Speech of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at Louisville Airport September 26, 1964

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Thank you, very much. (Applause) (Cries of "Give it to 'em") Senator Humphrey; Thank you, I will try.

Governor Breathitt, and our new Congressman-to-be from this great Third Congressional District of the State of Kentucky, Charles Farnsley, and may I pause for just a moment to express my thanks and appreciation to the good folks from Indiana who are visiting here, that fine delegation led by Mayor Bissing of Jeffersonville, Indiana, we are just delighted that you could be with us today and I know, Governor, that two of your outstanding musical organizations, these two fine bands from Pleasure Ridge Park, Kentucky, and from Southern High School are here and I want to say, will you tell both of them and thank them very, very much. (Applause)

One of the joys of a campaign is the participation of our young people and I know today the large number of teenage Dems of the young citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, of just young people from our many schools, high schools and colleges that are here (Applause), may I just say a word to our young friends.

We need you very much in this campaign. We need your energy, we need your vitality, we need your enthusiasm and your intelligence, and I make a personal request of you that between now and November 3rd that you make it your business to see that every voter that you can contact is registered to vote, and that you ask your parents, ask your neighbors, ask your brothers and sisters of voting age to give President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, to give the Democratic ticket a helping hand every hour of the day, every day of the week until November 3rd. (Applause)

You know, Governor, when you see that amount of pep and enthusiasm, I must say that any political party and any candidate that has that much power behind it, simply can't lose and I see President Johnson being elected. (Applause and Cries of "Teen Dems for Humphrey")

Well, I got the message.

I want to thank our friends that are here today from the

rural areas of this great State, I want to thank those that are here from your cities, those of the labor movement that are present with us, our senior citizens, and the many people who make up these fine audiences that greet us as we launch our campaign into this great State of Kentucky.

Governor Breathitt, the State of Kentucky was the home of many great people throughout the history of this nation, and this great State on so many occasions has helped the Democratic Party and helped our candidates. The man that I always admired so much, and to me is in a sense a political idol, and is Mr. Veep, the real Mr. Veep, was the late and beloved Alben Barkley of the State of Kentucky. (Applause) This dear man gave me guidance and counsel and comfort when I needed it. He always extended the helping hand of a friend. He symbolized to me what I call our airplane and what some people call me, the Happy Warrior, because I never knew a man that was more happy in his work that gave more of himself, and that did more for his country and that always could see the better side of life than the late and beloved Senator from this State, Vice President from this State, one of the truly great men of American politics, the gentleman that I have referred to, Alben Barkley. (Applause)

Well, we have much to talk about. You know I was in Michigan yesterday, the day before we were in New York, and did we have a time in New York, I tell you it was really great. (Applause) Such crowds, such enthusiasm, and we feel that real genuine political progress was made on that occasion -and yesterday in Michigan, starting at Grand Rapids and ending last night at Flint, talking to young and old, to Democrats, Republicans and Independents, we had a marvelous and a cordial reception. Every once in a while when we go into an audience I find somebody there with a Goldwater banner or a Goldwater button and I found out the only reason they came was to confess their sins. (Applause) And that is why I ask my fellow Democrats and those who are supporting President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, be very considerate of these people, welcome them, extend the hand of fellowship, and ask them to come into our midst and be one of this happy household. Many of these people come to you weary and heavy-laden. (Applause) They want to enter the happy home of democracy, and let them come in, open the portals wide, open your hearts and let them open their minds and they will join us. (Applause.)

Just a few words. We had not planned on stopping here too long because we have a very heavy schedule but I am so grateful for this wonderful reception. You know when I was in our neighboring State, I will see if I can find that card, oh, yes, I was up there in Michigan, I found as I left New York City yesterday morning, my, how we do get around these days, I found a little newspaper clipping. It was in the New York Times, an associated press dispatch out of Grand Rapids, Michigan. It isn't very big, it is a one-column, about one and a half inches long but it tells a great story and in a sense it summarizes the whole campaign insofar as discussing the opposition is concerned. Here is what it said:

"State officials have outlawed the sale of Gold Water," (Applause) -- you must'nt interrupt me, I just got to the comma (Laughter) "Have outlawed the sale of Gold Water, a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution on the ground that the pop is "grossly misbranded", and now listen to this, "because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and preservative."

Goldwaterism, Goldwater artifically misbranded, the ingredients, artificial coloring and a preservative.

Ah, yes, preservative for the things of the past, not a bit of bubble, not a bit of effervescence, nothing to give you the spark of the future. (Applause) So, I think we have had the most consise and, may I say, the most revealing description of the opposition's program that I have heard thus far.

Why I was in a community the other day where they manufactured Metracal and it just dawned on me that was the stuff they were drinking out at the Republican Convention and that is why their platform and their program is so thin. (Applause)

But our program is not thin. Our program has substance, our program (Applause) -- our program is filled up with the meaning of America, and that program has been of great help to this beautiful State of Kentucky and to all of the nation. The programs that have been constructed over the many years of Democratic leadership are in jeopardy today unless we take care of them, and unless we maintain in the White House the kind of leadership that will not only guard the accomplishments of yesterdays, but will build on those accomplishments to a better tomorrow, and this Party is dedicated to a better tomorrow. (Applause)

I can't imagine the people of Kentucky, a fine people, a good people, as much a part of the great history of America as the Declaration of Independence, the great New Frontier of early America<sup>°</sup> and still a new frontier of progress, I can't imagine the people of this State wanting to back a pretender to the Presidency that advocates making social security voluntary, that advocates selling the TVA (Applause) and advocates doing away with our farm programs which mean so much to every tobacco producer, to every farm producer in the State of Kentucky, I just can't imagine this State voting for that kind of a candidate. (Applause)

And I cannot imagine, my dear friends, backing a candidate that traveled all the way across the country, all the way across America to cast his vote against the economic opportunity act, to cast his vote against the War on Poverty, that kind of a candidate has no place in the State of Kentucky. (Applause)

The issue in this campaign is very simple and very meaningful. The issue is which of these two men, and of these two Parties, can you trust. Which one offers you the promise of a better tomorrow. I know that those of the opposition tell us of the mistakes of yesterdays. They are experts in the catalog of our mistakes but they have no vision, no prophesy, they seem not to know that even a tomorrow is in the offing. They don't even want to think about the kind of America that we want to build. They prefer to tell us of the errors of judgment that some may have made. They prefer to tell us of the mistakes that somone may have committed, rather than the promise of a better day. I am a Democrat, and as Sam Rayburn said, "I am one without prefix or suffix and without apology."

My Party and your Party, the Democratic Party, has always pointed to a better day. The New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman, the New Frontier of John Kennedy and the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

So, we ask ourselves as we approach that day of election, we ask ourselves what kind of America do you want. What kind of a people shall we be, and I say that we will be a people that has concern at home for our needy, a people that are dedicated to opportunity for every American, and a people that will do the noble job of pursuing the cause of a just peace, and we need to elect a President that we can rely on, someone who is competent, experienced, someone who is resolute and firm and calm, and someone who understands the nature of our governmental structure, and above all we need to elect a President that every mother and father, every son and daughter can unqualifiedly place his trust in and that man is none other than the man that I am privileged to work with, and to support, and to speak for on this platform, and you know who he is, and you are going to give him your vote, and the man is Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

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Discussion Panel of Semator Humphrey and Governor Breathitt, Mrs. Doran and Tom Harris Louisville Airport September 26, 1964

Governor Breathitt. We are very fortunate that while Senator Humphrey is in Kentucky, in support of the candidacy of Lyndon Johnson for President, he has taken the time to meet with these distinguished Kentuckians to discuss issues that are vital to Kentucky and to the nation.

Today with Senator Humphrey is a very attractive lady, Mrs. Adron Doran, the wife of the President of Morehead State College and who has served for two years as President of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. Mr. Tom Harris from Carter, Kentucky, a tobacco farmer, warehouse man and President of the Jersey Cattle Association. Mr. Harris.

Mr. Harris. Senator Humphrey, when we think of Kentucky we think of tobacco and our tobacco program. The tobacco raisers in Kentucky are worried, real worried, right at this point because we think we have got the greatest farm program that has ever been introduced and used. I am worried, they are worried. We hear that Senator Goldwater might even scuttle this program and certainly would not lend his support to a tobacco program. I say we are worried, and we would like to hear what you think about this.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Mr. Harris, if my memory serves me correct, Kentucky is one of the two major burley tobacco producing states in the union. This is a great part of your economy and, of course, it means a great deal to everybody, not just to the tobacco producer but it means something to your industry, to your cities. I mention that because so often when we talk about farm programs, people are thinking all we are talking about is that farm producer. Now, that is important, and he is important, but the economic well-being of your farmer is the, really determiner is the really determiner and of merchants on Main Street and of manufacturers and of workers as well as of farmers.

The Democratic Party and the Democratic Platform has given a commitment to the continuation of those programs in agriculture that are effective, and one of those programs is The Tobacco Program, a program of acrage allotments and production controls, and of marketing practices. This program has worked for many, many, years. It has been a successful program since the very beginning of the agricultural programs of the New Deal. It has cost the taxpayer little or nothing, because the tobacco producer has actually managed his own production so well that insofar as the taxpayers are concerned there has been no, no real burden on the taxpayer.

Now, our Party is committed to continuation of this program, and we will do just that, and Mr. Goldwater is committed, first he was committed, to doing away with the program at once. Then he modified that slightly and said that they would have to phase it out.

Well, I might say to you, Mr. Harris, that this really means if it takes place, if Mr. Goldwater should be elected, this means ten cent tobacco for you people in Kentucky. We, up in our way know a little bit about farm programs and we had ten cent corn. We don't want any of that either.

So, I will just draw it up to a conclusion, we are pledged to a continuation of the program that now works so well, including, may I add, the developments of exports under Public Law 480 for your tobacco producers. This is very, very important because this means that you will be able to maintain your acrage allotments and not have to cut back. And the opposition, Mr. Goldwater, is committed by program and by statement to the withdrawal of the tobacco program and cutting it off.

Mrs. Doran.

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Mrs. Doran. Senator Humphrey, my husband is President of Morehead State College --

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Mrs. Doran. -- a college in Eastern Kentucky in which we are part of the Appalachia, so naturally we are materially interested in that area. I know, too, how interested you are in the youth of that area, and the opportunities that may be provided for them through legislation that I know you have spearheaded.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Mrs. Doran. I would like to ask you what are your plans, your and President Johnson's plans, to further our -- or further implement this anti-poverty Appalachia, social security programs which you have started and which I know you are deeply committed to? Senator Humphrey. Well, Mrs. Doran, I am delighted to see you again. I was so pleased to have the opportunity of saying hello to your illustrious husband once again.

You know, in Minnesota we have a Moorehead State College, too.

Mrs. Doran. I know you do.

Senator Humphrey. And the President of that college is one of my closest friends, Johnny Neumaier, we have worked together for years in that area in education. I am sort of a refugee from a classroom myself having been a teacher and professor of political science, having done some teaching at the University of Minnesota and down at Louisiana State. So, I am deeply interested in education and deeply interested in opportunities for our young people.

The keynote of our effort, not only now but the effort that the Democratic Party has been making for years, but the keynote of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, now President Johnson, is the expansion of the frontiers of opportunity, and very frankly, Mrs. Doran, there isn't any opportunity for young people unless they have an education. That means good education at the elementary and secondary level and it surely means higher education, and these State colleges, both public and private, must have an opportunity to grow.

I said to a group here the other day, we are going to have to build classroom facilities in the next 30 to 40 years equal to all the classrooms that we have built in the last 300 years and that is going to take some cooperation between the Federal Government, the State Government, the local Government and private groups. So, we are committed to a program of aid to higher education; number one, Mr. Goldwater voted against that. We are, also committed to a program of vocational education and manpower training and job training and youth training under the Economic Opportunity Act, which is the Anti-Poverty Act.

We feel that this is basic, you cannot rehabilitate an area or help an individual without this kind of thing. Mr. Goldwater voted against it. He flew all the way across this continent, Mrs. Doran, to cast a "No" vote on the Economic Opportunity Act, in other words, to vote against the War on Poverty.

Now, on the Appalachia Program, it is the same thing.

As you know the Senate of the United Statee just passed the Appalachia Program, and the Appalachia Program, it is on target, you see; it is related to a certain region that comes from, even included Kentucky, way down to Alabama up into West Virginia and into the coal fields of Pennsylvania, and that program is designed for improvement of industry, investment capital for industry, job training, education, the development of water and mineral resources, rehabilitation of an area that had been literally scraped out; those old coal mines, we have iron mines in Northern Minnesota like it, the areas that have been, where the trees have been taken off, and massive cutting in the past has left the countryside barren.

Now, that program of Appalachia or the Appalachia Redevelopment Act can provide a tremendous new industry to this part of the world, to this part of America if in nothing else but tourism and recreation.

As a matter of fact, you have the opportunity of a lifetime here to develop your recreational facilities, and your industrial facilities, and your agricultural base, and we will do it through these programs, and each one of them, I say again, Mr. Goldwater says, "No", "No", "No". I find this man sort of living under the no-no tree in the shadow of his own indifference to these programs and the same is true of social security. I believe you mentioned that.

Mrs. Doran. Yes.

Senator Humphrey. I did not believe, Governor, that anybody was against social security anymore, I really did not. We fought that campaign in 1936, and since that time, as you know, Mr. Landon, who was the candidate of the Republican Party, who opposed social security then is now strong for it. But Senator Goldwater says it ought to be voluntary and, of course, that means that there will be a weakened program, a watered down program. So every single person in America that has an interest in social security ought to have an interest in this election.

I presume Mr. Goldwater means what he says and when he says that he wants social security voluntary, I think he means it. That threatens the whole program. When he says he is against Appalachia Redevelopment, I think he really means it. When he says he is against higher education assistance, I know he means it, he voted against it, and the same thing is true of the anti-poverty program. Mrs. Doran. I intended to ask you the difference of your views and the views of the opposition but I believe you have clearly covered that.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Mrs. Doran, I thought I at least owed you an explanation of the differences of our views.

Mrs. Doran. I think you did it very well, Senator.

Mr. Harris. Senator, we have just recently dedicated an REA steam plant down in Kentucky, and they named it after John Sherman Cooper.

Senator Humphrey. Oh, yes.

Mr. Harris, And Senator Goldwater has said that he would like to liquidate REA. We would just like to know how you fee about that?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I am unalterably opposed to that sort of philosophy, as you know, and I am pleased this plant was named after Senator Cooper. I think very highly of your Republican Senator. I don't want to cause my fellow Democrats any dismay or concern but I believe in giving people credit where credit is due and we are personal friends.

The REA has been a great boon to America. It's been a tremendous thing. In my home State every Minnesota REA is, well I think it is, one of the greatest programs that we have. Our whole State is electrified through rural electric cooperatives and the private utilities. We don't have much public power up our way.

But REA is a basic part of the total agricultural economy, and it is not only good for the farmers. Many people say, "Oh, that is all to help the farmers." Not on your life. REA, for every dollar that is being invested in REA there are six dollars worth of electrical appliances that are sold, and that is going up everyday because farmers are putting in mechanical equipment, electrical power equipment in their farms so we don't need less REA, Mr. Harris. We need more. You can't get by with the old Model T anymore, you have to update it.

Mr. Harris. It would help the kerosene sales.

Mrs. Doran. Senator Humphrey, let's talk a little bit about the nuclear weapons. Women with whom I have been associated in Kentucky do not believe there are any conventional nuclear weapons. We believe that any nuclear weapon could set off a chain of reaction that could destroy mankind, destroy civilization, so we just don't think there are any conventional nuclear weapons. We are interested in peace, and I think that the wives and mothers of Kentucky would like to hear you talk a little bit about the Test Ban Treaty.

Mr. Humphrey. Mrs. Doran, your comment is about the most convincing argument that I have heard and it is the most sensible statement I have heard on this whole subject of nuclear weapons. You are absolutely right, there are no "conventional" nuclear weapons because nuclear power is not conventional. Nuclear power isn't just explosive power, Mrs. Doran, it is also radioactive fallout and in the use of nuclear weapons, in any kind of military encounter, we may sometimes be compelled to do that, if our country were threatened, but we have to remember that it isn't just the impact of the weapon, that is the destructive power, the explosion, it is also the after effects. It is the radioactive debris, it is the contamination of the earth, the atmosphere, and rightly so that mothers should be concerned, rightly so, because there are after effects that can affect generations, yet unborn, and surely can affect the air that we breathe, and the soil that gives us our food and sustenance.

That is why, Mrs. Doran, this whole subject of nuclear power is so delicate, and that is why the President of the United States must be the man, he is elected by we, the people, he must be the man, that has this basic authority and responsibility for the use or the control of nuclear power, and we don't want this authority vested in some field commander, nor do we want this authority to be bandled as if somehow or another it was just another weapon because it is not, and once that you start to use nuclear weapons you can rest assured that the nuclear holocaust is on and that means death and destruction.

I think, you know, to be quite honest about it, I believe that we have the power, I know we have the power, to win a socalled nuclear war, but what would be left? What would be left of our democracy? What would be left of our people? What would be left of these beautiful cities? What would be left of Lousiville? What would be left of Minneapolis? These are all targets and, therefore, the task today of a Government and a President, of a congressman or a senator, as John Kennedy put it, is to pursue peace with honor, not appeasement. Peace isn't appeasement. We have got to think of it as really an act of courage, and this is what we have been trying to do with our foreign aid program, with our dipl macy, with our alliances, with our fabulous miligary power which is the greatest power that the world has ever known. The purpose of all of this power is so that we won't have to use it, Mrs. Doran, so that my wife and you and my daughter and her daughters, my granddaughters, won't have to worry about this. That is what we are building this power for.

And I must say that the great, one of the great steps in the path of peace was the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty that we signed just a year ago.

I went to Moscow and was one of those who witnessed the signing. I was one of the early advocates of such a program and, as you know, President Eisenhower advocated it, President Kennedy, and now President Johnson, when he was Vice President. The Senate overwhelmingly supported the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The purpose of that was to prevent, prohibit further nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, under water and on the ground so as to prevent contamination of the air, so as to prevent strontium 90 in the milk that you drink and that your children drink; so as to keep the air clean, and to slow down the nuclear arms race.

A hundred nations have signed that Treaty and we did it in the knowledge, and I assure everyone of you, we did it in the knowledge, of our great superiority in the nuclear weapon field and we have it as well as the capacity to deliver it if we need to. It was an act of courage and an act of peace and I think an act of real conscience -- of the real conscience of the American people, because the American people are a peace-loving people.

Senator Goldwater did not vote for that Treaty, Mrs. Doran. He did not. He was one of a few in the Senate that did not vote for it and he has literally said that it should be abrogated that we should repeal it. I mean his vote indicated clearly that he did not believe in it and as a president, if he did not believe in it, because he said it weakens us, I imagine that he would advocate that we remove ours from its limitations.

I would be unalterably opposed to that. I think this is one of the great acts, one of the great accomplishments, of this Century, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Gov. Breathitt. Senator, Senator Goldwater when he was in Kentucky recently criticized the President in his actions on the Gulf of Tonkin. Do you have any comments on this?

Senator Humphrey. I read that, sir, I read that in your

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paper. I heard it on radio and television. I was absolutely shocked and stunned. I don't know what we can do about these kind of statements, Governor. The President did what he had to do in the Gulf of Tonkin to protect the security of American personnel and American fleet in their waters and we could not tolerate having these nests of P.T. boats that could sweep out upon our ships in their national waters.

But what Mr. Goldwater commented about was that we had given the enemy forewarning so that the enemy could shoot down our pilots. What did the President do? I was at the White House for the meeting where this was discussed, a bipartisan meeting, Republicans and Democrats alike were at that meeting, yes, the highest councils of the Government, and we, the President notified an hour, an hour and a half before our attack was made, he put it on the radio and television for one purpose only, to warn the Chinese Communists of what we were doing so that they would not launch a counterattack with their massive power, with their big airplanes.

In other words, so that we could localize it. Now for Mr. Goldwater to say that this was something done for politics, and I believe that is what he said, I think he said, yes, he said, that this was done for political purposes, this attack and this forewarning, it is wrong. A man that is a member of the Armed Services Committee, and is a reserve general in the Air Force knows that is wrong, Governor, and I just have to say, "Shame on you, Senator, for ever having indicated that to the American people." It is a misleading statement.

Governor Breathitt. Senator, I want to express the appreciation of every Kentuckian for the great services you have rendered to the State of Minnesota and to the entire nation and to our State.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you.

Governor Breathitt. Recognizing our problems. We appreciate your coming to our State, meeting with these two very distinguished Kentuckians, Mrs. Doran, and Mr. Tom Harris, for the purpose of discussing issues that we feel are vital to Kentucky and I would like every Kentuckian to read the Saturday Evening Post editorial which is a first in the history of that great publication.

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Press Conference of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Louisville Airport, Kentucky September 26, 1964

Senator Humphrey. May I have your attention, please. If we could just get a little quiet on the side, then I am sure the press conference might proceed more orderly.

Well, ladies and gentlemen of the news media, and our friends from Kentucky, I first of all once again want to thank the Governor of this State and former governor, Mr. Combs, for their gracious and warm welcome. I understand you have had a visitor or two around these parts, and possibly some of you will want to ask some questions, and so, without holding you up at all, why don't we proceed as we are accustomed to. Go right ahead, any of the press people here.

Question. Senator, I wonder if you could clarify what differences you have with Senator Goldwater about REA. That is a big issue in Kentucky?

Senator Humphrey. Well, the rural electrification program is a very important issue all over America, and of course, it is one of the great achievements of the last 30 years or 29 years of American public life. Senator Goldwater has made it manifestly clear in every statement that he believes that the REA has served its purpose, and as he has said, that the REA administration should be disolved. It should be, in other words, stopped. He has voted against REA programs in a long line of recorded votes. There were 35 recorded votes on REA since Senator Goldwater -- since Senator Goldwater served in the Senate and he voted no on every single issue that related to the improvement or the continuance of rural electrification loan authority, with two exceptions. I want to make this clear, he voted no every time on 35 rollcalls except twice. And on those two instances it was when an REA project was for Arizona.

Now, I appreciate the loyalty to his State but farmers needed electrical power in other States as well as in Arizona. So REA people should look upon the candidacy of Mr. Goldwater as a direct attack upon the rural electric cooperatives. It will be death by attrition to their program if he should be elected.

Question. Senator, what is your position on Section 14(B) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits States to pass socalled right to work legislation in light of Senator Goldwater's S.87? Senator Humphrey. Yes, sir. The Democratic platform and the Democratic administration opposes Section 14(B) of the amended Taft-Hartley Act. We oppose what we call the State right to work laws, feeling that the National Labor Relations Act should have priority jurisdiction.

Mr. Ken Worthy.

Question. Senator, Louisville was a leader in the border States that took action on civil rights voluntarily. Lately there seem to have been some second thoughts here in Louisville. I wonder if you could comment on that or whether Louisville could provide some sort of an example under the volunteer procedure under the new act.

Senator Humphrey; Louisville did and has and continues to provide a very good example of local leadership, local initiative in coming to grips with some of the basic and difficult community problems, particularly in this area of race relations. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 places its priority emphasis upon compliance with the law through voluntary action, local cooperation, local government and State government, and the enforcement of said local and State laws.

It establishes also the Community Relations Service headed by the former governor of Florida, Mr. Leroy Collins, and that Community Relations Service has as its purpose to encourage voluntary compliance, to encourage community responsibility in the development of human relations programs and better relationships between the peoples.

If these matters break down, that is if there is a failure of local and State authority, of voluntary action which the emphasis in the law, may I say, then and only then is there Federal enforcements, and I want to repeat what I have said on other occasions. I think it is the duty, in fact the moral responsibility, of everyone of us who have taken an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and those of us who seek national office, to encourage compliance with the law, to encourage voluntary community action, and to encourage respect for the law in every word and every deed, and I deeply regret that this doctrine has not been followed by the leader of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party.

Question. Senator, you are reported to have spent several hours, I believe it was, last Sunday in a State by State discussion with the President of his campaign. What, in the opinion of the President and of your opinion, are the restraints and your weaknesses here and is it such that the President might campaign in Kentucky?

Senator Humphrey. I really can't give you a firm answer on whether or not the President plans to come to Kentucky. We place great reliance, of course, upon your local leadership here in the Democratic Party, the Governor, former governor, the citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, the young people, our friends in the labor movement, the rural electric cooperatives and farm organizations. We did go over what you might call the political picture of Americ and it looked very bright, very good.

Question. Senator, specifically about Kentucky, what is the situation here as it looks in Washington?

Senator Humphrey. Well, we never take anything for granted, sir. But, we think that Kentucky will again demonstrate the good judgment for which it has long been known by voting Democratic and giving President Johnson a rather sizeable majority if we go to work and if everybody buckles down here to the task and understands how important this is to Kentucky.

Question. Do you think you might be in trouble in Western Kentucky?

Senator Humphrey. No, sir. We think that -- we are not in trouble. If there is trouble in Western Kentucky we want to help people solve that trouble. The purpose of the Democratic Party and of the Johnson Administration is to encourage the expansion of opportunity, to help people live a better life, to life the sights of American public and private accomplishment, and we believe that this message is getting through to the American people.

Question. Senator Humphrey, there was a comparison made between the ADA and the Birch Society. Would you clarify that point, the relationship --

Senator Humphrey; This is like trying to compare a civic club with a conspiracy, and I mean that quite sincerely. The ADA is an open organization. It supports the Constitution of the United States. It feels that General Eisenhower is a loyal American, and so is the Chief Justice. It is an anti-Communist, non-Communist, liberal organization. It believes in constitutional government, and it believes in human rights and constitutional rights. The Birchites have attacked every prominent American with few exceptions, as being a part of the Communist apparatus or at least giving aid and comfort to it, and I must say that any organization that can so viciously attack the patriotism of President Eisenhower, the patriotism of the Chief Justice and the loyalty of the Chief Justice is an organization that is beneath even civil contempt, it is a contemptable organization unworthy of the trust and the faith of the American people. (Applause)

Question. Senator, have you said ---

Senator Humphrey. Excuse me. It is kind of difficult to hear.

Question. Do you consider that your affiliation with the ADA will be a political liability or political asset in the campaign?

Senator Humphrey. No, I think it gives the Republicans a little something to talk about. They don't have much else to talk about. I am serving a very useful function here, I am sort of the lightning rod for these short circuits of the Republican apparatus. I don't think it hurts.

Question. Senator Humphrey, may it be believed that Senator Goldwater is opposed to most of the programs designed to aid the rural economy? If he were elected and he failed to request sufficient funds for these programs in his budget, do you think that Congress would have enough strength to overcome his philosophy on Federal spending and appropriate the fund anyway?

Senator Humphrey. Well, may I say that if Mr. Goldwater has the conscience of a conservative that he says he has, and if he believes what he says, if he believes what he has said and what he has written, and I presume that he does because I think he is a man of his word, then I would say that the farm programs that you referred to would be on the way out. I said that the election of Barry Goldwater as President is a death sentence to American agriculture, and I repeat it. He has no sympathy for this program, he has shown very little understanding of American agriculture and again, he has been very candid. He says, "I know nothing about farming." This is the most candid, expression of a candidate who says he knows nothing about one of the major sections or sectors of the American economy. Yes, he would, I am sure, reduce appropriations. He would recommend repeal of certain programs unless he has been deceiving us. He has said that he thought the program ought to go out. Now, he wants to slow it down a

little bit. But, I am an old druggist, and there are a lot of ways, you know, to poison a cat. (Applause)

Question. Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Question. Another point in issue in Kentucky is the War on Poverty. Many criticisms, particularly the Congressman from Missouri, Dean Snyder said, this War on Poverty will create an artificial economic system in Eastern Kentucky, an area that is already seriously depressed. Would you care to comment on this charge.

Senator Humphrey. Your question indicates that Mr. Goldwater feels that the economic opportunity act, the War on Poverty will create an artificial economic structure in Western Kentucky?

Question. Eastern Kentucky and destroy most of the initiative.

Senator Humphrey. Destroy most of the initiative of the people? I repeat the question because it is difficult to get it here.

Well, sir, this is the old argument that was used on practically every program that was ever advanced, and it has no substance, no merit, and no truth. What people need in America is an opportunity to make something out of their communities and out of their lives, and the purpose of the Appalachia Program, the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act, is not to guarantee to everyone a good life, but to make possible, through training, through investment, through the development of the natural and the human resources of an area, the possibility of an individual and of a business firm or of a farmer to gain a good life, a better economic life, and social life. These programs, I believe, will have great benefit, they have before. The same argument was used, for example, on the old farmers -- Farm Security Administration. It was used on a number of programs of the past.

Question. Senator.

Senator Humphrey. Yes.

Question. Senator, in your reference were you indicating that the John Birch Society does not support the Constitution of the United States? Senator Humphrey. I was indicating that it had made vicious unwarranted, unprincipled attacks upon very responsible, respected Americans.

Question. Senator, could you expand on the difference between the Goldwater Program and the Democratic Program in tobacco support in Kentucky?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, very simply. Mr. Goldwater is against it and we are for it. (Applause) And may I say that when I spoke at North Dakota at the National Plowing Contest I singled out this program as one, the tobacco program as one, that was effective and that should be continued and that was a pledge of this administration.

Mr. Goldwater says it should be phased out.

Question. Senator, you made a statement in Arkansas that the Rural Electric Program had done more for the urban economy than any other Government program. Could you elaborate on this?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, I feel that the -- the question was that I had made a statement in Arkansas that the Rural Electric Program had done more for the rural economy than any other program?

Question. And referred to the urban economy as well.

Senator Humphrey. And urban. It is helped a great deal. I make the statement because first of all it did bring new energy, new power to the rural economy, which indeed improved the standard of living of farm families and improved the productive capacity of farms and helped the farmer in this period of technological and scientific change. It was good for the farmer. It brought light and power to rural America. It is good for the city.

As a matter of fact, the appliance industry, the electrical appliance industry, in the United States today is in a large measure predicated upon the continuance and the expansion of rural electrification. For every dollar that is being invested in REA there are \$6.00 of sales of electrical appliancees to rural families. I think that is pretty good for most of these cities.

Question. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Humphrey. All right. We will get one more here.

Question. Mr. Goldwater, in Boston, said that the Administration was not enforcing the Civil Rights Bill. Would you care to comment on that?

Senator Humphrey. Yes, I commented Mr. Goldwater knows better, and again he is merely using that Act as a way of inciting differences amongst our people.

Thank you.

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FARM NOTES FOR OUISVILLE SPEECE

In view of my great and continuing interest in agriculture, I could not address a Kentucky audience without pointing out the great contribution the farmers of this state and the 49 others are making, not only to the welfare of this nation, but to hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It is only through their miracle of productivity that the American people can eat the best food in the world at the lowest relative cost.

Before I left Washington, President Johnson, one of the best friends the American farmer ever had, asked me not only to convey his greetings, but also to be sure to point out that farmers have a man in the White House who understands their problems and is pledged to do something about them. As a matter of fact, this Administration has already made great strides in improving the farmers' lot. One of the things I miss since Mr. Benson left is the daily opportunity to rib him a little bit. He had so many shortcomings. As compared with 1960, the cumulative realized net farm income in Kentucky has been increased by \$158 million. This didn't happen by accident. It took legislation plus a dedicated Administration. The realized net income per farm in Kentucky in 1963 was up to \$2,163 as compared with \$1,745 in 1960--up almost 25 per cent. While this is progress, it is not good enough. It takes time and we are dedicated to doing even better.

This Administration has been guided by a deep humanitarian spirit to which we wish all mankind would dedicate itself. Not only did we improve farm income, but also we acted responsibly and constructively for the benefit of rural

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and urban people. The very first executive order increased the quantity and quality of food being distributed to needy American families.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's food distribution programs now directly affect the diets of one out of every six people in the United States. In retail value, these people will have received approximately close to \$1 billion of Federal food assistance during the last fiscal year, and this will be exceeded in the current fiscal year.

Three out of every four children are now attending schools which participate in the National School Lunch Program.

During this school year, some 16 million children ate the nutritionally balanced Type A lunch served under this program.

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About 10 per cent of the 2.7 billion Type A lunches served this year were served to needy children free or at reduced prices.

This year an estimated 2.9 billion half-pints of milk were consumed under the Special Milk Program in schools, day-care centers, orphanages and summer camps. This is in addition to the 2.7 billion half-pints served as a part of the Type A lunches. Together, these programs account for over 5 per cent of all the fluid milk consumed off farms in this country.

Significant and substantial progress has been made in making Federally-donated foods available to supplement the diets of low-income families in this country.

In December 1960, the needy family food donation program was operating in 1,142 countries throughout the country.

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In September 1963, the program was operating in 1,499 countries.

In December 1960, 3.7 million people were benefiting from USDA-donated foods. In September 1963, these foods went to 5.2 million, and another 348,000 needy people were assisted under the Pilot Food Stamp Program.

Since mid 1961 the Department of Agriculture has been testing a food stamp program which increases the foodpurchasing power of low income families. This program, now operating in 43 areas in 22 states, has proved effective and feasible. Legislation authorizing a continuing and expanded food stamp program now is pending in the Congress. It will be passed shortly.

Food also is showing itself to be an effective instrument of American foreign policy as it builds the

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economies of the developing nations. The Food for Peace program is the greatest humanitarian effort ever carried forward by any nation...and perhaps the greatest builder of future export markets, as well.

And export markets, as you well know, are vital to the American farmer. Here we must find the future markets for American agriculture.

Exports already account for the output of one out of four acres of farm land--and they are the source of 15 per cent of the income of farmers. This is why since 1960 we have moved vigorously to expand farm exports--and have raised them from \$4.8 billion to over \$6 billion a year.

The Food for Peace program is a twentieth century form of alchemy. Food for Peace has provided the means for converting America's agricultural productivity and

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abundance into schools and text books, hospitals, bridges, and roads, the vital ingredients of economic and social growth in the developing nations of the world. This ingenuity of using food as a resource for development has been termed one of the most imaginative instruments ever created for the purpose of sharing agricultural abundance with under-nourished people and emerging nations.

We have found in our great abundance of food one of our greatest resources for peace. The food for Peace program was initiated, in the words of the late President Kennedy, "to narrow the gap between abundance here at home and near starvation abroad."

We are narrowing that critical gap. Food for Peace is reaching nearly 100 million people in the world. In 85 countries, Food for Peace is contributing to the health

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and nutrition of some 40 million children through school lunch and preschool child feeding programs. In Latin America alone, U.S. donated food is going to 1 out of 4 children of school age. We expect these school lunch programs in South America to be reaching 1 out of 3 within the next year.

The magic of school-feeding programs lies not only in the fact that food means life--and this is magic enough--but in addition, a school lunch often means the difference between a child's going to school or staying at home. And a child who is relieved from the gnawing pangs of hunger is a child who is more alert and receptive to learning.

Joining the U.S. Government--the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Agency for International Development-in food distribution programs are the American overseas relief agencies, such as Care, Church World Service,

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Catholic Relief Services, Lutheran World Relief and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee--and the governments of the countries in which the programs are being conducted. Currently, 15 such agencies are distributing U.S. donated food valued at \$379 million in 228 programs in 113 countries.

But this progress, as good as it is, only begins to meet the needs of the American people. There is much that remains to be done.

Despite the 16 per cent increase in net income per farm since 1960, the average income of people engaged in farming still is only 60 per cent of that received by individuals who are not farmers.

The cost-price squeeze, despite a record of comparative price stability under this Administration, continues

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to plague many farmers; they find the prices they get for the abundance they produce don't keep pace with the prices of the things they must buy.

Poverty remains a way of life for too many people in rural as well as in urban areas. Levels of education, and opportunities for young people growing up in rural America are still far behind the opportunities available to most cities and suburbs. Public services in rural communities still lag behind those in urban areas. Wages and fringe benefits of farm labororers, including migrants, are far below those of industrial workers in the city.

Thus, the progress we have made in recent years only sharpens the contrast between what we have accomplished and what remains to be accomplished. It sharpens my awareness that we have the capacity to insure that a child born in rural

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America can have the same opportunity in today's world as a child born in the cities and urban areas.

I recently asked the Department of Agriculture to give me a report as to the additional amounts of food that would be consumed if the income of all low income families was brought up to the annual level of \$3,000. Some of the figures which I am revealing today for the first time are rather startling. Per capita consumption of these families of all food would rise by from 10 to 15 per cent; meat consumption would rise by about 15 to 20 per cent, but the increase would be more than one fourth for beef; 10 to 15 per cent for poultry, and about 5 per cent for pork. Consumption of milk products would rise about 7 per cent, and fresh fruits and vegetables 15 to 20 per cent, plus an increase for frozen fruits and vegetables of over 40 per cent.

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Think of the dramatic improvement in the diets and health of these low income families if we could bring their food consumption up to these levels. Not only would their level of living and outlook be considerably improved, but also this increase in demand would have dramatic effects on prices and income received by farmers.

The President's War on Poverty offers us a tremendous challenge--a challenge that only now is beginning to be felt more generally throughout the country. President Johnson recently described the challenge in these words: "The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use the wealth to enrich and elevate our national life--and to advance the quality of American civilization."

I am glad to be a part of the governmental team that will make this challenge a reality.

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news release

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

FOR P.M.'S RELEASE SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1964

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## TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 26 PRESTONSBURG, KENTUCKY

Appalachia is beautiful mountain country stretching from Pennsylvania to Northern Alabama. Here we have stretches of some of the most beautiful scenery in the United States. It has been scraped bare here and there by rapacious lumbering techniques and scarred by strip mining but even with these dishonorable wounds, it is a lovely sight.

No person wants to leave this region covering nearly a dozen states. Nor should any person have to. Yet 15 million live here, and many have suffered severely from the social and economic upheaval which has descended upon Appalachia. These good people could neither foresee nor control this catastrophe. In desperation, not hope, some have been forced to leave this magnificent region. More often than not, these departures have been tragic. The real hopes of these people, their real opportunities, lie here--in Appalachia--the land of their forebears. The nation needs these people here--where they want to wemain. The nation also needs the full productive power of the people who have remained.

But if this is what the nation wants, then America must care. In its role as "neighbor," the rest of America must lend a hand. Good neighbors will not leave you to charity--good neighbors will provide opportunity for personal initiative and self-help. A good neighbor will not damn your pride and independence with faint praise. Rather he will believe in it enough to invest in it--and in you.

We know the nature of the difficulties that have crept up on Appalachia over many years. There have been three main ways to earn --MORE--

## HUMPHREY/to earn

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a living for most people in Appalachia: farming, lumbering and mining.

Improvements in production methods mean that more can be produced with fewer workers. If demand for the products is growing and if the the supply of natural resources is limitless, no unemployment, no human displacement would occur. But much of the lumber is gone and the growth in demand for coal is limited by other energy sources.

We have made progress in production but we have also created victims of that progress. They must not be left forlorn--in a world they helped make.

The region is still potentially rich in terms of physical resource and in terms of its human resources. But these riches must not lie dormant; they must be used. They must be given the dignity of productive meaningful labor.

Many people of Appalachia--steamrollered by history--have been getting relief from the government. This has the bare virtue of being better than nothing, but is far from good enough. It is demeaning to the spirit of proud people. They need jobs. They need pay checks, not relief checks. They need liberty--economic liberty. This demands a practical program, not moralistic mysticism.

It demands putting people first and keeping them foremost. You can tell what any man really thinks--what his basic values are--by where he puts the word "but" in a sentence. The leader of the Goldwater faction always says: "I believe in people, <u>but</u>..." or " I believe in compassion, <u>but</u>..." People--in the philosophy of the Goldwaterites--always seem to bring up the rear.

In the economics of Goldwaterism, people suffering from poverty get lost in relativity. Poverty, it seems, is a "relative" matter. An American family earning \$2000 per year is still better off, we hear, than many people in the world.

I suppose such a family is better off than the poor of Africa, Asia, and parts of the Middle East where the poor die by the hundreds in the streets. They are better off than emaciated laborers of China herded into communes by a communist tyranny.

But poverty is measured by the standards of a man's own community.

If most Americans are well fed, the man who can't give his family

## HUMPHREY/his family

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three good meals a day is poor.

If most Americans are well-housed, the man who can't fix the holes in his roof, or have running water in his home, is poor.

If most Americans have enough medical care to stay alive for the Biblical three score and ten years, then the man who can't affort to live to 55, is poor.

If most American children have adequate clothes, shoes, and books for school--then the children who don't have these things are poor.

Americans are people--not bloodless statistics. They must be accepted in their own community--not given status only by comparison with the most depressed peoples of the World.

As President Kennedy noted, the region of Appalachia had become, through no fault of its own or of its people, "the most severely distressed area of the nation."

So John F. Kennedy began, and Lyndon B. Johnson has continued, to promote a program to restore, revitalize and stabilize the economy of this region.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act is currently pending in the Congress. This program is vital because it will develop the aconomic base of the region: the roads and the waterways, the provision of power and light, all the utilities and services which form the basis for services and industry.

The provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act buthorize \$840 million in federal funds to finance the construction of development roads and highways in Appalachia. These roads will be built as instruments of economic development. They will be built to generate traffic where none now exists. They will be built to end isolation. They will be built to afford Appalachian families greater educational, social and economic opportunities. Of no less importance are features of the Appalachian Regional program which address attention to the development of water resources, timber resources, the reclamation of coal lands, the construction of vocational education facilities, and the construction and development of other public works.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has also sponsored the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and your Congressman, Carl Perkins, is the author of this legislation. This program will enable sizeable HUMPHREY/enable sizeable

expansion of services and facilities at your area schools--at nearby Mayo, Hazard, and Ashland--as well as the development of new facilities throughout the area.

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A five-year program increasing assistance to states for maternity and child health services and for crippled children's programs with research projects to prevent mental retardation has been enacted into law. Our housing and FEA mortgage programs have been expanded to afford greater opportunities for our communities and our families.

Special attention has been given to the training needs of the olde: unemployed workers under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment program, both of which, while operating on a limited scope, have pointed the way to further progress envisioned by the Economic Opportunity Act.

The vast watershed area is not only a tremendous potential for new industry, but it can provide a recreation industry for the 100 million persons who will soon live on the eastern seaboard. This industry alone can surpass all that agriculture and mining ever contributed to this region.

The possibilities are tremendous. But they will not "just happen." It will take the cooperation of the federal, state, and local governments--and that indispensable ingredient--the initiative of the people.

Democrats have never believed in "spending" for its own sake, but we have always believed in "investing" whatever is required to help creote opportunity, to help people survive the impact of economic collapse in a region, to help people preserve their social and economic independence.

We do not apologize for this philosophy of government. We stand with President Franklin D, Roosevelt when he 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,"

Let me make this pledge to you today: the Democratic Party will never rest until Appalachia is fully restored to the burgeoning mainstream of the American economy.

--MORE--

HUMPHREY/American economy.

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The United States of America is the richest nation on the face of the earth today. It is also the richest nation that ever existed. Our economy is booming. More than \$100 billion has been added to the Gross National Product in the last four years. Barring war or national disaster, the United States has, for the first time in its history, the energy and resources to build the kind of nation, for all of its people, envisioned by our founding fathers.

When Jesus of Nazareth began his ministry, he took as the text for his first sermon, the words from the prophet Isaiah: "I come to bring prisoners their release, give sight to the blind, and good news to the poor."

For 3000 years this has been the ethic of the Judeo-Caristian tradition. Western Civilization is built upon it.

The Democratic Party has not forgotten it.

Lyndon Johnson is dedicated to it.

And, on November 3, the American people will not be found wanting in giving it a mandate.

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Speech of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at Prestonburg, Kentucky September 26, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Well, Governor, first my respects to Reverend Jaggers, and then may I just say a word of thanks to these wonderful bands that have learned the Minnesota Rouser in this split second timing that you have had. I believe we have the best congregation of bands we have had for a long, long time, one from McDowell, Martin, Maytown and Prestonburg, I want to congratulate all of you. You play together beautifully. You sound just like one.

Now, Governor Bert Combs, once a governor, you know, always a governor, Governor, I have been listening to the wonders of Prestonburg every since I got in the car with you and the plane with you. I thought that this was the second New York City according to your description (Applause) or, if not that, at least Minneapolis, Minnesota, or San Francisco and I find it has all of those wonderful qualities.

But, the first thing I need to do with this grand audience of Eastern Kentucky, is to set the record straight with this distinguished son of yours, this outstanding former governor and your great townsman, and let him know that I know all about that poke salad, all about it. And it tastes mighty good with hog jowl too, I will tell you. (Applause) And, Bert, if you will just add a little buttermilk and cornbread with it you really have got something. And then, wash it down with a little sassafras juice, that is even better.

And then this good man of the soil would have you believe that I have never plowed new ground. Well, I want him to know that at one time two-thirds of the entire land area of the State of Minnesota was covered by timber. Now, I did not take it all off. I don't want you to think that. But, I have had my opportunity of plowing a straight furrow out in the planes of South Dakota, and at least looking at some new plowed ground in Northern Minnesota. So, I want to become a member now of the community of Prestonburg where you have poke salad and where you plow new ground.

I am singularly honored, my fellow Americans and my good friends, singularly honored to be in the presence of your Governor, Governor Ned Breathitt, and also to be in the presence of your former governor and so many of your distinguished officials and to be here on the same platform with a gentleman who serves in the Congress of the United States, with such

ability and distinction that he is looked upon as a giant in the workings of the Congress on behalf of the people of his district and of this great country of ours, and I want to extend right now my thanks and appreciation as a fellow American to Carl Perkins, the Congressman of the 7th District (Applause) Carl has a host of friends, not of Kentucky. only in Washington but throughout our country because may I just say to you, that while he is your Congressman, and you have been so kind as to send him to us in Washington, he is, also, in a sense, my Congressman, because a Congressman does not just legislate for his own district. He votes for the laws of the United States of America, and when this man fights for education, when he works for the farm people, when he seeks to build and create new industry and new jobs, he does it for Minnesota, he does it for Kentucky, he does it for West Virginia, and California, he does it for everyone of the fifty States, and I salute a man who has the great capacity to be a United States Congressman and yet so brilliantly and ably representing the 7th District of this great State of Kentucky. (Applause)

On the way here from the airport, and by the way, there was a wonderful trip in here, that trip was a little bumpy, it is sort of like the Republican Platform, you are not sure whether you are going up or down at times but it was a lot more fun, (Applause), it was a lot more fun than riding on any sort of or standing on any Republican Platform because I was sure of the polots, and that is a far cry from being sure of anybody that is running the Republican organization or anybody that is their candidate, but once I got off the plane, landed on that fine airstrip that you have, and I want Barry Goldwater to know that that airstrip was built through the cooperation of Federal, State and local Government, all working together, and once I got there I was met by your Mayor Doctor George Archer, and I found out from the Mayor almost more than I found out from your former Governor. Between the two of these, by the time I got in here, I almost wanted to transfer my residence from Minnesota into Prestonburg. (Applause)

A remarkable man, what a remarkable man, and we are so proud and so pleased that he is with us and working with us and giving such guidance to this community.

Now, there are many I could single out for special consideration. The Committee here in Floyd County, the chairman of our activities, on behalf of President Johnson and myself, the Democratic Party, but you wanted me to do something besides just express my greetings and best wishes to one and all. Your Judge, Judge Hill, and all of those who are up for office, and I want to talk to you a little bit about what we are going to do.

When I came here I saw a thriving community and what has impressed me about my travels around America is the sense of public happiness there seems to be. The only one that seems to be gloomy is the fellow that is in charge of the party of, you know, of gloom and doom, is that man from Arizone. Everybody else seems to think things are coming along fairly well. When I see people at an airport they have a smile on their face with the exception of the two or three that have come with Goldwater signs and generally leave a little later by leaving them and joining us but most everybody else seems to be feeling good. Of course, the Senator from Arizona keeps telling us that it is all a fake, it is all artificial, I suppose he has been telling that to some of the large men of industry and of finance that have done better than they have ever done before in their lives but you know what's happening. Men of industry, and men of finance, people who never before ever supported the Democratic Ticket are today joining in support and they are joining in support because they see America that is moving ahead, they see America that is on the move and is moving to great new achievements, and one thing I like about our beautiful country is that most people in this country like to get things done. Americans are an impatient people, Americans like to accomplish things, and besides that Americans are a just and a happy people. Americans want to be a united people as well. They don't want somebody that comes along and puts one group against another. They don't want to have somebody that says, "Why don't you want to help Kentucky" or "Why do you want to help West Virginia. Don't you know that somebody else has to help pay for that." We are neighbors in America, ladies and gentlemen, and the spirit of neighborliness is a part of the life and part of the tradition of every community of every State >11 through this great United States, and it is just as it was when I was a boy, so it is now, that when one family was in trouble others came to help. When one area is in difficulty others are willing to come to help, and we have never really had much faith in people who said, "If they are in trouble, let them stew in their own juice" as some have said. We have preferred to have people around us and lead us when they saw some difficulty they would mobilize the resources of the community and they would go together and work together to help one another so that we could get back on our feet, so we could do our job in making this a better community and a better America. (Applause)

You know I landed at the airport in Huntington today, and when I got off the plane there I read those folks a little

clipping, I am trying to see if I can find it here. Maybe I left it back, yes, I did, it is a clipping that I found in a paper in New York and it tells about a particular preparation that was being put on the market and was taken off the market. That preparation was known as Gold Water Pop. They found 350 cases of it up there at Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the State officials of that government, Republican officials, mind you, too, took it off and here is what they said, they said it was misbranded, number one, and they said it consisted only of artificial flavoring and preservative. (Applause)

Well, my friends, that is a rather short synopsis, isn't it, of the platform and the program of the opposition. But artificial flavoring and preservative is not enough for America, and what's more is we don't want anything that is misbranded. We want to know what we are getting and we want a man in the office of the Presidency that means what he says and knows what he means when he says it too, don't we. We don't need somebody who has to replay the record every week and figure out what he meant, when he said something last week, (Applause) and we need somebody that loves America. We need somebody that trusts America. We need somebody that finds something beautiful in every part of America, and we need somebody as President of the United States that is going to call out the best in us, not the worse. That is going to help us lift our sights and not have them down on the ground. We need somebody that is looking way down the road of the future, rather than somebody that has got his eyes on the rearview mirror and driving that way. You don't get very far that way. This is 1965. Why did I say it, because the new car models are out. Why, my friends, the automobile industry does not ask you to look at the 1922 models. They don't even want you to look at the 1964 models now. They are saying to the American people, "Look ahead, we have got a brand new car for you for 1965." You know what Goldwater says, he says, listen you ought to learn to drive that one we had in 1905. (Applause) I was kind to him. I gave him ten more years than he deserved. We need somebody in this Office of Presidency, my dear friends, that can see the good that is in this country, right here, not someone who votes against it, not someone that speaks against it. We need a man in the Office of Presidency that sees worth in every human being and wants to do something about bringing out that worth, bringing out that importance and dignity of that human being.

I say all of this because I flew over this country and as I have driven through it many times, it is so beautiful. Appalachia, you are a part of it, a part of a great region in America that is filled with the history of this country, filled with the folklore of America, and filled with the promise of the future. Here is one of the most fabulous areas of beautiful scenery in the United States and rich in resources, and rich in people.

Now, let me make the record clear. No person wants to leave this region by his own will, covering nearly a dozen States nor should any person be compelled to or have to because of economic or social pressures. 50 million people live in this area, and many have suffered very severely, haven't they, very severely, because of social and economic upheaval, an upheaval that has affected everyone of the States in the Appalachian Region. Now, these people could not foresee their catastrophe. They could not see what was going to happen to lumbering, they could not see what was going to happen to the coal industry. But here they lived in desperation and not hope, some have been forced to leave this magnificent region of America. More often than not these departures have been They have been tragic. I remember, my friends, I lived in sad. Dakota during the depression, and I can remember some people said, "Oh, what we ought to do is just pick the people up and get them out of here." We have had people saying that about Northeastern Minnesota where our iron wines are located, the iron ore that makes America's industry. Many of those mines have been worked out, much of the ore is now less than high grade, and we have had people that said, "Oh, just move the people out" but you don't move people out when they have buried their loved ones in the local cemetery, when they have had their children baptized in the local church. People want to stay there. They love it, and there is something more to life, you know, than just traveling around looking for a job. There is something about the love of the country, the love of the land, and people that love their country and love the land, and love the water and love the trees. They tend to love their families, too. So what we are talking about is not to move people, but to do something to moving America so that the people that are here can live the good life and have the jobs and have the kind of a future that they justly deserve. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, the Nation needs this area, and the Nation needs the people that are here. But if this is what the Nation wants, and I think it is, then America must care, and the difference between the Republican philosophy of government under Mr. Goldwater, and the Democratic philosophy of government under Mr. Johnson, is that under Mr. Johnson, the government does care, the government has a heart, and the government cares deeply about the people of this country, because it is a Government of the people, and by the people, and it should be a Government for the people. (Applause)

Now, good neighbors don't only want to provide charity. Good neighbors want to provide opportunity for personal initiative and self-help and a good neighbor, my neighbors and we are all neighbors today in this little world in which we live, a good neighbor will not damn your pride and independence with faint praise. Rather he will believe in it, enough to invest in it, and in you, and might I add that is exactly what the Government of the United States has been doing here. Your Government, it is a part of you, it is not your enemy, it is your partner, and your Government has been investing right here in this community, right here through all of Appalachia. As I came to this city I saw a sewage disposal plant, a cooperative effort between your government, State, Federal and local. I saw a community college, and may I commend you. Oh, what a wonderful thing it is to see a community college in an area like this, and may I commend the Governor of this State and the legislature of this State for making that community college possible, and your local people. (Applause)

As I mentioned, I saw the airport, I saw better streets, I saw big highways. This is what we mean by investing, investing, not charity, investing. And everyone of these dollars that has been put in here by Federal, State or local government or private enterprise is an investment in the finest country in the world, it is the wisest investment you could make, it is an investment in the people of the United States of America, and there is no better investment and there are no better dividends that you can get than to have invested in such people. (Applause)

Now, there are great resources in this area. I mentioned them, the resources of timber, the resources of mountain and stream and water and land, the resources of coal. These resources must not lie dormant, they must be developed, and when they need to be developed it requires the teamwork, the cooperative work of everyone that is interested in them, to be developed. The people of this country, yes, they need liberty, they need jobs, they need pay checks, not relief checks, and they need independence and liberty, economic liberty, and this demands, as I have indicated, a very realistic practical program. It demands putting people first, that is what we need to keep in mind, put people first, and keeping them constantly in mind.

You can really tell what a man thinks and what his basic values are by where he puts the word "but" in any sentence,

and the leader of the Goldwater Faction always says, "I believe in people but ..." or "I believe on compassion, but..." people in the philosophy of the Goldwaterites always seem to bring up the rear. They are never first in the economics of Goldwaterism, people suffering from poverty get lost, relatively. Poverty, it seems, is a relative matter to Mr. Goldwater and those associated with him. Why he says American family earning \$2,000 a year is still better off, isn't it, than many people in the world.

Now, that is supposed to make you feel good. Well, I suppose a family earning \$2,000 even here, let's say, in Appalachia or in Eastern Kentucky or up in Northern Minnesota that such a family is better off than the poor people of Africa or Asia or Latin America where the poor die by the hundreds in the streets and we are surely not going to use that standard, are we. Poverty is measured not by the standards of other parts of the world but poverty must be measured by the standards in our own America, in our own communities.

Now, my friends, if most Americans are well fed, the man who can't get his family three good meals a day is poor, and I don't care how you explain it, he is in trouble, and if most Americans are well-housed, the man who can't find a good home, can't afford one, can't fix the holes in the roof of his house, can't have running water in his home, that man is poor. I don't care how you describe it. And if most Americans have health and some don't and they need some help from your doctor, that man if he can't get that help is poor.

And I might add if most American children have adequate clothes and shoes and school books, then the children who don't have these things are poor, Mr. Goldwater. Everyone can't inherit a department store. (Applause) Or, even a piece of Humphrey's drug store, some people are worse off. Americans are people. They are our neighbors, they are our brothers and sisters, they are our fellow citizens. Americans are not just numbers or statistics, and they must be accepted in their own community and not given status only by comparison with the poorest people in the world. Of all the insulting things to say to a fellow American when he is down and out, so to speak, when his income is miserably low, of all the insulting things to try to comfort him by telling him, "that you have met somebody else who is worse off." That is little comfort.

As President Kennedy noted, this region of Appalachia had become, through no fault of its own or of its own people, the most severely distressed area of the Nation. So, President Kennedy began and Lyndon Johnson has continued to promote a

massive program to help restore and revitalize and stabilize the economy of this region, and that program is taking hold at this very hour, as I speak to you. (Applause) The Appalachia Regional Development Act passed the Senate yesterday, with only 13 votes in opposition. Mr. Goldwater was too busy to register whether he was for it or against it. But, this passage of this Act in the Senate, is heartening evidence that the Nation is determined to see this part of America restored to full prosperity, and this part of America that I speak of goes from the mountains of Pennsylvania to the foot hills of Northern Alabama, it is a mighty part of this Nation, and the provisions of the Appalachia Act, the Regional Development Act which just passed your Senate yesterday, authorized \$840 million in Federal funds to help finance the construction of development roads and highways right here in this area. Roads, access, highways, transportation, this is the heart and core of an economic development for an area. The more roads you have, the greater the prosperity. The more communication you have the more we know one another, and these roads will be built as a part of economic development, and they will be built to generate traffic where none exists, and they will be built to end isolation, and they will be built to afford

Appalachian families greater education, social and economic opportunities, and might I add of no less importance in this Bill that passed the Senate and must pass the House, you help us get it through the House, are the features of the Appalachian Regional Development Program which pays attention to the development of water resources, of timber resources, of the reclamation of the coal lands and the construction of vocational educational facilities and the construction and the development of public works. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has also sponsored the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the man that is on the platform today, your distinguished Congressman Carl Perkins is the author of that legislation, and what a boon it would be to you. (Applause)

Let me say that this program is going to make possible the expansion of educational opportunities to the young people in nearby Hazard or Ashland or all of the other communities that are within this area, as well as the development of new facilities throughout the county and State. There is a fiveyear program increasing assistance to States for maternity and child health services and for crippled children's projects, and research projects to prevent mental retardiation. All of this has been enacted into law. And therein, there is housing, public housing. I saw it here on your own streets.

Mayor Archer, I want to commend Prestonburg for having one of the finest appearing public housing projects that I see any place in America. It is a tribute and a compliment to your community. (Applause)

So, my friends, there is a massive program of many facets that is underway, for what purpose? For these young people, for everyone of them. Programs of housing, programs of education, programs of regional development, programs of developing new industry, programs of water conservation, cleaning the streams, damming up the creeks and the rivers, making possible lakes where before there was little or nothing, doing something about the bare lands, the stripped out coal mines. Programs of training workers. Many a worker has been displaced by a job by a change of industry. He needs retraining. He can learn. Every American can learn, and your Government has seen fit, in cooperation with your Governor, to put into action large programs of manpower training, and all of this, my friends, is a part of the program of President Johnson, a part of the program of the Kennedy-Johnson Democratic Administration. (Applause)

I asked your Mayor when I came in, I said, "Mr. Mayor, you know what has happened in your community that makes it look so well and he started ticking them off, and I want to say that I could not help but think as I listened to him what an answer this was to that man from Arizona that runs around this country trying to tell Americans that that terrible Federal Government in Washington is your mortal enemy. Well, it is not your enemy. That Government in Washington is part of the total social, political and economic structure of this country. It is your partner and it can be a helpful one or it can be a harmful one, and let's take a look at what's happened right here because we have got a case example, we don't need to talk theory.

Your own community college was done by your own efforts but the Higher Education Act voted for by your Congressman, supported in advance by the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, that Higher Education Act is going to make money available to expand and improve your community college, to help the University of Kentucky, to help every college in this State so that these young people can go to school. (Applause)

And, mothers and fathers, we have provided funds for student loans so that if there is a family here with a daughter or a son that wants to go to college, and that family cannot afford it, your Government thinks enough of the young people of America, thinks they are good enough, thinks they are reliable enough, thinks they are decent enough to say to them "Here is some money, you can borrow it, and you can pay it back when you are through your school and have a job. We are going to invest in the youth of America, because it is the best investment in the world." (Applause)

But, oh, no, the Republican spokesman, the man who says he wants to be President, he says "I am against that." He said if you want to go to school, make it on your own. Don't make any loans." Well this is no charity. This is an investment. I mentioned housing. Has L s hurt this community. I think it has helped it. The sewage isposal plant. This is one of the great programs of public bealth. It makes for a modern community. It invites industry. Why, you are getting help on a new courthouse and a library. Expanded health department, and you are going to get assistance on your new park, and there are many other things. Your streets. Now, has this harmed anybody? Do you feel any the less moral, do you feel that somehow or another you have been degraded? I have a feeling that when people see their town grow, when they see a new building, when they see a new school, when they see an airport, when they see good streets, when they see a college, when they see decent homes, I have a feeling they feel like they are better people and they are, aren't they? (Applause)

And my friends, we have just scratched the surface. Why, you are living in an area that can become the greatest recreational area of America. It can become like the Alps of Europe. It is every bit as beautiful and even more so. You live in an area where there are 100 million people on the Eastern Seaboard that are less than two hours away by airplane from where we are right now, and they can come here by the thousands, and a whole new industry could be created, by the cooperation of Federal, State and local Government and private enterprise, not where the Government owns it but where the people own it, where an individual entrepreneur, you can build big parks and wonderful highways, and what a marvelous, great new future this can be.

In my home State of Minnesota the third largest industry is in recreation, the third largest. First, agriculture, second, mining and then recreation and we are just touching it. Oh, you have great possibilities. You know we Democrats are always accused of spending. You know I think that Barry Goldwater must think that the AT&T just spends itself into bankruptcy because they spend more and so does General Motors than almost any other companies in America. The ATT doesn't think a bit, they don't stop a minute, the Bell Telephone System, they don't stop one minute to reinvest or invest a billion dollars. They have got faith in America. They know more people want more telephones and if you don't want them they talk to you about it and get you to want it. There

are all these young folks wanting one special one right in their own room and most parents want one too so they can get on the phone. (Laughter) But, is that spending. The Republican would have you believe that it is wasteful spending. How do they know whether the telephone is here to stay. It has only been here for about a hundred years, they are not quite used to it. And they say of the Federal Government, it spends. That is what they say of ARA, that is what they say of housing, that is what they say of public works, they call it in Congress, spending. They call the highway program, spending. Well, without the highway program there would not be any General Motors or any Ford Motor Company. We are not spending. We are investing, and we are investing in the best investment in the world, in this country. We are investing to create opportunity, to help people survive in a changing society and to make new ground and new gains, and I am here as an advocate of my Party. I am not here to appologize for our programs. I am not here to take any nonsense from any Republican critic. I think the money we have spent on highways, I think the money you are going to spend on a courthouse, on this housing, on these streets, on this sewage disposal plant, I think the money that is spent on that airport, I think all of it is the best investment that this county and this State and this Federal Government has made. (Applause)

Finally, my dear friends, I don't think it is spending or wasteful to share surplus agricultural commodities with the needy, and the first act of President Kennedy's Administration was to see to it that our surplus foods were made available to Americans that needed them. The second act was to initiate the food staple plan which only this year we have made a permanent program, to upgrade the diets of our people. We expanded the school lunch program, we have expanded the special school milk program. We have done these things, for home, for somebody way over in the moon. No, we have done them for our own people, and if the repbulican candidate for President wants to say that this is spending, if he wants to call it waste, let him call it. But I say to you that if the Lord God Almighty has made it possible for us to have abundance in our farms, more than we can eat ordinarily then the needy and the poor of America are entitled to share in that abundance. (Applause)

I join with Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the philosophy of Government that he expressed so biilliantly and so pointedly in 1936 and listen to what that amazing man said, listen to these words, "Governments can err and presidents do make mistakes but the imortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold blooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional fruits of a Government living in the spirit of Charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the eyes of its own indifference." (Applause)

My dear friends, Mr. Barry Goldwater, candidate for President on the Republican a Ticket, he lies under his no, no, no, tremendous in the shadows of his own indifference to your problems and the needs of this nation. So, let me make the pledge to you today on behalf of our President, and on behalf of the Democratic Party. We will never rest until Appalachia is fully restored to the mainstream of the American economy, until every person in this area can enjoy opportunity to the fullest of his or her capacity. The United States of America is the richest nation on the face of the earth. It is also the richest nation that ever existed, our economy is booming. We are \$115 billion richer today than we were three years ago. And barring war, or national disaster, the United States for the first time in its history has the energy and the resources to build the kind of nation for all of its people envisioned by the founding fathers. When Jesus of Nazareth began his ministry he took as the text for his first sermon the words from the ph Prophet Isaiah, Jesus sayeth this, "I come to bring prisoners their release, give sight to the blind, and good news to the poor."

For three thousand years this has been the ethic of the Judeo-Christian tradition, compassion, kindness, love, forebearance, brotherhood, this is what it is all about. Western civilization is built on it and so is the great country, and the Democratic Party has not forgotten it, and Lyndon Johnson is dedicated to it and on November 3, my fellow Americans, I think the American people will not be found wanting in giving this philosophy of understanding and of kindness and of compassion and of helpfulness a terrific mandate by electing Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America. (Applause)

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Prestonsburg, Ky September 26, 1964

I had some difficulty in getting here today but that is one of the reasons I am here. Our Nation today is enjoying the most prosperous and productive period of history. Employment is at a record level. Rates of unemployment are declining.

But I did not come here to speak proudly of our Nation's economic achievements, nor to stress the stimulating effect that the tax reduction and other economic measures have had on our national economy. I am here to let you know first hand, that I am concerned, and that President Lyndon Johnson is concerned that in general the Applachian Mountain area of Eastern Kentucky and other states in the Applachian Mountain area are being denied the benefits of increased employment, higher standards of living, and the other benefits attending this prosperous period of our Nation's history. I am here because I am concerned that the transportation facilities, roads airports, are such that it makes it difficult to travel into your beautiful country, or to carry from it the products of the industries which you have developed and which you hope to develop. I am here to tell you of my concern for the development of the natural resources of this area and to assure you and the people of Eastern Kentucky of President Johnson's and my interest in seeing the most rapid progress possible made on the construction of flood protection projects and

reservoirs, and the development of the recreational facilities potential of the area. In short, I am here to assure you of our complete dedication to the appropriate administration of the Economic Opportunity Act, the so-called Anti Poverty Bill, which was signed by the President on August 20, as well as the securing of the passage of the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

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The Nation and your Congressional District in particular, should be grateful that history has called forth Carl Perkins whose activities in the Congress have focused the Federal Government's attention and concern on the economic misfortunes of Eastern Kentucky and Appalachia in general. No legislator has demonstrated greater energy, zeal, determination, or dedication to the causes of his constituents and few men I have known can equal the compassion he holds for his fellow man. As I was advocating the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps program in the Senate, your Carl Perkins was doing the same in the House, and so when the Economic Opportunity Act was signed into law by President Johnson, Title I contained Perkins' and my recommendations for the Youth Conservation Corps. I can assure you that, not only will this Youth program afford the opportunity for many out-of-school and unemployed Eastern Kentucky young people to find income and training and healthy work, but also we shall be able to accomplish a great deal of worthwhile conservation work in the Cumberland National Forest area, as well as to develop and expand to the fullest extent the recreational facilities of these public forest lands.

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One of the reasons that I am so enthusiastic about the Appalachian Regional Development Act is the great emphasis that this bill places on roads and highways. Difficult access has been one of the impediments to developing the economy of the area. Supplementing the \$2 million of Area Redevelopment funds which aided your great Governor, Bert Combs, in the construction of the Eastern Mountain Parkway extensions, are the provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act which authorize \$840 million in federal funds to finance the construction of development roads and highways in Appalachia. These roads will be built as instruments of economic development. They will be built to generate traffic where none now exists. They will be built to end isolation. They will be built to afford Appalachian families greater educational, social, and economic opportunities. Of no less importance are features of the Appalachian Regional program which address attention to the development of water resources, timber resources, the reclamation of coal lands, the construction of vocational education facilities, and the construction and development of other public works.

I would recommend to your attention the initiation and expansion of many programs by the Kennedy-Johnson administration, the continuation of which will be assured by the re-election of Lyndon Johnson and Carl D. Perkins. One of these measures is the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the author of which is your own Congressman Carl Perkins. The effects of this program are not being felt since the ap-

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propriations have just been made, but it will enable sizeable expansion of services and facilities at your area schools, - at nearby Mayo, Hazard, and Ashland, as well as the development of new facilities throughout the area. Our colleges and universities have been strengthened in the face of increased enrollment by the enactment of a program of loans and grants to enable academic and related facilities to be financed. A program to expand teaching and research facilities in medical, dental, and related type colleges has been initiated by legislation. A five-year program increasing aids to states for maternity and child health services and for crippled children's programs with research projects to prevent mental retardation has been enacted into law. Our Public Housing and FHA mortgage programs have been expanded to afford greater opportunities for our communities and our families to benefit.

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Special attention has been given to the training needs of the older unemployed workers under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the ARA program, both of which, while operating on a limited scope, have pointed the way to additional programs envisioned by the Economic Opportunity Act.

In short, the hope for translating democracy into broadened opportunities for every citizen is within our technical ability and know-how. This was very well put by President Johnson in his State of the Union message earlier this year when he said:

- 4 -

"Today is the first time in our history that we have the power to strike away the barriers to full participation in our society. Having the power, we have the duty....."

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restansburg, Fy. Allosse Sept. 26, 1914

PRESTONSBURG Prestonburg, Rentucky

It's Prestonsburg--with an S-- not Prestonburg 1

Appalachia is beautiful mountain country

stretching from Pennsylvania to Northern Alabama.

Here we have stretches of some of the most beautiful scenery in the United States. It has been scraped bare here and there by rapacious lumbering techniques and scarred by strip mining but even with these

dishonorable wounds, it is a lovely sight.

X No person wants to leave this region covering nearly

a dozen states. Nor should any person have to. Yet

15 million live here, and many have suffered severely

from the social and economic upheaval which has descended upon Appalachia. These good people could

neither foresee nor control this catastrophe,

In desperation, not hope, some have been forced to leave this magnificent region. More often than not, these departures have been tragic. The real hopes of these people, their real opportunities, lie here --in Appalachia--the land of their forebears. The nation needs these people here -- where they want to remain. The nation also needs the full productive power of the people who have remained. But if this is what the nation wants, then America must care. In its role as "neighbor," the rest of Conception of the local division of the loca America must lend a hand. Good neighbors will not leave you to charity--good meighbors will provide opportunity for personal initiative and self-help. A good neighbor will not damn your pride and independence

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with faint praise. Rather he will believe in it enough to invest in it--and in you.

We know the nature of the difficulties that have crept up on Appalachia over many years. There have been three main ways to earn a living for most people in Appalachia: farming, lumbering and mining. CONTRACTOR OF STREET, STREET, ST. Improvements in production methods mean that more can be produced with fewer workers. If demand for the products is growing and if the supply of natural resources is limitless, no unemployment, no human displacement would occur. But much of the lumber is gone and the and the second growth in demand for coal is limited by other energy

sources.

We have made progress in production but we have also created victims of that progress. They must not be left forlorn--in a world they helped make.

L The region is still potentially rich in terms of physical resources and in terms of its human resources. But these riches must not lie dormant; they must be used. They must be given the dignity of productive meaningful labor. Many people of Appalachia--steamrollered by history--have been getting relief from the government. This has the bare virtue of being better than nothing, but is far from good enough. It is demeaning to the spirit of proud people. They need jobs. They need pay checks, not relief checks. They need liberty -economic liberty. This demands a practical program, not moralistic mysticism.

- 4 -

Lit demands putting people first and keeping them foremost. You can tell what any man really thinks --what his basic values are -- by where he puts the word "but" in a sentence. The leader of the Goldwater faction always says: "I believe in people, but ... " or "I believe in compassion, but ... " People--in the philosophy of the Goldwaterites -- always seem to provide the butt- lud of Hullal. In the economics of Goldwaterism, people suffering from poverty get lost in relativity. Poverty, it seems, is a "relative" matter. An American family earning \$2000 per year is still better off, we hear, than many people in the world. I suppose such a family is better off than the poor of Africa, Asia, and parts of the Middle East where the poor die by the hundreds in the streets. They are

- 5 -

better off than emaciated laborers of China herded

into communes by a communist tyranny.

States of February States

But poverty is measured by the standards of a man's own community. If most Americans are well fed, the man who can't give his family three good meals a day is poor. If most Americans are well-housed, the man who can't fix the holes in his roof, or have running water in his home, is poor. / If most Americans have enough medical care to stay alive for the Biblical three score and ten years, then the man who can't afford to live to 55, is poor. Statement of the second s If most American children have adequate clothes, shoes, and books for school -- then the children who don't have these things are poor.

- 6 -

- 7 -Americans are people--not bloodless statistics. They must be accepted in their own community--not given status only by comparison with the most depressed peoples of the world. As President Kennedy noted, the region of Appalachia had become, through no fault of its own or of its people, "the most severely distressed area of the nation." So John F. Kennedy began, and Lyndon B. Johnson has continued, to promote a program to restore, revitalize and stabilize the economy of this region. The Appalachian Regional Development Act is currently Sente pending in the Congress This program is vital because it will develop the economic base of the region: the roads and the waterways, the provision of power and light, all the Construction and the second second utilities and services which form the basis for services and industry

The provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act authorize \$840 million in federal funds to finance the construction of development roads and highways in Appalachia. These roads will be built as instruments of economic development. They will be built to generate traffic where none now exists. They will be built to end isolation. They will be built to Construction of the second s afford Appalachian families greater educational, social and economic opportunities. Of no less importance are features of the Appalachian Regional program which address attention to the development of water resources, timber resources, the reclamation of coal lands, the Contraction of the owner owne construction of vocational education facilities, and the construction and development of other public works.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has also sponsored the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and your Congressman, Carl Perkins, is the author of this legislation. This program will enable sizeable expansion of services and facilities at your area schools--at nearby Mayo, Hazard, and Ashland-as well as the development of new facilities throughout

the area.

A five-year program increasing assistance to states for maternity and child health services and for crippled

children's programs with research projects to prevent mental retardation has been enacted into law. Our

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housing and FHA mortgage programs have been expanded to

afford greater opportunities for our communities and our

families.

Special attention has been given to the training needs of the older unemployed workers under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the and the second se Area Redevelopment program, both of which, while operating on a limited scope, have pointed the way to further progress envisioned by the Economic Opportunity Act. The vast watershed area is not only a tremendous hecref potential for new industry, but it can provide a recreation industry for the 100 million persons who will soon live on the eastern seabord. This industry alone can surpass all that agriculture and mining ever contributed to this region.

The possibilities are tremendous. But they will

not "just happen." It will take the cooperation of

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the Federal, State and local governments -- and that

indispensable ingredient -- the initiative of the people.

Democrats have never believed in "spending" for its own sake, but we have always believed in "investing" whatever is required to help create opportunity, to help people survive the impact of economic collapse in a region, to help people preserve their social and

economic independence.

We do not apologize for this philosophy of government. We stand with President Franklin D. Roosevelt when he 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." Let me make this pledge to you today: the Democratic Party will never rest until Appalachia is fully restored to the burgeoning mainstream of the American economy. The United States of America is the richest nation on the face of the earth today. It is also the richest We say the state of a second state of the nation that ever existed. Our economy is booming. More Contraction of the second s than \$100 billion has been added to the Gross National Product in the last four years. Barring war or national Second and the second Build and a second s disaster, the United States has, for the first time in its history, the energy and resources to build the kind of a nation, for all of its people, envisioned by our founding fathers. -----

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When Jesus of Nazareth began his ministry, he took as the text for his first sermon, the words from the prophet Isaiah: "I come to bring prisoners their release, give sight to the blind, and good news to the poor."

For 3000 years this has been the ethic of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Western Civilization is built upon it.

The Democratic Party has not forgotten it. Lyndon Johnson is dedicated to it.

And, on November 3, the American people will not be found wanting in giving it a mandate.

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