

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Airport
Paducah, Kentucky
October 20, 1964

Senator Humphrey. First of all I want to ask your pardon for having to address you in this manner. This isn't exactly what I would call the most, well, the most desirable way of speaking to a wonderful audience like this, but it will have to suffice.

I want to thank the Governor of this great State of Kentucky, Governor Breathitt, for meeting us here once again, and I want to thank all of the officers of your state government, Mayor Wilson, and the congressmen, and I want to surely thank that wonderful band down there for playing such splendid music, particularly that "Minnesota Rouser." You did a great job. (Applause)

I see a number of our young friends here from the colleges in the nearby area, right here from Paducah, and I want to thank them in particular for coming out here tonight to talk to us and to be with us.

Well, we have had a big day over in the neighboring state of Illinois. In fact, this morning we started out in Oklahoma, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and every place I have been I have found happy people. I have found happy people, and when I ask a happy person how they are going to vote, they say we are going to vote for the Democratic ticket, for President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

I notice here in Paducah that you must think I am going to give a red hot speech because you have got the fire department out here. I am glad they are here because we are going to burn the feathers right off the Republicans. (Applause)

Now, wait a minute. We are not going to burn it off all Republicans because a lot of them are supporting Lyndon Johnson for President. (Applause)

We are just going to burn it off a little bit on some of those Goldwater Republicans, that is all.

Now, tonight we have a fine Democratic rally. I hope that many of you that do not attend will tune in on the radio stations so that you can hear what we have to say.

I am here in Paducah, Kentucky, the home of one of my dearest,

dearest friends, a gentleman that helped me in my early days in politics, a gentleman that has been a source of inspiration to me through all of my public life, a gentleman that was a friend of my father, and a man that I had the privilege of working with in the United States Senate, the privilege of voting for for Vice-President in 1948, and the opportunity to be the seatmate of him when he came back to the United States Senate.

I would love Paducah, Kentucky, for many reasons, but I love it particularly because here in this fine city is the home of the late and beloved Veep, Alben Barkley, of Kentucky. (Applause)

I came to this community when this dearly beloved man passed away. I was here as one of the senatorial group on the occasion of his funeral. He is buried here. He is loved here, and he is loved in Minnesota, and he is loved throughout America.

If I can live as good a life as this man, and if I can inspire as many young people as he inspired, if I can serve my country with as much honor and integrity and ability as the late Veep -- and he is the only one that ever ought to be called Veep because it belongs to him -- if I can do that I will say that my life has been well spent and that I have been worthy of the friendship and the trust of the people that have helped me so much during my life.

Now we have got a big job to do. We want to carry on the programs that this good man helped to start. We want to continue the programs of John Kennedy and of Lyndon Johnson. We want to make this country of ours go ahead. (Applause) And I am asking in particular our young people to help us. I ask you to take up the banner of the Democratic Party. I ask you to help keep our Party idealistic. I ask you to help keep our Party progressive. I ask you to help keep our Party a constant servant of the public good. I ask you to take an interest in public affairs. I ask the young people to be concerned about their government. I tell this young audience that unless you are concerned about it, there may be no free government because free government doesn't come by accident. It comes by sacrifice. And it comes because people want it and because they are worthy of it and because they are willing to guard it and to defend it and because they are willing to understand it.

And in the days that lie ahead, uncertain days in the world, and troublesome days even at home, I suggest that we have an extra duty as never before, to be ever vigilant about our country and about our great system of representative government.

Now, be of good cheer. Be of good faith. We have got the most wonderful country in the world, and we have got the best government in the world, and frankly we have got a man in the White House today that knows how to conduct this government. He is experienced. He is responsible. He has had a record of performance. He is a man that has given 30 years of his life to government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

I don't think this is any time to turn the government over to an amateur. I don't think this is any time to turn this government over to somebody that wants to go backwards. I think this is the time to keep this government in safe, trusted, competent hands and to keep it in the hands of somebody that understands the world in which we live and wants to make America, wants to make the world a better world, and wants to keep the peace so we can have a world.

I thank you very, very much. (Applause)

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Frank Paxton. I want to tell these good folks from Paducah in this First Congressional District it is mighty nice to have the Paxtons on your side. (Applause)

Governor Breathitt, thank you for your timely and inspiring message and your words of flattery, and may I say also inspiration. And to Tom Walter, who has been your master of ceremonies tonight, one of the dear friends of the late and beloved Veep, the congressman here that has this good fortune of just being assured of election -- what a pleasant feeling that is -- (Applause) -- I wish my Muriel could be as sure of the future as Earl Odessa. (Laughter)

And to each and every one of you that have gathered here tonight to pay honor to this wonderful friend of ours that I hope to say just a few words about, may I say what a joy it is to be in Paducah, what fun, and what a privilege.

There are so many here that I should like to pay my respects to -- and I am going to do it because I remember when Alben Barkley came to Minnesota, and I can remember how I waited to hear his words about Hubert Humphrey, and I always feel that when one is out on the campaign hustings that he sometimes may forget that the way you build a political party and the way that you build a great government, is to remember not just the ones that are at the top of the ticket but to remember those, if you please, that are the base, the foundation of the ticket, those that are at the county level, those that are at the city level, those that are at the legislative level, and let me tell you, you have some mighty good ones around here.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Julian Carroll who has been such a help, your state representative, and to Fred Morgan and Tom Geary. These are people in your Legislature, and Hubert Humphrey isn't the kind of a man in public life that just dropped into it by accident. I came up through the hard way, working, doing my best to be a precinct worker, county chairman, an organization man, a mayor of a city, a United States senator, and just loved politics every hour of the day. (Applause)

So I want to say to Frank Stubblefield and Governor Breathitt, to all the distinguished officers of your state government, those that are at what we call the higher levels,

whatever that may mean, I want to say that we all had to work our way up, and I want to salute the people of the organization.

Alben Barkley always talked about his District, and I don't think you even ought to call it the First District. I think you just ought to call it Barkley's District and leave it at that. I mean that is a great name for it. (Applause)

He called it what Governor Breathitt reminded us tonight, the Gibraltar of Democracy. I guess what he meant was that when every other fortress of democracy had lowered its flag, the good old First in Kentucky, the Gibraltar of Democracy, would be there just like the Star Spangled Banner on that big night when the British were storming Fort Henry, the flag, the Stars and Stripes were flying and so was the flag of democracy, on the Gibraltar District of Democracy, the First of Kentucky. (Applause)

You have many distinguished and honored people here tonight. I am looking forward to having a chance to really see you individually. I have a little trouble once in awhile, you know, with my staff. They say I want to shake hands with everybody, and I do. That is the truth. As a matter of fact, I would like to visit with everyone. That is what politics is really all about, getting to know people, not to know them in the abstract, not to know them by public opinion polls, not to know them by measurement but to know them as individuals.

That is the kind of politics that we love.

And I see in this room a Governor that knows that, and I see here in this great assembly political leaders that understand that.

I know there is a former senator here, one of the former state senators, one of your truly stalwart Democrats, Strother Melton, and believe me, when you know people who have carried the weight that long and carried the flag for the Democratic Party, you can't help but just stand up and want to salute them. (Applause)

By the way, there are some young folks here tonight, too. And I was looking over the paper and -- that is right, I want to tell you. It is sure nice to have a paper on your side -- (Laughter) -- and I do indeed want to thank Fred Paxton. It makes a man feel good. You would be surprised how starved I have been over many years for something like that. But it is

better this year.

I am happy to say in Minnesota there isn't a single daily paper in the State of Minnesota that is worth reading that isn't for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

Nice to have the TV on your side, too. And I want to thank Fred for that.

But there are some young folks here and there is one little lady that I see here that I want to select out. We have been sort of corresponding until Mrs. Humphrey caught up with it. She wanted to know how old you were, Elaine.

I have a special friend to whom I have sent a letter or two and she has written to me, and it is kind of choice and priceless correspondence. She is an A student, an honor student, and comes from a family that seems to have honor students, and Elaine Elms of Ballard Memorial School, it is wonderful to see you, Elaine. Stand up. (Applause)

I want you to know, this girl was for me for Vice-President before I was. (Applause)

I never released those letters, Elaine. Otherwise the press would have said that I was campaigning for the job. They had some suspicions, but they didn't have much proof. But on January 3rd Elaine announced that she was for LBJ and HHH.

Oh, I wish that you could vote about 2,000 times. (Laughter)

Well, it is nice to see you, and just a moment ago I had the privilege of greeting, saying hello to David Barkley, and, David, I heard your message as I was waiting here in the back of the auditorium. I wish that I could have been here, sitting right here, while you were delivering your eulogy, and while the whole proceedings for the memorial was underway.

And I am pleased, too, to meet Alben, Jr.

You know, the Barkleys, well, I have got to get a little sentimental with you. The Barkleys have meant a great deal to the Humphreys. When I had little or no chance of being elected to the United States Senate -- that is what they said, at least -- that was 1948 -- I made a special plea to the Democratic National Committee to have the nominee for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket come to Minnesota because I was a candidate against a

rather strong and influential Republican senator. And I will never forget the speech that was delivered at Rochester, Minnesota, in the Mayo Memorial Auditorium.

The man that came to make that speech was Alben Barkley. Of course, that was just one of several speeches that we got him to make that day. What a worker. How unselfish. How magnanimous. Always willing to walk an extra mile. Always willing to give an extra speech. Always willing to do a little extra work; always willing to help the other fellow.

And did I need help. I was more or less like a drowning man on a turbulent sea with somebody hitting me over the head with an oar, and along came this lifesaver, and he made a speech in Rochester, Minnesota, that they have never forgotten because the man that I was running against had at one time been a rather liberal United States senator. He had almost had Democratic inclinations. He was close to political salvation, but he slipped before he got there. (Applause -- Laughter)

And I have never forgotten the story that Alben Barkley told. He told about this man that I was opposing in a manner that explained it so perfectly to our people because the man had a very good reputation up to a point, and then he supported Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, and then he decided that he had gone too far, and he became very conservative, and some people thought reactionary. And Alben Barkley came there, and he told the story about this good old Scandinavian family that decided to have a picture made, a portrait of the father of the family who had passed away, and the good gentleman that had passed away had never had a photograph, never even a snapshot.

So they called in all the family, and they got an artist from New York, and they asked this artist -- the artist asked them, now, you tell me about your father. And each one of the children told about the father, and the mother told about the father, and he took down all the notes, and he got an oral, verbal description of what the old man might have looked like.

So the artist went back to New York and he came back about three months later, and he had a portrait. So they gathered together, this fine Scandinavian family -- it may have been some other kind of a family in some other state, but in Minnesota it was Scandinavian -- they gathered together, this fine Scandinavian family, and they had the unveiling of the portrait.

Now, mind you, there had never been a photograph of the old

man, and they all stood there and they looked stoically, kind of sternly at this portrait, shaking their heads, and one of them got down under the table and looked up, and another one got on the other side of the table and looked this way, and another one climbed up in a chair and looked down, and nobody said a single word.

And finally the artist said, "Well, what about it? Are you going to take my portrait" -- because there was a rather handsome fee involved -- and they finally called on Oly, and said, "Oly, you are the oldest son. You must make the decision." And Oly got around, and he squinted to the left and he squinted to the right, and he looked up and looked down and he looked at it, and, "Yes," he says, "that is the old man all right but, oh, how he has changed." (Applause -- Laughter)

Well, I must say that is about what has happened to the Republican Party. It is the Republican Party all right now, but, oh, boy, how it has changed with Barry Goldwater at the head of it. (Applause)

Alben Barkley -- he made more good sense through good humor than any man I have ever known, and what a friend he was of the people. You honor him tonight. We honor him every day.

He has been frankly an inspiration to me, a friend of my father and my mother. His picture is in our home signed to my Dad, "To Hubert H. Humphrey, my friend, Alben Barkley." It is right there. I am so proud of it.

I asked to come to Paducah. I don't know whether you know it or not. (Applause)

I don't think we ought to have a Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate at any time on any ticket that doesn't come to Paducah. (Applause)

Alben Barkley, always filled with good humor, wholesome good humor, happy. I call my airplane that we fly in, mine -- leased, that is. The Democratic National Committee leased it, I hope. (Laughter) We call it the Happy Warrior, and was there ever a happier one than Alben Barkley?

Oh, he fought the good fight, and when I see people out around America, and I see them happy and joy on their countenances, I say to myself many times, these are good people. These are friendly people. These are people that are going to vote for the

Party of progress. They are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson. And they always remind me of Alben Barkley of Paducah. (Applause)

I guess that is why I think we ought to have a good time here tonight. Alben Barkley wouldn't have liked it if we sat around here and just started moaning and groaning, not for a moment.

I listened to those immortal words, the final words of that good man. You would be interested to know on the very day, on that day he left to make that speech, I had a visit with him in the United States Senate, sitting in the back row, and he talked to me, believe it or not, on that day on the issue of human rights.

He told me, "Hubert, the time has arrived for the American people and this government to make it manifestly clear that everybody in this country is to have equal opportunity, that everyone is to have his place in the sun. There is only one kind of citizenship, first class citizenship."

Those were his words to me. I have them written down. I remember. And he left that day to make a speech. And the words that he said symbolized his whole life because he could have, had he been ruthlessness, had he been power crazed, had he been willing to trade off his friends, he possibly could have sat in the seat of the mightiest of the mighty. But as he said, "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than to sit in the seat of the mighty."

The truth is that by being a servant in the house of the Lord and the house of the people, he did occupy seats of the mighty. He occupied a mighty place in the hearts of the American people, and he occupied a mighty place in our government as I shall speak of tonight.

Imagine coming to the Congress of the United States in the first term of Woodrow Wilson and serving into the 1950's. Imagine that. Look at the panorama of history, and never did I ever meet anybody that was so young at heart. Oh, what an inspiration. I have seen young folks 18 years of age that were twice as old as Alben Barkley.

Alben Barkley was a young man all of his life, creative, imaginative, vigorous, vital, outgoing, sacrificing.

He symbolized the very spirit of this country, and when he passed away, he did it just like he would have wanted to.

Any man in public life would say what a way to die, to be working and fighting for what you believe in, and the words that came from his lips symbolized the highest ideals of American public life.

So tonight let's have a good time. Let's talk about the opposition, and let's talk about ourselves as Alben Barkley used to do it without rancor, without bitterness.

Why, he could skin the Republicans so nice that they thought they were just being massaged. (Laughter -- Applause)

Yes, he loved life. And if you don't love life, you ought to get out of politics, I will tell you that.

One of the marks of his greatness was his ability in the most critical hours to find something to smile about or laugh about, and by the way, one of the marks of America that people talk of all over the world is that in America people can laugh at themselves.

They have some kind of inner confidence, some kind of inner faith that permits them to make their countenance, which is God's looking glass, to be a smile and to have a sense of joy.

So we talk of a man who loved life, who loved his country, who loved his Party, who never looked back except to report history accurately. And always looked ahead. All of his life, looking ahead.

I said out here at the airport that I hope and pray that I can do as well. Well, that is a pretty high standard, but it is something at least to point to, to do as well. Why, to be Vice-Presidential candidate, to follow in the footsteps of Alben Barkley, is an honor second to none, and am I proud to be here tonight and find my picture along side of the Veep's. What a joy. What a thrill. (Applause)

I saw a number of young people when I came in tonight. Well, Alben Barkley loved young people. He inspired them. They loved to have him come speak to the colleges, and he was a riot. He would tell them stories; he would have them rolling in the aisle, and they learned more about American government in one of his stories about Paducah, Kentucky, than they learned out of a full year's course in American law or American government.

I have been there -- teaching through parables, teaching through humor, teaching through examples, teaching through living. Those are the best teachers in the world.

And a man in public life that is worthy of being called great or even good is essentially a teacher or he is nothing. If all he can do is to recite what others have done, if all he can do is to be just there to vote yes or no, he is not really great; but if he can inspire, if he can teach, if he can elevate, if he can get people to do more than they were capable of doing, then they really are entitled to the mantle of leader and of greatness.

Well, I could stand here tonight and sure tell you a lot of Barkley stories, and I am always tempted to do so. You know, Alben Barkley and Hubert Humphrey had something in common. They tell me once in awhile Alben would get warmed up on these stories, and he would make his speeches a little longer than he planned them. Look at who is talking. I tell you, I never know whether the audience likes my speeches, but I sure do. (Laughter)

I remember Alben Barkley telling that story about the old fellow that came on into town, and he always timed every one of his political speeches to about 15 minutes, and this time the fellow was running a little bit behind time, and he forgot to take out his watch, which is a habit of mine, and he didn't put his watch down there, and as he was telling that story, he wondered what time did I start? Finally he got his watch out, and he had been talking then about an hour, and he was trying to remember what hour was it when I started, and he got going and going and going and finally a fellow at the end of the room said, "Never mind your watch, take a look at the calendar hanging behind you." (Laughter)

That is a Barkley story.

Now, there is one that my wife tells on me, that is almost as good. Your speeches don't have to be eternal to be immortal.

But I am happy to tell you I pay no attention to her at all -- on that item. (Laughter) Other than that, I toe the mark pretty well.

Well, this man had a career. His life in public life or his service in public life wasn't just an avocation. It wasn't just an interlude. It was a full life, a full career. He served Kentucky and his nation in Washington for 39 years. You know it. First in the House, then in the Senate, became the majority leader

of the United States Senate which is a position of great power and responsibility, and finally as Vice-President. Oh, no. And then you good people in Kentucky returned him to the United States Senate.

I believe this man more than any other gave the Democratic Party the symbol or the philosophy that it was a party with a heart, and that it was a party that gave a government that cared. Alben Barkley was unashamedly compassionate. He loved people. He couldn't stand suffering if he could help it.

And he talked of the Democratic Party not just as an instrument of government but as an instrument for the benefit of humanity. He spoke of our Party in terms of human qualities, and like that great friend of his, Sam Rayburn, Alben Barkley was a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology.

Alben Barkley, Sam Rayburn, and Carl Hayden, they all came to Congress in the same year. Two of them are gone from this earthly life, but let me put it on the record right here. They will never be gone from the history and the tradition and the life of America because greatness is immortal, and immortality is not theology. It is a fact.

And I am proud to be here in the home of that man of immortal life.

Now, there are two things behind this life of Alben Barkley which legend may obscure. Beneath that wit and good humor which I have talked about, which was such a joy, he had the courage and the wisdom of a great legislative leader. He never once indulged in personalities or half truths. He was a clean man, a good man, and he was a responsible man. He always put his country above his Party even though he loved the Party that he gave so much to.

He gave firm direction to his fellow Democrats. He could humble himself if needed. He could stand like a giant against a majority if he believed he was right.

He could even turn down the request of a great president.

This is a man of principle. But yet he was a man of accommodation. He wasn't brittle. He wasn't inflexible. He was a human being. And he saw the necessity of working carefully, patiently, perseveringly, kindly, with his colleagues.

He mobilized the energies of those that agreed with him, and

he was equally skilled, I might say, in fashioning agreement amongst those with whom he differed. He didn't read them out of the Party. He didn't charge the opposition with improper motives.

He tried to bring people together, and he won them over time after time after time.

He was the first Vice-Presidential nominee in recent history chosen because he had every qualification to be President of the United States. (Applause)

Too often over the decades the vice-presidency has been merely a subject for humor. Take Thomas R. Marshall, who by the way was a good man, Vice-President under Woodrow Wilson. He noted that the vice-president is like a man in a cataleptic state. Here is what he said about the vice-president. "He cannot speak, he cannot move, he suffers no pain, and yet he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on around him." Wow! I hope that no one wants to apply that to me.

But President Truman's selection of and the Democratic Party's selection of Alben Barkley in the Philadelphia convention of 1948 stressed the new concept of the vice-presidency. The Veep not only was eminently qualified to assume the awesome duties of the presidency, but he was an active vice-president who served as the traveling eyes and ears of the Truman Administration.

I wonder how many of you remember his trip to Berlin with Bob Hope, with others, when he went to Berlin at the time of international crisis to represent our government and to bring cheer and confidence to our little garrison inside Berlin that was being besieged by the Communists. Alben Barkley went into that center of crisis, and he was like a legion of new troops by his words and by his commitments and his sense of humor.

There are many striking parallels between Alben Barkley and Lyndon Johnson. Both were tested in the legislative battles of Congress. Alben Barkley, 39 years in public life, and Lyndon Johnson, 30 years in public life.

Both were elected by their fellow Democrats to the highest office in the United States Senate, majority leader, and both of them recognized as outstanding, gifted majority leaders. And both of them had received a mandate from the American people to be vice-president.

And when under tragic and dreadful circumstances Lyndon

Johnson was elevated to the White House, he brought to that high office of president many of the qualities which were so prominent in the character of Alben Barkley.

Let me list them.

He brought wisdom that comes only from experience and from the contact with the life of a nation and a government. And he brought responsibility which was gained from that vast experience. And he brought a deep sense of compassion for people. And he brought a sensitivity to the rich diversity of America.

These men had much in common. Alben Barkley was a child of Woodrow Wilson, of the Woodrow Wilson era, and Lyndon Johnson was a child of the great depression and the Franklin Roosevelt era.

The common experiences which shaped their political philosophy, however, were service under Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Oh, how I wish I could have it written in my political history that I had something to do with the shaping of the New Deal. All I had to do with it was that I cast my first vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Applause)

Alben Barkley was proud of the record of the New Deal. He fought for it like a tiger. And he along with Franklin Roosevelt were really the architects of the New Deal, and you could include with it Sam Rayburn in the House of Representatives. And it just seems incredible to me that anyone would ever want to detract from that great record.

In the twilight of his life he said that he did not think any administration, and I remember his speech, at the Armory in Washington, D. C., honoring Woodrow Wilson the last year of his life, the last year of Alben Barkley's life. My wife and I sat there, and we were deeply moved by the way that Alben Barkley poured his heart into that speech that night, not a young man in terms of chronological age, and what an orator. What a magnificent orator. And he was telling us of Woodrow Wilson, and he was telling us of Franklin Roosevelt, and he was telling us of the New Deal, and that night he said it was inconceivable that any administration or any party would try to undo the fundamental gains that had been made these past years since the 1930's for the American people. (Applause)

I have mixed emotions. I sometimes wish that Alben were here now to see the challenge that is before us. And yet I think

he worked hard enough, and it is our turn now.

I wish that this thought that he expressed, that no political party or any administration would seek to undo the great gains that we have made, I wish that that were true. Until 1964 it was true. The Republican Party also, although it once fought these programs and resisted them, programs which Alben Barkley helped fashion and of which he was so proud, the Republican Party came to adopt and help extend the vision of the New Deal.

Why, Senator Goldwater called Dwight Eisenhower's program a "dime store New Deal." No responsible officer of government, Republican or Democrat alike, ever threatened or openly proposed to repeal the New Deal until now where a man gets up and says that he considers his objective not to pass laws but to repeal them.

I consider this a declaration of political war, and I ask that spokesman what laws? What Barkley measures do you want to repeal, Mr. Goldwater? What New Deal, Fair Deal, Eisenhower measures do you wish to repeal? I think the American people are entitled to something more than glib and dangerous generalities.

This year a few radical men, and that is what they are -- these are not confused people, they are radicals -- a few radical men under Senator Goldwater's banner have captured the Republican Party. They are like pirates that have boarded the ship and locked up the crew. And they are now sailing the sea preying upon anything that they can see.

They have as much right to the proud name of the Republican Party as the wolf had to masquerade as the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood. (Applause)

GOP --- it used to stand for Grand Old Party. Now it means "Goldwater, Our Problem." (Laughter -- Applause)

GOP -- fathered by Abraham Lincoln, and today its spokesman repudiates the Emancipation Proclamation. GOP -- the party of Lincoln, the Lincoln who said government of the people, by the people, and for the people, a Lincoln who said the duty of government is to serve the people, a Lincoln who said that government shall do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves, or as well for themselves.

Today that Party has been kidnapped, pirated by a group of radical brigands who have repudiated the father of the Party and repudiated all it ever stood for.

I charge them with being not Republicans, not Democrats, not Independents. I charge them with being America's new breed of radicals. (Applause)

Yes, they have declared war upon 30 years of American progress. They have declared war on their own Party. These radicals, and that is what they are, my friends, they would weaken Social Security, if not destroy it. Why, there hasn't been a responsible spokesman of either political party that has challenged Social Security since Alf Landon carried Maine and Vermont. (Applause)

And I will let you know something. Mr. Goldwater is not going to carry either one of them in 1964. (Applause)

They would halt the farm price support programs. Oh, Mr. Goldwater says, "Oh, no, you Democrats accuse me falsely. You say that I want to immediately stop price supports."

He said, "I didn't say that." What he said was he wanted a prompt termination. (Laughter)

Now, my dear friends, I used to teach school, and when I told one of my students "immediately" it meant promptly, and when I said "promptly" it meant immediately, and if Mr. Goldwater gets confused over words like immediate and prompt, he is not fit to be president. (Applause)

But make no mistake about it. Mr. Goldwater who has the conscience he says of a conservative, which is another play on words, because he is not a conservative; he doesn't conserve the past. He seeks to repudiate it.

Mr. Goldwater is opposed to the farm price support program, and I want to warn every Kentucky tobacco grower that if he has his way, your tobacco won't be worth ten cents a pound, and don't forget it. (Applause)

Your cotton, you have got a couple of counties in Kentucky nearby here that grow some cotton. Well, cotton is a part of the American agricultural economy. The Senator from Arizona is as opposed to cotton as he is to progress. (Laughter) He voted against every single farm measure that has ever been put before

the Congress of the United States.

I can tell you one thing, he is consistent. He is consistently negative, consistently wrong. (Applause)

These Goldwater radicals, they even want to sell TVA. Oh, yes. They mean it. They want to sell TVA.

I said to a group the other day just what I am saying now, and some fellow said, "Oh, no, don't let that happen." He said, "Well, it would be bad enough to sell it, but my goodness, imagine if they started to manage it." Good grief! (Laughter)

Yes, to sell TVA. Mind you, here is a man that is fighting against TVA. TVA that has meant strength to America in wartime. We couldn't have had our bomber fleet in World War II without TVA that produced the electricity that produced the aluminum from the bauxite, and the bauxite produced the aluminum oxide, and the aluminum oxide produced the aluminum plate which was used to make bombers which made World War II a victory. TVA, that harnessed the waters of the rivers, that prevented floods, that creates the power, that helps free enterprise grow and grow and grow, that helps farmers. that produces recreational areas, and yet this man, this temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction- (Laughter) -- this man has the unmitigated gall and nerve to recommend selling it.

Well, I want to tell you something. He is never going to get the chance. (Applause)

These Goldwater radicals, they even oppose our war on poverty. The only war they want is those that have got little nuclear weapons involved.

No war on poverty. They would ignore the needs of education, and the statements I make are documented by their votes, not just by their speeches. They would ignore the needs of our elderly. They would ignore the needs of our young. And the Senator from Arizona and his followers look upon compassion as weakness and concern for the afflicted as socialism.

I will tell you how we look upon it, as good solid decent Americanism. (Applause)

Alben Barkley understood that government has as its primary purpose the helping of the people of America to help themselves. The whole purpose of this great America of ours is to emancipate humankind from sickness, from ignorance, from illiteracy, from

poverty, from fear, from frustration, permitting people to lift themselves, to be better people, and government is a partner in this great effort, this government of the people.

Apparently the Senator from Arizona never read that portion of the Constitution which calls upon the government and the people to promote the general welfare. This fundamental principle of American Government has eluded the Goldwater radicals, and that is why I call them radicals. They not only seek to tear down the progress we have made. They not only repudiate bipartisan foreign policy that we fashioned. They not only drive from their own Party anybody that doesn't agree with them. They not only attack the Supreme Court and the whole judicial system. They attack the Constitution of the United States of America. And I say that anybody that does that is a radical, and I care not whether they are radicals of the left or of the right, they are not worthy of trust and respect in America. (Applause)

Instead of compassion, which is a good Judaic-Christian virtue, the Goldwaterites preach the kind of selfish irresponsibility in both domestic and foreign affairs, uninformed by history, if ever they read it, uncontrolled by reason, untempered by charity, this selfish irresponsibility is the central impulse to the Goldwaterite brand of radicalism, and this is why I am motivated as never before in this campaign.

This isn't an ordinary election. This is an election over what values America is to have. (Applause)

And you can generally tell of the intellectual bankruptcy of a political leader or party by how many half truths, innuendoes, smears and slogans they indulge in.

I have yet to find out what the program is of the opposition except that Americans are sick and tired. Believe me, everything they speak of, we are sick and tired of this and sick and tired of that. You can't say sick and tired without sneering. The only people that I know that are really sick and tired are the ones that are talking about it. (Applause)

And it is this kind of radicalism that leads the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party to charge that we in the Democratic Party are the party of socialism, calling Lyndon Johnson a socialist. This is like calling a churchman an atheist.

Lyndon Johnson, if ever there was a man who was dedicated

to the institutions of private property and free enterprise, it is the President of the United States. Why, the other day this man of the opposition even charged our President with being soft on Communism. Of course, he had just met Nixon. (Laughter)

Nixon imparted to him some new information, the same information that defeated Mr. Nixon for the presidency and for governor of California. (Applause)

May I say to Mr. Goldwater, with friends like that we don't need any enemies. (Laughter)

Now, the irresponsibility of charging the Democratic Party and its candidate with socialism is no where better illustrated than in Goldwater's statement on TVA. Here is what he said, that "TVA was conceived in socialism, nurtured and expanded in deceit."

I wonder who wrote those lines for him. What nonsense.

And then he said that "TVA should be turned over to free enterprise if the government could only get a dollar for it."

I gather he plans on selling it to the department store out there in Phoenix. (Laughter -- Applause)

I don't need to tell you about it. This is the same TVA that has brought you the benefits of the Kentucky Dam and is bringing you the land between the lakes, national recreation area. And it is the same TVA within just a little distance of where Barkley Lake can be found.

Then couple that statement, my friends, with this one. I thought that REA was just about sure to remain with us as Mother's Day. I didn't know anybody that was really against REA.

I really mean this. I have searched through this land like Diogenes, and I have gone from precinct to precinct and state to state, and so help me, I never yet found a single person who openly said he is against REA, and all at once out of the backwoods, way back, comes this man with no lantern, believe me, only with a kerosene lamp -- (Laughter) -- and here is what he said: "The time has come to dissolve the REA."

Why? Because it works. (Laughter)

Oh, my friends, any man that says that TVA was conceived in deceit and that we ought to dissolve the REA is a radical, is

irresponsible, and does not have the equipment to be President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, lest any of you think that I am being a little too partisan, may I say that what I say looks like an affidavit of character reference and praise compared to what Governor Scranton said. I haven't even written Mr. Goldwater a letter; (Laughter) to what Governor Rockefeller said, and a half dozen others; to what Mr. Nixon said.

You know, Mr. Goldwater goes around, and he says he wants to debate the President. Of course, in February he said no president should ever debate a national election. That was in February.

Goldwater is very interesting. You have always got some new interpretation of what he meant. It is sort of like going to a skeet shoot and trying to hit a moving target. He said he wanted to debate, and I let him know not long ago from a public platform I thought that was a good idea, that there were a couple of invitations still outstanding. He didn't get his spring training. The first debate he ought to have is with Rockefeller. Wouldn't that be a dandy? (Applause) (Laughter)

And then after they got through working each other over, I think it would be good to match him with Scranton of Pennsylvania. What a show that would be. (Applause) Then he could take on just for kicks Romney of Michigan, and then just to have a real old dirty slugging match, Nixon. And after he got through with those, I would be willing to go on in an exhibition bout just to raise funds for the casualties of the Republican Party. (Applause) And I think he would just about be in trim for the champ.

Well, friends, that San Francisco convention was something to behold, wasn't it? Don't forget it. Don't forget it. They want you to forget it because the outcome of that convention, the Goldwater convention, was a flat refusal by the leadership of the present Republican Party, the leadership to repudiate radicalism or extremism. They refused to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics. And by so doing this Goldwater Party has encouraged into its ranks and under respectable American platforms individuals and organization whose stock in trade is the politics of hate, bitterness and catastrophe.

Don't take my word for it. The minority report of the Republican Party in convention assembled at San Francisco cited

the John Birch Society and others in these words: "Groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American democratic tradition." That report signed by some of the most distinguished Republicans in America, accused the Goldwater faction, and of these groups -- I should say accused the John Birch Society and their cohorts of "using secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassination, of dealing in unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, falsehoods to trigger public hysteria, of exploiting anti-minority group sentiment to inflame human passion."

Ladies and gentlemen, never has an indictment of a group been written in such flaming, unmistakable language. But what did the Senator from Arizona say about these groups? These un-American groups? This Birch Society that accuses President Eisenhower of being a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. Imagine that. Accusing the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of being a member of the Communist Party.

What do they say? What did Mr. Goldwater say? He said, "I am impressed by the type of people in the John Birch Society. They are the kind we need in politics."

End of quote.

Well, Mr. Goldwater, they may be the kind we need in politics but not in America. Not in this country. (Applause)

If Senator Goldwater is unaware of the nature of his radical support, then he is incredibly naive, too naive to run this country. If he accepts this radical support for the purpose of votes, he is dangerously cynical. If the Senator is captivated by their direction, their philosophy, and methods, he is a grave danger to American democracy.

I think the American people have a right to know whether Mr. Goldwater thinks that these are still what he says, people by which he is impressed, and that they are the kind that we need in politics.

I will tell you, they are the kind we don't need. We repudiate these rascals. We repudiate them with the same kind of determination that we repudiate the communists or the fascists. The Birchites and the radicals of the right are of the same ilk as the communists and the Marxists of the left, and we repudiate them. We want none of them in America. (Applause)

Is it any wonder that Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania said

that Senator Goldwater and his radical followers are outside the mainstream of American life and thought. These are things that they would like us to forget. They would like to have you remember their little shouting chants. They would like to have you think of only the little things that they can holler at our President.

But I don't intend to let you forget them. They attack and they attack and they attack in the hopes that you will forget and forget and forget. They use the technique of the big lie. But we are going to expose them. They are not going to get by with it.

The people of Kentucky are too intelligent. So are the people of the other states of America.

You want performance, and we have the candidate that gives it to you. And the opposition hasn't performed.

Last year we enacted a tax cut of \$11.5 billion to stimulate prosperity. We passed the Ohio Valley Flood Control Project to protect Kentucky and other states from floods. We approved a wilderness bill to preserve the remaining wilderness lands including the forests in Kentucky. We enacted the Economic Opportunities Act to help you in your battle in some areas against economic distress. We have passed accelerated public works, area redevelopment, aid to higher education, nurses training. One bill after another.

And what was the performance rating of the Republican standard bearer? And may I say that your two senators from this state and a majority of your delegation in Congress voted for all of these constructive and progressive programs. Republicans--many of them voted for them. But not Senator Goldwater! (Applause)

Now, dear friends, the hour is late. Let me say that when we are all through talking about these great issues, economic, political, I think it is fair to say that what we want in the White House is someone who has a record of performance.

Alben Barkley would have welcomed the opportunity to work on these problems. He had a lot of confidence in our ability to be able to govern ourselves, and I think that Lyndon Johnson is the same kind of a man, trained in the same tradition, cut from the same mould and guided by the same visions. President Johnson, like Alben Barkley, has enthusiasm for what America has been and enthusiasm for what America can be and enthusiasm and faith in the American people, all of them.

President Johnson knows and you know that the big and central issue of our time is peace and security. And, ladies and gentlemen, you cannot afford to have in the office of the presidency an amateur. You cannot afford to have as president of this United States anyone that is impulsive, irresponsible, rash or impetuous. You cannot afford to have someone that argues about the yesterdays and even distorts their meaning. You cannot afford to have someone as President of the United States that is apparently incapable of sensing what is going on in this world and has little or no vision about the tomorrows.

Only in this last week three great changes, in Russia, in China with the atomic device, and in Great Britain with the new government, and possibly many more changes to come. We do not answer these problems by ultimatums. You don't answer the problems of the Soviet Union by saying what Mr. Goldwater said, "Let's lob a bomb in the Kremlin." That is not any way, my friends.

John Kennedy and others have told us that peace requires perservering patience, peace is a process to be pursued. Peace requires unselfish devotion to the cause of peace. It requires patient building. It requires a Peace Corps. It requires Food for Peace. It requires health. It requires economic assistance. It requires military power. And above all it requires the use of power with wisdom and restraint.

When we boil it all down, everything I have said today, TVA, REA, all the things that I have said which are true about this opposition, it all fades away into relative insignificance because, ladies and gentlemen, we are living in perilous days, and we will be living in those days for years to come.

And the man that serves in the White House the next four years is going to be making decisions that will affect the lives of everyone of us for years to come. You can't afford to have a man in the White House that on one day is opposed to the U.N. and the next day thinks, "Well, maybe we ought to tolerate it."

You cannot afford to have a man in the White House that votes against one feeble step to end or at least to curb the arms race, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. You cannot afford to have a man in the White House who feels that all you need to do is serve an ultimatum upon the Communists and say either drop dead or else. And that is literally what has been said.

What you need are men in the stature of a Roosevelt, of a Truman, of an Eisenhower, of a Kennedy, and of a Johnson who

understand that we, the free people of America, have the terrible burden of world leadership and that world leadership does not permit you the luxury or the extravagance of acting irresponsibly.

We have in our hands tonight, my fellow Americans, the life of this planet. We built the great power that we have at great expense not for conquest, and we have unlimited power. Let no one deny that and let no one fool you, such power as the world has never known. And we need a man at the helm of this government who has self-discipline, who understands that power and the wealth of America is not for conquest or luxury, but that this power and this wealth has but one purpose, to achieve a decent and an enduring peace.

We built this massive power to deter war, not to start it.

We built this massive country of ours with its wealth to help people help themselves, not to destroy them.

And I come before any audience without any apology and without, let me say, any shame whatsoever when I say to you that the peacemaker is the strongest man in the world and that the President of the United States must always represent the religious spiritual convictions of the American people which is "Blessed are the Peacemakers."

We long for the day that we can beat our swords into plowshares. We long for the day that we can stop this arms race. We long for the day that we can pour our resources into better living, and we long for the day, my friends, that man shall make war no more.

Oh, yes, those of the opposition say they want victory now. But we want victory, too. But the victory we want, my dear friends, is a victory over war, a victory over disease, a victory over poverty, a victory over intolerance, a victory over oppression, and for these goals we mobilize America.

We do not mobilize the power of this nation to frighten anyone. We mobilize the power of America to inspire everyone.

And I am on the campaign hustings day in and day out because I honestly believe in my heart that the candidate of opposition does not sense these great imperatives. And I do believe that Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, has dedicated his life to the cause of human justice, to the cause of this Republic, one nation indivisible, under God, with

liberty and justice for all, and that he has dedicated his life to the pursuit of a just and an enduring peace, and that is my kind of an American, and I am proud to be his running mate, and I long for the day that we can count the votes so we can see whether or not America wants to be the children of the light or the children of darkness.

And I think I know what we are going to be. We are going to light this candle of hope in the world, and we are not going to just spend our time cursing the darkness.

Let's get busy. Let's win this election on November 3rd for our country and for humanity, and we can do it by helping our candidate, Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.
(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 RELEASE
FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21

B-3887

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
PADUCAH, KENTUCKY
TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 20

We met in Paducah today to honor Alben Barkley -- one of the greatest American political leaders of the 20th Century.

His stature in our history might suggest that we make this a solemn occasion, but if Alben Barkley were with us, he would not permit it.

One of the marks of his greatness was his ability to find something to laugh about even in the darkest hour -- or to prevent others from becoming too self-indulgent or too stuffy. Humor, for him, was the great solvent of antagonisms among men, just as he found the humorous parable a means to transmit his wisdom and knowledge to others.

I'd like nothing more than to stand here tonight telling Barkley stories for two or three hours -- which, by the way, is how Alben Barkley got his reputation for occasionally talking too long.

I sympathize fully with our beloved Veep. I understand his feelings when a Kentucky gentleman once interrupted the Vice President by saying, "Barkley, if your watch has stopped there is a calendar on the wall behind you."

What a career! He served Kentucky and his nation in Washington for 39 years -- first, in the House of Representatives -- then in the Senate where he became Democratic Majority Leader -- and finally as Vice President. And, then, the good people of Kentucky returned him once again to the Senate.

There are two things about Alben Barkley which the legend may obscure. Beneath the wit and good humor, he bore the courage and wisdom of a great legislative leader. He gave firm direction to his

- more -

fellow Democrats. He mobilized the energies of those who agreed. And he was equally skilled in fashioning agreement among those who differed.

Alben Barkley was the first Vice Presidential nominee chosen because he had every qualification to be President. Until his time the Vice Presidential office had usually been a subject for humor or contempt -- or worse.

Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President under President Woodrow Wilson, noted that the "Vice President is like a man in cataleptic state: he cannot speak; he cannot move; he suffers no pain; and yet he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on around him."

President Truman's selection of Alben Barkley ended all that. The Veep not only was eminently qualified to assume the awesome duties of the Presidency, but also he was an active Vice President who served as the traveling eyes and ears of the Truman Administration.

There are many striking parallels between the careers of Alben Barkley and Lyndon Johnson.

Both were tested in the legislative battles of Congress. Both were elected by their fellow Democrats to the position of highest political leadership in the Senate. Both received a mandate from the American people to serve as vigorous and creative Vice Presidents.

And when, under tragic and dreadful circumstances, Lyndon Johnson was elevated to the White House, he brought to the high office of President many of the qualities which were so prominent in the character of Barkley.

He brought wisdom and responsibility gained from vast political experience. He brought a deep sense of compassion for people and he brought a sensitivity to the rich diversity of America.

Alben Barkley was a child of the Woodrow Wilson era, while Lyndon Johnson was a child of the Great Depression. The common experience which shaped their political philosophies was service during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Alben Barkley was proud of the record of the New Deal. In the twilight of his life he said that he did not think any administration of any party would try to undo these fundamental gains for the people.

I wish that were true.

- more -

Until 1964, the ~~Republican~~ party -- although it once resisted the programs of which Alben Barkley was proud -- came to adopt and help extend the vision of the New Deal.

This year, however, a few men, under Senator Goldwater's direction have captured that party. They have as much right to its proud name as the wolf had to masquerade as the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood. But regardless of right, these irresponsible men have seized control and declared war on the achievements of 30 years.

They would weaken Social Security -- if not destroy it entirely. They would halt farm price support programs. They would sell TVA. They would wreck Rural Electrification. They would oppose attacks on poverty. They would ignore the needs of education.

Alben Barkley understood that government has the express purpose of helping the people of America help themselves -- "to promote the general welfare," as it says in the Constitution.

The fundamental tenet of American government has totally eluded the Goldwaterites.

Instead of compassion, Senator Goldwater preaches a kind of selfish irresponsibility in domestic and foreign affairs. Uninformed by history, uncontrolled by reason, untempered by charity, this selfish irresponsibility is the central impulse to Senator Goldwater's brand of radicalism.

And it is this selfish irresponsibility which appeals so directly to various extremist groups in America. The outcome of the Goldwater Convention in San Francisco was a flat refusal to repudiate extremism. By its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics, the Goldwater Party has permitted into its ranks those individuals and organizations whose stock in trade is the politics of hate and catastrophe.

The Minority Report on Extremism to the 1964 Republican National Convention cited the John Birch Society and others as "groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American Democratic tradition."

It accused them of using "secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassination...(of dealing in) unfounded rumors,

gross exaggerations, and falsehoods to trigger public hysteria..., of exploiting anti-minority group sentiment to inflame human passion."

But Senator Goldwater has said: "I am impressed with the type of people in the John Birch Society. They are the kind we need in politics."

If Senator Goldwater is unaware of the nature of much of his support, he must be incredibly naive.

If he accepts extremist support for the purpose of votes, he is dangerously cynical.

If Senator Goldwater is captivated by their direction, philosophy and method, he is in grave danger to American democracy.

Senator Goldwater and his extremist followers are outside the mainstream of American life and thought. And the people of Kentucky know that performance -- not promises -- is the true test of a man.

How about Senator Goldwater's performance? Consider these facts:

Last year we enacted a \$11.5 billion tax cut to stimulate prosperity and accelerate our economic growth.

We passed an Ohio Valley flood control project to help protect Kentucky and other states.

We approved the Wilderness Bill to conserve our remaining wilderness lands -- including forests in Kentucky.

We enacted the Economic Opportunity Act to fight pockets of poverty in this land of prosperity.

We approved the Cotton Act of 1964 which is vital to cotton farmers and the textile industry.

Two Republican Senators or a majority of your delegation in Congress voted for all these constructive and progressive programs. But not Senator Goldwater. As in most things, his response was always, "No, no..., a thousand times no."

The people of Kentucky know that performance-- not promises -- is the true test of a man.

We are a dynamic and growing country with many problems to solve. We know the country's productive power can supply all people with jobs and raise every man above the level of poverty. We do not have

to redistribute the wealth to do this. We can create enough new wealth to do it. And we are confident we can keep peace, if America is as responsible as it is strong.

Alben Barkley would have welcomed the opportunity to solve these problems. He had confidence that a free, democratic people could govern themselves. He had profound faith in the free institutions of the American political system.

Lyndon Johnson is the same kind of man: cradled in the same tradition, cut from the same mold, and guided by the same visions.

Forgive us Democrats for your enthusiasm: enthusiasm for what America has been; enthusiasm for what American can be; enthusiasm for our faith in the American people -- all of them.

Forgive our enthusiasm as we enlist with Lyndon Johnson on November 3rd -- not for the last Great War-- but for the first Great Society.

#####

I would rather be a
servant in House of Lord
than sit in Seats
of the Mighty

Mayerlinson

✓ Elaine Elms of Ballard Memorial
Honor Student School
announced Jan 3 for LBS + H.H.

Tom Waller - Frank Patton

Guy Brattin

Ed Patton - Editor

Fred Patton - TV -

① Frank Patton - State Ch (wife Marge)

cong Frank Stubbelfield + wife Odessa
(Druggist) (1st cong Dist)

① ✓ Strother Milton - former State Sen.

① ✓ Tom Waller - M.C. - Berkeley
more

① ✓ Tom Darvill State Sen

① ✓ Julian Carroll - State Reps

① ✓ Fred Morgan - State Reps

David Barkley
son of Alben
Paducah, Kentucky
Alben Barkley Jr.

"The Gibraltar of Democracy"
Barkley 1st Cong Dist

We meet in Paducah today to honor Alben Barkley--

one of the greatest American political leaders of the

20th Century.

Alben always happy
a real man - humble

His stature in our history might suggest that we

make this a solemn occasion, but if Alben Barkley were

with us, he would not permit it.

- He loved life!

One of the marks of his greatness was his ability

to find something to laugh about even in the darkest

hour--or to prevent others from becoming too self-indulgent

or too stuffy. Humor, for him, was the great solvent of

antagonisms among men, just as he found the humorous

parable a means to transmit his wisdom and knowledge

to others.

He inspired young people - loved them

I'd like nothing more than to stand here tonight

I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord
than to sit in the seats of the mighty

Barkley
to me
my friend

telling Barkley stories for two or three hours--which,

by the way, is how Alben Barkley got his reputation for
occasionally talking too long.

*but who am I to
mention that!*

I sympathize fully with our beloved Veep. I under-
stand his feelings when a Kentucky gentleman once

interrupted the Vice President by saying, "Alben
Barkley,

if your watch has stopped, there's a calendar on the

wall behind you."

"Eternal to be immortal"

What a career! He served Kentucky and his nation

in Washington for 39 years--first, in the House of Repre-

sentatives--then in the Senate where he became Democratic

Majority Leader--and finally as Vice President. And, then,

the good people of Kentucky returned him once again to the

Senate.

*Democ Party - Govt that
Cares -
With a heart*

There are two things about Alben Barkley which the legend may obscure. Beneath the wit and good humor, he ^{had} ~~the~~ the courage and wisdom of a great legislative leader. He gave firm direction to his fellow Democrats. He mobilized the energies of those who agreed. And he was equally skilled in fashioning agreement among those who differed.

Alben Barkley was the first vice-presidential nominee in recent history chosen because he had every qualification to be president. Too often, over the decades, the vice-presidency had been merely a subject for humor.

Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President under President Woodrow Wilson, noted that "the Vice President is like a man in a cataleptic state: he cannot speak; he cannot move; he suffers no pain; and yet he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on around him."

President Truman's selection of Alben Barkley ^{stressed the new}
concept of the vice-presidency.

The Veep not only was eminently qualified to
assume the awesome duties of the Presidency, but ~~also~~

he was an active Vice-President who served as the

traveling eyes and ears of the Truman administration.

There are many striking parallels between the
careers of Alben Barkley and Lyndon Johnson.

President

*to Berlin
in 1949*

Both were tested in the legislative battles of
Congress. Both were elected by their fellow Democrats
to the position of highest political leadership in the

Senate. Both received a mandate from the American
people to serve as vigorous and creative Vice Presidents.

And when, under tragic and dreadful circumstances,
Lyndon Johnson was elevated to the White House, he

brought to the high office of President many of the
qualities which were so prominent in the character of
Alben Barkley.

↳ He brought wisdom and responsibility gained from
vast political experience. ↳ He brought a deep sense of
compassion for people and he brought a sensitivity to
the rich diversity of America.

↳ Alben Barkley was a child of the Woodrow Wilson
era, while Lyndon Johnson was a child of the Great
Depression. *+ by Roosevelt Era.*
↳ The common experience which shaped their
political philosophies was service during Franklin
Roosevelt's New Deal.

↳ Alben Barkley was proud of the record of the New
Deal. ↳ In the twilight of his life he said that he did

*He, not to FDR himself, made that
record.*

not think any administration of any party would try to
undo these fundamental gains for the people.

L I wish that were true.

L Until 1964, the Republican Party--although it once
resisted the programs of which Alben Barkley was proud--
came to adopt and help extend the vision of the New Deal.

L This year, however, a ^{radical} few men, under Senator
Goldwater's ~~selection~~ ^{banner}, have captured that party. They
have as much right to its proud name as the wolf had to
masquerade as the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood.

~~These irresponsible~~ ^{radicals} These irresponsible ~~men~~ have
seized control and declared war on the achievements of

30 years.

L These radicals ~~men~~ would weaken Social Security--if not destroy it

entirely. They would halt farm price support programs.
And Kentucky's tobacco farmers know what this would mean.

Cotton Farmers know what this would mean

TVA

Resolve

REA

They would sell TVA. They would ~~waste~~ rural electri-

fication. They would oppose attacks on poverty. They

would ignore the needs of education.

They would ignore

the needs of our elderly.

Alben Barkley understood that government has the

express purpose of helping the people of America help

themselves -- "to promote the general welfare," as it

says in the Constitution.

Principle

This fundamental ~~tenet~~ of American government has

totally eluded the Goldwater radicals.

The Goldwater rules

Instead of compassion, Senator Goldwater preaches

a kind of selfish irresponsibility in domestic and

foreign affairs. Uninformed by history, uncontrolled

by reason, untempered by charity, this selfish irresponsi-

bility is the central impulse to Senator Goldwater's

brand of radicalism.

It is this kind of radicalism that leads the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party to charge

~~we~~ we are the party of Socialism. The irresponsibility

of this charge is nowhere better illustrated than in

Goldwater's statement that "TVA was conceived in socialism...nurtured and expanded in deceit" and that

"TVA should be turned over to free enterprise if

they (the government) could only get a dollar for it."

This is the same TVA which has brought you the benefits of Kentucky Dam, is bringing you the ~~Barkley~~

~~Dam and the~~ "Land-Between-The-Lakes" National Recreation Area. - Power - ~~B~~ & Barkley Lake!

This statement coupled with the one that "the time has come to dissolve the REA" are prime examples of Goldwater's radicalism and irresponsibility.

TVA

dissolve
~~REA~~
REA

And it is this selfish irresponsibility which
radical
appeals so directly to various extremist groups in
America. The outcome of the Goldwater Convention in
San Francisco was a flat refusal to repudiate extremism.

By its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American
politics, the Goldwater Party has encouraged ~~pushed~~ into its
ranks those individuals and organizations whose stock
in trade is the politics of hate and catastrophe.

The Minority Report on Extremism to the 1964
Republican National Convention cited the John Birch
Society and others as "groups whose tactics are wholly
alien to the American democratic tradition."

It accused them of using "secrecy, vigilante tactics,
violence, smears, and character assassination... (of dealing

in) unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, and falsehoods
to trigger public hysteria..., of exploiting anti-minority
group sentiment to inflame human passion. 11

But Senator Goldwater has said: "I am impressed
by the type of people in the John Birch Society. They
are the kind we need in politics."

L If Senator Goldwater is unaware of the nature of
radical
much of his support, he must be incredibly naive.

L If he accepts ~~this~~ radical support for the purpose of
votes, he is dangerously cynical.

L If Senator Goldwater is captivated by their direction,
philosophy, and method, he is a grave danger to American
democracy.

yes L Go the Republican Movement & Creation of Penna State,
Senator Goldwater and his radical ~~followers~~ followers are
outside the mainstream of American life and thought.

But,

the people of Kentucky know that performance--not promises--

is the true test of a man.

L How about Senator Goldwater's performance? Consider these facts:

Last year we enacted a \$11.5 billion tax cut to stimulate prosperity and accelerate our economic growth.

L We passed an Ohio Valley flood control project to help protect Kentucky and other states.

L We approved the Wilderness Bill to conserve our remaining wilderness lands--including forests in Kentucky.

L We enacted the Economic Opportunity Act to fight pockets of poverty in this land of prosperity.

~~We approved the Cotton Act of 1964 which is vital~~

~~to cotton farmers and the textile industry~~

we passed the accelerated Public works
NDEA
Voc. Ed
QRA
Higher Educ
marquette training

L Your two Republican Senators or a majority of your delegation in Congress voted for all these constructive and progressive programs. But not Senator Goldwater. As in most things, his response was always, "No, no...a thousand times no."

yes L The people of Kentucky know that performance--not promises--is the true test of a man.

L We are a dynamic and growing country with many problems to solve. We know the country's productive power can supply all people with jobs and raise every man above the level of poverty. L We do not have to redistribute the wealth to do this. We can create enough new wealth to do it. And we are confident we can keep the peace, if America is as responsible as it is strong.

Keep the Peace!

L Alben Barkley would have welcomed the opportunity
to solve these problems. L He had confidence that a
free, democratic people could govern themselves. L He
had profound faith in the free institutions of the
American political system.

President

^ Lyndon Johnson is the same kind of man: cradled
in the same tradition, cut from the same mold, and
guided by the same visions.

L President Johnson - like Alben Barkely - has
enthusiasm for what America has been -- enthusiasm for
what America can yet be -- enthusiasm and faith in the
American people -- all of them.

L So let us enlist -- enthusiastically -- with
President Lyndon Johnson on November 3rd -- not for the
Last Great War -- But for the First Great Society.

PEACE

Text for ILGWU Tape

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Paducah, Kentucky

↳ The events of recent days -- the shake-up in the Kremlin leadership, the detonation of a nuclear device by Communist China, the change in Government in Great Britain -- focus our attention once again on the President's role as Commander-in-Chief and on his role as leader of the free world.

↳ These events dramatize the need for a President who knows that patience and prudence are required to maintain the delicate balance of peace between the United States and the Soviet Union. ↳ These events impress upon us once again the need for responsibility in the exercise of Presidential power.

↳ And these events point up our need for a man in the White House who knows that peace is not pursued through the rattle of rockets or the issuing of ultimatums.

The greatest difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater is on the question of responsibility in the field of international affairs.] ~~Senator Goldwater's views are no where~~

~~is more dangerous to the safety and welfare of~~
~~all Americans, to the safety and welfare of all~~
~~the world.~~ { The difference is much more than the

usual partisan arguments.

Senator Goldwater's reckless views on foreign policy have been repudiated by many famous Republican publications --] ~~the New York Herald-Tribune,~~
~~the Hearst newspapers, the Scripps Howard newspapers,~~
~~Life Magazine, the Saturday Evening Post. All of~~
~~them and many others have come out in favor of~~
~~President Johnson.~~ { Millions of Republicans will vote

for President Johnson this November because they share the view expressed by the New York Herald Tribune:

"Senator Goldwater has shown himself, in sum, a poor risk for the most personal and awesome of a President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may, in crisis, depend on his judgment -- and his judgment alone."

L The central fact that has emerged in this campaign is that the American people do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger.

L ~~Senator Goldwater~~ ^{He} is at odds with the whole bi-partisan tradition in foreign policy. He rejects foreign aid; he disdains negotiation; he dismissed the United Nations; he opposes our bridges to the people of the ~~Communist~~ ^{Eastern European} nations; and he condemns our efforts to end the armaments race.

L Listen to several of Senator Goldwater's considered, deliberate statements on foreign policy from his own book, "The Conscience of a Conservative." I quote directly:

"A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people, including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective."

Here is another of his policy statements:

"We must -- ourselves -- be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

~~In his ~~frantic~~ impatience with the world as it is, in his hot pursuit of the mirage of total victory, Senator Goldwater wishes to back the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war.~~

~~One of his ~~strategies~~ is~~ -- and again I quote him -- "to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

What the Reserve General from Arizona
does not realize is that such ~~juvenile~~ games
of "nuclear "chicken" could eventually result
in the annihilation of life on this planet.

~~Senator Goldwater does not realize that in~~
~~our age of quick and total destruction,~~ *and* there
is no such thing as quick and total victory --
there is only "instant annihilation."

The recent detonation of a nuclear device
by Red China underscores once again the perils
of this nuclear age. Since that day nearly
20 years ago when man exploded the atom and
acquired the power to obliterate himself, ~~from~~
~~the face of the earth,~~ war has worn a new face.

The sight of the mushroom cloud has sobered
responsible men and demands of them a keen

perception of mutual interests and the
highest degree of responsibility.

↳ We are led today by a man who has
displayed this degree of responsibility.

↳ President Johnson understands that we must
remain strong to preserve the peace. And

↳ President Johnson understands that strength
employed without responsibility is the
short-cut to mutual annihilation.

↳ Our President Lyndon B. Johnson is
a man of prudence and compassion, a man fully
conscious of his responsibility to use our
awesome power with reason and restraint.

↳ Under his leadership, America will never
risk the extinction of the torch of world
leadership by the bitter whirlwind of nuclear
holocaust.

✓ We honor the vision of John F. Kennedy
because he understood that perseverance in
the pursuit of peace is not cowardice -- but
courage. Restraint in the use of force is
not weakness -- but wisdom. President Johnson
is the keeper of that vision.

✓ In this time of national testing, let
us remember the message of the Scriptures:
"without vision, the people perish." Let us
hold fast to our vision of America. Let us
preserve our vision against those who do not
understand it; those who could so casually
destroy it.

✓ If we work with diligence this autumn,
this glorious American vision -- conceived
in hope -- forged in battle -- tested in
adversity -- shall not perish from this earth.



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