

Senator Humphrey  
Airport  
Detroit, Michigan  
September 30, 1964

Let me thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and I do want to express a very sincere and warm thanks to the members here of the township board and the city councils, the Mayor and local officials that have gathered here from the Western part of Wayne County.

I am very pleased to have this wonderful band with us, too, today, they are great, and they look mighty sharp. One of them over there said, "Maybe you can get us a little aid for some new uniforms."

(Laughter and applause.)

I want you to know that you take that up with Senator Philip Hart, will you do that? He is a man with great influence in the U.S. Senate.

I am particularly pleased to see these fine signs that have been put together here, I am sure, by some good local talent. They look just wonderful, and I want to thank all of you for coming out here to getet Mrs. Humphrey and myself.

Where is Mrs. Humphrey? Did we lose her around here? She must be running for something, around here shaking hands all the time.

This is my wife, Mrs. Humphrey, Muriel.

(Applause.)

You know I told President Johnson one time when he was looking around for somebody for Vice President, I said, "Look, don't look any further, I am a man that has had more experience being Vice President than any other man in the U.S. I have been Vice President of my house since I was married 23 years ago."

And you know Vice Presidents don't have much to say about what goes on. So, he accepted me on that basis.

We have just come from the State of Georgia, and we had a marvelous meeting last night at Atlanta, the largest Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner that they have ever had in the history of that state.

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We had a fine reception. We had a few folks around there that were politically misguided. There were a couple that were still coming through with the cheers or the jeers, I should say, from the Cow Palace. I feel a little sorry for some of those dear folks that have forgotten how to be happy.

The best thing about Democrats is they know how to be happy and how to smile.

(Applause.)

I want you to be that way right down to the final day of that election. You be happy, you be confident, you be optimistic. The American people need to know that politics is not a grimey and glum and miserable, dismal business. They need to know that it is the pursuit of a people that have much to be grateful for and much to be thankful for, and we ought to express that thanks and that gratitude by our countenance, by our words, by our deeds and by our smiles and by our sense of genuine happiness, and I know that is the way you are going to do it.

I am happy to be back into Michigan once again, I was here just a few days ago. We were in Grand Rapids and we were in Bay City and we were in Kalamazoo and were in Flint, Michigan, and we are going to be back in here gain for other meetings because this is a crucial state in this election, and I am confident that this state is going to be carried for the Democratic ticket.

I know that you are going to give your support to Neal Staebler, that fine man that is running for Governor here on the Democratic ticket, and I know that you are going to --

(Applause.)

-- I know you are going to help my friend, Bob Derengoski to become the lieutenant governor of this state, and I know you are going to re-elect that wonderful, fine, kind, humble, brilliant man that is your United States Senator Phil Hart.

So, get on with the job.

By the way, don't forget there are a couple of other fellows running, too, and I have a feeling that you will keep it in mind and you get out and double your efforts, now, work

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Detroit, Mich. real hard, because President Johnson has asked me wherever I go to ask you for your help, and we want your help. We need your help. We need you to work real hard and if you will vote for Lyndon B. Johnson on November 3rd, you will get me, too, because I go along with the package.

Thank you very, very much.

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Senator Humphrey  
Kennedy Square  
Detroit, Michigan  
September 30, 1964

Thank you very much. Thank you very, very much.  
Thank you very much, Mayor Cavanagh. I wish to thank this fine progressive Mayor of the great City of Detroit for this good and fine generous welcome.

May I say that yesterday at about this time Mrs. Humphrey and I were in Tifton, Georgia, and the temperature was just a little warmer in many ways.

(Laughter.)

Today I find a good crisp upper Midwest fall day that indicates to me that if you have clear vision you are going to vote Democratic and you sure have got a clear day in Detroit which means you are going to vote Democratic in November.

(Applause.)

One of the things that has impressed me in this campaign, above all, is the difference in temperament between the respective peoples that support these different candidates. Whenever I come to a meeting such as this I find people that are looking strong and healthy, that are looking reasonably prosperous but above all, happy.

There is a sense of public happiness in our country, with the exception of a few, and I can plainly understand why those few are not happy. They have got the wrong candidate and and they have got the wrong program.

(Applause.)

Thank goodness the overwhelming majority of the American people are people who look ahead, are people who want to see a better America, an America that is moving forward rather than one that has its foot on the brake, and then in the confusion of all of the thinking and muddled thinking of the opposition, it shifts the car into reverse instead of forward gear.

Mr. Mayor, before I go one moment longer, may I first of all say to you how proud you people here in Michigan must be to have in the United States Senate such a gifted and talented, humble and yet able man as your United States Senator, Phil Hart and I know you are going to re-elect him.



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(Applause.)

He is a strong partner to that fearless, frank, candid, courageous United States Senator, Pat McNamara, that you also gave to us.

(Applause.)

And I think it is about time, too, that Michigan gave itself the opportunity of having as its Governor someone that knows who he is for, and Neal Staebler does know who he is for. He is for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

And may I say that in his decision he stands with the vast majority of the American people.

I know that you recognize that it is very, very important for a President to have a Congress to work with him, and without going down the list of the many Congressional candidates and the incumbent Congressmen, just let me say that you can be very proud in Michigan of those who have represented you in support of the Kennedy-Johnson program. They have done well, they have given a good accounting of their public service, and they are deserving of re-election, and President Johnson is deserving of having more support in the years ahead with the program that is -- that he is going to advance for this nation.

I was in your state just a few days ago, in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Bay City, Flint, Wyland and a few other places and we are going to come back again, this is a very important state, we are really coming back only to get a note of refreshment because we trust your judgment, we believe that you will be faithful to the cause of progressive government.

We can't imagine, I don't think even Mr. Goldwater can imagine, this state voting for him.

I know you are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

But I think they went a little too far in Michigan and I would like to register some form of friendly protest because I don't believe you ought to ban anybody or even a product that is named after him. I believe in fair play in politics, and here I have got a headline story that said, "Michigan bans Goldwater"-- now that is not right. I want him to have every opportunity

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to be heard because that is the best thing we have got going for us is when he is heard,--

(Applause.)

-- but I will say one thing for him, it is always new. He changes his mind every week.

(Applause.)

Well, it says, "Michigan bans Goldwater" -- right out of Grand Rapids, September 24, Associated Press, and again I say I don't think you ought to do that. "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater --" now I want to say right now this man is not for sale. I will speak up for him here today, and I think your state officials ought to be a little more careful.

It says, "-- 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' because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative."

Now, my dear friends and fellow Americans, there is the full analysis of the candidate and the platform of the opposition.

(Laughter and applause.)

And may I say it was made in a state under Republican rule.

In all seriousness to you, I want to say just a few words about what I believe is an important development in your great national government structure. The candidate of the opposition reminds the American people in every message that there is a very evil force at work in America, as he puts it, and that is the Federal Government.

I can't quite understand why he wants to be a part of it if it is so bad, but apparently he thinks he can improve it. He tells us that the major threat to our freedom is Federal tyranny. He tells us that this Federal Government is usurping the rights of the people.

He tells us that this Federal Government of ours, the Government that Lincoln, the great Republican, said, "was a government of the people and by the people and for the people"

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this man that has repudiated Mr. Lincoln and his doctrine of emancipation tells us that this Federal Government shouldn't work for the people. He tells us that it shouldn't be for the people.

As a matter of fact, he wants only a very few of the people to have anything to say about it, and one of the things that worries me is some of the people that he recommends or that seem to recommend him.

But let's face it right now. American Government is not just in Washington. American government is in Lansing, it is in Detroit, it is in every township, in every county, in every village, in every State House, in every Court House as well as the White House and Capitol Hill.

And those who try to divide America on the basis of promoting division between Washington and Michigan, between city and small town, between urban dweller and farmer, between the races, those who seek to do that do a great disservice to the case of the United States of America, and they ought to be rebuked.

(Applause.)

It was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who reminded America that the duty of government was to serve the people.

Yes, Senator Goldwater, we once had government that ignored the people, and the city of Detroit was nothing but an unemployment center. We had a government back in the twenties that denied even the very right of the government of the United States to be interested in a worker or a farmer or a businessman or a banker, and everything went to pot, and we are hearing this same obsolete, and antiquated foolish ridiculous doctrine being preached again from high places.

I don't think this generation is going to let that sort of doctrine be accepted.

Our fathers and some of us of my age, remember all too well the doctrine that told us that a President should be a weak President, that a President shouldn't be interested and couldn't have any interest in the welfare of agriculture, in the welfare of the city, in the welfare of the family.

There are those of us who remember America without social security.

The other day the candidate, the temporary spokesman of

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a small section of the Repbblican Party, said, "Senator Humphrey lies about my comments and my position on social security."

Well, Mr. Senator, when you tell me, and you told the people of New Hampshire, that social security should be only voluntary, that it should become, as you know, just pick and choose, that it should be partial, that is the death of social security, and we don't intend to let it happen, not a single one of us.

We don't intend to let it happen.

(Applause.)

And put it down in your mental notebook, my friends, that a man that stands for the office of Presidency, that even expresses a doubt, an uncertainty, or a qualification, about social security is a man that has forgotten that the American people almost to a single person, have embraced social security and the social security system as an essential part of the American governmental structure.

Isn't that right?

(Applause.)

But what would Mr. Goldwater's plans be for Detroit? Well, I will tell you. It wouldn't be accelerated public works. That has resulted in 34 millions of dollars of programming right in this city. He voted against it. He voted against it.

Your 48 miles of city streets that have been repaved because of the cooperation between your city and your state, and the Federal government, those streets would not have been repaved, and the many programs of wter and sewage improvement that have taken place in this great metropolitan center would have never taken place.

The City of Detroit has received more funds, more money, under the accelerated public works program than eight states in the Federal Union, and Mr. Goldwater wouldn't have given you one dime, not one dime.

His vote was no, no, no.

(Applause.)

What about urban renewal? What do you think would have

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happened to your Lafayette project had you relied on his vote. There would have been none. What would happen to your great 100-million dollar medical Center? There wouldn't have been one.

What will happen to your university city which is now in the process of being planned and will be under construction? There wouldn't have been one. Urban renewal is the only way that we can make our cities livable, and yet this man from the sands and deserts of Arizona, has no sympathy, no understanding whatsoever, for the City of Detroit.

(Applause.)

Oh, yes, but he has some understanding for areas where his properties are. One billion dollars for the central Arizona project, one billion dollars, but not one nickle for Detroit, not one nickle for this state. That is his record.

(Applause.)

Now, let me make the record clear. I am glad he voted for the billion dollar central Arizona project. I think it is needed out there and I voted for it also and it was supported by the Administration.

But, my dear friends, you can't have something going for Arizona at the expense of Minnesota and Michigan or Georgia, New York and California. We build America together, we build it in every part of this country, we build it in every one of the 50 states, and any man that stands for the office of President ought to remember he is not running for the City Council of Phoenix.

(Applause.)

Now, that I mention that, he might go home there and help a little bit on law enforcements, too.

My friends, area redevelopment, manpower training, youth projects to give our young people who are school dropouts a chance to get a new start in life, every single one of these, Mr. Mayor, has been vetoed by the vote of the man that asks to be President of the United States, Mr. Goldwater.

I do not think the people of our cities are going to support a man that doesn't understand the metropolitan problems. More and more of our people live in these great cities. More and more of our people will live in these cities.



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As a matter of fact, by the year 1980, over 80 per cent of the total population of America will live in the large metropolitan centers. We need a government and we need a President and we need a Congress that can think in terms not of the America of 1890, but of the America, if you please, of 1990.

We surely need one that can think in terms of the America of the 1960's, and I say to you that there has been no program, none whatsoever, advanced by the gentleman who seeks to be President on the Republican ticket, no program for America's cities, no program for America's farms.

No program for America's school children, just plain no program, that is all.

(Applause.)

What we need is a partnership between all levels of government and industry, and labor, and agriculture. America isn't just government. Government should encourage this nation to do better. Government should help, government should assist, government doesn't need to take over, and no one is recommending it.

But this government of ours has a role to play, to serve, to do better, to ask the American people to have higher standards of performance, to see to it that the prosperity which this country now enjoys will be sustained, and to see to it that those areas where there is no prosperity, that the people in those areas can share by their own efforts, by being trained and by investment and by education, that they can share in this great and wonderful growing economy of America.

I am proud of a President who on the one hand asked America to begin and that is what John F. Kennedy said to us. This square is named after him. John F. Kennedy said to America in 1961, "Let us begin," and Detroit with massive unemployment in 1961, finds itself in 1964 a thriving, a prosperous city, and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson helped make that possible.

(Applause.)

I want to compliment American industry for being willing to move and move aggressively, and it is no wonder, it is no strange miracle, that American industrialists by the hundreds have joined the banner of the Democratic Party, and Lyndon Johnson.

I noticed yesterday that Mr. Goldwater said that these,

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that all we had were the big cities, and big labor, and big business.

Well, if that is all we have got, we are in.

(Laughter.)

And then he equated big labor, big business and big cities with corruption and with power. These are the words of a desperate man. Mind you he got so wild he became so desperate in Cincinnati yesterday -- or did Cincinnati lost that ball game, I hope that bear -- did they, I might have known it.

He has even ruined the Cincinnati Reds.

(Laughter.)

Well, you see what he did, he scared them. He said that Johnson was soft on communism. Well, shades of Nixon --

(Laughter)

-- that is the last argument of a dying political man. Lyndon Johnson, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Lyndon Johnson, patriot, Lyndon Johnson, if ever a man steered the middle of the road for progressive government, and here comes this great man from Arizona and he runs out of invective, he runs out of charges, he has called our President everything he could, he has called him a fake and a phoney, and now he says he is soft on communism.

On my goodness, I must say, I didn't think the campaign was that close to being over.

(Laughter.)

If the Republican candidate has had to reach down into that bottom of the barrel to dig up that old, old smelly argument, then all I can say is that he will die in the stench of his own political argument.

(Applause.)

Well, good folks, happy days are here again. The Democrats are going to win, you betcha, and you work to see that it happens.

(Applause.)



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Your country is going to move forward. American industry, despite the fact that Mr. Goldwater says that it is all, this prosperity is all, phoney and artificial, he hasn't been able to convince the bankers in Detroit and New York, and he has not been able to convince the great industries of America as a matter of fact, they don't believe him.

You don't believe him, I don't believe him, and none of the voters are really going to believe him, either.

So, let's get busy and register. I think you have got a few days left, haven't you, you have until October 5th to register. This is when you will determine the future course of America, and on November 3, after you have registered, you have an opportunity to cast your vote for the future of your country.

You can then decide whether or not you want to have America with leadership that looks through a rear view mirror and puts the car in reverse or whether you want to have an America that has leadership, leadership that looks through a clear windshield with great power and steers down the road safely not too far to the right, not too far to the left, keeping out of the ditches and making sure that America stays safe and stays strong and stays prosperous, and I ask you now to join with Hubert Humphrey, I ask you to join with me, to see to it that on November 3 that the forces of bitterness, the forces of bigotry, the forces of hate, that the forces of regression, the forces of reaction, the forces of retreat, that they are defeated as never before and that you vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

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EXCERPT FROM KENNEDY SQUARE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN  
September 30, 1964

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(Applause.)

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Senator Humphrey  
National Guard Association  
Cobo Hall,  
Detroit, Michigan  
September 30, 1964

Thank you, gentlemen, thank you very much, General Cantwell, and my warmest thanks and appreciation to the distinguished Minnesotan who greeted us at the airport, General Mogeline, and members of the National Guard who are gathered together here in your 86th Conference.

I am highly honored by the invitation that was extended, and I am deeply appreciative of the privilege that has been accorded to me this morning to discuss with you as a member of the Congress of the United States for some 16 years, matters relating to national security and national defense, because it surely is a fact that the Congress of the United States as well as the Executive Branch plays a very important role in the development of national security policy as well as providing the resources and the policy guidelines needed for adequate national security for our great nation.

I want to also assure this distinguished assemblage that the Administration of President Johnson is keenly aware of the many duties that you perform, of your vital role in our total national defense structure, and of the importance of the National Guard as an organization intimately associated with the American people at the community level in thousands of communities across this land.

And lest I fail to properly emphasize it, may I dispell any concern or doubt that you have as to the policy of this government for the continuity of your great organization, the National Guard.

You will have the kind of support and consistent support, that is required for the maintenance of high moral and efficiency of operation and training in your National Guard units.

(Applause.)

It is a very great pleasure for me to address the members and the friends of the National Guard. We have many venerable military organizations in our country, some of which extend in an unbroken line back to the war of Independence, but the National Guard is in a sense the oldest of them all.

It is in a very real sense the direct descendent of the

Minutemen of Concord and Lexington and the other brave citizen soldiers of the revolution who created this great nation of ours.

But times have changed, and historical reference gives us some feeling of tradition, but tradition must be with progress, and not just with memory and with these changing times so has the role of the Guard changed.

For the first time in our history the National Guard has an active defense mission in peacetime. As an integral part of the Air Defense Command, of the Army National Guard Nike Missile Battalions, are on-site and on-operation around the clock.

In the Air National Guard elements of a number of fighter interceptor squadrons and aircraft and warning squadrons stand on runway alert.

In these and in many other ways, the National Guard is on the front line of America's defense, and I believe that the Guard has been indispensable in the past, and I believe that its maintenance and its strength and its efficiency is indispensable in the future.

(Applause.)

I am here today to talk to you about the most serious of all subjects, one that must have priority consideration by every American. I am here to talk to you about peace, and about strength.

Like most Americans, you feel deeply the overriding need for world peace, and for national strength, and you, above all others know that peace and strength are related.

Peace is the first -- is best preserved through strength and preparedness. History, our history, yes, tragic history, has taught us that lesson. Yet there is another truth that history proclaims, that strength alone, military strength alone, neither gives nor guarantees peace, for between strength and peace lies a vital way station, a life-giving, life-preserving link.

What is it? I speak of responsibility, and by responsibility I mean those qualities of reason, of restraint, maturity and compassion that make men morally accountable for their actions.

Strength employed without responsibility is the force of the jungle, unleashed. Strength without responsibility is the formula for blind violence. Strength without responsibility is the very denial of peace.

It is a shortcut to war, and in a nuclear age it is also the shortcut to mutual annihilation.

Now, these matters are central to the present political campaign, and they have been made central, yes, they have been made central by those who daily seek to cast doubts upon our military strength.

They have been made central by those who speak glibly of peace through strength and yet fail to understand the test of responsibility.

What I have to say today concerns the state of our nation's defenses. It concerns the state of mind and the spirit of those men who control our defenses, who hold as a trust from the American people a stewardship over the life and death of our planet, and what an awesome responsibility and stewardship that is.

Our country is today the strongest military power in the history of the world. This is an undeniable fact. We are not only stronger than any other nation, we are also stronger than any possible combination of other nations.

Now, I will not ask you to take my word for this. I claim to be no great military expert. I don't ask you to take the word of Secretary McNamara or even President Johnson, your Commander-in-Chief.

Instead, let me cite some hard statistics about this vast American military force, and may I digress a moment to say that I serve on the Committee on Appropriations in the Congress of the United States. I have been a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations since 1952. It has been my privilege in recent years to sit with the top leaders of this country on many an occasion, the Cuban crisis, the Viet Nameese problem, the Berlin crisis, the problems in Laos, in every area of the world, in Panama, and to review with the Commander-in-Chief and with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the Secretaries of our different Departments, the Secretary of Defense, Air, Navy, Army, to review the military posture and the military defense and strength of this nation, and sometimes I

wonder after these meetings how there can be so much loose talk, because there all the facts are laid on the table.

May I give this audience this reassurance. That the President of the United States, whoever he may be, and I have had the privilege of serving now with four, President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Johnson, I have never known a President to deceive the American people on the issue of national security, never.

(Applause.)

And above all he never has deceived the leaders of the Congress and we never meet as Democrats or Republicans. We meet as Senators, and as Congressmen trusted with the responsibility or entrusted with the responsibility, of providing the means and the policy guidelines by the Congress for the defense of this great Republic.

Well, now, let's talk about this vast military force.

First of all, how do our forces compare with those of the second most powerful military nation, the Soviet Union? Is there a missile gap? Is there a submarine gap? Is there a bomber gap? What about long-range missiles?

The United States now has more than 800, and I repeat, more than 800 dependable intercontinental ballistic missiles that can reach any military base or city in the Communist world or any other part of the world.

Almost all of our ICBM's are protected in steel and concrete underground shelters ready to fire in minutes. The Soviet Union, by comparison, according to the best available allied intelligence, has only one-fourth as many, few of which are in underground shelters.

There is, in other words, my friends, a missile gap, but it is in our favor, and with your help, and with the cooperation of a Congress it will remain in our favor.

The second basic strategic war weapon, is the submarine-carried missile. Our Navy now has 256 Polaris missiles carried on 16 submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire on a minute's notice.

These nuclear submarines hidden beneath the seas of the



world represent to any potential enemy who seeks to destroy the United States, the loss of 30 to 40 million people, pray God that may never have to happen, and that we may never have to use that weapon, but let it be clearly understood the Polaris missile today is one of the most vital elements of the national security structure of this country, and it is without a doubt almost a miracle weapon, and it is a fantastic deterrent.

The Soviet Union, by comparison has a smaller force of sea-based missiles carried on inferior submarines.

Our Polaris submarines are nuclear-powered. Most of theirs are not.

Our missiles can be launched from beneath the surface of the sea, the USSR has no such operational missile.

Our missiles can strike deep into the Communist world. Theirs have less than one-third our range.

Another 25 Polaris submarines are under construction. They will carry another 400 Polaris missiles, always improved, always more technically proficient. Yes, my fellow Americans, there is a submarine gap, and it is in our favor, and it will remain in our favor.

Now, on the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the enemy. Half of our bombers are ready at all times to take over on 15 minute's notice. They are loaded with nuclear weapons, tailored to the targets they must destroy, and they carry secret devices, as you well know, to confuse and penetrate enemy defenses.

The Soviet Union by comparison has only a small fraction of the total number of long-range bombers. Yes, again, there is a bomber gap, and it is in our favor, and it will remain in our favor.

So, clearly America is mighty, and it is strong, and our people know that it is strong, and those who cry alarm, and rush to the panic button either do not know the facts or they ignore them.

Now, let's look at the record. Here is the record of the four years of defense planning by this Administration, and Administration in which I have had some hand as one of the legislative lieutenants, the majority whip of the United States Senate.



It has been my privilege to sit at the council tables of this government with two Presidents, and with the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. What are the facts of these four years?

A 150 per cent increase in the number of nuclear warheads, and a 200 per cent increase in total megatonnage in our strategic alert forces.

A 60 per cent increase in the tactical nuclear force in western Europe. A 45 per cent increase in the number of combat-ready army divisions. This all since 1961.

A 44 per cent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons, a 75 per cent increase in air lift capability, a 100 per cent in ship construction to modernize our fleet. An 800 per cent increase in the special forces trained for counter-insurgency.

There is the record, but some self-styled military strategists persist in their doubts. They say what about 1970, what may be ahead? They worry, and they worry us. Well, what about 1970? Secretary McNamara has given to us his answer, and I quote him: "Our strategic forces are and will remain sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war."

Now, that is the statement of your Defense Secretary and subscribed to by the Commander-in-Chief of the United States.

It will require to fulfill that statement the support of the American people through their elected representatives. The programming of this Government with which I am thoroughly familiar, assures us an indefinite, long into the future superiority of military power the likes of which mankind has never known in all the history of this planet.

Now, this Administration has increased by 50 per cent expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last four years of the preceding Administration. We have initiated and brought to completion 208 new weapons research projects, and indeed many new weapons systems.

Secretary McNamara, through his brilliant, energetic and determined leadership in the Defense Department, has spectacu-

larly executed President Kennedy's and now President Johnson's twin mandates -- first, to develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings. And may I suggest that we have added over 30 billions of dollars of increased military expenditures in the last three years over the rate of expenditure of the last year of the previous Administration.

We put in one year six billion dollars alone by Act of Congress in one week over the budget, following the first Berlin crisis of 1961. These dollars have produced results.

The second mandate, the two Presidents that I have mentioned -- having determined the force structure needed, the mandate to the Secretary of Defense is to procure and operate it in the most economical manner at the lowest possible cost, and this has been done.

We have heard the Republican candidate that tactical nuclear weapons should be considered conventional, conventional weapons, no different from those of the last World War; that these so-called small nuclear weapons could and should be handed over to military field commanders.

But how conventional and how small was the bomb that devastated Hiroshima. You men know. The average tactical nuclear bomb in Western Europe today is five times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The average tactical nuclear weapon in Western Europe other than bombs has a yield at least that of Hiroshima's bomb and the smallest nuclear weapon in Western Europe today has a force ten times greater than the one thousand pound bombs dropped by the flying fortresses during the Second World War.

The nuclear fire power available to a single U.S. infantry division in Europe is sufficient to destroy the combined population of the 50 largest cities in the United States.

Now, how unimportant, furthermore, is this nuclear radiation which accompanies all nuclear explosives, large or small? In fact, the smallest nuclear weapons kill primarily not by blast, according to our nuclear atomic experts, but by radiation.

This doesn't seem to worry my colleague in the Senate from Arizona, but it worries our allies in Europe where these weapons most likely would have to be used, and it worries me. It worries the President of the United States, and I shudder

for the day when we have a President of the United States whom it would not worry.

Now, therefore, there is a line between conventional and nuclear weapons which we can only ignore at our peril. Once we step over that line and we may have to, but once we do, we enter a great unknown from which there will be no turning back.

The true role of nuclear weapons is to deter aggression before it begins. To do this successfully we must be prepared to use whatever force is necessary, and we are so prepared, let no one spread any doubt about that. Our problem today is not enough nuclear weapons but where to store the ones we have.

We will have the will to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, we demonstrated that will in October, 1962, in a major confrontation with the Soviet Union which was for keeps.

And if such weapons must be used, the man to make that decision is the President of the United States. The true measure of our defense cannot, however, be found by merely weighing bombs or counting missiles, even when it is a true weight and an honest count.

In fact, I once recall a speech of General Eisenhower at the time that NATO was being formed when he spoke in the Library of Congress at the Coolidge auditorium and there he said to us that the military strength of America was but the cutting edge of the strong sword of the American economy, of an America educated, of an America at work, of a healthy prosperous strong America spiritually, economically and politically, and we ought never to forget it.

One of the great and grave dangers of this campaign, where there is so much confusion and some of it deliberate, all of this talk about bombs and bombers, and missiles and megatons, is that we may lose sight of what nuclear power cannot do for our defense.

Now, nuclear power can deter a surprise attack with bombs or missiles on the United States because those in a position to launch such an attack know that the result would be total instant national suicide for themselves. But nuclear weapons cannot prevent our enemies from attempting to devour freedom bit by bit in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa, or even in Europe.

I doubt that the Communists intend to blow this world to pieces. I think they prefer to pick it up piece by piece, intact. Through a flexible military posture combined with a responsible and realistic political policy we can prevent and we are preventing the Communists from accomplishing this objective.

In this continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the enemies of freedom, we have already won a large part of the battle. The problems of the Communist world far outweigh those of our free world, and every responsible American citizen knows it.

The monolithic structure of the Soviet Bloc has been shattered and fractured, and every thoughtful student of government and foreign affairs knows it. The Soviet Union's economy is in deep trouble and every responsible person knows it.

The United States and its allies are so powerful today that every responsible person knows it including the men in the Kremlin, and I see no reason to frighten Americans by saying that we are weak or that we are in danger of being overrun, because of Communist monolithic structure and power.

It is no monolith. The Communist World is already in mortal ideological combat between the Soviet Union and Communist China, and the Soviet Bloc itself is having trouble with its eastern satellites.

As Premier Khrushchev indicated they are getting too big to spank. And our policy ought to be one of encouraging this autonomy, encouraging this fracturing of the monolithic bloc rather than pretending somehow or another that all is well in the Kremlin and all is trouble and chaos in Washington.

That is bunk, and everybody knows it that is a thoughtful citizen in this country.

(Applause.)

Gentlemen, we have taught the Communists the futility of trying to expand their empire through large scale military invasion. We have taught them the futility of trying to terrify Americans by rattling their nuclear rockets, and in Southeast Asia today, we are meeting their test of our will and and patience in the low end of the spectrum of force, in the twilight zone of assassination and guerrilla terrorism, and let me assure this fine audience of distinguished patriots, we have

no intention of withdrawing from Southeast Asia and permitting that part of the world to be overrun by Communist aggression and subversion.

That is a policy statement. No intention whatsoever.

(Applause.)

And what finally are the facts then of free world strength in Europe? Europe today enjoys both the shield of the nuclear weapons and the strength of conventional power. Here the NATO alliance offers a striking example of mutual trust and common purpose, and even with its minor difficulties the strength of this alliance is steadily increasing, and our job is to strengthen it even more.

We have re-equipped our Army in Europe with the most modern equipment. Sergeant and Pershing solid-fueled missile battalions have been deployed to Europe replacing obsolete are now in Europe. The equipment for two divisions and ten supporting units has been pre-positioned in Europe, and the concept of rapidly flying in troops to man this equipment has been tested in Exercise Big Lift.

The United States today has 18 nuclear missile submarines available to support NATO. In 1961 there were but two. Our capacity to airlift troops and supplies to Europe has increased by 75 per cent since 1961. And finally, there has been a 60 per cent increase in the number of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe.

And most important of all, we have made it clear to our European allies that our nuclear guarantee stands as firm as ever and that our nuclear shield protects Europe today as it has in the past.

Now, the firm statistics of our strength should be deeply reassuring to Americans of both political parties for partisan politics cannot obscure our common dedication to this nation's welfare and this nation's strength. But I return once again to that vital human factor which gives meaning to this strength, the factor of responsibility.

The stuff of strength is a raw substance, gentlemen, to be put to use, for evil purposes or for good, with recklessness



or with restraint, towards deepening chaos or toward order and peace, and it is in this vital area of responsibility that the American people are confronted this November, with a clear and unmistakable choice.

We can choose a man whose recklessness in words foretells a recklessness in deeds. We can choose another whose deeds and words in the world's most powerful office are the essence of responsibility, and I submit to you that President Johnson, as President Kennedy before him, has the greatest of all gifts that we seek in statesmen, an understanding of the use of strength in the relentless pursuit of peace. Americans are not by nature a war-like people.

No people in history ever possessed the absolute military superiority that is ours today over all other nations, friends and enemies alike. Yet our armaments are used not for conquest, but for the prevention of conquest, not for aggression, but for the protection of the independence and the freedom of people.

American arms are used first of all to assure our own safety. Beyond this American arms today are the potent factor in discouraging the use of force in the pursuit of national ambitions. They are the shield behind which men labor to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish.

My fellow Americans, constructing a world order is not something that you do instantaneously. There isn't any instant order, and there isn't any instant peace, and there aren't any instant solutions to the problems.

The only thing that I know that is instant in all of this is instant annihilation if a nuclear war is triggered by miscalculation or irresponsibility.

We have got to have the moral strength to be able to stand the long test. The only way that I see that the Communists can overcome us is if we become impetuous, overly frustrated, impatient. We are winning. Their system is weakening, they are changing. They even have to bring in now the incentive system of private capitalism to get production.

Oh, if we will only persevere, and not permit ourselves the luxury of asking for a new-made world, a world made over instantly, at a time when the world is in convulsions. Even if there had been no Communists at all this world would have

been in trouble and in a period of almost violent evolution and revolution.

Our friends and allies around the world know that this shield of strength of ours is there to protect them and they have given us their trust, and I say to you and to them, we will be worthy of that trust.

My friends, this generation of Americans faces a challenge unparalleled in history. The last day of the gun-slinger, the quick-draw man, dawned at Alamogordo. On that day man acquired the power to obliterate himself from the face of the earth.

That first atomic explosion changed the whole power structure of the world, and everybody knows it -- I thought everybody did -- and that first atomic explosion changed the whole concept of military operation.

On that day, as I said, man acquired the power to destroy himself. Since that day war has worn a new face, and the vision of it has sobered all men, and demanded of them a higher order of responsibility, and in this grim fact I see cause for hope.

If we continue to use our might only in the pursuit of peace, if we continue to seek grounds, honorable grounds, for a lasting peace, then in the fullness of time men may look back upon that frightful glare that burst over Hiroshima and see there not a beginning of terror and destruction, but an end of terror, an end of the senseless cruelty of man bearing arms against his fellow man.

If we act with wisdom and vision we shall not perish but we shall prevail. Nor will we be frightened into a war when our vision is peace. Not peace at any price, oh, no, indeed, but peace with freedom, and peace with justice. Our defenses are strong, and they are going to remain strong, and while the time for the beating of swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall nevertheless continue our moral responsibility to work to eliminate the scourge of war.

Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice but courage.

Gentlemen, I think it takes as much or more courage for a statesman in our time to relentlessly pursue the long trail of a just and enduring peace with freedom, I think it takes as much



or more as it does for a man on the battlefield, and the Commander-in-Chief of this country not only is in charge of the armed forces of America, but he has responsibility to future generations.

He has responsibility to the life and to the happiness of the people of this country. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness but wisdom. So let us be wise and let us persevere and let us pursue peace as brave men, morally brave, intellectually brave, politically brave, and with our hard-won freedom intact through statesmanship and through responsibility, yes, responsibility in the use of power, which has been granted to us, we of the American Republic and we of mankind shall survive, and I think we shall flourish.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN  
SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing the members and friends of the National Guard. We have many venerable military organizations in our country, some of which extend in an unbroken line back to the War of Independence. But the National Guard is, in a sense, the oldest of them all. It is in a very real sense the direct descendant of the Minutemen at Concord, and the other brave citizen-soldiers of the Revolution who created this great Nation of ours.

But times have changed, and so has the role of the Guard. For the first time in our history, the National Guard has an active defense mission in peace time. As an integral part of the Air Defense Command, Army National Guard NIKE Missile Battalions are on site and in operation around the clock.

In the Air National Guard, elements of a number of Fighter-Interceptor Squadrons and Aircraft and Warning Squadrons stand on "runway alert". In these -- and many other ways -- the National Guard is on the front-line of America's defense. I believe that the Guard has been indispensable in the past and is indispensable in the future.

In this great industrial city of Detroit I am sure that businessmen and employers know the importance of the National Guard in our country's defense system. I am sure that they and their colleagues across the country grant without hesitation the 15 days leave each summer necessary for you to keep up your training. American employers know that the temporary inconvenience caused by summer leave is a small price to pay for the large contribution made to our Nation's defense.

I can think of no more fitting group with which to discuss the very vital subject which I propose to talk about today.

I am here today to talk to you about peace and about strength.

I do not doubt that -- like most Americans -- you feel deeply the overriding need for world peace and for national strength, and that you recognize a relationship between the two.

Peace is best preserved through strength and preparedness: how fully has tragic history taught us that lesson.

Yet there is another truth that history proclaims: that strength alone neither gives nor guarantees peace. For between strength and peace lies a vital way-station, a life-giving, life-preserving link.

I speak of responsibility. And by responsibility I mean those qualities of reason, restraint, maturity, and compassion that make men morally accountable for their actions.

Strength employed without responsibility is the force of the jungle unleashed. Strength without responsibility is the formula for blind violence. Strength without responsibility is the very denial of peace -- the short-cut to war. In a nuclear age it is also the short-cut to mutual annihilation.

So I want to talk not only of peace and of strength, I also want to talk of responsibility in the use of strength and in the pursuit of peace.

These matters are central to the present election campaign. They have been made central by those who daily seek to cast doubts upon our nation's military strength. They have been made central by those who offer short-cuts to annihilation -- who glibly speak of "peace through strength", yet who fail to understand the test of responsibility.

These are men who have never left the simplicity of the school-yard -- who see our problems today in the simple-minded image of good-guys versus bullies.

What I have to say today concerns the state of our nation's defenses. But more than that, it concerns the state of mind and spirit of those men who control our defenses -- who hold as a trust from the American people a stewardship over the life and death of our planet.

The plain and sobering truth is that our country is today the strongest military power in the history of the world. We are not only stronger than any other nation; we are also stronger than any possible combination of other nations. I will not ask you to take my word for it, or Secretary McNamara's, or even President Johnson's. Instead, let me cite some hard statistics about this vast military force.

First of all, how do our forces compare with those of the second most powerful nation -- the Soviet Union. Is there a missile gap? A submarine gap? A bomber gap?

What about long-range missiles? The United States now has more than 800 dependable Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles that can reach any military base or city in the Communist world. Almost all of our ICBM's are protected in steel-and-concrete underground shelters, ready to fire in minutes.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only one-fourth as many -- 200 ICBMs, few of which are in underground shelters.

So, there is a missile gap. It is in our favor by more than four to one today, and it will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

The second basic strategic war weapon is the submarine-carried missile. Our Navy now has 256 Polaris missiles carried on 16 submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire on minutes' notice. These nuclear submarines, hidden beneath the seas of the world, could if necessary alone destroy 30 to 40 million people.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has a smaller force of sea-based missiles carried on inferior submarines. Our Polaris submarines are nuclear-powered; most of theirs are not. Our missiles can be launched from beneath the surface of the sea. The USSR has no such operational missile. Our missiles can strike deep into the Communist world; theirs have less than one-third our range.

Another 25 Polaris submarines are under construction. They will carry another 400 Polaris missiles.

So, there is also a submarine gap. It is in our favor today, and it will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

On the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the enemy. Half of the bombers are ready at all times to take off on 15 minutes notice. They are loaded with nuclear weapons tailored to the targets they must destroy, and they carry secret devices to confuse and penetrate enemy defenses.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only a small fraction of the total number of bombers which we possess which can be sent on a round-trip mission of destruction.

In other words, there is a bomber gap -- and it is in our favor. It will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

Clearly, America is strong. And our people know we are strong.

Those who cry alarm and rush to the panic button either do not know the facts -- or they think the facts are too complicated for the rest of us to understand. I believe that they sadly underestimate the intelligence of the American people.

They try to tell us, for example, that America's strength is deteriorating, that we are living on the inheritance of the past, that we have placed economy ahead of security. After four years in which this Administration has invested over \$30 billion more than was projected in the last Defense budget of the previous Administration, Americans are asked to believe that they have less military strength than before.

Let's look at the record.

Here is the record of four years of Defense planning by this Administration. Since January 1961 this Administration has achieved:

- \* A 150% increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200% increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert Forces.
- \* A 60% increase in the Tactical Nuclear Force in Western Europe.
- \* A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.
- \* A 44% increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.
- \* A 75% increase in airlift capability.
- \* A 100% increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.
- \* A 800% increase in the special forces trained for counter-insurgency.

There is the record, clear and irrefutable. But the self-styled military strategists persist in their doubts: "What about 1970? We may be ahead today," they admit, "but under the policies of this Administration, we will soon fall behind."

Well, what about 1970? The truth is, as Secretary McNamara has repeatedly stated:

"Our Strategic Forces are and will remain sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war."



The fact is that this Administration has increased by 50 percent expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last four years of the preceding Administration. We have initiated or brought to completion 208 new weapons research projects, including 77 costing \$10 million or more each. Consider for a moment just a few of the new projects:

- \* The SR-71, a long-range, manned, supersonic strategic military reconnaissance aircraft, which will employ the most advanced observation equipment in the world and fly at over 2,000 miles per hour and at an altitude of over 80,000 feet.
- \* The new A7A aircraft, which will give the Navy superior attack capability at more than double the range of the A4E that it will replace.
- \* The EX-10, a heavy, new type of torpedo for use against deep-diving, fast, nuclear submarines.
- \* The new Main Battle Tank, which will give our ground forces armor superiority throughout the 1970's.
- \* An amazing new family of Radars which actually sees around the curvature of the earth and will provide more advanced warning of enemy missile attacks.
- \* The two new interceptor systems capable of destroying armed satellites.
- \* The revolutionary variable sweep-winged F-111 fighter-bomber, a supersonic aircraft which has double the range and several times the payload of any previous fighter-bomber.

I could continue with this checklist of progress for another hour. But facts apparently have little effect on those who like to cry alarm. We daily hear wild charges that fly in the face of these facts.

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In recognizing our great military strength we should acknowledge our debt to a man from Michigan -- one of the men most responsible for organizing our overwhelming military power -- Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Secretary McNamara, through his brilliant, energetic, determined leadership of the Defense Department, has spectacularly executed President Kennedy's and President Johnson's twin mandates; first, to develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy, without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings; and, second, having determined the force structure needed, to procure and operate it at the lowest possible cost. Through economies he has introduced into the Defense Department, Secretary McNamara

--more--



achieved savings for the American taxpayer of \$2.5 billion last fiscal year alone and by fiscal year 1968 plans to achieve savings alone and by fiscal year 1968 plans to achieve savings of \$4.6 billion tax dollars annually -- and while continuing to increase the growing military power of our nation.

We have heard from the Republican candidate that tactical nuclear weapons should be considered "conventional" weapons, no different from those of the last World War. --that these "small" nuclear weapons should be handed over to military field commanders.

How "conventional" we might well ask, and how "small" was the bomb that devastated Hiroshima?

The average tactical nuclear bomb in Western Europe today is five times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The average tactical nuclear weapon in Western Europe, other than bombs, has a yield at least that of the Hiroshima bomb. The smallest nuclear weapon in Western Europe today has a force <sup>TEN</sup> ~~tens~~ of times greater than the 1,000 pound bombs dropped by the Flying Fortresses during the Second World War. The nuclear fire power available to a single U. S. infantry division in Europe is sufficient to destroy the combined population of the fifty largest cities in the United States.

How unimportant, furthermore, is the nuclear radiation which accompanies all nuclear explosives, large or small? In fact, the smallest nuclear weapons kill primarily ~~not~~ by blast, but by radiation. This doesn't seem to worry Barry Goldwater. But it worries our allies in Europe, where those weapons would have to be used. It worries me. It worries the President of the United States. And I shudder for the day when we have a President of the United States whom it does not worry.

No, my friends, there is a line between conventional and nuclear weapons which we can ignore only at our peril. Once we step over that line, we enter a great unknown from which there will be no turning back.

The true role of nuclear weapons is to deter aggression before it begins. To do this successfully, we must be prepared to use whatever force is necessary. We are prepared. We have the will to use nuclear weapons if necessary. And if such weapons must be used, the man to make that decision is the President of the United States.

Of course, the true measure of our defense cannot be found by merely weighing bombs or counting missiles, even when it is true weight and

honest count. One of the grave dangers in this campaign of deliberate confusion -- all this talk about bombs and bombers, and missiles and megatons -- is that we may lose sight of what nuclear power cannot do for our defense.

Nuclear power can deter a surprise attack with bombs or missiles on the United States because those in a position to launch such an attack know that the result would be total, instant national suicide for themselves. But nuclear weapons cannot prevent our enemies from attempting to devour freedom bit-by-bit, in Latin America, in Asia or in Africa. I doubt that the Communists intend to blow this world to pieces--they prefer to try to take it piece by piece.

Through a flexible military posture combined with a tough and realistic political policy, we are preventing the Communists from accomplishing this objective.

In this continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the enemies of freedom, we have already won a large part of the battle. We have driven our adversaries further and further down the scale of violence.

We have taught the Communists the futility of trying to expand their empire through large-scale military invasion. We have taught them the futility of trying to terrify Americans by rattling their nuclear rockets. And in Southeast Asia we are today meeting their test of our will and patience in the low end of the spectrum of force.-- in the twilight zone of assassination and guerilla terrorism.

And what finally are the facts of free world strength in Europe? Europe today enjoys both the shield of nuclear weapons and the strength of conventional power. Here the NATO alliance offers a striking example of mutual trust and common purpose. Today the strength of this alliance is steadily increasing.

We have re-equipped our Army in Europe with the most modern equipment. Sergeant and Pershing solid-fueled missile battalions have been deployed to Europe replacing obsolete Corporal and Redstone missiles; 175 mm artillery battalions are now in Europe; the equipment for two divisions and ten supporting units has been pre-positioned in Europe; and the concept of rapidly flying in troops to man this equipment has been tested in Exercise Big Lift.

The United States today has 18 nuclear missile submarines available to support NATO. In 1961, there were two. Our capacity to airlift troops and supplies to Europe has increased by 75 % since 1961. Finally, there has been a 60 % increase in the number of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe. And most important of all, we have made clear to our European allies that our nuclear guarantee stands as firm as ever, that our nuclear shield protects Europe today as it has in the past.

I have told you today of the nature and substance of our nation's military strength, I have done so because the American people must continue to know the truth regarding our defenses in an age of peril. I have done so, too, because you of the National Guard have a special right to candor and specifics on this crucial subject.

The firm statistics of our strength should be deeply reassuring to Americans of both political parties. For partisan politics cannot obscure our common dedication to the nation's strength.

But I return once again to that vital human factor which gives meaning and direction to strength: the factor of responsibility. The stuff of strength is a raw substance to be put to use -- for evil purposes or for good, with recklessness or with restraint, towards deepening chaos and war or towards order and peace.

And it is in this vital area of responsibility that the American people are confronted this November with a clear and unmistakable choice between two men. We can choose a man whose recklessness in words foretells a recklessness in deeds--whose instinctive zest for belligerence belies his professed dedication to peace. We can choose another man whose deeds and words in the world's most powerful office are the essence of responsibility.

I submit to you that President Johnson -- as President Kennedy before him -- has that greatest of all gifts we seek in statesmen: an understanding of the uses of strength in the relentless pursuit of peace. Under his leadership, the raw substance of strength will continue to be transformed into the life-blood of peace.

Americans are not, by nature, a warlike people. No people in history ever possessed the absolute military superiority that is ours today, over all other nations, friends and enemies alike. Yet our armaments are used, not for conquest, but for the prevention of conquest.

American arms are used, first of all, to assure our own safety. But beyond this, American arms today are a potent factor in discouraging the use of force in the pursuit of national ambitions. They are the shield behind which men labor to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish. Our friends and allies around the world know this, and have given us their trust. We will be true to that trust.

America seeks no wider war because we wish an end to all war.

- more -

- more -

America will not abandon the search for peaceful settlement of dispute among nations because we are opposed to all settlements imposed by force and violence.

America will not try to impose her own will upon our allies because what we seek is not an American world, but a free world. We seek a world of diversity-- of free and independent nations, pursuing their own happiness according to their own wishes.

My friends, this generation of Americans faces a challenge unparalleled in history. The last day of the gun-slinger -- the quick-draw man -- dawned at Alamogordo. On that day, man acquired the power to obliterate himself from the face of the earth. Since that day, war has worn a new face, and the vision of it has sobered all men and demanded of them a higher order of responsibility.

Our generation knows war as no other people in history have ever known it. And in this grim fact, I see cause for hope. If we continue to use our might only in the pursuit of peace, if we continue to seek grounds for lasting peace, then in the fullness of time, men may look back upon the frightful glare that burst over Hiroshima and see there not a beginning of terror but an end to terror -- an end to the senseless cruelty of man bearing arms against fellow man.

This is the hope some of our political leaders would reject in their search for quick and easy solutions. This is the goal they would have us abandon in their impatience and frustration. This is the challenge they refuse to face because they can envision neither the prospects of success nor the consequences of failure. And where there is no vision, the people perish.

If we act with vision and wisdom, my fellow Americans, we shall not perish, but shall prevail. Nor will we be frightened into war when our vision is peace. Not peace at any price, but peace with freedom.

Our defenses are strong. They will remain strong. While the time for beating swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall continue to work to eliminate war. Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice -- but courage. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness -- but wisdom. Let us be wise, let us persevere, and America will prevail. With our hard-won freedom intact, we shall survive and flourish.

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RE. SELECTIVE SERVICE - NATL. GUARD ASSN

TUESDAY, SEPT. 23TH

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL GUARD ASSOC  
UNANIMOUSLY PASSED RESOLUTION STRONGLY  
FAVORING RETENTION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE  
SYSTEM. RESOLUTION WILL BE VOTED ON BY  
NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION ON THURSDAY.

// NATL GUARD POSSITION IS BASED ON THOUGHT  
THAT IF SELECTIVE SERVICE IS ABOLISHED IT XXXX  
WILL WRECK THE NATIONAL GUARD BECAUSE THEY WXX  
WONT BE ABLE TO RECRUIT HIGH CALIBER PERSONNEL  
//



Genl Cantwell

Address of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

National Guard

Detroit, Michigan

September 30, 1964

86th Conference

Genl Moegle  
of min.

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing the members and friends of the National Guard.

We have many venerable military organizations in our country, some of which extend in an unbroken line back to the War of Independence. But the National Guard is, in a sense, the oldest of them all. It is in a very real sense the direct descendant of the Minutemen at Concord, and the other brave citizen soldiers of the Revolution who created this great Nation of ours.

But times have changed, and so has the role of the Guard. For the first time in our history, the National Guard has an active defense mission in peace time. As an integral part of the Air Defense Command, Army National Guard NIKE Missile Battalions are on site and

in operation around the clock.

In the Air National Guard, elements of a number of Fighter-Interceptor Squadrons and Aircraft and Warning Squadrons stand on "runway alert". In these -- and many other ways -- the National Guard is on the front-line of America's defense. I believe that the Guard has been indispensable in the past and is indispensable in the future.

*Cont*  
In this great industrial city of Detroit I am sure that businessmen and employers know the importance of the National Guard in our country's defense system. I am sure that they and their colleagues across the country grant without hesitation the 15 days leave each summer necessary for you to keep up your training. American employers know that the temporary inconvenience caused by summer leave is a small price to pay for the large contribution made to our Nation's defense.

I can think of no more fitting group with which to discuss the very vital subject which I propose to talk about today.

I am here today to talk to you about peace and about strength.

~~I do not doubt that~~ -- Like most Americans -- you feel deeply the overriding need for world peace and for national strength, and you know that these two are related.

Peace is best preserved through strength and preparedness: History - yes how fully tragic history taught us that lesson.

Yet there is another truth that history proclaims: that strength alone neither gives nor guarantees peace.

For between strength and peace lies a vital way-station, a life-giving, life-preserving link.

I speak of responsibility. And by responsibility

I mean those qualities of reason, restraint, maturity,  
and compassion that make men morally accountable for  
their actions.

Strength employed without responsibility is the  
force of the jungle unleashed. Strength without responsi-  
bility is the formula for blind violence. Strength  
without responsibility is the very denial of peace --  
the short-cut to war. <sup>and,</sup> In a nuclear age it is also the  
short-cut to mutual annihilation.

~~So I want to talk not only of peace and of strength.~~  
~~I also want to talk of responsibility in the use of~~  
~~strength and in the pursuit of peace.~~

These matters are central to the present election  
campaign. They have been made central by those who  
daily seek to cast doubts upon our nation's military  
strength. They have been made central by those who  
~~offer short-cuts to annihilation~~ who glibly speak of

"peace through strength", yet ~~we~~ fail to understand  
the test of responsibility.

~~These are men who have never left the simplicity  
of the school yard -- who see our problems today in the  
simple-minded image of good guys versus bullies.~~ only

What I have to say today concerns the state of our  
nation's defenses. ~~But more than that~~ it concerns the  
state of mind and spirit of those men who control our  
defenses -- who hold as a trust from the American people  
a stewardship over the life and death of our planet.

~~The plain and sobering truth is that~~ our country  
is today the strongest military power in the history of  
the world. We are not only stronger than any other  
nation; we are also stronger than any possible combination  
of other nations. I will not ask you to take my word for  
it, or Secretary McNamara's, or even President Johnson's.

Instead, let me cite some hard statistics about this

vast military force.

First of all, how do our forces compare with those of the second most powerful nation -- the Soviet Union.

Is there a missile gap? A submarine gap? A bomber gap?

What about long-range missiles? The United States now has more than 800 dependable Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles that can reach any military base or city in the Communist world. Almost all of our ICBMs are protected in steel-and-concrete underground shelters, ready to fire in minutes.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only one-fourth as many -- ~~100,000~~, few of which are in underground shelters.

*but it*  
*for*  
So, there is a missile gap. It is in our favor today, and it will remain in our favor, ~~through the foreseeable future.~~

The second basic strategic war weapon is the



submarine-carried missile. Our Navy now has 256 Polaris  
missiles carried on 16 submarines, about two-thirds of  
which are on patrol and ready to fire on minutes' notice.

These nuclear submarines, hidden beneath the seas of  
the world, *represent, to any potential enemy who seeks to*  
~~could if it were alone destroy 20 to 40~~  
*destroy the United States, the loss of 30 to 40*  
million people. *That is a fantastic deterrent!*

↳ The Soviet Union, by comparison, has a smaller  
force of sea-based missiles carried on inferior sub-  
marines. ↳ Our Polaris submarines are nuclear-powered;  
most of theirs are not. ↳ Our missiles can be launched  
from beneath the surface of the sea. ↳ The USSR has no  
such operational missile. ↳ Our missiles can strike deep  
into the Communist world; theirs have less than one-third  
our range.

↳ Another 25 Polaris submarines are under construction.  
They will carry another 400 Polaris missiles.

*Yes,* there is ~~also~~ a submarine gap. It is in our

favor to ~~us~~ and it will remain in our favor through the  
~~foreseeable future.~~

On the question of bombers, the United States has  
a force several times as large as that available to the  
enemy. Half of ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> bombers are ready at all times to  
take off on 15 minutes notice. They are loaded with  
nuclear weapons tailored to the targets they must destroy,  
and they carry secret devices to confuse and penetrate  
enemy defenses.

The Soviet Union, by comparison, has only a small  
fraction of the total number of bombers <sup>long range</sup> ~~which we possess~~  
~~which can be sent on a round-trip mission of destruction.~~

<sup>yes</sup> In other words, there is a bomber gap -- and it is  
in our favor. It will remain in our favor through the  
~~foreseeable future.~~

Clearly, America is strong. And our people know we  
are strong.

L Those who cry alarm and rush to the panic button  
either do not know the facts -- or they ~~ignore them~~ *ignore them*.  
~~are too complicated for the rest of us to understand.~~

L ~~They also~~ *They also* ~~badly underestimate the intelligence~~  
*of the American people.*

They try to tell us, for example, that America's strength is deteriorating, that we are living on the inheritance of the past, that we have placed economy ahead of security. After four years in which this Administration has invested over \$30 billion more than was projected in the last Defense budget of the previous Administration, Americans are asked to believe that they have less military strength than before.

Let's look at the record.

/ Here is the record of four years of Defense planning by this Administration. Since January 1961  
this Administration has achieved:

- ✓ A 150% increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200% increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert Forces.
- ✓ A 60% increase in the Tactical Nuclear Force in Western Europe.
- ✓ A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.
- . A 44% increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.
- . A 75% increase in airlift capability.
- . A 100% increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.
- . A 800% increase in the special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

*Here*  
~~There~~ is the record, ~~clear and irrefutable.~~ *But some*

~~the self-styled military strategists persist in their~~  
~~doubts: "What about 1970? We may be ahead today," they~~  
~~admit, "but under the policies of this Administration,~~  
~~we will soon fall behind."~~

Well, what about 1970? ~~The truth is, as Secretary~~

McNamara has repeatedly stated:

*Secretary*  
*McNamara has given us the*  
*answer -*

"Our Strategic Forces are and will remain sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war."

~~The fact is that~~ this Administration has increased by 50 percent expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last four years of the preceding Administration. We have initiated or brought to completion 208 new weapons re- search projects, ~~including 77 costing \$10 million or~~ ~~more each.~~

~~In recognizing our great military strength we should acknowledge our debt to a man from Michigan -- one of the men most responsible for organizing our overwhelming military power -- Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.~~

Secretary McNamara, through his brilliant, energetic, determined leadership of the Defense Department,

has spectacularly executed President Kennedy's and President Johnson's twin mandates; first, to develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy, without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings; and, second, having determined the force structure needed, to procure and operate it at the lowest possible cost. Through economies he has

introduced into the Defense Department, Secretary McNamara achieved savings for the American taxpayer of \$2.5 billion last fiscal year alone and by fiscal year 1968 plans to achieve savings of \$4.6 billion tax dollars annually -- and while continuing to increase the growing military power of our nation.

We have heard from the Republican candidate that tactical nuclear weapons should be considered "conventional" weapons, no different from those of the last World War -- that these "small" nuclear weapons should be handed over



to military field commanders.

But L How "conventional", ~~we might well ask~~, and how "small" was the bomb that devastated Hiroshima?

L The average tactical nuclear bomb in Western Europe today is five times as powerful as the bomb dropped on

Hiroshima. L The average tactical nuclear weapon in Western Europe, other than bombs, has a yield at least

that of the Hiroshima bomb. L The smallest nuclear weapon

in Western Europe today has a force 10 ~~ten~~ times greater

than the 1000 pound bombs dropped by the Flying Fortresses

during the Second World War. L The nuclear fire power

available to a single U.S. infantry division in Europe

is sufficient to destroy the combined population of the  
fifty largest cities in the United States.

L How unimportant, furthermore, is the nuclear radi-  
ation which accompanies all nuclear explosives, large or

small? L In fact, the smallest nuclear weapons kill

primarily, not by blast, but by radiation. This doesn't seem to worry <sup>Senators</sup> ~~Harry~~ Goldwater. But it worries our allies in Europe, where those weapons would have to be used. It worries me. It worries the President of the United States. And I shudder for the day when we have a President of the United States whom it does not worry.

L No, ~~my friends~~, there is a line between conventional and nuclear weapons which we can ignore only at our peril.

L Once we step over that line, we enter a great unknown from which there will be no turning back.

L The true role of nuclear weapons is to deter aggression before it begins. To do this successfully, we must be prepared to use whatever force is necessary. <sup>and</sup> We are prepared! We have the will to use nuclear weapons if necessary. And if such weapons must be used, the man to make that decision is the President of the United States.

~~Of course,~~ the true measure of our defense cannot

be found by merely weighing bombs or counting missiles,  
even when it is a true weight and an honest count. One  
of the grave dangers in this campaign of deliberate  
confusion -- all this talk about bombs and bombers, and  
missiles and megatons -- is that we may lose sight of  
what nuclear power cannot do for our defense.

↳ Nuclear power can deter a surprise attack with  
bombs or missiles on the United States because those in  
a position to launch such an attack know that the result  
would be total, instant national suicide for themselves.

↳ But nuclear weapons cannot prevent our enemies from  
attempting to devour freedom bit-by-bit, in Latin America,  
in Asia or Africa. I doubt that the communists intend to  
blow this world to pieces -- they prefer to try to take  
it piece by piece.

*responsible*  
↳ Through a flexible military posture combined with a  
tough and realistic political policy, we are preventing

the Communists from accomplishing this objective.

↳ In this continuing confrontation between the forces of freedom and the enemies of freedom, we have already won a large part of the battle. We have driven our adversaries further and further down the scale of violence.

↳ We have taught the Communists the futility of trying to expand their empire through large-scale military invasion. ↳ We have taught them the futility of trying to terrify Americans by rattling their nuclear rockets.

↳ And in Southeast Asia we are today meeting their test of our will and patience in the low end of the spectrum of force -- in the twilight zone of assassination and guerilla terrorism.

↳ And what finally are the facts of free world strength in Europe. ↳ Europe today enjoys both the shield of nuclear weapons and the strength of conventional power. Here the NATO alliance offers a striking example of mutual trust

and common purpose. <sup>and</sup> Today the strength of this alliance  
is steadily increasing.

↳ We have re-equipped our Army in Europe with the  
most modern equipment. Sergeant and Pershing solid-  
fueled missile battalions have been deployed to Europe  
replacing obsolete Corporal and Redstone missiles; 175  
mm artillery battalions are now in Europe; the equipment  
for two divisions and 10 supporting units has been pre-  
positioned in Europe; and the concept of rapidly flying  
in troops to man this equipment has been tested in  
Exercise Big Lift.

The United States today has 18 nuclear missile  
submarines available to support NATO. In 1961, there  
were two. ↳ Our capacity to airlift troops and supplies  
to Europe has increased by 75% since 1961. Finally,  
there has been a 60% increase in the number of tactical  
nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe. And most

important of all, we have made clear to our European  
allies that our nuclear guarantee stands as firm as ever,  
that our nuclear shield protects Europe today as it has  
in the past.

I have told you today of the nature and substance  
of our nation's military strength. I have done so  
because the American people must continue to know the  
truth regarding our defenses in an age of peril. I have  
done so, too, because you of the National Guard have a  
special right to candor and specifics on this crucial  
subject.

The firm statistics of our strength should be deeply  
reassuring to Americans of both political parties. For  
partisan politics cannot obscure our common dedication  
to the nation's strength;

But I return once again to that vital human factor  
which gives meaning and direction to strength: the



factor of responsibility. The stuff of strength is a raw substance to be put to use -- for evil purposes or for good, with recklessness or with restraint, towards deepening chaos or towards order and peace.

And it is in this vital area of responsibility that the American people are confronted this November with a clear and unmistakable choice between two men. We can choose a man whose recklessness in words foretells a recklessness in deeds -- ~~whose instinctive test for~~ ~~his~~ ~~generence~~ ~~belies his~~ ~~professed dedication to peace.~~

We can choose another man whose deeds and words in the world's most powerful office are the essence of responsibility.

I submit to you that President Johnson -- as President Kennedy before him -- has that greatest of all gifts we seek in statesmen: an understanding of the uses of strength in the relentless pursuit of peace. ~~Under~~

his leadership, the raw substance of strength will  
continue to be transformed into the life-blood of peace.

Americans are not, by nature, a warlike people.

No people in history ever possessed the absolute military superiority that is ours today, over all other nations, friends and enemies alike. Yet our armaments are used, not for conquest, but for the prevention of conquest.

American arms are used, first of all, to assure our own safety. But beyond this, American arms today are a potent factor in discouraging the use of force in the pursuit of national ambitions. They are the shield behind which men labor to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom can flourish. Our friends and allies around the world know this, and have given us their trust. We will be true to that trust.

America seeks no wider war because we wish an end to all war.

h America will not abandon the search for peaceful  
settlement of disputes among nations because we are  
opposed to all settlements imposed by force and violence.

America will not try to impose her own will upon  
our allies because what we seek is not an American world,  
but a free world. We seek a world of diversity -- of  
free and independent nations, pursuing their own happiness  
according to their own wishes.

My friends, this generation of Americans faces a  
challenge unparalleled in history. The last day of the  
gun-slinger -- the quick-draw man -- dawned at Alamogordo.

h On that day, man acquired the power to obliterate himself  
from the face of the earth. Since that day, war has  
worn a new face, and the vision of it has sobered all men  
and demanded of them a higher order of responsibility.

Our generation knows war as no other people in  
history have ever known it. And in this grim fact, I

see cause for hope. If we continue to use our might  
only in the pursuit of peace, if we continue to seek  
grounds for lasting peace, then in the fullness of time,  
men may look back upon the frightful glare that burst over  
Hiroshima and see there not a beginning of terror but an  
end to terror -- <sup>an end</sup> ~~an end~~ to the senseless cruelty of man  
bearing arms against fellow man.

out This is the hope some of our political leaders would  
reject in their search for quick and easy solutions. This  
is the goal they would have us abandon in their impatience  
and frustration. This is the challenge they refuse to face  
because they can envision neither the prospects of success  
nor the consequences of failure. And where there is no  
vision, the people perish.

If we act with vision and wisdom, my fellow Americans,  
we shall not perish but shall prevail. Nor will we be  
frightened into war when our vision is peace. Not peace

at any price, but peace with freedom.

Our defenses are strong. They will remain strong.

While the time for beating swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall continue to work to eliminate war.

Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice --

but courage. Restraint in the use of force is not

weakness -- but wisdom. Let us be wise, let us persevere,

and America will prevail. With our hard-won freedom

intact, we shall survive and flourish.

JFK

Let us Begin / ~~Memorandum~~

sp file: Sept. 30  
Prosperity Detroit,  
Mich.

CITY OF DETROIT -- CITY-FEDERAL RELATIONS

U.S. Govt - State & City - Partnership

Accelerated Public Works

Industry - business - Labor

✓ \$34,000,000 joint Federal-City program split about 50-50 resulting in speeding up of needed public improvements including: renovation of two <sup>2</sup> Hospitals; hospitals; airport administrative building; repaving 58 miles of City streets; new south wing to the Art Institute; sewer and water improvements, etc.

⊗ City of Detroit received more funds than eight states.

Urban Renewal

✓ Extensive slum clearance resulting in rebuilding of near downtown as attractive residential area -- Lafayette Project -- with high-rise townhouse, senior citizen, shopping center, an appropriate mix. Further expansions of residential area -- Elmwood 1 and 2. In addition, clearance for construction of \$100,000,000 medical center is moving along very rapidly. West Side Industrial recently doubled in size. University City just received notice that survey and planning application has been approved and almost \$7,000,000 in Federal funds reserved for land acquisition and clearance. Community Renewal Program providing blueprint for future development of urban renewal. Joint application for \$3,000,000 program being made for transportation and land use study to Housing and Home Finance Agency and Bureau of Public Roads by City of Detroit and Regional Plan Commission and other local agencies.

Total Action Against Poverty

✓ Community leaders planning with City for coordinated attack on poverty using Economic Opportunity Act as basic financing device.

Roady Square

Medical Center  
University City

Smiles  
of  
Pacing

Proposed program (TAP) totals over \$9,000,000 and will be augmented by a program in excess of \$5,000,000 prepared by the Board of Education.

It includes: Community Action Centers, medical and health programs in these centers and in schools; a Work Training Program for more than 4000 youngsters. Wayne State University is preparing a proposal for a residential training center under the Job Corps to serve the region.

#### Special Youth Employment Project

h Training 600 youngsters primarily through the use of City job stations under grant from Department of Labor (OMAT) and Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

#### Area Redevelopment Administration

ARA has provided funds for a number of projects including the Pontchartrain; International Village; Research Park; and studies have been completed on the Port development; and in progress is a study of research potential for the City of Detroit. Numerous training programs under ARA have been conducted.

#### Mayor Cavanagh's Role

Testified on numerous occasions on behalf of the City and the AMA and U. S. Conference of Mayors and is a member of the National Public Advisory Committee of the ARA; member of Presidential panel on legislative needs for metropolitan areas and member of Federal Community Relations Commission established under the Civil Rights Act.

# # #



Mayo Jerry Curran.

9715 - Let's Begin

Kennedy & Quere !



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