmer. After all, he was a merchant, the son and the grandson of a merchant, and he should know better.

I, too, am the son of a merchant and I can tell you that unless the farmers are prospering, the store owner's cash register isn't ringing.

I should think Barry Goldwater would have learned this a long time ago. But then he looks at things differently than most Americans. He looks through glasses without any lenses.

My intention during this campaign is to contrast the record of Barry Goldwater -- one that is against, against, against -- with that of Lyndon B. Johnson -- a leader who has consistently preached the doctrine of responsibility and who has worked tirelessly to promote progressive programs to help all Americans.

This is just one of the messages we plan to bring to the American people. We also want to remind every mother, every father, every voter that the power of life or death for this country lies in the hands of the President of the United States. The people here in Wichita Falls have special reason to realize this because there is a Strategic Air Command unit stationed at nearby Sheppard Air Force Base. And I don't have to remind you that each B-52 bomber carries more explosive power than was used in all of World War II.

The responsibility for using nuclear power, my fellow countrymen, must rest in the hands of only one man -- the President of the United States -- not with some field commander as some political candidates have urged.

The American people are fortunate that we have in the White House a reliable, responsible leader from Texas who understands the use of power and who realizes that restraint and patience are virtues; and that the extremism of impetuosity and bellicosity are sins.

(MORE)

The late Sam Rayburn -- the greatest leader who ever served in the House of Representatives -- always gave a brief bit of advice to every new member.

"Just a minute," Mr. Rayburn used to caution.

This was his way of saying that every problem requires analysis and careful study -- that every answer should be carefully weighed and that every utterance of a public official should be responsible.

Lyndon Johnson learned his lessons well from the beloved Speaker. For this the American people are fortunate. And they will express their gratitude this fall by giving Lyndon B. Johnson and the American people an overwhelming victory.

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✓ Comanche - Wichita County  
3101 S.D.

Wichita Falls, Tex.  
Sept. 17, 1964

WICHITA FALLS

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
SPEECH

Sherry Voyals -

County Ch. - Prof Edwards

Graham Purcell -  
1944 S.D. Univ

It's good to be back in the great state of  
Texas. Less than 3 weeks ago I spent a delightful  
weekend in your state at a rather well-known ranch  
operated by a rather prominent Texan.

He told me I should do some extensive campaigning  
in his native state and here I am. *His the boss!*

I flew here from Washington with your able and  
gifted Senator, Ralph Yarborough, and your outstanding  
Congressman, Graham Purcell. As we flew here, I told  
them how much this country reminded me of my native  
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Ray  
Howard  
Wichita Falls  
Papers  
Sitting  
from  
LBS

Yarborough  
Purcell

Shepard Air Force Base

L I feel at home here on the plains. I feel at home  
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Oklahomans who crossed the Red River today to attend  
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Carl Albert  
Mike Monroney  
Fred Harvey. for U.S.S.

Whether we're from Texas or Oklahoma or Minnesota

or South Dakota, we all have one thing in common: We're

all good Democrats. As Sam Rayburn used to say  
"I'm a Democrat, without prefix,  
Suffit, and without Apology."

And we're all going to make sure that Lyndon B.

Johnson is given an overwhelming victory on November 3.



*Northern Senator*

When it was announced that I was coming down here, there were a lot of expressions of interest among the press. They wondered what a Northern Senator would be doing down here, ~~and they wondered how well I would be received.~~

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I'm a little amused ~~at~~ ~~perhaps even a little~~ ~~amused~~ by this interest because it shows that far too many people in this country still think in the narrow terms of their own section or their own region.

They forget that each and every one of us is an American, that this is one country, that we are one people, that we all share common problems and all aspire to common goals.

*I've traveled a good deal - we  
in Midwest have much the same  
problems as you. Small towns, Rural areas,  
merchant on Main Street, workers etc*

The farmer in South Dakota has the same problems that the farmer here in north Texas faces. He's being caught in the cost-price squeeze -- between the cost of doing business and the prices he's paid for his products. - *If you look at Texas & the whole country in mind - same squeeze problems*

Your Congressman Graham Purcell knows this as well as anybody in the country. He is a member of the new special commission that has been named to study the price spread between the price the farmer gets for his product and the price the consumer pays in the ~~store~~.

I am sure this study will bring forth recommendations that will give the farmers of north Texas and southern Oklahoma and central Minnesota and all America a better break.

✓ *Cattle comes up - we passed legal to 5th hand of President on imports; we've expanded buy markets.*

The Democratic party platform & your  
pledges parity of income for our farmers -  
equal opportunity for our farmers & their families

This is the pledge of your Senator Ralph Yarborough.

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But

The Democratic Party moved to help the wheat

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I worked for the passage of this  
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As usual he voted no.

He voted against the wheat farmers of America --

he voted against the economy of north Texas *and Oklahoma!*



REA - we need it - to stop it -  
Goldwater votes NO!  
- Cotton Regist - Goldwater NO

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"Just a minute," Mr. Rayburn used to caution.

This was his way of saying that every problem requires analysis and careful study -- that every answer should be carefully weighed and that every utterance of a public official should be responsible.

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####

[Sept. 17]

## WICHITA FALLS

Some people say that Hubert H. Humphrey has changed. It seems it might be better to say that Hubert H. Humphrey, like any other man, learns, and I have had the privilege of learning from some outstanding political leaders.

One of those leaders was none other than the beloved Sam Rayburn. Sam Rayburn always gave every new member of Congress a brief admonition which he put into just three words: "Just a minute."

This was Sam Rayburn's way of saying that every problem requires analysis and careful study; that

every answer should be measured and true; that every decision should be carefully weighed, and that every utterance of a public official should be responsible.

If ever there was a time when the advice of this wise Texan should be followed, it is now in a world beset by many dangerous forces, in a world in which the power that mankind has at his fingertips is beyond human comprehension. One miscalculation could literally incinerate the globe.

This is the time that you need a man in the Presidency who has been the student and follower of the Rayburn philosophy of "Just a minute."

What would have happened had John F. Kennedy been impulsive, unreliable, irresponsible in those difficult and dark days of October 1962 in the Cuban crisis?

What would happen if President Lyndon B. Johnson were to follow impulsive, irresponsible advice of those who would deliver ultimatums and use our massive weapons in Southeast Asia?

What would happen if President Johnson were to intervene in a massive and reckless way in Cyprus, in the Congo, in Malaysia? There is no doubt that if we were to react in heat and haste to every ripple in the tide of events, we would be over the brink in very short order.

Not far from here is Sheppard Air Force Base. As a reminder to Senator Goldwater, each B-52 bomber can carry more explosive power than was used in all of World War II by both sides. Such power -- even the use of the threat of such power -- must be kept



in the hands of a responsible President, and only in such hands. Would you trust Senator Goldwater and these unknown people he would be willing to give such power to? Or will you continue to trust President Johnson who has shown that he knows how to use this power with precision and responsibility. We cannot afford a President who speaks loosely and whose every word is listened to around the world. We cannot afford a Goldwater who shoots from the lip.

Sam Rayburn did not ask us not to make decisions -- he asked us to make the right decisions.

We need as President a man who is firm and resolute without being arrogant or belligerent; who seeks understanding and peace without retreat and appeasement; is strong without being bellicose.

- 5 -

A great world power must be responsible. Every word, deed and action must be measured carefully and prudently.

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TRANSCRIPT

PRESS CONFERENCE

by

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
September 17, 1964  
Marchman Hotel, Wichita Falls, Texas

11:30 CST

CONGRESSMAN PURCELL: Ladies and gentlemen of the press corps, it is one of the highest privileges of my life to present to you at this time the next Vice-President of the United States, Senator Humphrey.

We are glad to have him here and I know you will be glad to hear what he has to say.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. (Applause.)

Thank you very much, Congressman Purcell, and Senator Yarborough, my friends of the Wichita County Committee, and members of the press corps that are with us, and radio and television.

I am sure that what we are here for is some questions and I hope that I have some answers, so why don't we just proceed? Would you identify yourself? The lights are very bright and I have a difficult time seeing you.

MR. FERGUSON: Pat Ferguson, Baltimore Sun.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. FERGUSON: What is your reaction to Senator Thurmond's defection to the Republican party?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, we Democrats all believe in freedom of choice and Mr. Thurmond has made a choice. I think he has made a bad one but his voting record in the Congress, which is entirely his right and I respect his right to exercise that right, is one that has been much closer to the voting record of Senator Goldwater than it has been to the policies of the Administration.

At least, this makes it out in the open, and I notice that Senator Thurmond was again very candid when he said that he joined the Goldwater Republican party. There are at least two Republican parties at this time, the Regular party and the Goldwater party, and we welcome to our rank the thousands and thousands of middle-of-the-road, moderate, progressive Republicans who see in President Johnson's Administration an opportunity for a much better America, and I believe that the trade that is being made, with one going to the Goldwater Republican party and the hundreds of thousands coming to the Democratic party, is all in our favor.

MR. DUSCHA: Yesterday -- Julius Ducha, Washington Post -- yesterday, Senator Goldwater suggested that Federal tax money should be given back to the states to do as they wish with, rather than being used as grants in aid. What is your view on this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, as you know, the Council of Economic Advisors of the President has been studying the whole matter of the proper distribution and use of Federal revenues. The proposed suggestion of the Council indicated some support for that measure, long before Senator Goldwater ever talked about it or thought about it, provided that the programs which the Federal Government has undertaken as a matter of national need and national would not be jeopardized but what I gather is that Senator Goldwater is doing is the following. He wants to reduce taxes 25 per cent; he wants to increase the Federal outlays approximately 30 billion for new programs. Then he wants to give back to the states a large proportion of the remaining Federal revenues and cause this fiscal responsibility.

This is a spaghetti economic, at best. It is twisted and distorted and stringy and unrecognizable, I believe, so as far as fiscal policy is concerned, it would seem to me that the Senator would have been in much better stand if he had voted for a thoughtfully worked out, responsible, carefully tailored tax reduction bill that we had

this past year, a bill that was endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce, National Manufacturers' Association, AFL-CIO, and an overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats in the House and Senate, but as usual, Mr. Goldwater stood aside, exercised his traditional negative vote and now that there are no votes on taxes, now that there are no proposals before the Congress, relating to these things, he has a sort of never-never wonderland of fiscal policy of promising vast tax reductions, sharing of the rest of the revenue and increasing expenditures and other outlays to fantastic proportions.

MR. ANDERTON: Piers Anderton, ABC.

During your two days in Washington, did you talk to President Johnson about the campaign? If so, could you tell us a little bit about it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I did yesterday morning. In fact, the first thing he said was to tell Ray Howard of the Wichita Falls "hello, and express my greetings to Mrs. Yarborough," and asked me whether or not I was going to have the privilege of Congressman Graham Purcell and Senator Yarborough, all of which I reported in the affirmative. Most of our discussions are in the affirmative. (Laughter.)

He told me I would have a fine welcome in Texas and he was very pleased I had accepted the requests to come here. That was about it. He asked me about our last trip. I told him it was delightful; it was an exciting experience. I thought they were very friendly audiences, large audiences, and very receptive.

VOICE: Senator, did he tell you anything about his estimate of the situation in Texas, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No. As a matter of fact, we did not discuss the Texas matter, that is, between the President and myself. However, I have discussed it with Senator Yarborough; I have discussed it with Congressman Purcell.

I did read the press; I did read the amazing and a very heartening result of the Texas primary

MR. MORGAN: Morgan, ABC.

In that, Texas, do you have any trepidation coming into Texas, looking for votes with your image, a liberal supporting a liberal?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not at all. I find that Texans are very -- about as friendly people as you can find in the United States. They occupy a big state; they have a big heart; and they have broad understanding, great tolerance and good understanding; they send a man like Ralph Yarborough to the Senate; send a man like Graham Purcell to the Congress. This is the state of Sam Rayburn; this is the state of Lyndon Johnson. I don't think I will have any trouble in Texas.

The main trouble we will have here is just making sure that this state goes overwhelmingly for President Johnson.

MR. KENWORTHY: Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, Mr. Kenworthy.

MR. KENWORTHY: The parity ratio is lower, I believe, that at any time since 1938. What do you think Congress should do about this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Speaking of the farm program, I would say that

while the parity ratio showed are somewhat lower, the volume of gross income of agriculture, and net income of agriculture, are higher. The net income is \$1 billion more than it was per year, than it was in 1960. 1960 was the last period of a full Republican administration.

What's more, in Texas the farm income is up substantially. The drop in parity ratio that was attained some months was due to the drop in cattle prices in part. Those prices have now been substantially restored and as you know, the Congress in cooperation with the President has strengthened the President's hands in dealing with unusual amounts of meat imports.

There is a substantial purchasing program of beef products so that today, our cattle men are in much better shape. I think the best answer to it is that farmers all throughout the United States, in every public opinion survey, are stronger for President Johnson when they take a look at the Goldwater record.

What they see is no relief, no help, no votes, no cooperation.

MR. DUNCAN: Senator, Dawson Duncan, Dallas News.

In the local paper this morning, the Republicans carry a half page ad asking two questions: Why did you vote in the United States Senate against the oil depletion allowance, and (2) why did you vote in the United States Senate against ownership by the State of Texas against the offshore tidelands?

VOICE: What was that?

MR. DUNCAN: Why did you vote in the United States Senate against ownership by the State of Texas against its offshore tidelands? Do you have any communications to supply of either one of those?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir, I certainly do. First of all, may I say that the sponsor of the oil depletion allowance that I voted for was the Republican Senator from Delaware, Mr. Williams. I sometimes have had my doubt because of the sponsorship of these amendments. It ill serves the Republicans to be presented as against depletion allowance when their votes in the Senate are all too often a solid bloc against them. In reference to my vote, I have voted to reduce the depletion allowance from 27-1/2 to 22-1/2 per cent on a graduated scale. I voted to maintain full depletion allowance for what you or we might call a small producer with an income of a billion dollars or more.

It is my view, sir, that just as President Kennedy expressed it, that all of our resources need to have a new look in terms of resources policy. For example, in my state, we have a depletion allowance of only 15 per cent for iron ore. Now, should that be 27-1/2 per cent or should that be 15 or 20?

I hope you will recognize that I was a Senator, and I am a Senator, from the State of Minnesota. I try to represent my state very honestly and very fairly, just as the Senator from Texas, Senator Yarborough, represents his state, with the same vigor.

This Administration under President Johnson, which will give the American oil man the fairest deal that he ever had, and Senator Humphrey, the Vice-Presidential nominee, with President Johnson, will support the President's program. And if the oil men of Texas and Oklahoma, and America, can't trust Senator Johnson or President Johnson, then they had a friend and can't trust anyone.

I would believe it might be well if everyone took a good look at the President's attitude, the President's program and the whole resources policy of our country. What I did in my vote, I stand by. It's a matter of public record.



MR. SCHERER: Senator, Scherer, NE.

Mr. Miller appears to have charged that you at one time advocated giving our atomic bomb into the custody of the U.N. Did you do that? If so, why?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am not sure whether Mr. Miller is an actor or a politician. If he is an actor, then he is entitled to all of this play upon the truth, play upon words, even play upon the public. But if he is a politician seeking seriously a high office such as the Vice-President, then he ought to relate his statements to the truth.

Senator Humphrey at one time, like President Truman and every other leader in our government, supported the Baruch Plan for international control of atomic weapons, and the Baruch Plan was before the United Nations for several years. That plan obviously could not or did not receive the support of the Soviet Union and other countries in the Soviet bloc, and because of that, we abandoned it and have maintained our own nuclear arsenal as a matter of national defense.

And Mr. Miller is apparently attempting to take something out of context. He refers to an article of 1950. Senator Humphrey at no time felt that this country ever should give up its control over nuclear weapons, unless all nations everywhere were going to abandon nuclear weapons, which was the Baruch Plan, and the Baruch Plan was the sponsored plan of this government, supported by the late Arthur Vandenburg, supported by both Republicans and Democrats alike in the U.N.

Senator Humphrey has never believed in unilateral disarmament. In fact, I believe my record in this field is one that is acceptable, respectable, honorable and effective.

VOICE: Senator, to get back to the depletion allowance, is it your position it should be reduced from 27-1/2 per cent to 22 1/2 per cent?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: My position is the Democratic platform and my position is the position of this Administration, and this Administration, in the last tax bill, presented no program on depletion tax allowance.

It did under President Kennedy ask a change informally which would have reduced some or had the effect of the depletion allowance but it is my statement as a vice-presidential candidate that I will continue and do support the position of the President of the United States on all depletion allowances for gas, for oil, for clay, for iron ore and other mineral products. It has been my voting position as a Senator from Minnesota that the depletion allowance should have been reduced. That is a matter of record and I do not deny my record.

But I want to make it clear I am not running for the Senate.

VOICE: Senator, I have a farm question. From 1960 through 1963, do you realize net income for farms before government had added an increase of about 9 per cent. During the same period, government payments increased about 269 per cent from \$175 in 1960 to \$472 in 1963. With government payments increasing at this rate, is government's control of farmers increasing or decreasing?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The programs we have today on those payments, sir, are basically the wheat program and feed grains program, and the largest increase which you have referred to, sir, is in the feed grains.

It is a voluntary program; it is not mandatory, nor is the wheat program mandatory. It is a voluntary program and the purposes of the increased payment an incentive to the farmer to take out of production unneeded productive facilities land, put that land into conservation practices, cost compliance so that the farmer who produces and complies with the program will receive a fair income for that which he produced on his farm.

So it is a fact that as of date, our payment of farm income have gone up about 9 per cent, that payments have added substantially to farm income.

I intend to address to some degree to this matter Saturday at the National Flowing Contest in Fargo. I will only say this. Agriculture is so important to America, that cost of agriculture programs must not be charged up to farmers, any more than the cost of national security ought to be charged up to reserve generals.

It ought to be charged to the nation. We need our agriculture. It is our greatest success. We need it at home and we need it abroad and the fact of the matter is that the cost of this program has diminished under the Kennedy-Johnson program.

The surpluses have been reduced, cost of storage has been reduced. The cost of the carry of the program and Commodity Credit has been reduced. I think it's quite a commendable record.

MR. ZIMM: Marvin Zimm, Time Magazine.

I'd like to ask two questions about civil rights. First of all, I wonder if you could appraise the degree of compliance to the civil rights, whether there's been adequate compliance so far, and secondly, whether you believe there needs to be any strengthening of the Civil Rights Law in the next Administration.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe I speak for most people when I say that fair-minded and reasonable people are pleased with the degree of compliance to the Civil Rights Law. Actually, the amount of compliance has been surprisingly good. It's been so in Texas; it's been so all through the South, and it's been so in many areas of the North. It's not a palliative. It does not cure everything, by a long shot.

You ask me whether or not I think it ought to be strengthened. I do not. I think we ought to become adjusted to this law and give it an opportunity to be applied, give an opportunity for localities and voluntary groups and state agencies to work on this program at a local and state level to seek compliance with the law, observance of the law, and then also to be able to have the Federal Government take whatever positions are necessary or whatever actions are necessary under the law to fulfil the requirements of the Act.

Anyone else?

VOICE: The ADA, I believe, is in favor of turning the Panama Canal over to the U.N.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is not.

VOICE: That's the impression I have.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's the wrong impression. The ADA has not recommended that and needless to say, I am unalterably opposed to it. There are some Republicans that are for it but I am opposed to it.

I am glad you asked this question because there seems to be a few people that have a misguided notion about this matter. Any others? Thank you.

Datt #11  
Bob Poage

a great Aggie Statesman  
but also a go getter -  
Can DO Congressmen that  
work for the economic  
welfare of his District.

Federal Installations -  
Waco Prosperity & Fed Act.  
HdQts - 12 Air Force  
Jamies Connolly Air Force Base  
HdQts Veterans Admin. H. Texas  
Large - Veterans Hosp.  
⑩ aero-space Industry

Sp: Waco, Tex.  
Sept. 17, 1964

↓  
700 for Poage  
L Texas has sent to the Congress of the United

States one of the nation's most able, competent and  
learned men in the field of agricultural production  
and economics. This man is properly known as the  
farmer's friend and rural America's best advocate.

L I have worked for years with Bob Poage and found  
him not only a man who knows and loves Texas, but  
knows and loves America. Everything in American  
agriculture that Bob Poage fights for, works for and  
passes in the House, the Republican nominee fights  
against, opposes, and votes against in the Senate.

✓  
L It is bad enough to have this kind of opposition  
in the Senate, it would be disastrous for American  
agriculture to have it in the White House.

Bob  
Poage

But not Sen Goldwater

- High Educ - Manpower Training

- Public works

medical facilities

Poverty Prog

Tax Reduction

Soc Security



Good to see so many Demos - Sam Rayburn  
without prefat or suffix - or apology -  
- Demos Party - "with a Heart"

Compassion now  
concern for  
the less  
fortunate  
not socialism

↳ We recognize that there have been many changes wrought in agricultural economy. There is room for many honest disagreements. The record of Goldwater on every commodity -- feed grains or dairy products, soybeans or wheat, cotton or -- is a record of "no, no, no."

↳ He has said he "knows nothing about farming and he has voted that stated conviction. However, it was good to note that when he went to the town of

Hershey, Pennsylvania, and came under the influence of the

policy  
of former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson he decided he had some interest in agriculture.

↳ But a man like that is no man for Texas and no man for America where agriculture represents a vital part of our total economy and one of the great ~~est~~ success stories of American ~~life~~. The Senator from

L Arizona understands that they need water in Arizona  
but no place else; power in Arizona but no place  
else; REA in Arizona but no place else.

In Texas - Gross income per farm  
up 257% since 1960

REA  
↓  
need to expand!

Goldwater - <sup>more</sup> opposition to REA -  
on 35 Key votes opposed REA  
all but twice, when issue  
was for Arizona

L During my 16 years in the Congress I had the  
privilege of learning from great men. But none was  
greater than the late Sam Rayburn.

He was more than just a great leader in the House.  
He was a great teacher. Sam Rayburn always gave every  
new member of Congress a brief admonition which he  
put into just three words: "Just a minute."

L This was Sam Rayburn's way of saying that every  
problem requires analysis and careful study; that

every answer should be measured and true; that every  
decision should be carefully weighed, and that every  
utterance of a public official should be responsible.

↳ If ever there was a time when the advice of this  
wise Texan should be followed, it is now in a world  
beset by many dangerous forces, in a world in which  
the power that mankind has at his fingertips is  
beyond human comprehension. One miscalculation  
could literally incinerate the globe.

↳ This is the time that you need a man in the  
Presidency who has been the student and follower  
of the Rayburn philosophy of "Just a minute."

↳ What would have happened had John F. Kennedy  
been impulsive, unreliable, irresponsible in those  
difficult and dark days of October 1962 in the Cuban  
crisis?

What would happen if President Lyndon B. Johnson were to follow impulsive, irresponsible advice of those who would deliver ultimatums and use our massive weapons in Southeast Asia?

What would happen if President Johnson were to intervene in a massive and reckless way in Cyprus, in the Congo, in Malaysia? There is no doubt that if we were to react in heat and haste to every ripple in the tide of events, we would be over the brink in very short order.

Not far from here are the tactical air units of the 12th Air Force, which carry the small nuclear weapons that Senator Goldwater would turn over to NATO field commanders.

Such power -- even the use of the threat of such power -- must be kept .....

in the hands of a responsible President, and only  
in such hands. Would you trust Senator Goldwater  
and these unknown people he would be willing to give  
such power to? Or will you continue to trust President  
Johnson who has shown that he knows how to use this  
power with precision and responsibility. We cannot  
afford a President who speaks loosely and <sup>yet</sup> whose every  
word is listened to around the world. We cannot  
afford a Goldwater who shoots from the lip.

Sam Rayburn did not ask us not to make decisions --  
he asked us to make the right decisions.

We need as President a man who is firm and resolute  
without being arrogant or belligerent; who seeks  
understanding and peace without retreat and appeasement;  
is strong without being bellicose.

↳ A great world power must be responsible. Every word, deed and action must be measured carefully and prudently. The hope of mankind is in our hands. America is the last best hope on earth. May God <sup>#</sup>Protect her & guide her.



TRANSCRIPT

A D D R E S S

Waco, Texas, Mall  
Thursday, September 17, 1964.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you, thank you, thank you very much.

Thank you very much. Senator Ralph Yarborough, I gather from the response I heard here today when you were introduced, and when you said those extravagant and kind words about me, folks around Waco way feel that Ralph Yarborough is a good Senator. So do I.

(Applause.)

First, I want to pay my respects to the county leaders, the county chairman, George Nokes, for this wonderful reception. I know how hard it is to bring together a group like this at this early stage in the campaign. I was told when I left for this trip in Texas that I could expect almost anything and let me tell you that I have had everything, the most wonderful receptions accorded to Mrs. Humphrey and myself and the hospitality of this great Lone Star State, and this fine community of Waco simply could not be surpassed. We want to thank you very, very much.

(Applause.)

You know, before I forget it, I want to pay my respects to a fellow teacher. I was once a professor of political science myself and because politics is a rather precarious business, I kind of like predictions in case anything goes wrong.

I would like to say to Professor Armstrong apparently she is a good teacher because she got a lot of speaking out of Democrats. The state

The only thing, I am choosing up sides for LBJ and HHH.

I am going to make a pledge here, a statement here, that I don't think any other candidate is going to be able to fulfil. I said yesterday when I was preparing for this trip to come to Texas that I wanted to do something good for Texas, so I talked to the President.

I said, "Mr. President, before I go to Texas, is there anything we might do that will be helpful to Texas?" He said, "Yes, sir, Hubert, pray for rain."

(Applause.)

And I will tell you we prayed loud and it rained hard.

(Laughter.)

Now, folks, after all that has been done, we don't claim credit for the rain, even if we do get occasionally blamed for the drought. After all that has been done, the least you can do to show appreciation for the President is to elect for four years to the White House the man from Texas, Lyndon Johnson, and he can take Hubert Humphrey with him.

(Applause.)

One of the advantages of being on the campaign trail, you have so many smart people working for you. I have a page saying "Historical Information." I didn't know how interesting it was until I looked at it. It says tradition says that in undated time,

Waco, Address at Mall

-2-

the Great Spirit led the Wacos, from whom the name of this city was derived, to the fertile valley of the Brazos, promising as long as they drank from the gushing springs, their people would flourish.

Now, my friends, there is a lesson to be drawn from this. May I say that as long as you support the Democratic party and keep the Democratic Administration in power, Texas will prosper and so will the nation.

(Loud applause.)

By the way, your fine Congressman, Bob Poage called me wanted to be present. Give Bob Po a good hand.

(Applause.)

As you know, he had to be in Washington. He is a very key man on one of the committees, Agriculture Committee, and he is today the Chairman of a group that is trying to extend the Food for Peace program, which is so important to our international efforts. We are deeply indebted to this statesman for agriculture.

But I must say that he surely has carried on a great tradition, if I am not mistaken, stemming from that eminent statesman and leader, that statesman from Texas, Tom Connally, who represents this area, and then comes Bob Pope.

When I look at Waco, it seems like you have been doing all right -- 12th Air Force Tactical Unit, James Connally Air Force Base, Veterans Administration Hospital for Northern Texas, one of the finest veterans' hospitals in all Texas, a Hunter Aerospace center. Seems to me Bob Poage and Ralph Yarborough have been doing all right up in Washington.

(Applause.)

Now, I want to ask the press not to report this because I haven't be able to do this good at all. Of course, I could say that they got a little more influence in the White House than I have up there.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know that this county, this area, this district, has a remarkable record of economic progress and social progress. And I also know that your district has one of the finest political records of any district in the United States.

I believe that I am correct when I say it is another historical fact that this congressional district, this 11th District, of Texas has never gone Republican. You have always had good sense and voted Democratic.

(Wild applause.)

you know, there are only two states in the United States that can claim that record, one is the State of Georgia and I have with me today one of the state electors from Georgia, an old friend of mine, Mac Barber, who served 14 years in the state Legislature in Georgia, and Georgia always voted Democratic and Arkansas voted Democratic, and the 11th Congressional District of Texas voted Democratic, and Minnesota is learning how. I think that is a great record.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, for just a few moments, I want to talk to you about what I consider to be the program of promises that has been kept by this Administration and I am talking now to you about the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

Waco Address -3-

I know that this District gave John Fitzgerald Kennedy the largest vote of any congressional district in the State of Texas in 1960, and that is --

(Applause.)

And I have the feeling, with the folks back here and the folks out there, and ought to be around here, that in 1964, you are going to give an even larger vote to a son of Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson.

I know that you are going to do it.

The man says I am supposed to hurry it up. I have no intention doing it at all. I am enjoying this and it will show on the record that we are having fun here.

I want to say a word or two about your Congressman Bob Poage. I know he loves his District, his State and his nation and he has an admirable record. He's done so much for your agriculture which is so vital to this area that it seems to me everyone here owes him a debt of gratitude.

I know it is not only agriculture that makes up your economy but this is a part of it, and I want to say that Bob Poage's work in the House of Representatives has been nothing short of monumental but everytime that Bob Poage and Ralph Yarborough get together to do something for the agriculture, for wheat farmers, cotton, soy bean farmers, try to do something for those out there tilling the soil and there are 300 thousand of those people in Texas -- every time they get a bill in Congress to provide equal opportunity for agriculture, that fellow from Arizona --

CHORUS: Yay.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's right, that gentleman from Arizona, that fellow that is the Republican pretender --

(Laughter.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: -- says "no". His record on the feed grains program, on the cotton program, his record on every single commodity program -- save one -- is a record of "No, no, no, a hundred times no." "Against, against, against."

I am beginning to find out in this campaign what these fellows are against. It will be a great day when we find out what they are for.

(Applause.)

There is one thing I do want to say, however, that Mr. Goldwater says he is. He's got a conservative -- or the conscience of a conservative.

I will say for Mr. Goldwater, he generally keeps his word and he has said this -- and I quote him -- he says, "I know nothing about agriculture."

(Laughter.)

Now, I know that confession is good for the soul but when you are voting that way, it's hard on the pocketbook of the rest of the country.

He went, not long ago, to the Milk Chocolate Company at Hershey, Pennsylvania. Both parties met -- both Republican parties.

(Laughter.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And the Eisenhower party and the Goldwater party met and Goldwater took a few bows, with his right hand up and kept his left hand behind him, made a few bows and one was to agriculture.

He said he was going to do a lot of good things for agriculture. He's been out making a few speeches. I would remind you of those ancient and true words, "Ye shall be judged by your deeds and not your words." And the deeds of this man in agriculture is a record of negation, a record of complete repudiation of the Republican platforms every since he has been in public office.

And I say that a Senator that was the chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee in 1960, asking Senators to run on the Republican platform that promised to send relief out to the farmers, and voted against that same platform after it had made those promises, cannot be trusted to keep these promises arrived at in Hershey, Pennsylvania, arrived at under Eisenhower and Benson in 1964.--

(Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I think you know the record. Most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, were interested enough in the education of American youth and the problems of education so they thought we ought to do something in aid to higher education. Most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike voted for aid to higher education, that which helps the University of Texas, Baylor University, which will help every University, and most Senators did but --

CHORUS OF VOICES: Not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

Most Senators were worried about the shortage of our medical facilities; most Senators thought we needed more doctors, better hospitals, better medical facilities, medical technicians, so most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike voted for a program to aid medical education, for help for your hospitals, your nurses, your medical technicians, and most Senators did it, but --

CHORUS OF VOICES: Not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

Now, most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, thought that a tax reduction that would release vast amounts of money into the hands of business and consumers, \$11.5 billion of it, would be good for business, would be good for America. Most Senators and most businessmen and most workers and most farmers, most Americans wanted a tax program of tax reduction, and Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted --

CHORUS OF VOICES: But not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

And most Democrats, and most Republicans from Herbert Hoover to Dewey -- indeed to Richard Nixon -- also said they believed in social security as a general universal program but --

CHORUS OF VOICES: Not Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: All right. This is the record.

Let me just conclude this message with a very serious theme



for you all. During my 16 years in Congress, I have tried to learn and I have tried to grow and I have looked for what I call the great teachers.

One of those great teachers was the late and beloved Speaker of the House of Representatives, your own Texas, Say Rayburn, and, it was Sam Rayburn who admonished every member of the House and indeed, every new member of the Senate. He would say, "Young man, you are coming to an important post of public duty. Your responsibilities are heavy and whenever you have a serious problem before you," he would say, "wait just a minute."

In other words, pause, reflect, analyze, think, take a look at it before you make a judgment.

He knew that every decision needed to be weighed carefully and that every utterance of a public official should be responsible, and if there ever was a time when the advice of this wise Texas should be followed, it is now in the world in which we live, because in this world in which we live, there are dangerous forces in the world, and which the power of mankind has created and has at his fingertips to literally destroy the world.

One miscalculation would literally incinerate the globe,

It seems to me you need, at this time, a man who has been a President, a man that has stood and stands as a follower of Sam Rayburn. You need a student and follower of the philosophy of Sam Rayburn, of love of country, and love of humanity, a man who said the Democratic party was a party with a heart, and a man who said that he wanted an America where there was no South, no North, no East or West but only America.

So I commend to you today this great, wise and prudent man. I ask you what would happen if President Lyndon Johnson were to follow impulsive or irresponsible advice, deliver ultimatums, and use massive weapons in Southeast Asia. I ask you what would have happened if John F. Kennedy had been irresponsible or unreliable, shooting from the hip and lip in the difficult and dark days of October, 1962, in the Cuban crisis?

What would have happened if President Johnson had interfered in a massive way in Cyprus? You know!

Let me tell you why you know. Because not far from this very spot are Tactical Air Units of the 12th Air Force which carry small nuclear weapons, the kind that Senator Goldwater says he would turn over to a commander in the field. Such power, even the use of the threat of such power, should be kept in the hands of a civilian, responsible President.

I will tell you who that man is. The peace of the world today rests not in those who have impulsive responses but in those who have the kind of mature judgment that people can rely upon; the peace of the world today rests in the hands of a President, if you please, who is firm and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent, who seeks understanding and peace without retreat or appeasement, is strong without being bellicose.

A great world power, and that is what we are, must be responsible. Every word, deed and action must be measured frugally

and carefully.

The hope of mankind is in our hands and that is why I say that in the years ahead, the next four years, Texas must lead the nation in assuring that you have in the White House for the next four years a trusted, tried, competent man, Lyndon B. Johnson, as our President.

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(End)

TRANSCRIPT

R A L L Y  
Waco, Lake Air Shopping Center  
Thursday, September 17

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Nokes, I first want to thank you for an unusually warm welcome.

I understand you had a good rain last night and now the press has a chance to inquire about the rain-maker.

Let's go right ahead.

QUESTION: Senator, I am Sam Wood. I heard you in Wichita Falls. Why don't you tell these people -- they asked you a couple of questions about why you are in Texas. Answer it briefly.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe the people of Texas ought to vote for the Democratic ticket because this picket represents the best economic interests of this state and I think it represents responsible foreign policy and strong national security.

It is my view that in these days our nation needs to have a sense of national unity. It needs economic stability as well as economic growth and it surely needs a President that is resolute, firm without being belligerent and arrogant, and one who is patient and persevering without being dilatory and indecisive.

I believe we have that kind of President in Lyndon Johnson.

Next. (Applause.)

QUESTION: Senator, will you finish answering the questions on Meet the Press last night when the show was cut off -- Face the Nation -- I mean, I believe they asked you how many states we are going to carry.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. There were so many questions being tossed at me last night on Face the Nation, I thought the whole nation was after me. But it is very difficult for one to predict with any certainty the degree of what we hope will be our victory, but I do feel that the President of the United States has every reason to feel confident that victory is going to crown our efforts.

I do feel also that a victory will be across the nation. I don't think it will be localized in any one region. As a matter of fact, we would hope to see every state in the South, with possibly one or two exceptions, and we wouldn't want to write those off.

Let's say our standards are not less than Franklin Roosevelt in 1936, since we have two more states since 1936. We'd like to even surpass that record.

QUESTION: Senator Humphrey, Senator Goldwater in New York this morning once again lambasted the Supreme Court decision on state reapportionment. Do you believe the states should have the right to reapportion themselves or do you back the Supreme Court decision?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think what the Supreme Court has said is to lay down some guidelines for the reapportionment of legislatures. It is my view that many states need reapportionment. I don't believe, however, that you should force this issue within, say, days and weeks. There should be appropriate and adequate time. That is why some of us have supported a resolution, the "sense of Congress", supporting jurisdiction of the Court, supporting the validity of the Court's decision, but asking for the doctrine of the reasonableness of time.

As they said in the Brown school case, "with deliberate speed but not expecting it to be done overnight." I believe that is the fair way to do it.



Waco, Rally

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QUESTION: Senator, is there any indication how long the Senate will stay in session?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I doubt if it can complete its work before the 1st of October.

QUESTION: Are any of your colleagues going to go over to the Republican party?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, that is always their choice but let me say that everywhere I go, including the great Lone Star State of Texas, I find thousands and thousands and thousands of Republicans that love their party enough not to be following the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican party. They are one of the developments, a great development, an unusual development in American politics, the number of people in the Republican party who are putting their country and the interest of this country far above the dogmatic doctrines and interests of a limited faction of the Republican party called the Goldwater faction.

I think Senator Thurmond was very honest and when he said -- I believe I am correct in quoting him -- he said he was joining the Goldwater Republican party. I always thought the Republican party had just a bigger base than just the Goldwater faction.

In my state, it has a much larger base. I am happy to say that about 30 per cent of the State of Minnesota, representatives of intelligent, hardworking opposition, are going to support our Lyndon Johnson, and before the campaign is over, I hope they will do so.

QUESTION: One more question. Senator, on reapportionment, do you disagree with the Supreme Court's position that every man's vote should be equal to every other man's vote?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I do not.

QUESTION: What is the purpose then of this legislation in this Congress? Wouldn't the effect of the legislation be simply to allow states times to freeze the situation, where one man's vote is not equal to another man's?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, sir. It would permit state legislatures time enough to reapportion their states rather than have everyone run at large in a mad scramble. It would also permit, if the states and Congress desired, to pass a constitutional amendment which might change the general impact of the Court's decision. There are people who believe there ought not to be just representation on the basis of population. If that is the case and if Congress will pass such a constitutional amendment for ratification, I believe the states should have the opportunity to ratify or reject.

QUESTION: Senator, some papers noted this morning your deadline has passed for filing your financial statement. Are you still trying to balance your checkbook?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Kenworthy, if you will bear with me, the Republicans had their convention somewhere in July. We didn't get back to Washington until Labor Day. I really am no accountant. I turned over all my records -- canceled checks and other things -- to a large accounting firm that is rather busy. I have been raising Cain -- "hurry up, hurry up". I assure you you will be the first to see it. I understand it will be this week. My wife wants to see it, too.

Thank you very much. Come to the meeting. It's going to be good.

TRANSCRIPT

A D D R E S S

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

John F. Kennedy School  
San Antonio, Texas  
Thursday, September 17, 1964

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Well, thank you very much, Henry. My friend, the Congressman from this District, the very great and fine Congressman that gives his heart and his mind and his entire being to the representation of these wonderful people, Henry Gonzalez. We are so proud of you, and you folks are going to re-elect him, aren't you?

(Applause.)

I bet some of you may have wondered, as I was fiddling around up here with these papers, just what I might have been thinking of. Well, let me tell you what I was thinking. I was thinking how lucky we are to be Democrats. Look at the fun we have. Look at the joy we have. Look at the spirit we have!

Think of it. If you were one of those Republicans, how you would feel right now!

(Applause.)

I don't mean a regular Republican. I mean one of those Goldwater Republicans. As Sam Rayburn used to say, it's bad enough to be an "old fogey". It's worse to be a young fogey, you know.

Congressman Gonzalez and Senator Yarborough, and the many fine officers of the City and County government, and school board that are here today, and particularly a word of commendation to Judge Charles Grace, who, you know, is going to be your next county judge -- you have got that all set up.

(Applause.)

May I extend to each and every one of these officers and these candidates the very best wishes, not only of Senator Humphrey but I know that in these rare and wonderful occasions, as President Johnson's running mate, I am privileged to bring to you the greetings, the good wishes, the help and the assistance of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

Or, as we would say up Minnesota-way, "Viva Gonzalez!"

CHORUS OF VOICES: Ray, ray. (Applause.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Viva Yarborough! Viva LBJ!

CHORUS OF VOICES: LBJ.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Amigos --

VOICE FROM CROWD: Viva Humphrey!

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's wonderful to be in San Antonio -- and this is Texas! Oh, what a wonderful place! I want to tell you, my friends, Texas -- the Lone Star State, Texas -- that has given to America a great President; Texas, that has led the way in so many things throughout its whole history from Sam Houston up to Lyndon Johnson; Texas is going to lead the way on November 3rd, aren't you, to re-elect Lyndon B. Johnson?

(Applause.)

John F. Kennedy School Address

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What a wonderful occasion! I am just singularly honored to be speaking in this new school, the John F. Kennedy School.

(Applause.)

And may I -- let me tell you that never, never in the history of our country did we ever have a President who so inspired the young, who captured their love and their affection and their hearts as much as our late, beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

I would like in some little way to be able to carry that torch, at least to help carry it, the torch of youth, of education for youth, of opportunity for youth, of the better America for youth -- that torch which was passed from the hands of a great and wonderful President, who was taken from us in the zenith, that torch which was passed on to a strong and good man from Texas.

All I want to do is to be able to help the President of the United States carry that torch of enlightenment of youth and opportunity to the young people of America.

(Applause.)

By the way, one of the most wonderful developments and one of the most wonderful experiences in all of this campaign is the presence of and the enthusiastic response of, and the generous help of the young people, young Democrats, young Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey -- just young people.

(Applause.)

This is the story that needs to be written about American youth. This is the story that needs to be told about our country. We don't need to be lectured all the time about "the tyranny of the Federal Government", which helped, by the way, to build this school, and there wouldn't have been a school here as magnificent as this were it not as Congressman Gonzales has said, for the help of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people". And that is the kind of government we have and ought not to be criticized or condemned unfairly.

And the gentleman from Arizona, when he tries to divide us from our government in Washington, does a disservice, and you know it.

(Applause.)

Yes, may I say most respectfully and yet very seriously, that it is nothing short of shameful that those who aspire to high public office sometimes seek to divide people on the basis of race and religion. Sometimes they seek to divide us on the basis of geography, North or South, East or West, and all too often, they seek to divide us on the basis of Federal versus state versus county government, and all of it is wrong.

What America needs these days is national unity, national purposes and first-class citizenship for every American.

(Applause.)

It is a fact that the very first bill I authored in the Congress of the United States, which was signed by Harry S. Truman, was a bill to provide Federal aid for school districts where there is substantial Federal employment or what we call the impact of Federal activities.



John F. Kennedy School Address

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This school and hundreds more like them have been assisted under that program. Well over 12 billions of dollars have been expended for education in America because of a program that provided aid to education. I am proud of it, aren't you?

(Chorus of yes.) (Applause.)

And I don't think it has taken our freedom. I am proud of the fact we have a school lunch program, aren't you?

(Applause.)

And that we have aid to vocational education, that we have aid for our special milk program. Progress after progress, if you please, on the part of a government that has its responsibility to the people of this country to make America a better America, to make our people a happier people, to have our young people with an opportunity. Isn't that the kind of a government that you want?

(Applause.) (Chorus of yes.)

May I say that is not the kind of government that you get from one who has as his progress "no, no, no" to every affirmative program, progress, of this government. That is not the kind of a government that you are going to get from the Senator from Arizona, the Republican pretender to the presidency of the United States, the man that says that he does not want the Federal government to help our people.

I say to you that the Federal government belongs to the people, the state government belongs to the people, the school board belongs to the people, and government has a duty to serve, the legitimate interests of the people, particularly the young people who deserve the best education that America can provide.

(Applause.)

We have some very enthusiastic supporters way back in the end of the hall. I hope the Senator from Arizona can hear them.

And Congressman Gonzalez and Senator Yarborough, I want to particularly thank you men and offer my commendation for the wonderful initiative you have taken for the sponsorship of the HemisFair of 1968. This is just a short way down the road. In fact, the only way you can be sure that Fair becomes a reality is to be sure the President in 1968 is also a man who was also for the Fair.

Henry, better make sure you get the Fair and also Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

And if you want to improve the navigation possibilities of the San Antonio River, you had better make sure that it isn't filled up with the sands of Arizona, but rather that it is filled up with the enthusiastic support of a Democratic party and a Democratic Administration.

Well, there is much I wanted to talk to you about and time does not permit. Before I go, one minute further, however.

I want to pay my respects to one of the truly outstanding men of this nation, a friend of mine, whom I hope that I will

John F. Kennedy School Address

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have the privilege of seeing in my brief stay at San Antonio, a truly magnificent, kind-hearted spiritual leader that has extended the hand of friendship and of compassion and humanitarianism to hundreds of thousands of people, who is the spiritual leader of this entire area. If I fail to see him, will you please bring to him my warm and heartfelt feeling from an old friend?

I speak of none other than your Archbishop Lucie, right here in San Antonio.

(Applause.)

We have worked together on many projects and we intend to be working together, if it is my good fortune that he will permit me to do so, in the years ahead.

Now, my friends, let me just talk to you about a few commitments that were made by the Democratic party.

Young people all too often are told that those of us in politics make promises but we never keep them. If we do not keep them, then we have every right to be criticized and condemned and removed from office. But if we do keep them, then the record ought to be plain for one and all to see and people then ought to be rewarded by continued support, as your Congressman has kept his commitments.

Now, let's see whether or not the promises that were made in the State of Texas and throughout this nation in 1960 by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, the Democratic ticket of that time, whether or not these commitments and these promises have been fulfilled. I think so, and I have checked the record.

Four years ago, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration made ten basic commitments to the American people. They made a basic commitment to get America moving again, to get it off from dead center, to get America once again to be a vital and young and progressive nation and unafraid, moving into the future instead of constantly fearing the present and looking to the past.

Ten promises became the goals of President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson. Ten promises this day are the commitments and the goals of President Johnson.

Now, those ten goals became realities and today America is on the move again. Everybody knows it. Our adversaries know it. The American people know it. The people of San Antonio, as a part of the American community, know it. And I even think that Senator Goldwater knows it, if he ever would put the lenses in his glasses to find out what is going on.

(Applause.)

Congressman Gonzalez and Senator Yarborough, four years ago, we presented the then candidate of the Democratic party, John F. Kennedy, and promised the American people that if a Democratic Administration was elected that we would pass a law establishing minimum wages at \$1.25 an hour. Today, working Americans have that guarantee of that minimum wage.

The Congress passed it; the President signed it. Oh, I know that the Senator from Arizona didn't like it but as a matter of fact, there are a lot of things he doesn't like, and you'd be surprised what the American people are going to do about it on November 3rd.

Four years ago, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson promised to fight poverty, to fight it wherever we found it, to fight it with whatever resources were at our command and President Lyndon Johnson

John F. Kennedy School Address

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carried out that promise and declared an open war on poverty. I regret to say the Senator from Arizona did not think that was worth fighting. President Johnson said yes; Senator Goldwater said no. And I expect you are going to say "No" to the "No Man" on November 3rd, isn't that right?

Four years ago, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson promised the American people that if elected, we would carry out a program to end discrimination in American life, to proclaim first-class citizenship for every American, regardless of race, color or creed.

We said we would wage a war on bigotry and we would wage a war on discrimination. We made that pledge on July 2nd of this year. The President signed the most comprehensive Civil Rights bill in the history of this country.

(Applause.)

Four years ago, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson promised to fight disease, promised to wage war on mental illness and mental retardation, promised to step up medical research. Today, we have a Federal program to build new facilities, new medical schools, such as you are trying to build right here in this area under the aid to medical education and medical facilities.

We made that promise and President Kennedy and President Johnson delivered, with a Democratic Congress. Ralph Yarborough voted for it. Henry Gonzalez voted for it. Hubert Humphrey voted for it. But "not Senator Goldwater!"

THE CROWD: But not Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Four years ago, we promised that we would wage war on slums. We promised that we would continue with the housing program and extend it. Low cost housing, middle income housing, rural housing and urban renewal and the greatest national housing act ever passed by the Congress of the United States was passed in the year 1961, renewed in the year 1964, signed by two Presidents.

We kept our word. We voted for it. Most Republicans voted for it. Most Democrats voted for it but --

THE CROWD: Not Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Four years ago, the candidates of the Democratic party promised this nation that we would be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace, and surely, San Antonio is living proof of the military power of the United States of America. This great city proves it.

(Applause.)

Today, we are first in military strength. We have more military might than all the nations of the world combined. Our power is so unbelievable that it is the wonder of the world and this power is not for destruction. That power is not for war. That power is for defense and security, and that power is for peace. Today, we are first in strength and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty proves that no one will surpass us for our determination is to have a peaceful and safe world for our children.

I say we kept our promises and most Americans, most Republicans, most Democrats voted for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in the Senate of the United States, but --

THE CROWD: Not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

John F. Kennedy School Address

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: And now, my friends, there is a good Democrat in the back --

(Laughter.)

Four years ago, the man for whom this school is named promised that he would get this country of ours moving again and that our economy would grow faster. He said that we would expand our employment. He said we would increase our production. He said we would expand the economic pace of America, and this Administration has led this nation in 43 months of uninterrupted prosperity and economic growth.

This year, with the dynamic boost of a major tax cut, which released \$11.5 billion to business and individual citizens, America today has the greatest prosperity that America has ever known or any nation has ever known.

Most Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for that tax cut, but --

THE CROWD: Not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Four years ago, John Kennedy, speaking in Texas, promised decent medical care for the aged under social security, and this man did not live to see his dream come true but only a few weeks ago, the United States Senate voted by majority vote for hospital and nursing home care for our elderly under the insurance principles of social security.

Yes, most Senators voted for it. We kept our pledge. Most Senators said keep the pledge, but --

THE CROWD: Not Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And now, my friends, let's finish up the commitments we made four years ago. We promised to make the United States of America first in space exploration. We were tired of hearing of Sputniks. We wanted Americans to be first. We wanted our astronauts to explore the heavens and outer space and the success of Mercury, Saturn, Ranger, and other programs have launched the United States of America on the journey to the moon, and I predict that the first person to be on the moon will be an American who will be trained in Texas as an American astronaut.

(applause.)

By the way, if you do get there first, you might even be able to claim it and then you will be bigger than Alaska.

(Applause.)

Four years ago, we promised the farmers a more equitable share in American prosperity and farm income. In Texas today is up 25 per cent. Net farm income has increased by a billion dollars a year over what it was under Republican leadership. Surplus prices have declined. Exports have been increased, and the cost of the farm program has gone down.

We have kept our promise on every farm issue. On every vote, Democrats, a majority of them, and a Democratic President, kept their promises. Most Congressmen, most Senators voted to help the cotton farmers, wheat farmers, rice farmers, voted to help American agriculture, but not --



THE CROWD: Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now, these are the ten promises of our government, ten promises made, ten promises kept, and may I say to redeem these ten promises, we needed the support, the majority support of the United States Senate, and we got it, except for one man, only one Senator out of 100 said no to every one of these promises. Only one Senator out of one hundred opposed every one of these ten pieces of legislation; only one man voted "No" time after time on every promise, on every pledge that was given to the American people. One man was at the tail end of progress while President Johnson wages war on poverty -- the temporary spokesman for the Republican party wages war on progress.

(Applause.)

In his travels across America, the temporary spokesman of the Republican party tells us that he has found an uneasiness among the American people. Well, I'm not at all surprised, because the American people should feel pretty uneasy when a candidate for the Presidency on the one hand extolls the virtues of extremism, and after having done that, before all the nation on television, decides to change his mind; and says that he will not indulge in personalities in the campaign and then calls the President a faker and a phony; advocates that we negotiate the future of Viet Nam with the Chinese Reds, but then changes his mind; proposes that we make Social Security voluntary and then changes his mind; suggests that we sell TVA and then changes his mind about a month ago, and then changed it back again yesterday; opposes and votes against a cut in Federal taxes when the bill is before the Congress and then changes his mind and wants to cut the taxes 25 per cent now, and then dish it out of the Treasury to the states just to help him some more.

No wonder. No wonder that the Republican pretender to the Presidency finds the American people uneasy. As one Republican said to me, "GOP used to stand for Grand Old Party. Now it stands for Goldwater's Our Problem."

(Applause.)

I suggest to my fellow Americans that America needs a President that can see well, that understands history, that understands the time in which we live, and that understands the course of events now and in the future, and as somebody said, "This nation of ours cannot afford to have as a President a man who has no lenses in his glasses, who has no months on his calendar and no hands on his watch."

It seems to me what America needs is someone that understands that these are the times that require responsible leadership. These are the times that require Americans to look ahead. These are the times to bind together our people in national unity and these are the times, if you please, to move America forward, further down the road of the path of opportunity for all, and if that is what you want and I think it is what you want, I have got the candidate for you. He is the man from Texas. He is your own native son. He deserves your support. He's going to get your support and when he does, he will be elected President of the United States for four years and that's Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Thank you.

(Applause.)



## TRANSCRIPT

A D D R E S S

San Antonio, the Alamo  
Thursday, September 17, 1964.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you for a most enthusiastic welcome. You have convinced me. I will accept.

(Laughter and applause.)

First of all, I want to join with you tonight in paying well-deserved credit to the gentleman that so ably, so effectively, so honorably and so energetically represents this great congressional district of Texas, your own Honorable Henry Gonzalez.

(Applause.)

And I gather from what I hear at this place and what I hear throughout the District that Gonzales is going back to Washington next November.

(Applause.)

Then, I want to pay a well-deserved tribute to the distinguished senior United States Senator from the State of Texas, one who never forgets that he came to Washington to represent the legitimate interests of the people of this great state, a state that has served under six flags, a state that has given to American men of the quality of Sam Houston, Sam Rayburn and Lyndon B. Johnson, and I refer to your own Senator Ralph Yarborough.

(Applause.)

Well, I'd always been told by Henry that San Antonio was a good Democratic city. I want to say this to my fellow Americans and fellow Democrats. We do need a two-party system -- the Democrats in power and the Republicans out!

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, in this particular year, I want you

Alamo

to be much more considerate than you have been on other occasions because the truth is that ever since the debacle at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, every since that day when a faction of the GOP kidnapped the organization, there have been literally thousands and thousands of fine Republicans who have put their country above their party and are going to vote the Democratic ticket in November.

So, before we go a bit further, let's get with it.

"Viva Gonzales -- viva Gonzales! Viva Yarborough  
-- viva Yarborough!

(Applause.)

Thank you. My, you're so wonderful.

You know, our program was opened tonight by one of your most esteemed and respected citizens who is a candidate, as you know, for the office of County Judge, which is, in fact, I gather, your highest office in this area, and I am sure that because you have demonstrated such good judgment in the past in voting for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960, and voted for Henry Gonzales, and Ralph Yarborough, that you are also going to vote for and place in this position of trust and responsibility Judge Charles W. Grace.

By the way, since this is the great American city -- and that it is -- because I see before me people of all walks of life, every race, creed and nationality, I am sure that the candidates of Bexar County for the State Legislature are going to receive your enthusiastic, dynamic support, and right away -- I know I can say it for you -- Tom Lee, Jake Johnson, Joe Bernal, John Alaniz, and Bob Vale -- and may I add I was just told to put in a word for

(Applause.)

I know these men may have been introduced to you but let me just put it this way. As enthusiastic as we can become for our national ticket -- and that is, of course, the most important election in the land -- let it never be forgotten that this government is not all in Washington. It is at the State Capitol with your Governor Connally --

(Applause.)

-- and it is in your State Legislature with those I have

Alamo

mentioned and many more, in your county commissioner, with Dick Landsman, and other candidates.

I want to say something about these folks over here -- somebody got in the parade over here.

(Indicating group with Goldwater signs.)

My friends, be good winners!

(Laughter and applause.)

There are 38 counties in this great area of Southern Texas that are right over here to my left and these are the 38 counties that did so much in 1960 to see to it that that gallant and brave, courageous and intelligent young man, John F. Kennedy, was elected President of the United States.

(Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, just a few words of good -- what I hope is down to earth -- political discussion that is way down to earth.

We need to talk about our country tonight; we need to talk about what kind of an America we want and what kind we have.

First of all, 1960, Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the high office of President, said to us that he wanted to get America moving once again and he kept that pledge as faithfully as one would keep his religious vows.

He threw himself into the task when he was elected President, first of all meeting the humanitarian needs of our people. For example, the first Executive Order was that food was made available to the needy. Remember that the second Executive Order was to see to it that the nutrition, that the diets of those of low incomes was elevated.

I remember that he sent us week after week one message after another calling for the re-training of manpower that was unemployed, calling upon the Congress of the United States to authorize housing programs, to build out cities, clean out our slums, calling upon the Congress of the United States to authorize accelerated public works to give men jobs and to improve the public structure of America.

And then he set forth to do what this city, in a sense,

Alamo

symbolizes, to increase the strength of America.

And San Antonio, yes, Texas, with its many military installations, with its great advances in the aerospace industry -- Texas today represents the sharp cutting edge of American might. It represents the mightiest power of America, so that America today can stand before the world as the most powerful nation that mankind has ever known.

We command the respect of friends, and we command the fear of the enemy.

(Applause.)

America was in trouble economically; America needed jobs for its unemployed; America needed its factories put to work and this nation, in less than four years, has added over 5 million people to the work force, until today, over 72 million people are gainfully employed in America.

This nation, in less than three and a half years, has added \$125 billion to its gross national product, so that today, America has a prosperity and a standard of living, the like of which the world has never known.

This was the promise of --

(Applause.)

Is it any wonder that today, we have, of course, some problems that face us, but is it any wonder that today, businessmen who traditionally voted for the Republican ticket are -- by the hundreds, yea, the thousands -- are announcing that they are going to vote Democratic in 1964?

(Applause.)

Is it any wonder that today, the great organization of labor, the AFL-CIO, representing the great free trade unions of America -- is it any wonder that those great unions today are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States?

(Applause.)

President Johnson made it crystal clear in his acceptance speech at Atlantic City about our party, this Democratic party, is an open party, open to people that want to see America move

Alamo

ahead, open to people who want to see America the land of opportunity, open to people who believe in the equality of opportunity, open to people who wish to see America fulfil its promise.

Surely, we have made great gains but we haven't even started. There is a wonderful, whole new era ahead of us.

This party that we represent, while it may, on occasion, falter -- this party, believe me, today represents a party of national unity. It seeks not to divide; it seeks to unite, seeks not to push aside.

It seeks not to divide; it seeks to unite. It seeks to build an America; it seeks to build a better America.

Lyndon Johnson was once asked, not long ago, the following question by a television commentator: "Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had his New Deal. Harry Truman had his Fair Deal. John Kennedy had his New Frontier. What will you call your Administration?"

And quietly, calmly and surely, the President, President Johnson responded, "This Administration seeks only a better deal for all Americans."

(Applause.)

We know -- we know that this is a task that requires fortitude and perseverance. We know that you do not build a better America in every area of our national life quickly. We know there are no simple answers to difficult problems and there are no childlike answers to man-sized problems. We know that.

(Applause.)

But we also know one other thing. We know that what America wills to do, she can do. We know, if America wants to, she can do the impossible.

This is why, if you please, we need a man in the White House that challenges us not to look back, that challenges us not to forget our problems, but rather that challenges us to look ahead and to grasp the opportunities of today.

Throughout my campaign, short as it has been, I have sought from time to time to cite the record because I believe the only way that you can ultimately judge is by how these men

Alamo

in public life have voted, not what they have written only, not what they have said only, but what they have done and how they have voted.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you heard me -- some of you -- speak in my acceptance speech in Atlantic City, and I said in that speech that most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, had voted for, in the Congress of the United States, a tax program to release into the American economy over \$11 billion of free capital to get America moving again.

Yes, most Americans thought that was good sense. Most Americans thought this was good for America, and most Americans were right, but --

CHORUS OF VOICES: Not Barry Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Ladies and gentlemen, most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, in fact, four-fifths of the Republicans in the Senate, and over four-fifths of the Republicans in the House, and an overwhelming majority of the Democrats in both bodies, yes, Republicans and Democrats alike -- most Americans, most Senators, most Congressmen thought and voted that American citizenship should be first-class citizenship, that there should be only one law in the land, a law that applied to all, that we should eliminate from our midst discrimination and bigotry.

We voted for an equal opportunity program. We voted for a civil rights program.

(Applause.)

Most Americans, on that day in November, 1964, November 3rd -- most Americans, Democrats, independents and Republicans, are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Barry Goldwater.

On this platform tonight are two members of Congress who have, for example, simplified what I call a sense of social justice in public office. These are men committed and dedicated to the system of this government and the economic system which has made this country great

We believe in a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." We believe in a system of private industry in which the initiative and the incentive is there, but we also believe that a government has a responsibility to all of the people, and I have said from every platform and I shall



Alamo

repeat it every opportunity that I get, it's right. It's morally right, and it's politically right for a government of the people, by the people and for the people to be concerned about the people.

This government of ours, whether it is in Washington or whether it is in Austin or whether it is in San Antonio, it's a government of the people, and I do not believe that it does any good, in fact, I think it does grave damage for those who seek high public office to try to spread doubt and fear and suspicion about a government at the national level that has brought America, if you please, some of the blessings that we now enjoy; a government at the state level that is responsible for most of the activity of social service in your state.

I don't think, Mr. Goldwater, that you are performing a public service when you spread doubt and suspicion about the American structure.

And may I add that I do not think that you serve the cause of freedom nor do you serve the cause of peace when you spread doubt and suspicion about the military power of this nation, Mr. Goldwater?

(Applause.)

And I don't think that you perform a public service when a candidate for the office of President will cast doubt and suspicion, in fact, will make the categorical statement, that the late and beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy manipulated the Cuban crisis of 1962 for political advantages, which was the charge made by Senator Goldwater. He ought to be ashamed.

There are plenty of things to talk about in this election, and we don't need to talk about a moderate President, who has had the courage to confront the Soviet Union in one of the most dark and one of the most desperate hours of our national existence, and I, for one, resent this kind of campaigning that casts a smear -- yes, casts a smog -- over one's memory of one of the greatest men that ever served the United States of America.

(Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, what do we seek to do? We, first of all, seek to have in government men who are responsible. Responsibility is the first quality of leadership. This great nation of ours has such unbelievable tasks to perform at home



Alamo

and abroad that it must have at the helm of this government someone who is responsible, who understands that his every word and deed affect every life, not only of Americans, but of the whole world.

Responsibility has to be the key watchword of Lyndon B. Johnson's entire public life, and responsibility today is the theme of leadership in the White House, and responsibility today is the protection of our freedom and our security.

(Applause.)

And then what is the goal of our country? Not just the goal of a party, not just the goal of one man, but what is the true goal of this great nation?

It is the goal of opportunity, opportunity within freedom, opportunity within a free political society, opportunity within a free economy, opportunity within a social structure that knows no second-class citizenship, opportunity within America, as Sam Rayburn said, that knows no North, no South, no East, and no West.

(Applause.)

That opportunity is a hollow mockery unless it is opportunity that is supported by, that is enriched by education -- education for every man and woman, every boy and girl that wishes to make something out of his life.

America can afford that and America should provide it.

(Applause.)

One other opportunity -- the opportunity for the tiller of the soil to receive a fair income from his hard work, and from his abundant production; the opportunity of a worker to belong to a union of his choice, if you please, and the opportunity to be able to advance himself in the life that he lives.

(Applause.)

This Administration, the Administration and the Democratic party, is pledged first to the stern task of being responsible in the conduct of the affairs of this nation, responsible at home to the American people, to all the people, not just to some of them, and responsible abroad, knowing, if you please, that the third great goal of this government is the pursuit

## Alamo

of a peaceful and a free and a just world and that, by the way, is not obtained -- that is not attained by building bigger bombs and telling field commanders that they can have the right to explode them at their --

(Applause.)

The peace that we seek is a peace which will be attained, indeed, through sacrifice and attained through power. We will negotiate only when we negotiate with strength. It is a peace, however, which is a process and a long one.

I know that the world is filled with evils and ills, and I know we are being told about them, day by day, by the man from Arizona. I know that we are tired of these ills and these evils, and we shall do what we can with them but the simple truth is, my friends, the history of mankind has not been written in this way. The men who fought here at the Alamo, these men, if you please, were bound together in a common purpose and opportunity.

Their commander didn't divide them, didn't cast doubt and suspicion. They made a sacrifice for what? They made a sacrifice for the liberties of the people; they made a sacrifice for the future of the people. They lost the battle but they won the war of freedom in American democracy.

On this platform tonight, there is a man whom you possibly haven't recognized as to his contribution to the strength of this nation -- your Congressman Henry Gonzalez, who speaks the Spanish language, who has given such inspiring leadership in the Congress to the programs of better relationships in this hemisphere. That man, by extending the hand of friendship, by living the spirit of the good neighbor, by making San Antonio an international market, by seeing to it that this great western hemisphere again becomes an alliance for progress -- Henry Gonzalez has done more for peace, done more for the kind of world we want to live in by patient, persevering, quiet, tenacious effort than all the bellicose statements of the Reserve General who seeks to be President of the United States.

(Applause.)

So, as we depart from you tonight, may I say that the peace we seek is the one that John Kennedy spoke of a little over a year ago, in the nation's capital, at American University. It was on that occasion that our late and beloved President said:

Alamo

"Peace is a process. It requires even greater sacrifices than in battle or in war. Peace is not easily attained. It is fought for and struggled for for generations."

And, ladies and gentlemen, when I hear the spokesman of the opposition in this country tell us that we are losing and that Communism is winning, I say, "Shame on them", because America today --

(Applause.)

-- because America today is the mightiest power, as I said a moment ago, that the world has ever known. Western Europe is powerful, rich and strong. The Alliance for Progress, working today in over ten of the nations south of the Rio Grande, has exceeded even the requirements of the Conference at Punta del Esta.

Freedom is gaining. The Communists are fighting among themselves. The Sino-Soviet split is a reality. The Eastern nations of Europe are seeking more independence. Mr. Kruschchev has more trouble in one day than America has in a year.

(Applause.)

What we need is the faith this nation needs. What we need is the faith in the strong purposes of this need. What we need are people who can understand that to achieve great objectives, it's like building a cathedral. It's not done by the wish nor is it done by the order of the day.

The mighty cathedrals of Europe took, yea, decades, generations, and some of them centuries, but there they stand as a living testimonial to a great faith and those mighty cathedrals have withstood the vandals, the atheists, and withstood war and pestilence, but they are there.

But, just as mankind built those cathedrals out of brick and mortar and stone and concrete, so mankind today must build a cathedral of peace that is predicated upon a solid economic basis, that is predicated, if you please, upon a recognition of human dignity, a granting of ull equality for all people, a building of an alliance of all people that believe in freedom, the tolerance and understanding of people and their problems, and if America can give leadership at home to building the great society that President Lyndon Johnson has talked of, a society in which every American can do his best, in which every

Alamo

one can give his uttermost, if we can build a society at home with a great and free people, a tolerant and understanding people, with national unity and national purposes, if we can do that here, then we possibly are equipped to do the job of leadership throughout this world.

This is our goal; this is our objective, and may I say this -- it's an objective to which every young man and woman ought to dedicate his life.

They can do these things and even greater, so -- let us think American.

- - -

(End.)

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

by

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 17  
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

It's wonderful to be in Texas.

It's wonderful to be in the Lone Star State which has grown to greatness by facing challenges, not by running away from them.

It's wonderful to be among people who, with their forebears, have built a mighty, throbbing empire through faith in the future, not through fear and a retreat from reality.

I'm sure that it comes as no surprise for me to tell you that to the rest of the country, Texas is an almost legendary phenomenon. It is, to be sure, the land of big distances, but far more important, it is a land of big dreams and big deeds.

In Texas, nothing is impossible. As you Texans say: "The possible we do immediately; the impossible will take a little longer."

Texans are incorrigible optimists; you are doers; you are men of unquenchable faith in the future, and you are men and women with an unflagging love of country.

And how different the history of this country would have been but for the leadership in Washington which Texas has furnished during the last 119 years.

Just call the roll of a few of these towering Texans -- Sam Houston, John H. Reagan, Thomas Watt Gregory, E. M. House, Morris Sheppard, Tom Connally, John Nance Garner and for almost fifty years, your beloved Sam Rayburn, whose earthy wisdom helped guide eight Presidents and countless Congresses.

(more)

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HUMPHREY/"... countless Congresses."

Without exception, these were men of faith--men of justice-- and men who got things done.

Of this great tradition of faith, justice, and accomplishment, Lyndon Baines Johnson is a shining example. Contrast the leadership of this great American with those frightened and fearful candidates who march up and down the land--waging their war on progress, shrinking from tomorrow's hard jobs, trying to undermine the faith and courage of Americans in their government and in themselves, while shaking their heads and wailing, "No. . . No. . . No!!"

Make this comparison and then you will understand how truly blessed is America to have Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

Unlike the temporary spokesman of the Republican party, President Johnson says "Yes" to America.

Four years ago the Kennedy-Johnson Administration made ten basic promises in a program to get America moving again.

Those ten promises became the goals of the Democratic Administration.

Those ten goals became realities -- and today America is on the move again!

Four years ago, we promised a minimum wage law of \$1.25. Today working Americans have the guarantee of that minimum wage.

Four years ago, we promised to fight poverty. Today we are engaged in a full-scale war on poverty.

Four years ago we promised to end discrimination. On July 2 of this year we signed a bill -- the greatest guarantee of Human Rights this country has ever known -- into law.

Four years ago we promised to fight disease. Today a Federal program to build new facilities and provide new scholarships for the training of doctors is under way.

(more)



PAGE 3

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HUMPHREY/"... is under way."

Four years ago we promised to fight slums. Today this Administration has a five-pronged attack on slums and inadequate housing.

Four years ago we promised this nation would be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace. Today we are first in strength, and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty proves that no one will surpass our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our children.

Four years ago we promised that our economy would grow faster. This Administration has led the nation in 43 months of uninterrupted prosperity. And this year -- with the dynamic boost of a major tax cut -- will be the most prosperous in American history.

In these four years we have proved to Premier Khrushchev that his Communist economy cannot surpass this free nation.

Four years ago we promised decent medical care for the aged under Social Security. The United States Senate passed the nation's first medical care bill for the aged.

Four years ago we promised to make the United States first in space exploration. The successes of the Mercury, Saturn, Ranger and other programs have launched the United States on its journey to the moon. And the first American to get there will be an astronaut trained in Texas!

Four years ago we promised the farmer a more equitable share in American prosperity. Net farm income has increased by over \$1 billion per year; surpluses have declined; exports have increased.

Those were our ten promises. Each required the mutual determination of a progressive Administration and a sound Congress.

(more)

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HUMPHREY/"... sound Congress. "

To redeem those ten promises we needed the support of the United States Senate. And, we got it -- except for one man.

Only one Senator out of the hundred said "No" to every one of the promises.

Only one Senator opposed every one of those ten pieces of legislation.

Only one man voted "No" time after time after time.

Only one man was at the tail end of progress.

That man now asks you to make him President of the United States -- that man who said "No" to America time after time. . . and now America is going to say "No" to him on November 3rd.

And that man is Senator Goldwater.

Let me make one solemn pledge: the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson will continue to keep America moving forward in the 1960's.

And on the basis of his personal philosophy and on the strength of his public record, Barry Goldwater cannot give that pledge to the American people.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has kept its promises. The Texas farmer, for example, has done well in these Democratic years. Gross income per farm has increased 25 percent. Price support payments have doubled. And I remind you that these are the price supports which the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party wants to abolish.

The continued advancement and prosperity of all Americans -- whatever their occupation -- will have top priority in President Johnson's drive to build the Great Society.

In his travels across America, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party claims to have discovered a certain uneasiness among the American people. I'm not surprised. The American people should feel uneasy when a candidate for the Presidency:

PAGE 5

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HUMPHREY/"... the Presidency:"

-- extolls the virtues of extremism in American politics,

But then changes his mind;

-- says he will not indulge in personalities in the campaign,

But then changes his mind;

-- advocates we negotiate the future of Viet Nam with the Chinese Reds,

But then changes his mind;

-- proposes we make social security voluntary,

But then changes his mind;

-- suggests we sell the TVA,

But then changes his mind;

-- and opposes and votes against a cut in Federal income taxes,

But then changes his mind.

No wonder the temporary spokesman of the Republican party finds the American people uneasy. His preposterous display of revision, retraction and repudiation makes everyone uneasy!

The American people know they can't wait until Saturday to learn what the President of the United States meant to say on Wednesday. The American people know we need as President a man who means what he says and says what he means.

And such a man for America is Lyndon B. Johnson! He is the man to keep America moving forward in the 1960's.

####

Albert Penza - Paso - Henry Gonzalez Archbishop Lucey  
Pal. Assoc. of Spanish Am. Org. Sp. San Antonio, Tex.  
Sept. 17, 1964

Young People

This School  
zed And to Impact Area

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

September 17, 1964

Yarbrough

It's wonderful to be in Texas.

It's wonderful to be in the Lone Star State which  
has grown to greatness by facing challenges, not by  
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Everything is possible;

In Texas, nothing is impossible. As you Texans

say: The possible we do immediately; the impossible

will take a little longer." Texans are incorrigible

optimists; you are doers; you are men of ~~unshakable~~ *unshakable*

faith in the future, and you are men and women with

an unflagging love of country.

*— This is Lyndon Johnson!*

And how different the history of this country

would have been but for the leadership in Washington

which Texas has furnished during the last 119 years.

↳ Just call the roll of a few of these towering

Texans -- Sam Houston, John H. Reagan, Thomas Watt

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guarantee of human rights this country has ever known —

-- into law.

*Mental  
Retard  
Act!*

Four years ago we promised to fight disease *and mental illness*

Today a Federal program to build new facilities and

provide new scholarships for the training of doctors.

*Medical research and hospital  
is under way. Construction are being expanded.*

*Urban  
Renewal*

Four years ago we promised to fight slums. Today

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Four years ago we promised this nation would be  
first in military strength and first in the pursuit

of peace. Today we are first in strength, and the

Nuclear Test Ban Treaty proves that no one will surpass

our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our

children. *~~We have~~ our policy  
is Power for Peace.*

Fort Sam Houston  
Lackland Air Force Base  
Kelly Air Force Base

Randolph Air Force Base  
Brooks Air Force Base  
AEC facility at Melina

Get America moving again.

- 6 -

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But then changes his mind;

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the campaign,

But then changes his mind and calls the President  
a faker and a Phoney.

← -- advocates we negotiate the future of Viet Nam  
with the Chinese Reds,

But then changes his mind;

← -- proposes we make social security voluntary,

But then changes his mind;

← -- suggests we sell the TVA,

But then changes his mind — and then yesterday  
changed it back again,

← -- and opposes and votes against a cut in Federal  
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display of revision, retraction and repudiation makes

everyone uneasy! But not Barnes, Holden



## TRANSCRIPT

PRESS CONFERENCE

Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas  
Friday, September 18, 1964.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

I am not at all sure just how you wish to conduct these proceedings, but I gather that we are maybe underway and I am surely very pleased and happy and honored to be in Houston, Texas.

I have been greeted by your esteemed and very able Governor, and now, I make myself available for whatever treatment that you may feel you'd like to accord a friendly visitor.

QUESTION: Senator, one question I'd like to have answered here in Houston -- it's been answered before -- were you one of the founders of ADA, and do you still believe in this

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I was one of the founders of the ADA, and it has and does perform a very valuable service. It was organized for the special purpose of combatting left wing communism infiltrating into liberal movements, including trade unions as well as political parties; was a very valuable instrument in the state of Minnesota, where the record is beyond any shadow of a doubt that it's part of the cooperative effort of a number of groups.

The Ada -- we were able to rid a party of any traces of left wing, radical communism infiltration. If you don't mind just a boastful statement, I led the fight and there isn't anybody in mind -- even a Goldwaterite -- that would say that Senator Humphrey didn't successfully lead that fight and clean up a party so that I can only say that I am pleased in that cooperation and assistance, and I have maintained membership in the organization because I felt it acted as an independent instrument in American public life, dedicated to freedom.

It permitted a sounding board for intellectual life in American politics. It was wholesome and decent. I did not always find myself in agreement. I am a U. S. Senator and I

am a Democrat, just like Sam Rayburn said "without prefix, without suffix and without apology."

(Applause.)

QUESTION: Sir, I am kind of interested in agriculture. I notice that the platform is not quite as specific this year on the Democratic farm approach. I wonder -- does this reflect a change in attitude, and I also would like to know how you plan to favor your agriculture c

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In reference to the first part of your question, the platform, I believe, is brief on all items. It was the view of those of us that were keenly interested in the welfare of the Democratic party that the platform to be read, to be a useful instrument in a political campaign, should have brevity and conciseness; that platform does pledge the Democratic party to a continuing effort to obtain parity of income for American agriculture.

It is a fact that American agriculture today does not fully share in the over-all general prosperity of the American economy. It shares better now than it did four years ago but it does not share as well as it should.

I have proposed -- because I do believe that many of our agricultural policies do need careful re-examination in light of the changes in agriculture, technological scientific products, changes I have proposed -- the establishment of a national commission on agricultural policy to examine into the present programs, to carefully examine into all proposals and alternatives, to examine into the relationship of our domestic supply and domestic production, as it relates to our exports in commercial markets, our food for peace program, which is a part of our foreign policy, and national strategic reserves, which I believe are necessary for the well-being of our country in rather uncertain and troublesome times.

The best way that I can prove my answer is to say that we stand on the record of our party. It is not a record of perfection but it is a record that I consider superior to that that is presented by the opposition.

QUESTION: Senator, what do you think so far of your southern exposure?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's been warm. I have a nice sunburn.

I think it's been wonderful, and may I say that I have been intrigued by the interest shown in this. You know I



consider myself to be a citizen of the United States, and I like the South, just like I like the North.

Again, I happen to feel that what is needed in this country is more people that talk about our country and less people that talk about our sections. We need people that understand that policies of our government are directed toward the total national welfare and national prosperity.

I have been graciously and warmly received, primarily, I suppose, because Mrs. Humphrey was with me, and so many of your distinguished members of the press -- in every place we have been -- there have been no incidents of bad manners and I have not expected any of such incidents.

Southern hospitality is a reality and the receptions have been grand and I have a feeling that the South will go for Lyndon B. Johnson, just like the North, the East and the West.

QUESTION: Senator, if you are elected Vice President of the United States and there should come up a tie vote where you would have to cast the deciding vote on whether or not the oil depletion allowance should be reduced, would you vote for reducing it or would you vote to kill the bill?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would vote as the President of the United States established the policy of this country. I am the President's running mate and a Vice President is supposed to be loyal to his President. He is supposed to carry out the policies of his President, if he is given that opportunity. He is supposed to be a faithful servant and ally to the President, and I shall support the policy of the President of the United States.

(Applause.)

QUESTION: Senator, there are reports circulating in Washington that there already is a certain contingency plan under which field commanders could activate nuclear weapons, which would be a very dire circumstance.

Could you tell us whether that jibes with your knowledge, and if so -- and I might add that these reports are supposedly authoritative -- whether you think this would not be under the so-called "finger on the trigger" issue?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I know of no such reports. I have no such information. I believe that I am about as close to the

full information relating to our national security policies as any other Senator.

The Republican nominee of the Republican party, who is entitled to all information, I regret to say that he hasn't accepted that invitation on the part of the President. If he would accept the invitation and the offer, as did other nominees of other days, he might be a little more accurate in his statements, and he might be able to give a little greater sense of balance and responsible utterance to his comments.

I feel that the matter of nuclear policy, the President's control over the nuclear weapons, is of the utmost importance in this campaign. It really ought not to have been made an issue but it was, by Mr. Goldwater.

We have had a constant policy relating to this since the time of the McMahon Act, since the time of the first explosion of the atomic bomb. No Republican that I know of, nor any Democrat, up to now, has suggested that that policy be changed.

Mr. Goldwater has made the suggestion. I think it is a reckless suggestion. I think it is irresponsible and I am going to place my trust in the present policy and in the President of the United States.

(Applause.)

QUESTION: Senator, there have been reports from Washington that Secretary of State Rusk twice wrote to Senator Goldwater, proposing that he be briefed on security matters, and the Senator didn't even deign to reply. Can you confirm that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I cannot confirm the details of the report, but I can confirm that the nominee of the Republican party has been offered, as have Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy in 1960, full access to all security information so that their campaigns might be conducted within the knowledge of that whole information.

He has been offered, but he has not accepted that invitation. I think it is a mistake that he has not.

QUESTION: Senator, to follow up on the question of whether there have been some advance planning involving the use of nuclear weapons, can you categorically state to us that under no circumstances can a NATO commander use a nuclear weapon without first getting the prior approval of the President?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Insofar as my knowledge of it is concerned, sir. I can only speak for myself, and, gentlemen, may I say that since you're both from the Washington press corps, the place to ask that question is of the President of the United States.

QUESTION: Senator, what, at this moment or at this time, are your personal views on -- this is a three-pronged question --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: All right, take them one at a time.

QUESTION: All right, sir. What are your personal views on crude and product inputs?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You're speaking of the oil imports?

QUESTION: Yes, sir.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We have, as you know, a voluntary quota. It is my view that since that quota system was imposed some years ago, that it may very well require re-study. I do believe, however, that we cannot close out those imports, but to make it very simple and direct, I believe that we must maintain, through policies of government, Federal and state, a healthy domestic oil industry and I am prepared, as one member of this Administration -- if permitted to be a member of that Administration -- to work towards that kind of a policy.

And I would add that I think the President of the United States, who has demonstrated a great knowledge of the oil industry, and surely has a sympathetic appreciation of its importance, would be able to do about as good a job in this area as any, and I shall support the President's program.

(Applause.)

Shall we get to the second?

QUESTION: No. 2, your personal views at this moment on de-control of natural gas resources?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I support the present policy, sir, that we presently have. Now, may I say once again that if that policy is to be changed, it will be fought out inside the Administration. I am not running for the Senate or a senatorship from Minnesota, but you have asked me a very frank question. I like to be very honest with you.

I would state my point of view within the councils of

this Administration, and once the decision has been made, I am a team player. I didn't accept the nomination of Vice President to betray the President. I accepted it to help him, and that I will do.

QUESTION: Senator, this is a three-part question.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: By the way, did you complete your question?

QUESTION: The third one was your personal views at this moment on the depletion provision, which is differentiated from this gentleman's question.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, we have had some questions on that matter. I think I even saw that somebody had more or less improved the private enterprise structure in advertising here in Houston by placing a little ad in the paper on this matter.

I would only add this, that I had voted in the past to cut back on depletion allowances. I have never voted to remove them. I have voted for what we call a graduated scale. It is my view that this matter will be carefully examined by the Administration, as it was by President Kennedy.

When I voted for those depletion allowances, I might add, most of the amendments were offered by Republicans, some of the strongest Goldwater supporters today, like Senator Williams, of Delaware.

I have a feeling that, as a Senator from Minnesota, where the depletion allowance for iron ore was 15 per cent, that I wasn't in exactly the most happy position voting for 27-1/2 per cent for someplace else, but when the President presents his program to Congress, may I add, the Senator from Minnesota, who hopes at that time to be the Vice President, will carry out the advice and counsel and the instructions of the President, and you may very well find me to be a very friendly Texas.

QUESTION: Congressman Miller recently had quite a few choice comments in reference to immigration legislation that was proposed.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

QUESTION: What is your comment relative to his viewpoint that he made a few days ago?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: He made that comment, as I recall it,

at Gary, Indiana, or Southbend, Indiana -- one of the places in Indiana -- about ten days ago. I was surprised, first of all, at his comments because he indicated it would represent a three-fold -- as I recall his words -- increase in the number of immigrants to the United States. That, of course, is not true.

What the immigration bill before the Congress provides is a pooling of unused quotas. It provides that entrance into the United States shall not be on the basis of your ethnic origin but on the basis, rather, of whether or not you have something to contribute to the United States.

The maximum number is not 450 thousand but approximately 175 thousand, which is about 15 thousand more than the present law provides for. It would also provide for family re-unification. It would provide that if there were need for specialists and technicians and professional persons that could be helpful to the American economy, that the old quotas that might have denied somebody from Italy getting in because the quota is used up or somebody from Greece to get in because the quota is used up, that those quotas would be set aside and the pooling of unused quotas could be used for the Italian and for the Greek.

Now, may I say that if Mr. Miller's policy on immigration were the law of the land at the time that Barry Goldwater's grandfather came here, he'd never have been in Arizona

(Applause.)

So I reject Mr. Miller's policy. I support the Kennedy-Johnson proposals on immigration, advanced by President Kennedy when he was a Senator. I was a co-sponsor with him of that proposal and I now support Lyndon B. Johnson's immigration proposal, which is before the appropriate committees of Congress.

QUESTION: Is that the bill that I read of that Senator Williams was supposed to have a hand in? There was a bill that was supposed to have been introduced by Senator Williams.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Of New Jersey?

QUESTION: Yes, that's the one.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's the Hart bill, as I recall. Senator Williams may be a co-sponsor, but Senator Philip Hart, of Michigan, is the main sponsor in the Senate and I believe Mr. Celler, if I'm not mistaken, is the main sponsor in the House.

QUESTION: That's the bill that you are referring to.



SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe that is correct, sir.

QUESTION: Now, there is one last question relative to that. There is a feeling at the present time, a lot of people who come over -- specifically, I have in mind people coming over here on exchange vica -- say, for students -- you have a situation where they come over here and then after a few years, they have to go home.

Does this legislation that you speak of, does that provide for situations such as that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It does not. Those matters are handled specifically by special bills introduced into Congress, as I recall.

QUESTION: Could not the legislation be extended to include that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It surely could.

QUESTION: Because as it is right now, such legislation would be inequitable for those many that come, for example --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That could be adjusted. That's the purpose of hearings.

QUESTION: What would you do to help this in that direction?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would be very helpless. I must say my mother was an immigrant. I have a very sympathetic feeling about it, and I think that she did quite well in this country.

QUESTION: Senator, as you toured the cattle grazing --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Just a minute. Yes, sir.

QUESTIONS: Senator, do you think there would be more or less racial violence if Senator Goldwater were elected than there has been in the last several months?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I do not want to do Mr. Goldwater a disservice. I would hope that whoever is President of the United States would thoroughly understand that his duty and his moral and political obligation was to unite the country, to promote domestic tranquillity, to insure justice, and to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. That's what the Constitution requires.

And I want to give Mr. Goldwater the benefit of the doubt. I might say that some of his comments during the campaign are not helping a bit to promote domestic tranquillity. I would hope that we would unite, and one thing I like about President Lyndon Johnson above all else -- and I have always said this when he was Senator as well as President -- he believes in a national consensus. He believes in a national unity. He was taught at the feet of Sam Rayburn, who thought this was but one country and said that he wanted to live in a country in which there was no North, no South, and no East and no West, and how well I remember Lyndon Johnson when he spoke up as a member of the Senate, asking that we even eliminate from our thinking discrimination on the basis of section.

What we need from the spokesmen of both parties -- and I know we have it from Mr. Johnson -- is a plea to the American people that we be tolerant and understanding. To put it in somewhat Biblical terms, "To love one another", rather than to be so suspicious and rather than to divide and to tear apart.

I would hope that we could have a little more of that emphasis.

QUESTION: The polls indicate that the Democratic ticket at this point is farther ahead of the Republican ticket than at any other Presidential election in American history.

A. Do you believe the polls?

B. Do you think there is a danger of reversal, and if so, under what circumstances?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Public opinion polls are never to be looked upon as being accurate. They are evaluations. They give you trends; they give you guidelines. They are used in merchandising as well as in politics. Businessmen use them; educators and we in politics. I think that the indicators are now -- and the indications are -- that the Johnson-Humphrey ticket is far ahead, but I would caution my fellow Democrats, as I did, and those who are friends of the President who are not Democrats, who are independents or are Republicans for Johnson -- I caution them that you do not win elections on public opinion polls. You win them by hard work, by diligent effort, and you win them by getting to the election box some voting, and one of the worries that I have is that there are so many of our friends who are saying, "Oh, you're in. It's so wonderful. You've got it made."

Every time I hear that, I feel that the roads will be

filled with anxious fishermen or hunters on election day, who ought to be going to the ballot box. They would take the day off for something else.

So I am going to ask everyone to forego all of their hobbies, and all of their pleasures, on election day -- unless they consider it a pleasure to be a good Democrat or a good independent or a Johnson Republican -- and vote just once for Johnson and Humphrey on that day.

(Laughter and applause.)

QUESTION: A question of importance in the Houston area. Do you think if Senator Goldwater is elected that he would curve the space program or balloon program or any of these things which are definitely vital to the NASA installation in the Houston area?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I couldn't say that, but I can tell you this. If I lived in Houston, and if I had a President that was from the State of Texas, and whose best friend was the Governor of the State of Texas, I think I'd vote for the Texas.

(Applause.)

QUESTION: Senator, as you toured the cattle-raising areas of the country, do you find support of the cattle-raisers on the present beef import programs?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I think cattle-raisers are much happier now. They had every reason to be unhappy some months ago, and we in the Congress, after careful examination of the problem, did legislate -- I voted for that legislation. I did not vote for one that was pulled out of a hip pocket and offered on a bill one afternoon that would have killed the wheat bill and the cotton bill. I felt there wasn't any use of trying to lose both the cattle bill and the wheat bill and the cotton bill, so we voted a wheat bill and a cotton bill and gave the pledge that we would come back from Committee with a reason, well-thought out, carefully examined proposal, on meat imports. We did, and we presented it to the President. We strengthened the President's hand in this matter, and today, there are fewer imports of beef in the United States than there have been for years. Cattle prices are beginning to rise.

I might add, however, that we did not violate our treaty agreements. We did not violate our export development program, but we have been able to give the President that extra little power that he needs to be able to negotiate more effectively

with exporting -- beef exporting -- nations.

Now, what else have we done? We have increased our own exports. Mr. Taylor, of this state, and others have been in on this program. We are beginning to look for some world markets. Our cattlemen have to face up to the fact that cattle population is substantially higher this year than it was a year ago. It was higher last year than the year before. And over-production results in low prices, and it is to the eternal credit of the cattleman that he has not asked for price supports. He has not asked for any particular amount of government help.

He has received recently large purchases by the government. I think this is sound. The meat is being put to good use, and the cattle economy will be in a lot better hands when it's in the friendly hands of Lyndon Johnson, who recognizes that government has some responsibility, than one who says the government ought to have nothing to do with these farm programs, and he says they ought to be terminated, namely, Mr. Goldwater.

QUESTIONS: Although Houston is the fifth largest city in the nation, it's only been in the last four years that any municipal candidates have ever run under Democrat or Republican labels. Do you personally feel that in major municipal elections, the candidates should be identified under a national line?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it's a little more honorable. May I say I've been in so-called non-partisan elections, but most everybody knows where you stand? Also, party responsibility has something to be developed and to be encouraged, and if it gets out of hand, why, you develop a party machine that's corrupt -- the people have a way of taking care of that. They are pretty good about these things. They know how to bounce you out if you haven't done your job.

QUESTION: Senator, do you see a possible Cabinet position for Governor Connally?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I haven't had any such discussions with him. To be Governor of the Lone Star State is a great responsibility and a high honor. I think he's competent to be most anything in this country.

QUESTION: Have you talked with the President as to that possibility?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I haven't. The President and Senator Humphrey have our visit before I take these trips, and

he trusts me and I have full faith in him, and if I stumble along the way, I think he will help me, as he has in the past. He's picked me up several times and put me back on my feet.

QUESTION: Senator, any report on the health of Governor Faubus?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I understand that he might be ill and that he had canceled his meetings this evening. He was not present today in Little Rock. He had invited me to the Democratic Convention. I was very grateful for the invitation. I am very appreciative of the Governor's support of President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

I hope that all Governors, Republicans and Democrats alike, will do the same.

QUESTION: Thank you, Senator.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you.

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(End)



TRANSCRIPT

A D D A E S S  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
Friday Evening, September 18  
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Connally, and thank you, my good friend Marlin Sandlin. And my thanks to these brave and courageous sponsors. Thank you very much.

(Laughter and applause.)

I knew that the spirit of the pioneer, the courage and the bravery of a Sam Houston was in each and every one of you and when I read the local press, I knew that I had been tested.

Of course, I meant not the press but the ad. Truly, I am very honored to be here tonight, and you Texans surely do it in a big way.

You have Mrs. Humphrey and myself feel as welcome as a member of the family, and then you went ahead and made these arrangements which I know have the fine subtle, efficient hands of my friend, Marlin Sandlin, and of the Governor.

You see, the President of the United States said some kind words about his associate, and I am proud to say his friend, so that the portals of this great city and of this great state were opened, not only opened but opened with fellowship and with the warmth of your Texas hospitality that touches my heart.

I want to thank every one of you.

(Applause.)

I sense tonight that the eyes of Texas are upon me and I sense that even upon me from faraway places like Washington, D.C.

(Laughter.)

I sense even that some of my Republican friends from Minnesota are observing me and I am delighted for that.

I know that I am in the presence of the leaders of Democrats in this state. I know that I am in the presence of men who make this economy what it is, a free economy and a dynamic economy, and I know that I am in the presence of people who have seen to it that Texas has the kind of executive leadership and executive direction that makes it the great state that it is, and that leadership and direction is in the hands of your Governor, whom you admire and justly so.

(Applause.)

Governor, I must say that it is a wonderful thing when you are in public life to have so many friends as you have. It's been my privilege in the state of Minnesota to have a number of friends. Some are for me and some tolerate me.

(Laughter.)

Some feel that you have to have a little, you know, extravagance and luxury in life and they take me on for that, but we have had a good, warm, wonderful working relationship in every segment of our society in the North Star State and now that I come to the Lone Star State, I begin to feel as I said in the press conference, if you will just give me a little chance, I am going to feel like a Texan.

(Applause.)

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After listening to our President, I am sure you must realize that I am somewhat overwhelmed and can't help but feel both proud and humble. The President of the United States has placed a great deal of faith in me. In fact, he has placed a great deal of faith in you.

He is the leader of the greatest nation on the face of the earth. He has responsibilities that are beyond our understanding or comprehension, because it is one thing to write of responsibility and it is one thing to speak of it; it is another thing to face it and to be called upon to perform the task of leadership responsibly.

I believe that I have been taught almost like a student by the President, this concept of responsibility. We all have our ways of doing things. We all have our little idiosyncracies. My father taught me that. He once told me, he said, everybody is off beat a little and I guess we make some adjustments for that, but the President of the United States, as a Senator and as a majority leader, as my colleague in the Senate for many years, and as the leader of the majority in the Senate, I was privileged to be one of his deputies, and he taught me that the first duty of a man in public life is to act responsibly, to think first of his country and then of his party, to think in terms of his convictions and his commitments of ideals, and then of his party or partisan adjustment or cooperation.

I think those lessons were well learned, and I believe that I am right in saying that our President learned some of his lessons from a great statesman of this state, the late Sam Rayburn, the beloved speaker of the House of Representatives.

(Applause.)

And I have looked over this what I call countryside philosophy of this good man, this able man, that for so many years presided over the House of Representatives, the people's body of our government, and one thing that Sam Rayburn said, a simple statement of just three words, has been brought home to me and to every member of Congress time after time, and I think that this simple statement which I shall soon say to you, is so needed at a time whenever decisions that you make may be the final decision that every word that you utter may have consequences beyond anything that you dreamed, and that every deed that you perform may have an impact, not only at home but throughout the world. Because America today is such a center of power. It is so important that whatever we say or whatever we do not say only affects our lives but the lives of everyone of us throughout the world.

What were those words? He said, "Just a minute." He temporarily slowed one down in the heat of battle and emotion to ask us to take a look at the problem. Just a minute -- not shooting from the hip or the lip but rather to reflect, to meditate, to think about the consequence of our words or our acts; to be sure, many of us didn't do that.

We all occasionally violate the standard that we proclaim but I believe that those words of Sam Rayburn, words of caution and prudence, not words of indecision, not of philosophy or of avoidance, but rather words of prudent decision and a philosophy of decisiveness and action after careful evaluation that brings mature judgment.

These are some of the things that I have learned and I know of no better way to learn them than just living because there isn't any way that you can learn them out of a book any more than the man in this room can operate this business by

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following charts or by taking the leading business publication.

To be sure, it is helpful. Sometimes it is interesting. Other times, it is confusing. But the only way that a man ever learns is by doing. There is no substitute for experience and there is no way to gain experience except to join in the fight and in the battle. That is true of business or of any other thing.

Our President has been busily engaged in the experience of government all throughout this land. There are his associates and his students and his mentors, and I can think of no greater compliment that can befall any man in this America than to be selected by the President of the United States as his associate.

I am grateful; in fact, I am overwhelmed.

(Applause.)

My one desire is to be worthy of that trust. My one ambition is to be a good partner for our President, and I pledge to this audience, I pledge to these people, the friends of our President in his state, that my every word, my every action, my every purpose, shall be to help the President of the United States do his job.

(Applause.)

Now, let me talk to you just a little bit about our government and a little bit about our country because I didn't come here to berate the government or to berate our system. I happen to believe in our form of government. I believe that it is the best system that has ever been devised by man in the past or the present.

I believe in our system and when I say our system, I mean our governmental, our economic system, which is one that places great reliance upon individual initiative, is one that places great respect for human dignity. In fact, the difference between the Communists and the free man is the concept of human dignity.

(Applause.)

There is no room in this country for mutual antagonisms. As I have said from every platform in these two or three days that I have been on this tour, which I have said a thousand times before, a man that is worthy of public respect and of public responsibility in this America of the second half of the 20th century must be a man that seeks to unite this country and not divide it, must be a man that seeks to call out the best from people and not their worst.

(Applause.)

and I have little time for people that try to drive us into opposing camps of the Federal government against the state government, of the city against the farm, of the worker against the employer, of the big against the little, and of the rich against the poor. That kind of doctrine will breed disaster, will lend itself to putting us on the skids of a slippery slide to chaos.

and I, for one, don't intend to indulge in it. If the price of political victory is to pit race against race, community against community, region against region, capital against labor, Federal government against local government -- if that is the price of victory, then the price is too high.

(Applause.)

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Now, I speak of this system but it is a system that is based upon representative government. It is also a system that is based upon a free economy. Every ideal has its imperfections. I suppose our government is not always fully representative, but it comes as close to it as any representative government that has been known, and I suppose with our free economy -- that our free economy is not totally free in the most theoretical, idealistic sense, but it is free enough to give mankind the option of choice and it is free enough to unleash the dynamics of a free price system that permits growth -- in fact, encourages it.

(Applause.)

It goes, I think, almost without saying that we need people in government today who understand the working of the government, who understand the working of a free economy. The business man can no longer ignore government as if it were an evil.

He must participate in it and he must do all that he can to make sure that those who are in charge of that government are at least thoughtful, considerate and friendly partners in the development of the great American system.

I think, if I may say so, that something has happened in America recently. I believe that the American business community, just as the American community of organized labor, has found in the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, a man who understands the dynamics of this society, one who does not harass but encourages, one that is not suspicious of your every move but places faith in your integrity and your purposes, and I think that because of this philosophy of the President, it will permeate the government.

May I say that there is no more powerful office in the world than the Presidency, that the President is not only the Chief Executive; he is not only the Chief Administrative Officer and Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. He is, in a sense, the philosopher of our society. He is, in a sense, the educator of our society and he establishes the standards of public and private conduct of our society.

So it is important what his attitude may be on American business -- yes, and the American economic structure; capital and labor, business and management, for the first time in my memory, feels a sense of neighborliness and being at home in the White House of the President of the United States.

We do have opponents in our election. I don't think we have enemies. I have been in a lot of political contests and I generally end up sort of liking the people I ran against, particularly if I win over them. It's easy to be magnanimous under those conditions but our opponents in this election are trying to convince you -- and I think they are trying to convince the country -- despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that there is something seriously wrong with the American economy.

Now, they don't deny that times are good. At least, they are good for most people. They primarily tell us that we should not feel good about it.

Whether you gentlemen know it or not, you are supposedly enjoying -- to use the words of someone that would like to be President -- you are enjoying an artificial prosperity.

Well, that may be the case but I want to tell you it sure looks might good to me, and I'd like to just tell you a little bit about what is the evidence about this artificial prosperity.



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-- 43 consecutive months of economic expansion . A gross national product of \$ 625 billion, that is up 23 per cent since January of 1961. A peacetime record increase of \$15 billion in consumer spending in the first half of 1964. A \$3.5 billion rise in after-tax corporate profits in the first half of 1964. A decrease in the unemployment rate of 6.7 per cent in January 1961 to 5.1 per cent in August 1964. over 72 billion Americans gainfully employed at better wages than ever before in the history of our land. A wholesale price index in July below its level a year ago, and below the level in February when the tax cut became law.

Now, while it seems to me just these statistics--I bore you with them, possibly, but that is the evidence -- that these statistics dramatize the story of a vigorous and expanding American economy that has been made possibly through enlightened cooperation and understanding between business and government.

The only artificial aspect -- and now permit me just a little partisanship because I am running for somewhat of a partisan office, you know --

(Applause.)

The only artificial aspect of this prosperity is the artificial eyeglasses through which Mr. Goldwater views these happy and hard facts of a burgeoning, prosperous America.

(Applause.)

Now, the remarkable record of this economic growth, I think, has been made possible by two factors: one, the coordinated, sophisticated and flexible use of all policy instruments available to the Federal government to eliminate recession and promote economic growth, and we ought to know about them and you ought to know about them. You have got a stake here in what your government does.

Secondly, there is the courage and I think the wisdom and skill of the American private enterprise system in taking full advantage of this favorable business climate, and might I add since one does come under occasional review and analysis as he stands for public office that this Senator was one of those that was the advocate of the investment tax credit to encourage any investment.

This Senator went to the Treasury Department to advocate accelerated depletion for many of our industries and a modernization of our depreciation schedules so that we could amortize new investments and be competitive at home and abroad, and this Senator one year before the tax bill law was a staunch advocate of a sizable tax reduction for both individual and corporate income, and I am happy to say that.

Now, this successful record stands in stark contract to some of the recent economic pronouncements of the Republican pretender for the office of President.

I want to say a word about that. I know there are many people in this room tonight that have for years voted the Republican ticket. A good healthy two-party system is what this country needs, I have said somewhat facetiously at times, but I suppose even a fellow means it once in a while.

I like it when my party wins but we need a good two-party system and today literally thousands of people who have been the backbone of the traditional Republican party have joined to support Lyndon B. Johnson because they know they can trust him because they know that he has the skill and the experience and the prudence and the judgment that this nation needs in its decisions both at home and abroad.

(Applause.)

Now, all of us are occasionally guilty of some contradictions but I don't believe you should make a specialty of it.

(Laughter.)

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The Senator from Arizona seemingly is a man of contradictions. He talks of reducing government expenditures. That is not unusual, may I say, for many of us that seek public office, -- while simultaneously proposing the largest peacetime spending program in our nation's history. He votes against a tax reduction measure in January when we had the roll call in the Senate but by September, when he is cruising in a jet, he has proposed one of his own.

Now, I don't want to say that you can't do many great things in a jet but this is one thing you can't do -- you can't vote on taxes in a jet.

(Applause.)

Now, Mr. Goldwater calls the tax cut advocated by our President and the late President Kennedy a tax cut of 1964. He said it was impulsive, although I confess and state for the record that Congress deliberated over this matter for more than one year. I was with Wilbur Mills this afternoon at Little Rock. He is Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. They had held hearings on the tax bill for one year. I wouldn't actually call that impulsive.

Senator Goldwater's proposal to cut taxes by an automatic 5 per cent each year for five years -- to be most charitable, unusual, and to be more factual -- is irresponsible.

(Applause.)

I'd say this is a sort of adventure into economic clairvoyance, a proposal to freeze tax policy for five years to come without any regard to changing business conditions, to military or civilian needs or to the total shape of the domestic and international challenges which may confront us in the future.

His total package of spending proposals listed by him and tax reductions would produce a deficit, at minimum, for fiscal year 1966 and '67 of \$16 to \$17 billion, and this massive deficit, may I say that even frightens some liberal Democrats.

(Laughter and applause.)

I think that massive deficit would literally set off an orgy of inflation. I know that it would reverse three years of progress in our balance of payments and accelerate the flow of our gold overseas, and any man that seeks the high office of President or Vice President better understand the importance of the balance of payments, the importance of stability of the dollar, the importance of our gold reserves and the importance of a prudent fiscal policy; these are the requirements you ought to have.

I have also believed that government must constantly recognize that this remarkable American system of free enterprise has been built on the sharing of incentives, the sharing of responsibilities and of rewards by business men, workers and consumers.

Now, the chief role of government is not to supplant. It is not to take over. The chief role of government is to supplement and to support the system, not to take it over and hold it and control it, and this Senator,

throughout all his public life has tried to get people in and out of the -- government to understand the differences of supplanting something and supplementing something.

Now, when there is a lack of private credit that may stifle business growth, government action could be taken to stimulate credit. At all times government action by word and deed and policy and statement must be one of encouragement. I know that business people are fed up with the little harassments, the little picking that all too often take place.

And one thing that I have heard the President say time after time is this, that we put our faith and trust in this system, and we don't intend to run this system out of any bureau or department of government. We intend to have you run it, and if you run it, well, you can be in charge. If you don't, then you can expect your government to do something about it.



Houston, Rice Hotel

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(Applause.)

When tax incentives are needed to encourage private enterprise, -- investments or modernization of plants and equipment, I think the government has a responsibility to act. When business firms seek to expand by competing successfully in the market of the world and there are many -- business men in this room tonight who understand the importance of international trade and international complexity -- when those firms seek to expand by competing in these markets, government can and should remove international trade barriers and bring its vast knowledge about foreign markets to the aid of the American businessman who seeks to enter those markets.

When patent rights are used to foster monopoly instead of rewarding inventiveness and promoting competition, government must seek ways to make technical knowledge work for everyone.

When massive investment beyond the means of private enterprise and businesses requires pioneering efforts, such as in aviation, such as in space or communications or atomic energy, government has a crucial role as an investment partner, but here again, the government's role should not be to own and to operate but as in the instance of the communications satellite to encourage, to share, to charter and to rely upon the great genius of American enterprise system to manage and to perform.

I think that system work is better.

(Applause,)

Now, let me say a word about one subject that is dear to all of our hearts and that is the matter of profits. I like them. I believe in them. I never claimed to be very much of a businessman but may I just say that the Humphrey family established a business in South Dakota in the year 1903. 61 years later, it still is running and may I say that it is still solvent and making money and anybody that can do that is doing very well, and is still a family corporation, a going family corporation for 61 years, and it ought at least to get one star in his lapel today.

(Applause.)

So, I believe that I understand the importance of profits. Profits are the rewards for successful risk-taking, ingenuity and hard work; not only are such profits fair but they are needed and they are reinvestments in an expanding economy and benefits everyone.

In carrying out this successful partnership, government does have some role in making some plans, just as any sensible businessman plans for the future. Government can learn much from those businessmen who, as someone phrased it so well, that they have tested the future and found that it works. That is a very reassuring statement that some people might take a good look at.

(Laughter.)

American society should not be a planned society. No one blueprint will fit it for no mortal in any view is wise enough to plan everything. Mr. Kruschchev is finding that out, even. No magic formula will ever solve all our economic and social problems and when I hear people come forth with a very simple answer on a moment's notice to the most complex problems of our age, I get a little worried.

-- And when I hear people come forth with a kind of childlike simplicity for man-sized problems, I get a little worried. That is one of the reasons that I am in Houston, because I want to make sure that the greatest country on the face of the earth has a giant of a man in charge and not someone that

thinks that the problems of the second half of the 20th century can be resolved and solved in a simple direct manner without the kind of careful analysis and prudent judgment that these problems require.

(Applause.)

Houston Rice Hotel

-2-

Any public official is not only arbitrary but dangerous when he tries to force the people and their needs to fit his preconceived plan whether he claims divine inspiration or not. Now, the most famous ruler in ancient Greece either stretched or shortened his victims as needed to fit his bed.

The American people are too dynamic to be planned or to be mutilated to fitting anyone's bed, even Senator Goldwater's.

(Applause.)

But I must say that when government makes plans which have a significant impact upon the ability of businesses to survive or to grow then that government has a special responsibility to consult ahead of time to inform and to recognize the tremendous investments which the businessman may have made in plant and personnel.

Many businessmen have devoted their careers to such programs as space exploration and military preparedness and government, as a working partner, must inform such businesses in advance of impending changes in procurement requirements and accept the responsibility for assisting those businesses develop alternative production plans.

I think it is always essential to remember that people, employers and employees alike are directly affected by such decisions.

Now, I conclude with this note, my friends, the cooperative partnership of which I have spoken tonight recognizes first of all the outstanding and the astounding ability of the American business community to invent, to originate, to produce, to distribute and to put people to work and I, for one, having visited the Soviet Union, having visited some of these socialist countries, have never for one minute come back believing that they were going to overtake us.

I suppose that there is a way that you can frighten people but it seems to me that it is better to educate than it is to frighten and I have found out in my travels and tours, in my studies of countries behind the Iron Curtain and on this side, that there isn't even a point of comparison between the efficiency of the American productivity system and the distributive system, as compared to the unbelievable inefficiency and bureaucracy of the system behind the Iron Curtain, and the American businessman ought to proclaim this.

We ought to quit going around pretending somehow or other that this massive system of totalitarian power, which is essentially military, essentially police state, can compete with this unbelievable system that is ours.

My fellow Americans, you are living in the country for the first time in history that can have both less need and more guns than we know what to do with and still support more.

(Applause.)

I, for one, am not going to go around this nation telling our children that somehow or another we have failed. We have not failed. To be sure, we can do better. To be sure, we can do much better, and our President has asked us to do so.

We do have pockets of poverty and none of us are content with it and we are determined to do something about it. As a matter of fact, I believe that one of the fine signs of character, one of the great spiritual commitments of the President of the United States, is to be found in the fact that even though he presides today as the President over the richest economy on the face of the earth that he could see that some were not enjoying the blessings of this prosperity.

Houston, Rice Hotel

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He read the Biblical admonition, "Remember the least of these."

(Applause.)

He remembered that you "judge not by the 90 and 9 that were in the fold" but the one that may be out, and the greatness of America is not the conscience of a conservative but the greatness of America, is our conscience of social justice. We are a just people.

(Applause.)

I think it is about time that this concept of justice of compassion, concept of social justice no longer be permitted to be just the words or just the concept belonging to a few.

There is no more human and humanitarian and progressive force in American life than the American business community. You talk about being liberal. You talk about being progressive. Why, there aren't any people in the world that have the spirit of adventure, the spirit of progress, the willingness to try something new, the willingness to meet unbelievably challenges.

There is no one in the world that can equal you and why don't you admit it and why don't you believe it?

(Applause.)

I think together we are beginning to do so. I leave you then with this plea.

America needs you, not just in the market place, because there you will meet, if only from duty or habit, but America needs you for even greater things, to set standards of social conduct, to interest yourself in the affairs of state, to encourage people to do better, to be relentless in the pursuit of opening the pathways of opportunity for generations yet unborn.

This country hasn't finished its appointed task and duty. We are only beginning. We are the newest of the free nations in a very real sense because our freedom is ever expanding. We are a people that are just now beginning to see the new horizons. We are beginning to understand this earth and this planet upon which we live and we are beginning to make it a better place in which to live.

And now we are reaching out to the stars, to chart new courses and to find new worlds and I am convinced that if I could live another 50 years that the history books of this country will write or will say that in this, the 20th Century, the second half of the 20th Century, after nations had spilled their blood in the first half, twice in two terrible wars, that the American people, because of their sense of idealism, because of their sense of compassion, because they were willing to share with the unfortunate, because they were willing to sacrifice for peace, because they were willing to unleash every inventiveness and creativity of the people, that the American people have built on this earth not only the Great Society but the Just Society and they have placed into the new world that God himself has given us the opportunity to know.

Thank you very much.

(End)

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TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

By

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
BUSINESSMEN'S DINNER  
HOUSTON, TEXAS  
FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 18

We live in the most exciting era of all recorded history. In America we have the unique opportunity to banish from these shores mankind's traditional antagonists: hunger, ignorance, disease, prejudice, and poverty. We possess the power to accomplish in the next forty years more for the betterment of mankind than the entire world achieved in the last two centuries.

This is no idle dream. We are already an affluent society. We can become a Great Society. But to make this vision of the Great Society a reality, we must have sound, practical, common sense in political and economic policy -- we must have a cooperative and creative partnership between government and business.

We must have political leaders who understand the workings of our free economy. This year Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party come before you with a record of faith in American private enterprise, a demonstrated knowledge of its dynamics and needs, and a mature understanding of the role of government participating constructively in a free, private economy.

Our opponents have tried to convince the country -- in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary -- that there is something seriously wrong with **our** economy. They do not deny that times are good. They merely tell us that we should not feel good about it. We are supposedly enjoying -- to use the words of Senator Goldwater -- "an artificial prosperity."

But there is nothing artificial about:

--43 consecutive months of economic expansion -- in comparison to three recessions in the previous eight years;

--a gross national product of \$625 billion -- up 23 percent from January 1961;

(more)

- a peacetime record increase of \$15 billion in consumer spending in the first half of 1964;
- a 13 percent rise in business investment in plant and equipment for 1964;
- a \$3.5 billion rise in after-tax corporate profits in the first half of 1964;
- a decrease in the unemployment rate of 6.7 percent in January 1961 to 5.1 percent in August 1964;
- and a wholesale price index in July below its level a year ago, and below the level in February when the tax cut became law.

These statistics dramatize the story of a vigorous and expanding American economy made possible through the enlightened cooperation between business and government. The only artificial aspect of this prosperity is the artificial eye glasses through which Senator Goldwater views these happy and hard facts of a burgeoning, prosperous America.

This remarkable record of economic growth was made possible by two principal factors: (1) the coordinated, sophisticated and flexible use of all policy instruments available to the Federal Government to eliminate recession and promote economic growth; and (2) the courage, wisdom, and skill of American private enterprise in taking full advantage of this favorable business climate.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has used with great precision the tools of fiscal and monetary policy along with a carefully regulated level of federal expenditures. This successful record stands in stark contrast to the recent economic pronouncements by the Republican candidate for President.

Senator Goldwater is seemingly a man of many contradictions. He talks of reducing government expenditures while simultaneously proposing the largest peacetime spending program in our nation's history.

He votes against a tax reduction measure in January and by September has proposed one of his own. He calls the tax cut of 1964 impulsive -- although Congress deliberated over the matter for more than a year. He calls it "politically motivated gimmickry" -- although President Kennedy introduced the legislation 22 months before an election.

(more)



Senator Goldwater's proposal to cut taxes by an automatic five percent each year for five years is an irresponsible adventure in economic clairvoyance -- a proposal to freeze tax policy for five years to come, without regard to changing business conditions, to military and civilian needs, or to the total shape of the domestic and international challenges which may confront us in the future.

His total package of spending proposals and tax reductions would produce a deficit for fiscal year 1966 of \$16 to \$17 billion. This massive deficit -- exploding in an economy already approaching full employment -- would set off an orgy of inflation. It would reverse three years of progress in our balance of payments and accelerate the flow of gold overseas.

The Goldwater economic program is, in short, the height of economic irresponsibility.

But the record of the past four years demonstrates the benefits which a responsible working partnership of business and government confers upon all of the people. This is not a matter of textbook theory. It is a matter of experience.

Government must constantly recognize that the remarkable American system of free enterprise has been built upon a sharing of incentives, responsibilities and rewards by businessmen, workers, and consumers.

The chief role of government in this system is to support -- not to supplant -- the system.

When a lack of private credit stifles business growth, government action should be taken to stimulate credit.

When tax incentives are needed to encourage private investment or the modernization of plant and equipment, the government has a responsibility to act.

When business firms seek to expand by competing successfully in the markets of the world, government can remove international trade barriers and bring its vast knowledge about foreign markets to the aid of the businessman.

(more)



When patent rights are used to foster monopoly instead of rewarding inventiveness and promoting technical competition, government must seek ways to make technical knowledge work for everyone.

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

When the power of large corporations is used to restrain the competition of dynamic medium and small-sized firms, government must act -- not to oppose monopoly nor to punish bigness for its own sake, but to encourage free, productive competition.

In this role of creative and constructive partnership, government must always recognize the legitimacy of reasonable profits for businessmen. Profits are rewards for successful risk-taking, ingenuity, and hard work. Not only are such profits fair, their reinvestment in an expanding economy benefits everyone.

In carrying out a successful partnership, government must make plans, just as any sensible businessman plans for the future. Government can learn much from those businessmen who, as someone phrased it so well, "have tested the future and found that it works."

Managerial decisions depend upon reliable forecasting of business trends plus shrewd judgment plus long-range goals. No one -- not even that Great Free Enterpriser from Arizona -- can run a department store in Phoenix unless he plans. That is, if he wants to stay in business.

American society should not be a planned society, but it ought to be a continuously planning society. No one blueprint will fit it, for no mortal is wise enough to plan everything. No magic formula will ever solve all of the economic and social problems of men.

Government planning is pragmatic and open-ended. It is an attempt to reach widely accepted goals by reasonable and fair methods. It is an effort to encourage partners -- such as American business -- to share in stating the goals and in working out the methods. Government planning is undertaken with a willingness to adapt, to reshape both plans

(more)

and methods to meet changing needs.

Any public official is not only arbitrary but dangerous when he tries to force the people and their needs to fit his preconceived plan, whether he claims divine inspiration or not. The most famous robber in ancient Greece either stretched or shortened his victims as needed to fit his bed. The American people are too dynamic to be planned -- or mutilated -- into fitting anyone's bed, even Senator Goldwater's.

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Many businessmen have devoted their careers and their capital to such programs as space exploration and military preparedness. Government, as a working partner, must inform such businesses of impending changes in procurement requirements and accept the responsibility for assisting these businesses to develop alternative production plans. It is always essential to remember that people -- employers and employees alike -- are directly affected by such decisions.

The cooperative partnership of which I speak tonight recognizes the astounding ability of the American businessman to invent, to organize, to produce, to distribute, and to put people to work. Without stimulating this creativity, progress toward the Great Society will be slowed immeasurably.

The great promise of American life was well stated by Thomas Wolfe when he wrote: "To every man his chance; to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity; to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever his manhood and his vision can combine to make him -- this is the promise of America."

To turn this promise into full reality will take planning and innovation by both government and business, in mutual recognition that they are partners -- and not rivals -- in the work of the Great Society.

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Sp: Houston, Texas  
Sept. 18, 1964  
REMARKS OF Senator Hubert Humphrey  
at Houston, Texas

Marlin Sanders  
Has courageously

For Release

Saturday Am's

Eyes of Texas  
are upon you

Sponsor my thanks.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 18, 1964

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I am an American first - love my country - believe in its system  
believe in its promises

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Harass

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~~If There is Artificial~~

Now a Partisan  
note

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*[Handwritten scribble]*

*9nd*

*Enterprise*



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Sister

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*To encourage  
to rely on Private Mgmt for Public Purposes.*

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World Needs you --

America needs you - ~~you are~~

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*deduct*  
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