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Speech by Senator Humphrey H. Humphrey for Indiana Democratic Editors -- via telephone August 23, 1958

OPENING REMARKS -- Indiana program

Indiana dimoe

Thank you, Paul Butler -- and my warmest greetings to your great annual assemblage of Indiana Democratic leaders sponsored by the Indiana Democratic Editors.

I certainly regret that I am unable to be out there in French Lick with you tonight. Somehow, the jinx sign seems on me as far as getting to your conference is concerned. This is the third time I have been invited -- and each time official duties have prevented my being present.

However, I know our Democratic Editors would want me to do just what my colleagues and I are doing tonight -- staying here to complete the nation's legislative business.

Paul, I do want to salute you in front of your own state's party leaders. You have done an outstanding job as our national chairman, and you are helping stimulate new life and

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spirit into our Party as we look ahead to victories this fall.

It is always a pleasure to work with you.

of this occasion a little better if I described what is happening at this end of our hookup. I am speaking to you from the District of Columbia room, just across the corridor from the Senate Chamber in the Nation's Capitol. Around the Conference Table with me a group of my Democratic colleagues from the Senate -- and your own two fine Democratic Congressmen from Indiana.

The Senate is still in session, in what we hope will be its closing hours. If you hear bells ringing as this program progresses, be prepared for some sudden changes as we who are in the Senate will have to scurry back into the Senate Chamber for votes. If that happens, we will ask your Indiana Congressmen to "take over" until we return.

As we go into the campaign of 1958, we owe it to the American people to hold the Republican Party to account for its tragic failures of leadership -- the Wisenhower-Nixon Administration's errors of omission and commission.

The nation is paying a costly price for failures of Republican leadership at home and abroad -- in the Middle East and in our own Middle West.

In less than six years in office, the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has brought America to the worst recession since World War II at home, and to mortal danger of war and worldwide defeat abroad.

It has done this by its failure to give the nation ginimal leadership, a failure resulting in a surrender to Old Guard reactionary domestic policies and stale, useless foreign policies.

As a result, we are now faced with more than five million

unemployed -- and the highest prices and taxes in our history.

We are faced with the loss of American influence and prestige everywhere in the world, and the daily danger of war in the Middle East.

we are faced with a Communist dictatorship that has

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caught up to us in scientific skill and is speeding ahead at a

faster rate of progress in economic growth and power develop
ment while we only have a second-best military establishment

to meet this Red threat.

we are faced with a farm slump that has driven four

million people off the farm in five years, and race relations

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And on top of everything else, we are the sight

corruption and influence seeking in the white House and at

other high levels of government.

All of this tragic toll stems from failure of leadership.

Our nation begs for leadership. We need a President who will exercise his responsibilities -- ndt/jast exercises.

We need a President with the courage to make decisions
-- whether they are popular with everyone or not.

We can't get a new President yet -- but we can help

fill the vacuum of leadership by expanding the Democratic

majorities in Congress, and thereby start the nation back onto

the road of sound economic progress and rease with figures

fally as eme of Strungthand tonor.

It isn't an "accident" that the nation's economy was slowed to a walk in the current recession.

President Eisenhower turned the nation's economic policies over to big businessmen like former Treasury Secretary George Humphrey and Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks.

The handwriting became evident on the wall when

They sowed the seeds of the present recession by raising the interest rates, thus making it harder for people to

borrow money, and harder for business to expand.

They sowed the seeds of recession by slowing down the rate of economic growth on the theory that too much prosperity would be 'inflationary' --- by driving small businessmen out of business...by reserving tax cuts for corportation and rich taxpayers. They added to it by allowing steel and auto producers and food processors to raise their prices, thus making it harder for consumers to buy their goods.

All the while the workers, farmers, consumers, and small businessmen -- whose investment and spending is essential to prosperity -- were neglected. Standardle Consideration

Is it any wonder we have a recession?

As bad as the failures of domestic policy have been, they cannot equal the collapse of our international relations.

American foreign policy has sunk to such a low that

CLOSING SUMMARY

We are on the threshold of new Democratic victories this fall -- in Indiana, and elsewhere throughout the United States. And it is becoming increasingly evident that the burdens and responsibilities of guiding the hation's destiny may well pass into Democratic hands in 1960.

As American citizens, as well as political partisans, we must face the sobering responsibility of making sure we are adequately prepared to assume that mantle of leadership.

It is not enough to be critical of the weaknesses and failures of Republicans.

It is not enough to decry the collapse of our prestige abroad, and the wavering confidence in our economy at home -- as necessary as it may be to alert the American people to the dangerous price we are paying for Republican muddling and ineptitude.

Pericles, the great Greek statesman, once said:
"I am more worried about our own failures than the plans
of our enemy".

We can well heed his advice today. For that is just another way of saying that what we Democrats need to do is to better prepare ourselves for the responsibility of leadership -- and find in our midst men sharing our convictions who are best qualified for leadership -- rather than just spending our time pointing out the shortcomings of Republicans.

The American people hardly need us to remind them any more of the weaknesses of Republican leadership. But the American people are never long satisfied with commiserating about mistakes of the past or the present. Rather, they are looking and searching for leadership for the future.

As Democrats, then, let us meet that challenge. Let us talk about what we want to do -- and what we can do, for our country.

Knute Rockne, your famous Notre Dame coach, when he saw Army backs running for big gains through the center of the Notre Dame line, once turned to two substitutes on the bench and said, "Can you stop them?". The substitute guards replied, "We will try!".

But that was not enough for Rockne. He gave this classical reply to the eager subs: "Go sit down. I have two boys in there now who are trying. What I want is two men who can do it!"

Now, what we Democrats need to do is not merely just try.

We need to design a program for America that will do
the job that needs to be done -- and we must have the will and
the majority to carry it out.

We must continue to assert positive leadership ourselves, and come forward with constructive alternatives to

counteract the drift and indecision hamstringing our national Administration today.

We must be true to our American heritage in international relations, and walk boldly with heads high toward constructive objectives for the good of all humanity. We must act with pride in ourselves, and confidence in the rightfulness of our cause -- instead of timid and wavering reaction to increasing Communist initiative.

We must be willing to face the economic challenges now confronting us with the same boldness of determination, and the same faith in democracy's ability to put its house in order.

We cannot retreat into timidity and hesitancy, hiding behind a reluctancy to face the facts, refusing to come to grips with reality.

If we are to be true to ourselves and the political

party in which we believe, we must dedicate our lives to winning more than elections, as important as they are. We must dedicate our lives, our energies, to winning for our country the all-out struggle which we face for the survival of freedom.

Vital to that struggle is immediately rebuilding our own economy to full productive capacity.

That is our challenge in 1958.

For the sake of the American people, we must have solid Democratic control of Congress for the remaining two years of the tottering Eisenhower-Nixon Administation.

We need it to provide a responsible check upon the Administration.

We need it to push for more vigorous action in those areas such as housing, health, agriculture, power and

social security where the Congress can help determine national policy -- even against a reluctant, veto-threatening Administration.

We need it to prevent the GOP Old Guard from seizing control of Congress and sabotaging even its own Administation's measures -- as it did in 1953 and 1954.

But we need it most to forge a more constructive record of accomplishment to pave the way for a Democatic President in 1960.

You can help us in Indiana. You can help bolster the Democratic majority in both the House and the Senate. You can do it by returning your Democratic Congressmen, by sending us some new Democratic House Members -- and, by all means -- by electing Mayor Hartke to the United States Senate.

Indiana has a chance to "come back into the Union" by voting Democratic in November -- to assure its citizens of real representation in the Congress of the United States.

Closed Circuit Broadcast between Senators in D. C. and Editors at Indiana Democratic Editors Convention. French Lick, Ind. August 23, 1958

Part I -- Sen. Humphrey, Paul Butler. Sen. Mansfield, Sen. Sparkman, Sen. Church, Sen. Smathers, Rep. Denton, Rep. Madden.

PAUL BUTLER: I bring greetings from the Democratic

Party of the United States and from the Democratic National Committee

to this 78th Annual Summer Comvention of the Indiana Democratic Editoral

Association, the only state association of Democratic Editors in existence
in the United States today or at any time in the past history of our country
and our party.

This is a rare and unusual organization, and it always provides a great opportunity for Democrats from every part of Indiana to gather in a late August meeting as sort of a kickoff every two years for our campaign.

And certainly this year is no exception. The editors have gathered here, have deliberated upon the condition of our state and of our nation. Democratic leaders and party members from all over the state have joined with them, and tonight we are here to hear some ideas about this campaign and this election and some discussion of the issues.

Today, as is customary with the association, some resolutions were adopted. And x I think a copy is at the place of each one of you at your table. x I call your attention to these resolutions because every two years at least, in a campaign year, the editorial association through its resolutions committee calls our attention to some of the real important issues that confront the people of Indiana.

And I call your particular attention to the last paragraph of the report of the committee on resolutions, which resolutions were adopted by the association in its meeting earlier today, in which it says:

"Possessed of a keen sense of smell, editors have a natural aversion to odorous activities, whether they be evidences of bribery and scullduggery was in highway affairs, conventions packed with delegates who are on the public payroll, or handsome gifts accepted in alleged periods of poor judgment."

Or may I add an insertion there of my own, "imprudent" in the words of one Dwight Eisenhower.

"As Democrats," the resolution goes on to say, we resent such pollution of the atmosphere during recent and current holier-than-thoux Republican Administrations." End of the resolution.

I think that all of us concur in this timely resolution of this association.

And now if we are ready on -- not a radio broadcast, I think that would be the improper term-- we're going to have a little telephone conversation between a room just outside of the Senate floor in the capital building in Washington, where the Senate of the United States is in the closing hours. At least the members of the Senate and all of us who have seen them work so diligently and so hard through so much of this second session of the seaze 85th Congress, are hoping that they will be able to make a deadline tonight. If not they may have to adjourn until Monday, at which time they would convene and finish up their business.

But under the brilliant leadership of one of the outstanding Democrats of our country, one of the greatest Congressional leaders that our country has ever produced, the majority leader of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Texas, Lyndon Johnson, this Congress has made a most remarkable record.

And of course sharing in that brilliant record, our speaker

Sam Rayburn, one of the great Democrats and great Americans of all time,
and also John McCormick, the majority leader of the House. And of course,
sharing in all of this, are the brilliant and outstanding Democratic members
of burnless both houses of the Congress of the United States.

be here with us many tonight, but we are not the only Democratic audience assembled in the nation that is deprived of a great Democratic oration and speech, and particularly a report on the work of the Democratic Congress in this 85th session by a distinguished member of the Congress. There were several meetings elsewhere in the United States to which members of the Senate and the House of Representatives were invited to speak, who cannot be there on account of the important business coming before the Congress in these closing hours.

And it was only with a sense of duty to our country and of complete dedication to the problems that confront our nation both at home and abroad that the majority leader of the Senate, Lyndon Johnson, requested every member of the Senate on the Democratic side of the aiske to remain in Washington and to be in his seat in the Senate so that these

deliberations could go on and the Congress could adjourn at the earliest possible date, but not until responsible Democratic leadership produced a complete program, as complete as possible, in the best interests of our country both domestically and internationally.

And I submit that we are on the threshold of the achievement of the most constructive and the most productive congressional record that has even been produced by any Congress in the history of United Statesz That has been produced under Democratic leadership.

who sent this telegram to us, that we can have him across the telephone lines. All ready in Washington? Hubert Humphrey and members of the Senate Campaign Committee and of the Democratic National Committee, their staff members ... we are going to be privileged to sit in on a discussion by some of the outstanding members of the Senate of the United States just outside the chamber of the Senate.

You will almost be able to hear in the distance the voice of

the Senators on the Floor addressing themselves to the business at hand.

Senator Humphrey sent this telegram which was received this afternoon:

And now for the benefit of our friends in Washingt n who

cannot look in on this gathering, let me say that here in the French Lik

Sheraton Hotel in French Lick, Indiana, pretty far down in Southern Indiana, in the hills of Southern Indiana, in this 78th Meeting of the Democratic

Editorial Association of our state, and in what you might call this shrine

of democracy of Indiana, where for more than 50 years the leaders of

here. They are honoring tonight our democratic nominee for the United the next

States Se nate, State Senator from Indiana Honoring, and the outstnding members of the state ticket, and also our Congressional nominees in the nine districts of Indiana.

I say nine because we have two Democratic Congressmen,
Ray Madden and Winfield Denton, who in a z sense of duty to our country
and to their constituents, are there with you in Washington and I hope in
the anteroom of the Senate Chamber to participate in this program with us
tonight.

And now I want to present ... one of the most outstanding

Democrats in the country, a man who has played an important part, above
in cooperation with the magnificent leadership of Lyndon Johnson and

Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the majority whip on the Senate floor,
in the production of this great Congressional record, and also in cooperation
with all of the Democratic members of the Senate, and I present to you,
my fellow Democrats of Indiana, for his preliminary remarks, the great

Ex Senator from our neighborning state, not so far away but just mean across
the plains of middle West America, from the state of Minnesota, the great
Senior Senator from Minnesota, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey. Hubert
are you there?

MUMPHREY: Fine, Paul. Yes, indeed. Thank you very much, Paul Butler, and indeed our warmest greetings to that great annual assemblage of Democratic leaders and Indiana Democratic editors. And by the way, a special greeting from a number of fellow tDemocrats gathered around the table here in the District of Columbia room of te United S_t ates S_e nate. A special greeting to that new Democratic Senator that you're going to send us from Indiana. And we mean no other, of course, than Vance Hartke...

BUTLER: May I interrupt for just a moment. I want the ...
APPLAUSE.

HUMPHREY: Bless your heart. Well, Paul, I certainly regret that I am unable to be out there in French Lick with you tonight.

Somehow the hex sign seems to be on me as far as ever getting out to a conference in your state. This is the third time that I ve been invited, and each time official duties have prevented my being present, but tonight we're going to deliver to you not just ome United States Senator. We have three or four around here. Besides that we have those two great Congressmen of yours, Ray Madden and Winfield Denton.

APPLAUSE

Now I know that the Democratic editors would want me to do just what my colleagues and I are doing tonight. We're staying right here at the nation's capital to complete the nation's legislative business.

And we had a mighty good record in this congress, a good Democratic record.

And we want to take & care of it.

Paul, I do want to salute you in front of mayour own state's

Democratic leaders. You've done an outstanding job as our national

chairman. And we're proud of you. You have helped put new life (applause)

Yes, Paul, you've put new life, a new spirit in the Democratic Party and

you helped us look ahead to those victories that Mayor Hartke talked about

for this fall, and they're coming in, don't worry about that.

Paul, perhaps your audience would get into the spirit of this occasion a little better if I described in some detail what's on this end of the line.

As I said earlier, swe are speaking to you from the capital, from the District of Columbia room, just across the corridor from the Senate Chamber. Around the conference table with me is a group of my Democratic colleagues from the Senate, and as I said, your two fine Democratic Congressmen from Indiana.

The Senate is still in session and there's a real good debate goin on in there. Senator Bob Kerr is taking the oppositon apart inch by inch and piece by piece. I don't know what it's going to look like when we return into the Senate chamber. (Applause)

The Senate is in session and so if you hear some bells ringing don't think there's anything wrong, it's just that we're getting ready to vote. We may have to scurry back into the Senate chamber. If that happens we're going to turn this program over to your two indiana congressmen, and I know they've got a couple of good speeches waiting isside of them right now.

Well now as we go into the campaign of 1958, we owe it to the American people to hold the Republican Party to account for its tragic failures of leadership. Eisenhower, Nixon, the Administration's errors of both ommission and commission. And tonight we're going to call the roll.

The nation is paying a terribly high price for the failures of leadership at home and abroad. In the Middle East and in the Middle West. In less than six years in office the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has brought at America to the worst recession since World War II, and to mortal danger of war and world wide defeat abroad.

Now it has done this by its failure to give the nation any genuine leadership; a failure resulting in an outright surrender to the old guard, reactionary domestic policies and the all too often state and innefective foreign policies.

As a result we are now faced with 5 million unemployed. Republicans are beginning to get used to this and would like to have the rest of us feel that way. But we're not going to. And we're faced with the highest prices in our history. We're faced with a loss of American influence and prestige abroad, and the daily danger of war in the Middle East.

We⁸re faced with the Communist Dictatorship, that has
caught up with us in many areas of scientific skill and is speedily getting
ahead at a faster rate of progress and economic growth and power development.

And we're faced with a farm slump that has driven

4 million farmers off the farm in five years. Increased farm indebetness,
lower farm prices, reduced farm income, and at the same time all accomplished
with the most expensive record of the Department of Agriculture in the
nation's history.

Now on top of everything else we see the corruption and influence seeking and working at high levels of government.

Now all of this tragic toll stems from one thing; the failure of leadership. We need a President who still exercises his responsibility. We need a President with courage to make decisions, whether they are popular with everyone or not.

Now you and I know we can't get a new President yet. But we can help fill that vacuum of leadership by expanding the Democratic majorities in Congessa., thereby start this nation back on the road to sound economic progress and the restoring of our foreign policy as one of strength and honor.

All we have to do now is maintain our strength and increase that strength until 1960, and in that year the government will be returned to the people and the Democrats will be back in power in Washington guarding the nations interests.

APPLAUSE.

x xxxx Now, Paul, I want to introduce my colleagues around the table here.

Immediately to my right, and if you could see him he's looking very sharp tonight is none other than the distinguished majority whip, Lyndon Johnson's strong right arm, one of the most able and brilliant Senators who ever came from Capitol Hill.. He is Senator Mike Manafield of Montana.

APPLAUSE.

Across the table from me. And if you could see this setup here you'd know what I mean, is one of our really stalwart

Democrats, a man who has carried the banner of our party in a great

National election, one of the great liberal and progr3ssive spokesmen

of the nation, a man that has all the warmth of a gentleman from Alabama
and all the brilliance of a great statesman. I introduce to you Senator

John Sparkman, one of the great men of our Congress.

applause.

And then I thought you'd like to meet one of the younger members of the Senate. In fact, the youngest member of the Senate. And be's here with me. Not only is he bright, enlightened, active, even courageous, but all the ladies tell me he's mighty good looking. Can't see it myself, but that's what they say. And I want to present to you the new dashing liberal and fine Senator from the state of Idaho, Senator Frank Church, one of our brilliant young Democrats.

Now we're hoping to have some more of our colleagues in here but we have conference committees going on, Mutual Security, there's a hot debate going on in the Senate that ties up S nator Douglas, Senator

Proximire, Senator Long. Senator Kerr, jut to mention a few and many of them may stop in here. But I also want you to know, as I said earlier, you have your two Congressmen. I'm going to start this off now by asking these Congressmen to say a word to you.

Ray J. Madden of Gary, Indiana. (applause) Ray has many wonderful qualities, many years of fine service, but of course the greatest quality in my mind that Ray Madden has is that he haiks from Minnesota. Wasequa, but he brilliantly represents his disctrict in Indiana. Go to it, Ray, Say hello to them.

MADDEN: Thanks Hubert. I'm indeed happy on this occasion to say a few words to that great gathering in French Lick.

Of course, we've g been hearing a great deal about the Senate. Nevertheless, the House is in Session, and most of the activity down here is taking place over in the House.

and their friends to one thing. I've been in Congress 16 years and from last Friday morning until the day before yesterday I received more telegrams deand more letters, coming in in basketsfull from all over Indiana, zanouncing for our retiring Senator Bill Jenner #sex declaring Indiana out of the nation on the education bill.

APPLAUSE.

And with all the magnificent things that this Congress has done, the 85th Congress, I think probably the greatest things that's going to live in history will be the retirement of Bill Jenner. APPLAUSE.

And I'm saving these telegreams; I'm going to use them in the campaign in Indiana. Over 400 telegrams from schoolteachers and principles and superintendents and civic clubs and PTA organizations all denouncing Senator Jenner declaring Indiana out of the union by separating it from the other 48 states on the education bill.

Of course his protege, Harold Hanley, you know, is going to follow Bill Jenner's record in Congress, but thank Cooks God he's not going to get to Congress; Vance Hartke is going to come down here.

applause.

And I've heard more remarks zhenk around the House about Bill Jenner and his actions on the education bill but I think the best remark was that Bill Jenner is the greatest 20th Centurn Cap Pistol statesman in an atomic age that we have in America today.

I'm going to close now because we have these distinguished friends here including my good colleague Winfield Denton. And thanks for this opportunity to say just a word.

BUTLER: Let me interrupt just a moment down there in Washington to say that you'd better be careful, Ray, talking about the Senate because you're right there in the Senate side of the Capitol now and they might throw you out.

MADDEN: That's right, Paul, but you know, Winfield and I are close to the door; we can run out any minute.

BUTLER: I want you to know that ... and several other of your first district constituents are here. We certainly are glad to hear

you on this program because you're a great American and a great De mocrat and a great Hoosier and we're proud of your magnificent record in the Congress, Ray Madden.

MADDEN: Thanks, Paul.

APPLAUSE.

HUMPHREY: Paul, I'm just not going to let this next Congressman get onto the program without the proper introduction. Of course, we're all mighty proud of Ray Madden and we're mighty proud too of the Congressman from Evensville, Indiana -- I believe that s right, isn't it Winfield.

DENTON: That's right.

We just were able to get Winfield out of a Conference Committee, he's been working on a committee for Mutual Security; that's a tremendous assignment.

So Winfield, say hhello to those good folds out there in your home state.

APPLAUSE.

DENTON: Hello friends. You know it s been many years since I have a haven t attended a Democratic editors meeting at French Lick. I've always looked forward to those gatherings. I had my ticket to go out Friday. But because of pressing business here in Congress I was unable to go. And I'm very disappointed but I'm very delighted that I have this opportunity to say hello to my friends. I'll be home with you in a few days and I'll see you all at that time.

Now they're talking about Minnesota. I can't help saying the fact that I've lived in Indiana all my life and the district I represent is a very short distance from where you're gathering at this present time.

Now as Ray said they have put Indiana back in the union after Bill Jenner took us out. We passed a school bill today.

And you know, we've heard this Republican organization in INdiana, the Governor Hanley and Jenner faction, talk about states rights and like that for a long time. Now this school bill has been passed. And Ray has said that we were just deluged with telegrams from people complaining about the fact Indiana was excluded from that bill. People were outraged, they were mad, because the fact that they were paying taxes and they weren't receiving the benefit of this law.

Now this state administration has talked about how much they were opposed to thisprogram. Now this is a law now and its going to require action on the part of the state of Indiana to take advantage of that law. And I think we ought to find out if Governor Hanley and his clique are going to take advantage of that law and give the people of Indiana the advantages they re entitled to, or they re going to stick their head in the sand like they we done about so many things, and deprive the people of our state of the benefits to which they re entitled.

This hads been one of the hardest working sessions of Congress that I've attended. I think we'll have a splendid record when we're through.

As Senator Humphrey told you, I just came up here from a Conference Room where I've been meeting in a conference on the mutual security bill. You know, these Senators are rather hard to get along with.

I think they re rather unreasonable. If we can get this out of the way,

I think we'd close up.

I'll see you soon and I want to tell you all goodbye.

APPLAUSE

BUTLER: Winfield, I think that your district is probably has the biggest representation at this editorial meeting tonight. Not only because its so close to French Lick, but because of the tremendous enthusiasm that is being whipped up behind its favorite son, the next Senator from Indiana, Vance Hartke.

APPLAUSE

And Winfield, let me say, all 6f them that are here tonight, and all of us in In diana, we're proud of you too. You've made a distinguished record for our country, our state and for your district and for our party in Washington and we know that you and Ray Madden, together with Vance Hartke as the Senatorial nominee, are going to lead the way in the discussion of the national issues in this campaign to provide a solid Democratif d elegation—at least solid except for that junior, and very junior, Senator from Indiana, who happens to be, of course, oficially the Senion Senator, Homer Capehart. We'll take care of him in 1962.

APPLAUSE

HUMPHREY: I want you to know, Paul, that while you were speaking to us and we were listening in , another good Democratic Senator came in herex: the pride of Florida, the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Mr. George Smathers.

Now I know that our friend Vance Hartke will be happy about

that. Now, George, you're not going to get to talk yet. You're going to held up just a minute because I think that the next man that we ought to hear from is the Democratic Whip-- as I said earlier the strong right arm of our majority leader Lyndon Johnson. And I'm going to ask my Democratic colleagues now to give you a brief word of greeting here from the Senate and then we're going to turn it over to you folks out there to ask us some questions. Because these fellows are loaded with answers. I've never seen men who had so many answers. If you don't believe it you ought to come down here and hear all the speeches we're having here in the Senate.

The first men I want to introduce to that great audience at French Lick, Paul, is a dear friend of yours -- none other than Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, our majority whip.

MANSFIELD: Paul, it's good to have this opportunity to speak to the Democratic editors of Indiana. You know, there aren't many Democratic editors throughout the country. But when there are enough in a state like Indiana to meet annually at a place like French Lick it gives the rest of x us a good deal in the way of encouragement.

I wish to expres a Lyndon Johnson's disappointment that he was unable to be here tonight, but he has to be on the floor in an effort to try and bring this session of the Congress to a close. If that isn't a job, ask Hubert Humphrey and he'll give you the details.

But speaking about Lyndon Johnson, I would say that this is a Lyndon Johnson-Sam Rayburn Congress. As far as the Senate is concerned, Lyndon has provided the inspiration and Hubert, George Smathers, Frank

Church and John Sparkman and the rest of us have followed him as we should.

He has been a good Democrat, he has kept all elements of the Party together

and he has been a responsible leader in the best meaning of that word.

I would say also in behalf of my old friends: Ray Madden, with whom I came to the Congress Ió years ago and Winfield Denton, that Indiana has two of the finest Congressmen in the nation, Congressmen they should be proud of because they have produced results against insurmountable circumstances.

I think that in all fields this Congeess has taken the lead and the initiative. That has been lacking as far as Mr. Eisenhower and the Republican Administration downtown is concerned. They have been the followers of Rayburn and Johnson, instead of taking the lead as they should under the Constitution.

In the field of foreign policy we have tried to make constructive suggestions. We did not criticize for the sake of criticism along. But we have tried, even though it was not our duty, to try and bring some order into the chaos which has been the affliction this country has suffered under for the past six years.

In the field of Demastic Policy, under the leadership of the great Democratic leaders in the House and Senate we have tried to put into effect, many times over Administration opposition, legislation which would tend to curb the recession and keep it from becoming a depression.

I think great credit is due the Democrats for what they have accomplished in this field.

In the dying days of this session, again under Democratic

leadership, we are trying to forge the weapons which will bring stability and security z to our country and offer hope and progress to our people.

I think that what you've been told is only a beginning of what you will hear during the course of the campaign, because we all remember the promises of Eisenhower in 1952 and 1966. Those promises are coming home to roost. Speaking about a mess in Washington, believe me they have one now and I'm quite sure that the Democratic messes, so called, which the Republicans referred to so often, will not be an issue in this campaign.

They have many questions to answer. Those questions will be asked. What they answers will be only time will tell. But I think that at long last the American people have caught up with the President and the Republican Party and that this fall we are going to see a stirring Democratic victory which will increase our membership in both the House and Senate and in 1960 we'll have a Democratic President and in the meantime we'll have replacing Bill Jenner, who gave his farewell speech yesterday, the rising star in Indiana politics, Vance Hartke, whom we are looking forward to joining with us come next January.

Part II- Closed circuit Broadcast between Editors in Indiana and Senators in Washington, D.C.

August 23, 1958

1-Sen. Hubert Humphrey on Farm Issues. 2-Sen. John Sparkman on Cost-of - Living. 3-Bep. Ray Madden on Labor Probe. 4-Sen. George Smathers on Middle East. 5-Sen. John Sparkman on Middle East. 6-Sen. Stuart Symington on Deficit Spending. 7-Sen. Frank Church on 1960 Outlook.

HUMPHREY: We are ready to go on now with the show and
I want to present next, so that your time won't be too extended out there, I
want to present that running-mate of Adlai Stevenson's in 1952. As I said
earlier, a real true sensible constructive liberal, who has fought the good
fight for the Democratic Party. Somewat Sen. John Sparkman. Go to it, John.

SPARKMAN: Thank you, Hubert, Paul, all of our Democratic friends out in Indiana. I envy the privilege that all of you have in being there. I recall quite well the opportunity I had to be there a few years ago, and how greatly pleased I was, how inspired I was with the tremendous meeting that you fellows have out that there; its an inspirational Democratic gathering.

I'm glad to be here tonight with these colleagues of mine in the Senate and my two good friends from the House of Representatives, was your able Congressmen, Ray Madden and Winfield Denton and have the privilege to participate in this program.

Hubert has asked me if I would says something about small business. I'm Chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, Hubert Humphrey is a member of that Committee, George Smathers is a member of that Committee, so we really have this panel a little weighted down tonight.

However, we have something that we can really boast about as an accomplishment of this Democratic Congress this year.

We have achieved more for small business than we have during all the other sessions of Congress that I have been here-- during the 22 years that I have been here.

Now that doesn't mean that we've gone all the way. Our Committee,. Hubert Humphrey and George Smathers and the others taking full part recommended a fine program to this Congress. We made great headway in getting that program before the appropriate committees, but we had one terrible time every getting this Eisenhower, Humphrey, pinch-penny...

HUMPHREY: George

SPARKMAN: George Humphrey, that is -- pinch-penny administration to agree on anything that would be for the good of small business in this country.

Finally, however, the Democratic Congress itself simply took the bull by the horns, so to say, and put throubh a real small business program—one of which we can well be proud, and its a record that we can boast about in the campaign this fall. I wish I had time to tell you the details of it, but you know it from the press and certainly we will do our best to see that you get full word of it during the campaign.

I'd like to say just a word, Paul, to my good long-time friend,

Vance Hartke, your wonderful candidate for the United States Senate. I

listened to his speech tonight, I have followed with interest his campaigning

out there, I look forward to the privilege of serving with him in the Senate

of the United States come next January 3. My best wishes and greetings to all of you tonight, and thank you very much.

BUTLER: Thank you, John. And I remind you that you are one of four honorary members of the Indiana Editorial Association, the others being Henry Shricker, Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson. So its nice to hear from you, John.

SPARKMAN: Thank you, Paul, for reminding me of that.

I'd have bragged about it if I'd remembered it.

BUTLER: Fine. We'll see you soon. Now Hubert, don't filibuster on us down there now because we've got gisk five reporters here who are ready to fire those questions, but lets hear from Frank and George.

HUMPHREY: We want you to do that. And keep those questions hot. We;re waiting for them. And now I'm going tointroduce to you quickly-you already know him, Senator Frank Church, who has got a few words to say to you.

APPLAUSE

Decause I see you have these questions waiting. Paul, that its a great pleasure for me to speak to you from Washington. It was my pleasure, you may remember, to be with you, Paul, last year, and to speak before this wonderful gathering of Democratic editors at Frænch Lick. That was a membrable occasion for me and it certainly endeared Indiana to me, as my opportunity to come to Indiana later this year in your own home town did, Paul.

I just want to say, Gold bless you all, we forgive you for sending us Jenner and Capehart because you Democrats have given us Paul Butler who is one of our great national chairmen of all time. And I know that come November you're going to send us Vance Hartke and a whole list of new Democratic Congressmen to help carry the cause forward here in Washington, ****Rak**

I wish you well in that great undertaking and let me say how much I'd like to be out there, and I'm not going to spend any more time because we want to get on with the questions and we also want to hear from our distinguished chairman of the Democratic senatorial Committee who is going to help so much in electing more Democrats to the Senate in November, George Smathers.

BUTLER: Thank you so much, Frank Church, the baby Senator of the United States Senate, but a great American and a great Senator.

HUMPHREY: Now, we'll quickly go on, Paul. I said to you earlier that Senator George Smathers came in here, chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. George does a great job for all of us, and without any further ado I'm going to put him on, because he speaks best for himself. Go to it, George.

SMATHERS: Thank you so much, Hubert. Thank you very much, Paul, and thank you very much you editors out there in Indiana who see the wisdom of the great Democratic Party and the Democratic principles. I know that all of you must be impressed, as I'm sure the whole nation is, by the fact that the Democratic Party this year, without

leadership from the Executive branch of the government, has been able to meet the very serious challenges with which our country has been faced -- first the challenge of the space and the missile age, under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson in the Senate and Sam Rayburn and your very great Congressmen Ray Madden and Winfield Denton.

We have been able to appropriate money and put pressure on this Administration whereby we could make up in some measure the lag which had resulted from this Administration in our trying to develop our missile program. We've done something effective and meaningful in that particular field.

Insofar as the recession, which has been brought upon us

by the Republicans, is concerned we Democrats, under the able leadership

of John Spark man and Hubert Humphrey and others have, I think, achieved

a very meaningful program in that particular field. We passed a road program,

which, of course, was designed primarily to build roads but secondarily to

eliminate unemployment throughout the nation.

In addition to that we have passed a very meaningful housing bill, an emergency housing bill which came out under the leadership of John sparkman, and already that has cut down unemployment all over this nation.

We have done a great deal, probably more than has ever been done before, as John has said, for the small businessman, not only with respect to creating investment banks, but at the same time we have given him for the first time certainly in my memory, and I think in the memory

of anybody. We have given him tax relief which he deserves, which was long overdue.

again, under the leadership of Hubert Humphrey and his disarmament committee, we've been able to offer encouragement to the people of the world that we might be able to offer a constructive program to bring permanent peace to this world and thereby avoid these tremendous expenses for armaments which we've had to undergo.

We³ve passed a reciprocal trade program which means that the economy of this nation can benefit as well as the economy of most of the nations around the globe.

We Democrats have carbed out a great record with the help
of Paul Butler and his national Democratic Committee and all the responsible
chairmen of the Democratic committees of the Senate and the House. I think
we've made the best record that has been made in some 30 years.

May I say in conclusion, Paul, that we're most pleased about Vance Hartke, a man who's already made a great record for himself. We're all looking forward to his victory in Indiana come November. We know we that he's going to fit into the pattern of great Democratic Senators and we hope that he'll soon be with us.

APPLAUSE

BUTLER: Thank you very much, George. You and your colleagues on the Senatorial Campaign Committee are doing a great job and we're indebted to you for it and we know you're going to give Vance Hartke a lot of help.

HUMPHREY: Thank you, Paul, and now we want to get on with those questions. Why don't you turn those good Democratic

BUTLER: Hubert, and Mike and John and Frank and George, we've got five panelists here. We have four men and one lady. Em going to introduce the lady first: Mrs. Margaret Wyatt, the publisher and editor of the Brown County Democrat of Nashville. We have two other members of the Indiana Editorial Association: Robert O'Bannon, the publisher and editor of the Coregon Democrat and Judge Myles Parrish, the Judge of the Circuit Court of Adams County, who is also a member of the IDEA, and we have Ware Edgar of the Star County Democrat, who is president of this Association and then representing the wire services we have the old veteran of Indiana newspaper men, Jep Kadoo of the UPI, and we have Ike Miller of the Associated Press. Now, who's got the first question?

Old Jep Kadoo. Who do you want to talk to, Jep?

KADOO: I'd like to speak to Senator Humphrey. Senator Humphrey, Harry Truman recovered a lot of the old Republican farm vote when he was last elected, and then apparently the Democrats lost it with the two terms of Eisenhower. Do you think that the Democrats this fall are going to recover that farm vote?

HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Kadoo, let me tell you I surely do.

The Democrats have not only caught up to the promises of Eisenhower which are unfulfilled, but they've also seen through Mr. Benson. And they are about ready -- these good farmers throughout the midwest in particular--

the farmers fortunately in the Southe never did lose their good judgment, they stayed put. But out farmers in the midwest are coming back into the Democratic fold. And that's where they belong. Because the Democratic Party has been the friend of American Agriculture.

Every time the Republican Party is in power two things generally happen. The stock market generally goes up for a while, and farm prices go down for a long while. That's what generally happens.

BUTLER: Everybody's got their hand up out he next question from Margaret Wyatt.

WYATT: Senator Humphrey, before I ask my question I would like to tell you how happy I am to hear that you have passed the educational bill. I know its going to mean a great deal to Indiana and to the school x children here.

The question I wanted to ask of Senator John Sparkman.

HUMPHREY: Yes indeed, he's waiting for you.

WYATT: Well, we have just has a report our from the Department of Commerce that the Cost of Living in July was the highest on record, and yet the National Industrial Conference Board issued a report that the Cost of Living in July had gone down .1 of 1 percent and claimed a that now we are on the way up. And we wonder what the truth is and if this is the kind of propaganda and throwing the figures around that we're going to have from the big business research organizations before the election.

SPARKMAN: Well, I certainly think that you have stressed a very pertinent point. Talking about the cost of living, if I recall correctly, the newspaper headlines said this was the 23rd time it had reached a new high during the Eisenhower Administration. I can't see much of a compensating factor for any increase in the farm prices, for instance, or anything of that kind, when the cost of living continues to go up. And by the way, that reminds me of something else.

And this is something for us to remember. One of the great arguments that the Republicans made was that they were the party of the sound dollar. Oh how they used to jump on us Democrats because a dollar was worth 52 cents. Well ever since they ve been in power its been going down and down and down and today it's worth only 48 cents. That's the sort of a record that they have had.

By the way, while xxx I'm on here, my fellow Democratic editors, let me say just a word about the absence of one panelist that we were due to have tonight; that's my colleague, the Senior Senator from Alabama, Senator Hill.

Senator Hill is on the appropriations committee and he's in a conference trying to work out the difficulties of some of our last minute appropriations here. I wish he were here in order that he might tell you something about that education bill that you asked about a minute ago and said that it would be worth so much to the state of Indiana. It is.

I think one of the great accomplishments of this Democratic Congress. .

HUMPHREY: All right, we; re ready for more questions.

BUTLER: All right, here is lke Miller, Hubert.

MILLER: I have a question for Congressman Madden if he's still there.

HUMPHREY: Congressman Madden is still here. We'll put him right on.

MILLER: Congressman Madden, would you care to assess
the effects on the campaign, as you see them, of the Senate Rackets Committee
hearings?

MADDEN: Well, let me say this. I think that the Senate Rackets Committee hearings have done a good job in exposing some of these dishonest racketeering labor leaders. Bear this in mind: there's about 50,000 labor officials throughout America and the Senate Rackets Committee have uncovered, I think, about a dozen. Beck and Hoffa and this fellow Hutchison and, of course, they were big Republican campaign contributors, those three gentlemen. I used to have a hard time up in Lake County keeping the men of their union from voting Republican, and I'm glad to expose those boys, and I do believe that had the Kennedy-Ives Bill been passed in the House -- you know it passed the Senate by a vote of 88 to 1 -- and when it came over to the House the Republicans, through a few of the Democrats on our side did a job on the Kennedy-Ives Bill by reason of the pressure inflicted by these anti-labor lobbies throughout the country and I think you're going to find that the Kennedy-Ives Bill, when the people know more about it, they re going to answer that questin at the

polls by giving the Democratic Party credit for trying to do something on the labor situation.

Judge BUTLER: Thanks, Ray. And here is **Deskye** Myles

Parrish.

PARRISH: I would like to direct the question to Senator

Mike Mansfield.

HUMPHREY: Listen, I'm terribly sorry Senator Mansfield was called back to the floor of the Senate, but I'll tell you he's got Senator Smathers here. Maybe you can do something with him.

PARRISH: All right. I'd like to talk to Senator Smathers and present a question to him. Senator Smathers, here in Indiana we are interested not only in prosperity but we are interested in peace. I think in Indiana we are interested more in peace than in prosperity. The Middle East crisis has annoyed the Hoosiers from one end of this state to the other. I am wondering, Senator, what is your opinion, or wonder what your opinion will be as to the outcome of the current Middle East crisis, and what exactly brought it about?

SMATHERS: Well first, Judge, may I say this: I'm delighted to try to answer that for Senator Manifield. Actually, Hubert Humphrey, the is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and I think the chairman of possibly the sub-committee on the Middle East, ought to answer this, but let me give you a quick-- just my own impression.

I think this has resulted because of the completely indecisive, vacillating policy on the part of this Administration with respect to which way we were going in the Mid-East. You may remember that two years ago, when Britain and France and the Israelis decided they would go in and nip Nasser in the Bud, and they started a movement toward that end.

And then it was Eisenhower's Administration which actually forced the British to withdraw and the French to withdraw which finally resulted in the fall of Anthony Eden and his government, because at the time they didn't think it was a very smart thing to do.

So here we are, two years later, doing almost the identical thing, and yet doing it this time on our own, unilaterally, without the support of most of the nations of the United Nations. It was a calculated gamble, it was a big gamble. We all hope and pray, and it looks at the moment, that it's turned out all right. Once being accomplished, we all naturally had to stand behind it.

There was never any policy with respect to the Mid-East, there has never yet been a policy with respect to the Mid-East, and that's the reason that we find ourselves not only in the Mid-East, but all over this whole world, we find ourselves in trouble.

We hope and pray that by being strong and firm we can settle the problem of the Mid-East. And we're delighted, I think for myself I might say, I'm delighted that this Administration finally took a strng position, although it was much belated, and I hope and I believe now that its going to turn out all right. I certainly hope so.

But I'd like to have Hubert Humphrey answer for you.

HUMPHREY: George, before I take a whirl at thism, and this is one of the most important qu3 stions that can ever be laid before a group of men to discuss, let me ask Senator John Sparkman, one of the senior members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to give us his observations on this matter.

John, I believe you've traveled in the Middle East and you have spoken up, as have other member of the Senate on this critical situation.

Go ahead, let's hear what you have to say.

SPARKMAN: Well, Hubert, of course, one could spend a long time on discussing the fumbling wobbling of this Administration with reference to the Middle East. May I say this; that it's true within recent days since President Eisenhower was virtually pushed into the M United Nations, we have taken a very good, a progressive positive step towards solving the Mid-EAst situation.

But, Hubert, you know as well as I do that if we could divulge the minutes of the Foreign Relations Committee over the last three years we would see that we have been urging the State Department to do exactly this thing. We;ve been talking to them about the wobbly policy, or lack of policy, in the Middle East and the danger that would flow from it, and have urged them to take a positive attitude and to recognize that there was such a thing as Arab nationalism.

It took them a long long time to get to it, just like it took you,

Hubert, a long time to push them up to doing something about nuclear tests.

But, thank goodness, the Administration has at long last taken a positive

step. I hope they will continue in that direction and it will result in a happy solution for a problem that o could have been -- was very very hap dangerous and could have become disastrous.

BUTLER: Hubert, we're getting very close to the time.

Thanks you so much, John. We've got a comboken couple of fast questions now here, one from State Senator Bob O'Bannon.

HUMPHREY: By the way, we've got Senator Symington here too, so pitch him a question.

BUTLER: Have you got one on defense, Bob?

O'BANNON: My question is not on defense; however I would like to direct it to Senator Symington.

BUTLER: Let's give Stuart Symington of Missouri a big hand.

APPLAUSE

O'BANNON: Senator Symington, yesterday at Galesburg, Ill., our neighboring state and your neighboring state, Governor Handley of Indiana said, and I quate "the Federal government and the Congress is a disgrace with its record of deficit spending." The Governor, who is a candidate for the United States Senate in Indiana, max implied that a Republican majority in Congress could do better. From your position in the nation's capital, I'm sure that these hundreds of innocent Democrats here tonight would appreciate a brief comment on this.

SYMINGTON: Well I would say that this Administration has shown incredible callousness with respect to our National defense. From the standpoint of money and the budget if they had operated the Department

of Defense on the basis of progress, instead of continuing to operate it on the basis of tradition, we could have already saved the American taxpayer many billions of dollars a year.

When President Truman in 1946 went to the Congress and asked for a reorganization bill, one of the strongest proponents for that bill was the Chief of Staff of the Army, working under him, Dwight D. Eisenhower. One of the great mysteries that has never been explained to my satisfaction so far is the fact that when General Eisenhower became President of the United States, for five years, and until the launching of Sputnik, which blasted all the premises of our military policy, he never pressed for their reorganization which would have been so beneficial to our financial and fiscal problems, until five years later he asked for it -- although we was strongly behind the President, President Truman, when the latter wanted it as far back as 1946.

BUTLER: M Thank you very much.

SYMINGTON: While I have you on the line, let me say hello
to Vance Hartke and to all my Republican friends in Evansville (laughter).

Or rather to all my Democratic friends m in Evansville (laughter.) Wait a
minute. I'm wrong. I want to say to all my Republican friends in Evansville.

I could name a lot of them who I am sure this time are going to vote Democratic.

APPLAUSE

BUTLER: And now the veteran of Indiana newspaper men,

Jep Kadoo, has a fast question.

HUMPHREY: Now waith a minute. Don't worry about the time.

The telephone company is all with us. They say they ll keep the lines open.

KADOO: Good. This is to Senator Church. Senator Church, you're k young and have a fresh viewpoint and react w swiftly to current political trends. I'd like to ask you one question that may be a little who unusual, but/do you think the Republicans will nominate for President and for Vice President in 1960?

CHURCH: I have a big crystal ball here and we're all looking into it and I think we all see the same vision emanating from it.

I think that we would hazard the guess here tonight if a vote were taken that Richard Nixon will be nominated by the Republicans, and let me say that though he is the Prince with the mantle thrust to him and is doubtless going to be the Republican nominee for President, its just to early to tell who the Democrats will determine will be the next President of the United States in 1960.

APPLAUSE

But I think you have heard tonight from several people who bid fair to be the Democratic nominee in 1960, and we certainly are proud of all of them.

Let me say in closing that my administrative assistant just gavenue came back to Washington and he came through Indiana with his family on the way back from Idaho and he stopped in Indianapolis and he had a story that he told me that I think you all will appreciate.

He pulled up behind a big truck in Indianapolis and this truck was just loaded down with a bulging cargo over which a great tarpaulin had been thrown, and when he pulled his car up behind the truck here was a large sign hanging on the back of the truck which seens to me to symbolize this administration. The sign read: "Another load of goddex golf balls for lke."

APPLAUSE

BUTLER: Frank, I think that's the note on which we'll maybe have to call the meeting to an end and to a halt but just a moment -- we certainly don't want to end this conference with you distinguished members of the Senate down there in Washington without giving the man from Indiana who is going to join you next January a chance to say a fast hello, and then we'll end her up. Here is Vance Hartke, the next Senator from Indiana.

APPLAUSE

HARTKE: Say, Hubert.

HUMPHREY: Yessir, Vance.

HARTKE: Remember that time you were down in Evansville.

Shall I skikest tell them where all you went?

MUMPHREY: Don't you do it. I never had more fun in my life.

HARTKE: All right. That's fine. Thank you, Senator Humphrey for this wonderful program. I think this is better than having you out here in person.

HUMPHREY: I'd love to have been there, though. *Don;t say that.

HARTKE: I know. We'd have loved to have had you but then

we'd have been denied the opportunity of hearing from Senator Church
and from Senator Smathers and Stuart and Senator Mansfield and Senator

garkman. Say, John Sparkman, are you still there?

SPARKMAN: I am here, and I know what you're going to ask me.

LAUGHTER

HARTKE: Okay, I won't ask you then.

XXX SPARKMAN: Listen, Vance, I remember the night we

LAUGHTER

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HARTEE: All right. All right. Here's one thing I want to tell you too- Ray Madden and to Winfield Denton. We have a wonderful group of Democrats here. You've been wonderful to us. I want to thank the Senators who have been so kind and gracious to me on my trip to Washington and the help they're giving me in this campaign. It has been 100 percent from the top to the bottom, you're all great men and we appreciate it. I just wonder which one of you is going to serve us next in the White HOuse.

SYMINGTON: Say, Vance.

HUMPHREY: Stu Symington want to say something to you.

MARTINE: All right

SYMINGTON: You tell my Republican friends down there in Evansville, Louis Ruthenberg, Charlie Enlow, Mike Ryan, they better see the handwriting on the wall and do what's right.

LAUGHTER

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Michigant: Good luck to you, Vance, and all of you.

HUMPHREY: Good night, Paul.

HARTKE: That's the spirit , Stu.

SYMINGTON: Thank you, Vance.

in the conference room in Washington that we Democrats are greatly indebted to all of you for this very interesting and entertaining and informative program. And may I ask one further favor. From all of us in Indiana to the distinguished leask majority leader of the United States SEnate, Lyndon Johnson, our thanks to him and to all of you on the Democratic side of the winest aisle for the greatest record of legislation in the history of the Congress. Let's give them all a big hand.

APPLAUSE

HUMPHREY: Good night, Paul. Time for station break.

BUTLER: Thank you very much. Hubert and thanks to all the Senators and particularly to our good Indiana congressmen Ray Madden and Winfield Denton. Thanks to the crew of NBC and the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company and Indiana Bell and of radio stateion WAVE of Louisville for the electronics on this end, and thanks to Margaret and the boys on the panel for what I hope has been a very interesting evening.

And also my wife reminds me to thank my colleagues on the national committee and the staff of the Democratic Campaign committee of the Senate for ...

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