

Senator Humphrey  
Airport  
Seattle, Washington  
October 1: 1964

Thank you very much. Thank you, Governor, thank you for your welcome, and may I say how happy I am to see your wonderful United States Senator, Henry Jackson, Scoop Jackson, here who, undoubtedly will be re-elected with a smashing majority.

(Applause.)

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

(Cries of "We want Barry.")

You will have to wait a long time before that happens.

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

We had a wonderful meeting in Spokane. We are going to have now more and more meetings to carry out the program and enunciate the program of Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

And I am sure that that program will triumph, there is no doubt about it.

(Noise of airplane.)

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

(Applause.)

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NOTE: Statement for Seattle-Tacoma Airport

The attached statement was prepared by Bob Barrie and cleared with the White House. It makes a general promise to the aerospace industry to provide competitive financing to increase aerospace exports, similar to the policy of Great Britain and France.

It was cleared with the Department of Commerce and the White House (Mike Feldman.)

It would be a good newsmaker in ~~Seattle~~ Seattle.

Note: The Tacoma speech follows the theme that Goldwater is not a Republican--that he is the antithesis of a true Republican. This has been suggested to us by Gerry Grinstein--state coordinator for the campaign.

*Sp file; Oct. 1  
Seattle-Tacoma,  
Wash*

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
Airport News Conference  
Seattle - Tacoma Airport

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MEMO

Aerospace

To avoid a credit race among the developed countries for the business of the LDCS, it would be desirable to negotiate international agreements covering (1) the total amount of credit which should be extended to LDCS, (2) the distinction between development assistance and commercial credits, and the circumstances under which each should be offered and (3) the rules of the game with respect to the concessions which reasonably might be offered in extending credit.

If, in a press conference, you are questioned about whether your statement means that the United States is willing to offer concessionary commercial financing as liberal as that of other developed countries, the answer should be that we intend hereafter to be fully competitive. But we also intend to seek international agreements through the organization for economic cooperation and development to prevent the development of a commercial credit race.

OECD

Statement by  
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
Airport News Conference  
Seattle-Tacoma Airport

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY A.M.'s  
October 2, 1968

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Seattle File

File Cg

STATEMENT FOR SEATTLE-TACOMA AIRPORT ON ADMINISTRATION'S

INTENTION OF PROVIDING COMPETITIVE EXPORT FINANCING FOR

INDUSTRY

AEROSPACE

When the leader of the Goldwater faction recently visited Seattle, he said--according to the Associated Press--"You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies and you are going to do it again."

This may be one way to guarantee production for the nation's aircraft industry--although it would seem to entail certain risks. I find such a remark to be incomprehensible in this nuclear age.

I believe there are more responsible channels whereby the production of the aerospace industry can be maintained at a high level. It is the intention of this administration to provide fully competitive export

financing for our industries. We are proud of the technological superiority of our aerospace industry and will support this superiority with sound and competitive financing.

I also believe there are other more responsible proposals which will assist the Aerospace industry to maintain full production. We have, for example, been told by major companies in the aerospace industry that their exports could increase easily from the current level of \$1.3 billion a year to over \$2 billion per year by 1970.

In jet transport planes alone our companies have ~~alone our companies have~~ a potential overseas market for the period 1964-1969 of over \$2 billion. The



industry has estimated that this segment of the export potential alone represents 50,000 U. S. jobs.

These overseas markets are available, however, only if competitive financing is provided. We are very pleased that our aerospace industry recognizes in the overseas market a sound basis for its economic development.



9/29/64

We have been told by key companies in the aerospace industry that it should be possible for them to increase their exports from a current level of \$1.3 billion a year to over \$2 billion per year by 1970. Moreover in jet transport planes alone, our companies estimate a potential overseas market for the period 1964-1969 of over \$2 billion which, if realized, would represent 50,000 U. S. jobs.

They state that these overseas markets are available, however, only if competitive financing is provided.

We are very pleased that our aerospace industry recognizes in the overseas market a sound basis for its economic development. This Administration made the Trade Expansion Act its primary legislative objective in 1962 in recognition of the importance of these export markets. Moreover, we have already taken major steps to improve the financing of American exports.

I want to say here and now that it is the intention of this Administration to provide fully competitive export financing for our industries. We are proud of the technological superiority of our aerospace industry, and will support this superiority with sound and competitive financing facilities.

*in the international market place*

Press Conference  
Hyatt House, Satellite Room,  
Seattle, Washington  
October 1, 1964

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

Senator Jackson. And no rain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q Do you feel the ADA should be an issue?

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

Q Senator, what is your answer ---

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



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

(Laughter.)

-- than I am when I am at the airport.

Q Senator, how far is the Administration prepared to go in helping to finance development of supersonic transport?

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

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

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

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Senator Jackson. -- as to what the government would put up and the percentage that the aircraft companies would put up. I think there is strong feeling that probably the solution will come in connection with a guarantee of 'X' number of planes that will be produced, and that the government will see to it that they are sold. It is an underwriting affair.

Senator Humphrey. Yes, sir.

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

Q Senator, could we get back --

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

Yes, Mr. Kenworthy.

Q Can we get back for a moment to this question of adjustment of credit terms --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q -- for sales of export aircraft. Is this because the French government has in effect been subsidizing sales of Caravelle, and the British government been subsidizing sales in West Germany also?

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

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

Senator Humphrey. You mean the French?

Q Yes.

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

Q But Ex-Im Bank loans have always been hard loans. Is it the intent of the Administration to revise this policy and make them, if not soft, at least quasi-soft, I mean for export of aircraft.

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

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

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

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

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

Q He also charged today, sir, there would be a drastic cutback in defense spending should Mr. Johnson be elected in November.

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

Q Senator, you picked up four shadows, the so-called Truth Squad of the Republican Party. What is your reaction to this Truth Squad?

Senator Humphrey. Well, you have been -- you have honored them by calling them shadows, I could think of a better term but I shan't say it.

(Laughter.)

To place truth in the hands of this Truth Squad is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop.

(Laughter.)

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

Q Senator --

Senator Humphrey. I am glad it is pre-paid, may I say.

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

Senator Humphrey. Really, I wasn't familiar with that ruling, I am sorry. I am sure --

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

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

(Laughter.)

Q Sir, do you think if the Civil Rights bill was put up to the people to vote on that it would ever pass?

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

Q What is your opinion?

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

Q Thank you, Senator.

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

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

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Q Thank you, Senator.

(Applause.)

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# United States Senate

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## MEMORANDUM

JFK speeches -- Spokane

Sept. 6, 1960



We have not hesitated in the last few years to spend more than \$1 million for mineral resource development in Afghanistan. I do not see how we can continue to hold back on our development here at home.

These are not small problems—and they will not be solved by small men with small plans. Neither will they be solved with big words. We need men who can look ahead, men who believe in the future, men who are willing to try something new, and the Democratic Party has those men. This is what this campaign is all about. That is the kind of leadership this country needs on the new frontier. I cannot promise that the future will be easy. But those who crossed the mountains to Idaho 100 years ago—seeking land and gold and a new way of life—did not expect that life would be easy. Lewis and Clark did not travel this area on a mission they thought would be easy.

Today the frontier they explored has been pushed aside. We stand on the edge of a new frontier—and we need more men to cross the mountains. I am here to ask for your help. I am here to ask for new pioneers. With your help, with many hands, we can make for all the Nation a living reality of this State's inspiring motto: *Esto Perpetua*—may this State endure forever!

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REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, LINCOLN MONUMENT  
RALLY, SPOKANE, WASH., SEPTEMBER 6, 1960

Senator KENNEDY. Governor Rosellini, Senator Jackson, Senator Dill, ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful to the Governor, who I am confident will be not only the present Governor but the next Governor of the State of Washington. [Applause.]

And I am glad to be here with my friend, "Scoop" Jackson. After I was nominated at the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, the first thing I did was to ask him if he would take over the leadership of the Democratic Party because I wanted him at my side representing the progressive, clean, and responsible government of the North-western United States. [Applause.]

I think it is most appropriate in the election of 1960 that we should meet in the shadow of a distinguished Republican, Abraham Lincoln, because we believe that his spirit motivates our party in the great election 100 years after he assumed the responsibility of office.

This is a most important election. In 1860 Lincoln said, "This Nation cannot exist half slave and half free." I don't think in the 1960's that this world can exist half slave and half free, and the basic question of this election is what course of action should we adopt, what course of energy should we follow, what course of leadership should we practice if the world is going to move not in the direction of slavery but in the direction of freedom. That is the issue of this campaign and it is most appropriate, therefore, that we meet under the statue of Lincoln. He faced it in his country in 1860. We must face it around the world in 1960, and I am confident that here in the Inland Empire you are ready to do it. I don't think there is anyone in the city of Spokane that can say that this election does not matter. You cannot live in the center of a great wheat-producing section of the United States and be satisfied with things as they are. You cannot live in the Northwest United States, a great mining center, and

be satisfied with things as they are. You cannot live in one of the greatest defensive sections of the United States and be satisfied with things as they are. You cannot live in the United States today—you cannot be a citizen of the United States and be satisfied with things as they are.

I don't criticize present actions merely because I enjoy criticizing. I criticize them only because I think that there is a better way to do it. [Applause.] This is a great country, but I think it can be greater. This is a great State, but I think it can be greater. All of those who are satisfied with things as they are, who feel that the balance of power in the world is moving with us and not with our adversaries should vote for the Republican Party. But all those who retain a sense of adventure, who feel we can do better, who want to start moving again, I hope they join with us. [Applause.]

This is the most important election, I think, certainly since 1932. The record of the Democratic Party and what it can do is written in the administrations of Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. I think this country is ready to move again. I ask your support. [Applause.]

I talk here in one of the newer sections of the United States, even though I come from one of the oldest sections of the United States. When I talk about the new frontier, I don't mean just a physical reality, I mean all of those who believe that they want to serve our Government and serve our system, who want to join with us not because of what we are going to do for them, but for the opportunity that they will have to serve our country. I ask your help in this campaign. I am confident that if we can be successful, if we can assume the responsibility of leadership, this country, which is ready to move, will move again. Thank you. [Applause.]

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY ON WHEAT PROGRAM,  
SPOKANE, WASH., CARAVAN INN, SEPTEMBER 6, 1960

It is time for a fresh and imaginative program to meet the problems of our Nation's wheat farms. It is time for a program which views the farmer as a great national asset—not an unwanted burden on the taxpayer. It is time for a program which views an abundance of wheat as an opportunity to provide hungry people with a decent diet—not as an unwanted stock of useless grain to be stored and forgotten. It is time for a program which sees in America's farms the true source of American strength—not a source of difficulty. It is time, in short, for a Democratic program—and in 1960 we are going to put it into action.

First, of course, we must make immediate and fruitful use of surpluses we now have—through an expanded food-for-peace program to halt famine and malnutrition abroad—and through an increased food surplus distribution program for the hungry here at home.

Then—after we have put our present surplus to work—we must begin on a program to reduce future surpluses and restore prosperity to the farms. Any such program for wheat must meet six tests.

One, it must bring production down below consumption, through bushel as well as acreage controls, so that the excess volume in storage will be gradually reduced.

Two, it must reduce the total cost of the price-support and storage programs.

Three, it must protect growers of other crops from destructive competition through diversion of former wheat acreage.

Four, it must protect other wheat-producing countries against unfair "dumping."

Five, it must raise the farmer's income so that he can again become a full partner in American prosperity—and receive the decent income which his contribution to American strength so richly deserves.

Six, any program, to be successful, must be developed by and have the full support of the growers themselves.

With these standards to guide us—with the specific detailed and imaginative proposals which have been formulated by your own Wheat Growers Association—and with the leadership of the Democratic Party, we can begin to move forward to restore the health of our Nation's farms.

SPEECH OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, CIVIC AUDITORIUM, SEATTLE, WASH., SEPTEMBER 6, 1960 (ADVANCE RELEASE TEXT ON P. 292)

Senator KENNEDY. Governor and Mrs. Rosellini, Senator Jackson, fellow Democrats in the State of Washington, I am grateful for a generous introduction from a distinguished Governor of a great Northwestern State, who, I am confident, will be returned as Governor in the November election, Governor Rosellini. [Applause.] And I am delighted to be in this State with my friend and colleague who has joined me in this great effort in this campaign as chairman of the National Democratic Party—your friend and Senator, "Scoop" Jackson. [Applause.]

In the last 4 days I have taken this campaign to five States, stretching from the oldest part of the United States, the State of Maine, into the newest and the last frontier, the State of Alaska, and in that campaign, in those States, I have found a common impulse facing the American people in 1960, and that is their desire for action. [Applause.] They want this country to begin to move again here at home, to meet the tremendous problems that we face here in this State and in the country, and they want us moving again abroad in order to stem the Communist advance. [Applause.] I believe that the American people will elect a President to act. I believe that the crises of the 1960's will compel the next President to act, and I believe that if this country is to endure and prevail, that it must start moving again.

I am in this campaign as a candidate for the Office of President of the United States. That is the greatest Office in the free world. The Congress cannot do the job. As a Senator I speak for Massachusetts and Senator Jackson speaks for Washington. But the President of the United States speaks for both Washington and Massachusetts. [Applause.]

This election in many ways is the most significant, certainly, since the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. [Applause.] And the task of the next President will in many ways be more difficult than any since the election of 1860 of a distinguished American President. In a world of danger and trial, peace is our deepest aspiration, and

Spokane

It is good to be here at Spokane, the largest metropolis in the vast northern reaches of our country, from my hometown of Minneapolis to Seattle on the Coast.

Democratic Administrations traditionally have helped develop the massive electric power and irrigation resources of this great Inland Empire, as well as those of the other western states, and you can rest assured that after the Johnson Administration wins victory at the polls in November, we will continue to work to develop the economic potential of this region.

While serving in the Congress of the United States, President Johnson and I never thought that our responsibility for American economic development ended at the borders of the state which we represented. Unlike the temporary

Republican spokesman, who voted only for reclamation and power projects which would help his home state of Arizona, President Johnson and I have voted for legitimate projects regardless of their location in America. We believe that the interests of America come first, not only the interests of one state.

✓ America is not just Arizona, or Texas, or Minnesota--  
adding to the opportunity of each American adds to the  
wellbeing of every other, regardless of the state in which he lives.

✓ Just as we must continue our efforts to build the economic strength of this Inland Empire and of all America, so we will continue to keep the military strength of this  
country second to none. We shouldn't have to spend much

time in this campaign explaining our massive military strength, but our opposition has made some uninformed charges about the state of our national defense.

↳ The truth is that we are not only stronger than any other nation, we are stronger than any possible combination of nations.

↳ The United States has 800 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles which can reach any base or city in the Communist world. Almost all these missiles are in hardened underground bases while few of the Soviet Union's 200 ICBMs are in underground shelters.

Our Navy has 256 Polaris missiles on 18 nuclear submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire at a moment's notice. The Soviet Union has a smaller force of inferior missiles based on inferior submarines. Their missiles are of much shorter range and cannot be fired from beneath the sea's surface as can ours. We are now building another 25 Polaris submarines which

will carry 400 Polaris missiles.

On the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the Soviet Union. Half of our bombers are ready at all times to take off on 15 minutes notice.

In other words, there is a bomber gap -- and it is in our favor. It will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

Since 1961, this Administration has achieved a 150 percent increase in the nuclear warheads and a 200 percent increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert forces; a 45 percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions; a 75 percent increase in airlift capacity; and an 800 percent increase in special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

And, we have planned ahead to maintain full military capacity for many years to come. We have initiated or completed 208 new weapons research projects. I could continue to list our weapons accomplishments for hours.

But you know, and I know, that wisdom as well as military strength is needed to keep the peace. The man who serves as the final judge of the use of our awesome nuclear arsenal must be a man of great prudence and wisdom. A President cannot change his mind after pulling the nuclear trigger. A President cannot claim that he was misquoted after announcing the decision which would destroy the civilized world.

In today's hair-trigger world, we need a President who is fully responsible and who fully understands the



world's problems. We need a President who is aware that the bipartisan foreign and defense policy of the last two decades has preserved the world from both nuclear war and Communist domination, and a President who is aware that the United States and the rest of the Free World is strong and thriving.

President Johnson--as did President Kennedy before him--has that greatest of talents we seek in statesmen: an understanding of the uses of strength in our relentless pursuit of peace.

Our defenses are strong. They will remain strong. While the time for beating swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall continue to work to eliminate war. Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice--but courage. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness--

but wisdom. Let us be wise, let us persevere, and  
America will endure. With our hard-won freedom  
intact, we shall survive and flourish.

*Seattle  
(not used)*

NOTE: This material is good anywhere in the Seattle-Tacoma area. It relates to Goldwater's opposition to the public workks projects in the State and notes the excellent progress of Seattle in implementing the poverty program. Washington is out in the lead in taking hold of the poverty program--good contrast with Goldwater and his "No" votes in this area.

Seattle-Tacoma, Washington

Tonight I want to address myself to a question which has not so far been raised in this campaign -- Senator Goldwater and Conservation.

This is a pioneer country. A century ago, your forefathers came here to a wilderness of stately trees standing amidst profound silences, of mountains furrowed by silver streams.

Out of this wilderness, they created a commonwealth -- a state of fertile farms, thriving industries, and bustling ports teeming with the ships of all nations.

They put courage and conviction, muscle and mind into the task. They also had the cooperation of the Federal government -- and had every right to have it.

Throughout the years, your Senators and Congressmen -- and notably my colleagues, Senators Jackson and Magnuson -- have made this point persuasively and effectively.

But they have not, I regret to say, been able to convince Senator Goldwater, who has been deaf to their reasoning.

Let us look at some of the highlights of his record.

In 1960, he voted against the Rivers and Harbors authorization bill, which included authorization for the Tacoma-Seattle Ship Canal Study.

In 1961, he voted to delay authorization of electrical generating facilities at the new plutonium production reactor at Hanford.

In 1962, he spoke and went on record against the Jackson-Magnuson Pacific Northwest Power Preference Bill. He said, and I quote, "Instead of considering legislation to reserve low-cost power for a specific area, we should be passing legislation to require the Bonneville and all other Federal marketing agencies to increase rates," end

of quotation.

Again in 1962, he voted against the public works appropriations bill. This bill -- included the Everett Harbor Project and Howard Hanson Dam, as well as funds for the greater We<sup>N</sup>atchee Division of the Chief Joseph Dam project.

It was no and no and no and no where the public interest of the state of Washington was concerned -- but yes, yes, a thousand times yes for the Central Arizona Project -- the largest public works project in history, estimated to cost over a billion and a quarter dollars. I have only one comment: consistency in the pursuit of resource development is no vice.

Today, unlimited wilderness areas are a thing of the past. Indeed, we must take action -- and we have in this Congress -- to preserve what remains of it for our children and our children's children.

But the pioneer spirit which tamed the wild country still lives here. A hundred years ago your forefathers fought against brute nature. Today we take arms against those ancient enemies which brutalize mankind -- poverty, hunger, and disease.

We are now enjoying the longest sustained period of economic growth in our nation's history. Each month sees new records established. We are proud of our standard of living -- the envy of the world -- and we are determined to improve it still further. Our nation has achieved a measure of abundance which is of historic significance -- and this abundance is not only material. It provides opportunities for sports, the arts, contemplation and spiritual values, and we have an increasing amount of time for these pursuits. This litany of our accomplishments would be enough it would seem for any people to point at with pride.

It is just at this time of strength that President Johnson has declared -- for the first time in all recorded history -- an all-out war to eradicate poverty in the United States. It is a measure of his broad humanity not to be blinded by our success. It is a measure of his understanding that our success gives us the power to overcome this human blight. With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the battle has been engaged in earnest.

I am glad to hear that you in Washington have been among the first to rally to the standard that President Johnson has raised.

I am told that Governor Rossellini has already appointed a State Coordinator, that interagency committees have been set to work, that the cooperation of your colleges and universities has been enlisted, that community action programs are being planned.



This is good news. It is a clear sign that the pioneering spirit never died here. It is a measure of the American spirit.

You are not alone. The response to this war against poverty has been overwhelming. All elements of our community -- businessmen, trade unionists, farmers, professors, professional people, and students -- are eager to help.

But not Senator Goldwater. He voted against the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

And his vote was thoroughly consistent with all he has had to say about this subject. To him, poverty doesn't mean lack of opportunity, it means lack of character. Speaking to the Economic Club of New York, he said early this year -- and I quote --

"We are told, however, that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an

education. That's like saying that people have big feet because they wear big shoes. The fact is that most people who have no skill, have no education for the same reason - low intelligence or low ambition....

"In a society where the vast majority of people live on a standard that is envied by all other nations, it must be appropriate to inquire whether the attitude or action of the small group not participating in the general prosperity has anything to do with the situation." Unquote.

It is instructive to contrast these poverty-stricken opinions with those of a man, who in his lifetime, was universally acknowledged to be "Mr. Republican" -- the late Senator Robert Taft. He was conservative, and proud of it, but he did not deny the patently obvious facts of the real world. As he put it, "it may be that, under our system, the rich are too rich and the poor are too poor," and he acted on his beliefs by supporting public housing, Federal aid to education, minimum wages, the graduated

income tax and social security -- every one anathema  
to Senator Goldwater. Who is the real Conservative?  
Who is the real Republican?

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Thank you very much, Governor. Thank you very much.  
Thank you. Thank you very much.

(Cries of "We want Humphrey,")

You have got him. Thank you very much.

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

(Applause.)

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

(Applause and Laughter.)

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

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

(Applause.)

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

So, Governor, it is because of that, and your own persuasive eloquence and your own fine public record that I have in a sense tried to be sort of a third Senator for the State of Washington even though the two of you can do a job equal to

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any six that I have ever found in the United States Senate.  
I want to compliment you.

(Applause.)

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

(Applause.)

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

(Applause.)

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

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

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

(Applause.)

And from Gonzaga and from Whitworth College. I am particularly pleased to see our young college students here because the program of the Democratic Party surely represents the program that befits the enthusiasm and the sense of idealism

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and the vibrant spirit of young people, and, may I assure this fine group of young people that are present, that we need your help in this campaign, we look forward to your help, we ask you to give us every bit of enthusiasm that you have, and to work ceaselessly for the Democratic ticket, for President Lyndon B. Johnson and for his running mate Hubert Humphrey, for Governor Rosellini, for Scoop Jackson, for Tom Foley, all the way down the line.

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

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

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

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

It is a state that is growing in population, but it is also a state that is growing in economic opportunity. And the theme of our campaign, the theme of this Administration is opportunity, opportunity for the young through education. Opportunity for the adults through jobs and job training, and opportunity for the elderly to live in dignity, through better social security, through better health care, through better

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housing, and through all the things that older people justly deserve from a society that they had served so faithfully.

(Applause.)

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

(Laughter.)

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

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

(Applause.)

Governor, Spokane is not only a fine industrial center, but it also is in the center of a great agricultural area. The wheat, the produce of your farms in this area, help feed not only America but the world, and I am proud to stand here as a Democrat, as a member of this Administration, and say that we have tried to keep the promises and to be true to the faith that you gave to us, the promises that were made in 1960, to extend a helping hand on the part of Government to American agriculture, and that hand has been extended to the wheat farmers of this great valley, of this great area, and that hand has been extended to the people throughout the world through the



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Food for Peace program, and the wheat right from this area today is saving millions of lives in the world, millions of American lives in free countries, helping people to be nourished, helping them to live for a better day.

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

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

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

(Applause.)

I am not sure whose side they are on.

(Laughter.)

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

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

And while at times it may seem interesting to hear a spokesman rattle the saber and tell you only of our might and



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issue ultimatiums to the Communists and the evil forces of the world, let me say what you need in a President is not a man that is bellicose, but one that is firm and reliable and responsible; not one that issues ultimatiums, but one that understands the art of diplomacy. .

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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Limit

In his prepared text for Tacoma Rally, HHH refers to 25 issues in 1960 GOP platform opposed by GB. These issues are as follows, in case HHH should be questioned on them

United Nations  
Arms control Agency  
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty  
Antarctic Treaty  
Educational and Cultural Exchanges  
Mutual Security  
Economic Cooperation Agreement OECD  
Inter-American Development Bank  
Reciprocal Trade  
Taxation  
Transportation  
Labor Management Reform  
Minimum Wage  
Rural Electrification  
Debate Limitation  
Civil Rights Against Committee Reference  
Civil Rights Title III  
National Defense Education  
Expanded Vocational Education  
Aid for Higher Education  
Medical Education  
Veterans Medical Research  
Research in housing for the aged  
Medical care for the aged /Kerr-Mills/  
Waterfowl Conservation

HHH should have this list with him when he delivers the Tacoma speech. We are planning to send later this evening the text for Oakland, Calif. Will ask you to Mimeo this for distribution to HHH plane.

INSERT

SPEECH FOR SENATOR HUMPHREY.....

I'M HAPPY TO BE ON THIS PLATFORM TONIGHT WITH MY FRIEND, THE GREAT  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF YOUR STATE, GOVERNOR ROSELLINI.....PRESIDENT  
JOHNSON, SECRETARY OF LABOR WIRTZ, GEORGE MEANY OF THE AFL-CIO AND  
37 GOVERNORS-----REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS-----HAVE HAILED

THE GREAT JOB YOUR GOVERNOR HAS DONE THIS VERY YEAR TO IMPROVE  
EMPLOYMENT IN THIS STATE WITH YOUR OWN <sup>Job Corps Program</sup> JOB CORPS PROGRAM.....WHEN

YOU GET REPUBLICANS LIKE GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR ROMNEY AND GOVERNOR  
FANNIN OF ARIZONA TO TAKE TIME OUT TO PRAISE THE <sup>team efforts</sup> TEAM EFFORTS IN THIS

STATE BY GOVERNMENT, BY LABOR AND BY BUSINESS, WORKING TOGETHER TO  
REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT, YOU KNOW YOU'RE ON THE RIGHT TRACK WITH A  
GOVERNOR LIKE YOURS.....

(EMPLOYMENT FIGURES ATTACHED).

Gov Rossellini, Senator Jackson  
Tacoma, Washington and my fellow Americans,

4 of the - Is he a Conservative  
Tonight I want to address myself to a question  
which has not so far been raised in this campaign--

is Senator Goldwater really a Republican? *in the tradition of his party.*

Certainly, his fellow Republicans do not seem  
to flock to him. Republican candidates for office  
do not seem to relish appearing with him on the same  
platform. Apparently, they fear that riding his coat-  
tails would be like taking a <sup>hop</sup> ~~hop~~ with wrong-way Corrigan.

*cut* Many of the billboards I see are interesting, too. *cut*  
There are big pictures of Republican state candidates,  
and some words in good, plain, easy-to-read type about  
what they've done or hope to do. If you stop your car  
and look carefully, you may find the word "Republican"  
in small type somewhere--but it's easy to miss it. *and*  
*most likely not & here*

I regret this. I'm proud to be a Democrat and I would like Republicans to be proud of their party. But

I can understand what they're doing, because in a very real sense it's not their party for the time being, and Senator Goldwater is not in any real sense a <sup>a regular</sup> Republican.

~~I think an~~ <sup>modern</sup> honest appraisal of what Republicanism means is found in the 1960 platform of the Republican

Party. It was a conservative platform, ~~as one would have expected it to be~~ and I had a lot to say about

~~that in the 1960 campaign~~

But it was a responsible platform, too. It reflected the fact that a Republican Administration

had been in office eight years, and had dealt with the complex problems of a great nation in a turbulent world.

But It was a platform too moderate and too responsible for the junior Senator from Arizona. He is a radical, not a conservative--and he'd rather be right than

Radical

Republican as that platform defined the policies of the Republican

Party. And in terms of that platform, he is right --

far right — way out!

~~I think that~~ more detailed analysis will

convincingly demonstrate this ~~I have before me~~ an analysis

of the votes of Senator Goldwater on 25 specific posi-

tions set forth in that platform -- as compared with

the votes of Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, Saltonstall, and

Hickenlooper tells an amazing story,

Rep  
Leaders

now These are Senators who have been chosen for responsi-

ble posts by their Republican colleagues, Senator Dirksen

is ~~Minority~~ <sup>Senate Republican</sup> Leader, Senator Kuchel is ~~Minority~~ <sup>the Republican</sup> Whip.

Senator Saltonstall is chairman of the Senate Republican

Conference. Senator Hickenlooper is chairman of the

Senate Republican Policy Committee. These are the leaders!

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

The record shows that Senator Kuchel supported his

party's declared position on every one of these issues.

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

↳ But what about Senator Dirksen, and Senator Hickenlooper?

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

↳ Senator Dirksen voted for his Party's platform 21 times, went against it only four.

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

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

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

~~Two~~, the Republican platform supported the establishment of an arms control agency, but not Senator Goldwater.

~~Three~~, the Republican platform supported the nuclear test ban treaty, but not Senator Goldwater.

~~Four~~, the Republican platform supported the Mutual Security program, but not Senator Goldwater.

~~Five~~, the Republican platform supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program, but not Senator Goldwater.

~~Six~~, the Republican platform supported the National Defense Education program and aid for higher education,



but not Senator Goldwater.

~~Seven~~ the Republican platform supported aid for ~~medical~~ medical education and a program of medical care for the aged of the ~~Keff-Mills kind~~ -- but not Senator Goldwater.

And so on, down the list.

On 13 of these issues, all four of the ~~chosen~~ *Republican* leaders, ~~of the Republicans in the Senate~~ -- Dirksen, Hickenlooper, Kuchel and Saltonstall -- voted in agreement with their Party platform.

But not Senator Goldwater.

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

Months before the 1960 Convention, he had dismissed the Eisenhower Administration, -- ~~the administration of a Party to which he professed at least nominal allegiance~~ -- as a "dimestore New Deal".

At the convention itself, he made it clear that he

was only biding his time until he could junk the Repub-  
lican platform and replace it by something quite different.

He was willing to wait until there was a Presidential  
candidate more to his liking <sup>like</sup> -- himself.

In the ~~past~~ <sup>next</sup> four years, he did not concern him-  
self with helping the Republican Party in ~~the State~~ to  
build a record of responsible opposition, proving itself  
worthy and capable of exercising power responsibly if the  
voters so elected.

In the next 4 years  
~~instead~~ he and his followers worked constantly to  
capture the Republican party, and to turn it into an

instrument of a new and dangerous force in American life --  
the radical right.

*Radicalism has Replaced  
Republicanism!*

None of us will soon forget the ~~disparaging~~  
~~insulting~~ <sup>Cow Palace</sup> when the distinguished Governor of

New York State was booed and jeered.

the "gusher of hate" that spewed up when former President  
Eisenhower made a passing -- and, he thought innocuous --

reference to the press.

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

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

L Yes, they have said it themselves -- they are "sick" Americans and they are "tired" Americans.

L They are "sick" of the kind of American government which fulfills one of the key mandates of the Constitution -- ~~the promotion of~~ to provide the general welfare.

L And they are "tired" of the unrelenting, patient, responsible demanding and successful struggle by Presidents Kennedy & Johnson to ~~contain Communism~~ -- to contain and repel Communism

These Goldwaterites <sup>9</sup> ~~in~~ their nervous, and impulsive  
memoranda hanker to bring it to an end with one great big bang.

cut?

~~immense~~ ~~at all~~

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

But I do say he <sup>encourages and</sup> tolerates them and by his toleration  
has <sup>given</sup> ~~put~~ them an alarming degree of respectability.

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

We are witnessing a strange phenomenon in American  
history, <sup>wild and Radical</sup> ~~a~~ ~~student~~ minority pretending to speak for a  
major party <sup>and a country.</sup>

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

~~What a pathetic address we think he has~~

~~mm~~

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

L Speaking in ~~Berlin~~, New Hampshire, on March 2,  
when he was already a candidate for the leadership  
of this country and of the free world, he said:

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

I hope that Senator Goldwater knows in his heart--whatever he may choose to say--that war is infinitely more dangerous today than it was 200 years ago--or for that matter, ~~25~~ years ago.

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

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

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

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

George Washington ~~as a general~~ never once forgot (as he pointed out to impatient critics) that in seven long years of fighting he was the one man who, by a single ill-judged action, could lose <sup>our war for</sup> ~~the Revolutionary~~ independence in a single afternoon.

Today, the President of the United States is the one and only leader of the free world who, by a

single rash miscalculation or momentary lapse of

judgment, can risk the annihilation of mankind.

↳ By what he has not said as well as by what he  
has said, Senator Goldwater has shown that he is not  
capable of assuming this heavy responsibility--indeed,  
that he does not ~~see~~ comprehend its awesome dimensions.

Let us give you an appalling example of his feckless

judgment.

and ↙ You will recall that in an interview with the German  
magazine, Der Spiegel, Mr Goldwater the senator was asked, in

connection with his demand for instant victory in the

Cold War, "But would you go to the brink of war?" And

here he gave an answer that defies rational understanding.

which belongs in "The Twilight Zone" He said, and I

quote exactly, "Yes. Just as your country [that is,



Germany<sup>7</sup> has used brinkmanship down through the  
years and done so very, very successfully.

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

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

It is because of this impulsive, irrational behavior  
and remarks

~~It is for this reason, above all,~~ that so

many decent and loyal Republicans have rejected

Mr. Goldwater

~~him~~--and the crew that, with him, has seized temporary

control of their Party and nailed the battle flags

of nuclear adventurism and domestic tumult to the

mast.

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

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

Some Republicans, like Mr. Wadsworth and Mr.  
Larson, have come out publicly for the election of

President Johnson, and all honor to them. Many  
millions more will join them in the privacy  
of the voting booths November 3d.

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

↳ You have the choice--and I submit to you that  
Lyndon B. Johnson deserves the support of the  
American people as a President who will heal  
wounds, not scarify them; who will treasure  
what is best in our *american heritage*

~~Republican and Democratic past~~ <sup>and</sup> not repudiate

our common achievements in the name of right-wing

~~radicalism~~ who will pursue the vision of a Great

~~Society~~, not lead us into a wilderness of desolation

~~and despair~~

[04:13] Like -  
Seattle?  
Tacoma?

UNIVERSITY OF PUGET SOUND SPEECH

Let me say right off that it's good to be back among Democrats again. Bipartisan audiences are, of course, fine -- I like them. I like talking to people who still haven't made up their minds; people who still need to be convinced. It is a real pleasure to stand up there and convince them. In fact, the only thing I like better is to stand up before a group of good Democrats and let them convince me. Are you convinced?

(~~Shouting~~) So am I.

Since you see to be a fairly sympathetic audience, I think I can confide in you a little. It seems that my shrewd political advisors feel my speeches have been a little negative lately. They think I talk too much about the Republican candidates. They think I should stick more to the positive aspects of the campaign; you know, plug the issues, expound our fine record, all that sort of thing. Well, I've been following their orders pretty

closely for the last few days -- they've been proud of me --  
But I told them that tonight I just couldn't. These are  
Democrats, I said, they want to hear about the guts of the  
campaign. My friends were not persuaded, but I outvoted  
them. Tonight you are going to hear a good deal about  
our opponents, Is that all right? (Yes!!) Fine.

Let me say though that my shrewd friends have a very  
sound argument. It is all too easy this year to let the  
issues slide and concentrate on personalities. Seldom in  
history has any candidate for public office ever been  
presented with such a gigantic, such a juicy, such a  
tempting target as that with which we have been presented  
this year. Here is a man who seems purposely to lead with  
his chin. Perhaps he is aiming at the underdog vote.  
Rooting for the underdog is an old American custom as we  
all know. Look at the New York Mets -- they draw more  
fans than the Yankees. But you and I also know that the  
American voters have more sense than to choose a President

the same way that they choose a baseball team. If I were in the National League I would hate to have the Mets representing me in the World Series.

Really, it is disconcerting to run against a candidate like Senator Goldwater. Almost any telling point that I could make against him he always seems to make so much better himself. It is impossible to improve on his own statements. For example, he tells the unions that he wants right-to-work laws; he tells farmers he wants to end price supports; he tells the people of Knoxville that he wants to sell the TVA. As Abraham Lincoln said in dedicating the battlefield at Gettysburg, "It is beyond our poor power to add or detract."

I feel, sometimes, as though we are the victims of a great joke. This isn't really a presidential campaign; it's a play, a clever satire on the American political system. I expect each day that the curtain will ring



down , the audience will applaud, and we will steam out once more into the streets of reality. But that day never comes. Each morning I pick up my paper and there is yet another unbelievable pronouncement; another hip-shot from that marvelous gun which, like its counterparts in the Western movies, seems never to need re-loading with new rounds of understanding, comprehension or facts. But who am I to complain -- if this is to be reality in 1964, let us make the most of it.

I think more than enough has already been said about the negative aspects of Senator Goldwater's program, or perhaps we should say, Senator Goldwater's non-program. I would like to turn now to something more positive, the work done by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the Committee of which my distinguished colleague from Arizona has been a member for roughly a decade. Certainly Labor ~~and~~ Public Welfare has been one of the most productive

of all the committees of the Senate. This being the case, some cynics in the Democratic Party might expect that the Republican candidate would have assumed the role of Horatio at the bridge in such a setting. We might expect him to have stood foresquare in the path of all the progressive legislation developed by this active Committee. Therefore, you will be relieved to learn, as I was, that this has not been the case at all. We did some research recently and looked up the Committee votes on some of the outstanding legislation which Labor and Public Welfare has brought forth over the last several years.

Here is a partial list of measures which we had expected Senator Goldwater to oppose:

- The Anti-Poverty Bill
- The Equal Employment Opportunities Act
- The College Facilities Act
- The Mental Retardation Act
- The Expansion of Vocational Education
- The Youth Conservation Corps
- The Cold War G.I. Bill
- The National Defense Education Act
- The Juvenile** Delinquency Control Act
- The Area Redevelopment Act, and,
- The Federal Grants for Polio Vaccination

Did Senator Goldwater fight these bills? Did Senator Goldwater rally the loyal conservatives to snip these probing tendrils of his dream monster, that carnivorous weed of creeping Socialism? Did Senator Goldwater gird his loins, grasp his broadsword, and vow, "They shall not pass!!" ??

No he didn't. When the Federal Power Grabbers reached the bridge, all they found of Horatio was his sword, his proxy. Our hero had betaken himself to more peaceful precincts to build up his strength for another day. When the big issues came up for vote, Senator Goldwater did not fight them; he simply grouched about them. While this news may be of some comfort to <sup>you</sup> and me -- to know that our opponent is not entirely a negativist -- I expect it may bring some discomfort to his supporters. Wherein they thought they had found a warrior, they now discover they have chosen only a conscientious objector, and not conscientious at that. Clearly the Senator has decided that moderation in the

pursuit of obstruction at least has the virtue of being painless.

Unfortunately for the citizens of the State of Washington, little of this moderation has been directed at the Evergreen State. The Republican candidate has been Johnny-on-the-spot when issues of interest to you have arisen.

He was right there in 1962 when it came time to vote on the bill for funds for the Everett Harbor Project, the Howard Hanson Dam, and the Wenatchee Division of the Chief Joseph Dam. He was there all right. He voted No!

He was also there in 1960 to vote on the Rivers and Harbors Authorization Bill, which included a study of the Tacoma-Seattle Ship Canal. He was there all right! He voted No!

He was there too in 1961 to vote on going ahead with construction of an electric generating plant in the new reactor at Hanford. He was there all right! He voted No!

Badly, he missed the vote in 1962 on the Jackson-Magnuson Pacific Northwest Power Preference Bill. He only left his message tacked to the side of the bridge. It states that he would have fought passage if it had only been possible for him to make the scene. During the course of debate, however, he got in a few good slashes. He said, and I quote (Aug. 8 Record) , "Instead of considering legislation to reserve this low-cost power for a specific area, we should be passing legislation to require the Bonneville and all other federal power marketing agencies to increase rates." We are understandably delighted to have this point of view on this.

But perhaps I have dwelt too long on the Senator's negative and abstaining qualities. It would be grossly unfair to imply that he refrains from supporting any legislation to benefit the American public. Senator Goldwater is not such a villain as all that.

I believe without the slightest doubt that he will be Johnny-on-the-spot to vote on the Central Arizona Project, all one billion dollars of it. He'll be there all right. He'll vote Yes!

I also understand that Senator Goldwater took a fairly affirmative stand back on September 9 when he visited some airplane makers in a small town just to the north of here. He said, "You turned out aircraft which shot down a lot of enemies, and you are going to do it again." Now I ask you, just how affirmative can you get? I feel wholly confident that every young man in Seattle felt a great wave of relief that he would be assured of one form of employment or another for the entire term of any Goldwater administration. Frankly, I would be more relieved if Boeing were to build more 707's to carry you and me around the world, than more B-52's to carry our bombs. Nonetheless, you have to hand it to the Republican candidate; he's going to see that we are employed, one way or another.

But it makes a great deal of difference to me which method we use to maintain employment, and frankly, I don't like Senator Goldwater's. During this administration we have, at last, had reason to hope that we have crossed the watershed of international tension. This does not mean that we are weakening our defenses, that we are retreating in the face of the enemy, or that we are going "soft on communism." It means that we have faced the realities of international life and realized that peace is the paramount issue. It is fine to crusade for a righteous cause, but how righteous is any cause which destroys humanity? Experience has taught us that the only reasonable way to change the world is by generosity and example, not by fiat and decimation.

Happily, we have reason to believe that our antagonists on the world scene have come to a similar conclusion. This does not mean that we are any less



suspicious of their motives, that we find their system of government any more acceptable than before, or that we are willing to back down before their threats to the free world. It simply means that both sides have learned that there is no longer any room in this world for a hot war. The future of mankind depends on the resolution of our differences through sincere, if wary, negotiation.

But who should now burst in on this tense and crucial diplomatic scene? Why, it's Don Quixote, tilting at land mines. It's a 20th century Lochinvar come to rescue the virtue of his loved one from these soul-less cowards who would sell it out. Onto the world stage gallops the Lone Ranger, horse and all, firing silver H-bombs at every villain who refuses to accept the American way of life -- the 19th century American way of life.

There are those who say that we Democrats are overplaying this issue of nuclear irresponsibility, that we

are beating a dead horse. I disagree. I contend that this is the most vital issue in the campaign. There is nothing I would rather do than devote myself to exalting the record of this administration: it has been an outstanding one. I would truly enjoy expounding on the programs which we have advanced over the last four years. I am always delighted to hold forth on the measures we are promoting to provide a better life for all Americans. Still, I would be evading my responsibility if I did not shout from the roof-tops that all our programs, all anyone's programs, will be meaningless if we fail to keep our heads in dealing with the outside world.

The man who once said "War is hell" didn't know the half of it. War today is hell in the literal as well as the poetic sense. We simply cannot afford to elect a man who enjoys fiddling with the latch string of its gates. The stakes are too high. We need men who will work at peace, not play at war.

You maybe disappointed that I have yet to mention my own personal opponent. I have thus far not spoken a word about Congressman Miller. This is not an oversight, I assure you. It is a problem which I have run into ~~t~~ime and again during the campaign. Just what can you say about William Miller?!

Senator Goldwater admonished us at one time to stick to the issues, and I am in wholehearted agreement. My problem is, how do you connect William Miller with the issues? He never discusses any! He has become America's Rebel Without a Cause. No cause that is except becoming vice-president. We are informed that his foremost virtue is his ability to "drive Johnson nuts." Now we are all well aware that the traditional day-to-day role of the American vice-presidency has not been one that requires great statesmanship on the part of its incumbent. But what, I ask you, could be more plain than the fact that the day-to-day role is the second<sup>ary</sup> one. On a day of tragedy it would be small comfort to know that our new president's chief claim to office was his dubious ability to "drive Johnson nuts."

I noticed in the paper that Mr. Miller devoted a recent press release in California to the accusation that President Johnson is using public employees for political purposes. Now here, my friends, is an issue to capture the American imagination -- accusing the Cabinet of entering the political arena. Here is a space-age topic if I ever heard one. Perhaps he is suggesting that the members of the Cabinet sit back and listen to their programs -- the products of their sweat and tears -- castigated by the know-nothings of the opposition party without raising a finger in their own defense. This is at least one new idea which the gentleman from New York has contributed to the campaign.

We have also been told that Congressman Miller was nominated in order to balance the ticket. Now when I was studying pharmacy, we learned something about balances.

We learned that in order to achieve a balance you have to put an equal weight at either end. Well, if they found it necessary to put in a non-entity on one end of the scale, I leave it to your imagination to figure out what he must be balancing on the other.

In contrast with the militant negativism which I have been describing so far, let me now turn for a few moments to a more pleasant subject. I want to address myself to the marvelous positive approach which the State of Washington has taken to one of the great challenges of our time, the War on Poverty. Washington was the first state to implement the poverty program. Already your leaders in Olympia have established a State Coordinator and Interagency Committees, they have contacted 12 colleges and universities soliciting their participation, and have begun planning a Community Action Program. This record

is so commendable that I can scarcely think of adequate words of praise. Perhaps I should not mention it here, but that small city to the north has led the state, indeed the entire nation, in getting this program off the ground. As you know, the War on Poverty is a matter very close to my heart, and my heart swells with joy to see it being fought with such enthusiasm and vigor.

I mention the War on Poverty because Washington has taken such an avid interest in it. It is merely symbolic, however, of the fundamental difference between the Republican and Democratic parties in 1964. It is a difference not just in programs, in economic theory, in personalities; it is a difference in the very concept of nationhood. Let me close with three illustrations of what I mean.

First, Senator Goldwater claims that our country must prove its strength by demanding categorically that

other nations accede to our wishes.

We believe, on the other hand, that a strong nation is one which is not afraid to negotiate, though its own weapons be invincible.

Secondly, Senator Goldwater complains that our country needs a new infusion of courage.

We believe, on the other hand, that a brave nation is one which dares to carry the candle of hope to the darkest corners of its own economic cellars.

Thirdly, Senator Goldwater fears we are becoming a God-less society.

On the contrary, we believe that a nation is holy which regards its opponents as equals, its neighbors as friends, and its destitute as brothers.

My friends, through our diligence and our zeal let us see to it that this great nation remains brave, strong and holy for another four years.

Speech of  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
at University of Puget Sound  
Tacoma, Washington  
October 1, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, very much.

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

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

I am very happy to be here tonight with one of the most respected and admired, indeed one of the most able, competent members of the United States Senate ever to serve in that body, the man that you are going to re-elect as your senator, Henry Scoop Jackson. (Applause)

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

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

Two days ago, three days ago, I was in Athens, Georgia, at the University of Georgia, addressing a very large student assembly, thousands of fine young people, and I addressed them on the subject of conservatism in American politics, and I did so because there is nothing more dangerous than the



corruption of a word. The Communists have corrupted the word "democracy." They have corrupted the word "republic." They have even corrupted the word "people." And I do not want to see Americans corrupted any of the English language, and I charged in that address at the University of Georgia, that the standard bearer of the Republican Party in this election or, should I say, the temporary spokesman of that Faction of the Party (Applause), that he was not a conservative, and that he did not fit the classic definition in the history of our Republic or indeed of the English speaking world in terms of conservatism.

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

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

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

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

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

Now an honest appraisal of what modern Republicanism means is to be found in the 1960 Republican Platform. It was a conservative platform and some of us had a good deal to say about it, but it was a responsible platform, it reflected the fact that a Republican administration had been in power for eight years and it had to come to grips with some of the

difficult problems that affect this nation of ours and the world in which we live.

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

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

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

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

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

The Republican Platform (Applause) -- the Republican Platform supported the establishment of an Arms Control Agency, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

The Republican Platform supported the Mutual Security Program, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

The Republican Platform supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

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

The Republican Platform supported aid for medical education and a program of medical aid and care for the aging, but not Senator Goldwater. (Applause)

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

Now, on 13 of these issues all four of the Republican leaders voted in agreement with their Party Platform, but again not Senator Goldwater.

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

In the next four years, 1960 to 1964, the Senator and his followers worked constantly to capture the Republican Party, and to turn it (Cries of "Yea") (Applause) -- that is about the number that I figured captured it. (Applause)

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

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

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

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

Senator Goldwater makes a clean break with past Republican policies, and indeed with the bipartisan consensus of both parties for the past two decades on the great issues of peace and war. In all of the many thousands of words he has spoken

I find no evidence of serious and sober consideration of the harsh inescapable and overwhelming fact that our enemies also possess nuclear weapons capable of mass destruction, just as we possess weapons capable of destroying them.

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

Well, I hope that Senator Goldwater knows in his heart (Laughter and Applause) -- I hope that he knows, whether he may choose to say it or not, that war is infinitely more dangerous today than it was 200 years ago, or for that matter, 25 years ago.

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

We may be thankful that Senator Goldwater was not in the White House then, for he said last year, and I am sure this is still his position or maybe I am going too far on that because he changes positions, but I am sure (Laughter and Applause) -- let us assume that the position remains intact, he said, "I am against negotiating with the Russians who are in power today... I see no advantage in meeting with them."

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

Unfortunately in the real world we do not, and we cannot



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

My fellow Americans, it is because of this impulsive, irrational behavior and remarks that so many decent, loyal Republicans who have stood by their party for years have

rejected Mr. Goldwater, and the crew that, with him, has seized temporary control of their party and nailed the battle flags of nuclear adventurism and domestic tumult to the mast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Applause)

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