

Sp: Chicago Ill.  
Sept. 19, 1964

ADDRESS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS

Chicago, Illinois

September 19, 1964

No nation has a unique claim to America --

but no people ~~from this land~~ can claim to have

made <sup>a</sup> greater contribution to America than

those who came here from Poland.

America has always been a land of oppor-

tunity, ~~and none have understood this better~~

~~than those who came to these shores from Poland.~~

And it was a great Polish patriot over 150 years ago

who eloquently stated that opportunity in America

means opportunity for all. A statesman of

compassion, a soldier of courage, he had received

from our Government a large land grant in

gratitude for his valor in fighting for American


LB5  
Addressed by phone last night

Sen. Kerner  
may be  
John Honowski  
Pawson  
Rosenbaum

freedom. When he returned to his native land --  
again to fight for its freedom -- he left this  
testament with Thomas Jefferson. Let me read its  
inspiring words:

L "I, being just on my departure from the United  
States, do hereby declare and direct that, should I  
make no other testamentary disposition of my property  
in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend  
Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof in  
purchasing Negroes and giving them liberty in my  
name; in giving them an education in trade or  
otherwise; in having them instructed for their new  
condition in the duties of morality, which may make  
them good neighbors, husbands and wives, in their  
duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders  
of their liberty and of their country, of the good  
order of society, and in whatsoever may make them

happy and useful; and I make the said Thomas Jefferson the executor of this."

↳ This paper bears the signature of "Thaddeus Bonaventura Kosciusko." 

↳ General Kosciusko was the brilliant leader who walked 160 years ahead of us -- 50 years ahead of Abraham Lincoln -- in the cause of extending freedom and opportunity to all Americans. ↳

↳ Americans whose forebears came from Poland -- you have an unusual number of heroes in your ranks, but none greater than Kosciusko. And his heroism in battle, against big armies or bigoted minds, is both an inspiration and a challenge to those of us who follow him.

↳ I share your pride in him. I have a warm feeling that today when we are challenged to make

opportunity available to all Americans by

protecting the human rights of all Americans,

Kosciusko

Kosciusko would be proud that we have succeeded

in passing a law that guarantees equal freedom and  
equal opportunity to all.

One month ago the newest of our nuclear  
submarines was commissioned -- the Casimir Pulaski. !

So we honor the name of the young Polish nobleman  
who gave his life to help our nation win its

independence. But although this ship will carry  
inside her more destructive power than all of the  
explosives used in World War II, her purpose is

still the defense of liberty and the cause of  
peace across the globe. We must always remember

that America is a land of peace as well as a land  
of opportunity. Peace is our pre-eminent purpose.

Power  
for  
Peace



in the world today.

1964  
Nineteen sixty-four marks the beginning of the thousand year anniversary of the existence of Poland as an independent state and a Christian nation. Despite today's conditions of temporary subjugation, the fires of liberty have not been dimmed in Polish hearts. And Poland shall be free again!

We trust the Polish people. We understand well their bravery. As President Johnson has said, "We know the unswerving dedication of the Polish people to the goals of liberty, equality, and independence. That is why our policy is designed to help the Polish people so that they may increasingly help themselves."

Americans are offered a choice this year on how best to serve the cause of Poland -- and

the cause not only of Poland, but of all Eastern Europe.

✓ We can continue to be friends of the people of Poland through bridges of trade, ideas, visitors, and humanitarian aid. ✓ Or we can consider them sworn enemies of ours because they are under Communist domination -- and coldly reject the claims of nourishment and brotherhood.

✓ We can accept the commitment of the Polish people to their long Christian heritage. Or we can reject the people of Poland as a godless people because the ~~Communists~~ <sup>Communists</sup> in control betrayed the religious traditions of a thousand years.

✓ Almost exactly four years ago that gallant warrior in the cause of freedom, John F. Kennedy, spoke to this Congress here in Chicago.

JFK Said  
7-

He said:

Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently  
encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring  
tyranny -- a policy that looks toward evolution,  
not revolution -- a policy that depends on peace,  
not war.

"...we must never -- at any summit, in any  
treaty declaration, in our words or even in our  
minds -- recognize Soviet domination of Eastern  
Europe. Poland's claim to independence and liberty  
is not based on sentiment or politics. It is  
deeply rooted in history, in culture, and in  
law -- and no matter what pressures the Soviets  
may exert, we do not intend to see that claim  
abandoned.

"...we must strive to restore the traditional  
identification which Poland and Eastern Europe have

had with the European community instead of the Soviet empire. ...For Poland back through the centuries has belonged to the European tradition of freedom and national independence. It has been a part of European culture, of European economy and European history. And even the Soviet Union cannot rewrite that history."

This policy stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960 continues to be the policy of this government and the policy to which I personally am committed.

ⓧ Let me make it clear right now that only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over Communism, or instant "liberation" of the captive peoples held in Communist subjugation.

We cannot imitate those of an earlier era

who talked grandly of "liberation" -- but when  
the Hungarian people rose in heroic revolt, stood  
mute on the sidelines.

↳ No, the possibility of instant victory  
vanished with the coming of the era of instant  
annihilation. ↳ So we must pursue the more  
challenging course, the only sane course, of  
devising a policy that will achieve freedom without  
obliteration -- not only for the Polish people,  
but for all peoples wherever tyranny and dictator-  
ship rule.

↳ We are convinced -- unlike some narrow-  
visioned defeatists -- that time is on the side of  
freedom. That is, if we put time to good use.

Time on  
our  
side

↳ We are completely confident Poland and its people  
will be restored to the family of free nations.

↳ And we intend to use time as a tool, not as  
a couch.

1 We intend to build bridges to the Polish people --  
bridges which may now be obstructed at the other  
end but which will be there to be opened wide  
when the day of freedom dawns.

2 We have already begun. The United States has  
initiated a new and constructive policy toward the  
Polish people and the ~~countries~~ nations of Eastern  
Europe. 3 We have recognized the deepening divisions  
in the Communist camp. We have encouraged those  
divisions, and we have made use of these divisions  
for helping these people to regain freedom and  
independence.

4 We have strengthened the economic and cultural  
ties between Poland and the United States. *yes, we*  
have expanded trade. We have assisted the Polish  
people to build their economy. We have encouraged  
exchanges of students and scholars. *and,* Through the  
efforts of Congressman ~~Clayton~~ Zablocki of

Milwaukee and myself, the U.S. Government has provided more than \$10 million for the construction of a 300 bed children's hospital and research center in Krakow. We have sold American agricultural products for Polish currency which, in turn, we have been able to spend in promoting valuable projects of friendship. We have encouraged the Poles to assert their independence and to pursue a course of action based on Poland's national needs and interests. For example, in the agricultural sector they have repudiated the disaster of collectivization. Today in Poland 85 percent of the land is privately owned.

There is much more to be done. We must continue to open doors and windows in the Iron

Curtain. The Polish people must never have reason  
to believe that we have forsaken them.

Yet there are some within our nation who  
would close these doors and windows -- who denounce  
our efforts to build bridges to the people of Poland.

Such men seek instant answers to long-range problems!

We are dealing "with the enemy", they believe. We  
are following a "no win" program - They shout!

But when Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski deals with  
Gomulka, is he engaging in a "no win" policy? When  
Pope Paul concludes a diplomatic agreement with  
the Hungarian Communist regime -- as occurred this  
very week -- is he capitulating to the atheists?

To ask these questions is to indicate the  
absurdity of the issue. Pope Paul and the Primate  
of Poland have as their first charge the spiritual



welfare of their people. When they negotiate with the enemy, it is from an impregnable bastion of principle which has stood for almost two thousand years. !

L It is Gomulka who runs the risks in dealing with the Church. Two thousand years of Christianity and the Catholic Church will survive two decades of Communism and dictatorship!

L It is the Communists, not we, whose power is being eaten away by the corrosive impact of the Communist power machine freedom, -- by the knowledge among their people that the United States looks upon the people of Eastern Europe as friends who have temporarily been denied the right to assert their friendship and their common dedication to liberty.

L The Goldwater extremists may cry that in  
sending food to hungry people behind the Iron

Curtain we are aiding Communism. L But the people

who receive this food know its American origin

*They* do not thank their Communist bosses *they thank*  
America.  
nourishment at birth.

~~L Some thinking people can denounce our aid  
and trade in non-strategic goods. But you know  
and I know -- all the rest of the American people  
know -- that such aid and trade is instead an  
assertion of human solidarity against the forces  
of inhumanity. The Polish people know this too.  
And so do men and women in the other nations of  
Eastern Europe.~~

L Having provided the life-giving substance of  
hope, the Democratic Party under President Johnson  
will not now turn its back. As President Johnson

has said: "The objective of the United States  
is -- and will continue to be -- to see freedom  
returned to Poland and the other nations of  
Eastern Europe. We know the years of darkness  
have not extinguished the light of freedom in  
Poland. And the masters of darkness know that."

✓ The Soviet leaders in the Kremlin do indeed  
know that. The Nations of Eastern Europe are no

longer the satellites they were.

to lengthen their leash, Mr. Khrushchev has been  
forced to admit that "they are getting too big to  
spank." Soon they will be too strong to chain.

✓ The process may not be swift, but we shall  
prevail. ✓ In spirit, Poland never left the West.

✓ In full political freedom it shall return.

✓ The same Goldwater faction that distrusts

people abroad, distrusts people here at home.

L And, characteristically, it distrusts the same people.

L I was shocked to hear that Senator Goldwater's running-mate -- whose ancestral boat presumably came in only a few lengths behind the Mayflower -- has recently condemned the Johnson Administration's proposal to revise the immigration laws. He says that he opposes "opening the floodgates" -- but what an incredible distortion! What is really at issue is not floodgates at all. What is at issue is "fair-gates" -- gates which are fair, which do not open only at the knock of an Anglo-Saxon hand.

L The Johnson proposal, which is similar to the proposal made earlier by John F. Kennedy and myself, is designed to end the stigma which was

imposed by the Republican administration and  
~~platform in 1924 -- that insulting statutory~~  
~~endorsement of the principle that Poles, Italians,~~  
~~and other Eastern European and non-European peoples~~  
~~somehow belonged to inferior breeds.~~

✓ The immigration bill, which President  
Kennedy sent to Congress shortly before his tragic  
death, opens no floodgates. But it would correct  
this burning inequity and a disgraceful discrimination  
against peoples. It will end the quota  
system which sought to maintain a mythical racial  
and ethnic purity by apportioning immigration  
~~places among the nations of the world in proportion~~  
~~to the ethnic composition of our population in 1920.~~

In its 1960 platform, the Republican Party  
pledged to do something about it, too. But the  
Goldwater platform of 1964 purged this concession

to decency, and now the temporary Republican leadership has added the insult of disdain to the injury of neglect.

On Wednesday of this week, Senator Goldwater's hand-picked national chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, welcomed Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to the Goldwater party with the statement: "The Democratic party has foresaken the people to become the party of minority groups."

Now what would your grandfather have said of all this? You will recall, I am sure, that your grandfather belonged to this courageous group of men and women in Eastern Europe who dared to pull up their roots and move their families in search of justice and liberty in another land. They fled from tyranny

to be welcomed to our shores in one of the great  
tides of immigration that invigorated our country  
in the middle of the 19th Century/--- and the early 20th Century  
like my own  
grandfather and those of so many millions of  
Americans.

But I tell you this in astonishment and wonder:  
your grandfather could not come to America under our  
present immigration laws. Your grandfather could not  
come to America under the legislation Barry Goldwater  
supports. Your grandfather would have found our gates  
barred to him and to his family -- barred by Barry  
Goldwater and those who share his views on immigration.

And what would your grandfather have done? He  
would have to remain in a Communist state in Eastern  
Europe, hoping and yearning for the light and air of

liberty, his eyes turned toward America in quest of friendship and reassurance. Yet what would he have found if America were ruled by Barry Goldwater? I tell you what he would have found -- and Senator Goldwater has made clear what he would have found: a closing of the windows we have opened to bring light and air to the people of Eastern Europe -- an end to our programs of educational and cultural exchange, our Food for Peace program, our information program. And your grandfather would have to suffer in darkness because of the policies of Barry Goldwater.

President Johnson has stated the truly American position on the question of immigration. "In establishing preferences, a nation built by



immigrants of all lands can ask those who seek admission: 'What can you do for our country?' But we should not be asking: 'In what country were you born?'"

America is a great land. Yet we are on the threshold of the possibility of more progress by the end of this century than ever before achieved in a century.

The comforts of many will be extended to all.

Our people, who are living longer, will also live in dignity and health.

Our cities that have grown big will come also to know beauty.

A Great Society is possible for America in which every man will have the opportunity to provide a decent life for himself and his family -- regardless of race, creed, or nationality.

We need leadership, however, with vision to match our potentialities. We need a President who heals divisions between people -- at home and abroad -- who will help put salt in peoples' bread, not pour it into their wounds.

By the grace of God, we have such leadership in America.

Let us continue -- with Lyndon B. Johnson.

Sto - LAT !

## TRANSCRIPT

POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS ADDRESS  
Chicago, Illinois  
Sunday, September 19, 1964

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Rozmarek. I understand from our friends of the photographic profession that they ought to have a little time.

I'd just sort of like to feel that I was tall enough in the saddle to stand on the floor but maybe not.

(Indicating platform.)

Mr. Rozmarek, Governor Kerner, and Mayor Daley, and all of you that are the officers of this fine organization, and the many organizations that are gathered here for this Congress, I am singularly honored to have been invited and be permitted to participate in your proceedings.

It is a fact that in 1955, I did have the privilege of meeting many of you, and sometime later out here at Humboldt Park, I remember again meeting many of you.

I recall the wonderful opportunity that I had of becoming acquainted, not only with Charles Rozmarek, but also with his very lovely wife.

(Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know you have had a very full program. You have had the best that you can get when you had John Gronouski address you.

(Applause.)

This distinguished citizen, great public servant violated every rule that I ever hoped he would abide by. I told him I never like to speak after he does, because he is so good that anything that happened afterward seems like it shouldn't have happened at all.

Joh, I am going to be very tolerant this time, and next time, you let me on first, and then you get up and brag on how good I am.

## Chicago Polish-American

I also understand that you have had a rather unique experience here last evening. I gather that the President of the United States decided that he just had to visit with you. I don't blame him at all -- and he picked up that telephone and called you long distance.

This is indeed a singular honor for all of you and all of us for you know that the President found it an honor for he, himself, to be able to visit with you -- not in person, that is, by physical presence -- at least, to visit with you by long distance telephone.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I came prepared to give you some remarks. One of the disadvantages of being a candidate for the office of Vice President that they always tell you that you have got to have it written out. I don't know why.

It would really be more important after you were elected, it seems to me, but maybe you have to be more careful on the way getting there.

No nation, it's fair to say, has a unique claim to America -- but I would say that no people have a greater claim and can claim greater contributions to our America than those who came here from Poland.

(Applause.)

America has always been a land of opportunity. That is what this country truly stands for, opportunity for people. And it was a great Polish patriot, according to my investigation into history, who, over 150 years ago, eloquently stated that opportunity in America means for all.

He was a statesman of great compassion. He was a soldier of course and he had received from our government here in the United States a large land grant -- a land grant in appreciation for or gratitude for his valor in fighting for American freedom.

And when he returned to his native land, as the books tell us, again to fight for the freedom of that fine Poland, he left this testament with Thomas Jefferson. Let me read it for you, lest you may not have remembered these most inspiring words:

"I, being just on my departure from the United States, do hereby declare and direct that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes and giving them liberty in my name. In giving them an education in trade or otherwise;

## Chicago, Polish-American

in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality, which may make them good neighbors, husbands and wives; in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and of their country, of the good order of society; and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful; and I make the said Thomas Jefferson the executor of this."

(Applause.)

This document I quoted from is on file with Jefferson's papers, on file in the Library of Congress. I had hoped to even bring it with me, and that papers bears the signature of Thaddeus Bonaventura Kosciusko, one of the great Polish liberators.

General Kosciusko was the brilliant leader who walked 160 years ahead of modern America -- 150 years ahead of Abraham Lincoln -- in the cause of extending freedom and opportunity for all Americans. You Americans whose forebears came from Poland,--

(Applause.)

You Americans whose forebears came from Poland, you have heroes in your ranks, but none greater than this great statesman and soldier. And his heroism in battle, against big armies or against bigoted and tyrannical minds, is both an inspiration and a challenge to those of us who follow him.

I share your pride in him. I have a warm feeling that today, we are challenged to make opportunity available to all Americans by protecting these great human rights. Kosciusko would be proud that we have succeeded in making some forward steps in the law of this land on behalf of equal human rights.

(Applause.)

Now, one month ago, the newest of our nuclear submarines was commissioned. It is the Casmir Pulaski, so we honor the name of the young Polish nobleman who gave his life to help our nation -- to help our nation win its independence, but although this ship will carry inside her more destructive power than all of the explosives used in World War II, her purpose is still the defense of liberty, and the cause of peace across the globe.

We Americans in this second half of the 20th Century

## Chicago, Polish-American

know that we build our power for peace, and there is no peace without strength and without the power that this mighty nation possesses.

May I just suggest that we must always remember that America is the land of peace as well as the land of opportunity, as well as the land of freedom and peace, our preeminent cause.

1964 marks the beginning of the thousand year anniversary of the existence of Poland as an independent state and a Christian nation. Despite today's conditions of temporary subjugation, the fires of liberty have not dimmed in Polish hearts, and every person in this room, indeed, every person that has ever read a page of history, knows that Poland shall be free again.

We trust the Polish people. We understand well their bravery, and as President Johnson has said, and I quote him, "We know the unswerving dedication of the Polish people to the goals of liberty, equality and independence. That is why our policy is extended to help the Polish people, so that they may increasingly help themselves."

This is why some of the things that were mentioned here today by Mr. Rozmarek, why some of these things are being done, because we are going to help the Polish people.

(Applause.)

My friends, Americans are offered a choice this year on how best to serve the cause of Poland -- and not only the cause of Poland but the cause of all subjugated peoples of all Eastern Europe. Here are our choices:

We can continue to be friends of the people of Poland through the tireless, slow but good work of building bridges of trade and ideas and visitors and humanitarian aid, or we can consider the people of Poland sworn enemies of ours because they are under communist domination and coldly reject the claims of nourishment and brotherhood.

We can accept the commitment of the Polish people to their long Christian heritage or we can reject the people of Poland as a Godless people because the Communists are in control and have betrayed the religious traditions of a thousand years.

Almost exactly four years ago, that gallant warrior in the cause of freedom everywhere, John F. Kennedy, spoke to this

## Chicao, Polish American

Congress here in Chicago, and here is what he said, and if it has been repeated to you before, then let me repeat it again because it is the stated policy of this government, a commitment of 190 million Americans. Here's what he said:

"Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny -- a policy that looks toward evolution, not revolution -- a policy that depends on peace, not war.

"We must never -- at any summit, in any treaty declaration, in our words or even in our minds -- recognize Soviet domination of eastern Europe. Poland's claim to independence and liberty is not based on sentiment or politics. It is deeply rooted in history, in culture, and in law -- and no matter what pressures the Soviet may exert, we do not intend to see that claim abandoned."

(Applause.)

Then this gallant warrior for freedom said: "We must strive to restore the traditional identification which Poland and Eastern Europe have had with the European community instead of the Soviet empire, for Poland back through the centuries has belonged to the European tradition of freedom and national independence. It has been a part of European culture, of European economy and European history."

I come here today as a United States Senator and as the nominee of my party for the second highest office in this land to say that this policy stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960 continues to be the policy of this government and the policy to which I am personally committed.

(Applause.)

Let me state a personal point of view. Let me make it clear right now that only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over communism, or instant "liberation" of the captive peoples held in communist sugjugation.

We cannot imitate those of an earlier era who talked grandly and glibly of "liberation" - but when the Hungarian rose in heroic revolt, stood mute on the sidelines.

No, the possibility of instand victory, my fellow Americans, vanished with the coming of the era of instant annihilation through nuclear weapons. So we must pursue the more



## Chicago, Polish-American

challenging and the more trying course, the only sane course, of devising a policy that will achieve freedom without obliteration, not only for the Polish people but for all peoples wherever tyranny and dictatorship rule.

We are convinced -- unlike some narrow-visioned defeatists -- that time is on the side of freedom, that is, if we put time to good use.

We are completely confident that Poland and its people will be restored to the family of free nations, and we intend to use time as a tool for that purpose, not as a couch upon which to relax.

We intend to build bridges to the Polish people -- bridges which may now be obstructed at the other end but which will be there to be opened wide when the day of freedom dawns.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, we have already begun to do this. The United States has initiated a new and constructive policy toward the Polish people and the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. We have recognized the deepening divisions of the communist camp -- what divisions, what those men are saying about each other.

We have encouraged and have been encouraged by those divisions and we have made use of these divisions for helping these people to regain their freedom and independence.

We have strengthened the economic, cultural ties between Poland and the United States. Yes, we have expanded trade and some of us have been severely chastised because we stood up for it and have been accused of being soft on communism.

Let me say what we are soft about. We seem to like people who love their God and love liberty.

(Applause.)

This government has no intention, at least, if some of us have something to say about it, of leaving the peoples behind the Iron Curtain lost and left unto themselves. We will extend the hands of human fellowship and of friendship to those peoples wherever there is the opportunity and we will do our best to make those opportunities possible.

(Applause.)



## Chicago, Polish-American

Now, we have encouraged exchanges of students and scholars. Through the efforts of a Congressman in my neighboring state of Wisconsin, Congressman Zablocki, and myself, the United States government has provided more than \$10 million for the construction of a 300 bed children's hospital and research center in Krakow.

Let me just say a word about that. I am co-author of this program and proud of it. Oh, I have got nasty letters, and some people saying, "Why are you wanting to build a hospital in a communist country?"

I want the people of Poland to have some sort of tangible evidence that the people of the United States still love children, that we are willing to fight disease.

(Applause.)

I want the people of Poland and people everywhere to know that even though there may be a regime that puts upon the backs of people for the moment a government unwanted, a system unwanted, that we, the people of the United States, have faith in freedom and liberty, and we have faith in democracy and we are going to have faith in the people that believe in those things, and I think our policy is paying off.

The Polish government itself, the present government, has had to repudiate collectivization of its farms.

I just left North Dakota this morning where I visited a family farm. Thousands of people were present and I said from that platform that one of the great achievements of America is the American agricultural abundance, and we have been able to do it through private enterprises.

We have been able to do it through the American family farm and the greatest single failure in the economic structure of the communist socialism set-up is their collective state farm. They are no good.

(Applause.)

And when you find a people that loves the land, it is one of their connections with Divine providence; to love the land is a very real way of expressing one's spiritual commitments.

I know there is much more to be done. We have only begun. I want to remember -- you want to remember what John Kennedy

## Chicago - Polish-American

said on January 20, 1961. He said, "Let us begin." And, my fellow Americans, the great achievements of history are not accomplished overnight. The history tells us the story of generations, of centuries, yea -- in this instant we are celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the nation of Poland.

It takes a long time to get things done.

(Applause.)

But what is important is to begin, and to begin with purpose, and we must continue to open those doors and windows behind the Iron Curtain and in the Iron Curtain and the Polish people must never, for a single moment, have reason to believe that we have forsaken them.

(Applause.)

Now, there are those that would like to close those windows and some people accuse us of being very impractical. Such men seek instant answers to long-range problems. They shout at us we are dealing with the enemy, or they shout again that we are following a no-win program, but my fellow Americans, when Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski deals with Gomulka, is he engaging in a no-win policy?

When Pope Paul concludes a diplomatic agreement with the Hungarian Communist regime, as occurred this past week, is he capitulating to the atheists?

To ask these questions is to indicate the absurdity of the issue. Pope Paul, the Primate of Poland, have as their first charge the spiritual welfare of their people and when they sit down and even negotiate with the enemy about it, it is from an impregnable bastion of conviction which has stood for almost 2,000 years.

(Applause.)

And let me say it is Gomulka who runs the risk when he deals with such a great force for good.

(Applause.)

2,000 years of Christianity and the Catholic Church will survive two decades of communism and dictatorship any day.

So, I say it is the Communists, not we, whose power is

## Chicago, Polish-American

being eaten away by the corrosive impact and erosive impact of freedom. The Communist power weakens by the knowledge among their people that the United States looks upon the people of Eastern Europe, not as enemies but as friends, who have temporarily been denied the right to assert their liberty and their freedom and their common dedication to the liberty of mankind.

Now, the extremists may cry that extending food to hungry people behind the Iron Curtain will aid the Communists, and I have heard this from the opposition in this campaign, but the people who receive this food know it's American in origin.

They don't thank their Communist bosses. They thank Almighty God and the people of the United States.

(Applause.)

Having provided this life-giving substance of hope, the Democratic party under President Johnson will not turn its back, and as President Johnson has said, and he follows within the policy guidelines of our late President Kennedy, the objective of the United States is and will continue to be to seek freedom's return to policy.

(Applause.)

We know the years of darkness have not extinguished the light of freedom in Poland and the masters of darkness know it, too. Soviet leaders in the Kremlin do, indeed, know just this. The nations of Eastern Europe, no longer willing satellites as they were, compelled Mr. Kruschchev to lengthen their leashes; as he has been forced to admit, "They are getting too big to spank."

Soon, they will be too strong to chain and that will be the day.

Now, the process may not be swift, and I know there are many that are impatient, but in these grave matters of world affairs in the nuclear age, impatience can be side by side with annihilation.

What we need is persevering patience; what we need is to be strong and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent; what we need is to be firm without being bellicose, and patience with purpose, persevering patience.

The program of purpose -- this is the formula for freedom in our time.

Chicago, Polish-American.

in our time.

(Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know that you have been kept here a long time. I'll just say a few words about one development in recent weeks that has been disturbing to me.

I was shocked, yes, shocked to hear Senator Goldwater's running mate -- whose ancestral boat presumably came in only a few lengths behind the Mayflower -- recently condemn the Johnson Administration's proposal to revise the immigration laws. I know a little something about this because I have been at this work 16 years in the United States Senate.

He says that he opposes opening the floodgates -- but what an incredible distortion -- what is really at issue is not the floodgates at all. What is at issue is "fair-gates" -- just being fair.

(Applause.)

Gates which are fair and which do not open only at the knock of the Anglo-Saxon hand. The Johnson proposal, which is similar to the proposal made earlier by John F. Kennedy and myself when we served in the Senate and I was Senator Kennedy's co-sponsor on this same legislation, we worked at it for years.

It is designed to end the stigma which was imposed back in 1924 in the Republican Administration of that time, that insulting statutory endorsement of the principle that Poles and Italians and Eastern Europeans and non-Europeans somehow belong to inferior breeds and that is what the Act literally said.

The Immigration Bill, which President Kennedy sent to Congress shortly before his tragic death, opens no floodgates. But it would correct this burning inequity and a disgraceful discrimination against peoples. It would end the quota system which sought to maintain a mythical racial and ethnic purity.

In its 1960 platform, the Republican party pledged to do something about this because there are many Republicans in the Senate and in the House that agree with us, but the Senator Goldwater platform of 1964 purged this concession to decency and now the temporary Republican leadership has added insult of disdain to the injury of neglect.

On Wednesday of this week, Senator Goldwater's hand-

## Chicago, Polish-American

picked Chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, welcomes Mr. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to the Goldwater party with this statement: "The Democratic party has forsaken the people to become a party of minority groups."

What would your grandfather have said of all of this? Most of us are the children of immigrants, and am I in the minority group, if you please? You well recall, I am sure, that your grandfather or great-grandfather belonged to this courageous group of people, men and women, in Eastern Europe who dared to pull up their roots and move their families -- often with no worldly goods at all -- in search of justice and liberty in another land.

They fled from tyranny, and they were welcomed to these shores, and in one of the great tides of immigration, invigorated our country in the middle of the 19th Century and early 20th Century, like my old grandfather and my old mother, and those many other millions of Americans.

And I resent a tax upon immigrants.

(Applause.)

But I will tell you this in astonishment and wonder. Your grandfather could not come to America under our present immigration laws. Your grandfather could not come to America under the legislation that Barry Goldwater supports. Your grandfather would have found our gates barred to him and his family and barred by those who share the views of Mr. Goldwater on this subject of immigration.

And what would your grandfather have done? He would have had to remain in the Communist state in Eastern Europe, hoping and yearning for the light and air of liberty, his eyes turned toward America in quest of friendship and reassurance. Yet, what would he have found if America had been ruled by the philosophy and by the attitude expressed by the Senator from Arizona in his recent comments?

I'll tell you what he would have found. Senator Goldwater has made it clear what he would have found -- a closing of the windows that we have opened to bring life and air to the people of Eastern Europe, and an end to our programs of educational and cultural exchange, an end to our food for peace program, which is literally the difference between life and death to hundreds and thousands of people in Eastern Europe, an end to our information program so that some people in Eastern Europe can know what America is, as it is -- and not as the Communists' propagandists tell them that it is.



## Chicago, Polish-American

And your grandfather would have had to suffer in darkness because of these antiquated, because of these evil policies, and that is what they are.

Now, President Johnson has stated the truly American position on this question of immigration and the President before him stated it eloquently. Here's what President Johnson has said:

"In establishing preferences, a nation built by immigrants of all lands can ask those who seek admission, 'what can you do for our country?' But we should not be asking, 'in what country were you born?'"

(Applause.)

Oh, my dear friends, let us be proud of this great symphony of people that are yours. No nation on the face of the earth has the vitality, has the creativeness, has the strength of this mighty nation, and many nations have more lands, many nations have more resources. Why is it, then, that we are so blessed?

I think it is because we have had faith in people. We have placed our faith in God. We placed our faith in people and we have placed our trust in a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

(Applause.)

We are proud of this greatness and these many blessings, but we can do even better things.

I think we are on the threshold of more progress by the end of this century than ever has been achieved in any century.

The comforts of many will be extended to all. Our people, who are living longer, will also be able to live in dignity and health. Our cities that have grown big and vigorously will come to know beauty.

A great society, a just society, is possible for America, in which every man will have the opportunity to provide a decent life for himself and his family, regardless of his race or his creed or his nationality.

We need leadership. We need leadership with vision to match our potentialities. We need a President who heals the

divisions between peoples, who seeks not to divide but to unite, who seeks to make this an America of one people, a people of the United States of America, one people with our different culture, our different origin, but with a common purpose.

(Applause.)

Yes, we need a President who heals the divisions between people at home and abroad, and who will help put salt in people's bread, and not pour it onto their wounds.

By the grace of God, we have such leadership in America, and may I say, as I said just awhile ago out here on the streets of this city, by the good judgment of our late and beloved President, who made such a wonderful President, by the judgment of John Kennedy who selected his Vice President in Los Angeles in 1961, we have today leadership in American with vision, and I suggest that we continue with Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

- - -

(End.)

*Sp. Chicago, Ill.  
Sept. 19, 1964*

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 19, 1964

NO NATION HAS A UNIQUE CLAIM TO AMERICA -- BUT NO PEOPLE FROM OTHER LANDS CAN CLAIM TO HAVE MADE A GREATER CONTRIBUTION TO OUR SOCIETY THAN THOSE WHO CAME HERE FROM POLAND.

AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY, AND NONE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THIS BETTER THAN THOSE WHO CAME TO THESE SHORES FROM POLAND. AND IT WAS A GREAT POLISH PATRIOT OVER 150 YEARS AGO WHO ELOQUENTLY STATED THAT OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA MEANS OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL. A STATESMAN OF COMPASSION, A SOLDIER OF COURAGE, HE HAD RECEIVED FROM OUR GOVERNMENT A LARGE LAND GRANT IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS VALOR IN FIGHTING FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM. WHEN HE RETURNED TO HIS NATIVE LAND -- AGAIN TO FIGHT FOR ITS FREEDOM -- HE LEFT THIS TESTAMENT WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON. LET



ME READ ITS INSPIRING WORDS:

"I, BEING JUST ON MY DEPARTURE FROM THE UNITED STATES, DO HEREBY DECLARE AND DIRECT THAT, SHOULD I MAKE NO OTHER TESTAMENTARY DISPOSITION OF MY PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES, I HEREBY AUTHORIZE MY FRIEND THOMAS JEFFERSON TO EMPLOY THE WHOLE THEREOF IN PURCHASING NEGROES AND GIVING THEM LIBERTY IN MY NAME; IN GIVING THEM AN EDUCATION IN TRADE OR OTHERWISE; IN HAVING THEM INSTRUCTED FOR THEIR NEW CONDITION IN THE DUTIES OF MORALITY, WHICH MAY MAKE THEM GOOD NEIGHBORS, HUSBANDS AND WIVES, IN THEIR DUTIES AS CITIZENS, TEACHING THEM TO BE DEFENDERS OF THEIR LIBERTY AND OF THEIR COUNTRY, OF THE GOOD ORDER OF SOCIETY, AND IN WHATSOEVER MAY MAKE THEM HAPPY AND USEFUL; AND I MAKE THE SAID THOMAS JEFFERSON THE EXECUTOR OF THIS. "

THIS PAPER BEARS THE SIGNATURE OF "THADDEUS BONAVENTURA KOSCIUSZKO".

GENERAL KOSCIUSZKO WAS THE BRILLIANT LEADER WHO WALKED 160 YEARS AHEAD OF US -- 50 YEARS AHEAD OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN -- IN

THE CAUSE OF EXTENDING FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY TO ALL AMERICANS. YOU AMERICANS WHOSE FOREBEARERS CAME FROM POLAND -- YOU HAVE AN UNUSUAL NUMBER OF HEROES IN YOUR RANKS, BUT NONE GREATER THAN KOSCIUSZKO. AND HIS HEROISM IN BATTLE, AGAINST BIG ARMIES OR BIGOTED MINDS, IS BOTH AN INSPIRATION AND A CHALLENGE TO THOSE OF US WHO FOLLOW HIM.

I SHARE YOUR PRIDE IN HIM. I HAVE A WARM FEELING THAT TODAY WHEN WE ARE CHALLENGED TO MAKE OPPORTUNITY AVAILABLE TO ALL AMERICANS BY PROTECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS, KOSCIUSZKO WOULD BE PROUD THAT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PASSING A LAW THAT GUARANTEES EQUAL FREEDOM AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL.

ONE MONTH AGO THE NEWEST OF OUR NUCLEAR SUBMARINES WAS COMMISSIONED -- THE CASMIR PULASKI. SO WE HONOR THE NAME OF THE YOUNG POLISH NOBLEMAN WHO GAVE HIS LIFE TO HELP OUR NATION WIN ITS INDEPENDENCE. BUT ALTHOUGH THIS SHIP WILL CARRY INSIDE HER MORE DESTRUCTIVE POWER THAN ALL OF THE

EXPLOSIVES USED IN WORLD WAR II. HER PURPOSE IS STILL THE DEFENSE OF LIBERTY AND THE CAUSE OF PEACE ACROSS THE GLOBE. WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT AMERICA IS A LAND OF PEACE AS WELL AS A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY. PEACE IS OUR PRE-EMINENT PURPOSE IN THE WORLD TODAY.

NINETEEN SIXTY-FOUR MARKS THE BEGINNING OF THE THOUSAND YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXISTENCE OF POLAND AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE AND A CHRISTIAN NATION. DESPITE TODAY'S CONDITIONS OF TEMPORARY SUBJUGATION, THE FIRES OF LIBERTY HAVE NOT BEEN DIMMED IN POLISH HEARTS. AND POLAND SHALL BE FREE AGAIN!

WE TRUST THE POLISH PEOPLE. WE UNDERSTAND WELL THEIR BRAVERY. AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID, "WE KNOW THE UNSWERVING DEDICATION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE TO THE GOALS OF LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND INDEPENDENCE. THAT IS WHY OUR POLICY IS DESIGNED TO HELP THE POLISH PEOPLE SO THAT THEY MAY INCREASINGLY HELP THEMSELVES."

AMERICANS ARE OFFERED A CHOICE THIS YEAR ON HOW BEST



TO SERVE THE CAUSE OF POLAND -- AND THE CAUSE NOT ONLY OF POLAND, BUT OF ALL EASTERN EUROPE.

WE CAN CONTINUE TO BE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE OF POLAND THROUGH BRIDGES OF TRADE, IDEAS, VISITORS, AND HUMANITARIAN AID. OR WE CAN CONSIDER THEM SWORN ENEMIES OF OURS BECAUSE THEY ARE UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION -- AND COLDLY REJECT THE CLAIMS OF NOURISHMENT AND BROTHERHOOD.

WE CAN ACCEPT THE COMMITMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE TO THEIR LONG CHRISTIAN HERITAGE. OR WE CAN REJECT THE PEOPLE OF POLAND AS A GODLESS PEOPLE BECAUSE THE MARXISTS IN CONTROL HAVE BETRAYED THE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF A THOUSAND YEARS.

ALMOST EXACTLY FOUR YEARS AGO THAT GALLANT WARRIOR IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, JOHN. F. KENNEDY, SPOKE TO THIS CONGRESS HERE IN CHICAGO. HE SAID:

" "OUR TASK IS TO PURSUE A POLICY OF PATIENTLY ENCOURAGING FREEDOM AND CAREFULLY PRESSURING TYRANNY -- A POLICY THAT

LOOKS TOWARD EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION -- A POLICY THAT  
DEPENDS ON PEACE, NOT WAR.

"...WE MUST NEVER -- AT ANY SUMMIT, IN ANY TREATY  
DECLARATION, IN OUR WORDS OR EVEN IN OUR MINDS -- RECOGNIZE  
SOVIET DOMINATION OF EASTERN EUROPE. POLAND'S CLAIM TO  
INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY IS NOT BASED ON SENTIMENT OR  
POLITICS. IT IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN HISTORY, IN CULTURE, AND  
IN LAW -- AND NO MATTER WHAT PRESSURES THE SOVIETS MAY EXERT,  
WE DO NOT INTEND TO SEE THAT CLAIM ABANDONED.

"...WE MUST STRIVE TO RESTORE THE TRADITIONAL IDENTIFI-  
CATION WHICH POLAND AND EASTERN EUROPE HAVE HAD WITH THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INSTEAD OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE. FOR POLAND  
BACK THROUGH THE CENTURIES HAS BELONGED TO THE EUROPEAN  
TRADITION OF FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. IT HAS BEEN  
A PART OF EUROPEAN CULTURE, OF EUROPEAN ECONOMY AND  
EUROPEAN HISTORY. AND EVEN THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT  
REWRITE THAT HISTORY."

THIS POLICY STATED BY JOHN F. KENNEDY IN 1960 CONTINUES TO BE THE POLICY OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE POLICY TO WHICH I AM PERSONALLY COMMITTED.

LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR RIGHT NOW THAT ONLY A POLITICAL CHARLATAN CAN TALK OF INSTANT VICTORY OVER COMMUNISM, OR INSTANT "LIBERATION" OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES HELD IN COMMUNIST SUBJUGATION.

WE CANNOT IMITATE THOSE OF AN EARLIER ERA WHO TALKED GRANDLY OF "LIBERATION" -- BUT WHEN THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE ROSE IN HEROIC REVOLT, STOOD MUTE ON THE SIDELINES.

NO, THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTANT VICTORY VANISHED WITH THE COMING OF THE ERA OF INSTANT ANNIHILATION. SO WE MUST PURSUE THE MORE CHALLENGING COURSE, THE ONLY SANE COURSE, OF DEVISING A POLICY THAT WILL ACHIEVE FREEDOM WITHOUT OBLITERATION -- NOT ONLY FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE, BUT FOR ALL PEOPLES WHEREVER TYRANNY AND DICTATORSHIP RULE. WE ARE CONVINCED -- UNLIKE NARROW-VISIONED DEFEATISTS -- THAT TIME IS



ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM. THAT IS, IF WE PUT TIME TO GOOD USE. WE ARE COMPLETELY CONFIDENT THAT POLAND AND ITS PEOPLE WILL BE RESTORED TO THE FAMILY OF FREE NATIONS. AND WE INTEND TO USE TIME AS A TOOL, NOT AS A CRUTCH. WE INTEND TO BUILD BRIDGES TO THE POLISH PEOPLE -- BRIDGES WHICH MAY NOW BE OBSTRUCTED AT THE OTHER END BUT WHICH WILL BE THERE TO BE OPENED WIDE WHEN THE DAY OF FREEDOM DAWNS. WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN. THE UNITED STATES HAS INITIATED A NEW AND CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY TOWARD THE POLISH PEOPLE AND THE OPPRESSED NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE DEEPENING DIVISIONS OF THE COMMUNIST CAMP. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED THOSE DIVISIONS, AND WE HAVE MADE USE OF THESE DIVISIONS FOR HELPING THESE PEOPLE TO REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

WE HAVE STRENGTHENED THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE EXPANDED TRADE. WE HAVE ASSISTED THE POLISH PEOPLE TO BUILD THEIR

ECONOMY. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED EXCHANGES OF STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS. THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF CONGRESSMAN CLEMMENT ZABLOCKI OF MILWAUKEE AND MYSELF, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED MORE THAN TEN MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A 300 BED CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL AND RESEARCH CENTER IN KRAKOW. WE HAVE SOLD AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FOR POLISH CURRENCY WHICH, IN TURN, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SPEND IN PROMOTING VALUABLE PROJECTS OF FRIENDSHIP. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED THE POLES TO ASSERT THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TO PURSUE A COURSE OF ACTION BASED ON POLAND'S NATIONAL NEEDS AND INTERESTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR THEY HAVE REPUDIATED THE DISASTER OF COLLECTIVIZATION. TODAY IN POLAND 85 PER CENT OF THE LAND IS PRIVATELY OWNED.

THERE IS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE. WE MUST CONTINUE TO OPEN DOORS AND WINDOWS IN THE IRON CURTAIN. THE POLISH PEOPLE MUST NEVER HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE FORSAKEN THEM.



YET THERE ARE SOME WITHIN OUR NATION WHO WOULD CLOSE THESE DOORS AND WINDOWS -- WHO DENOUNCE OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD BRIDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND. SUCH MEN SEEK INSTANT ANSWERS TO LONG RANGE PROBLEMS. WE ARE DEALING "WITH THE ENEMY", THEY BELLOW. WE ARE FOLLOWING A "NO WIN" PROGRAM.

BUT WHEN STEFAN CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI DEALS WITH GOMULKA, IS HE ENGAGING IN A "NO WIN" POLICY? WHEN POPE PAUL CONCLUDES A DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENT WITH THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST REGIME -- AS OCCURRED THIS VERY WEEK -- IS HE CAPITULATING TO THE ATHEISTS?

TO ASK THESE QUESTIONS IS TO INDICATE THE ABSURDITY OF THE ISSUE. POPE PAUL AND THE PRIMATE OF POLAND HAVE AS THEIR FIRST CHARGE THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THEIR PEOPLE. WHEN THEY NEGOTIATE WITH THE ENEMY IT IS FROM AN IMPREGNABLE BASTION OF PRINCIPLE WHICH HAS STOOD FOR ALMOST TWO THOUSAND YEARS.

IT IS GOMULKA WHO RUNS THE RISKS IN DEALING WITH THE

CHURCH. 2000 YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH  
WILL SURVIVE TWO DECADES OF COMMUNISM AND DICTATORSHIP!

IT IS THE COMMUNISTS, NOT WE, WHOSE POWER IS BEING  
EATEN AWAY BY THE CORROSIVE IMPACT OF FREEDOM -- BY THE  
KNOWLEDGE AMONG THEIR PEOPLE THAT THE UNITED STATES LOOKS  
UPON THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE AS FRIENDS WHO HAVE  
TEMPORARILY BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO ASSERT THEIR FRIENDSHIP  
AND THEIR COMMON DEDICATION TO LIBERTY.

THE GOLDWATER EXTREMISTS MAY CRY THAT IN SENDING FOOD  
TO HUNGRY PEOPLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN WE ARE AIDING  
COMMUNISM. BUT THE PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE THIS FOOD KNOWS ITS  
AMERICAN ORIGIN AND DO NOT THANK THEIR COMMUNIST BOSSES FOR  
THE NOURISHMENT IT BRINGS.

SOME THINKING PEOPLE CAN DENOUNCE OUR AID AND TRADE IN  
NON-STRATEGIC GOODS. BUT YOU KNOW, AND I KNOW -- ALL THE  
REST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW -- THAT SUCH AID AND TRADE

IS INSTEAD AN ASSERTION OF HUMAN SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE FORCES OF INHUMANITY. THE POLISH PEOPLE KNOW THIS TOO. AND SO DO MEN AND WOMEN OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE.

HAVING PROVIDED THE LIFE GIVING SUBSTANCE OF HOPE, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON WILL NOT NOW TURN ITS BACK. AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID: "THE OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES IS -- AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE -- TO SEE FREEDOM RETURNED TO POLAND AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE. WE KNOW THE YEARS OF DARKNESS HAVE NOT EXTINGUISHED THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM IN POLAND. AND THE MASTERS OF DARKNESS KNOW THAT."

THE SOVIET LEADERS IN THE KREMLIN DO INDEED KNOW THAT. THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE ARE NO LONGER THE SATELLITES THEY WERE. IN BEING FORCED TO LENGTHEN THEIR LEASH, MR. KRUSHCHEV HAS BEEN FORCED TO ADMIT THAT "THEY ARE GETTING TOO BIG TO SPANK." SOON THEY WILL BE TOO STRONG TO CHAIN.

THE PROCESS MAY NOT BE SWIFT, BUT WE SHALL PREVAIL. IN SPIRIT, POLAND NEVER LEFT THE WEST. IN FULL POLITICAL



FREEDOM IT SHALL RETURN.

THE SAME GOLDWATER FACTION THAT DISTRUSTS PEOPLE ABROAD, DISTRUSTS PEOPLE HERE AT HOME. AND, CHARACTERISTICALLY, IT DISTRUSTS THE SAME PEOPLE.

I WAS SHOCKED TO HEAR THAT SENATOR GOLDWATER'S RUNNING MATE -- WHOSE ANCESTRAL BOAT PRESUMABLY CAME IN ONLY A FEW LENGTHS BEHIND THE MAYFLOWER -- HAS RECENTLY CONDEMNED THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL TO REVISE THE IMMIGRATION LAWS. HE SAYS THAT HE OPPOSES "OPENING THE FLOODGATES" -- BUT WHAT AN INCREDIBLE DISTORTION! WHAT IS REALLY AT ISSUE IS NOT THE FLOODGATES AT ALL. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS 'FAIR-GATES' -- GATES WHICH ARE FAIR, WHICH DO NOT OPEN ONLY AT THE KNOCK OF AN ANGLO-SAXON HAND.

THE JOHNSON PROPOSAL, WHICH IS SIMILAR TO THE PROPOSAL MADE EARLIER BY JOHN F. KENNEDY AND MYSELF, IS DESIGNED TO END THE STIGMA WHICH WAS IMPOSED BY THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION AND PLATFORM IN 1924 -- THAT INSULTING STATUTORY ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT POLES ITALIANS AND

OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES SOMEHOW BELONG TO INFERIOR BREEDS.

THE IMMIGRATION BILL, WHICH PRESIDENT KENNEDY SENT TO CONGRESS SHORTLY BEFORE HIS TRAGIC DEATH, OPENS NO FLOODGATES. BUT IT WOULD CORRECT THIS BURNING INEQUITY AND A DISGRACEFUL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PEOPLES. IT WILL END THE QUOTA SYSTEM WHICH SOUGHT TO MAINTAIN A MYTHICAL RACIAL AND ETHNIC PURITY BY APPORTIONING IMMIGRATION VISAS AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN PROPORTION TO THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR POPULATION IN 1920.

IN ITS 1960 PLATFORM, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLEDGED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT, TOO. BUT THE GOLDWATER PLATFORM OF 1964 PURGED THIS CONCESSION TO DECENCY, AND NOW THE TEMPORARY REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP HAS ADDED THE INSULT OF DISDAIN TO THE INJURY OF NEGLECT.

ON WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK, SENATOR GOLDWATER'S HAND-PICKED NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, MR. DEAN BURCH, WELCOMED SENATOR

STROM THURMOND OF SOUTH CAROLINA TO THE GOLDWATER PARTY WITH THE STATEMENT: "THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS FORSAKEN THE PEOPLE TO BECOME A PARTY OF MINORITY GROUPS."

NOW WHAT WOULD YOUR GRANDFATHER HAVE SAID OF ALL OF THIS? YOU WILL RECALL, I AM SURE, THAT YOUR GRANDFATHER BELONGED TO THAT COURAGEOUS GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN IN EASTERN EUROPE WHO DARED TO PULL UP THEIR ROOTS AND MOVE THEIR FAMILIES IN SEARCH OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY IN ANOTHER LAND. THEY FLED FROM TYRANNY TO BE WELCOMED TO OUR SHORES IN ONE OF THE GREAT TIDES OF IMMIGRATION THAT INVIGORATED OUR COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY -- LIKE MY OWN GRANDFATHER AND THOSE OF SO MANY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS.

BUT I TELL YOU THIS IN ASTONISHMENT AND WONDER: YOUR GRANDFATHER COULD NOT COME TO AMERICA UNDER OUR PRESENT IMMIGRATION LAWS. YOUR GRANDFATHER COULD NOT COME TO AMERICA UNDER THE LEGISLATION BARRY GOLDWATER SUPPORTS. YOUR



GRANDFATHER WOULD HAVE FOUND OUR GATES BARRED TO HIM AND HIS FAMILY -- BARRED BY BARRY GOLDWATER AND THOSE WHO SHARE HIS VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION.

AND WHAT WOULD YOUR GRANDFATHER HAVE DONE? HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO REMAIN IN A COMMUNIST STATE IN EASTERN EUROPE, HOPING AND YEARNING FOR THE LIGHT AND AIR OF LIBERTY, HIS EYES TURNED TOWARD AMERICA IN QUEST OF FRIENDSHIP AND REASSURANCE. YET WHAT WOULD HE HAVE FOUND IF AMERICA WERE RULED BY BARRY GOLDWATER? I TELL YOU WHAT HE WOULD HAVE FOUND -- AND SENATOR GOLDWATER HAS MADE CLEAR WHAT HE WOULD HAVE FOUND: A CLOSING OF THE WINDOWS WE HAVE OPENED TO BRING LIGHT AND AIR TO THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE -- AN END TO OUR PROGRAMS OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE, OUR FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAMS, OUR INFORMATION PROGRAM. AND YOUR GRANDFATHER WOULD HAVE TO SUFFER IN DARKNESS BECAUSE OF THE POLICIES OF BARRY GOLDWATER.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS STATED THE TRULY AMERICAN

POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION, "IN ESTABLISHING PREFERENCES, A NATION BUILT BY IMMIGRANTS OF ALL LANDS CAN ASK THOSE WHO SEEK ADMISSION: 'WHAT CAN YOU DO FOR OUR COUNTRY?' BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE ASKING: 'IN WHAT COUNTRY WERE YOU BORN?'"

AMERICA IS A GREAT LAND. YET WE ARE ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE PROGRESS BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY THAN EVER BEFORE ACHIEVED IN A CENTURY.

THE COMFORTS OF MANY WILL BE EXTENDED TO ALL.

OUR PEOPLE, WHO ARE LIVING LONGER, WILL ALSO LIVE IN DIGNITY AND HEALTH.

OUR CITIES THAT HAVE GROWN BIG WILL COME ALSO TO KNOW BEAUTY.

A GREAT SOCIETY IS POSSIBLE FOR AMERICA IN WHICH EVERY MAN WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROVIDE A DECENT LIFE FOR HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY -- REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, OR NATIONALITY.



WE NEED LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, WITH VISION TO MATCH  
OUR POTENTIALITIES. WE NEED A PRESIDENT WHO HEALS DIVISIONS  
BETWEEN PEOPLE -- AT HOME AND ABROAD -- WHO WILL HELP  
PUT SALT IN PEOPLES' BREAD, NOT POUR IT INTO THEIR WOUNDS.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, WE HAVE SUCH LEADERSHIP IN  
AMERICA.

LET US CONTINUE -- WITH LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

To: John Stewart

From: Julie

Re: Poland-Chicago

I prepared this last week-as a special message for the Polish-American press.

The Senator called tonight and asked if I had anything on Poland. So--for whatever use it might be---attached it be.

[Sept. 19]  
Julie  
Polish-  
Amer Press

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

September 17, 1964 marks the 25th Anniversary of one of the most tragic events in the long history of Poland. On that day, a quarter century ago, the Soviet Red Army unleashed 80 divisions against a nation which was already reeling under Nazi "blitzkrieg."

For 2½ weeks, heroic Polish Armies had been courageously defending their ravaged homeland. They had held out against the overwhelming forces of aggression which had struck from the West on September 1, 1939. Then, on September 17th, the attack from the East shattered what little hope remained for the survival of Polish sovereignty.

2½ decades have now passed. But the world has forgotten neither the valor of Polish arms nor the aggression committed against her and her people.

In her long history, Poland has, time and again, suffered cruel invasion and partition. Always, however, she has successfully risen.

History confirms, too, that no land suffered more severely in the defense of freedom in World War II. But neither in the darkest days of 1939, nor throughout the bitter war years of occupation nor in the difficult post-war years have the Polish people ever faltered in their faith.

Always, her people have defied all foes and remained devoted to their Church and to their highest national traditions.

On this sad anniversary, I join with all Americans in saluting the everlasting courage and honor of the Polish people.

Just as Poland is irrevocably the friend of free Americans, so are the Polish people unalterably opposed to alien Communism.

We Americans cherish the affection of the Polish people. We are indebted to Poland - whose valiant Pulaski and Kosciuszko helped so much to bring freedom to what were then our 13 Colonies.

We share the warmest fraternal ties with the land which gave us 6 million patriotic citizens of Polish descent.

We recall that throughout its history, Poland has never failed to man the ramparts against barbarian onslaught. We remember that Poland gave to the world - some of Western Civilization's finest years and greatest names - in statesmanship, in science, in religion, in the arts and in countless other fields.

September 1, 1939 and September 17, 1939 will never be forgotten as long as free men live and hope and strive for liberty.



TRANSCRIPT

R A L L Y

CITY HALL

Chicago, Illinois  
Saturday, September 19, 1964

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Thank you very much.

They always told me that if you really want to see some place to come to Mayor Daley's Chicago.

(Applause.)

And I want to tell that fellow that has a big horn, the first time that fellow from Arizona comes in here, give it to him.

My good friends, this is a very exciting afternoon for Mrs. Humphrey and myself. These last few days we have traveled through many parts of our country -- yesterday in Arkansas, last night in Houston, this morning in North Dakota and now in the great state of Illinois, with this fine, good Governor you are going to re-elect, Governor Kerner.

And speaking of elections, I know that you are going to see to it that everyone of these Democratic Congressmen and every one of these good members of the State Legislature, all of these local officials, all the councilmen -- elect them all. Elect the whole Democratic slate.

Well, now, my friends, I know what a momentous moment this is for any candidate for public office. I believe, if my memory serves me correctly, that the late and beloved John Kennedy stood right here at this same spot and addressed an overwhelming, strong people and told you about his plans for America.

I was one of John Kennedy's lieutenants in the Congress of the United States, just as I am now Lyndon Johnson's lieutenant in the Congress of the United States.

And I come here for two purposes; first of all, I come here to help carry out the unfinished task of the man that we loved, the man who was taken from us, the man that you people here in Chicago did more to elect than any people in America. I come here to help elect Lyndon Johnson.

I know that the Mayor of that city loved him as a brother and may I say that I have the privilege of sitting by his side and working by his side during those 1,000 days of his Presidency but I think that the greatest thing John Kennedy ever did for America was the fact that he had the foresight to select as his running mate in Los Angeles, 1960, a man of experience, a man of good character, a man of integrity, a man with vision, a giant of a man, a man who today is our President, Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

Yes, it's been my privilege to know these men as friends, to know them as public officials and the highest honor that could ever be paid to me has already been granted. It was the honor, if you please, of being selected by our President, Lyndon Johnson, as his running mate in this election, and I can pledge you one thing, one thing that I pledge you, is that my every action, my every words, my every thought will be to help our President within this election and then to carry on this government.

(Applause.)

City Hall Rally, Chicago

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Now, friends, I think I will let you in on a secret. You know with old officials, GOP used to stand for "Grand Old Party" but they have changed it. Now it stands for "Goldwater's Our Problem."

And that is why, whenever you take a look at anything that is happening in America, you always find the Goldwater crowd on the far right.

After yesterday, you always find them out there in pasture by themselves. I have got a program for you. I want to tell you something, my friends. Most Americans, most Americans, yes, Republicans and Democrats alike, thought it was a good idea that we, the people and the business men of America, have a good tax cut, \$11.5 billion tax cut, but not Barry Goldwater.

CHORUS: Barry Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And most Americans, most Americans, my friends, believed that when it comes to the period of your life which is called the "senior citizenship" period, when you reach that twilight of your life, you are entitled to social security and good social security.

Most Americans, Democrats and Republicans alike, agree upon that, but not --

CHORUS: Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And, my friends, most Americans believe that we should have for every American the fullest protection of the law, for every person, regardless of race, color or creed. Yes, most Americans and most Senators and most Congressmen voted for a Civil Rights Act to make America a better country.

CHORUS: But not Senator Goldwater.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And, now, my friends, I am going to let you in on a nice secret. Just listen to this secret. Most Americans, most Democrats with an overwhelming majority, and hundreds of thousands of Republicans, and millions of independents, yes, most Americans on November 3, 1964, are going to vote for President Lyndon B. Johnson, but "not Senator Goldwater."

Thank you and goodbye.

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(End)

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT  
OF  
THE "AT RANDOM" PROGRAM

CBS Studio

630 North McClurg

Chicago, Illinois

9:20-9:30 p.m., Saturday, September 19, 1964

PARTICIPANTS:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
United States Senator from the State of Minnesota  
and Candidate for Vice President on the Democratic  
Ticket

MR. CLAYTON KIRKPATRICK,  
Assistant Managing Editor, Chicago Tribune

and

MR. MELVIN "PETE" AKERS, Editor, Chicago Sun Times

MR. JOHN MADIGAN, Narrator

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Mills  
Mills

MR. MADIGAN: The election campaign is heating up and At Random intends to be in the thick of it. They have extended invitations to both the Vice-Presidential candidates to be with us. One of them is with us now and the other we hope to have before election time.

United States Senator, Hubert Humphrey from Minnesota, candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket.

With the Senator, Clayton Kirkpatrick, Assistant Managing Editor of the Chicago Tribune, and Melvin "Pete" Akers, editor of the Chicago Sun Times.

Senator, the brunt of Mr. Goldwater's and Mr. Miller's attacks on you in the campaign or remarks concerning you in the campaign so far are on your alleged socialistic views. They equate the Ku Klux Klan on the right with the ADA on the left and say they have repudiated the Ku Klux Klan and why don't you do the same for the ADA.

How do you answer this charge -- and it is continuing day after day.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, the charge is made, but of course that doesn't make it very creditable or true. I think there is a great deal of difference. The members of the ADA wear civilian clothes; they do not belong to a conspiracy; they don't cloak themselves either in secrecy or in sheets. They are Ku Kluxers.

Furthermore, the Americans for Democratic Action represents an independent organization, open meetings, membership is open, its officers are well known, and it expresses its point of view on many political subjects, some of which I agree with, some of which I don't agree with. It is a militant, anti-communist, non-communist organization. It fully respects the institutions of free enterprise and representative government.

There is a great deal of difference, my friend, between a society that literally seeks to violate the Constitution of the United States and one that seeks to express its views as an independent political organization.

So I would have to say that to compare these two organizations would be like comparing an underground movement with a social club in your neighborhood.

QUESTION: Well, mind you, I quoted. I said --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I understand that you did, sir -- yes, I really do.

QUESTION: Senator, you are still a member of the ADA -- isn't that correct?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I haven't paid any dues to the organization -- I don't quite know when you get to be a member and when you cease to be one.

QUESTION: In some of the earlier stories about your identification with it, you were identified as a vice-chairman, and I understand at least the stories identify you now as a former vice-chairman. When did you give up the office?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: When I received the nomination as the Vice-Presidential nominee of our party -- because I felt that it would not be proper for me to be an officer of any organization that had political views at a time that I had accepted the nomination of my party.

I am like Sam Rayburn, Mr. Kirkpatrick. I'm a Democrat, without prefix or suffix or without apology. I like my party. I support it. I find that sometimes other organizations can be helpful. I belong to several of them. But I never joined an organization that wasn't good for my country, and that didn't support the Constitution and all of the ideals of this Republic.

QUESTION: But you think that under present circumstances there might be a conflict between this office that you held and --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Only because some people might feel that way, sir. And I feel that since the ADA may hold some views that are contrary to the Democratic platform, that I ought not be associated with it as a working officer or member.

And by the way, I have held a lot of views differently myself than the organization that we are speaking of.

QUESTION: Almost everybody changes his mind, I guess, once in a while.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I didn't change my mind. I just held different views.

QUESTION: Well, I don't contest that. But the Congressional Quarterly for September 11, 1964 analyzing the



ADA's viewpoints -- and the bills expressing those viewpoints which came before the Senate, says that you voted 100 per cent ADA.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, what I did was vote 100 per cent for the bills, and ADA happened to agree with them. And I think they were very smart in doing that. I want to compliment them.

The bills that I supported were Administration bills. I am the Majority Whip of the United States Senate. And the fact of the matter is that this organization showed better judgment than the Republican Party.

The Republicans should have supported those bills. It would have been easier to pass them.

QUESTION: As a practical matter of politics, do you think there is much mileage in this for Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Miller to keep repeating this day after day?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think there is some for myself, because I think it is getting rather boring. And if they want to continue to work on that old wheel, why it's perfectly all right with me.

You know, I have gone through this in Minnesota for a long time. And the people in Minnesota are pretty responsible people, they take their politics seriously. And all of the charges that have been hurled thus far have been heard in Minnesota so often that we have filed them with the Minnesota Historical Society -- they are not considered to be contemporary matters.

QUESTION: I presume that President Johnson and you were both aware that this would occur long before your selection as the Vice-Presidential nominee. Were you? Did you discuss it privately ahead of time?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We had not really discussed it. But President Johnson is a very wise man. I suppose he was fully aware of this. And if I never do anything worse in my life than to have served in that organization, I think that I will survive.

QUESTION: Senator, that brings up another question that I have been wondering about, and that is when did you find out you were going to be Vice-President -- that is, the Vice-Presidential nominee?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Kirkpatrick, for sure I found out about 6:20 on Wednesday night.

QUESTION: Wednesday night.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

QUESTION: Well, we were rather apprehensive about that, too, because we went out on a limb with an early story and forecast very strongly that you would be the nominee. It looked awfully good on Saturday, Sunday, Monday. And yet the message never came. And I got the impression that even you were apprehensive about it.

Why was Senator Dodd brought down to the White House on that afternoon?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let me just say first of all that I really wasn't very apprehensive. And I say this because I had confided with some of my close friends and with my wife that this was not an office that I was going to seek with such fervor that not to have attained it would have been any emotional shock or any heartbreak. I had made up my mind after 1960 that I could serve with, I hope, some competence and of some use in the United States Senate and I was going to be a good Senator. And I put myself to that task, as I had always. But I redoubled my efforts. I served as one of the lieutenants, legislative lieutenants for President Kennedy, as the Majority Whip of the Senate.

So I was very content with that particular assignment.

Now, Senator Dodd -- I knew what he was going down to Washington for. In fact, I was told by one of the White House aides that he would be going, and that this ought not to be of any great concern to me; I could draw whatever conclusions I wanted.

Also, Senator Dodd is a good friend of mine. I was so glad to have his company. He told me I was a bit boring, that I went to sleep on the way going down. And when he was in the White House, I was sitting out in the car and I went to sleep again. I was a bit tired. And when the President finally came out to ask me to come in the White House, he had to pat me on the arm and say "Wake up, Hubert, I want you to come on in". I was somewhat relaxed about it.

QUESTION: Yesterday, when your opponent Mr. Miller

was in town, he made a statement here that he guaranteed that there would be no John Birchers in the Cabinet, Republican Cabinet, when Mr. Goldwater was elected.

Do you expect that Mr. Goldwater shares that view?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would hope that he did. I don't think John Birchers belong in the Cabinet. I don't even think they belong in the woodwork. And I would hope -- and I think Mr. Goldwater would share that view.

I have never accused Mr. Goldwater of being directly associated with that organization. I don't consider him a man of bitterness or of hatred and of cynicism about our country. I consider some of his views to be wrong, and I surely don't want him to be President of the United States. But I know Mr. Goldwater, I know Senator Goldwater and his wife, they are two very fine people. In fact, I have had a kind of a friendly relationship socially with Senator Goldwater. I find him a rather interesting, charming man. I just wish that his politics was as good as his sense of charm and humor.

QUESTION: You have just come back from Texas, I think. You were there in the last few days. What sort of reception did you get there, and how does the State look to you from the standpoint of the November results?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I thought Texas looked very good. Every indication that we have, it looks good for the President. Senator John -- or Governor John Connally is exceedingly popular in Texas. He is a very close friend of the President. The President has a great following in Texas. And I believe that with the enthusiastic leadership of the Governor, plus the basic respect and affection that the people of Texas have for the President, plus the fact that they really have political unity for the first time in the Democratic Party for many years in Texas -- they have sort of patched up all the troubles and have been binding up the wounds -- so that it looks very good.

I had a wonderful reception, Mr. Akers. I must say that I cannot think of any time in my public life that I have had a warmer and more friendly and more enthusiastic reception.

QUESTION: Except in Chicago today?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Chicago was every bit as good

as Texas. It is really fine here. The Mayor, of course, of Chicago extended me the hand of his fellowship and friendship. And the people here think a great deal of their Mayor, and rightly so. And even coming over here to the television station we had large crowds of people as we walked out of the hotel. It is a very rewarding and pleasing thing.

QUESTION: That brings up the obvious point of the so-called backlash -- those that have accused the Polish people, second and third generation, that they will be part of the backlash.

You have talked to the Poles here in Chicago today. Would you comment on that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have not found that to be the case. I think there are people, of course that disagree on the whole subject matter of legislation relating to civil rights. This is a position that people can take. Men of good will and men of good conscience can disagree as to how we ought to deal with these problems. And when you disagree, you sometimes vote differently than the other fellow.

But I haven't found that any one ethnic group or any one nationality group has any stronger points, or stronger views or prejudices, if you wish to call it that, than the other.

I expect that people of Polish extraction in our industrial areas in particular, such as Gary, Indiana; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland and some of the other great industrial centers -- I expect them to vote Democratic. And every indication that we have shows that they are strongly in support of the Democratic ticket. And my reception today at the conference, the Polish Conference, was, I thought, very fine.

QUESTION: If I may, gentlemen, and Senator, we will stop for one moment for a brief message, and then we will be right back.

-- --

QUESTION: Yes, Pete, do you want to bring up that point you mentioned during the break?

QUESTION: Why -- you have long been opposed to or rather sought a reduction in the depletion allowance in oil. I was wondering whether you ran into this question in Texas, and also whether the fact that your position and that of

President Johnson on this particular subject, which has differed over the years, is going to be of any significance.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I surely ran into it at the press conferences. I held press conferences, because I thought it was the only fair way to enter the State, rather than just going into prepared meetings where you can come in and go out without having to face the inquiring press. And I can assure you that the men of the news media in Texas are every bit as good as they are any place else. And they asked me some questions. And I told them the truth -- because it is a matter of public record.

I have voted for reduction in the depletion allowance, on a graduated basis -- never for its elimination, because I thought that would be wrong. I voted for a reduction from  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent after a firm had over \$5 million of gross income down to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

I did tell them that as a Senator from Minnesota, where the depletion allowance on iron ore is only 15 per cent -- and we have some of the largest iron ore deposits in the world -- that it looked a little difficult for me -- it would not have looked quite right for me to be voting for  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for oil in other parts of America as a natural resource and 15 per cent in my own, representing my own State in the iron ore business in Minnesota.

I also mentioned, which I do again, that while some of our Republicans friends would like to make some political hay with this, that the chief sponsor of the amendment on depletion allowances in recent years has been Senator Williams of Delaware, who is a strong supporter of Senator Goldwater, and obviously will have a great deal of influence with the Senator if he becomes the President of the United States.

So I thought that we might sort of even it off on that basis.

And then they asked me what would be my position in the future. Well, I said "I am not running for Senator". And I want to say this to you. My position will be what the position is of the Administration.

When President Johnson is re-elected and when the 89th Congress convenes in January 1965, if the President presents a program on taxation relating to natural resources, including an item on depletion allowance, Hubert Humphrey, as the Vice-President of the United States, if asked, will support



the position of the President. That is what a Vice-President is supposed to do.

I did not become -- I did not accept this nomination to betray him. I accepted it to help him. And I will express my point of view within the closed meetings of the Administration advisors, as I have in recent years on matters. But once that decision is made, I walk down the line and support the Administration's program.

QUESTION: Senator, I would like to ask you a question about our relationships with Cuba.

Congressman Miller was in here earlier this week, and he repeated statements that he had made in a campaign speech that there was a secret agreement between the late President Kennedy and Russia that there would be no invasion of Cuba and no other American countries would be permitted to invade Cuba, and so on.

The State Department denied that there was any such agreement or any such pact.

Since then, of course, documents have been produced to show that the Russians, at least, believed that they had such a pact. And they also quoted from letters which President Kennedy had sent.

I wonder -- do you believe that there was such an agreement, and do you believe that there is still such an agreement?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I do not. And I am in a better position to know than Mr. Miller, because it has been my privilege to have top security clearance as a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which he does not belong to and which clearance he could not have.

QUESTION: Well, now, may I go one step further, then. Do you think that Khrushchev believes that there is such an agreement?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Khrushchev may say so for his own point of view --

QUESTION: He said so on October 28, 1962.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: He may very well have said so, because Mr. Khrushchev was confronted by the power of the

United States and by the will of President Kennedy, and Mr. Khrushchev had to back down, he had to withdraw his missiles. I can well imagine that he might want to make some face-saving statement.

But the facts of the matter are there is no such agreement, and Mr. Miller, as a member of the Congress ought to know that. And members of Congress ought not to spread false rumor.

QUESTION: You think, then, that the document that was printed by the Soviet news in London quoting from a dispatch that President Kennedy sent to Khrushchev is a fraud and a fake?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I do. And may I add, sir, that any communications that Mr. Kennedy had, as President, with Mr. Khrushchev, relating to any American action on Cuba was based upon the right of our inspection or of the United Nations inspection of the installations in Cuba.

QUESTION: That is implied in the Kennedy letter.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. But that inspection was never granted. And therefore it was made crystal clear by the President of the United States, the late John Kennedy, that because that inspection was not provided, and because the Soviet Union was not able to obtain it, that the American government reserved all rights, whatever was necessary, to protect our interests vis-a-vis Cuba, including, if need be, attack or invasion if that was necessary for our security.

QUESTION: Have you ever had any indications from Khrushchev or from Castro that they believe that this agreement is no longer binding?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: There never was any such agreement, sir, because --

QUESTION: They believed it.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, may I say that if I have got to believe Mr. Miller quoting Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Castro, I would say that is the kind of evidence that would not stand very much credibility in any court of law, or even in the court of American public opinion.

I don't believe--

QUESTION: In other words, you renounce any such agreement

and deny that there ever was one --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I deny that any such agreement exists, because the facts that would have even brought about such an agreement do not exist -- mainly, the inspection right of the United Nations, or any missile, or any of the missile sites in Cuba. When Mr. Castro rejected that, any possibility of any understanding relating to our relationships with the Soviet Union on Cuba, that was out. Because we based our whole program upon the right of UN inspection in Cuba.

QUESTION: You made the point that you thought it might be a fake. Clay, it was your paper that broke the story this morning. Maybe other papers have across the country at the same time.

MR. KIRKPATRICK: It was picked up by the wire services.

QUESTION: The Tribune gave a tremendous play this morning. The veracity of the document, I presume, was traced by the Tribune as far as its source in London.

MR. KIRKPATRICK: We know that it was published by the Soviet News which is -- and was a publication of the Soviet Embassy in London.

QUESTION: We are not able to trace its source in Moscow to it, whether it could have been sent for any devious purpose and was not legit.

MR. KIRKPATRICK: No. And I don't think there is any question about that, because this story was fully reported at the time, in 1962. And parts of Mr. Kennedy's message to Khrushchev were published at that time.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Parts.

MR. KIRKPATRICK: Parts -- that is right.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, Mr. Kirkpatrick.

MR. KIRKPATRICK: And since then parts of them have been published in Look Magazine by Mr. Hillsman.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is right -- but not all, Mr. Kirkpatrick. And what is more, you know as well as I know, since we are engaged in this little argument, that Mr. Kennedy's policy with Mr. Khrushchev was predicated primarily, not only upon the missile withdrawal, where we were going to



take their word for it, but upon UN inspection of Cuba, to make sure that there were no missile left. That was refused. Therefore we have continued our U-2 flights. And we have said that we would protect those U-2 flights, and that we will protect any American interest that is involved, which surely indicates that any commitment to Mr. Khrushchev or to Mr. Castro that we would take no military action against them, if we found it necessary for our self-defense or our interest, that no such agreement ever exists or has any validity.

QUESTION: Have --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And I think it about time that we understood it.

QUESTION: We haven't take any action against them, have we?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, I think we have taken a good deal of action against Cuba, a great deal of it -- including having the Organization of American States impose economic sanctions, including having every country in Latin America, save Mexico, break diplomatic relations with Cuba, including imposing upon --

QUESTION: Did we do that, or was that something that the Organization of American States did?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We took the initiative, sir. It was our initiative. And one of the things, sir, that disturbs me a great deal is when a member of Congress, who could know better if he wanted to -- because the government of the United States, in this year of 1964, has made available to Senator Goldwater the same kind of accommodation towards information that General Eisenhower made available to John Kennedy and Richard Nixon in 1960. And what has Mr. Goldwater said, and his running mate? That they did not want to take a look at the information that the government had. No -- they have refused to look, they have refused to consult with the Central Intelligence Agency, headed by John McCone, a well-known and respected Republican; they have refused to take the State Department briefings and the Defense Department briefings so that they could be more accurate in their statements.

And I for one think that it is reckless policy for a man seeking the highest and the second-highest office of this land to go around mouthing half truths or go around making statements that are not predicated upon known facts in the security files of this government -- and I am not about ready to do so.

QUESTION: Do you think our current policy as far as Cuba is concerned is bringing about Castro's downfall? Do you think we will ultimately have that Communist government out of there?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it is the best policy that we can follow. It is the kind of policy that requires a great deal of patient, persevering pressure upon a dictatorship, but it is a policy that is a peaceful one, one that does not lead to the loss of life. And Mr. Castro's influence in Latin America has practically dwindled to nothing. And I might add that Mr. Castro did not become dictator of Cuba while Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy were President, since we are getting into this matter. And he was a known Communist, and a very well-known Communist long before John F. Kennedy became President of the United States. And this late super-patriotism about our attitude towards Cuba might well have been taken at a time when Mr. Castro did not have all the military assistance that he received from the Soviet Union.

QUESTION: Speaking of the campaign generally, Senator, what do you think is going to be the pivot on which the election will go? Is there a central issue here -- is it Viet Nam, is it Cuba, is it the so-called racial tensions? What do you consider the central issue, if there is one?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think there is a central issue - and I don't believe it is much of some of the things that we have talked about. People are concerned about social security and Mr. Goldwater's attitude about it; they are concerned about his attitudes in some parts of America when he says he is going to sell TVA and then he says "I didn't mean it" and then a week ago he says "Yes, I did". They are concerned about Mr. Goldwater's attitude up in my part of the country on agricultural policy.

But those, while they are important, are not nearly as important as the concern of the people of America over Mr. Goldwater's apparent lack of understanding of the kind of world in which we live and the responsibilities of this nation to that world.

Mr. Goldwater seems to feel that the solution to the problems of Communism are to be found in nuclear power, and the rather reckless use of that power, or at least the threat of the use of that power.

Now, I know that he says he didn't mean it all. But

when a man says that he wants to give field commanders the control over the use of the nuclear weapon, and then tries to tell you and me that a nuclear weapon is a conventional weapon, he either is deceiving himself or knowingly deceiving the public, because there are no conventional nuclear weapons. The weapon that Mr. Goldwater talks about -- as a Senator he knows this -- I serve on committees where the knowledge of this is well known -- these weapons are ten, fifteen and twenty kiloton weapons, these little playthings that he wants to turn over to field commanders. And they are filled with radioactivity. They are the kind of weapons that destroyed Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Now, you just don't turn those things over to some divisional commander or corps commander in the field. The law of this land says that those weapons will be controlled by the President of the United States.

The American people have a choice to make. Do you want a President that wants to exercise that control; or do you want a President that says "Well, let's decentralize everything. Let's give it to a commander out in the field in NATO, or in the south flank or NATO, or in SEATO or in someplace else". I think the American people know what that decision is. They are not going to give that kind of command.

QUESTION: Just a week ago tonight on At Random in your seat sat Mr. Shadegg, who you know is the 1952-1958 campaign manager for Senator Goldwater and now his western campaign manager for President. And where Pete is sitting sat John Roche, the present head of the Americans for Democratic Action.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That must have been an interesting evening.

QUESTION: Mr. Roche took Mr. Shadegg to task on that and Mr. Shadegg said that what you are saying and what Mr. Roche says is not true -- that all that Mr. Goldwater had ever said was that "the NATO commander", he did not speak of a proliferation of weapons handed out to commanders all over, and that the Democrats are misusing this issue.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I don't even believe the NATO commander should have it, sir, because the NATO commander is not an American at all times. And I happen to believe that the atomic weapon which was developed by this country, and which the McMahon Act says shall be under

the control of the President of the United States, that that weapon should remain under the control of a civilian President.

I do not believe in giving the control of the use of that weapon at the discretion of a field commander or a NATO commander who is a general. I do not believe in placing that kind of power in the hands of someone that ought to be subservient to a civilian power.

QUESTION: How much do we know about the Russian control of nuclear weapons? Do they have a similar restriction, or would they have vested that authority in field commanders?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I really could not say. But that would not in any way of course condition my thinking. I do not at any time feel that we ought to gauge our actions in terms of the exercise of political control on the basis of what the Russians do.

QUESTION: Not political control -- military control.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, even military control. The Constitution of the United States, Mr. Kirkpatrick, makes it quite clear that the President of the United States is the Commander-in-Chief, and since the nuclear age has come to us, the whole matter of war, the whole structure of military organization has changed.

QUESTION: There would be no constitutional bar to this proposal of Mr. Goldwater's.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, there would be no constitutional bar to it. It is a matter of judgment.

QUESTION: Well, let's go to South Viet Nam. What do you think of the course of events there? Do you see a solution?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, of course the course of events, Mr. Aker, is not as good as we would like. But I have come to the conclusion a long time ago that the world in which we live is going to be an untidy one and a difficult one for some time to come. As a matter of fact, it always has been. It has never been as peaceful as some people have felt it was. People who think the past was peaceful are the people who did not live in the past.

Viet Nam -- we are pursuing therethe policy that was laid down by Dwight Eisenhower in 1954. We have a bi-partisan policy relating to Viet Nam. Now, I hope that that policy

will be successful. But it would be wrong to tell the American people that the possibility of quick success is here. To the contrary. I think we will have to remain as an ally to the government of South Viet Nam for a long time, and we will have to be willing to provide both economic and military assistance.

QUESTION: Don't you think that policy was considerably altered in '61?

Now, Mr. Truman started sending huge sums of money in there to help the French. Then in '54 the French were defeated and left. Mr. Eisenhower sent money in, economic aid --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Right.

QUESTION: -- and the Military Assistance Group, which at no time consisted of more than 600 or 800 men.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Correct.

QUESTION: Then in '61, following the loss of Laos, or the virtual loss of Laos, we started sending in large numbers of men, until today we have about 20,000. We have taken many of them out of the merely training of the Viet Nam army, they are now going into battle with them as advisors. And we are spending huge sums of money.

Now, the policy -- as you correctly say, it started with Mr. Eisenhower, but it was greatly stepped up at least after Mr. Kennedy became President, wasn't it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, it was stepped up, sir -- not because Mr. Kennedy wanted it, but primarily because in the period up to 1961 tremendous advance had been made in South Viet Nam economically and politically. And it is well known that the Viet Cong and North Viet Nam had practiced guerrilla tactics and subversion and infiltration. The example of a viable and healthy South Viet Nam economically, with an almost economically prostrate North Viet Nam, despite the fact that South Viet Nam had absorbed over three-quarters of a million people that were refugees from the North -- this example was literally something more than the North Vietnamese Communist regime could take. So they stepped up their infiltration, they stepped up their terror attacks, they stepped up their subversion and open aggression. And at that point the South Vietnamese Government, that had had a working partnership and relationship with the United States,



asked for additional assistance. And we sent in advisors and training officers in this kind of guerrilla warfare to train the Vietnamese Army -- and we did it, not because we sought to expand the struggle, but because we had a commitment to a loyal friend and ally in South Viet Nam.

And by the way, all of the countries of the world that were involved in this matter up to 1954 had a commitment to respect the neutrality of South Viet Nam and North Viet Nam. That commitment was violated by North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong.

QUESTION: I would like to ask you one more question in connection with Asia.

Do you still oppose the recognition of Red China?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, I surely do. I think it would be a mistake. Red China has shown no indication whatsoever of any responsible action as a mature political power. It is an aggressive force, and what is more I think that our recognition of Red China might very well cause the complete erosion of resistance in Southeast Asia to the Communist aggression.

QUESTION: That is one point on which it shows quite a difference of opinion between you and some heavy thinkers in the ADA.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. John Foster Dulles once recommended recognition of Red China. I think people -- many people make a case for it, and there is a theoretical case to be made for it. But if I may be permitted to say from a pragmatic point of view, knowing that there are large numbers of Chinese in Indonesia, for example, and all through the Malaysian and Vietnamese areas -- that if you recognized Red China now, it would be more or less saying to them that the ball game is over, I mean so far as the United States is concerned. And I am not about ready to do that.

QUESTION: Senator, in the short time we have left -- I know you have a very busy schedule -- last week John Roche, sitting on this program, referred to Mr. Miller as "Killer Miller" and Mr. Shadegg took hot exception to it and said it was an example of the abuse and vituperative remarks coming from the Democrats. Do you consider this -- is it going to be a dirty campaign?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, not so far as I am concerned. I think Mr. Miller is a respectable American citizen with a very lovely wife and family. He was selected by Mr. Goldwater for some purposes, according to Mr. Goldwater, that I did not think were too worthy. He said he was selected to drive Lyndon Johnson nuts, as I recall what he said at the convention. I don't think that is really what he was selected for -- I hope not.

QUESTION: But for the Democrats' part, Mr. Shadegg has inferred that you Democrats may make it a little dirty.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We haven't -- and I have been in politics a long time. There is a great deal of difference of opinion that we can discuss honorably. I would prefer to discuss the issues. I don't think any of the candidates can run on the sainthood ticket. And I don't suppose any of us are without some error of political judgment. So why don't we just start out on that basis and admit that we have made some mistakes, and now let us talk about where we stand, where we want to go, and what we would like to see happen in our country. And I am prepared to conduct that kind of campaign.

QUESTION: Well, part of your great charm and acceptance in Washington, as you know, during the years that I was there was your ability to debate on the floor and your ability on television and under circumstances such as this. There are those who think that perhaps you will be toned down a little in this campaign, from the good two-fisted fighter that you were.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, you know, there are rules to every contest. You can fight a good, hard, clean-cut battle without fighting dirty. It is my view that the fellow that mixes it up dirty like loses the fight.

Furthermore, I just don't want to win that way. I have got a lot of friends up in my home state, and I have friends around the country. Some of them don't like my point of view on some things. But they at least feel that I am a decent individual. And if the price of political victory is to come in and pit race against race or group against group and to utter half truths knowingly -- now, sometimes we make a mistake, and if we do, we ought to confess it, we may be short of information, we may actually make a bad judgment. But to knowingly engage in falsehood or half-truths or innuendo, or to attack personally I think is a price

that is too much to pay for this victory.

QUESTION: Senator, thank you very much for taking the time to come on At Random.

We of the panel will continue right after this brief message.

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## TRANSCRIPT

CRYSTAL BALLROOM, BREAKFAST SPEECH  
Chicago, Illinois  
Sunday, September 20, 1964

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. You do have the most enthusiastic Democrats and the most enthusiastic supporters of any human being I ever met in my life.

(Applause.)

I don't intend to make any big display here this morning but just a few moments ago, the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers, in the person of Steven Bailey, saw fit to give to me a paid-up membership card, and Mrs. Humphrey has already told me that there are a few things around home that need fixing.

(Laughter.)

But I thought I'd let you know that the purpose of this gadget is to put the screws on the Republicans.

(Laughter.)

And I might add, if you use it right, you can shut off Goldwater.

(Laughter and applause.)

Nobody has more fun than Democrats, I'll tell you.

And unaccustomed as I am to speaking in the morning -- really, I'm a night man myself -- I'm not very much good at these early morning affairs, but I sure must say that I've had one of the most exciting and delightful 20 or so hours in this great metropolitan center of the United States, this wonderful Chicago, that I've ever experienced or enjoyed in my life.

When I got off the airplane here yesterday afternoon, I was absolutely, positively reassured that this would be a rather slow-paced, quiet, friendly, restful afternoon, and I can say that my feet haven't really touched ground since I came here.

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The Mayor picked me up by one arm, and one or two of his aides by another. Otto Kerner was on one side, the Mayor on the other, and we just flew through one meeting after another.

Colonel Jack, I thought you'd arranged things better than that.

I'm very grateful to all of you, and I want to thank you for your graciousness, for your kindness to Mrs. Humphrey, and for letting me come on over there and just walk around with those lovely ladies. I was watching Mrs. Humphrey all the time.

(Laughter.)

I'm standing a lot higher at home right now than I usually do. And I appreciate that Bill Lee is here to make sure that this membership card that I have is absolutely legal. I don't want any jurisdictional disputes.

(Laughter.)

And I'm delighted to see my old friend Sam Shapiro here, and this gives us a chance to be together again, and I know there are many here that I ought to acknowledge -- Tom Keene, and the new Secretary of State, Mr. Powell. I always feel that if you're going to have a Secretary of State, you ought to make sure he's a Democrat. We have even a couple of Republicans in Washington, but it's much better if you have Democrats.

(Applause.)

Now, I don't intend to make this, at this early morning hour, a real partisan meeting. I think the best thing for me to do is just really state what is the honest truth and conviction is that all good men and women vote Democratic on November 3rd. There's no partisanship in that at all. It's a matter just of public interest and public concern.

Just a few very serious words with you. I know that we win elections because we go out and work to win these elections. Sometimes it takes more than work. You know, in this great city, you have the best -- the best organized and I must say the best motivated, most idealistic, and the most practical organization that we have in the United States.

(Applause.)



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I've been with your Mayor, who is your leader, and is one of the most effective citizens of our country, and I find him to be as much of a spiritual guide for the things in which I believe as I do a down-to-earth political organization man.

And when you can put together both ideals and practicality, you have a winning combination, and I think that's fine.

(Applause.)

This is a very important election. It's important enough so some of our brethren who for many years have supported the Republican party and have done so out of conviction have now decided that they would leave -- no, they didn't leave -- they have now decided that they would join us while somebody else has pirated the Republican ship, and they would come and help us.

It is a fact wherever I've been, without exception, that anywhere from a dozen to a hundred or more people will come to me during the day and say, "Senator, I've been a Republican for 25 years, or I've been a lifelong Republican, but I'm going to vote for you and I'm going to vote for the President of the United States, and I'm going to do it because I think it's necessary, that our country needs you, needs the President, and our country can't stand what the opposition states it's for."

This is the situation that's happening, and why is it happening? Because in most of our political existence or political life, we have had a real degree of political responsibility. We have agreed upon objectives as political parties, and sometimes disagreed upon means, but in this election there is a disagreement even over objectives, and in this election, the American people know that everything that we've worked for and fought for -- not just for the last ten years or the last four years, but for many, many generations -- could be jeopardized.

People now know that we have within our hands the power of the greatest advance of human history or the power to destroy everything that we ever dreamed, and they are not about ready to turn the decision-making on that power over to someone that may be irresponsible, or impetuous, or unreliable, and the American people are right. We simply can't have that happen in our country.

May I add also that there are forces at work in America. They have always been here, but they have never before had a respectable platform. There are forces at work in America today that would like to gain ascendancy. They would like to be out

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in front and see someone that they support win. Now, I do not want to be misunderstood. I made up my mind early in this campaign that I was not going to indulge in any personal vilification because it isn't necessary, and what's more, it's wrong.

I do not say that the spokesman for the Republican party in this campaign is one that hates, because he doesn't. I don't say that he's one that invites bitterness, but I do say that there are those who have attached themselves to his cause and that if that victory should come, that they would move to the front ranks, the front ranks of public policy, of public power, in the United States, and I don't intent to let them.

(Applause.)

We have made a lot of progress in our country, real progress, not just progress in terms of social security, which is important; not only progress in terms of wages and hours, trade union organizations, which is important; not only progress in profits, in industry and commerce, which is important, but we have made some other progress that is important.

In 1960, we abolished for once and for all the myth that because of a man's religion that he could not hold the highest office of this land. That's done, through.

(Applause.)

We now have but one standard in our party and, I trust, in our country. We want the best man that's available. We want the best man that's available for our country. His particular church or his particular ethnic group, that's his personal matter, his personal business, so we abolished -- at least, we made the first step -- in the abolition of what I call religious intolerance and bigotry.

And this past year, by Act of Congress, we stated for once and for all that there's only one kind of citizenship in the United States. We made it crystal clear by public law, by commitment of an overwhelming majority of the Congress, with the support of two Presidents and with the support of former Presidents, that there would never again be in America any second-class citizenship for anybody.

(Applause.)

And I had thought that we have gotten rid of the old, dirty sheets that covered up some of these people -- or should I say, the white sheets that covered up some dirty souls?

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(Applause.)

But I see once again the Ku Klux; I see once again the hate-mongers of the Burchites. Yes, I see even once again the extreme leftism of the Communists.

I see these forces once again plying their trade, and I want to tell you there is only one way to stop them. And that's to make sure that those that stand for fair play, equality of opportunity, that those that have repudiated and renounced forms of bigotry and discrimination, segregation and intolerance, that those people work together and defeat this negativism as never before in the history of our country.

(Applause.)

So what we really seek to do is what President Johnson asked us to do, build a great national unity; I like that line that the President used, Dick, in that acceptance speech when he said "an American party for all Americans."

That's what we want, and that's what we have here, and that's what we ought to have. There is plenty of room for differences over economic issues. We can disagree on how we ought to govern this country, but Americans can never disagree over the fundamentals of human dignity. It cannot be disagreed with.

(Applause.)

Now, we are on the road to progress, and everything that we have done thus far is but a prelude. It's just a preliminary to what we can do. Whole new worlds can be ours, and a better earth to make more inhabitable and more enjoyable.

I like what I see in Chicago, where people have demonstrated through their leadership, through their Mayor and through their councilmen, and through their business organizations, through labor, and through community organizations -- you have demonstrated here that you can make this a beautiful city. You have demonstrated that the beauty of the city is not only in the buildings and in the parks.

It's in the relationships of the people. What I see here this morning, and what I saw here yesterday at meetings, is the kind of beauty that the President spoke about when he talked about the Great Society.

I leave you with just this thought. We have some unfinished

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work. I sat at a breakfast table every Tuesday morning at 8:45 at the White House for 1000 days, and I have been at that same table, with few exceptions, every Tuesday morning for the last nine and a half months.

Now, it is no secret that some four years ago, I thought I was going to be at that breakfast table every morning, but I didn't make it.

(Laughter and applause.)

I want to tell you it's not bad for a boy that was born in South Dakota to make it once a week.

(Applause.)

And at that breakfast table, I would sit right across the table from the President of the United States -- almost across, because immediately facing the President was the Vice President. I sat to the right of the Vice President, and I want you to understand what I said -- not to the left, but to the right.

(Laughter.)

Not to the far right, though, either.

And every Tuesday morning, when President Kennedy would come into that breakfast room, he'd have a little sheet of paper in front of him, and we'd start to work, right off the bat.

I want to say, that's one thing about Democrats. They go to a lot of meals but they've never eaten one in peace in their life.

We'd start to work immediately and we would discuss the program for America. We'd discuss the program of the New Frontier. I think I am a witness to the making of history because I would see President Kennedy talk to, now, President Johnson -- then the Vice President -- and to the Majority Leader of the Senator and the Majority Leader of the House, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to those of us that were there as lieutenants.

This was one hour every Tuesday, and sometimes on Thursday. Many times, we met during the week. And we hammered out the program of the 87th and the 88th Congress. We worked out, under the leadership and the guidance of President Kennedy the program that we passed, and I want you to know that we have had the most

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amazing record of performance in the Congress on that program.

And I watched the then Vice President give his views. I sat in many a meeting where we disagreed momentarily, where we hammered out, where we would work it out, so that when I go before an audience today and talk about the Kennedy-Johnson program, I'm not talking about something just as a sort of fiction. I'm talking about a fact of history, and now when we sit across the table, the President sits across on one side and the President Pro Tem of the Senate, and I sit alongside of him.

And we have done the same thing to work out that program. It was John Kennedy that asked us, "Let us begin", and I was with the President of the United States after the assassination of our beloved President Kennedy. I was there when that message was prepared for the Joint Session of the Congress. It was my privilege to help work on that message.

And I remember that day on November 27th, Wednesday, when President Johnson stood before the Congress and, in fact, stood before the whole nation, because the news media, the television, the radio, were all there.

He said to the American people, after reviewing this remarkable record of a thousand days, he said to the American people, "Let us continue."

And that's what we're doing. We're finishing that job, and once we've finished that first step, then we are going to move forward under the Johnson program, and it will be laid down to the Congress of the United States in January of 1965.

I want to have something to do with that program.

(Applause.)

If ever you falter in this campaign, just remember this one challenge. Remember this, and this is one of the reasons I think we ought to conduct this campaign on the level of decency and dignity, the likes of which we have never, ever experienced before. Why?

Because this campaign, in a real sense, should be a living tribute and a living memorial to the life and the works and the unfinished task of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and we ought to remember that every time we falter, every time we weaken, every time we hear the opposition attack us unfairly.



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All I ask you to remember is that we've got a job to do, and we're going to do it, and we're going to bring in the greatest victory that America has ever had, I think, since the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, and you're going to help me and I'm going to help you, and we're going to do the job.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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(End.)



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