Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Asheville Airport Asheville, North Carolina October 17, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you, Billy. Thank you very, very much.

My dear friends, I just can't tell you how pleased I am to be introduced on this day here in Asheville, North Carolina, by such a fine and good man and good Democrat as the gentleman that has just presented me, Billy Webb, and I want to thank you very, very much, Bill, for your wonderful presentation.

I am happy to be in North Carolina. I can see, however, that you must have had a Republican through here recently because it is sort of windy. (Applause -- ? Baughter)

But you folks just stick with us Democrats and your good Democrats, and we will have the sun shining again just like it always does in North Carolina. (Applause).

You know, I just want you to know how beautiful it is to fly over these mountains and these hills and vallies, to come here during the time when there is the leave change, when the colors of the trees and the leaves make one realize if we ever had any doubt about it, that a Divine Providence truly controls our lives and our world. It is simply beautiful.

You will have to pardon a little state pride, but it is awfully nice in Minnesota, too, awfully nice. (Laughter)

We have levely trees there, and there is no time of the year that is more beautiful in my state than the fall, and there is no. time of the year that I like better than November when Democrats win on November 3rd. (Applause)

I wish that my Muriel, Mrs. Humphrey, could be here with me today because she loves these mountains. You may not know it, but when she gets tired of me, she occasionally gets in the car -- some years ago -- she has become more accustomed to me now; I guess she just figured there is no use, you have just to live with him. But she used to put the children in the car, and she would drive down into these hills in North Carolina, and they are beautiful hills, and she would tell me about them. She would come here during the spring when you had those rhododendrons, these beautiful, beautiful blessoms, and you know, you just can't help but like a part of America that is blessed with such natural beauty, and I am just so happy to come here at this time.

Well, before I go any further, may I say that I have a few North Carolinians, Tarheels, working in my office. I guess that is why we have an effective office. They say back home in Minnesota, even the Republicans say, "Well, we really don't agree with his politics, but he does got things done." (Laughter) And I have never let them in on the secret. (Applause)

I have never really let them in on the secret. I never did really tell them, and if any of you reporters report it, you are through; you will have to go back by Barry Goldwater's covered wagon. (Applause -- Laughter)

I never did tell them that one of the reasons that we got things done is that we had some North Carolinians, some good Tarheels, working for us, and one of them is here right here on this platform with me, and she has been with me a long time. She came with us as one of the acting members of the Young Democrats, and she is very pretty, too. That helps. And she is a wonderful secretary, a wonderful assistant, and I want you to stand up, now, Bass, and look all these good North Carolinians right in the eye, and you look at her and that is my Bess Autry. Bess, stand up here. (Applause)

And her husband, George, works for one of the finest men that ever came to the Congress of the United States. Once in awhile we have a disagreement, but Democrats always have a disagreement. My goodness, that is what keeps us healthy. This is why the Republicans are never in shape for a campaign; they never did their spring training. (Laughter) We Democrats, we practice up on each other. (Laughter) and then when we get down to about October, we work the Republicans over. (Laughter)

And George Autry works with Senator Ervin, our good friend, Sam Ervin, the Good Judge, as we call him, and I am telling you something. I den't think I know a finer man in the Senate of the United States than that good man. And we have had some wonderful days together.

By the way, we were both commentators on one of the national television shows. He went on to be a commentator, and I just lost out. I went on to be a candidate for Vice-President. (Laughter)

Woll, my dear friends, I know that I am here in the hill country. And I know also that I am here in the country that has such great promise for the future. I know that I am also in the country that has wonderful people, good hardy stock, and I know that I am here where you people look up and do not look down.

I know that I am very, very close to where, if I recall correctly from my high school geography, that you have -isn't it Mt. Mitchell that is the highest peak east of the Mississippi? (Applause)

Well, may I say that we used to when I was -- I was born in South Dakota, and the highest beak around that area was Mt. Hino, and it was just a little bit higher than Mt. Mitchell. But of course, it is flatter out in South Dakota than it is in North Carelina. But anybody that has a mountain that high couldn't vote Republican. (Laughter -- Applause)

They simply couldn't do it because when you look up, you never find a Republican. (Laughter -- Applause)

And when you lock ahead, you soldom find one. And when you look down, all you find are a few little old Goldwaterites, that is all. (Applause)

Wall --

Voice. Lay it on, Hubert.

Senator Humphrey. I'm gonna.

I didn't come down here just to visit. I want you to know that, even though that is what I would like to do. I am frank to tell you I would rather just take some time off today and visit, but they tell me I have got some work to do.

You know, when I was nominated for Vice-President you may remember I made a little speech at the convention, and I talked about "But not Senator Goldwater!" And believe me, I could give you one like that, and I may before we are through, you can't tell. (Applause)

And then President Johnson took me over and -- Billy, you remember this -- he took us over to the Asheville committee when we had that meeting, and he said, "Now I want all my good Democrats here to go home and take a little rest. We have worked real hard. We have had a great convention, and you all need a few days' rest, but not Senator Humphrey." (Laughter) and I will toll you something: ever since that day, that man from Texas has been after me. He said go out on the hustings, Hubert.

I want to say my name is not only Hubert. That man from Arizona has done something for me that nobody else could ever do and I am extremely grateful to him. He has made everybody in America know that my middle name is Horatio. (Laughter) (Applause)

And I want all the folks who have middle names that they wish they didn't have to vote the Democratic ticket. (Laughter) And if that is the case, that fellow from Arizona will wish he never got in the race.

Well, it is just good to be here and have a chance to talk to you, and I am going to talk a little bit about a few of the matters that are of concern to us.

Billy, you said something about Clyde Hoey. I don't know whether you know that I served on the Committee of Government Operations and Agriculture in the Senate under Clyde Hoey for eight years. I remember the day that he passed away. I think I was the first in the Senate to hear about it.

I still remember him with his morning coat. I remember that if there was one man in the Senate that looked like a senator, it was Senator Hoey. How well I remember him, a gentleman, a Christian gentleman, a wonderful man.

And you mentioned here today this little story that he might be elected to the kingdom because he had no competition.

Mell, last Sunday was Layman's Sunday in the Methodist Church. My father was a Methodist layman, and he was stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage on the very day that he was to make the layman's sermon in our Methodist Church.

So that when you mentioned Clyde Hoey to me, and his life, I can't help but think of another Democrat and a good one, my Dad, who was every bit as good a Democrat, and I might add as good a Methodist, as Clyde Hoey.

So those are sentimental feelings that I have about days gone by.

### asheville

I know that this great State of North Carolina has given us many good people. I know that this is a state of progressive government. I know that this is a state of Democrats, too. And I know that North Carolina represents the new South. (Applause)

And I know that North Carolina doesn't have any time to give to people that want to take you back, back, back, back to where you have no chance for a future. And I am dolighted to come here and talk to people that know that America is the land of promise and know that the only way that we build this country is with leadership that believes in the prospects of the future, that believes that we can do anything we want to do.

Oh, I know there are some that will come here and they will tell you, "Oh, you mustri't follow these new leaders. You mustn't believe in them. You must think of those old days."

Tell me, what was so good about those old days? Mr. Farmer, did you like it when you had to get up and pump the water by hand pump, or do you like it better with rural electrification? I think I know.

Worker, did you like it better when you were getting about 30 cents an hour or do you like it better when you are getting democratic wages?

Let me ask you, the people of Asheville, did you like it better before you had these great programs that permitted us to rebuild our cities, or did you like it better when they didn't give a hoot what happened to our communities?

Did you like it better in the Hoover days or did you like it better with Franklin Roosevelt? (Applause)

Oh, you know, I wish that fellow from Frizona would have spent a little more time studying history. I don't mind that he talks about the past, but he doesn't even remember what happened. (Laughter)

And you know, he gets protty angry with me. Oh, yes. He goes around saying all kinds of mean things about me. But he isn't saying anything new. I heard them all before. (Laughter)

And you know what? So have the people in Minnesota, and they are pretty good folks, and I will be darned if they didn't elect me. And not only that, you know I got a lot of Republican votes.

And you know something else? Lyndon Johnson is going to get a lot of Republican votes, too. (Laughter) And you know why? Because Americans are not just partisans. Americans are basically for their country first. And when they see this Republican spokesman who calls himself a Republican, and I will talk about that in a moment, when they see him and then they see this man from Texas who is President, they say, "Oh, no, I love my country more than I love my Party. I have never maybe voted Democratic before, but this year, 1964, I am going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson on November 3rd." (Applause) That is what they are saying.

So now I know you may have a few Republicans around here, and I want you to welcome them into our friendly fellowship. Just bring them in, invite them in for coffee. Invite them in for lunch. Talk things over because let me tell you, if you

do it, you are going to find people that are thinking like we think.

Now, there is another problem. This man from frizona -- I want to say first of all so that you may not misunderstand me, I am a member of the United States Senate, and as a member of the Senate I bolong to sort of an exclusive club. We like each other. We see more of each other per day than we see of our families per week. We learn how to get along with each other.

So I want to make it clear that I think Mr. Goldwater is a fine gentleman. He is a patriot. He loves his country.

Frankly I think he would make a good neighbor, but I don't think he would make a good president, and I don't want him. (Applause)

I have heard him talk so much about home that I think that is where we ought to send him. (Applause -- Laughter)

This is a man that ought not to change his address. He wants to go to 1600 Pennsylvania Wenue, and he doesn't even know that the house is occupied. (Laughter)

He talks to us about his department store, and I think we ought to help him. "Back to the Store in '64." (Applause -- Laughter)

Now, I said just a moment ago that this gentleman indicates that he is a Republican. But I happen to think that there is some doubt about that. Great newspapers that have been more Republican than McKinley are now going to support President Johnson. <u>The New York Herald Tribune</u> -- the last time they endorsed a Democrat, they forget his name. (Laughter)

The Curtis Publishing Company's <u>Saturday</u> <u>Evening</u> <u>Post</u> -- it hasn't endorsed a Democrat since 1797, and they didn't have any then. (Laughter)

Life Magazine -- it is not generally in the habit of endorsing Democrats.

Now, why do you think those publications plus many others, The <u>Cleveland</u> <u>Plain</u> <u>Dealer</u>, the Cleveland press, Philadelphia newspapers.

Go across America and you will find them. Why? I will tell you why they are endorsing President Johnson, and I will tell you whey they are not endorsing Barry Goldwater.

First of all, Barry Goldwater has repudiated his own Party. On 25 key issues in the Republican platform of 1960, 25 issues in that platform, Mr. Goldwater voted 25 times no. That fellow is really a strikeout artist. (Laughter)

25 times he repudiated his own platform, and so responsible Republicans say, "Look, this fellow isn't one of ours. He is a stray. He doesn't belong to our family."

And surely he hasn't voted for the Democratic platform.

You know whose platform he has voted for? Goldwater's

platform. That is right. He can hold his convention for his platform in a telephone booth, and there would be room for another family to move in. (Laughter) (Applause)

So here we have a candidate who is the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of the Republican Party. and this man comes around and says that he is a conservative.

Conservative? Why, my dear friends, one of the great conservatives was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Marshall, and he said some things about the Federal Government and Federal Government responsibility which Mr. Goldwater repudiates.

A great conservative was Alexander Hamilton. But Senator Goldwater, if he met Alexander Hamilton, he would call him an extremist.

A great conservative was Abraham Lincoln. But my dear friends, Mr. Goldwater has repudiated Mr. Lincoln.

He is not a conservative. He is not a Republican. And I will tell you what he is. And this is why we ought not to have him as President. He is a radical. (Applause) and we don't want him.

We don't need any radicals from the left, and we don't need any of them from the right. We don't need any Communist sympathizers, and we don't need any sympathizers of the Birchites, none at all. (Applause)

There is plonty of room on the highway for Americans to go right down the main road. You don't need to get in the ditch. And when you get to the ditch of the right or the ditch of the left, they are both dirty.

What we need is to stay on high ground, and let me tell you, my fellow Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, millions of Republicans, many more millions of Democrats and millions of independents are going to march right down the highway of American democracy backing and supporting Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States. (Applause)

Woll, I will tell you something else. This gentleman that is our opponent, he is having quite a time. This is the only man that can make more speeches about his own speeches than any other topic. (Laughter)

I will tell you something. He is having a ball just trying to interpret what he said. (Laughter)

The nice thing -- you know, Sbraham Lincoln once said never lie and then you never have to worry about what you said.

Another thing to do is say what you mean when you say it and then you don't have to worry about what you said.

I know there are people down here in North Carolina that disagree with Humphrey. I know there are people here that disagree with President Johnson. But one thing I have found out about southerners, in fact, about all Americans. They don't mind so much that you take a stand that they disagree with. They are willing to respect you for that. But they don't want you to take a stand on Monday and then change it on Tuesday. (Applause)

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Now, everybody in this audience knows what my stand is on certain issues such as, for example, equal rights for all of our people. When I mention that, people say, "Oh, you ought not to do that. You will lose a vote."

Listen, I lost all those votes a long time ago. I never kidded myself about this. I have taken my stand, but I won't take one stand in Georgia or North Carolina and another one in Maine and California. (Applause)

I think you people ought to know what you get when you vote for it, and what is more, I think you ought to know that in this great country of ours there is room for disagreement without being disagreeable. But you know, not long ago this gentleman from Arizona, he came down here and, oh, my gracious, every time I hear about it -- oh, is that the -- every time I hear anything whining, I know it is some part of the Republican Party going down to defeat. (Laughter -- Applause) (Airplane noise)

Let us hold up a minute.

Well, I just want to tell you a little bit about this fellow now. He says he would like to be President, and if you are going to vote for him, I think you ought to know what he has got. (Sirplane noise)

I will tell you what that is, Folks. That is the Republican candidate screaming being dragged into the 20th Century. (Laughter -- Applause)

We made it. He is in now. (Laughtor)

"Jell, not long ago, I was down in Georgia. Oh, everybody had a great time about that. They said "I wonder if Humphrey will come out of there alive."

Well, I am very much alive. As a matter of fact, I never had more fun in my life. We have a few misguided souls down there but we have been praying for them, and they will come back, may I say, to the home of their fathers.

Georgia has never voted Republican, and it doesn't start to do -- it is not going to do it in 1964. You can put that down right now. (Applaus:)

Well, before I went down there, I found out that the Goldwaterites, they had been publishing a few pamphlets up in Washington, and what do you think they were publishing? They had some little deal going where they were going to publish hundreds of thousands of pamphlets to show that the Senator from Arizona was a great champion of civil rights. They were going to keep those pamphlets until about the last week of October.

But Hubert Horatio found out about them in September. (Laughter)

And they had this pamphlet all licked up. Everything was good except their timing.

This man goes down into the South, and he says he is the friend of the South. He has even got some people fooled. He has never voted for your flood control. He has never voted for an agricultural program. He never helped you on tobacco. He never helped you on cotton. He never helped you on soil conservation. He never helped you on REA. He never helped you on business.

He voted against Appalachia. He voted against the Economic Opportunities Act. He is just against you.

Voice. What did he vote for?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I will tell you what he has learned. He has learned how to whistle "Dixie" with a southern accent, and he comes down here saying "you all" or something else, and he says he is the friend of Dixie.

I saw a sign up at Chattanooga, and it said "Barry for Dixie." Well, I want to tell you, my dear friends, if Barry is a friend of Dixie, then Sherman was your best benefactor, believe me. (Applause)

This man from Arizona has yet to vote for anything that has helped North Carolina. This is a state of education. He voted against the National Defense Education Act. He voted against the Higher Education Act.

This man paraded down here as a states righter. But up in the District of Columbia he is the champion of the civil rights movement.

You can't have it both ways, my friends.

You know where President Johnson stands and you know where I stand. And I think you ought to know and I think you had better find out where this in-and-out fellow stands.

You can't be on both sides of the road at the same time and live very long.

Here is a gentleman who only the other day up in Sioux Falls -- I've got a copy of his speech right here. I was up there.

By the way, the darndest thing happened to me up in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. That was just yesterday. They had the Corn Picking Contest up there. So Mr. Goldwater, who says "I know nothing about farming," went up there to advise our South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa farmers on agriculture. (Laughter)

And they came away knowing not one more thing than they knew when he started to talk.

Well, I was born in South Dakota. I went to high school and grade school in South Dakota. And I think I know those folks protty well. And I think I know something about their needs.

I think I know, for example, their needs in agriculture. I think I know something about their needs of harnessing the waters of rivers.

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And here is a gentleman that went up there and here is what he says. He was pretty unhappy with President Johnson. I quote from the speech. "He said" -- speaking of President Johnson now -- "He, President Johnson, said that I would put an immediate end to farm price supports. Now, that is not true, and he knows it."

Well, now, Mr. Goldwater, you can fool some of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time.

Mr. Goldwater, you teld the tobacco farmers of North Carolina and the corn farmers of Iowa and the wheat farmers of the Dakotas, you told them unequivocably that you stood for a prompt and final determination of farm subsidy price supports. That is what he said.

You know what that means to a tobacco producer? Chaos. Bankruptcy.

Now, my dear friends, if you think you would rather hear Barry Goldwater whistle "Dixie" than to get a good price for cotton, vote for him. I don't think you want to, do you? (Cries of "no.")

Mr. Goldwater can go around and explain all he wants to. I was in Sioux Falls, and he said, "He, President Johnson, said that I want to kill the rural electrification program. This is not true, and he knows it."

Well, Senator Goldwater, what did you say? He said we should dissolve the REA. He said in most states it is useless. It is not needed.

Now, I can forgive him for that because I will let you in on a secret. They have got several hundred old kerosene lamps left in the department store out there in Phoenix, and they need to get rid of them. (Laughter) and I believe that any merchant ought to have a right to dispose of his product.

But maybe we can convince Luther Hodges to buy them up, you know, in the Commerce Department and send them over to the Smithsonian Institute as a sort of living example of the Goldwater program. (Laughter)

My dear friends, what did he say? He says President Johnson misrepresents him. He says the President says that he, Mr. Goldwater, is for killing REA. Well, that is right. The trouble is Mr. Goldwater hasn't studied enough the words. The words "kill" and "dissolve" mean about the same thing. If you are dissolved, you are dead. And if you are killed, you are dissolved. (Laughter)

And then he goes on a little bit more. "He, President Johnson, said that I would cut farm income in half. And this is not true, and he knows it."

Upll, now, all President Johnson said was that Barry Goldwater's farm program according to the land grant colleges of America in a study that came to the United States Senate in October, 1963, that land grant college study, not by the Republican Committee, not by the Democratic Committee but by the

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professors, by the economists, by the specialists who are neither Republican nor Democratic, said that if you took off prompt and finally -- promptly and finally the price supports, American agricultural income would be reduced from \$12,600,000,000 to \$6 billion.

Now, I didn't know how good Mr. Goldwater is in arithmetic but if 12 to 6 isn't reducing it by 50 percent, my name isn't Hubert Horatio Humphrey. (Applause) So, ladies and gentlemen, we have got some choices to make. The choice is very simple. The choice is whether or not you want your America to move forward or whether you want it to move backward. The choice is whether North Carolina wants to repudiate the programs of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy or whether you want to go back to Mr. Hoover and Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Harding.

The choice is whether or not you want to have a president that looks ahead, one that understands the needs of our youth.

I said earlier that this is a state of education. And, ladies and gentlemen, with our growing young population we are going to need help in our education.

Right here in your community you have a community college, unless I am mistaken, and these community colleges, mothers and fathers, mean the difference between college education and no college education for millions of young people.

Senator Goldwater says this is no responsibility of government. He says it would be better if some people didn't get an education.

I hope he didn't mean that. But when a man says these things, I say to you that it indicates to me that he hasn't the qualifications to be President of the United States.

I want a man in the Presidency, I want a man in the Presidency who was a teacher, who understands the value of education. I want a man in the Presidency who has had experience in the art and science of government.

I ask you to name me one bill, one law, that carries the name of Goldwater. I ask you to name me one single accomplishment in the field of government that has his mark.

But I can tell you this, my friends, that the gentleman from Texas who is our President served first as a country school teacher and gave his first paycheck to the children of his school for books and for recreational facilities, that he served as a congressman under the tutelage of Sam Rayburn, the man who said I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology.

That is the kind of Democrat Hubert Humphrey is, too. (Applause)

I speak for a man who served as a United States Senator since 1949, and I speak for one who had the praise of Republicans and Democrats alike as a great senator and a great Majority Leader, and I speak of a man who was Majority Leader when Dwight Eisenhower was President and who as Majority Leader never harassed the President of the United States.

He didn't oppose for the sake of opposition. In fact, my fellow Americans, many a Democrat criticized him because they thought he was too considerate, too helpful, to President Eisenhower.

But Lyndon Johnson as the Majority Leader knew the meaning of responsibility. He didn't indulge in pettiness. He didn't indulge in little nonsense. He thought of his country.

I speak of a man who has been the friend of the farmer on every roll call vote. I speak of a man who has been the friend of independent business, and on this platform today sits a representative of the Small Businessmen for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

I come from a family of business, 63 years in the retail drug business. I don't need any lectures from someone who inherited a department store. I know about running a business, and I know what it takes to keep one going.

I speak of a man who was one of the godfathers of the rural electrification program. I come here to talk for a man that was chairman of the Preparedness Subcommittee of the United States Senate, who initiated the legislation for our space program so that we could be advanced in space research.

I speak for a man who thinks of Americans as Americans, who doesn't think of you as southerners or northerners, who doesn't think of you as Catholic or Protestant or Jew, who doesn't think of you as white or colored, but who thinks of us as we the people of the United States of America, who thinks of us as one nation indivisible, one nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all. (Applause)

That is the kind of man I speak of. (Applause)

And I speak of a President and I speak for a President that sees America healthy and strong and sees hope for the future and works for peace.

Anybody can rattle the saber, and the biggest bully in town is generally the weakest.

I speak of a man who knows that power must be used with restraint, one who understands that the strength of America is not only in its armed might but in its sense of justice, and in its pursuit of peace with honor.

And ladies and gentlemen, I am proud, very proud, to be on the ticket with a man who came to the Presidency through the most unbelievable, incredible, tragic of circumstances, the death of a President, and who has carried on, who has fulfilled his responsibilities under the most adverse of circumstances, who has produced the greatest legislative program of any President in modern times, and everybody knows that is the truth. (Applause)

And I come before this great audience in North Carolina and I ask you to stand up once again for your country and for your Party and for the future. I ask you not to listen to these false prophets. I ask you not to listen to those who would play upon our little inadequacies.

We all have some limitations, but I ask you to look to the future, and I ask yeu to join with the President of the United States. Join with him in building a better America, better schools for our young, better hospitals for our sick, better business for private enterprise, more jobs for our workers, better strength for the Free World, better things for the elderly.

We have got such a President. I know him, and I have a feeling that if you will get out and go to work between now and November 3rd that we will have that man as President of the United States for four more years, and we will have with him Congressman -- your own Congressman Roy Taylor, a Congressman that you can elect right here, Mr. Davis, a Congressman that can back him.

Give your hands and your hearts and give your votes to Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States on the Democratic ticket. (Applause)

(Remarks following presentation of gift:)

Senator Humphrey. Let me tell you, I will tell you right here -- isn't that beautiful.

My friends, let me tell you something. My good friend here has made me for all pracitical purposes a brother in one of the greatest Indian tribes of our nation, one that is known with great faith and honor, the Cherokees.

In Minnesota we have the Chippewas, and I am a member of the Red Leg Band of the Chippewa Indians. My name is Chief Leading Feather. And yesterday I was made a member of the Sioux Tribe, and you will be interested to know that the first American to ever win the 10,000 meter race in the Olympics since 1904 was a chap by the name of Lieutenant Billy Mills of the Sioux Indians of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

So when a senator can be both a Chippewa and a Sioux and a Cherokee, what chance does Goldwater have? (Applause)

Let me tell you, this is one of the joys of public life, the nicestthing that happens to you when people like this lovely family come on up and say hello.

I just can't tell you how much I appreciate the thoughtful little things that are done along the way, and the El-Khouris are wonderful people, and they are dear friends of one of my closest friends in Maine, and if I can be of any help to you all, dear friends, it surely will make me happy. And I am so glad you are here. My gracious, this is wonderful. Now, you bring them up in the right way, bring them up to be good citizens, to vote the straight Democratic ticket.

Thank you.

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#### Asheville, North Carolina

Background material

Congressman Roy Taylor represents the 11th Congressional District of North Carolina in which Asheville is situated.

Taylor has suggested that Senator Humphrey stay away from the Civil Rights issue in Asheville since that is not a problem there.

This is Dan Moore and Ervin country. Judge Moore called himself the "Mountain Man" in the primary. He was born in Asheville. Now lives in Canton.

Senator Smathers born in Asheville.

Thomas Wolfe born and lived in Asheville.

Cherokee Reservation located nearby.

Two girls from North Carolina on Senator Humphrey's staff.

When Kennedy talked to the people of Asheville by telephone in the 1960 he mentioned that he hoped he would be able to come back and visit that city in person. Might want to mention this. He was never able to get back.

Bess antre Mary Margaret Co

Hodge brought great deal of industry to A sheville area with his "program fe a rebirth of industry, Asheville now aboom to

Fed. good has fust affroved 9 77-acre multi-melling dollar redevelopment program in the least of downtown A sheville, A second similar program is in The works (0 ; au Jusbard Jes for Ervi 1A \$ - Ganto A 114 Sponture NHAN Ŋ).

Selly Webb - il n. Committee RoyTout Asheville, North Carolina Suggested speech themes Emphasize conservation and recreational development. Ι. Asheville is located in the Western part of North Carolina, near the Smokey Mountain Park, whose five million visitors annually make it the most visited national park in the nation. It is also situated close to the Blue Ridge Parkway, which is referred to as the most scenic road in America, and also has the largest number of visitors of any road in the country -- over seven million a year travel it.

#### II. Appalachia Program

Much money from the Appalachia program would be spent on roads and this area needs many more of them. The Appalachia program would provide 142 miles of roadways for Western North Carolina alone. The people in this section of the country feel that they have the natural and human resources for

tremendous development and all they need are the roads to

Asheville -- speech themes -- page 2

make them accessible to the rest of the country.

# III. Education

Asheville-Biltmore College is located here. It is a small college with approximately 500 students. It is a junior college which has become a community college

under the North Carolina Community College Program.

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For example, take the issue of civil rights. When the gentleman from Arizona campaigns in the South, he whistles "Dixie" and proclaims his devotion to States' Rights.

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AI know the American people comprehend this. They are going to give Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3. R<sub>c</sub>marks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Address to Labor G<sub>r</sub>oup Airport Chattanooga, Tennessee October 17, 1964

Senator Humphrey. First of all I want to thank Mr. Kamin for the wonderful reception he has given to us and seeing to it that we had this little gathering, and I know that I am talking now to many of the Democratic leaders from -- how many states do we have here? 50 miles radius. That must bring in a few more, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama.

Believe me, it is a wonderful, wonderful privilege that I have. I wish all of you could go through the experience that I have been having in this campaign, traveling from one part of America to another, and with few exceptions I find happy people.

Once in a while I find someone that looks like he has got a stomach ache, and he is carrying a Goldwater sign. (Laughter)

You know that is quite an ordeal. But basically the people of this country are looking for help and they want to do good things, and to tell the truth President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are trying to appeal to people to do better, to live a better life, build better homes, build better Americans, do better with our schools, do better with our children, do better for our elderly people, to do better in terms of employment. We have got big problems here. This problem of automation, to make a job -- you can't just let these things, you know, go by the board.

But we have got a tough fight on our hands, and we know it. The opposition is desperate, to put it frankly. And they are reaching pretty far down into the barrel. And they will say many things and do many things between now and November 3rd that are going to be very, very discouraging and distressing.

But I used to say when I was back home in Minnesota when I ran for election, and I have always had lots of support there, I used to say to my friends and supporters, if you have got to give me a political blood test every day and every week, then leave me, because I will be politically anemic.

You have to believe. You have to believe. You have to have faith, and you have to believe in our Party and its program. You have to believe in our present. You have to believe that those of us who are working our hearts out like we are doing, that we are in this thing to help our country and to do what we think is right and we want your belief, we want your support; we know we have that. But we want your unbelievable support so that no matter what they say or what they do, we just barge right on through.

There is one thing that this crowd needs to learn, that they can't take over this country by making all kinds of false accusations and by trying to divide our country on the basis of regions and economic groups and religious groups and racial groups. They won't get by with it, and we need to teach them a little. As my Dad used to tell me, when you run into one of those youngsters that is hard to do business with, there is nothing like a little session in the woodshed. I'll tell you something. There is nothing like a little session in the ballot box on November 3rd. (Applause) When you get there I only want you to vote once. (Laughter) Get there early and just vote it straight Democrat. Thank you very much. (Applause) Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Chattanooga Airport Chattanooga, Tennessee October 17, 1964

Senator Humphrey. "Oh boy, oh boy! Well, may I say, may I just say that happy days are soon to be here again. (Applause)

Yes, indeed, the Chattanooga Choo-choo is rolling right down the Democratic track. (Applause)

This is one of those days when you loosen your collar, relax your tie, and you just plain come out and just talk to the people.

You know, I heard a while ago that the Republicans had a little crew around here called the Truth Squad. (Laughter) Well, my dear friends, to put a Goldwaterite Republican in charge of truth is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop. (Applause -- Laughter)

Yow, Buford, if those Republicans will stick around here, we will tell them the truth. (Applause)

They are slow learners, but if we keep at it, they may catch on. (laughter)

Well, I am simply delighted to be welcomed here, first by your great Mayor who was kind enough to give me a key to the city of Chattanooga, the Dynamo of Dixie, this great city, and I wear it proudly in my lapel. I want to thank Mayor Kelly; I want to thank those of this city who have so graciously and warmly, hospitably welcomed us to this magnificent international airport, and if I recall, this airport was dedicated in memory of one of the truly great men of our time, a great Tennesseean, a great American, my good friend and yours, the late Estes Kefauver. (Applause)

Well, I am in good company today. I have been escorted here from one of your neighboring cities, at Knoxville, where I came in this morning. I am in the presence of and in the friendly custody of two of your great citizens, one that has been a friend of Mrs. Humphrey's and myself, of Muriel and Hubert, for many years, because Albert Gore, your United States Senator, and his wife, Pauline, -- Albert and Pauline are just about the finest and the best friends that Hubert and Muriel Humphrey have. And I know that the people of Tennessee are going to show America how much they appreciate this distinguished statesman and this excellent, able legislator, Senator Albert Gore, by re-electing him Senator from Tennessee. (Applause)

And then, too, there is my friend, Congressman but soon to be in the United States Senate, a gentleman that has made a wonderful record, who understands that the purpose of America is progress and justice, and I am proud to be on this platform with the next United States Senator from Tennessee, Ross Bass. (Applause)

And I will tell you this, that if Albert and Ross will just let Pauline and Avanell do the campaigning, they can't miss. (Applause)

I know that you good friends are going to see to it that Robert Summitt, a Congressman, your candidate for Congress here, am I correct, the Third District, that here in this area -- and we have 300 district leaders here -- that you people are going to make sure that Robert Summitt is down in Washington to work with Albert Gore and Ross Bass and your other Democrats. (Applause)

Well, this is a great, great city, and I know that the City of Chattanooga is represented -- that is one of the Goldwater campaign managers there -- (Laughter) -- I know that the City of Chattanooga represents the spirit of progress. I know that this great city is known as the new spirit of the greater Chattanooga.

I know that this remarkable city has set standards of public conduct and of civic progress that can be an inspiration to any American community, and, Mr. Mayor, Mayor Kelly, and your city officials and you fine citizens of Chattanooga, Hubert Humphrey from Minnesota wants to salute you for the

good civic service and responsibility of this community. (Applause)

I came here for another purpose or two al.eo; I thought maybe if you didn't mind we would talk a little politics. (Laughter) Is that all right? (Applause)

Of course, I don't want to forget to thank that band for playing that "Minnesota Rouser." You know, I was a student at the University of Minnesota. I was there during the days of Bernie Bierman of the great Minnesota Golden UG5phers, and I can remember that there was one team that we used to fear above all others, and it is playing up there now, and it is playing Alabama. Alabama and Tennessee are having it out today, but as a national candidate you wouldn't expect me to choose up sides too much, I am sure. Can I just say that my favorite baseball team is the Minnesota Twins, and my favorite football team is the Minnesota Gophers, but I have a sneaking suspicion Tennessee is going to do all right. (Applause)

Well, I want to congratulate the good people of Tennessee on doing a tremendous service for this country. You have done it with your statesmentAt Knoxville I spoke of some of your great statesmen of the past, three great presidents, three great presidents who were maligned and abused, but history records that they were great men, and their accusers were nothing.

The great statesmen that I referred to there were Andrew Jackson and James Polk and Andrew Johnson, three presidents, all of whom -- (Applause) all of whom have a great record of service to all the people of the United States, and all of their detractors, and all of their critics, were puny little people who mean little or nothing in the pages of history.

And let me say from this platform that the critics of President Lyndon Johnson, those who attack him personally, those who are his accusers, those who malign him, you will never be able to remember their names after November 3rd. (Applause)

Now, lest I seem to be personal, which I don't want to be, may I say yesterday that the most amazing thing happened to me on the way to the Corn Picking Contest in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. I was to speak there, and another man who frankly confessed that he knows nothing about agriculture was there to advise the farmers. (Laughter) That man was the gentleman from Arizona. And the most amazing thing happened to me as I was at the Joe Foss International Airport in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

I was there shaking hands with the good citizens who are going to vote Democratic, some of them Republicans but like most good Republicans, this time time they are putting their country above their Party. They are going to vote for President Johnson. (Applause)

As I was there, I met -- I had the chance once again -- because after all, we senators you know are sort of a club down there, aren't we, Albert --We had a chance to say hello to the Senator from Arizona, and I must say 'at that I can't help but say here so that you may know that I look upon this man as a good American, a patriot.-- I truly mean this. I think that Barry Goldwater would make a wonderful neighbor. But I don't think he would make a good President. (Applause)

It may be true that he needs a change of address, but I don't want it 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. What I think -- (Applause) -- what I think we ought to do for this man that likes his Home so much is "Back to the Store in '64" for Barry. (Applause)

Voice. In your heart you know he is nuts.

Senator Humphrey. Well, I must say that we are getting a little healthier. (Laughter)

But dear friends I wanted to say what you folks in Tennessee have done for us. I don't know of any state that has

done more for America. When I mention our late and beloved Estes Kefauver, this man of courage and of principle, this man that fought so hard for the people, fought so hard, my friends, that his life was ended far, far too soon.

Here is this man on this platform that I am so proud to call my friend, who on every occasion has by conviction and by personal integrity, by intelligence, and by knowledge, fought for the people, fought for the people of Tennessee, yes, but more importantly, if you will permit me to say it, more importantly, Albert Gore has been a senator for the United States of America and that is the kind of senator we need. (Applause)

And Ross Bass will be the same kind of senator and everybody in this audience knows it. (Applause)

Well, did you know that you wore the people that first revealed that the Ropublican candidate, that is the candidate of a fraction of a faction -- (Applause -- Laughter) -- of the Republican Party, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, you revealed him as a candidate of contradiction. The people of Fennessep were among the first to realize that the Republican spokesman was not a conservative because he has violated every conservative tradition, that he is not a Republican and because on the 25 major issues of the Republican platform of 1960, a platform that came from a party that had been in power and had to deal with the tough questions of national and international policy, that on 25 major issues of the Republican platform, the Senator from Arizona voted no 25 times.

He can't be a Republican. He isn't a conservative. So what is he? He is a radical. (Applause) and he ought to say so. America's number one radical. (Applause)

And ladies and gentlemen, in America we don't need any radicals from the left, and we don't need any from the right, and we don't intend to elect anybody that is one. (Applause)

We don't need the presence of the Communists, and we don't need the playmates of the Birchers, and we don't intend to elect anyone -- (Applause)

Radicalism has no place in America, and the man that leads the radical forces of America isn't going to go very far except down to defeat on November 3rd. (Applause)

Well, you folks surely took the -- surely unmasked this man in Tennessee. You learned his views on TVA.

Oh, what a friend of river valley development. (Laughter) Friends like this you need?

My dear friends, let me tell you if the Senator from Arizona had his way about TVA, had he been there when Franklin Roosevelt and George Norris and others put it through the Congress, had he been there, the Tennessee River would have been as dry as the bark on a tree in Tucson, Arizona. (Applause)

But let me make it clear, this man from Arizona, he isn't against every river. He isn't against every project. Oh, no.

He was for \$1 billion for a central Arizona project on the Colorado. \$1 billion. But not one living nickel for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

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So, I saw a sign out here, and it says "Barry, Friend of Dixie." Ho, ho! My goodness. "Barry, Friend of Dixie." (Laughter) Lat me tell you, what this man would do to Dixie would make Sherman look like a friend. (Applause and standing ovation) Well, my dear friends, let's settle down now. (Laughter)

This friend of the TVA, to the TVA that has brought more progress to the Tennessee Valley than any other area of America, the TVA that is responsible for the growth of private enterprise in this section of America faster than any other section of America, the TVA, it is the friend of free enterprise. The TVA, it is the friend of the farmer. The TVA that has tamed the rivers, put them to work instead of letting them destroy the land. The TVA that made possible Oak Ridge and the atomic energy plant. The TVA that indeed was one of the great unheralded soldiers of World War II. The TVA that made possible electrical power to produce bombers and aluminum for bombers.

And this man from Arizona, this driver of the covered wagon of the 19th Century -- (Laughter) -- this man says we ought to sell it.

Well, now, my goodness me. Dught to sell it. I wonder just to whom he expects to sell it. What friend? What friend could it be? Oh, I would like to know. We are going to look into that next week. I am not going to tell you everything now. You just keep listening next week because I think we know to whom he would like to sell it. (Cries of "Miller.")

Oh, we can't let him do that. This plant has to have some management.

Well, you know, there was a fellow here recently -- let me see, he ran for something a few years ago. Oh, yes, Mr. Nixon. I had just about forgotten him. (Laughter) The refugee from California, a man that introduced this new thought into this election that our President was soft on Communism. What a -- well -- (Laughter)

So what did he say? The man from New York or California --I am not sure where -- but Mr. Nixon said that he came here to tell you what Barry really meant. That is quite an assignment. (Laughter)

May I say that only a tricky fellow could do it. (laughter and applause)

But I want to say this: that Mr. Nixon has never been interested in this area of America anyhow. His record, like that of the man that he speaks for, is one that would have left this great area impoverished, would have left it to itself, unhelped. It was only a year ago in October, and now I am quoting Mr. Goldwater -- and here is what he said, Richard. (Laughter) You can explain this and you can write books about it. You can even tell about it with a cloth coat or with checkers. It won't make any difference.

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Now, one thing I will say for Mr. Goldwater, he sort of means what he says. Or sometimes he changes his mind on what he says, but he means what he says when he did say it.

Now, this wasn't the first time that the Senator from Arizona had attacked the TVA. He has done it enough and loudly enough so that everyone, at least in this part of the country, realizes that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party is a man of radical views.

And who is a radical and what is he? He is one that would destroy what we have. He is one that would tear down what we have built. That is the definition of a radical, one that would charge in and ruin and destroy that which we have created.

And I don't think that the good, solid, constructive people of Tennessee are going to let any Goldwater radical destroy and ruin and sell the TVA. Are you? (Applause)

But he got his lawyer, Mr. Nixon. He came through here, and he explained that Goldwater didn't really mean it anyhow.

Well, frankly I don't think we ought to take it too seriously because truly he isn't going to have a chance to do anything about it anyhow. (Applause)

But my follow Americans, this record of contradiction is classic, and it is also a record that is typical and consistent.

Let me give you another one. I don't need to come before any audience in the North or South and tell you what my stand has been on the issue of constitutional rights, equal rights for every American. (Applause)

And I am very frank to tell you some people don't like my stand, and that is their right and privilege. But I don't try to peddle two stories. (Applause)

And if there is one thing I have learned as I have traveled through the South and through the border states, it is they would rather see a man that is truthful even though they disagree with him than to see a man and to hear a man that talks out of both sides of his mouth. (Applause)

Well, now, let's just talk a little bit about what has been going on. Take that issue of civil rights. When the gentleman from Arizona campaigns in the South, oh, he whistles "Dixie." Why, I will tell you my friends, he even trics to get a southern accent. (Laughter) And he proclaims his devotion to states rights. But up North, his supporters are busy publishing civil rights pamphlets for distribution in areas that are heavily inhabited by our fine Negro residents, hailing Barry Goldwater's record as an ardent champion of civil rights.

Down South he says no, no, no. Up north he says champion. phampion. (Laughter)

He is one of these "have it both ways"boys. And he is one

of these "have it both ways" schemers.

But it backfired flast month in the District of Cclumbia. Their procivil rights pamphlet was hastily withdrawn, and why? Well, first of all, we discovered it. Secondly, someone goofed. The timetable was wrong.

The original plan was to issue this pamphlet just a few days before the election and, so they said, so there couldn't be any backfire in the South. So that our friends from Georgia, so our friends from South Carolina, and Worth Carolina, and Alabama and Mississippi and other states in this Union, they would think that Barry was the friend of the so-called states righters. But up North, he was a flaming champion of civil rights.

But let me tell you, my friends, that kind of nonsense doesn't work in American politics anymore. The American people want as their President a man who says what he means when he says it and means what he says when he says it, and speaks one language to one people for one program. (Applause)

May I add that many people in America could afford to take a page from the fine history of this city and county. I want to congratulate you, Mayor, and your commissioners, and I want to congratulate your bi-racial committee of leading citizens for setting such a fine example as to how Americans can work together and live together and play together and plan together for a better United States of America. (Applause)

Yes, my friends. America has heavy responsibilities. This beautiful country of ours, and we sing the song, "America the Beautiful," we pledge allegiance to one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. May I just say that what we need in America is not someone that divides us, not someone that plays race off against race or religion against religion, not someone that runs down minority ethnic groups as if they were unwanted.

What we need in America is a leader, is a voice, is an educator, is a prophet that calls upon us to be good Americans, just one people.

We need in America someone to heal our wounds, not to open them.

We need someone in America to speak of us as one people and one country, not North and South, not East and West.

We need somebody in America to think of us not as rural and city, not as farmer and worker, but as Americans. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you now, ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you the one thing I have learned in this campaign is that wherever I go, whether it is in Georgia or Texas or Tennessee or Washington or California or North Dakota or Maine, wherever I go, I find that most Americans, most Americans, yes, the overwhelming majority, want to learn how to work together, to live together. Most Americans want opportunity for everybody. Most Americans want America to be a better country every day. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, if that is your view, and I think it is, then let us join hands. Let's have most Americans--Republicans and Democrats, workers and business, farmers and teachers, young and old -- let's unite as a mighty people and let's make up our minds that we are going to rebuke these forces of bigotry, these forces of division, these forces of retreat, these forces of the past, and let us elect as our President someone who loves America, believes in its future, unites us and makes us march forward to a better day for all humanity. (Applause)

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news release

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FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY P.M. OCTOEER 17, 1964 B-3884

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE OCTOBER 17, 1964

I'm here to congratulate the people of Tennessee for doing a great service for our nation. The people of Teennessee were among the first to reveal the Republican presidential candidate -- the temporary spokesman of the Republican party -- as the candidate of contradiction.

The people of Tecnessee were among the first to realize that the Republican candidate is an extremist -- a radical who is neither a genuine conservative nor a genuine Republican.

The temporary Republican spokesman was unmasked when the people of Tennessee learned his views on TVA. For most Americans, and certainly most people here, TVA is no longer a matter of political controversy. Almost everyone agrees TVA is a great regional development program, a model of enlightened progress throughout the world.

But not Senator Goldwater. The Senator from Arizona not only repeatedly calls the TVA a socialist adventure, he is ready to sell it.

He said only one year ago -- in October, 1963, that, and I'm quoting Mr. Goldwater, "I am quite serious in my opinion that TVA should be sold."

That wasn't the first time the senator had attacked the TVA. He had done it often enough and loudly enough so that everyone -- at least in this part of the country -- realized that the gentleman from Arizona was a man of extreme views.

In recent months, the temporary spokesman of the Republican party has retreated from his extreme ideas about TVA. He has tried to soft pedal this position by issuing one of those famous clarifying statements. He tried to explai what he meant in the first place.

#### B-3884, page 2

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The original plan was to issue this pamphlet just a few days before the election so there couldn't be any backfire in the South.

I can tell you this: Hubert Humphrey will never talk out of both sides of his mouth.

And neither will our great President -- Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Johnson is a President of all the people and he doesn't have a special message for the pople on one section and an opposite message for another section.

This apparently is something the Republican pretender to the Presidency does not comprehend.

I know the American people comprehend this. They are going to give Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic party an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3.

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2

FOLLOWING IS AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH BASED ON NIXON, S SPEECH IN CHATTANOOGA ON OCTOBER 10..

10/13/64

"FORMER VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON SAID LAST NIGHT THAT BARRY GOLDWATER HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL SUPPORT THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY IF ELECTED PRESIDENT.

NIXON TOLD A REPUBLICAN RAKKEX RALLY HERE THAT GOLDWATER, S POSITION ON TVA HAS BEEN DISTORTED BY THE OPPOSITION.

THE ARIZONA SENATOR "WILL SEE TO IT THAT TVA HAS ADEQUATE APPROPRIA-TIONS, BUT HE DOESN,T WANT IT TO EXPAND INTO AREAS WHERE FREE ENTERPRISE CAN DO THE JOB," NIXON SAID.

NIXON CRITICIZED THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION FOR WHAT HE CALLED "MORE FOREIGN POLICY FAILURES THAN ANY OTHER ADMINISTRATION IN HISTORY."

UNLESS THERE IS NEW LEADERSHIP DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, NIXON SAID, THE U.S. WILL LOSE ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE IN A WAR TO SAVE THE PHILLIPINES.

NIXON SAID HIS VISIT TO VIET NAM THIS YEAR CONVINCED HIM THAT THE U.S. IS CONVINCED HIM THAT THE WAR EFFORT THERE. HE SAID LAOS "WENT DOWN THE DRAIN BECAUSE WE BROKE OUR WORD."

NIXON SAID PRESIDENT JOHNSON REFUSES TO DEBATE GOLDWATER ON FOREIGN POLICY AND THAT JOHNSON "HAS YET TO MAKE ONE SUGGESTION IN FOREIGN POLICY."

SOME 6,000 ATTENDED THE RALLY, POLICE OFFICERS ESTIMATED."

CHATANOOGA, TENNESSEE

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those famous clarifying statements. He tried to explain what

he first place

Chattanooga

It is wonderful to be in Chattanooga -- in the state of the Volunteers -- where people have been willing to step forward and emlist for progress since the days of Andrew Jackson.

I come in this campaign to ask your help -- to ask you to volunteer again to insure that America makes the right choice this November 3rd.

What is the nature of this choice?

First, Americans must choose between the commitment of Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party to maintain and extend <u>opportunity</u> for all Americans for a better way of life --- or the express intention of the Goldwater Party to repudiate the social and economic gains of the past generation.

Second, Americans must choose between the commitment of Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party to policies of <u>strength</u> and <u>responsibility</u> at home and abroad -- or the irresponsible and impetuous policies of the Goldwaterites which divide us from our allies and invite recklessness from our foes.

Third, Americans must choose between Lyndon Johnson --a man of unquestioned competence in the art and science of government, or Barry Goldwater -- a part-time, stop-and-go, erratic and inexperienced novice.

There is no question where the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party stands on proposals to extend opportunity in America.

When it was a program to combat poverty -- Senator Goldwater voted "No".

When it was a program to support education --Senator Goldwater voted "No".

When it was a program to provide for retraining of men in an obsolete trade -- Senator Goldwater voted "No".

When it was a proposal to expand vocation training

or to establish a Youth Conservation Corps or to combat juvenile delinquency -- yes, in spite of his pretensions to morality and concern about crime -- Senator Goldwater voted "No".

Even when the issue was to grant money for polio vaccination to children and expectant mothers -- Senator Goldwater voted "No".

Where progress is concerned -- where opportunity for people is concerned -- there is a fantastic and fatalistic record of negation.

An outstanding example of Senator Goldwater's doctrine of "full-speed in reverse" is his proposal to "sell the TVA." He has said this not once, but again and again and again. No one has distorted his remarks. The only distortion that comes into the picture is when Richard Nixon comes down here to try to deodorize the Goldwater position.

Of course the TVA is here to stay. It is no

variety of socialism -- either creeping or crawling. You know it has stimulated private industry and economic growth. TVA has been good for you. It has been good for business. TVA has been good for the United States.

TVA is not for sale -- not even to finance the Central Arizona Project.

Knowing this, some people have said: "No President could sell the TVA, so we don't have to worry about Senator Goldwater on that score."

Don't you believe that.

I remember helping Senator Lister Hill defend TVA in the Republican Congress of 1953. The non-power programs are included in the Federal Budget, and the President can choke them to death in short order. A President can cripple the TVA if he thinks that way. The President recommends appropriations. He appoints the Budget Director. The President influences legislation. The President can reorganize the TVA out of existence.

Senator Goldwater has tried to get out from under the devastation of his remarks by saying that Congress would never permit him to sell the TVA. That is like the embezzler telling the bank president not to worry because the auditor is expected any day.

Tennessee has known progress -- a lot of progress -in recent years.

Per capita income has increased from 45% of the national average in 1933, to 67% of the national average at present. The people of this region have three and one half billion dollars more to spend each year, or an average of \$2000 more per family.

These figures tell of real economic progress. But they also indicate that much more needs to be done.

There must be increased economic activity to lift your average income still higher. There must be new industry. There must be continued development of the

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enormous recreational potentials of this region. Regrettably, pockets of poverty exist in Tennessee -- as well as elsewhere in the nation. Your local initiative and resources are vital to this progress. But they must also be met by a national concern and a continuation of the partnership of Federal-state-and-local governments with the people.

Lyndon Johnson cares about opportunity for all the people in all the States of this great nation. Lyndon Johnson intends the accept the responsibilities of the office of the Presidency as a means of increasing opportunity for all Americans. He is also committed to responsibility in protecting this nation and the peace of the world.

Senator Goldwater says that the issue here is "Peace through Strength." Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party say the issue is "Peace through the Responsible Use of Strength."

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If the issue were military strength alone, then nobody need have any concern. Today, the United States has overwhelming strength. Moreover, it is maintained at a razor's edge of sharpness and efficiency. No squirrel rifle in these mountains ever had better care.

Before a man is entrusted with a rifle, however, he ought to know when to use it, and equally, when not to.

Senator Goldwater says he is for peace, and I do not doubt it. We are not questioning his motives, or his desires and dreams. We are questioning his judgment and the implications of the policies he advocates.

Senator Goldwater advocates horse-opera diplomacy. Threaten to shoot and the other fellow will always fold up. To him, the bad guys are not only bad, they are cowards. But this is not always true -- even on TV.

No one has distorted Senator Goldwater's words, when he advocates using nuclear task forces to back up

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ultimatums in Eastern Europe, or to delegate responsibility for use of nuclear weapons to field command not only in NATO, but elsewhere. No one put words in his mouth when he advocated practicing brinkmanship after the manner of Imperial and Nazi Germany. He has suggested not once, but various times, the inevitability of war -nuclear war.

We do not question his intentions. We do, however, question his casual, offhand, and belligerently romantic notions of how to settle affairs between men and nations. This is not an area where ignorance is bliss.

This points up the underlying, fundamental choice this year for the Presidency.

Lyndon Johnson comes to the Presidency with more experience in government -- more than thirty years -than any President since Thomas Jefferson. He has been an administrator and a legislator in both houses of

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Congress. He was the protege of great teachers -- Franklin Roosevelt and Sam Rayburn -- and he learned well. Republicans and Democrats alike acknowledge him to have been the greatest majority leader in the Senate in modern times.

By contrast, Senator Goldwater seems to be running against the office of the Presidency instead of for it. But this is only similar to his record in the Senate. He can oppose all constructive legislation with monotonous regularity, but never proposes alternatives or even works hard to achieve the "choice" his supporters cheer for. In 12 years on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Senator Goldwater was absent 50% of the time. For a year, this committee held hearings on the important National Defense Education Act. Senator Goldwater never appeared once, but, as you might guess, sent in a "no" vote.

These are surely poor credentials for the biggest, most demanding job in this world.

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Shall we choose a leader who has faith in America -who has faith in her people? Shall we choose a leader of proven competence? Then our choice is clear. Let us choose Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States. Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Airport, Sky Chief Room Knoxville, Tenn. October 17, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Before we go, I just want to say a word to you. It is a little difficult to conduct political rallies out at airports, I found this morning for the umpteenth time, but we thought that since we have a very heavy day, we could maybe save a little time in light of the fact that you have so much traffic down town.

I want to thank each and every one of you as individuals and the organizations that you represent for your great help in this campaign. It is an election I believe that is a good deal different than most elections because in this election the opposition is not saying that he believes in the gains that have been made in the last 30 years or 40 years. He says his ambition is not to pass laws but to repeal them, and I can't help but wonder which laws he is talking about that he wants to repeal.

I think that the comments that have been made on Social Security, the Senator's views on organized labor, his attitude on programs of education, I think that this is a different election than any we have over had. I have never yet since 1936 heard of a Republican candidate that felt that education was not the responsibility of government. This candidate says that education is not the responsibility of any government, local, state, or federal. It is the responsibility of the parent.

And I have yet to hear of a candidate that believes that the Federal Government has no right to be in programs of social welfare, agriculture, education, just to mention a few, except this one on the Republican side.

What worries me more than anything else about this Republican candidate -- and he is not much of a Republican, I want to make it clear. Is I said out here, he is a radical. He is just is as radical to the right as some others have been to the left.

We don't need either one of those.

This radical has a view of the world which does not face up to reality, and I think that if he were elected President of the United States, that our whole foreign policy would be in shamblas, and that the nation would have some very unsteady and nerve wracking days ahead.

That is why I think it is important that President Johnson be sustained and maintained in that White House. He is a man of experience, he is a man of calm temperament, patience, and of strength. He is a very responsible man. Believe me, whenever it is all said and done, it won't do much good to have good wages or good homes or good cities if you are going to have a nuclear war. What we need is a President that can conduct the affairs of this country in such a manner as to avoid that unbelievable catastrophe (applause)

So I look upon you not just as representatives of the great imerican labor movement which is an honor within itself, but I look upon you as interested parties, interested citizens, about what is going to happen, and we surely have got a fight on our hands. Make no mistake about it. We can't afford to take anything for granted.

# Sky Chief Room

I watched the opposition refusing to discuss issues, reaching down in that barrel of dead fish with their attacks upon the President and anybody else. So all I ask you to do is go to work. Fight a good clean fight and give them a good licking, and on November 3rd when the votes are counted lets make sure that both Tennessee and Minnesota vote Democratic. (Applause)

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Airport Address Knoxville, Tennessee October 17, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Albert. Thank you, Senator Gore, Congressman Ross Bass, soon to be our United States Senator from Tennessee.

May I give a special note of thanks to your County Judge, Howard Poseman, for his remarkable work in presiding over this gathering, and I do want to say that we are looking forward in the next Congress to having a House of Representatives to support the hand of the fine Democratic congressmen from this state and of President Johnson.

We are looking forward to having Willard Yarbrough down there, and I know you folks are going to send him there.

Reverend adkins, we thank you vory much for your blessing this morning, the message that you have given to us.

May I just add how pleased I am to all of the Party workers that are here today, to all of our friends from labor, from industry, to our young friends that are here from the great colleges and universities and the high schools.

These young friends, Albert, represent our future, and they have shown a great interest in the Democratic Party and in the Democratic candidates. I can think of no higher compliment that can be made to a man in public office than to have the affection, the respect, and the enthusiastic support of our teenagers and of these of college age. (Applause)

May I just add a word of thanks to our colleague in the Senate, Harbart Walters, for his presence here today. He has been a dear friend to all of us, and he has been a fine servant for the people of this State. (Applause)

It makes me exceedingly happy to see him here, to have him greet us as we came off the plane.

Albert and Pauline Gore are two of the friends that the Humphreys have, and their daughter Nancy is very dear to us, and when we are greeted and when I am introduced by Albert Gore, I feel like this is a homecoming.

And may I say that we are looking forward to that same wonderful friendship with Ross and Avanell Bass because we know they are the same kind of people. (Applause)

I understand that my wife was in Nashville yesterday. In fact, Albert told me, he said, "Well, Hubert, Muriel made all the votes you can get around here. Don't lose too many today." And I told him I would try to behave.

But I am pretty proud of Mrs. Humphrey. I am proud of the fact that she is willing to do her part in this campaign. She is primarily a mother. A dear wife and a sweetheart, but she also can get out there and do some work for her husband and for other candidates for the Democratic Party. (Applause)

I say it takes a lot of teamwork these days. It is good to have families involved in politics. There is no more wholesome activity than to have it that way. It just depends upon how you conduct yourself.

Well, it is good to be in Knoxville, good to be in East Tennessee. I wish I could stay for the football game. I know it is going to be a pip, and I hope that Minnesota wins today, too. (Applause) You see, as a national candidate I have to be a little careful. So I don't choose up sides too often on all of these teams, but I know about the Tennessee Volunteers I know that great football team.

When I attended LSU, Louisiana State University, in 1939 and '40, I remember when Tennessee came there to play the state university, and I remember how I saw them lay low one team after another, and I said to myself that Tennessee team is just like a Big Ten football team. I <sup>f</sup> ound out they always play to win. They went on to win the national championship, went on to whip one team after another. So I have sort of a prediction that the election of Ross Bass will come now, that Tennessee will not only be victorious on the gridiron, Tennessee will carry Democratic on November 3rd. (Applause)

So this is the home of Sam Rayburn. You have many honors, many, many honors. But that is a high honor.

And I come here in the spirit of Sam Rayburn. You know, Sam Rayburn said, "I am a Democrat." Without prefix or suffix and without an apology. That is Hubert Humphrey. I am a Democrat. (Applause)

I come here not to apologize for our Party but to proclaim its achievements, to say that the Democratic Party has served the mation well, and has served the mation steadfastly. It is a Party of progress. It is a Party of hope It is a Party that cares. It is a Party with heart, and it is a Party which has given to America some of the great servants of the Republic

You have one here in your own Senator, Albert Gore. You have others in the late, beloved Senator Estes Kefauver, one of my closest friends, who will go down in the history of this country as one of the truly great Americans. (Applause)

Yes, the Democratic Party has a debt of gratitude to pay to Tennessee, the Volunteer State. You have produced one of the founders of our Party, too. Your present is not only good. Your future is not only promising, but your past has added a glorique page to the American history The founder that I refer to is none other than that good old fellow known as Old Hickory, Andrew Jackson.

So I come here to the State of Andy Jackson, and I ask Tennessee to come back to the land of its fathers, to come back home where you belong in the Democratic Party

I come not on a typical mission, not a typical political mission, nor a mission of a political candidate, and at about this time in the campaign suspect that you have had enough pointing with pride and viewing with alarm. At least for a few days and enough pointing with pride and viewing with alarm to last you for at least four years. I must -- pay no attention to that static to the right, my dear friends (Applause)

Those are just the lost souls of the second half of the 20th century. (Applause) (Laughter)

And now that we have dispensed with that noisy minority, let me go on to say, to point with pride and view with alarm is quite a temptation Particularly when I read that Dick Nixon was here in Tennessee just about a week ago. He is somewhat, of course, at a disadvantage when he comes into Tennessee. He came here, of course, to talk about his Party But what in the world could he, what in the world could he point to with pride in Tennessee that the Republicans had ever done? (Applause)

Now, did he tell you which political party had transformed a parched, depressed, flood ravaged region into a fertile productive center of industry, science, and agriculture? Or did he remind you, as if you needed to be reminded, that it was Coolidge who first vetoed the TVA, Hoover who vetoed it again and Goldwater who would sell it if he had a chance? (Applause)

Did he mention to you which political party and which administration had

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led this nation and the state of Tennessee to 44 months of consecutive unbroken economic expansion to a level of prosperity unequaled in the history of this country? And did he talk to you about the tax cut, initiated by John Kennedy, signed by President Johnson, which put more dollars into the pockets of the people of this nation, the people of Tennessee, which will provide more investment, more jobs, as our young people enter the labor market?

And did he tell you that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party voted against the tax cut, voted against business, voted against the consumer, voted against the worker, voted against the farmer, voted against the nation?

I doubt if he told you that. (Applause - Laughter)

And did he tell you which party supported the war on poverty, that humanitarian yet practical measure which will lift up those unfortunate citizens by-passed by the march of our economy and put them back on the road to becoming self sustaining, productive citizens? I gather that he didn't tell you about those things. I gather that he was afraid to tell you about those things because the record of the Republican Party when it comes to this great area of TVA is a record of saying no, no, no, to the people of Tennessee and to the people of this great section of America. (Applause)

Well, since he didn't talk about them, I don't suppose I should, either. So I will just be non-political.

I would like to talk about another subject that is dear to my heart and that is the history of this nation, and no better historian do we have than my good friend, your Senator Albert Gore, who proudly points to the history of Tennessee and America on every occasion. And I imagine that when Ross Bass gets to the Senate, as the presiding officer of that Senate I will have to listen to two Tennesseans, (Applause)

I want to talk to you a bit about three presidents that came from Tennessee. Y.u have been the home of presidents, the great presidents from Tennessee, Andrew Jackson, James Polk, and Andrew Johnson. They were determined to be presidents of the United States of America, of all the people, and all the states.

Andrew Jackson, first. The hero of the Democratic west; he was father of the nation, of government for the good of the small man, the man that represented the farmer, the artisan, the laborer.

His actions were dictated by what he saw as the greatest good for the entire mation, for the greatest good for the greatest number. A firm supporter of our constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the individual state. He nevertheless saw that the concept of federalism required that every state recognize this union of all of the states.

He fought Calhoun on the nullification issue and modern America is eternally in his debt.

Let's talk about James K. Polk. By they way, I am sorry, you know, that we don't have more Goldwaterites when I talk about history because they know so little about it. (Applause)

If they will just tarry with us, the few that are here, they will get a passing grade in the next test.

Now, James Polk settled the Oregon Boundary dispute. He reduced the tariff and he re-established the independent Treasury system. He provided great leadership, firm leadership in the expansion of the United States into the Southwest.

Andrew Johnson was undoubtedly, indisputably a man of the South; as United States representative and as senator from Tennessee, he voted with other Southern legislators on questions concerning the South and slavery. But when he became President, he knew that the national interests demanded that his outlook be national and not sectional, that our Constitution's opening words, "We the people," mean all of the people, from all of the

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Now, if your presidents were similar in their determination to be president for all of the people, they were also similar in another curious respect. They were all abused. They were all maligned. They were the targets of vicious personal abuse.

Andrew Jackson's personal ordeal is well known. The firm, unflinching manner in which he refused to allow it to alter his conception of his role as president is a page in the annals of courage of the American presidency. (Applause)

As Jackson was the only president ever to be censured by the Senate because he refused to let the Bank of America at Philadelphia strangle the economic life of the country, so Andrew Johnson was the only president whom the House of Representatives ever impeached because he refused to liquidate the South.

He refused to be vindictive. He would not accept the idea that this nation was fated always to be divided and split. He knew that a divided nation could not survive, and he knew that a divided nation could not grow.

Therefore, he was determined to resist the spirit of extremism in his day and to embrace reason, and to hold fast for moderation and the middle course.

He refused to be a radical .

May I suggest that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party might well take a look at the pages of the history of Andrew Johnson and follow the lessons of those pages. Radicalism has no place in America. (Applause)

And then there is your other great president, seldom heard of except in recent years, James Polk, a man whose talents and achievements have only lately been discerned and documented. He, by the way, is one of my favorite characters of history. He, too, had to stand considerable abuse from men whose names you can' remember.

Isn't it interesting that every single president that has been malighed and abused has turned out to be a great president. And those who were his accusers, those who were the ones that maligned him, and those who were were the ones that attacked him, you can't find their names anywhere. If ever you could find it, it would be in the gutter, and they would have been washed away. (Applause)

But you know, his attackers, they use some of the same tactics being used now. As a matter of fact, I have a feeling that this may be one period of history that has been studied a little bit by the Goldwater public relations men. His opponents circulated a myth that he was simply a politician, raised to a high office by accident. Have you heard that lately?

They sought without much success to spread the phrase, "Who is James K. Polk?" But President ...olk ignored his critics and his attackers and he became a great president. He became a great leader for the American people. He never waivered in his determination to serve all of the people of all of the states and to make America a better America every day of his administration. (Applause)

So my friends, if all of your great Tennesseans who became presidents were maligned, and they were, they have also been vindicated by history. Indeed, the State of Tennessee in a prophetic gesture returned Andrew Johnson to the United States Senate in 1875 as he has now been returned to his rightful place in the role of your courageous and faithful president.

Why, I ask, why have the presidents from Tennessee attained such an exalted rank or place in our history? I think it was for one reason. Each of them had a great vision, and as the Scriptures say, a nation without vision shall perish.

But every leader from this state, Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, Sam Rayburn, Estes Kefauver, Albert Gore, you name them, every one of them has vision. (Applause)

For Andrew Jackson it was a vision of America strong enough to protect the weak from the strong, to save the weak from oppression. For James Polk, an America, which could grow and expand in inner strength as well as outer dimensions. For Johnson, Andrew Johnson, an America in which each state would retain its precious identity, and yet each state would be a part of a great federal union, the United States of America.

I submit to you that Tennessee's three great presidents exemplified the qualities of responsibility in their policies and decisions, competency and experience in their exercise of the nation's highest office.

These three presidents sustained and maintained a commitment to provide all Americans with an equal opportunity for a better, a happier, and more productive life.

And I submit to this fine audience here in Knoxville, Tennessee, 'A is Knoxville', County, that President Lyndon Johnson's dream of a great society is the product of the three visions which your own three presidents first glimpsed a century or more ago.

But if the past is a guide to the future, and it can be, it is not infallible and one should not study history for the purpose of voting it. You should study history for the purpose of learning lessons. (Applause)

In 1784, my young friends, there was a new state created, the state of Franklin, and it lasted but four years; in 1964 no state can go its own way economically, emotionally, or politically.

In the War of 1812 the great Andrew Jackson could gain a great victory in the battlefield at New Orleans, even after the peace treaty had been signed.

But in this nuclear age where communication is instant, in this nuclear age of 1964, we cannot even contemplate in our wildest dreams allowing a commander on the battlefield to run his own war. (Applause) Or more significantly to choose his own weapons in the absence of clear direction from the Commander-in-Chief.

Maybe Thereformator from Arizona should study the lessons of Andrew Jackson. Maybe he should remember that Andrew Jackson lived in the 19th Century. Maybe he should remember that Whotverlis elected president in 1964 will be the president in the second half of the 20th Century. (Applause)

In 1829 it took Jackson 30 days to travel from the Hermitage to Washington. In 1964 in 15 minutes missiles can come from the Soviet Union to the heartland of the United States. And we can hurtle around this shrunken globe of ours astronauts.

Therefore, we cannot afford the luxury of a president who yearns for a simpler life at the expense of a temporary history and the pressing demands which a changing world will unceasingly force upon him.

So I ask you, then, to join with President Johnson and with me in the result that while the insights of history shall light our path, the pride and prejudice of a dead yesterday shall not stand in that path.

Listen, I ask my fellow Americans, with us to those insistent voices which summon us to a brighter tomorrow. The citizens of Tennessee belong in that age. (Laughter-- Applause) Those are noisy little rascals, aren't they? Albert Gore just said to me, "Hubert, that is nothing but Democratic progress that you are hearing." (Applause)

My fellow Democrats never give up.

Now, when you hear that motor whine out like that, that is the way the Goldwater campaign is fizzling out. (Laughter -- Applause)

But, my friends, I asked just a moment ago to listen with us to those

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insistent voices which summon us to a brighter tomorrow, and that age with within itself tells something about that tomorrow.

The citizens of Tennessee billing in the front of those who have heard these voices of a better tomowrow. It was here in the words of Thomas Jefferson that the most perfect constitution of any state was drafted and it was here that the names of Estes Kefauver, Albert Gore, Ross Bass, were added to that honorable role of men who have served their states and their nation faithfully and well.

No state has known war as has Tennessee, from Missionary Ridge to Oak Ridge, from Sam Houston to Davy Crockett to Sergeant York. You have given the finest flowers of your manhood and the finest products of your hands and minds to keep this nation strong and free.

So I ask this great state, the Volunteer State, to give it new meaning, to join with Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party in volunteering not for the last great war but for the first great society.

Thank you. (Applause)

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# news release

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR A. M. 'S RELEASE SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18

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B-3865

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE OCTOBER 17, 1964

The Democratic Party owes a debt of gratitude to the State of Tennessee. It was the Volunteer State which produced one of the founders of our party ---Andrew Jackson. So I come today to the home of Andy Jackson -- and I ask Tennessee to come back home where you belong!

I come not on the typical mission of the political candidate. About this time in a campaign I suspect that you've had enough pointing with pride and viewing with alarm to last you for at least four years.

I must confess that it was quite a temptation, though -- particularly when I read that Dick Nixon was in Tennessee a week ago. He is at something of a disadvantage, of course. What in the world can he point to with pride in Tennessee?

--- Did he tell you which political party had transformed a parched, depressed and flood-ravaged region into a fertile, productive center of industry, science and agriculture?

-- And did he remind you -- as if you needed to be reminded -- that it was Coolidge who vetoed the TVA -- and Hoover who vetoed it again -- and Goldwater who'd sell it if he had the chance?

-- Did he mention which party has led the nation and with the nation, the state of Tennessee, to 44 unbroken months of economic expansion, to a level of prosperity unparalleled in history?

-- Did he talk about the tax cut initiated by John Kennedy and signed into law by Lyndon Johnson -- which put more dollars in our pockets, and which will send more of us back to work, and provide more jobs for our young people entering the labor market?

(more)

Humphrey/B-3868 Page 2/the labor market

-- Did he tell you which party supported the war on poverty, that humanitarian yet practical measure which will lift up those unfortunate citizens bypassed by the march of our economy, and put them back on the road to becoming useful members of our society?

He didn't mention any of these things? Well, then, I think it only fair that I too steer clear of partisan politics.

Instead, I'd like to talk about another subject which is dear to my heart: the history of this nation. In particular, I'd like to talk about the three Presidents whom the State of Tennessee has given to the people of America.

The great Presidents from Tennessee -- Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson -- were determined to be the Presidents of all the people -and the Presidents of all the States.

Andrew Jackson, the hero of the democratic West, was the father of the nation of government for the good of the small man -- the artisan, the farmer, the laborer. His actions were dictated by what he saw as the greatest good for the entire nation -- without regard to wealth or power. A firm supporter of our constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the individual state, he nevertheless clearly saw that the very concept of federalism required that <u>every</u> state recognize this union of <u>all</u> the states. He fought Calhoun on the nullification issue -- and modern America is eternally in his debt.

James K. Polk settled the Oregon boundary question, he reduced the tariff, and reestablished the independent treasury system. He provided firm leadership in the expansion of the United States in the southwest.

Andrew Johnson was an indisputable man of the South. As a United States representative and as a United States Senator from Tennessee, he voted with other Southern legislators on questions concerning slavery. But, when he became President, he knew that the national interest demanded that his outlook be national, not sectional; that our Constitution's opening words, "We, the People," mean all the people -- from <u>all</u> the states.

If your Presidents were similar in their determination to be the Presidents of all the people, they were also similar in another, more curious respect: <u>they were all maligned</u>, <u>perhaps more so than any other chief</u> <u>executives in our history</u>. They were the targets of foul and vicious personal abuse -- aimed at their morals, their integrity, and their honor.

(more)

Humphrey/B-3363 Page 3/and their honor

Andrew Jackson's personal ordeal is well-known; the firm, unflinching manner in which he refused to allow it to alter him from his conception of his role is worth a page in the annals of courage in the Presidency.

As Jackson was the only President whom the Senate ever officially censured -because he refused to let the bank at Philadelphia strangle the economic life of the country; Andrew Johnson was the only President whom the House of Representatives ever impeached -- because he refused to liquidate the South. He would not accept the idea that this nation was fated always to be split, for he knew that a divided people cannot grow. He was determined to resist the spirit of extremism, to embrace reason and to hold fast to the golden mean.

And your other great President, James Polk -- a man whose talents and accomplishments have only lately been discerned and documented -- he, too, had to withstand considerable abuse. His attackers used a technique which is, interestingly enough, used occasionally in modern times.

His opponents circulated a myth that he was simply a "politician ," raised to high office by accident. They sought, without much success, to spread a phrase, "Who is James K. Polk?" But President Polk ignored his critics and attackers. He never wavered from his determination to serve <u>all</u> the people -from <u>all</u> the states.

If all your Presidents were maligned, so were they all vindicated by history. Indeed, the State of Tennessee in a prophetic gesture returned Andrew Johnson to the United States Senate in 1875 -- as he has now been returned to his rightful place in the roll of our courageous and faithful Presidents.

Why? Why have the Presidents from Tennessee attained so exalted a rank in our history?

I think it was because each had a vision -- a glimpse of a greater America. For Jackson it was the vision of an America in which the strong would not be able to opporess the weak; for Polk, an American which could grow and expand in inner strength as well as outer dimensions; for Johnson, an America in which every state would retain its previous identity -- and none would fear the Government of all.

# HUMPHREY/ Page 4

I submit to you that Tennessee's three great Presidents exemplified the qualities of <u>responsibility</u> in their policies and decisions -- and <u>competency</u> and <u>experience</u> in their exercise of this nation's highest office. These three presidents sustained a commitment to provide all Americans with an equal <u>opposituality</u> for a better and more productive life.

And I submit to you that Lyndon Johnson's great society is the product of those three visions which your own three Presidents first glimpsed, a century and more ago!

But if the past is a guide to the future, it is not infallible --

--In 1784, the State of Franklin could be formed, and could last four years. In 1964, no state can go its own way -- economically or emotionally.

--In the war of 1812, Andrew Jackson could gain a great victory in the battle of New Orleans --after peace had already been signed. In this nuclear age which is 1964, we cannot even comtemplate the folly of allowing a commander in the field to run his own war, and choose his own weapons in the absence of clear direction from the commander-inchief.

--In 1829, it took Jackson 30 days to travel from the Hermitage to Washington. In 1964, it takes only minutes for missiles to be hurtled across the world, for astronauts -- or cosmonauts -- to circle this shrunken globe.

We cannot afford the luxury of a President who yearns for that simpler life, at the expense of the pressing demands which a changing world will unceasingly force upon him,

I ask you then, to join with Lyndon Johnson and with me in our resolve that, while the insights of history shall light our path, the pride and prejudice of a dead yesterday shall not stand in that path

Listen with us to those insistent voices which summon us to a brighter tomorrow,

HUMPHREY/brighter tomorrow. Page 5

The citizens of Tennessee belong in the front rank of those who have heard these voices.

. -- but it was here, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, that the most perfect constitution of any state was drafted -and it was here that the names of Estes Kefauver, of Albert Gore, and of Ross Bass were added to that honorable roll of men who served their states and their nation. It would be a travesty on your proud legacy if the home of the Old Hickory were to become the home of the New Birch.

No state has known war as has Tennessee. From Missionay Ridge to Oak Ridge, from Sam Houston and Dave Crockett to Sergeant York, you have given the finest flowers of your mankind, and the fines products of your hands, to keep this nation strong and free.

Keep your name -- the "Volunteer State" -- but give it a new meaning. Join with Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party in volunteering -- not for the Last Great War, but for the First Great Society.

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# SENATOR HUMPHREY'S TRIP

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17th, 1964

THE FOLLOWING ARE ATTACHED FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

1. SCHEDULE

2. PRESS and STAFF INFORMATION SHEET

Lewis A. Rivlin

Advance

SCHEDULE



ava

10:00

10:15 A. M.

10:20 - 10:45 A.

Arrive McGhee-Tyson Airport

Senator Humphrey will be greeted by Governor Frank Clement Senator Albert Gore Senator Herbert S. Walters

Congressman Ross Bass, Candidate for U.

Senate and Mrs. Bass

Willard Yarbrough, Candidate for Congress, wh watters 2nd District

Z. D. Adkins, State Public Service Commissioner

And other party dignitaries

Introductions

Speech -- Under the joint sponsorship of East Tennessee Democratic Organizations, Citizens Committees for Johnson-Humphrey, University of Tennessee Chapter, Young Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey, and East Tennessee Scientists, Engineers and Doctors for Johnson-Humphrey.

mator Humphrey will be introduced by Governor Frank Clement.

Broadcast: TV

-- WATE (NBC WBIR (CBS) WTVK (ABC)

Radio -- WNOX, WKGN, WBIR, WATE, WROL, WGYW, WATO (Oak Ridge), WKXV, WSKT

10:55 A. M.

11:00 - 11:15 A. M.

Depart for Conferences with TVA and AEC Officials, American Airlines Conference Room

Conference with Mr. Samuel R. Sapi Oak Ridge Operations, Atomic Ever Oak Ridge, Tennessee

# SCHEDULE

11:15 - 11:30 A. M.	Conference with the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority Hon. Aubrey Wagner Hon. Arnold R. Jones
11:35 A. M.	Depart Conference Room area
11:40 A. M.	Arrive Sky Ghef Room; meet with East Tennessee Area Labor officials
11:55 A. M.	Reboard plane
12:00	Depart for Chattanooga

#### PRESS and STAFF INFORMATION SHEET

6 11 8

A Press Area is reserved for press use between the TV Platform and the Speaker's platform. Telephone and Western Union services are available in that area. Access may be obtained at the end of the Speaker's platform adjacent to the hangar.

#### INFORMATION on KNOXVILLE

The Metropolitan Area of Knoxville consists of approximately 386,000 persons, of whom apporximately 180,000 live within the corporate limits. Knoxville and Knox Gounty, in which Knoxville is located have traditionally voted Republican. The Knox Gounty vote in 1960 was Nixon 50, 806, Kennedy 32,009.

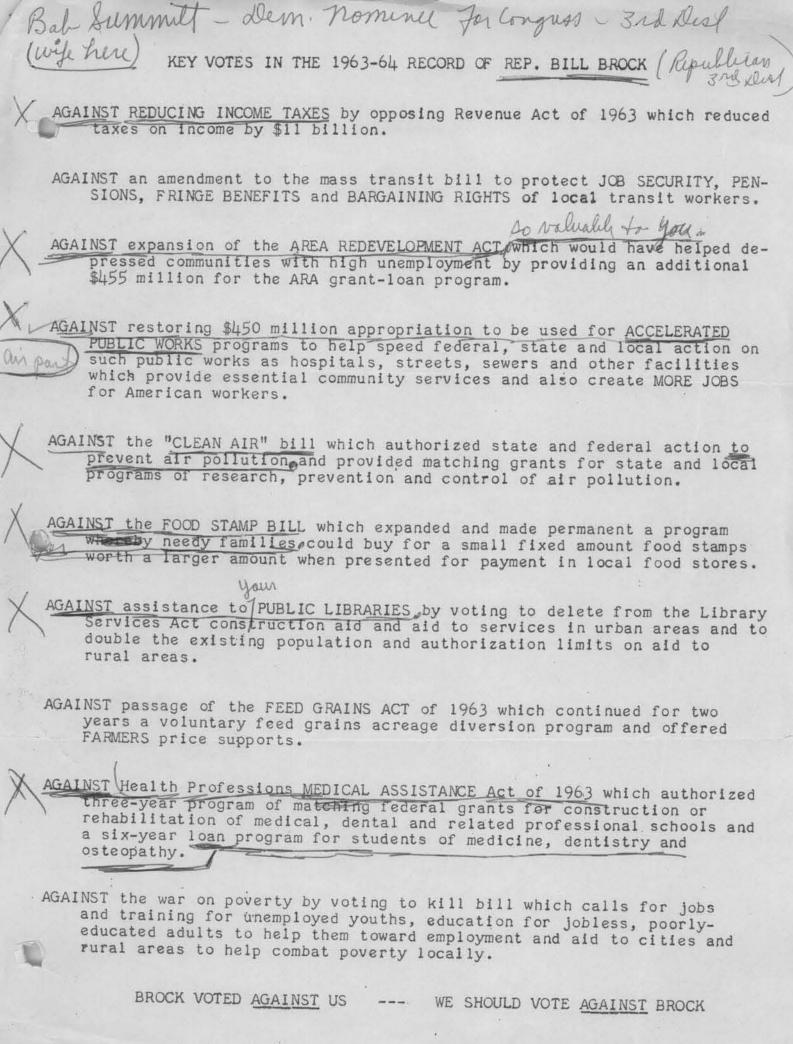
The Headquarters for the TVA is located in Knoxville. Hydroelectric power from the TVA system furnishes the electricity distributed by the area electric systems.

McGhee-Tyson Airport belongs to and services the city of Knoxville. It is, however, located in Blount County.

The Tennessee River flows through Knoxville, but is currently referred to as Loudon Lake and constitutes a part of the TVA. This is the last navigable area on the Tennessee River on the way up from the Gulf of Mexico and down from the Great Lakes.

Knoxville is the home of the University of Tennessee with a student body in excess of 16,000. It is also the home of Knoxville College, with a student body of 850. Today, Saturday, October 17th, is the day of the traditional football game between the University of Tennessee and its arch rival, the University of Alabama.

The City of Oak Ridge is located 24 miles west of Knoxville, within the Metropolitan area. This is the home of the Oak Ridge Operations of the Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC operates three plants there, including the Oak Ridge National Laboratories which is devoted to developing peaceful uses of atomic energy and its byproducts. The proximity of TVA was a major factor in the decision to locate the atomic energy facilities at Oak Ridge. An example of cooperation between the two agencies is the Experimental Gas Gooled Reactor, under construction, of which TVA will be the AEC's operating contractor.



Gov Frank Clement

For Release : Sunday A.M.

Knoxville

The Democratic Party owes a debt of gratitude to the State of Tennessee. It was the Volunteer State which produced one of the founders of our party ---Andrew Jackson. So I come today to the home of Andy Jackson -- and I ask Tennessee to come back home where you belong:

I come not on the typical mission of the political candidate. About this time in a campaign I suspect that you've had enough pointing with pride and viewing with alarm to last you for at least four years.

I must confess that it was quite a temptation, though-particularly when I read that Dick Nixon was in Tennessee a week ago. He is at something of a disadvantage of course. What in the world can <u>he</u> point to with pride in Tennessee?

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L-Did he tell you which political party had transformed a parched, depressed and flood-ravaged region into a fertile, productive center of industry, science and agriculture?

--And did he remind you -- as if you needed to be reminded -- that it was Coolidge who vetoed the TVA -- and Hoover who vetoed it again -- and Goldwater who'd sell it if he had the chance?

-Did he mention which party has led the nation and with the nation, the State of Tennessee, to 44 unbroken months of economic expansion, to a level

of prosperity unparalleled in history?

-Did he talk about the tax cut initiated by John Kennedy and signed into law by Lyndon Johnson -which put more dollars in our pockets, and which will send more of us back to work, and provide more jobs for our young people entering the labor market? --Did he tell you which party supported the war on poverty, that humanitarian yet practical measure which will lift up those unfortunate citizens bypassed by the march of our economy, and put them back on the road to becoming useful members of our society?

The didn't mention any of these things? Well, then, I think it only fair that I too steer clear of partisan politics.

Instead, I'd like to talk about another subject which is dear to my heart: the history of this nation. In particular, I'd like to talk about the three presidents whom the State of Tennessee has

given to the people of America.

The great Presidents from Tennessee -- Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson -- were determined to be the Presidents of all the people -and the Presidents of all the States.

Andrew Jackson, the hero of the democratic West, was the father of the nation of government for the good of the small man -- the artisan, the farmer, the laborer. His actions were dictated by what he saw as the greates good for the entire nation without regard to wealth or power / A firm supporter of our constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the individual state, he nevertheless clearly saw that the very concept of federalism required that every state recognize this union of all the states. He fought Calhoun on the nullification issue-and modern America is eternally in his debt. James K. Polk settled the Oregon boundary question, he reduced the tariff, and reestablished the independent

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treasury system. He provided firm leadership in the expansion of the United States in the southwest. Andrew Johnson was indisputably a man of the As a United States representative and as a South. United States Senator from Tennessee, he voted with other Southern legislators on questions concerning slavery. But, when he became President, he knew that the national interest demanded that his outlook be national, not sectional that our Constitution's opening words, "We, the People," mean all the people -from all the states.

If your Presidents were similar in their determination to be the Presidents of all the people, they were also similar in another, more curious respect: they were all maligned on the targets were the targets

vicious personal abuse -Andrew Jackson's personal ordeal is well-known; the firm, unflinching manner in which he refused to allow it to alter his conception of his role is worth a page in the annals of courage in the Presidency. As Jackson was the only President whom the Senate ever officially censured -- because he refused to let the bank at Philadelphia strangle the economic life of the country -- Andrew Johnson was the only President whom the House of Representatives ever impeached -because he refused to liquidate the South. He would not accept the idea that this nation was fated always to be split, for he knew that a divided people cannot grow. He was determined to resist the spirit of extremism, to embrace reason and to hold fast to the

-6-

tion and the middle course. And your other great President, James Polk -a man whose talents and accomplishments have only lately been discerned and documented -- he, too, had to with stand considerable abuse. His attackers used a technique which is, interestingly enough, used occasionally in modern times. His opponents circulated a myth that he was simply a "politician," raised to high office by accident. They sought, without much success, to spread a phrase, "Who is James K. Polk?" But President Polk ignored his critics and attackers.

He never wavered from his determination to serve all the people -- from all the states.

L If all your Presidents were maligned, so were they all vindicated by history. Indeed, the State

-7-

of Tennessee in a prophetic gesture returned Andrew Johnson to the United States Senate in 1875-as he has now been returned to his rightful place in the roll of our courageous and faithful Presidents. Why? Why have the Presidents from Tennessee attained so exalted a rank in our history? think it was because each had a vision -- a glimpse of a greater America. For Jackson it was the vision of an America in which the strong would not be able to oppress the weak; for Polk, an America which could grow and expand in inner strength as well as outer dimensions; for Johnson, an America in which every state would retain its precious identity -- and none would fear the Government of all. I submit to you that Tennessee's three great Presidents exemplified the qualities of responsibility

in their policies and decisions -- and competency and experience in their exercise of this nation's highest office. These three Presidents sustained a commitment to provide all Americans with an equal opportunity for a better and more productive life. And I submit to you that Lyndon Johnson's great society is the product of those three visions which your own three Presidents first glimpsed, a century and more ago! But if the past is a guide to the future, it is not infallible -- in Tennessee or in the world. -In 1784, the State of Franklin could be formed, and could last four years. In 1964, no state can go its own way -- economically or emotionally. In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson could gain a great victory in the battle of New Orleans -- after

-9-

peace had already been signed. In this nuclear age which is 1964, we cannot even contemplate the second allowing a commander in the field to run his own war, and choose his own weapons in the absence of clear direction from the commander-in-chief. --In 1829, it took Jackson 30 days to travel from the Hermitage to Washington. In 1964, it takes only minutes for missiles to be hurtled across the world, for astronauts -- or cosmonauts -- to circle this shrunken globe. We cannot afford the luxury of a President who yearns for that simpler life, at the expense of the pressing demands which a changing world will unceasingly force upon him. LI ask you, then, to join with Lyndon Johnson and force upon him. with me in our resolve that, while the insights of Carrier and a second · ~ \_ \_ \_ \_

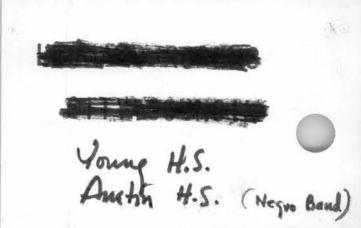
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Missionary Ridge to Oak Ridge, from Sam Houston and Davy Crockett to Sergeant York, you have given the finest flowers of your manhood, and the finest products of your hands, to keep this nation strong and free. Keep your name -- the "Volunteer State" -but give it a new meaning. Join with Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party in volunteering -- not for the Last Great War, but for the First Great Society.

Senator Albert GORE Senator Herbert S. ("Hub") WALTERS l'Congressman Ross BASS-4-95order (Congressman Jue EVANS & Card YARBROUGH - Congress Z. D. ADKINS County Judge Howard BOZEMAN



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