

Remarks of Hubert H. Humphrey
Evansville, Indiana,
Address at Airport

September 23, 1964

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and Senator Hartke and Mrs. Hartke, and Senator Bayh, that old distinguished -- as we called him old reliable, Winfield Denton, your wonderful Congressman.

(Applause.)

Mr. Mayor, I notice you are very proud of your county committee, very proud of your state Democratic Chairman. You keep talking about this wonderful Beulah Evans and I agree with you she is a marvelous, marvelous Vice-Chairman.

I want to first of all express my thanks to you, Mr. Mayor, for the honorary citizenship in the City of Evansville. I think this is better than I received from Vance Hartke when he was Mayor, when I came down here. I don't recall that I got anything like that.

(Laughter)

But Vance tells me that we had some other good times together so I shouldn't be complaining.

I also want to express my thanks to these two wonderful young people who came here on behalf of the United Fund and presented me with an honorary citizenship certificate. It is really a little better to get it from the United Fund because that means you can be the recipient of help, if you need it, and here the Mayor tells me that he is sending me a little tax bill as a sort of a special reminder of my honorary citizenship.

Mayor McDonald, I thank you. I was once the Mayor of a great city, the City of Minneapolis where ever I go I am particularly honored when I find a fellow Mayor. It is the best job I ever had is what I always say. It is one that at least was the most exciting and interesting. I am delighted to see here our friend Roger Branigan. The last time I saw Roger both he and I were being scalped over here at the Gridiron dinner at Indianapolis, and I notice, Roger, that you are in one piece, and that you are doing just fine. I heard then that you were going to be the nominee of our Party and I am delighted that you are, and I have a feeling that Indiana, having once set the pattern for a Democratic Governor, with your own Governor Welch, wants to keep the good record and wants to continue and so the least that we can expect out of Indiana in this election would be the election of Mr. Branigan as the new Governor of the State of Indiana.

(Applause.)

Just a word and then we are going downtown. This is a very friendly greeting on your part. It was unexpected. I can assure you that I am very, very pleased with it.

Mrs. Humphrey left the Washington National Airport this morning for a tour of some seven states, as I recall, in the Midwest. She was out with me last week, apparently thought I wasn't doing good enough, so she thought she would pick up the tempo of the campaign a little bit, and she went off to Kansas this morning, and will

Humphrey -- Evansville, Ind.

Airport A.M.
September 23, 1964

Page 2

start a tour of those Midwestern states.

In the 1954 campaign when I was bogged down with a good deal of work in the Senate, and my first chance for re-election in the State of Minnesota, every time we would have a dinner out home at Minnesota so help me there would be an important vote in the Senate, and I would have to stay in the Senate. So, I would send Mrs. Humphrey home.

Pretty soon the word come back and said, "Well, Humphrey, why don't you just stay there. We would rather have your wife."

(Laughter.)

And I immediately cancelled, took the risk and got home to tend to my business. It is a very serious thing when You let these ladies do the campaigning for you because then you really have the choice. And the folks are apt to make the right one, which reminds me that I am delighted to be here with Martha Hartke who is such a wonderful campaigner for her distinguished husband.

May I add it has been a real privilege to serve in the Senate with Vance Hartke and Birch Bayh. Vance has a splendid record of what I call sensible progressivism in the Congress of the United States, and Birch Bayh has brought to us a new sense of dedication to some of the great humanities of education and of health, and of all of the important social matters that need our constant attention.

I leave you now with this challenge. Somebody asked me "What do you think is in the balance in the election?"

(Train passing.)

By the way, don't worry, that is a Democrat, and let me tell you the last time that somebody said something about a railroad engineer in this town, was Tom Dewey, you remember.

(Laughter.)

Well, I want to say that I salute you, Mr. Engineer. You are doing wonder.

(Applause.)

Those railroad men there, they have got good sense, they are voting for Lyndon B. Johnson right down to the last man.

(Applause.)

And they are also voting for Vance Hartke and they are voting for Denton and they are voting for Branigin. They have really got the right idea.

Now, I said that I wanted to give you what I think are the stakes in this election. What is it all about? A gentleman speaking at the United Steel Workers Convention in Atlantic City just

two days ago, the President of that great International put it, I think, as succinctly and as concisely and as squarely on the line as I have heard it. He said to those fine citizens gathered at that Convention, he said at stake in this election or at issue in this election are your paychecks, and peace, and I think that is the way we ought to look at it; the continued prosperity of this country the employment of our people at fair and good wages, the profits of our business, the expansion of our enterprise, yes, that is what we mean when we talk about paychecks because there are no paychecks without business, and there is no business without paychecks, and when we talk about peace being at stake, that is, of course, the overriding issue, my dear fellow Americans, of all which I intend to speak to you in some detail about.

It is the peace at home, the tranquility, the sense of justice in our own communities, but also the peace of the world, and what we need at the helm of the Presidency, my fellow Americans is a man who can bring us together, is one who, and he quotes and he loves to quote from that beloved prophet of the old Testament, Isaiah, "Come, let us reason together."

That is what the American people need, to reason together, to be together, to be united as a people, in a sense to love one another, to work together, to plan together, to play together, to think together, a united America, because a united America is the only real hope of a better and a peaceful and a free world. Remember what Abraham Lincoln said, "America, the last best hope on earth." And it is just as true now as it was in his day.

(Applause.)

So, with my everlasting thanks to this warm reception of dear and good people, I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your citizenship certificate; I thank the United Fund, and I urge people to contribute generously to it.

I thank you for sending to Congress two great Senators, Senator Hartke, my good and long-time friend, and Senator Bayh, this new and fine distinguished Senator and, above all, I thank you for sending to us the most reliable of them all, Congressman Denton whom we love so much.

(Applause.)

End



news release

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

FOR P.M.'S RELEASE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

B - 3775

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 23

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

Almost four years ago -- on October 4, 1960 -- a brave and determined young Senator from Massachusetts came to Evansville as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States. He came to ask your help in moving America forward in the 1960's. He came to express his belief that America could no longer afford to stand still -- that America had a choice between vigor and progress under a Democratic administration and stagnation and status quo under the Republicans.

America made its choice in 1960. America elected John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson and today I can tell you we have been moving forward in these last four years.

For 1000 days our beloved John F. Kennedy kept his promises to America. And when he was taken from us, Lyndon B. Johnson stepped in to give America the most productive ten months in her history. The Kennedy-Johnson administration kept faith with America.

Five days ago another Senator came to Evansville. He, too, came as a candidate for President. But he came not to seek your help in moving America forward, but to threaten, to impugn, to accuse, and to say "No" to the challenges of the 60's.

- more -

What a contrast with the vision, courage, and faith of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. What a contrast with all Americans who believe this generation bears a sacred obligation to make democracy prevail in these difficult and dangerous times.

Unlike the leader of the Goldwater faction, I come to Evansville today to reaffirm the conviction that we need not fear the future, we need not retreat to the past, we need only seek the help and the hands of the American people in our quest for a better America, in our pledge to keep America moving forward.

Our forward motion is not inevitable. These are challenging times. These are times hedged about with trials and difficulties. None of you can escape the trials; none of you can avoid the difficulties in this struggle for a better life for yourselves and your children.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson promised that life in these years of trial and testing would not be easy. President Kennedy spoke of our people bearing "the burden of a long struggle, year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation."

In such a difficult and demanding period of history, this nation has no choice but to elect as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated his capacity to bear the immense burdens of this office, who understands the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper in these fearful days.

There is a fundamental question we ask the American people to consider: which candidate and which party possesses the sense of responsibility needed to guide this nation safely through the turbulent 1960's.

Responsibility has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and responsibility is the single quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the leader of the Goldwater faction.

Responsibility is more than words, and deeds are more revealing than rhetoric. And it is on the basis of deeds that the Democratic Party has demonstrated its capacity to lead America forward in the next four years.

-- Responsibility is taking an economy which has suffered three recessions in eight Republican years and transforming it into an economy which produces 43 consecutive months of record-breaking growth.

-- Responsibility is reducing the unemployment rate from almost 7 per cent in January, 1961 to less than 5 per cent in July 1964, and reducing it in Indiana from 6.7 per cent to 4.2 percent.

-- Responsibility is guaranteeing to workers a just and equitable minimum wage. And the Democratic administration has enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25 and broadened coverage, too.

-- Responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations additional funds to spend or to invest for the future.

-- Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not participate fully in the prosperity of this land. And President Johnson has declared war on poverty.

-- Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, the basic rights of citizenship. And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been passed.

-- Responsibility is attempting to provide the American farmer with a more equitable share in our national prosperity. Farm income has increased by over \$1 billion each year; surpluses have declined; exports have risen. But the responsibility is also recognizing that much more remains to be done--and the Johnson Administration intends to do it.

-- Responsibility is insuring that America will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace. And today we possess more powerful military force than any nation in history, and the nuclear test ban treaty proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our children.

-- Responsibility is providing each American child with an equal opportunity for an education to develop his or her talents and abilities to the fullest. And this Democratic Congress has enacted the most comprehensive program of education legislation in our nation's history.

-- Responsibility is fighting disease and sickness so that every American will have an equal opportunity to enjoy physical and mental health. And this Democratic Administration has established programs to build new health facilities and medical schools, and to provide new scholarships for the training of doctors and nurses.

In area after area -- in program after program -- the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party have demonstrated what responsibility in government really means: namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy increased opportunities.

Let us never forget -- in the words of Lincoln -- that the duty of government is to serve the people. And that is precisely what the Democratic Party has sought to do in the past four years.

And what of the words and deeds of the leader of the Goldwaterites? What of his sense of responsibility? What has been his answer to the awesome problems which test our people and our system of government?

He said "No" on the \$11.5 billion tax cut.

He said "No" on the civil rights bill.

He said "No" on the vocational education act, the national defense education act, the medical education act, and the higher education facilities act.

He said "No" on the test ban treaty.

He said "No" on the trade expansion act.

He said "No" on the wilderness bill.

He said "No" on the anti-poverty program.

He said "No" on hospital insurance under social security.

He said "No" on various farm programs to provide equitable prices and reduce surpluses.

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction said "No" to almost every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past four years.

This record of retreat, reaction, and regression stands as the very repudiation of responsibility. Our opposition has shown that it did not understand the meaning of responsibility in the past, and has promised only more irresponsibility in the future.

It is in the President's conduct of military and foreign affairs where the capacity for responsibility is particularly essential. A capacity for responsibility did not prompt the following statements by Senator Goldwater:

-- "Now I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip ... I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them." (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512.)

-- "I have advocated giving control of nuclear weapons to the supreme commander of NATO ... the NATO commander should not be required to wait while the White House calls a conference to decide whether these weapons should be used." (press conference, Reno, Nevada, Feb. 13, 1964)

-- "Someday, I am convinced, there will be either a war, or we'll be subjugated without war ... real nuclear war ... I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five, ten years from now." (New York Post interview, 5/8/61.)

-- "Defoliation of the forests (in Southeast Asia) by low yield atomic weapons could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover." (Issues and Answers, 5/24/64.)

These are his own words -- and these words speak louder about his qualifications for the Presidency than anything I could say.

The Presidency demands the highest levels of responsibility at times of greatest stress -- the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin -- when one misstep, one rash action, one intemperate outburst, one shot from the hip could ignite the nuclear holocaust which would incinerate friend and foe alike, leaving only a dead stricken planet.

HUMPHREY/dead stricken planet.

- 6 -

In his historic Inaugural Address, our martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed, "...I do not shrink from responsibility -- I welcome it..."

And Lyndon B. Johnson in that hour of grief and horror after the loss of President Kennedy said to the nation: "This is our challenge -- not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us."

Let us join together in seeking the election of the one man whom America -- and the world -- can trust as President, the one man who profoundly believes in the destiny of America and her people, the one man who will continue to move America forward -- Lyndon B. Johnson.

#

Remarks of Senator Humphrey
Courthouse, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Welsh, for your generous and fine introduction, and my special greeting today to Joe O'Day, your County Chairman, and to Beulah Evans, your Vice Chairman for the wonderful arrangements that have been made here by your County Committee.

It is good to be here once again with my colleagues of the Senate, the distinguished Senator from this State, former Mayor of Evansville, wonderfully good friends of the Humphrey family, in fact, he has been challenging my family for years to a basketball game, but I am not as foolish as Goldwater.

I don't take on these challenges when I think you don't have a chance to win.

(Applause.)

So to Vance and to Martha I say that nothing would please Muriel and Hubert more than your re-election, and I am sure that the people of Indiana are going to send back to the United States Senate one of the most sensible and one of the most constructive members of the Senate that I have met in all of my 16 years in the United States Senate, your own Vance Hartke.

(Applause.)

Thank you, too, for the wonderful addition of the Birch Bayhs. What a wonderful couple you sent to Washington, D. C. We are indebted to all of the people of Indiana.

(Applause.)

Of course, there is always a note of gratitude in the heart of a President or a Senator or any citizen when they know that you have Winfield Denton representing this great 8th District of Indiana.

(Applause.)

Governor Welsh, I am honored by the fact you have seen fit to introduce me today, and I know you join with me and you join with hundreds of thousands of the good citizens of this State in urging the election of another great Democrat to the Chief Office, the Chief Office of the State of Indiana as Governor, none other than Roger Branigin, a good man for the job.

(Applause.)

There are many that I should like to pay my respects to but we came here for other purposes. I might say I noticed around as I visited with some of you and as I have been sitting here on the platform I have noticed a few signs that indicate that there might be somebody else running for President besides President Johnson, and I am delighted to see that, because I have always felt that if we were just patient enough that these dear souls would come here not to proclaim their candidate but to confess their political sins.

(Applause.)

Not long ago as I was coming along the street, your wonderful street, here in Evansville I noticed a sign that indicated that possibly it was the headquarters, it was a vacant building, somewhat symbolic, may I say of what is going on, I noticed a sign out there and it said, "Ha, ha, ha, ha, Goldwater." I wouldn't say that because I don't think it is any laughing matter. If they do, well, let's enjoy it.

Truly, this is an amazing city. I could spend my time allowed us here today of just talking about your fine city and your many accomplishments. I notice that one of the industries in this city makes metracal. I couldn't help

Senator Humphrey
Courthouse, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964 Page 2

but reflect on that a moment, because it appears to me that the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party has been drinking that stuff, that is why its program is so thin.

(Laughter.)

May I say as a registered pharmacist and a practicing druggist it's a fine product for Democrats or Republicans.

(Applause.)

Today I want to speak very seriously with you. It is always a question in a campaign as to how one should best conduct himself. This campaign can be all entertainment because there are many things that one could talk about that would be entertaining. We could quote and unquote and requote the opposition because they have indulged in all of that, but I think that we maybe ought to settle down to some serious business because we are here in the home of a great college, your own Evansville College, or in the vicinity or the county or an area once visited by Abraham Lincoln. We are here in the great heart land of America.

As I recall when I came to prepare for this meeting I remembered that almost four years ago, in fact, it was October 4, 1960, a brave and determined young Senator from Massachusetts came to Evansville as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, and he came here to Evansville, then in economic trouble, then, you might say, in some serious difficulty. He came here to ask you to help get America moving again, and moving forward in the 1960's.

This man came to express his belief as I do today that America cannot afford to stand still. He said then, and I say now, that America had a choice between vigor and progress under a Democratic administration or stagnation and status quo under the republicans.

America made that choice in 1960. America elected John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and I can tell you the statistics will tell you, your businessmen will tell you, your labor people will tell you, that we have been moving ahead, moving forward in these last four years.

For one thousand days our beloved John F. Kennedy kept his promises to America. I served every day with him, as one of his lieutenants and when he was taken from us, his Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson, stepped in to give America the most productive ten months in her history. I say that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has kept faith with America and kept its promises.

(Applause.)

Now five days ago another Senator came to Evansville. He, too, came as a candidate for President, but he came not to seek your help in moving America forward. Oh, no. He came to nag, to criticize, to impugn, to accuse, and to say no, no, no to the challenges of the 1960's, my fellow Americans, what a contrast with the vision and the courage and the faith of John Kennedy, what a contrast for all Americans who believe this generation bears a sacred obligation to make Democracy prevail in these difficult and dangerous times.

Unlike the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party, I come to Evansville today to reaffirm the conviction that we need not fear the future. We need not retreat to the past.

We need only to seek the helping hands of the American people in our quest for a better America, and in our pledge to keep America

moving forward.

(Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, this forward motion is not accidental or inevitable. These are challenging times. These are times that are hedged by trials and tribulations, and difficulties. None of us can escape these trials, none of us can avoid the difficulty in this struggle for a better life for ourselves and our children.

These are not times where there are simple answers. These are not days in which childlike answers satisfy manlike problems despite what the spokesmen of certain factions of a Republican Party may say.

In 1960 John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson promised that life in these years of trial and testing would not be easy. President Kennedy spoke of our people bearing, and I quote him, "The burden of a long struggle year-in and year-out, rejoicing in hope, and patience in tribulation."

This is, if you please, and I hope Reverend King will permit me, these are in a sense the words of our prayer today. There are no easy days, and a great people should not expect it. But there is the strength among the people of this land to do whatever we will, and what we must and what we must "will" is to do that which is just, to do that which is right, and to do it bravely and to do it in confidence which I am sure is what we want to do.

(Applause.)

In such a difficult and demanding period this nation has no choice but to elect as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated -- (applause) -- yes, the man who has demonstrated his capacity to bear the immense burdens of the office of President, and who understands the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper in these fearful days.

There is a fundamental question that we must ask ourselves -- which candidate and which party in this election possesses the sense of responsibility needed to guide this nation safely through this period of the cold war, and through these turbulent and uncertain days of the second half of the 20th Century.

That is the question, my fellow Americans. This campaign is not a joy ride. I hear of the great game of politics. It is no game. It is your most serious business. This is no plaything for men who like to play cops and robbers. This is no idle exercise in rhetoric. We are talking about the salvation of a great nation, and we are talking about whether or not in these days a government of the people and by the people and for the people shall perish from this earth, and I say that means that whoever is in charge of this government, whoever is entrusted with the responsibility for the Presidency, yes, for Senator, that these men and, above all, the President, must have that quality of maturity and of responsibility so that not only Americans but the whole world can trust him and trust is the word.

(Applause.)

Responsibility, not a very dramatic word, but it is the hard fact of leadership, and it has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and responsibility is the single quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the Republican pretender to the Presidency. That is what distinguishes him.

Responsibility of more than words, and deeds are more revealing than rhetoric, and it is on the basis of deeds, on performance, that the Democratic Party has demonstrated its capacity to lead the American people forward in the next four years.

Responsibility. Let me tell you what it means. It means taking an economy which you knew about here in Evansville, which had suffered three recessions in eight Republican years, and transforming it into an economy which has produced 43 consecutive months of record-breaking growth and prosperity. That is responsibility.

(Applause.)

Responsibility is reducing unemployment and reducing it right here in Indiana from 6.7 per cent of the work force to 4.2 per cent as of this month. Responsibility is as your Senator Hartke told me and your Senator Bayh, continuing the development of the Ohio River Valley which is well on its way to becoming the new industrial area, the Ruhr of America with transportation, with navigation, with industry, with jobs, with new factories, aluminum processing, yes, that is responsibility.

(Applause.)

Responsibility was area redevelopment, accelerated public works which helped get Evansville back on its feet so that this city could be the first city in the nation to receive from the President of the United States a certificate saying that it had accomplished its goal. That no longer was it in need of area redevelopment and of area assistance. It was standing on its own feet. That is responsibility.

(Applause.)

May I say to the thousands of workers of this community, responsibility is guaranteeing the workers a just and equitable minimum wage, and the Democratic Administration enacted that promise of a minimum wage of a dollar and a quarter an hour and broadened coverage, too. That is responsibility.

And responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations individual funds to spend and to invest and to get America moving again. \$23 million of tax savings in this district alone because of that one Act of Congress.

(Applause.)

Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not fully participate in the prosperity of this land, and responsibility is what President Johnson exhibited when he declared war on poverty. That is a responsible President.

Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American regardless of his race, his color or his creed or his national origin the basic rights of citizenship under our Constitution, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(Applause.)

Responsibility is attempting to provide for the American farmer a more equitable share of the national prosperity, and every year of this Administration a billion dollars has been added to farm income. Surpluses have been reduced. Exports have risen and the costs of storage have been reduced. Responsibility also means doing more and not doing less. Responsibility is insuring that America in these troubled years and days will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace, and today we

Senator Humphrey
Courthouse, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964 Page 5

possess more military power than any nation in the history, and more power than any combination in history. And responsibility means the nuclear Test-Ban Treaty that proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful and a safe world for our children and children yet unborn.

(applause.)

Yes, my fellow Americans, responsibility means providing every American child, as your two Senators have fought for in Congress, an equal opportunity for education, to develop talents and abilities to the fullest. It means, if you please, a grant of funds to Evansville College, right here in your own community.

(Applause.)

And it means to give adults of the country the opportunities for education such as those provided by the Indiana University Extension Service under the leadership of the former President of the University, Herman Wells, that is responsibility in government.

Now, my friends, why do I list these items? Because Democratic Congresses enacted the most comprehensive programs of education, of health, and others in our Nation's history, and responsibility is fighting disease, and sickness, so that every American will have an equal opportunity to enjoy health, physical and mental health. There is no happiness in sickness. There is no prosperity in sickness, and this Democratic Administration has established broad programs to build new hospitals, such as a million-dollar grant to your own Welborn Memorial Hospital right here in your city, to provide money for research against the terrible diseases of heart disease and cancer, and the many diseases that afflict mankind and to provide new scholarships for training of doctors and nurses.

So, in area after area, in program after program we have kept the faith. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic majority in the Congress have demonstrated responsibility, and responsibility in government means, namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy new and increased opportunities. That is what we are talking about.

(applause.)

Now, what are the words and the deeds of Mr. Irresponsible? What are the words and the deeds of the leader of the Goldwaterites?

Let us not just guess. Let us look, and as Al Smith once said, let us look at the record. What of his sense of responsibility. What has been his answer to the awesome problems which test our people and our system of government?

Well, let's see -- he said no to area redevelopment for Evansville. There wouldn't have been any if his vote had counted. He said no to your sewage plant, to your public works.

He said no to the 11-1/2 billion dollar tax cut which puts \$23 million in extra purchasing power in the hands of the people of this community.

He said no to equal rights and Civil Rights for the American people.

He said no to vocational education. No to the National Defense Education Act. No to the hospitals; no to the Medical Education Act. No to your Higher Education Act.

He said no to the nuclear Test-Ban Treaty. Let the radio-activity rain down on the earth.

No, he said, no to the Trade Expansion Act, and no city in Indiana exports more goods in proportion to population than this city that I speak in now, and yet the man who leads the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party said no, no, a thousand times no to export trade.

He said no to the Wilderness Bill to preserve the great wilderness areas for coming generations. He said no to the war on poverty. He said no to progress, and he said no to hospital insurance and nursing home care under social security, and he said no to the foreign programs.

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction has said no to almost every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past four years.

This is a record of retreat. This is a record of reaction, and regression, and it stands, my fellow Americans, as the complete repudiation of responsibility and responsible leadership for America.

(Applause.)

Finally, my friends, there are many statements that one could quote to demonstrate what I call the greatest area of irresponsibility. In the field of foreign policy and national security.

Let me only say this, that the Presidency demands the highest levels of responsibility in these times of stress. It demanded responsibility in the Cuban missile crisis. The Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin. When one misstep, one rash action, one intemperate outburst, one shot from the hip or the lip, could ignite the nuclear holocaust which would incinerate friend and foe alike, leaving only a dead, stricken planet. In his historic inaugural address our martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed these words and let them be seared into your soul my fellow Americans, he said, "I do not shrink from responsibility, I welcome it." That is the mark of a great man.

(Applause.)

And Lyndon Johnson, this giant of a man from Texas, selected by the late President so that we could be sure that no matter what happened we would be assured of great leadership, Lyndon Johnson said in that hour of grief and horror after the loss of President Kennedy, speaking to us, to Congress assembled, listen to these words,

"This is our challenge, not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us."

Here is a President that welcomes the future, that accepts responsibility and that asks the American people to stand tall, big and strong to meet the needs of our day, and the days ahead.

(applause.)

So, I say to those who are gathered here today and to the thousands more that you may speak to and talk to, let us join together as Americans in seeking the election of the one man whom America and the world can trust, yes, I repeat, can trust, as President.

Senator Humphrey
Courthouse, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964 Page 7

The one man who profoundly believes in the destiny of our America, and in her people, and the one man who has demonstrated by performance in these ten dramatic months of his administration that he is the man who can lead America, who can bring America to her greatest triumphs, and the one man who will continue to move America forward, and I ask the people of Indiana, I ask you to join with us in the mightiest victory that we have ever known to for once and for all to defeat these forces of reaction, of intolerance and of bitterness and I ask you to elect a man who seeks to unite America, who has proclaimed to us that the Democratic Party is the all-American party for all Americans. Elect Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

End

Press Conference
Evansville, Indiana
Hotel McCurdy
September 23, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Senator Hartke. It is very good to be in your home town. I understand that on this trip in Indiana I am going to have a chance to visit the home town of Senator, the senior Senator, Senator Hartke, and the home town of Senator Bayh, and the home town of NBC's famous Ray Scherer, so that ought to take care of most everything.

Now, let's proceed.

Q Senator, last week's Gulf of Tonkin incident --

Senator Humphrey. Sir, I didn't hear you.

Q During last week's Gulf of Tonkin incidents --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q -- President Johnson said that some persons advised him to attack North Vietnam. Were those persons advisers of the President?

Senator Humphrey. I really couldn't answer that question, sir. I don't seek to avoid it. I frankly just do not know. The President spoke for himself and I imagine what he said was the facts as they developed.

Q Senator, --

Senator Humphrey. This gentleman here.

Q Senator, two national magazines have said there is widespread belief among our NATO Allies that our commanders over there already can trigger the atomic weapon; can you verify that?

Senator Humphrey. The question is that two national magazines have indicated that our NATO --

Q Allies.

Senator Humphrey. -- our NATO allies can trigger the atomic weapon, is that correct?

Q That our commanders over there have that authority now.

Senator Humphrey. That our commanders over there have that authority now. I have read those articles.

It seems to me that the issue in reference to nuclear power is related directly to the President and the Presidency as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. It boils down to the issue of the temperament, the experience, the background and understanding of a President in reference to leadership and responsibility.

It is my view that because of the world in which we live where nuclear power is the most obvious fact of power, and because nuclear power has within it the possibilities of annihilation or at least of massive destruction, that we need a President who is prudent, who is responsible, who is careful, and who relies upon the soundest of advice and the most careful analysis of any situation before he acts.

I am not informed as to any directions that may have been given or instructions to commanders in the field. I am informed, however, on the fact that the

President of the United States has the responsibility for our Armed Forces, and particularly for nuclear power, and if that is the case I want a man in the White House that can be trusted. I want a man that is reliable. I want a man that is calm, and I want one that doesn't shoot from the hip but rather makes reasoned judgments and I think that man is President Johnson.

(Applause.)

Q Senator, you have been mentioned in this area in several Republican speeches in the last week or so, and one by Senator Peter Dominick of Colorado and then last night by Lieutenant Governor Ristine and both of them had somewhat a similar reference, they said that you were one of the organizers of the ADA, and that this organization stood for such principles as recognizing Red China for the UN, and withdrawal of American troops from West Germany.

Would you care to comment on that, Senator?

Senator Humphrey. Well, first of all, I don't particularly care to comment about the remarks of people that are so ill-informed. But I would be more than happy to comment about the facts. I was one of the organizers of ADA. It is one of the most effective anti-Communist, non-Communist, progressive organizations in our nation dedicated to principles of our constitution, to the system of private enterprise, to the defense of Civil Liberties, and the promulgation of Civil Rights.

That is its background, that is its purpose, that is its charter. Its major enemies are the Communists and the Birchites and a few misinformed Republican politicians.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey. (continuing) It has never advocated the withdrawal of troops from West Berlin nor has Senator Humphrey. In fact, Senator Humphrey has been one of the main proponents of strength in West Berlin, and in the fulfillments of our commitments. It has not advocated immediate recognition of Communist China. To the contrary, it has discussed the possibilities of negotiation. It never went as far as John Foster Dulles in that matter.

I think that those who indulge in these half truths are revealing themselves to be both poor students of Government, inaccurate students of contemporary politics, and guilty of seeking to confuse the American people, all of which, by the way should bar them from public office and public trust.

Q Senator.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q Do you have any comments on Mr. Miller's charges that the Johnson Administration is using what he calls almost Gestapo state tactics to smear him.

Senator Humphrey. I really haven't given much attention to what Mr. Miller has been saying. I am primarily interested in what President Johnson is doing, and what our country is doing, and I am interested, of course, in what Mr. Goldwater says as he seeks to explain his most recent statements.

Other than that, I have not had much time to concentrate on the words of others. I prefer to let these men speak for themselves. They seem to be doing well enough in confusing both themselves and the people without any help from me.

(Laughter.)

Q Senator, you spoke the other day in Springfield about the dangers of complacency. You have now talked to the President about the campaign. Does he share your feeling that too many Democrats might take this election for granted?

Senator Humphrey. I have talked with the President, Mr. Scherer, about this campaign, and the fact that the public opinion polls show the Johnson Administration and the President himself to be very popular, running very strong. We take nothing for granted. We follow the advice of Harry Truman, one of the best campaigners of them all, that you don't get elected by public opinion polls. You get elected by hard work, and by dedication to your program, and by organizational activity on the part of Democrats, and independents.

In this campaign we are going to take nothing for granted, we will seek to do our best to carry the message of our Party and our platform to the American people, and we invite into this campaign the thousands and thousands of responsible Republicans who have indicated an interest in the support of President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

We thank them for that support and we want to be worthy of it. The way to be worthy of it is to earn it through hard work and through the advocacy of what we stand for. So there will be no let up. If anyone wants to be apathetic he should not attempt to associate himself with the Democratic Party and the Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey because we are going to be very busy.

Q Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Mr. Kenworthy.

Q Senator, the criticism has been made that while the President and you are doing a very good job of defending the record of the past two Congresses, that you are not actively planning for the future. You are not putting together task forces on future problems such as President Kennedy undertook to do immediately following the Convention. Is that right?

Senator Humphrey. There is a little difference, Mr. Kenworthy, between the present situation and 1960.

In 1960, neither Mr. Nixon or Mr. Kennedy were incumbents in the Presidency, they were both candidates. In this instance the President of the United States has continuing task forces, working all the time as the President of the United States on programs for the future.

For example, our budget for fiscal '66 is underway right now. Our plans for housing, for development of our cities, for agriculture, for education are already under way. The President has an advisory task force on foreign policy and foreign aid, many other areas. So, that these task forces are at work, many of them within the Government, many of them having citizen, private citizen, representation, and may I assure you that after the election of November the 3rd, when the American people give President Johnson their mandate to move ahead even further than we have, that there will be plenty of programs, both for Congress, I should say for Congress, the press and the people. We will have enough new things for you.

Q Senator.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Q Sir, what do you think the chances are of the Democratic Party carrying Indiana by a good majority in November, not just a victory, but a good majority?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I hear from my colleagues, Senators Hartke and Bayh, and from your candidate for Governor, Mr. Branigin, that things look fairly well here in Indiana. We know that Indiana is a very important state. In fact, we consider it one of the important states in this campaign, and therefore,

working together with the Congressman here in this district, we have Congressman Denton, with your two Senators, with your state organizations, and with the independent and Republicans, independent voters and Republicans, who are going to support President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, we are going to leave no stone unturned, we are going to leave no home without a visitation, and we are going to leave no voter without at least a request for a vote and a helping hand. I think we will do all right in Indiana.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey. In the back, please, sir.

Q Senator, in many of your recent speeches --

Q I wonder how many young people are eligible for voting, but a lot of them will be eligible for the Army. I am wondering whether it is possible by 1967 to do away with the draft.

Senator Humphrey. That matter, sir, has been discussed at some length. As you know, the President has already established an advisory group on this subject of military manpower, looking forward to the possibilities of the elimination of the draft and getting to a voluntary professional military establishment.

Senator Goldwater belatedly came in with a similar suggestion. It seems to me that the possibilities that you refer to are rather good. We will have to wait and see what the international situation requires, and that is why I believe that making firm commitments on this matter might be deceptive. It is more honorable to say what we are doing, namely, re-examining our present military manpower situation with the objective in mind if the conditions permit for the elimination of the draft.

Now, the gentleman here.

Q In many of your recent speeches you have been striking a theme that we are one nation, one people, and you have criticized those who would turn race against race, I believe I am using your words, farmer against farmer, the Federal Government against State Government, et cetera.

Do you believe that Senator Goldwater is one of the people doing this and, if so, can you elaborate?

Senator Humphrey. I have said that President Johnson has dedicated himself to uniting the American people, that he does not seek to divide labor and capital and city and farmer and race against race. I think that is the kind of national leadership that we need.

I feel that some of the remarks of Senator Goldwater such as "Civil Rights breeds violence and hatred and bitterness" is an invitation to disorder, to lawlessness, that it is a most unfortunate statement on the part of a Presidential candidate, and that he ought not to say it.

Furthermore, I feel that his flirtation with Birchites is the kind of activity which can only lead to doubts as to the desire for national unity on his part, because that organization, and their members, have been very irresponsible and have made vicious attacks upon prominent and noted Americans, including, by the way, the one that Mr. Goldwater spent the afternoon with the other day and had a television show with last night.

I was kind of hopeful that during that television show that the Senator might say that he disagreed with some of his supporters in the Birch organization about their evaluation of President Eisenhower. It seemed to me that would have been the

Press Conference
Hotel McCurdy, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964 Page 5

appropriate time to have set the record straight. Instead of that nothing was said.

Q Senator Humphrey, the Assistant Attorney General announced yesterday that a new investigation would be launched into the Bobby Baker case. What bearing do you think it would have on the election?

Senator Humphrey. Well, he is not running for office.

Q I mean, would it hurt the Democratic Party?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I suppose that any of these matters in a political year are of some trouble. But the fact that the matter is being investigated and the fact that responsible agents of this Government or agencies of this Government are looking into it, I think should be adequate proof that justice will be done. I might add that we are all very unhappy about this situation, just as the Eisenhower Administration was unhappy about a number of its prominent officials that got themselves into difficulty, including at first their National Chairman within the first year, Presidential assistant before the Eisenhower Administration had completed its two terms, a couple of Cabinet officers and two others, but Mr. Eisenhower went on to win rather substantial victories.

Yes, sir.

Q Earlier, Senator, you were talking about it seems to be the popular thing for the Goldwater people to indicate that the present Administration's increased welfare are leading us to a welfare state or at least increased welfare as we go on.

Would you care to comment without trying to read their minds why you think anyone would be opposed to increased welfare?

Senator Humphrey. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has given leadership that has permitted or has encouraged, I should say, this American economy of ours to be at an all-time high and more people at work with good wages today than ever before.

There are more profits today for American business than ever before. Farm income is higher than it has ever been ever before. In other words, we are on the upward trail all the time. But in this process, there are always some people who are the unfortunate victims either of technological unemployment or of a shift of a plant to another locality or they may be unfortunate. They may be mentally ill, they may be physically ill, they may have very serious problems that require some assistance, and those people are deserving of the attention and the care of Government as well as volunteer organizations.

When I got off here at the airplane today I found that the United Fund was active here in the City of Evansville. This is a part of the great program of welfare of the American people. It backs up your county welfare program, your state welfare program, and to these county and state welfare programs come federal funds, and I am sure that the county commissioners of this county and the city officials would find it rather difficult to care for the needs of the indigent people and of the needy people were it not for some of the help that comes from the Federal Government, and this is the way it ought to be. It is all one country, all one Government. We are not talking about a welfare society. We are talking about what Evansville says it is, the City of Opportunity. We are talking about an opportunity society. We are talking about a country in which people can make a better life for themselves. Opportunity is the theme of this Administration.

Press Conference
Hotel McCurdy, Evansville, Ind.
September 23, 1964

Page 6

Q - Thank you, Senator.

Q - Thank you, Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

End

Card
Gov. - Roger Branigan (X)

Sp: Evansville, Ind.
P.M. Release Sept. 23, 1964

(X) Evansville
Evansville College

- Hometown Van Houtte - May 1956 - 59

- Black Bayh -

- Winfield Denton - cong

Almost four years ago--on October 4, 1960--a

brave and determined young Senator from Massachusetts

came to Evansville as the Democratic candidate for

President of the United States. He came to ask your

help in moving America forward in the 1960s. He came

to express his belief that America could no longer

afford to stand still---that America had a choice

between vigor and progress under a Democratic adminis-

tration and stagnation and status quo under the

Republicans.

America made its choice in 1960. America elected

John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson and

today I can tell you we have been moving forward in

these last four years.

h For 1000 days our beloved John F. Kennedy kept
his promises to America. And when he was taken from
us, Lyndon B. Johnson stepped in to give America ~~the~~
the most productive ^{Ten} ~~ten~~ months in her history. The
Kennedy-Johnson administration kept faith with America.

5 days Ago

L Five days ago another Senator came to Evansville.

Goldwater

L He, too, came as a candidate for President. But he
came not to seek your help in moving America forward
but to ~~to~~ ^{NAG} ~~to~~ impugn, to accuse, and to say "No"
to the challenges of the 1960s.

L What a contrast with the vision, courage, and
faith of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. L What a contrast
with all Americans who believe this generation bears
a sacred obligation to make democracy prevail in these
difficult and dangerous times.

L Unlike the leader of the Goldwater faction, I come
to Evansville today to reaffirm the conviction that we

need not fear the future, we need not retreat
to the past, we need only seek the help and
hands of the American people in our quest for a
better America, in our pledge to keep America moving
forward. !

But Our forward motion is not inevitable! These
are challenging times. These are times hedged
about with trials and difficulties. None of ~~us~~ *we*
can escape the trials; none of ~~us~~ *can avoid the*
difficulties in this ~~struggle~~ *struggle* for a better life for yourselves
and ~~our~~ *our* children.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B.
Johnson promised that life in these years of trial

and testing would not be easy. President Kennedy spoke of our people bearing "the burden of a long struggle, year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribu^{la}tion."

~~in~~ ^{such} a difficult and demanding period of history, This nation has no choice but to elect

as President the man who knows the meaning of responsibility, who has demonstrated his capacity to bear the immense burdens of this office, and who understands the importance of making democracy prevail and prosper in these fearful days.

There is a fundamental question we ask the American people to consider: which candidate and which party possesses the sense of responsibility needed

Respons

The Issue

L to guide this nation safely through the turbulent
1960s.

H
L Responsibility has been the hallmark of
the Kennedy-Johnson administration and responsibility
is the single quality which most distinguishes President
Johnson from the leader of the Goldwater Republican Party.

L Responsibility is more than words, and deeds
are more revealing than rhetoric. And it is on the
basis of deeds that the Democratic Party has demon-
strated its capacity to lead America forward in the
next four years.

L --Responsibility is taking an economy which
has suffered three recessions in eight Republican

years and transforming it into an economy

which produces 43 consecutive months of record-

breaking growth.

L--Responsibility is reducing the

| + here
big gains

unemployment ~~rate from almost seven percent~~

~~in January 1961 to less than five percent.~~

Responsibility is to continue the
Development of the Ohio River
Valley which is well on its
way to becoming River
Valley of America -
Transportation, Navigation,
Industry - Jobs -
A human processing!

Responsibility is ARA + Progress

~~in July 1964~~, and reducing it in Indiana from 6.7

percent to 4.2 percent.

L -- Responsibility is guaranteeing to workers a just and equitable minimum wage. And the Democratic administration ~~minimum~~ has enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25 and broadened coverage, too.

L -- Responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations additional funds to spend or to invest for the future.

\$23
million
passing
here

L -- Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not participate fully in the prosperity of this land. And President Johnson has declared war on poverty.

L -- Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, the basic rights of citizenship. And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been passed.

- 8 -

h --Responsibility is attempting to provide the American farmer with a more equitable share in our national prosperity. Farm income has increased by over \$1 billion each year; surpluses have declined; exports have risen. But responsibility is also recognizing that much more remains to be done--and the Johnson administration intends to do it.

L --Responsibility is insuring that America will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace. And today we possess more powerful military forces than any nation in history, and the nuclear test ban treaty proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our children.

--Responsibility is providing each American child with an equal opportunity for an education to develop his or her talents and abilities to the fullest. And this

Arch
Evanston
College

To give to adults the country over opportunities for education such as those provided by the Indiana University Extension Service under the leadership of the former President of the University, Herman Wells

Democratic Congress has enacted the most comprehensive program of education legislation in our nation's history.

L --Responsibility is fighting disease and sickness so that every American will have an equal opportunity to enjoy physical and mental

health. And this Democratic Administration has established programs to build new health facilities and medical Research schools and to provide new scholarships for the training of doctors and nurses.

L In area after area--in program after program--the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and

the Democratic Party have demonstrated what responsibility

wellborn
memoirs
Baptist
Hosp
\$1 million

in government really means; namely,

serving the people of America so that every

citizen may enjoy increased opportunities.

Let us never forget--in the words of

Lincoln--that the duty of government is to

serve the people. And that

is precisely what the Democratic Party has sought to
do in the past four years.

And what of the words and deeds of the leader
of the Goldwaterites? What of his sense of responsibility?
What has been his answer to the awesome problems which
test our people and our system of government?

He said NO to ARA - NO to Public Works
L He said "No" on the \$11.5 billion tax cut.

L He said "No" on the civil rights bill.

L He said "No" on the vocational education act,

the national defense education act, the medical education
act, and the higher education facilities act.

L He said "No" on the test ban treaty.

L He said "No" on the trade expansion act.

L He said "No" on the wilderness bill.

L He said "No" on the anti-poverty program.

L He said "No" on *hospital insurance under*
~~insurance~~ social security.

He said "No" on various farm programs
to provide equitable prices and reduce surpluses.

In short, the leader of the Goldwater
faction said "No" to almost every constructive
piece of legislation to come before the Congress
in the past four years. ^{is a} This record of retreat,
and ^{It stands} reaction, regression, stands as the very repudiation
of responsibility. Our opposition has shown that
it did not understand the meaning of responsibility
in the past, and has promised only more irrespon-
sibility in the future.

But,

It is in the President's conduct of military and foreign affairs where the capacity for responsibility is particularly essential. And a capacity for respon-

sibility did not prompt the following statements by

Senator Goldwater:

L--"Now I'll have to admit that I possibly do shoot from the hip...I've been exposed to problems and I don't have to stop and think in detail about them." (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 1512.)

fact L--"I have advocated giving control of nuclear weapons to the supreme commander of NATO...The NATO commander should not be required to wait while the White House calls a conference to decide whether these weapons should be used." (press conference, Reno, Nevada, Feb. 13, 1964)

L--"Someday, I am convinced, there will be either a war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear"

war...I don't see how it can be avoided--perhaps five,
ten, years from now." (New York Post interview, 5/8/61)

out
L --"Defoliation of the forests (in Southeast Asia)
by low yield atomic weapons could well be done. When
you remove the foliage, you remove the cover." (Issues
and Answers, 5/24/64)

✓ These are his own words--and these words speak
louder about his qualifications for the Presidency
than anything I could say

*or any retraction he now
can make.*

✓ The Presidency demands the highest levels of
responsibility at times of greatest stress--the Cuban
missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, the Gulf of Tonkin--
when one misstep, one rash action, one intemperate outburst,
one shot from the hip could ignite the nuclear holocaust
which would incinerate friend and foe alike, leaving
only a dead stricken planet.

In his historic Inaugural Address, our
martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed,

"...I do not shrink from responsibility--I welcome

it..."

And Lyndon B. Johnson, in that hour of

grief and horror after the loss of President Kennedy,

said to the nation: "This is our challenge--not to

hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger

over this evil moment, but to continue on our course

so that we may fulfill the destiny that has ^{history} ~~been~~ set

for us."

Let us join together in seeking the election of

the one man whom America--and the world--can trust as

President, the one man who profoundly believes in the

destiny of America and in her people, the

one man who will continue to move America

forward--Lyndon B. Johnson.

NOTE: THE ANTI-GOLDWATER TEXT ON PAGES 11-15
can be deleted in parts or entirely. Or it can be
left as it is.

Goldwater signs

not to proclaim
but to confess.

✓ Ha Ha Ha
Goldwater

Prayer
Rev King

Mettracal made here -
Barry must be drunk
it, because his Program
~~is so thin~~ looks awfully
thin this year.

Remarks of Senator Humphrey
Airport, Terre Haute, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Senator Humphrey. What a fine Democrat. He knows where he is going and he goes forward.

(Hiding a donkey.)

Mr. Mayor and Senator Hartke and Senator Birch Bayh, and our next Governor here in the State of Indiana, Roger Branigan, and I think you folks ought to get used to calling him Governor, Roger, where are you, stand up so they can take a good look at you.

Here is your next Governor right here, and your next Congressman, where is Karl O'Lessker? Karl, come on, stand right up here. Take a good look at this fellow, he is going down to Washington. You won't see him for a while.

Where is Elden Tipton. Right here, here is the 7th District, is that right? Did you get that hat from the President? That is right.

My dear friends, we are so grateful for your warm reception here and this very wonderful outpouring of fine people to greet us as we come into Terre Haute, Indiana. We have been over in your neighborhood, neighboring communities in Evansville, where Senator Hartke once presided as the Burgermeister over there, the chief citizen, the Mayor of this city. But on the way over here I was told by Birch Bayh that there was no finer city in the U.S. than Terre Haute, that is what he told me. He has been bragging about it all the way.

I have been told about your own Indiana State College, which is one of the fine educational institutions of this state, about the Wabash Valley Development Association, and the development of this great river valley.

I have been told of many of the accomplishments of this wonderful community. In a very short time we are going to have a chance to be together downtown, where is it, in the city square? down at the courthouse, and we hope that all of you will get into your cars don't drive any faster than the law permits, but be a Democrat and drive forward, don't go backward.

We want to drive forward. We want you to drive safely. We want you to know where your goal is and that is down at the courthouse. We are going to go down there and before I go I want to bring each and every one of you the greetings of our great President.

I talked to our President last night. I told him of my tour here in Indiana, and he said to me to be his aide in bringing to each and every one of you his warmest greeting and his best wishes.

He thanks you first of all for having two such splendid United States Senators in the Senate of the U.S. both of whom have helped him so much.

(Applause.)

He asked me to ask you to keep a Democrat in the State House so that we can have cooperation between Washington and the State Capitol of Indiana, and then he told me, he said, "Hubert, there is one thing I want you to emphasize at every speech, that what our country needs today is more understanding amongst one another."

One of the great attributes and characteristics of President Johnson is that he is a man that preaches and teaches and practices brotherhood and fellowship; that believes in national unity not

Senator Hugh Hefrey
Airport, Terre Haute, Ind.
September 23, 1964

Page 2

as a slogan but as a reality for our great country, and I ask you to believe it with him. The voices that try to divide us, the voices that could set city against country, farmer against worker, Federal Government against State Government, black against white, the different religious groups against one another, those voices wherever you find them in any part of American life, those are the voices that play into the hands of the enemy, and weaken this great structure of this great social system of the United States of America.

We are the most blessed people in the world. Name me a country, my fellow Americans where you have so much. Name me a ~~place~~ place where there are so many healthy and happy people. Tell me of any place where you have so much opportunity. There just isn't any, there just isn't any and I don't know of any place that is better to live in unless it would be Minnesota than in Indiana, and I sure want to tell you -- (applause) -- I want to tell you that it is simply wonderful to be with you and to be in this great Midwestern State, the part of America that I think I know the best and love ~~to~~ so much.

But having said that, remember this. We are one country, there is no north, there is no south, there is no east, there is no west, there is what the Constitution says: We, the people of the United States of America. That is our country. That is what we are for, and if we work together like that we can do anything we want to do and we can have what we want, and we can be what we want, and I think I know what we want to be, a proud, a happy, and a just people.

Thank you very much. See you downtown.

End.

Young Citizens of Terre Haute, Ind.
Dutch Bay - Vance Hartke - Roger Bramigan
Bob Kelly, Freida Tearhorst

Terre Haute

May 17, 1964

Sept. 23, 1964

"No Mountain Too High"

It's wonderful to be back in Terre Haute.

David Joy

Father
McDachlan

One of the great Americans from your city,

Theodore Dreiser, the famous novelist who was born

here and is buried here, helped to open the eyes

of his countrymen years ago to the ruthless and

sometimes hopeless ways in which men struggled

for survival and power in an earlier day in America.

Marcella
Martha

Unlike his brother, Paul, who wrote that

famous Indiana song, "On the Banks of the Wabash,"

Theodore Dreiser saw around him a world where the

weak were at the mercy of the strong, where injustice

went unpunished, and where the law was an instrument

of the privileged. And with all of the force and moral

Young People Here

Dreiser

courage at the command of his pen, Dreiser condemned

that society of selfishness, naked power, and

inequality of opportunity.

L Those days, we hope, are gone forever.

L Thanks to many Americans--to men of letters

like Dreiser, to clergymen who insisted upon social

justice, to responsible businessmen concerned with

the public welfare, to political leaders who viewed

government as having a moral responsibility toward

its citizens, and to ordinary citizens who have

tried to live fairly and justly with each other--we

live today in a country of unparalleled opportunity

for everyone.

L The leader of the goldwater faction places

great emphasis upon ^{his} the concept of freedom. But
every loyal American citizen appreciates fully
the importance in a democracy of preserving and
extending freedom--the Senator from Arizona surely
exercises no monopoly in this regard.

Quite to the contrary. The policies of the
New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the
Great Society are directed precisely towards the
objective of extending freedom and opportunity to
all persons in America. Unfortunately the leader
of the Goldwater faction fails to understand that
the exercise of freedom by any person is directly
related to the opportunities which are available
for a full and productive life.

└--When women and children labored 16 hours
a day for a dollar and a half, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

└--When most Americans knew that a high school
education lay beyond their reach, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

└--When Americans stood in bread lines for
food and lived in hobo jungles, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

└--When employees and employers settled labor
disputes with clubs and bombs, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

└--When our people were constantly exposed
to sickness and disease, how much freedom did they enjoy?

/ The answers to these questions are self-evident. The essential role which government performed in eliminating these so-called "freedoms" cannot be denied--not even by the Senator from Arizona. Let us never forget--in the words of Lincoln--that the responsibility of government is to serve the people." And that is a responsibility which Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson took most seriously.

 / Freedom, ~~rightly understood~~, must mean opportunity for the unlucky--as well as the fortunate; for the poor--as well as those born to wealth; for the average man--as well as those endowed with genius.

The view of freedom es~~pecially~~

championed by the

leader of the Goldwaterites is ~~the underpinning~~

~~for a whole new set of freedoms:~~ the freedom to

~~remain ignorant, the freedom to be sick, the freedom~~

~~to stay unemployed, the freedom to be hungry.~~ Some

~~philosophy! Some freedom!~~

not worthy of Modern America

But this is surely not the philosophy of

President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party.

In the words of our President, "We will not turn our
back on those who through no fault of their own can
no longer sustain themselves...This nation will
never again fall into indifference toward the
distressed and the despairing."

I believe an overwhelming majority of Americans
agree that freedom is meaningless without opportunity--

that freedom for all means opportunity for all.

But not Senator Goldwater.

- x Jobs - Expansion
- x Education
- x Social Security
- x Medicare

Remarks of Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, the Demosthenes of Indiana, Senator Vance Hartke.

Every time he introduces me he gets better.

(Laughter.)

I don't know whether I am good for him or maybe it is just because I begin to like him more and more as he tells all those nice things about me.

Truly, it is a wonderful privilege to be in the great Hoosier State and to be here as the friend and the colleague of two of the most able, gifted, talented, fine and dedicated United States Senators that ever came to the Senate of the United States, your great senior Senator, Senator Vance Hartke, and your junior Senator, Birch Bayh.

(Applause.)

Now, all you need to do for this district is to make sure you send a Democratic Congressman down to help us and I know you are about ready to do it because Indiana's Fourth District deserves good, progressive, thoughtful, considerate, cooperative representation and Max Hobbs seems to be the man you want.

(Applause.)

This business of government, friends, is teamwork. It requires more than just men and women in Washington. It requires people at the State level and at the local level, that are pulling together as a team, and I want to say that when I looked over this program tonight and saw once again the photo, as I have seen the man in the flesh today, the photograph of Roger D. Branigin, the Democratic candidate for Governor, all I can say is Lyndon B. Johnson wants a Democratic Governor in Indiana. So, let's get busy and elect him.

(Applause.)

More importantly I think you want to continue Democratic Administration in this, the great Hoosier State.

Well, we had quite a time today. It has been a wonderful, wonderful day. But I never realized that my friend Ray Scherer was so popular as to see this great testimonial outpouring for him tonight.

(Applause.)

I hope that the authorities at the NBC will get a panorama picture of this tonight and I would expect to see Ray Scherer double his income within the next year or two.

(Applause and laughter.)

Of course, I have had to really dig for this one because every time any of these fellow Democrats of mine get up, are able to get up, here at the platform they steal all my lines. I will tell you there is one thing about Democrats, they are highly competitive, and the man that gets here first gets the best, you know.

(Laughter.)

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 2

Truly, I want to say that it is a real privilege to work with fine people in any endeavor in any walk of life. We are very proud of our friends of the press, of the radio and of television. Once in a while we have a disagreement with them, occasionally; we occasionally have disagreement with a publisher but not as often as we used to, as you have noticed this year.

(Applause.)

But I believe I am right, and I believe that Jim Fleming, this distinguished senior statesman of your community, would agree with me that one of the most trusted and one of the most, well, one of the employees that has been with him the longest, is none other than Ray's father, Arnold Scherer, and I had the privilege of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Scherer tonight. I know they have stood here but now if you can't take time out to say "hello" to friends and be a human being out on a political circuit you ought to quit, and I just wanted to let them know how proud we are of them, how proud we are of their son, and I want you to know how very proud I am tonight of all of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, for the wonderful, wonderful warm welcome you have given to me.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Well, this is sort of like old home week in Evansville, which is Hartke's home town and he really had them out. I don't know whether or not he has more relatives than I have or not but they seem to be more there.

(Laughter.)

We had a wonderful time.

The first time I met Vance Hartke was when he was Mayor of Evansville and he did a remarkable job as the Chief Executive of that city. Secondly, we went to Terre Haute, and that is the home town of that fine young Senator, Birch Bayh, and again we had a thrilling, an exciting and, may I say, a very, very large meeting, wonderful.

Now, in the home town of another Hoosier, I am happy.

May I say to you that Indiana is a very key state in this election. Yes, we are going to give Indiana a lot of attention. But really, I think you have the people here in your Governor, in your Governor-nominee, in your Senators, some of your great Congressmen, Democrats, that is, and in these men that are aspiring to Congress, I think you have the power here, you have the talent here, to make sure that Indiana sets the pace, Indiana sets the standard for all of America, and that when that night of election comes on November 3, one of the first states to be heard from in the Midwest will be this crucial, this important State of Indiana, and the announcers will say "Indiana goes for Lyndon Johnson."

(Applause.)

And, Ray, as much as we would like to have you have an exclusive of that for NBC, do you mind if we cut in ABC and CBS, too, because we want everybody to listen to that, everybody, everybody, yes, indeed.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 3

We surely owe a debt to your chairman here, Mr. Byron Hayes, and I want to say that I have a suggestion for his fine community. As I came down these streets to night, and I was told that the reception was very good, and I knew it was but I like to hear it, I saw some wonderful people. We went by some beautiful homes, and this is a fine, clean, modern American city. But every city, every year, has what they call the paint-up and clean-up campaign. Now, ordinarily they have it in the spring. But sometimes I think it is even worth while considering it in the fall, particularly when I noticed that there were a few Goldwater signs around.

(Laughter.)

Now, my fellow citizens you know that the scouts, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and others hold these paper drives in which they gather up old and unneeded and sometimes used and sometimes unusual articles that can be shipped some place and reward these fine young people for their efforts. I want to say that prior to November 3rd or if you have to wait, you can do it right after November 3rd, turn in, ask your neighbors to turn in, the copy, the buttons, the placards and the posters that they have, because truly all it is doing is cluttering up the landscape. It isn't going to convince anybody, those Goldwater posters.

(Applause.)

We have a regular standing proposition for you. We give you for every three Goldwater buttons you turn in you get one LBJ button and a friendly Democratic handshake.

(Applause.)

I sense in Indiana a new spirit. I sense here not only the spirit of Democratic victory, because as you listen to me tonight I hope you will sense it isn't just a Democratic victory we want. Because this state like my State of Minnesota is pretty well divided politically on a Party basis, but we have some very definite attitudes about the kind of government we want, and the kind of people that we want in government.

I heard your distinguished Senator, Senator Hartke, tell us tonight of how things were in 1958. He came to the Senate in that great class of Senators of 1958. My own esteemed and much admired colleague, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, came with that same group. There has never been a finer group of United States Senators come to the Senate than in that year. And I think I know why.

(Applause.)

I think I know why. Because the American people saw the necessity of taking out an insurance policy, so to speak, on the future of this nation. They wanted to make sure that in the Congress, at least, that there was a working Democratic majority, so that some of the policies that were being advocated would not have the opportunity to take hold and retard the progress of this nation.

But more significantly in 1958 America was in some economic trouble. We were slowing down our pace, and frankly when you slow down in the world you just start running backwards. We have to be so geared up, so equipped physically, mentally, spiritually, emotionally, so that we can be in high gear, full steam ahead all the time.

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 4

I know that you feel that way because I see this kind of attitude every place that I have traveled in this State today.

You know your community impressed me as one of warmth and neighborliness. In fact, Hoosier country, which stands in the words of one non-Hoosier historian, more than any other environment for the neighborliness of our Democracy. You have a great heritage here. This is, as you put it, the crossroads of America, and this crossroads of America was practicing a good neighbor policy in the original sense of that phrase long before Franklin D. Roosevelt enunciated the doctrine for our international relations.

Here in your city lies buried one of the most beloved good neighbors in American folk lore, Johnny Appleseed who wanted all of American to be productive, and heavy laden with a rich harvest.

Ah, Johnny Appleseed must have been a real card-carrying Democrat if he felt that way. How unlike the leaders of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party. How unlike these leaders who rely on the seeds of discontent. But let me warn them those who have sown the seeds of discontent will reap the harvest of defeat, and in November they will be literally flattened by an avalanche of Democratic votes.

(Applause.)

I was studying a map of your state the other day. You know, you have to sort of get prepared for these wonderful excursions into these rich and thriving parts of America, and I noticed a town not far from Ft. Wayne that was called by the unlikely but delightful name of Prairie Switch. Now, to those traditional Republicans of Indiana, I urge you to be guided by another Indianan, a Republican, of some years ago by the name of Walter Gresham. Walter Gresham may not be familiar to you as a name but he served in the Cabinet of President Arthur and he served as the Postmaster General, and after serving with distinction in two Cabinet posts under a Republican President, Chester Arthur, and himself later on a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Gresham, Indiana Republican, prominent in his day, leader in this Hoosier State of Republicanism, he did a Prairie Switch, and he turned to that great Democrat of that time, Grover Cleveland and became his Secretary of State. That is a good example for many good Republicans now.

(Applause.)

Frankly, in all seriousness, President Johnson and Senator Humphrey extend to the thousands and thousands of normal traditional Republicans the hand of welcome. We believe in the two-party system, two-party structure, and we believe in two responsible parties. It is healthy for America. And we believe that there are literally millions of people of Republican persuasion of this country that don't like what happened out at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, they don't like what is happening today on the political hustings as the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party makes charge after charge.

These are the Republicans, if you please, that I speak of, who are putting their country above their party and they are needed in this election as never before. They are needed to redeem their own party and they are needed to back the President of the United States in his effort to gain a great victory for American democracy.

(Applause.)

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 5

You know, I am sure many of you remember Wendell Willkie, a great Indianan. Well, there are thousands of Willkie Republicans voting for Lyndon B. Johnson, thousands of them, and may I say that there was a time, and it will be again, when people who adhere to this banner of the party of Lincoln, the great Emancipator, who has been betrayed by one who could not see the necessity of making the Emancipation Proclamation, which was a promise, making it a reality, this last summer when we voted in the Congress of the United States on equal rights for every American.

(Applause.)

Yes, there are many who are proud to remember that their party, the GOP, stands for the Grand Old Party, but you know what has happened to it now. The same old initials but it has different meaning, GOP to millions of people stands for "Goldwater, Our Problem."

(Applause.)

Yes, how many more charges, countercharges, recharges, retractions, explanations, and clarifications will it take for these good Indian Republicans who yearn for clarity and sanity in government to do a good old Indiana Prairie Switch. This time you can switch and you can fight, too, and you can fight for Lyndon Johnson and a victory.

(Applause.)

All through this state today I have been trying to speak or should I say preach one doctrine, responsibility in government. If there is any one thing that Lyndon Johnson, as Majority Leader of the United States Senate, taught us, it was responsibility.

During those years when President Eisenhower was the leader, and the President of the United States, the Democratic majority in the Congress acted as a responsible majority, and the man who is now President of the United States acted responsibly in his position of responsibility.

In the past four years the Democratic Party has sought to restore responsibility and opportunity as the two key operating principles of our government, responsibility on the part of the officers of government and opportunity as the promise, the pledge and the performance of American government in this great America of ours.

In his historic inaugural address our martyred and beloved President, John Kennedy, proclaimed, and let these words sink deep into our hearts because every one of us who have been entrusted with any degree of responsibility must never forget them, John Kennedy said, standing there on the steps of the Capitol as he took his oath of office and delivered us that great challenge to the future, his inaugural address, "I do not shrink from responsibility, I welcome it."

Those are the words of a courageous man. Those words marked him from that moment as a leader, as one who sought to come to grips with the difficult problems that beset our nation then, just as we have those problems now. And Lyndon B. Johnson in that hour of anguish, of grief and pain that we all suffered, when our President Kennedy had been assassinated, when he was the victim of the assassin's bullet, Lyndon Johnson, speaking to the Congress of the United States and to the entire nation and the world said, "This is our challenge. Not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us."

Those are the words of a man who, thank God, who was able to give America leadership when the torch of freedom fell from the hands of a President that had been taken by the assassin's bullet, and that torch of freedom and responsibility fell into strong and trustworthy hands. Possibly the greatest, the greatest act of John Kennedy's life was the fact that he had the foresight to choose as his Vice President someone who was so skilled in government someone who was so strong and someone who was so prudent and someone who was so knowledgeable and so trustworthy as Lyndon Johnson so he could carry on.

(Applause.)

I think there is just one word, this one concept of responsibility that distinguishes this Administration and this President more than any other from the Republican Pretender to the Presidency. Responsibility in the conduct of government is demonstrated in many ways every day. Responsibility is taking an economy which, as Senator Hartke pointed out to you tonight, had suffered three recessions in eight years, and transforming it into an economy, by fellow Americans, that has had 43 continuous months of growth, of expanding opportunity and expanding prosperity for 190 million American people. That is responsibility.

(Applause.)

Responsibility is cutting the unemployment rolls, seeing to it that this economy was growing at such a rate that not only could we absorb many of the unemployed of the past but that we could absorb into our factories and shops and mines the new population, a growing population.

My dear friends this nation has before it the unbelievable task of being able to absorb and to provide jobs for 300,000 new workers every month for the foreseeable future. You can't turn this kind of a country over to someone who has his glasses without lenses, and his vision through a rear view mirror.

(Applause.)

Responsibility, responsibility in government, is working out through careful legislative process, through planning, through study in the executive branch of the government over months and months, hundreds of days of hearings and testimony, a tax bill, a tax reduction, a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations in America with approximately 11-1/2 billion dollars of free cash to be used for the consumer, to be used for investments, to be used as we want it. What does this mean to Indiana this year? \$275 million of money, of money available to the people of this state for your use, for your investment, for your purchases. This is why jobs are coming. This is why you have unprecedented prosperity in America.

My friends, you don't figure out a tax program in the cabin of a jet plane flying over the deserts of Arizona. You figure out a tax program in the air conditioned chambers of the United States Congress.

(Applause.)

Possibly the distinguished Senator from Arizona has forgotten that Congress legislates taxation, and that this isn't something that is created by the publicity artists of a political apparatus at high altitude. Taxation is down to earth stuff.

Now, responsibility in government is recognizing, my fellow Americans, that even if this great, rich and powerful country richer than it has ever been, more productive than it has ever been, with higher profits than we have ever had, with better wages than

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum,
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 7

we have ever had, with greater production than we have ever known, with more dividends than we have ever known, that even with all of that because of the pace of technology, because of the change in industry, because of the uprooting of many communities, we have within our country approximately 35 million Americans who do not fully participate in the prosperity of this land, and this is what President Johnson meant when he said, "We must declare an all-out war on poverty" not only because it was morally right that we should do something about the condition of the poor in this period of our rich and affluent life, not only because it was helpful to the poor, but because by doing something to eliminate poverty, you do a great deal to extend prosperity for all Americans, for years and years to come.

(Applause.)

Yes, and responsibility takes a toll. You pay a price for it. Our President is paying a price right now in certain parts of America because this President and the one before him, John Kennedy, kept faith with America, and kept their promises and their pledges, because this President knew that the denial of equal rights was not only a violation of the Constitution but it was also morally wrong, and that that civil wrongs had to be changed into civil rights. Yes, President Johnson, a Southerner, had the courage, if you please, to lead all of America into a new day where in America there is only one kind of citizenship, where you are a citizen of the United States of America with all the privileges and all the duties and with all of the opportunities regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. That is a great leader.

(Applause.)

And, Mr. Farmer, because America still is blessed with a productive land, a rich land, and the most efficient, the most capable, the most able farm producers, agricultural producers, that the world has ever known, responsibility in government is attempting to help provide for that American farmer a more equitable share in our national prosperity and I am happy to say that while we haven't been able to do all that we should or all we want to, agricultural income is up at the annual rate of one billion dollars per year net. Surpluses have been reduced. The cost of storage to the taxpayer, the cost of the program, has been reduced, and in this blessed state of Indiana farm income per farm for the average farmer in your state in 1960 was \$9,400. In 1963 at the end of '64, it was \$11,600. Responsibility has helped the American farmer.

(Applause.)

Mr. Farmer, and, yes, Mr. Citizen, wherever you live, how many people know in this state that 13 cents out of every dollar of produce produced on the farm is for export, farm markets abroad.

Responsibility is insuring that this great and mighty nation will never be defenseless, that its military strength will be second to none and that it is today. We have fulfilled the requirements of providing for the common defense which is one of the mandates of the Constitution. So, that today America stands as the mightiest military power that the world has ever known, stronger than any of them and stronger than any combination of nations so that we can do what President Kennedy said, "We shall never be afraid to negotiate but we shall never negotiate from fear, we shall negotiate from Strength."

Applause.)

Just as we are first in strength, we are also, thank goodness, first in the relentless pursuit of a just peace. And responsibility, my fellow Americans, young and old alike, is providing a program of social security for our elderly, for our disabled, for our needy children, for our unemployed, and responsibility means that we keep that program solvent, that we maintain it as a pledge not only to present Americans but to generations yet unborn, and we have fulfilled that requirement of responsibility, my fellow Democrats.

(Applause.)

So, I say to you tonight, I am like that great late Speaker of the House of Representatives when asked about his politics said, "I am a Democrat without any prefix or suffix and without apology."

(Applause.)

In area after area, in program after program, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and the Democratic Party has demonstrated what responsibility in government means, namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy one privilege above all others, equality of opportunity and so that every citizen may participate fully to the utmost capacity of his being in the promise of our forefathers the pursuit of happiness. These are the responsibilities that we have fulfilled. And what are the words of the leader of the Goldwaterites. What of his sense of responsibility? What has been his answer for some of the awesome problems which have tested our people in the past, and which now test our people in our very system of government now and in the future?

Well, let's take a look. Out of the 11 -- let's take a look at the 11-1/2 billion dollar tax cut. Where was the Senator from Arizona when the issue was before the Congress, not when it was up in the clouds, but when it was on the floor of the Senate? He voted "no."

On vocational education which means five million dollars, Supt. Wilson, five million dollars to the State of Indiana, every year as compared to two million 600 thousand dollars three years ago? Where was Mr. Goldwater? Well, you know, he was hiding out, voting "no."

And then the National Defense Education Act to strengthen our security for education backed by every responsible educator in America. Where was the Senator from Arizona? He was under the No-No Tree, in the shadow of his indifference.

(Applause.)

Now, may I say to my good friends of the healing arts, as a pharmacist, as a professional man, where was the Senator from Arizona when the great societies of medicine, the great schools of medicine, the deans of the medical institutions came before the Congress and asked the Congress of the United States to help build medical schools for a growing population so that we could have more doctors and the best doctors in the world, more nurses, more medical technicians, more pharmacists. We passed a bill for aid to medical facilities at the request of the finest medical authorities of America so we could have medicine that was practiced where the physician could have choice of patient and where the patient could have choice of physician. Where we could really maintain the high standards of medical care under a system of freedom and where was this man from Arizona? Voting "no" against every one of the doctors of our land.

(Applause.)

I mention this because I heard there might be a couple that were going to vote for him.

(Laughter.)

And where was this man from Arizona, where was this man when we witnessed the need for more college space, more classrooms, better facilities, because, my fellow Americans, in the next 25 years America must double its entire higher educational establishment. We must build more college space, more classrooms, more college facilities, more higher education facilities in the next 25 years than we have build in the last 300. These are not the words of Senator Humphrey. These are the words of the American Council on Education. Every educator knows it and the leading educators of America, the Presidents of our great universities, private and land grant, private and public, have come before the Congress and asked for aid to higher education, and your two Senators here were instrumental in those programs. Where was the Senator from Arizona? Well, I guess he just thought school was out. He voted "no."

(Applause.)

On the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty negotiated after months and months, yea, years, of effort, a nuclear test ban treaty to prevent this atmosphere that we live in from being saturated with the poison of radioactive debris, to protect the lives of our loved ones and children yet unborn, to keep the milk that we drink from being polluted and adulterated from Strontium 90, to take the preventative and precautionary steps that God's people ought to take because we have a responsibility not only to our generation but to others yet to come, where was the Senator from Arizona when an overwhelming majority of the United States Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for it. He said "no."

(Applause.)

And the record is the same, my friends, on the Trade Expansion Act which means millions of dollars to the people of this great city and state, Indiana one of the great industrial states, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the AFL-CIO, the American Bankers Association, the Congress of the United States, Republicans and Democrats alike voted for the Trade Expansion Act. But not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

You know it must be very comforting to think you can be so right when you stand alone so often.

(Applause.)

And my friends, we are concerned about our elderly, we are concerned about their need and we are concerned about their health and the Congress of the United States, the United States Senate in which the Senator from Arizona serves, only recently by a rather substantial majority, passed a bill that would provide under pre-paid insurance, not as a gift, not as charity, not as welfare, but as something you owned and paid for, hospital and nursing home care under social security. It is right, it is proper, it is not any of this nonsense that they call socialism. It is insurance. It won't hurt anybody. It will help a lot of people and above all it will help people who are in the twilight of life, when their period of sickness is the longest, when their stay in the hospital is the longest, when their income is the lowest, and when their earning power is the least, it will provide some reasonable period of care in a hospital of their choice, in their town, in a nursing home approved by their state, and

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 10

their local government so that they can live a better life. And where was the Senator from Arizona? He was voting, "no".

(Applause.)

Well, I will tell you, it is quite a record, vote "no" against the children, vote "no" against the college students, vote "no" against the farmers. Vote "no" on the REA, vote "no" against the Chamber of Commerce, the AFL, the NAM, the bankers, vote "no" against industry and trade. Vote "no" against grandfather and grandmother and even vote "no," may I say against keeping the atmosphere clean. How wrong can you get?

(Applause.)

And then an effort was made only recently to do something about these pockets of poverty. Not the greatest effort, but a beginning. Something about our youngsters. By the way, 40 per cent of the teen age youngsters in Harlem are unemployed. No jobs, no hope, no education, school dropouts, walking the streets, as Doctor Conant said, the great educator, this is social dynamite. These are some of the youngsters who get in trouble.

Yes, they get into riots, into violence which we cannot condone. The law must be enforced. The first duty of any government is to maintain public order. No one can condone rioting or violence or pillage or looting. But my fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, examine into your hearts, take a moment for silent meditation, can you really be content, can you say that nothing ought to be done, can you say that nothing can be done, about the forty per cent of the colored boys, the Negro boys that are teen-agers in Harlem who have no job, school dropouts, who stand on the street corners, should we do nothing about that? Should we only lecture them about law observance or should we see to it that the law is just.

Not only shall the law be enforced but the law shall also provide opportunity, it shall provide a hope, a promise for a better day and a better life and that is what we have tried to do in this poverty program.

(Applause.)

Senator Goldwater, what is your program for these that have been cast aside except your weekly lectures? What is your program for the youth of America that wants to do something. Well, we offered a program, job corps training, youth training, youth conservation camps, putting these young men, if they want to, out working in the great outdoors, giving them guidance, giving them vocational training, providing them with education, seeing to it that their bodies are healthy, that their minds are alert, and that they can have the strength that come from communing with nature. This is the program for our youth that Lyndon B. Johnson and the Congress of the United States have legislated, and where was the Senator from Arizona? At his country club, not helping his young people. Voting "no."

(Applause.)

So, I say, then, that we have witnessed irresponsibility rather than responsibility, irresponsibility in the seemingly endless stream of confusing and contradictory statements which means Democrats and Republicans alike, bewitched, bothered, bewildered and befuddled.

Irresponsibility is surely the use of empty slogans and meaningless generalities and impetuous schemes to resolve the awesome

problems and crises of our age. But responsibility, this is the factor which most distinguishes the man that I am privileged to work with, the man that I am privileged to speak for tonight, President Johnson, this distinguishes him from his opponent, and a commitment to opportunity for every American is the factor which sets the Democratic Party apart most distinctly from the Goldwaterites.

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, Roosevelt's New Deal, President Truman's Fair Deal, John Kennedy's New Frontier, and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society are similar in one fundamental respect. Each Democratic Administration sought to expand opportunities available to each American for a full productive, healthy and stimulating life. Each of these great Presidents talked to us about the joy of living in freedom, and they gave to us more than words, programs, policies and leadership. The leader of the Goldwater faction places great stress upon his concept of freedom but our opponent always fails to mention that the exercise of freedom by anyone is related to the existence of responsibility and opportunity.

Freedom rightly understood must mean opportunities for the unlucky as well as the fortunate, opportunity for the poor as well as the wealthy, and opportunity for the average man as well as the genius.

We in the Party, and I think most Americans, believe that government does have a responsibility to serve the people. Government ought to care about the people. Government of the people, by the people and for the people ought to be a government with a heart that cares and cares and cares about the people of this land. We believe the Government has an obligation to help the people help themselves or to use the words of our Constitution, to promote the general welfare, and we do not nor shall we now or in the future apologize for enacting those programs which provide our children with a better education or retrain the worker that may be cast off by automation or assist a local community to stimulate its economy or permit the training of more doctors or nurses. We think this is good, not bad. We think this is progress, not retreat. We still subscribe to the philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt which he set forth so clearly in accepting the Presidential nomination for the second time and as we go to our homes tonight may we ponder what he said, the great President of the depression period, Franklin Roosevelt, some of you remember his advice, how it lifted us, reassured us and what it meant to young and old alike.

Roosevelt said, "Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes. But the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

(Applause.)

What is then the choice? It is the choice, if you please, of a government that may make an occasional fault or err occasionally, but it does it not as a mistake of the heart. It does it because it has a warm heart that may occasionally err.

And Goldwaterism, how should we define it? I would say frozen in the ice of its own indifference. Division, doubt, confusion, this is no program for America, for the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Senator Humphrey
Coliseum
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
September 23, 1964

Page 12

America deserves better than such faltering, retreating leadership. Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party are not indifferent to America. We believe this country is moving again, and we believe that with your continued assistance and support America will continue moving forward in the sixties.

We are not merely concerned about today. We are dedicated to the future, because an administration worthy of our respect must not only be capable of meeting the immediate problem but it must be able to have the vision to look to the tomorrows. It must, in fact be willing, to say yes to tomorrow. It must be willing to mobilize the resources of America, to make sure that the tomorrows are brighter days in our future history than the yesterdays. We believe in an America that is vital with a forward thrust, and we see our America as an exciting drama of human experience creating a fabulous system of justice and opportunity. We don't see our America as weak, as confused, and as immoral and as bad and as indifferent.

We see America as America the beautiful, America the land of hope, America the land that is dedicated to the finest cause in the world, the cause of a just and enduring peace so that mankind may live his life nobly and that this creation that is ours, given to us by a beneficent divine providence, that this great earth may be the better, and that those who inhabit it may be worthy of being the children of God.

I thank you.

(Applause.)



news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24

B-3773

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 23
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

It is thrilling to be back in this Hoosier country which stands -- in the words of one non-Hoosier historian -- "more than any other environment for the neighborliness of democracy."

This crossroads of America was practicing a Good Neighbor policy in the original sense long before Franklin D. Roosevelt enunciated the doctrine. Here in your city lies buried one of the most beloved Good Neighbors in American folklore, Johnny Appleseed, who wanted all America to be productive and heavy-laden with a rich harvest.

How unlike the leaders of the Goldwater faction who rely on the seeds of discontent. But those who have sown the wind will reap the whirlwind. And in November they will be flattened by a hurricane of Democratic votes.

Studying a map the other day, I noticed a town not far from Fort Wayne called by the unlikely but delightful name of Prairie Switch. To those traditional Republicans of Indiana, I urge you to be guided by another Indianan Walter G. Gresham* who, after serving with distinction in two Cabinet posts under a Republican President, and himself a candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency, did a Prairie Switch and turned to Grover Cleveland and became his Secretary of State. How many more charges, retractions, explanations,

(more)

* Gresham-Postmaster General, later Secretary of the Treasury under Arthur.

Humphrey -- (retractions, explanations)

Page 2

B-3773

Fort Wayne, Indiana

clarifications and obfuscations will it take for all Indiana Republicans who yearn for clarity and sanity in government to do a Prairie Switch?

In the past four years, the Democratic Party has sought to restore responsibility and opportunity as the operating principles of the Federal government.

In his historic Inaugural Address, our martyred and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed, "...I do not shrink from responsibility -- I welcome it..."

And Lyndon B. Johnson, in that hour of grief and horror after the death of President Kennedy, said to the nation: "This is our challenge -- not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us."

Responsibility has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and responsibility is the quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the leader of the Goldwater faction.

Responsibility in the conduct of government is demonstrated in many ways.

--Responsibility is taking an economy which has suffered three recessions in eight Republican years and transforming it into an economy which produces 43 consecutive months of record-breaking growth.

--Responsibility is reducing the unemployment rate from almost 7 percent in January 1961 to less than 5 percent in July 1964, and reducing it in Indiana from 6.7 percent to 4.2 percent.

--Responsibility is guaranteeing to workers a just and equitable minimum wage. And the Democratic administration and Congress has enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25 and broadened coverage, too.

--Responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations additional funds to spend or to invest for the future.

--Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not participate fully in the prosperity of this land. And President Johnson has declared war on poverty.

(more)

Humphrey -- (on poverty)

Page 3.

B-3773

Fort Wayne, Indiana

--Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, the basic rights of citizenship. And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been passed.

--Responsibility is attempting to provide the American farmer with a more equitable share in our national prosperity. Farm income has increased by over \$1 billion each year; surpluses have declined; exports have risen. But responsibility is also recognizing that much more remains to be done--and the Johnson administration intends to do it.

--Responsibility is insuring that America will be first in military strength and first in the pursuit of peace. And today we possess more powerful military forces than any nation in history, and the nuclear test ban treaty proves that no nation will surpass our determination for a peaceful, safe world for our children.

In area after area--in program after program--the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party have demonstrated what responsibility in government really means: namely, serving the people of America so that every citizen may enjoy equality of opportunity--so that every citizen may participate fully in the pursuit of happiness.

And what of the words and deeds of the leader of the Goldwater-ites? What of his sense of responsibility? What has been his answer to the awesome problems which test our people and our system of government?

On the \$11.5 billion tax cut, Senator Goldwater said "No."

On the vocational education act, the national defense education act, the medical education act, and the college aid act, Senator Goldwater said "No."

On the test ban treaty, Senator Goldwater said "No."

On the trade expansion act, Senator Goldwater said "No."

On the civil rights bill, Senator Goldwater said "No."

On hospital insurance under social security, Senator Goldwater said "No."

In short, the leader of the Goldwater faction said "No" to almost every constructive piece of legislation to come before the Congress in the past four years. This record of retreat, reaction and regression

(more)

stands as the very repudiation of responsibility. Our opposition has shown that it did not understand the meaning of responsibility in the past, and has promised only more irresponsibility in the future.

Irresponsibility is the deliberate and calculated advocacy of extremism--however it may be defined or explained or redefined or reexplained. Irresponsibility is a seemingly endless stream of confusing and contradictory public statements which leave Republicans and Democrats equally befuddled. Irresponsibility is surely the use of empty slogans, meaningless generalities, and impetuous schemes to resolve the awesome problems and crises of our age.

Responsibility is the factor which most distinguishes President Johnson from his opponent, and a commitment to opportunity for every American is the factor which sets the Democratic Party apart most distinctly from the Goldwaterites.

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal , Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal, John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, and Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society were similar in one fundamental respect: each Democratic administration sought to expand the opportunities available to each American for a full, productive, healthy, and stimulating life. The leader of the Goldwater faction places great stress upon the concept of freedom. But our opponent always fails to mention that the exercise of freedom is related directly to the existence of opportunities.

--When women and children labored 18 hours a day for a dollar and a half, how much freedom did they enjoy?

--When most Americans knew that a high school education lay beyond their reach, how much freedom did they enjoy?

--When Americans stood in bread lines for food and lived in hobo jungles, how much freedom did they enjoy?

--When employees and employers settled labor disputes with clubs and bombs, how much freedom did they enjoy?

--When our people were constantly exposed to the ravages of sickness and disease, how much freedom did they enjoy?

Freedom, rightly understood, must mean opportunity for the unlucky -- as well as the fortunate; opportunity for the poor--as well as the wealthy--opportunity for the average man--as well as the genius.

(more)

Humphrey (the genius)

Page 5

B-3773

Fort Wayne, Indiana

The philosophy of freedom espoused by the leader of the Golderwaterites is the basis for a whole new set of freedoms: the freedom to remain ignorant, the freedom to be sick, the freedom to remain unemployed, the freedom to be hungry.

Some philosophy! Some freedom!

Let us understand one thing: this is not the philosophy of the Democratic Party. This is not what the Democratic Party means by freedom.

We believe the government has the responsibility to serve the people. We believe that government has an obligation to help the people help themselves, or--to use the words of our Constitution--to provide for the general welfare. We do not apologize for enacting those programs which provide our children with a better education, or retrain a worker cast off by automation, or assist a local community to stimulate its economy, or permit the training of more doctors and nurses.

We still subscribe to the philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt which he set forth with such clarity in accepting the presidential nomination for the second time:

"Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party are not indifferent to America. We believe this country is moving again. And we believe that with your continued assistance and support, America will continue moving forward in the 1960's.

I have come to Fort Wayne to ask your help.

|||||

Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette
Jim Fleming

Sp: Fort Wayne, Ind.
Sept 33/1964
A.M. Release

Fort Wayne

Roger Branigan

Byron Hayes
Max Hobbs 4th

It is thrilling to be back in this

Hoosier country which stands--in the words of

one non-Hoosier historian--"more than any other

environment for the neighborliness of democracy."

It was

This ["]crossroads of America was practicing

a Good Neighbor policy in the original sense long

before Franklin D. Roosevelt enunciated the doctrine.

Here in your city lies buried one of the most beloved

Good Neighbors in American folklore, ["]Johnny Appleseed,

who wanted all America to be productive and heavy-

laden with a rich harvest.

How unlike the leaders of the Goldwater

faction who rely on the seeds of discontent.

Bring greetings from LBS

But those who have sown seeds of
discontent ^{will} reap the harvest of
~~But~~ those who have sown the wind will reap the *defeat*

whirlwind. And in November they will be flattened

by a ~~surge~~ *avalanche* of Democratic votes.

L Studying a map the other day, I noticed

a town not far from Fort Wayne called by the unlikely

but delightful name of Prairie Switch. To those

traditional Republicans of Indiana, I urge you to

be guided by another Indianan, Walter Q. Gresham* — *Post master*
Sent under President Arthur.

who, after serving with distinction in two Cabinet

posts under a Republican President, and himself a

candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency,

did a Prairie Switch and turned to Grover Cleveland

and became his Secretary of State. < How many more

* Gresham-postmaster general, later Secretary of the Treasury under Arthur.

Republicans
only

charges, retractions, explanations ^{and} clarifications

and obfuscations will it take for all Indiana

Republicans who yearn for clarity and sanity in

government to do a "Prairie Switch?" — *Threestone you*

can switch and fight!

In the past four years, the Democratic Party

has sought to restore responsibility and opportunity

as the operating principles of the federal government.

27K.
 In his historic Inaugural Address, our martyred

and beloved President Kennedy proclaimed, "...I do

not shrink from responsibility--I welcome it..."

And Lyndon B. Johnson, in that hour of grief

and horror after the death of President Kennedy, said

to the nation: "This is our challenge--not to

hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger

over this evil moment, but to continue on our course

so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has

LBS

set for us."

Responsibility has been the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and responsibility is the quality which most distinguishes President Johnson from the leader of the Goldwater faction.

L Responsibility in the conduct of government is demonstrated in many ways.

--Responsibility is taking an economy which has suffered three recessions in eight Republican years and transforming it into an economy which produces 43 consecutive months of record-breaking growth.

--Responsibility is reducing the unemployment rate from almost 7 percent in January 1961 to less than 5 percent in July 1964, and reducing it in Indiana from 6.7 percent to 4.2 percent.

--Responsibility is guaranteeing to workers a just and equitable minimum wage. And the Democratic administration and Congress has enacted a minimum wage of \$1.25 and broadened coverage, too.

--Responsibility is enacting a tax reduction to provide individuals and corporations additional funds to spend or to invest for the future.

275
million
for
Savings

--Responsibility is recognizing that 35 million Americans still do not participate fully in the prosperity of this land. And President Johnson has declared war on poverty.

Anti Poverty

--Responsibility is guaranteeing to every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, the basic rights of citizenship. And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been passed.

*farm income per farm
last yr was \$11,600 as
compared to \$9,400 1960*

--Responsibility is attempting to provide

the American farmer with a more equitable share in

our national prosperity. Farm income has increased

by over \$1 billion each year; surpluses have

declined; exports have risen. *13% out of every acre of farm sold in exports*

is also recognizing that much more remains to be
done--and the Johnson administration intends to do it.

--Responsibility is insuring that America will

be first in military strength and first in the pursuit

of peace. And today we possess more powerful military

forces than any nation in history, and the nuclear

test ban treaty proves that no nation will surpass

our determination for a peaceful, safe world for

our children.

*Responsibility Educ -
voc educ funds up from \$2.6m to
\$5 million*

Responsibility is providing a program
of Social Security for our elderly, our
disabled, our unemployed.

↳ In area after area--in program after program--

the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the Democratic

Party have demonstrated what responsibility in govern-

ment really means: namely, serving the people of

America so that every citizen may enjoy equality

of opportunity--so that every citizen may participate

fully in the pursuit of happiness.

↳ And what of the words and deeds of the

leader of the Goldwaterites? What of his sense of

responsibility? What has been his answer to the

awesome ~~xxx~~ problems which test our people and

our system of government?

↳ On the \$11.5 billion tax cut, Senator

Goldwater said "No."

L On the vocational education act, the
national defense education act, the medical
education act, and the college aid act, Senator
Goldwater said "No."

L On the ^{nuclear} test ban treaty, Senator Goldwater
said "No." —

L On the trade expansion act, Senator Goldwater
said "No."

L On the civil rights bill, Senator Goldwater
said "No."

L On hospital insurance under social security,
Senator Goldwater said "No."

L In short, the leader of the Goldwater
faction said "No" to almost every constructive

On RFA - Goldwater no - 35 times -
On Poverty bill - no.

piece of legislation to come before the Congress
in the past four years. This record of retreat,
reaction and regression stands as the very
repudiation of responsibility. Our opposition
has shown that it did not understand the meaning
of responsibility in the past, and has promised
only more irresponsibility in the future.

Possible
eg.
insert
here

Irresponsibility is the deliberate and
calculated advocacy of extremism--however it may
be defined or explained or redefined or reexplained.

Irresponsibility is a seemingly endless stream of
confusing and contradictory public statements which
leave Republicans and Democrats equally befuddled.

Irresponsibility is surely the use of empty slogans,

meaningless generalities, and impetuous schemes
to resolve the awesome problems and crises of our
age.

But
↳ Responsibility is the factor which most

distinguishes President Johnson from his opponent

↳ A and a commitment to opportunity for every American
is the factor which sets the Democratic Party apart
most distinctly from the Goldwaterites.

↳ Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, Franklin D.
Roosevelt's New Deal, Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal,

John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, and Lyndon B. Johnson's
are
Great Society ~~was~~ similar in one fundamental respect:

each Democratic administration sought to expand the
opportunities available to each American for a full,
productive, healthy, and stimulating life.

The Joy of Living!

L The leader of the Goldwater faction places

great stress upon the concept of freedom.

But our opponent always fails to mention that
the exercise of freedom is related directly to
the existence of opportunities.

--When women and children labored 18
hours a day for a dollar and a half, how much
freedom did they enjoy?

--When most Americans knew that a high school
education lay beyond their reach, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When Americans stood in bread lines for
food and lived in hobo jungles, how much freedom
did they enjoy?

--When employees and employers settled
labor disputes with clubs and bombs, how much
freedom did they enjoy?

--When our people were constantly exposed
to the ravages
of sickness and disease, how much freedom did
they enjoy?

Freedom, rightly understood, must mean

opportunity for the unlucky--as well as the fortunate;

opportunity for the poor--as well as the wealthy; opportunity for the average

man--as well as the genius.

The philosophy of freedom, and opportunity advocated

by the leader of the Goldwaterites is the basis for a whole

new set of freedoms: the freedom to remain ignorant,

the freedom to be sick, the freedom to remain unemployed,

the freedom to be hungry.

Some philosophy! Some freedom!

Let us understand one thing: this is not the philosophy of the Democratic Party. This is not what the Democratic Party means by freedom.

We believe the government has the responsibility to serve the people. We believe that government has an obligation to help the people help themselves, or--to use the words of our Constitution-- to ~~promote~~ the general welfare. We do not

apologize for enacting those programs which provide

our children with a better education, or retrain a

worker cast off by automation, or assist a local

community to stimulate its economy or permit the

We still need programs like that offered by the University Extension Service brought to the present excellent state by former president of the University of Indiana, Herman Wells

Yes Gamblerism - Indifference,
Division, doubt, Confusion,

This is no Program for
America - we deserve
a want it better

training of more doctors and nurses.

↳ We still subscribe to the philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt which he set forth with such clarity in accepting the presidential nomination for the second time:

↳ "Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

↳ Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party are not indifferent to America. We believe this

make this
JFK - this election a tribute to
him

- 15 -

country is moving again. And we believe that

with your continued assistance and support,

America will continue moving forward in the 1960s.

I have come to Fort Wayne to ask your help.

Future We are dedicated to the
future - We believe
in America - We
see our America as
an exciting drama
of People and Progress
of Hope and Peace.

Sp: Fort Wayne, Ind.

Sept. 23, 1964

NOTE ON FORT WAYNE SPEECH

Herb Waters suggests that you may want to insert some additional material on agriculture. A draft of some remarks is attached and can be inserted on page 9, at the end of the first paragraph.

Fort Wayne
Stewart

HUMPHREY DRAFT
9/18/64

We've heard a lot of talk lately about farm programs. And this is good, because there is no program that cannot stand discussion and improvement.

But there is rational discussion and then there is the kind of reckless discussion we've been hearing from the Republican candidate, who seems to believe the way to solve our farming problems is to terminate farm programs.

I don't buy this. It's bad farm policy, it's bad human policy; it's bad economics.

Farming is our biggest single industry. Every year farmers buy more steel than General Motors, more rubber than Ford, and huge quantities of the other industrial abundance of America.

This is elementary economics -- when the farm sector of our economy is in trouble, then we're all in trouble. And abolishing farm programs-- and many farmers along with them, won't help our economy or the people involved.

Let's look at some of the so-called "solutions" the Republican candidate has offered us:

Now it's a little hard to find out just what Barry Goldwater really does believe about a farm program--because there are so many Barry Goldwaters around.

At one time Mr. Goldwater said--and I quote--"I favor prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies."

But then a new Barry Goldwater thought for a while and this one said, "Yes, I believe that. Might take three years, might take five..."

And still a third Barry said, "I would get rid of the Agriculture Act..."

Number four pops up and says, "I favor placing agriculture back under the law of supply and demand..."

Maybe we should have listened to Barry number 5, who said in South Carolina in 1960: "I'm not a farmer and I don't know anything about farming."

Well, I'll take number one, the original Barry Goldwater at his word. What would happen if we abolished our farm programs as the Republican candidate has suggested?

Studies by Iowa State University, Cornell, and the Joint Economic Committee of Congress generally agree that net farm income would go down sharply and stay down.

* Net farm income would fall from its present level of \$12.5 billion a year down to between \$6 and \$7½ billion a year. DOWN 50 percent.

* Yet farm production expenses--machinery, tractors, fertilizer, gas--would continue to go up, meaning a further squeeze on the farmer.

What we're talking about is--

* 70 or 80 cent corn by 1968

* \$1.85 to \$2.00 soybeans

* 12 cent hogs

* 17 cent cattle, if Mr. Goldwater shoots from the hip and kills our farm programs.

Here in Indiana --- if farm programs were ended --- we'd loose \$310 million in 1965 --- and believe me, that's a lot of gold dust for the state economy to drop.

I think we all know what this kind of radical change would do to the farmer.

The smaller farmers, of course, would be the first to go --- then many of the medium sized farmers, all flooding an already overcrowded labor market in the cities; many of these disposessed farmers too old to compete in our labor market.

This isn't good for our farmers; this isn't good for our cities either. Agriculture is our biggest business. And when the farm economy is hurting, we're all hurting.

Last year farmers spent \$29 $\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars to buy the things they needed to produce their crops and livestock. They spent another \$13 billion for the things that all of us use--food, clothing, and other products and services.

Last year American farmers used 5 million tons of steel.

If they quit buying, we all know what it will do to the mills at Gary.

I think we all know what a \$310 million drop in farm income in Indiana will do to the cash registers just here in Fort Wayne. When the farmer doesn't have money, he does like most other people do--he delays his purchases, he cuts down his standard of living, he quits buying the things that perhaps he needs--but doesn't have the resources to buy.

We don't believe in busting the American farmers--and we don't believe that people who live in the cities want this either.

We believe instead in building an economy which benefits rural and urban people alike.

Real progress has been made in building rural America in the last three years.

Net farm income is up \$900 million a year from the yearly average of the last four years of the Republican Administration.

Farm spending power, or gross income, is up \$4 billion a year higher than the average of the last Republican Administration.

Back in 1959, the average family farm showed a profit of around \$2,753. Last year he showed a profit of \$3,500.

That's the record, and the facts are available even to the Republican candidate. We think that the American people like to know the facts and will vote accordingly.

But not Barry Goldwater.



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org