State Sm Stream Oct-Kern County Cetter Petroleun Iduntry SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY Bakersfield, California October 3, 1964 San Joan I would like to unveil a new chapter in the

wonderful world of politics.

I hereby announce the first in a series of the Great

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Debates of 1964 - the debates between Barry Goldwater and

his fellow Republicans.

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self-propelled exile, Mr. Nixon.

I'd like to compare the views of Mr. Goldwater and Secretary of State.

Let's take a look at the record - it's mighty

interesting.

K For openers, let's look at foreign policy!

It will be a tragedy for the Republican party if MIXON

every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged,

not repudiated. These were the words of Richard Nixon in

a press conference reported by the Des Moines Register this

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Of course, this press conference was held on June 10 -

before Mr. Nixon laid down his sword on the Goldwater

rostrum in the Cow Palace in San Francisco - and long

before he was tapped for Secretary of State by the

Republican pretender to the Presidency.

Now let's move on and look at Nixon and Goldwater

on the role of the Federal Government.

I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the states and to the individual. Now, if the states and the individuals will handle the problems of schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do the things that the people want done and that should be done, that is certainly the proper thing to do. But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job. And I simply cannot buy what I think is a view which is outmoded and reactionary, that the Federal Government just leaves everything to the individuals" those were the words of Mr. Nixon on a television program, The Open Question, over WIMJ in

HIXON.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 8, 1960.

Goldwater disagrees. Here is what Senator Goldwater said: "The Government must begin to withdraw from the whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate - from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal." <u>The Conscience of a Conservative</u>, 1960.

Mr. Nixon said: "It is my belief that price supports have a place, and an important place, in a dynamic program for farm progress." Speech at the 1960 Soil Conservation Field Days, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, September 23, 1960.

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Here's how they differ on education:

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Mr. Nixon: "I believe that the Federal Government must do more than it is now doing to overcome economic obstacles that stand in the way of many of our young people attending our colleges and universities. I know of no more indefensible waste of human resources." --

Statement on Health, Education, and Welfare issued November 6, 1960.

LMr. Goldwater disagrees: "The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it. Jacksonville, Florida, October 3, 1960.

On health and welfare:

Mr. Nixon said: "Washington has responsibilities. We have a program for schools, for housing, in health, in all of these areas that will produce progress. . . Washington shall do those things that the individuals and the states

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cannot do." - Municipal Auditorium, Bangor, Maine, Sept. 30, 1960.

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Here's how these two Republican stalwarts differ on the minimum wage:

Mr. Nixon: "I favor the raising of the minimum wage. . . I also favor extending coverage to 3 million people not presently covered." -- National Telethon, ABC, Southfield, Michigan, November 7, 1960.

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p. 12987 of the 1961 Congressional Record.

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And now we return once again to foreign

policy:

Mr. Nixon said: "We will have our diplomacy firm, but without belligerence. We will strengthen the instruments of peace, strengthen them by strengthening the United Nations and the Organization of American States, always going the extra mile to attempt to work out these differences but remembering that there isn't any easy way, that, we've got to expect rough seas, and the question is not whether you have trouble in dealing with the Communists. They're going to make trouble. The question is how you react to them, how you handle them, whether you lose your head, whether you're rash or immature or whether you have the judgment and the toughness to be able to sail the rough seas as well as the smooth ones. " -- Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth, New Jersey, October 4, 1960.

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Mr. Goldwater disagrees: ^MSome day I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war. I think that a general war is probable. I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five, ten years from now. ^M interview with Irwin Ross, NY Post, May 8, 1961.

The only matter on which Mr. Nixon and Senator Goldwater seem to have consistently agreed is that both think they have been treated unfairly by the press. FOR P.M.'S RELEASE SATURDAY, OCTOMER 3

B-3822

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3

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I'd like to compare the views of Mr. Goldwater and his could-be secretary of State .

Let's take a look at the record -- it's mightly interesting.

For openers, let's look at foreign policy:

"It will be a tragedy for the Republican party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated." These were the words of Richard Nixon in a press conference this summer.

Of course, this press conference was held on June 10-- before Mr. Nixon laid down his sword on the Goldwater rostrum in the Cow Palace in San Francisco-and long before he was tapped for Secretary of State by the Republican pretender to the presidency.

Now Jet's move on and look at Nixon and Goldwater on the role of the Federal government.

Nixon: "I do not agree with those people and say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the states and to the individuals. Now, if the states and the individuals will handle the problems of schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do the things that the people want done and that should be done, that is cert nly the proper thing to do. But it is the responsibility of the Federal government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job: and I simply cannot by what I think is a view which is outmoded and reactionary, that the Federal government just leaves everything to the individuals." (Remarks on "The Open Question," WTMI_TV, Milwaukee, Wis, Oct. 8, 1960.)

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HEALTH AND WELFARE

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MINIMUM WAGE

Nixon: "I favor the rising of the minimum wage....I also favor extending coverage to 3 million people not presently covered." (National telethon ABC, Southfield, Mich., Nov. 7, 1960.)

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Right to Work Laws

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SOCIAL SECURITY

Nixon: "I will provide the leadership and sympathetic interest (in the years, 1960-1964)which will strengthen and expand the social security system." (Statement, Fresno, California., Nove. 4, 1960)

Goldwater disagrees: "I would like to suggest one change, that social security be made voluntary." (Concord, N.H., Jan 7, 1964.) He made the same statement a dozen timrs this year.

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FOREIGN POLLCY

Nixon: "We will have our diplomacy firm, but without belligerence. We will strengthen the instruments of peace, strengthen them by states, always going the extra mile to attempt to work out these differences but remembering that there isn't any easy way, that, we've got to expect rough seas, and the question is not whether you have trouble in dealing with the communists. They're going to make trouble. The question is how you react to them, how you handle them, whether you lose your head, whether you're rash or immature or whether you have the judgement and the toughness to be able to sail the rough seas as well as the smooth ones." (Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth , N.J.) Oct. 4, 1960

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BAKERSFIELD

I am happy to be here in Bakersfield. This is the beginning of a long day of whistle-stops which I look forward to. Whistlestopping is more than simply a political ritual. It is also more than simply allowing the electorate to see the candidate. It is also part of a candidate's education. It teaches me to constantly keep in mind the breadth and variety of our country. It allows me to see directly and intimately the diversity of achievements and challenges which constitute the dynamic culture of California. It demonstrates the complexity of our problems and the elaborate structure of our strength.

Such an intimate view, such precise knowledge cannot be gained by looking through the window of a jet plane.

Here in the San Joaquin Valley we have a symbol of the productivity and dynamic growth. This growth, which typifies California -- the fastest growing state in the Union -- is a product of several ingredients. First and foremost, your talents, persistence and industry. But all the individual effort in the world would not have would the irrigation and reclamation programs which have made the valley so productive. It was appioneer in reclamation, whose name your town bears. These vital programs are the result of a partnership between the government at every level, all working for the people.

Since 1961 the government under the Kennedy-Johnson administration has shown a forward looking approach to development and conservation of water resources. Make no mistake. This is regarded as no little problem -- it is crucial. Civilizations which have neglected this most precious resource -- water -lie buried under sand.

Since 1961 the Federal government has given to California \$6.7 million for water research. Research to produce the knowledge to make programs efficient and to maximize their usefulness.... this is seed money. Since 1961 the Federal government has

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contributed \$230 million to California water projects.

Following up President Kennedy's statement in the 1960 campaign that his administration would be one with new starts not status-quo, new starts in California in reclamation projects since 1961 have created 1,200,000 acre feet of new water supplies for irrigation, and new starts have created 2, 150,000 acre feet of new water storage capacity. These new starts will result in annual benefits in this state of 140.9 million dollars and -- more significant -- will create 48.6 million man hours of on -site employment. This will benefit California, it will be of benefit to youl

The next major step is the East side division of the Central Valley project. It has already been started. As you know, Senator Goldwater has been opposed to all these projects but this last new start, the Auburn Dam and Folson South Ganal. The reason is obvious -- it helps Arizona.

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His record on everything else is totally negative. If it had been up to him, this place could have been called Death Valley - north branch. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has done a lot -- we will do more.

Four years ago John F. Kennedy Said here at Makersfield on September 9th: "I think there is one basic issue in this campaign. We can see it in this valley, we can see it in this country, and we can see it around the world. That is the long range difference between our two political parties, between a party that believes things are as good as they can be, and a party that thinks we can do better."

Today Goldwater not only thinks that things are not good today but espouses a program which is guaranteed to make things worse.

President Johnson knows that the future can be better than the present and he is dedicated to making it better. I am sure you will make him your choice in November third and secure a responsible foreign policy, an understanding domestic policy, and a future of peace, progress, justice, and prosperity. Thank you. Senator Humphrey Bakersfield, California October 3, 1964

Thank you very much, Senator Salinger, and good morning my dear friends. Only Democrats would get up at this hour to have a campaign meeting.

(Laughter)

But since we are the children of light and not the children of darkness I suppose it is good to be out here in this great spot.

I am particularly happy to see that once again we have a few of these repentant political sinners that are coming here.

(Applause)

There aren't many, but they are fading.

((Laughter)

Oh, it is nice to see this, it is nice to see this. One likes to start a day knowing that somehow or other the work of last evening has paid some dividends, I am so pleased.

And then may I say it is good to see these wonderful signs that have been hand processed. We are the sort of do-ityourself group here in the Democratic Party.

I am very happy to be with my old friend Pierre Salinger. and Allen, I want you to know he is some campaigner. I tasted a bit of his campaign ability back in 1960 when he was feeding in suggestions for that wonderful man that became our President, and you, sir, put up a marvelous fight here in California, and I think one of the finest demonstrations of good democracy and good citizenship and good sportsmanship is the fact that Allen Cranston and Pierre Salinger are working sice-by-side in this campaign.

(Applause)

I am delighted to be here and be greeted by your State Senator, Mr. Stern, and too, of course, say that it is always good to have a Democrat that is watching over the affairs of the District, and I am delighted also to be in the assembly district of Jack Casey and Mr. Williamson, and to be here with, not with him, but he is your Congressman, and he is our friend,

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and Iwant to bring you a special, special greeting from Harlan Hagen, your Congressman of the 13th District.

(Applause)

I have been getting a first-class Chamber of Commerce snow job on me on the way coming down, up here, I should say, to Bakersfield.

Pierre Salinger is telling me of the fantastic growth of this area. He tells me how big California is going to be in another 10 years, as if it isn't big already, and he tells me how prosperous this community is, he says to me, "Senator, they raise more cotton here than you have wheat in the midwest, and they have petroleum and industry and jobs, and employment and expansion and investments and colleges, and everything that is good apparently is in Bakersfield.

(Applause)

Well, I am delighted to be in Kern County and I want to tell you something you have got to improve a little bit. Ijust checked the voting statistics of 1960, and I want to tell you that you were short 1,424 votes, 1,424 votes in that last election.

(Cries of "we have got them now".)

Attaboy. I was afraid he didn't get along on the trip. We had this all worked out.

(Laughter)

I know that you are going to have them, and I surely want to say that we have our job cut out for us, and we have the task to be completed, and that is to make sure that this great area, this county, this 13th District, that it goes strongly Democratic for Lyndon B. Johnson, for Pierre Salinger, and if you have a little time there Hubert Humphrey in there, too.

(Applause)

Well, now folks, we are going to try something new today. I want to unveil a new chapter in this wonderful world of politics, and you know we Democrats enjoy politics, it is really a happy pursuit, particularly when you are going to win. (Applause) The Senator from Arizona has been going around the country shouting about the great debate, and I think he is entitled to one. Of course, he wanted to debate the President, but last February he said that no man that is President should debate, however, we do not expect consistency in these matters from the Senator from Arizona.

(Applause.)

But one thing I feel that we ought to do is to be accomodating and polite and if any way we can be helpful we ought to extend that hand of assistance and fellowship. So this morning I am just full of fellowship, full of helpfulness, and we want, Pierre Salinger and Hubert Humphrey, want to be helpful to the sort of faltering, bogged down, mired down, campaign of the opposition.

We would like to help them and since the candidate of the Goldwater faction of the faction of the Republican Party wants to have a debate, we thought we would launch right here at Bakersfield, and I hereby announce now from this platform the first in a series of the great debates of 1964, the debates between Barry Goldwater and his fellow Republicans.

(Laughter.) (Applause.)

And I do want you to know that this is just the first, because there are a lot of invitations standing, outstanding invitations during the winter months and the spring months that the Senator from Arizona never had an opportunity apparently to accept, and I think that these invitations ought to be honored, and after he has gone through the list of preliminaries we may be able to book him with the Champ but I think he has to prove himself first.

(Applause.)

Now, in this first debate I would like to suggest to him a very worthy adversary, his new-found friend, Dick Nixon --

(Applause.)

--the could-be, the wants-to-be Secretary of State in the imaginary Goldwater Cabinet. Now, we will announce the details of other great debates between Mr. Goldwater and his Republican adversaries on a later date. But today I would like to concentrate on Mr. Goldwater and that refugee from California, that self-propelled exile, Mr. Nixon.

(Laughter and applause.)

I would like to compare the view of Mr. Goldwater and his wants-to-be Secretary of State, so let's take a look at the record, I think it is mighty interesting.

Now, for openers, let's take a look at foreign policy and I want to bring my friend Pierre up here now because in just a moment I want to describe the ground rules. This gentleman here may not look like it, but he is for the purpose of this little affair, he is Richard Nixon.

(Laughter.)

And this fellow who is talking to you for this highly theatrical purpose, this exercise in forensics will portray himself as Barry Goldwater. My, what a man will do in politics.

(Laughter and applause.)

Now, my friends, as an opener, I think we ought to call on Pierre Salinger to be Richard "new laws" Nixon.

Senator Salinger. "It will be a tragedy for the Republican Party if ever Goldwater's view as previously stated were not challenged and not repudiated."

Senator Humphrey. These were the words of Richard Nixon in a press conference reported by the Des Moines Register this past summer. Of course, this press conference was held on June 10, before Mr. Nixon lay down his sword on the Goldwater rostrum at the Cow Palace at San Francisco, long before he was tapped as the make-believe Secretary of State by the Republican Pretender to the Presidency. Now, let's move on and look at the Nixon-Goldwater -- Nixon and Goldwater on the role of the Federal Government.

I hereby present to you that courageous son of California, Pierre Salinger, who will now imitate that defeated son of California, Richard Nixon.

Senator Salinger. "Well, I must say I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the States and to the individual. Now, if the States and the individual will handle the problem of the schools, if they will provide the medical care, if they will do certain things that the people want done and that should be done that is certainly the proper thing to do.

"But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government cannot or will not do the job, and I simply cannot buy the view of what I think is a view that is outmoded and reactionary that the Federal Government just leaves everything to the individuals."

This is Mr. Nixon speaking over WTMJ in Milwaukee on October 8, 1960.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, Mr. Nixon. And now may I speak for the Goldwater faction.

"The Government just begin to withdraw from the whole series of programs that are outside the Constitutional mandate, from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing and urban renewal." The Conscience of Conservative, 1960. Now, Mr. Nixon, let's hear your views on agriculture.

Senator Salinger. "It is my belief that price supports have a place, and an important place, in a dynamic program for farm progress." Speech at the 1960 Soil Conservation Field Days, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, September 23, 1960.

Senator Humphrey. "Doing something about it (farm price supports) means -- and there can be no equivocation here -prompt and final termination of the Farm Subsidy Program." Mr. Goldwater, Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

"Now on education, Richard."

(Laughter.)

Senator Salinger. "You don't seem to be agreeing with me, Barry."

Senator Humphrey. "Well, after all, every man is entitled to be wrong two times."

(Laughter and applause.)

Senator Salinger. "If we are wrong for a third time, I think three strikes we are out. "I believe that the Federal Government must do more than it is now doing to overcome economic obstacles that stand in the way of many of our young people attending our colleges and universities. I know of no more indefensible waste of human resources." Statement on Health, Education, and Welfare issued November 6, 1960.

Now, Barry, would you mind talking about education, please?

Senator Humphrey. "The Government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it." Jacksonville, Florida, October 3, 1960.

"And now, Richard, would you give us your views on health and welfare?"

Senator Salinger. "Why can't we agree on something." Senator Humphrey. "Well, that is asking too much."

(Laughter.)

Senator Salinger. "Washington has responsibilities. We have a program for schools, for housing, in health, in all of these areas that will produce progress. Washington shall do these things that the individuals and the States cannot do." Municipal Auditorium, Bangon, Maine, September 30, 1960.

"Barry, this is what I said when I was running for President."

(Laughter.)

Senator Humphrey. "Well, I shall speak and speak frankly, Richard.

"In the general field of public welfare, I would disagree with both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, and that's where I disagree with Eisenhower. I recall once calling his program similar to the dime store New Deal. I don't believe in Federal aid to education, or aid to the aged, or any kind of medical assistance." Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1961.

"Now, Richard, I would like to get your point of view on

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such important matters as minimum wage?"

Senator Salinger. "Barry, the more you talk, I think the only people in the world that agree with you are Strom Thurmond and George Murphy."

(Laughter.) (Applause.)

Senator Humphrey. "You are talking of two of my dearest friends."

Senator Salinger. "Strom was out here last week and he did more for the fallout shelter program in this State. He had Republicans all over the State hiding."

(Laughter.)

"Barry, here is what I think about the minimum wage.

"I favor the raising of the minimum wage ... I also favor extending coverage to three million people not presently covered."

"What do you say about that, Barry?"

Senator Humphrey. "Well, I do not believe the Federal Government should be in the business of regulating wages at all. No minimum wage measure is going to please me." Congressional Record, August 10, 1960.

"And now would you give us, my good friend, would-be Secretary of State, would you mind giving us your views on the right-to-work laws?"

Senator Salinger. "Thank you, Barry. I am glad to have that opportunity."

Senator Humphrey. Well, we will get Strom in here in just a little while, you-all."

Senator Salinger. "Many who supported right-to-work laws realize it was unwise, they sure did here in California, and I don't think it will be an issue in 1960." Portland, Oregonian, February 16, 1959.

Senator Humphrey. "I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws which forbid contracts thatmake union membership a condition of employment." The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

"By the way, you are a dangerous radical, Richard."

(Laughter.)

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"Would you mind giving us your views on social security?"

Senator Salinger. "I would be glad to do that, Barry. Do you suppose my association with those eastern radicals, that made me a radical."

Senator Humphrey. "Oh, yes, I think that is it."

Senator Salinger. "I would provide the leadership and sympathetic interest (in the years 1960-1964) which will strengthen and expand the social security system, and I said that just here in Fresno on November 4, 1960."

Senator Humphrey. "Well, I surely must disagree. I would like to suggest one change, that social security be made voluntary." Concord, New Hampshire, January 7, 1964.

"I am up to date."

Senator Salinger. "Well, you wouldn't do very well in New Hampshire if you made that statement."

Senator Humphrey. "The shadow of things to come."

(Applause.)

Senator Salinger. "Barry, here is one we ought to really talk about because a lot of people out here are interested in it, the Tennessee Valley Authority."

Senator Humphrey. "Oh, yes, I would like to get your views on that, Mr. Nixon."

Senator Salinger. "Especially since what you have been proposing to build, would cost the taxpayers about a billion one million dollars to build the Arizona Central Project."

Senator Humphrey. "You are just saying these things because they are true."

Senator Salinger. "Socialistic project."

Senator Humphrey. "Will you please go on with your program?"

Senator Salinger. "I am for the TVA" --Senator Humphrey. "Oh" --

Senator Salinger. "I think the Federal Government has a responsibility to see to it that the vast resources of America are adequately developed ... where the Federal Government is the only instrumentality that is big enough to do the job, then it ought to do it. TVA is a project of that type. I am not only for it, I voted for it."

Senator Humphrey. "Oh, well, this is a very, very serious charge that you may have made. Let me make my point of view perfectly clear. I think TVA should be turned over to free enterprise even if they could only get one dollar for it, and I have not only said it once, I have said it twice. I have said it three times. I even said it at the address to the National Association of Plumbing Contractors.

"And now, I would like to get your views once again, Richard, on the subject of foreign policy. This subject, as you know, is rather foreign to me but I would like to have you bring it up and discuss it."

Senator Salinger. "Barry, do I get that dollar back before the next stop?"

Senator Humphrey. "Yes."

Senator Salinger. "We will have our diplomacy firm, but without belligerence; we will strengthen the instruments of peace, strengthen them by strengthening the United Nations and the Organization of American States, always going the extua mile to attempt to work out those differences but remembering that there isn't any easy way, that we've got to expect rough seas, and the question is not whether you have trouble in dealing with the Communists. They are going to make trouble. The question is how you react to them, how you handle them, whether you lose your head, whether you are rash or immature or whether you have the judgment and the toughness to be able to sail the rough seas as well as the smooth ones." Elizabeth, New Jersey, October 4, 1960.

Senator Humphrey. "I am of the opinion you are a bit soft on communism."

(Laughter.)

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"And I must disagree. Some day I am convinced, there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without war. I think that a general war is probable. I don't see how it can be avoided -- perhaps five, ten years from now." Interview with Irwin Ross, NY Post, May 8, 1961.

Well, now, my friends, I must let my new-found friend from Whittier, New York, and other parts, take his seat and we shall return to the realities of life, where we are in Bakersfield, and discuss this campaign. We have given you today a picture of the total conflict of view that exists within the Republican Party on the part of prominent leading Republican spokesmen, and this is why, my friends, that thousands and thousands and thousands of Republicans who believe in the pursuit of peace, who do believe in minimum wages, who do believe that this Government has some responsibility for education, for care of the unfortunate and the needy, and for the help of the elderly, this is why those thousands and thousands of Republicans have joined the citizens for Johnson and Humphrey or have joined in other voluntary groups to help elect Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States.

We have had some fun here this morning but may I say in all seriousness that it isn't really fun. I think it is rather tragic when we see a man who is the candidate for President, that has so little appreciation of the needs of our country and so little understanding of the foreign policy requirements of this great Republic of ours, and I cannot imagine the people of the United States turning to a spokesman of a faction of a fraction of a great political party and having that spokesman become America's spokesman. I just don't believe it is possible. I want to say that the statements of Mr. Nixon were in the main enlightened statements.

I want to say that I believe that he learned a great deal during his Vice Presidency and during the campaign with the late and beloved John F. Kennedy. I hope that he will be able -(applause) - I hope that he will be able to be a good teacher for the Senator from Arizona.

But may I say that to put the student in the professor's chair before he has learned the elementary facts of life, and

the fundamentals of the American political structure in the world in which we live is too high a price to pay for the education of a Senator.

(Laughter and applause.)

What I want you to do, therefore, is to redouble your efforts, to redouble your efforts to see that people are registered, to redouble your efforts to see that people turn out to vote, to take this campaign as seriously as you possibly can, to remember that every great gain that we have made in the last 30 years could be lost, and above all to remember that the gains that we made in this world as the leader of the free world, with the awesome responsibilities of that leadership, that those gains could be lost.

It is a very significant campaign and one in which we must throw ourselves with everything that we have. It appears that the only matter on which Mr. Nixon and Senator Goldwater have consistently agreed is that they both have been treated unfairly by the press.

Now, that is not enough of an agreement to support a man for the office of Presidency, so as we leave Bakersfield today to go on our tour where we will discuss again this great debate between these two Republicans, let me extend once again the hand of friendship to the thousands and thousands of people who are sick and tired of impulsive, impetuous, irresponsible action and statements on the part of the Republican spokesman, and who want to see America in responsible hands.

Let me ask you once again to do everything that you can for the election of a United States Senator that can support and will support the next President of the United States, Lyndon 3. Johnson.

(Applause.)

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Senator Humphrey Whistle Stop "Victory Special" Tulare, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Modesto, Tracy, Martinez, Richmond and Oakland, California October 3, 1964

TULARE, CALIFORNIA

Well, thank you very much, Senator Pierre Salinger, thank you for always giving me the kind of an introduction that results in at least three Goldwater-Miller signs falling to the ground.

(Applause.)

I thank these good souls who have come here today to join here with so many happy friendly people. I want them to know there is really very little they have to do. All these folks that are here for the opposition need to do is to walk up here, confess your political sin and join the Democratic Party.

(Applause.)

We welcome you, we welcome you just like we have welcomed thousands and thousands and thousands of Republicans who are voting for Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

Let me first of all bring you the greetings of your Congressman who cannot be with us today, Harlan Hagen, and I know you are going to re-elect him.

(Applause.)

And by the way, I want to just say a word or two about your Senator. A while ago I saw a little sign out there that indicated that you wanted to send Pierre home, and I want you to know that is where he is going, right on up to San Francisco with me tonight, and then we are going to see to it that he gets to Washington to work for you for the next six years as your United States Senator.

(Applause.)

Very frankly, my fellow Americans, anyone that was good enough to be the strong right arm, the personal adviser, and the close and intimate friend of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson is good enough for me and I am sure he is good enough for you.

(Applause.)

By the way, it is so wonderful to be in this happy valley, this San Joaquin Valley --

(Blowing of train horn.)

-- don't mind that, that is just a Democrat engineer, I just want everybody to know he is going to vote for Johnson and Humphrey.

(Applause.)

You know the other day I was up in Michigan, and while I was there I found a little news story from Grand Rapids, Michigan, that was printed in the New York Times. It is dated Grand Rapids, Michigan, ^Beptember 24. It isn't a very long story but it tells a big story and I want to read it to you. I want all here now to contemplate this with me.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, -- that was just one of the Goldwaterites squeeling a little bit. We are putting on the pressure a little bit too much, I guess. It says, "State officials have outlawed the sale of Goldwater" --

(Applause.)

-- and then it goes on to say "-- a new soft drink promoted by the backers of Senator Barry Goldwater. Some 350 cases of the beverage have been ordered withheld from distribution for use on the ground that the pop is 'grossly misbranded' and because it lists as ingredients only artificial coloring and a preservative."

(Applause.)

Now, my fellow Americans, that is the most concise, the briefest description of a candidate and a platform that I have ever heard.

I am told we have one minute. Before we go I want to say you have this great area, this great country of Tulare, is one of the richest, thriving and prosperous and I hope that the people of this county will remember that the good things that we have today can be even better if we keep on the job the kind of

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leadership that makes for prosperity and for progress for America, and that leadership is in the White House this very afternoon and we don't intend to have anybody else move in there. We are going to keep Lyndon B. Johnson as our President, we are going to send Pierre Salinger to the Senate, and if you think about it, why not have Humphrey down there, too.

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

Thank you, thank you very much. It is simply wonderful to see so many very fine and happy people. I can plainly see you are all Democrats because you are so happy out here. At least, if not all Democrats you are most wise and prudent and intelligent Republicans, some of whom are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

And she is pretty, too. I am very pleased that Mrs. Humphrey and I have the opportunity to come up this San Joaquin Valley, California, this great thriving, prosperous, progressive state in this Federal Union of ours in the United States of America, and I want very much first of all to pay my thanks to the Mayor of your city for his presence here, to your commissioners, for your members of the legislature, your state Senators, and I want to bring you also the greetings of your Congressman who is doing a fine job down in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C., Bernie Sisk and I know you are going to take good care of him.

We have had a wonderful, wonderful time this morning starting out a little bit too early, I might say down in Los Angeles, but a few days ago they had Republicans up there, they have had two days of bad smog but we helped clear it out.

For some reason or other every time those Goldwaterites hit town you either have a storm or a fog or a smog, one or the other. So if you want the sun to shine brightly on these beautiful fields and cities of California, if you want that sun to shine every day, just vote Democratic, that is all you have to do.

(Applause.)

Well, may I just take a moment to thank those lovely little ladies who came up here and presented me with this gift,

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istle stop

the young ladies who presented that basket, they were Helen Gee, Caroline Gee, Pat Wong and Isabel Wong, I think it is just wonderful we have an America, an America that looks like what I see out here today, an America that is a United States, an America of people of every race, creed and nationality, an America that is beautiful and we love it, don't we?

- 4 -

Yes, my friends, every time I go to a meeting like this I can always sense the spirit of this country. Once in a while I come across somebody that is a little politically misguided, but frankly there are fewer and fewer as we go along. Apparently the message of truth and hope is getting through, and I want to say that as we traveled about our great America, Mrs. Humphrey and I have found people who are very confident about the future, optimistic about our country, we don't come here to spread doom and gloom.

We don't come here to spread distrust and diversity, we come here to unite the people, to ask the people to work together for the great common goals of our country. Those are goals of better living, better education for our young, better care for our afflicted, more dignity for our elderly, better opportunities for our business people, better jobs for our workers, these are the things we are working for, and we have, may I say, in the White House today, as we had in those one thousand days of dramatic executive leadership, we have in the White House today the man that was selected by our late and beloved John Kennedy, as his Vice President who today is now President.

(Applause.)

Preaident Kennedy made many very important and wonderful decisions, but I don't think he ever made a better one than the day in Los Angeles, California, in 1960 at the Democratic Convention when he reached out down to the State of Texas and said, "I want Lyndon B. Johnson as my Vice President."

(Applause.)

And when that tragic day came in Dallas, a day of infamy, a day of shame for America, a day of tradition and pain, when that day came thank God, and I say it in all reference, there was a man that had been selected that was capable of taking on the duties of being President of this, the greatest land in the world, and he has been doing a great job as our President.

(Applause.)

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This man needs help, he needs men in the Senate of the United States and in the Congress that can work with him. He needs people that think to the future, that think ahead and are for the future, and you good folks out here in California have a man standing for election for the United States Senate that was one that was the trusted friend and adviser to John Kennedy, trusted friend and adviser of Lyndon Johnson, and I tell you that if Pierre Salinger was good enough for President Kennedy and President Johnson, believe me he is good enough for anybody in the State of California that has a vote.

(Applause,)

Now, my friends, let me congratulate all of you for the remarkable progress of this great city and this great area, I am sure you heard it and you know, it is really something that Fresno is growing by leaps and bounds. This great community is one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in all of America and I can plainly see why because there has been teamwork here between the Federal Government, the state and local government, between the people in every walk of life.

The water that comes to this great valley is there because of Federal cooperation, and may I assure you that if you put Pierre Salinger in the U.S. Senate you are going to have the water, you are going to have the power, you are going to have what you need because he will fight for you and he will work for you and you have a friend in President Johnson and I hope who will be the next Vice President of the United States.

Thank you. My friend says they are going to help out. Are you going to help us, friends, tell me.

You know, well there is one over there that said no, there are just a few left like that. But don't worry, we will have him do it.He knows, he is beginning to smile and when he smiles you can't vote for Goldwater. You know that.

Well, friends, let's put together this great program of cooperation, let's put together this program of the Federal Government and state and local government of your private industry, of your workers, of your farmers, and let's build this America, let's make it a better America, let's make it more prosperous, let's make it more just, let's make it finer in every way, and the way to do it is to exercise your right to vote on election day, November 3 is the citizens' day in America and on November 3rd I think that deep down in your heart, deep, deep, down in your heart, even Goldwater may vote for Johnson.

(Applause.)

MADERA, CALIFORNIA

Thank you very much. Well, Senator Salinger, when I look over this wonderful, wonderful audience and see these many, many happy people, I know full well that California is going to vote Democratic on November 3.

(Applause.)

And I am so pleased as we go along this beautiful San Joaquin Valley to come to this great community of Madera that we see so very, very few of those dear souls that were temporarily lost in the fog of Goldwaterite confusion.

I am so happy to see that folks here know that when you have got the good the thing to do is to keep it that way and that means that you vote for Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Salinger.

(Applause.)

Pierre, may I just take a moment to thank this wonderful band that came to us, all these lovely young ladies who are here, we are just delighted to see so many young people. We know that the young people of America are going to help the Democratic Party and its candidates and we also know that even when you have Old Timers Day at Madera, and you have a lovely lady like Mrs. Desmond who came up here dressed, as they were in the time that Goldwater thinks -- (applause) -- that even then a wonderful lady that is of Democratic persuasion, thinks young, votes young, and votes Democratic, isn't that a good idea?

(Cries of "Yes.")

I wish to say just a word or two about my friend Mr. Salinger serving in the U.S. Senate these weeks, your candidate for the U.S. Senate. This man was the trusted friend and adviser of our late President Kennedy, and he is the trusted friend and adviser, and he is also the candidate of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and if a man can have friends like that, in other words, if Pierre Salinger was good enough for President Kennedy, and has the confidence of President Johnson, I think that you will agree with me he will make a great United States Senator from the State of California for the people of this state.

It is simply wonderful to come to this area that has such a variety of industry and crops and agriculture, grapes, raisins and corn, feed grains, of orchards, of cotton, you name it, olives, yes, indeed, you name it and you have it.

It is simply marvelous and we want you to know that the program of agricultural diversification and of industry has the full and complete packaging of this administration. We want you to know also that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration will cooperate with Mr. ^Salinger, your Senator, to make sure that the water that is needed for these fields, that that water will be available. You can rest assured that you will have that commitment from the Johnson Administration.

(Applause.)

And may I say that I have talked to him of your people that own these fine orchards and farms. I know how much agriculture means to you because I come from an agricultural state, and I want to say from this platform that the Democratic Administration will not permit anything to happen, that will sacrifice the welfare of the agriculture of California and that goes for every aspect of your products.

We will not permit anything to happy to your labor force, to your price program, to see that anything adverse happens to this agriculture. You have our support, and the merchants in Madera know that the prosperity of your orchards and of your farms, the prosperity of your beef cattlemen, the prosperity of the people in the countryside determines the prosperity on Main Street.

Together we will work, we will work as a Federal Government, a state government, a local government, as business, as labor, as farmers, and are we going to have some good days.

Happy days are here again, folks. Vote Democratic. You are great, great, great. God bless you, so long, folks, goodbye, goodbye, now.

MERCED, CALIFORNIA

"hank you very much, thank you very much, Senator Salinger, Senator Cobey and my good friends, may I just say that as I look out over this audience, I notice that as usual, the Goldwaterites are to your far right.

(Applause.)

And by the way, I want you to know there is a very, very historical item here today. There is a sign here that says "Goldwater in '64." Now, Lincoln was President in 1864. I think that Goldwater ought to quit running against that man, don't you?

(Applause and laughter.)

Well, now, having disposed of the candidate of the 19th Century let's move along to modern times.

I am very honored to be on this platform with the next United States Senator from the State of California, Pierre Salinger and that is what you are going to do, elect him, isn't it?

A man that had the confidence and the faith and trust of our late President Kennedy and a man that has the confidence and the faith and the trust of our present President Johnson is the kind of a man that can serve the State of California with great honor and distinction and effectiveness, and I suggest that on November 3 when you start to mark that ballot at the top there where it says Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey and when you come to Pierre Salinger put a great big "X". Vote for him once but vote for him right.

And you know something, folks, you know something, deep down in the heart of Barry Goldwater he, too, may vote Democratic.

(Laughter.)

I say that because he changes so often -- if we just catch him on the right day. Ah, isn't this wonderful, to have a happy day like this. When you have Democrats out, the sun shines, skies are blue, crops are good, people are happy and even some of the folks that came here with those signs that indicate they have been walking in the paths of political transgression, even they are beginning to smile. Ah, it is con- 9 -

tageous, it is contageous.

(Applause.)

Now, my good friends, let me just say we have a very serious election ahead of us. We need your help, and we come to you, may I say, unashamedly asking for your hands and for your hearts and for your help in this election.

This election is very, very important to our nation. It is important to California, it is important to every farmer in this area if he wants to make sure that water supplies are available because your Federal government working with your people through irrigation makes possible water that makes possible these fine and productive fields, and the gentleman from Arizona says, water for Arizona, but not a drop for California.

Now, friends, remember this, your country is moving ahead, building better schools, better hospitals, training our workers, educating our young, caring for our afflicted and helping our elderly and seeing to it that every American, that every American, will have first-class citizenship, that every American will be privileged to enjoy the benefits of this great society without any discrimination, this is the way we want our America. We want our America to be the America that we sing about, America the beautiful, American the strong, America the just, America a better land for more and more people, and America that pursues relentlessly always the paths of peace, seeking ways to bring to this world of ours wonderful peace, peace as we know it to be, the great need of the people that wish to live a good life.

I want to thank the people of Merced for being here in such large numbers. I know that this is a "one of these campaign stops", but it means so much to those of us who are on this platform to have your faith, and to have your confidence.

Now, my friends, will you do me a favor and will you do yourself a favor. On election date vote, be an American that is a voter. Be a good citizen and do what I think that you want to do and that is to vote for the future of America, to vote for the progress of America, not for its past, not for its troubles but to vote for its hopes and for its promises. And when you do that the way to vote is to vote for Lyndon Johnson and Pierre Salinger, and if you vote for President Johnson and Pierre Salinger you get me, too. · .

Thank you very much. God bless you, it is wonderful to see you, wonderful to see you. Good Luck. Goodbye. Goodbye now.

MODESTO, CALIFORNIA

Thank you very much, thank you very much. Thank you very much, Senator Salinger, for your kind remarks. It is wonderful to be here in Stanislaus County, in Modesto.

Nice to see these folks that have these signs from Turlock and from Newman and from Oakdale, Patterson, Ceres and Riverbank. Very good. I hear that Turlock has gone Democratic. I think that is great.

It is always somewhat interesting to see that those who have been walking in the paths of political sin feel that the time is at hand to repent. Glad to see them, and you will notice, my dear friends, when these folks turn up with these signs of their defeat they are always over on the far right, way over, way over, way over.

You know, friends, I saw a sign over there that said "Barry in '64," that is 1864 they are talking about. And it is President Johnson in 1964.

(Applause.)

I wish you would do something about these folks that keep advertising socialism, we want none of it and I wish they would quit talking about it, don't you?

(Cries of "Yes.")

Well, I can plainly see that most everybody in Modesto is happy. There are a few of them that have had some sour apples but by and large everybody is happy. Isn't that the way you feel? I don't know what we would do without a few of these Birchites just to keep us alive, do you?

Friends, it is wonderful to be in this great country that is so prosperous and such a great garden spot of America. Oh, my gracious, listen to that poor fellow back there, he needs help. - 11 -

(Applause.)

I will tell you, you know, did you every hear those fellows talk, every time they ever talk about America, they say "We are sick and tired of this, we are sick and tired of this."

Did you ever meet such sick and tired people in all of your life? Now, what we want, what we want are healthy people, and active people, and when you want healthy people and active people you want people who are going to vote for progress, vote for the future, people who have some confidence in America.

Now, my dear friends, let me tell you, don't you be too unkind to these souls that are voting the wrong way because really let me tell you something, deep down in his heart Goldwater may vote for Johnson.

(Applause.)

You really can't tell, you know, he changes so often.

But there is one thing you can tell, there is one thing you can tell. Pierre Salinger will work for you and the people of California, and Lyndon Johnson will work for you and the people of California. And what is more the people of California know it, and on that happy day in November, November 3, I will tell you the people of America are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and not Senator Goldwater.

Thank you.

By the way, girls, I want you to meet my girl, Mrs. Humphrey. Now, friends, we surely do wish -- isn't she a doll? I thank you very, very much. Now folks, I want you to remember that on election day we have got a big job. Every one of us wants to turn out there and vote. There will be a few that will vote you know, but most of you are going to do all right, you are going to do all right, and you just continue, you young folks there, above all, you continue to work for a government and a President that believes in you, somebody that believes in the tomorrows.

You know it is all right to study ancient history, kids, but don't vote it.

(Applause.)

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TRACY, CALIFORNIA

Thank you. Thank you very much, Senator. You know, my friends, when I hear some of these young Goldwaterites boo the way they do, they remind me of the kind of a noise that a Democratic donkey makes once in a while.

I am very, very happy to see these Goldwater for President signs up here. May I say to all of my fellow Americans, the only reason they are here is they want to repent for their sins and ask for forgiveness.

You know, friends, the last time that we heard that much noise from a limited number of people was in the Cow Palace. I don't think it belongs in Tracy. I am so very happy to be able to share this platform today with a fine citizen of this state, a gentleman that had the confidence of our late and beloved President, John Kennedy and one today, and one today who has the confidence and the friendship of our President Lyndon Johnson and I speak --

(Applause and boos.)

Say, listen, young man, you had better get some manners.

Now, my friends, the Senator from this state, Mr. Salinger, has had a splendid record in the United States Senate and he is already working for the people of this state in a manner which should endear him to the majority of the people. I am confident that on election day the people of California are going to place the same trust in Senator Salinger that John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson place in Senator Salinger and that is to vote for him.

Now, friends, this great city of Tracy in San Joaquin County is very near one of the fine great colleges and universities of your great state, and I want to say that we are very proud of the Pacific College, we are very, very proud, we are very proud of their fine contributions to the peace Corps which today is making one of the great efforts of our country overseas.

I ask those who are here joining with us in this splendid crowd, despite this noisy little minority which is what it will be on election day, I ask you that when election day comes you think of the future of your country and not of its past. You think of the hopes of your country -- you think of the hope of your country and of its promise and when you do, I am sure that istle stop

on that election day you will go to the ballot box and vote for the Democratic ticket, vote for Lyndon Johnson for President and may I add just to make it a real good package vote for Pierre Salinger for United States Senate.

Thank you very, very much. Thank you.

(Cries of "We want Humphrey.)

Attaboy, let's go. Bless your hearts. Thank you very, very much. Thank you very, very much.

MARTINEZ, CALIFORNIA

Thank you very much. Thank you, thank you very much. Well, I can plainly see up here in Contra Costa County you know what to do. You just plain vote Democratic, you have got good sense. And if I recall properly I believe that in 1960 this county gave our beloved John Kennedy a majority vote, isn't that right?

(Cries of "Yes.")

And I do hope that in this coming election of 1964 you are going to do for this fine man who just introduced me what you did for our late and beloved President, that you are going to give Pierre Salinger a great majority so you can retain him in the United States Senate as the man that fights for you and for California.

(Applause.)

I am so pleased to see so many of you here today. This is a very, very happy experience for Mrs. Humphrey and myself. We have had a delightful visit all up and down this wonderful San Joaquin Valley. We are on our way, as you know, to Oakland and San Francisco for tonight. I don't know how many meetings we have had but every one has been simply marvelous. As Pierre did say there were occasionally a few people that were underpaid, and I want all of them to know right here and now no matter which sign you carry, if you carry one of those Goldwater signs we Democrats promise you a minimum of a dollar and a quarter an hour, right?

But more importantly, we promise forgiveness. I think

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that is what we really ought to do.

Now, friends, it won't be long, it is about four more weeks or about a month from now, this campaign will be over, and on November 3, the people of this country are going to make their decision.

In the mantime I hope we can discuss the important issues of the day. I would hope that somehow or another in a campaign like this there would be something more than just heat and occasionally we would have a little light.

We would have some information on the topics of the day, and I am very pleased to say that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has kept its promise to get this country moving forward once again. Our country today is enjoying a degree of prosperity the likes of which it has never experienced in its life, but we do not say that this is adequate.

We are not saying that what we have at the moment is all that we should have, and we are surely not saying that what we have now we should give up and go back. I have told college students and high schools students all across this country they ought to study hard, they ought to do their jobs in schools, keep up on their school work and it is good to study ancient history but don't let your parents vote for it.

(Applause.)

I truly believe that what America wants for its President is a man that looks to the future, one that understands the problems of this day but more importantly one what knows we have some challenges for tomorrow and may I say particularly to the young people who are here, there is a better tomorrow, and we are going to work for it. We are not going to get it by easy life but we are going to get it if we work for it and if we plan for it, and in a sense if we will it and sacrifice for it.

And I believe we have in the White House today a man that understands the problems of our current society, and also has the vision of tomorrow, and remember the poet once said, "That a nation without vision shall perish," and this nation has had vision all of its life, and we need to continue it.

I don't think you can give America the kind of leadership that it needs by looking through a rear view mirror and driving



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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE SUNDAY, OCTOBER

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TEXT PPEPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY OAKLAMD, CALIFORNIA SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3

It is wonderful to be with you in Oakland tonight.

I come to the Golden West and everywhere find this Democratic enthusiasm -- and think about that gathering of Republicans here in the Bay Area earlier this summer and I understand.

Three months ago thousands of Republicans rushed to San Francisco looking for political gold. And what did they get?

They got Senator Coldwater!

Three months ago the Republicans came to their convention in San Francisco in search of a political platform, And what did they get?

They got Senator Goldwater:

Three months ago the Republicans came to San Francisco to try to pick a winning Presidential candidate. And what did they get?

They got Senator Goldwater!

And we have all seen what has happened since. Republicans who have always voted a straight party ticket have bolted Goldwater. Newspapers which have always been Republican now spurn him. Republican governors and senators and other office littlers are so embarrassed by Goldwater that they deny they are even running con the same ticket.

After watching his recent performances -- in which the Temporary Republican Spokesman misses his cues, muffs his lines, and plays to a rapidly emptying Republican house, I think I have discovered a new principle of American polifics.

HUMPHREY/politics. Page 2

That principle is: Goldwater seeks its own level; it only runs downhill.

And that is no wonder. For the Senator is a backward-looking man. He wants to retreat. He forsakes the present and favors a mythical past. He wants to build the America which he thinks existed before the Gold Rush. And that -- in a word -- is why there is no rush for Goldwater.

It is traditional in campaigns to look ahead to the next four years. But in 1964 this would be short-sighted.

The problems which beset us is 1964 -- and our responses to them -- will shape America not just for the next four years, but for the entire next half century.

And few problems in America are more critical than the challenge of the urban frontier -- the "vertical frontier."

President frame and the Democratic Party bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting the challenge of urban America. The leader of the Goldwater faction brings only his usual record of retreat, reaction, and regression. His answer is always the same: "No, no, a thousand times no!"

In this election, Americans have a right -- and a responsibility -to ask the following questions:

Will our next President understand the mammoth task we face in rebuilding our cities as part of the Great Society?

Will our next President understand that between 1960 and 2000 we must build the equivalent of 3,000 cities with a population of 50,000 each just to absorb our population growth?

Will our next President comprehend the urgency of preparing America for the problems of the year 2000 when four-fifths of our 400 million citizens will reside in urban areas?

Will our next President know that we can only solve the problems associated with this population expansion and this population shift to the cities through the active cooperation and participation of the Federal government with state, county, and local authorities?

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HUMPHREY/ authorities? Page 3

How our mext President answers these questions will determine in large measure the shape of America for the next fifty years. No problem is more challenging.--afte none more frustrating -- than seeking to transform our great urban areas into pleasant and rewarding communities of work, recreation, and family living.

The modern American is the Metropolitan Man, blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic.

Our capacity to meet this new challenge of the Metropolis will decide whether we can deal successfully with the problems of race relations, employment opportunities, air and water pollution, policing and crime detection, crowded schools and hospitals, degrading slums, absence of open space for recreation, and even the ordinary logistics of everyday living -- how to get back and forth to work.

These problems alone would be enough.

But even as we try to adapt our private and governmental organizations to serving Metropolitan Man, we confront antiquated local tax structures, wasteful and overlapping agencies of local and state governments, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities, and too often the tradition of inertia.

These problems are critical and these complexities are urgent because most of us today live in the Metropolis.

We must, instead, plan for a renaissance of the Metropolis.

In recent years we have made a determined effort to begin this renaissance of the cities.

In 1958 most Senators voted to increase funds for Federal loans to communities for planning and public facilities.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1958 most Senators voted to increase Federal assistance for sewer plant construction and urban renewal.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1959 most Senators voted against a cut in the Ecusing Authority Bill and in another roll call, voted for increasing the total for public housing units.

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HUMPHREY/housing units. Page 4

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1961 most Senators voted for President Kennedy's landmark omnibus Housing Act.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

In 1963 most Senators supported the urban mass transit program sponsored by the great Democratic Senator from New Jersey, Harrison Williams.

--But not Senator Goldwater.

And finally, in 1964 most Senators voted on the expanded housing program and on final passage of the urban mass transit act.

--But not Senator Goldwater. He never even showed up.

This is the record of retreat and reaction in the area of urban problems and housing the leader of the Goldwaterites beings to the American people in this election.

This is the record the American people must evaluate in relation to the one established by the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and a Democratic Congress: enactment of programs for mass transportation and open spaces in urban areas; expanded low rent public housing; increased Federal assistance for local urban planning; expanded housing for the elderly; a humanized urban renewal program; moderate income rental housing; increased housing starts; and a comprehensive anti-poverty program stressing local community action.

But much more remains to be accomplished.

It is obvious that we need a cabinet level department of urban affairs. The cities of the future will not neatly conform to present city lines. Regional planning is essential.

Those cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality. Life in interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, wisdom, and tolerance.

Those cities of the future must provide access to an abundant cultural life.

Those cities of the future must provide employment opportunities which challenge every man's hands and brain and satisfy the human need for constructive effort.

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HUMPHREY/ effort. Page 5

Those cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slums, but the ugliness of intolerance --create not unly the beauty of design, but the beauty of spirit.

Those cities of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life. This mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage we can muster. We must begin now -- and we must use every resource at our command.

I am convinced that on November 3rd you will return Lyndon Baines Johnson to the White House, not merely because he has demonstrated responsiblity in the conduct of our foreign policy, not merely because he has shown the capacity to translate abstract ideals into concrete legislative programs, but also because he will lead us in the herculean task of mastering the challenges of the American Metropolis.

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Senator Humphrey Oakland Auditorium Oakland, California October 3, 1964

Thank you very much.

Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Senator Salinger. Thank you for your introduction today, I believe for the 11th time, and any man who can introduce another man 11 times and still be enthusiastic about him is some man.

(Applause.)

You are a very wonderful and patient audience. I know that many of you have been here for hours, in fact, I understand that some of the young ladies who are serving as usherettes or ushers this evening have been here since 5:30 or 6:00.

(Cries of "Four.")
Or four o'clock, all right.
(Applause.)

It is that kind of dedication and that kind of hard work that is going to spell victory on November 3rd and I want to thank you, all of you.

(Applause.)

Yesterday, we had a wonderful day in the Los Angeles area, and we were privileged to have with us the great Governor of this State, Governor Pat Brown, and I know he would have liked to be here today. Today we had one of those exciting experiences which can only take place in this great State of California. We started out bright and early this morning, far too early, I might add, but we started out at least early, if not too bright, and we had our first meeting at Bakersfield, and coming up the beautiful San Joaquin Valley up into the Bay area, some ten meetings, each and every place a fine enthusiastic cheering crowd of good citizens, most of them with good political judgment, most of them Democrats, occasionally a sinner or so that needed a little redemption.

(Applause.)

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And I am happy to note that along the line we felt that at least if we didn't make a convert we shook them up a bit.

Tonight we have been with a large group of our friends in California.

(Bursting of balloon.)

That was the Goldwater bubble just bursting back there.

(Laughter.)

We were at a splendid dinner at San Francisco and then to come here to this enthusiastic meeting of this great assembly here in Alameda County in Oakland, well, this is the kind of an evening or kind of an event that tops off a wonderful day and makes you know that the Democratic Party is in good hands, it is filled up with ^California vitamins, it is bound to win, and I suggest that we get on with the job of getting that victory tucked under our belt on November 3 when we elect Lyndon Johnson President of the United States.

You had some wonderful entertainment tonight. I regret we weren't able to be here to see it and hear it but we were indebted to Milton Berle, Allen Sherman, Barbara McNair, these gracious and generous people that help us all along the way, and I want them to know once again even though they are not with us at this moment, having had to go to their work, I want them to know how much we appreciate this generous giving of talent, this generous giving of self.

I am delighted also this evening that this audience has demonstrated once again the great affection that it has for the man that is standing shoulder to shoulder with Senator Salinger in this campaign, and may I say the only way to win elections is to stand shoulder to shoulder, working together as a team, forgetting the yesterdays, working on the todays, planning for the tomorrows, beating the Republicans and that is exactly what Alan Cranston is trying to do with Pierre Salinger.

(Applause.)

Alan is a long-time friend of mine, and I must say that when I see these two men working together as they are, it is an inspiring sight to me, and it should guarantee the victory that Pierre Salinger so richly and justly deserves in order to serve this state with that amazing ability that is his. Give this man your help.

(Applause.)

By the way when I left Washington, President Johnson reminded me to remind you, to remind every person that would be within the range of my voice, that to elect a President is only part of the struggle, and part of the program. A President without a Congress is a President without a Program. And President Johnson is going to need in that Congress not only a man like Pierre Salinger who has had the confidence and the love and the trust of the late and beloved President Kennedy and now our President Johnson, but he is -- (applause) -- but President Johnson is also going to need back in the Congress this vetaran of many, many years of Congressional service, this dean of the delegation of Northern California, this personal friend of ours, George Miller, your own Congressman.

(Applause.)

And he is going to need Jeff Cohalan and I want tomake it crystal clear that he is going to need this very bright and courageous and daring young man that has been serving so well in this first term Don Edwards.

(Applause.)

There are others in this are but surely these men deserve your unqualified support.

I am pleased that members of the assembly are with us the this evening. I have been visiting here on the platform and I know that you are going to see to it that the Speaker Pro Tem, Mr.Bee, and John Hondahl and our friend Nick Petros are returned, and I noticed a sign up there that said, "Welcome Senator Hubert Humphrey and Byron Rumford."

I miss my friend Byron tonight and I want to wish him well.

Well, it is good to be in Oakland, I will tell you it is good to be here.

You know I came to the Golden West and everywhere I find this Democratic enthusaism and happiness that is so evident here tonight. I sometimes feel that we are a little selfish. We have so much enthusiasm, we have so much happiness and that Dakland Aud.

other crowd has so much misery, Sometimes I think we ought to share it.

(Laughter and applause.)

Then as I think about our happiness and our enthusiasm, I can't help but let my mind reflect upon that gathering of Republicans here in the Bay area earlier this summer and when I think about it I guess I begin to understand more about what happened.

Three months ago, thousands of Republicans from all over America rushed to San Francisco, looking for political gold, and what did they get, they got Senator Goldwater.

(Boos and hisses.)

No, no, cheers but no boos, Three months ago Republicans came to this Convention in San Francisco in search of a political platform, and what did they get? They got Senator Goldwater.

Three months ago the Republicans came to San Francisco to try to pick a winning Presidential candidate, and what did they get? They got Senator Goldwater.

(Cries of "Senator Goldwater.")

There was a time my dear friends, when GOP stood for Grand Old Party, but over in San Francisco they changed it. It now stands for "Goldwater's Our Problem."

(Applause.)

And since that time in San Francisco we have all seen what has happened. Republicans who have always voted a straight party ticket have bolted Goldwater, and many newspapers, many of them throughout America which have always been Republican, a including the Saturday Evening Post, now spurn him. Republican Governors and Senators and other office holders, like the Governor of Michigan, Mr. Romney, are willing to introduce him but not endorse him, and some republicans like Senator Keating of New York deny that they are even running on the same ticket.

Well, after watching his recent performances, and I am sure some of you have, in which the temporary spokesman of the Goldwater faction of the fraction of the Republican Party --(applause) -- after watching his performances, to see the spokesman

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missing cues, muffing his lines, plays to a rapidly emptying Republican house, I think I have discovered a new principle of American politics, and this principle needs to go down in the textbooks of American Government.

The principle is Goldwater seeks its own level.

(Applause.)

It only runs downhill -- (applause) -- and this shouldn't be a matter of any wonder, for the Senator is a backward-looking man. He wants to retreat. He forsakes the present, and he favors a mythical past. He wants to build the America which he thinks existed before the gold rush, and that in a word is why there is no rush for Goldwater.

(Applause.)

Now, my fellow Americans, it is tradition in campaigns, in every campaign, to look ahead for the next four years, but in 1964 this would be downright short-sighted. The problems which beset us in 1964 and our responses to those problems will shape America not just for the next four years, but well may shape America for the next half century, and few problems in America are any more critical than the challenge which you see right here in the Bay area, which you see all over California, which you see in practically every populous state of this Republic.

It is the challenge of the urban frontier, or should we call it the vertical frontier. The fact of the matter is that the good old simple America that the gentleman from Arizona talks about is on those Western TV films but it is not in reality. The America that is here is not Dodge City and it isn't Wyatt Earp, but the America that is here is San Francisco and Oakland.

It is the Bay area, it is Los Angeles, it is New York, it is Chicago and it is an urbanized America.

Now, President Johnson -- (applause) -- and the Democratic Party recognize this and we bring a record of achievement and initiative in meeting this challenge of urban America, the America where you live and work.

The leader if the Goldwater faction brings only his usual record of retreat, of reaction, and of regression. His answer is always the same. Maybe it is the same because he does not

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comprehend the problem, but nevertheless -- (applause) -but nevertheless it is always the same. The answer to the problem is "No, no, a thousand times no."

But I have said sometimes we may be ought not to be too critical of this gentleman because it has been said of him and I believe with a certain degree of authenticity, that his calendar has no months, his watch has no hands, and his glasses have no lenses.

(Applause.)

Now, if that is the case, one should not expect the gentleman to have any perspective of the past or the future, nor should one expect vision. In this election, though, Americans have a right, and Americans have a responsibility to ask certain questions.

Will our next President understand the mammoth task that we face in rebuilding our citles as a part of this great America and of the vision and the promise of our President of a great society?

By 1980 the college enrollment of this country will be doubled. We will have to build more classrooms in our colleges in the next 30 years than we have built in the last 300.

By 1980, America's population will be over 275 million. There will be one solid city from Botson to Washington, D. C. of over 90 million people. This is the kind of an American that a President must visualize, not the America of the covered wagon and the trail across the desert, not the America of the simple life, of the rugged frontiersman, but the America of electronics, the America of the supersonic plane, the America of the vast teaming cities, the America that is double the size of population of this country in less than 40 years.

And I think we have a right to ask our Presidential candidates "What do you think about it? What are your plans?"

Will our next President understand that between 1960 and 2,000, just 40 years, we must build the equivalent, we must build the equivalent of three thousand cities of not less than 50,000 population each, just to absorb our population increase?

Will our next President understand and comprehend the urgency of preparing America for the problems of the year 2000 akland Aud.

when over four-fifths of all Americans, 400 million of them, will reside in cities like Oakland and San Francisco?

Will our President know that we can only solve these problems associated with this population expansion and this population shift to the cities by the active cooperation and partnership of the Federal Government, the State Government the local and city authorities.

How our next President answers these questions, my fellow Americans, these serious questions, not these easy soft ones, but the tough hard questions, I think will determine in a large measure what kind of an America that we are going to have the next 50 years.

And if we don't think about the next 50 years now, it will have gone by so fast that we will have lost the opportunity to mold our future.

Now, no problem to me is more challenging and none is more frustrating than seeking to transform our great urban areas which have grown up, many of them without rhyme or reason, without plan or design, to transform these and to change them into pleasant rewarding communities of work, of recreation, and family living.

And I say to this audience tonight in this great Bay area of California, an area that is teeming with growth, an area of vitality and of great production, I say that this task of facing the future which ought to be talked about in this campaign requires government action, and it requires cooperation between Government and industry, between Government and labor, between Government and universities.

It requires the best brains that we can bring to bear upon the issue and if we don't start now we will have missed the opportunity of our lives to make our lives worthwhile.

(Applause.)

I am particularly pleased that this audience has a number of college students, and I say this -- (applause) -- and I say this, that while there is all this obvious and evident useful enthusiasm, there is also a quality of enlightenment and of intellect which indeed is the hope of this country, and I think these young people know full well that whenever a man is incapable, unable or incapable of answering a problem he turns to

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name-calling. It is the last argument or the last refuge of a political defeatist, and I hear -- (applause) -- and I hear today, yesterday and I imagine that we will hear tomorrow, shouts of "socialism," "soft on communism," "ADA," one thing after another, but the interesting thing to me and I think young people ought to ask these questions out loud, "What are your answers, Mr. Goldwater, to the problems that face this nation. We know your name-calling technique, we know the words that you can say ,and these words of "socialism," and"soft on communism" are as old as Nixon, and may I say as defeated as him.

The modern American, the American that you and I know, the real live one, is a metropolitican man, and he is blessed and cursed by complex conditions of life wholly unknown to the pioneering architects of the American Republic, and referring back to the founding fathers will not design a new city.

They did well for their time, and they laid down fundamental principles of government that guide us well, but we in our time are also expected to do our thinking. Our capacity to meet this new challenge of the metropolis, of Oakland, of San Francisco, of a Los Angeles, will decide whether we can deal successfully with the real hard problem ofour age, the problems of race relations, of employment opportunities, of air and water pollution, of policing and crime detection, of crowded schools and hospitals, of degrading slums, and the absence of open spaces for recreation.

And even the ordinary logistics of just plain everyday living, how to get back and forth from work, where to park your car, these problems alone would be enough, and I think they necessitate the attention of thoughtful people. But even as we try to adapt our private and governmental organizations to serving this modern metropolitan plan we confront or are confronted by antequated local tax structures, wasteful and overlapping agencies of state and local government, rivalries and jealousies between suburbs and central cities and too often the whole tradition of just doing nothing, inertia.

Now, these problems are critical, and these complexities are urgent because most of us today live in cities, and many more of us tomorrow will live there. So, I say that we must, in short, plan for a reverse, a renaissance of the metropolis.

In recent years we have made determined effort to begin this renaissance, and let me cite that record.

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In 1958, most Americans, I would say most Senators, voted to increase funds for Federal loans to communities, to plan for the new city and for public facilities, most Senators could see far enough ahead to know that something needed to be done, and voted for the funds--but not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

In 1959 most Senators Seeing the growth of population of our cities, the tremendous demands upon the health facilities, sanitation facilities of our cities, voted to increase Federal assistance for sewer plant construction and urban renewal--but not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

In 1959 most Senators voted against a cut in the house authority and in another vote in the Senate they voted to increase the total number of public housing units because of the need for decent housing for low income groups -- but not Senator Goldwater.

In 1961, most Senators voted for President Kennedy's land mark comprehensive housing act that was designed to fullfill the goals of the housing program laid down in 1949, but not Senator Goldwater.

And in 1963 most Senators supported a bill in the Senate to provide urban mass transit program -- but not Senator Goldwater.

And finally, in 1964, most Senators voted for expanding our housing programs, and voted on final passage to adopt the urban mass transportation act -- but not Senator Goldwater.

In fact, he never even showed up. He was still in his covered wagon.

(Applause.)

Now, here is the record of a man that asks to be President, President of a country that no longer is, because his country in his vision is a page in history, and now let me cite to you the record of a party and a President that lives in the current day, and has vision for the future, the record of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and a Democratic Congress.

(Applause.)

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That record includes the mass transportation program, it includes the open spaces program for urban areas; it includes expanded low rent housing, increased Federal assistance for local urban planning; expanded housing for our elderly; college dormitories for our young, a humanized urban renewal program, moderate income rental housing, increased housing starts in every category, and a comprehensive anti-poverty program that is designed to strike blows at the roots of poverty in our great cities.

This is the program of a Democratic Administration.

(Applause.)

But is this enough, and our answer to that is no. Much more remains to be done. I think it is obvious that we need a Cabinet level department of urban affairs. A nation that has a Department of Agriculture with 15 per cent of its people living on farms surely ought to have a department of urban affairs where 85 per cent of its people live in cities.

(Applause.)

And those cities of the future must be designed well and planned, and those cities of the future must offer education of the highest quality, life in an interdependent proximity calls for knowledge, calls for wisdom, calls for tolerance. Those cities of the future must provide access to an abundant cultural life, opportunity to enjoy a full life.

Yes, those cities of the future must provide employment opportunities which challenge every man's hands, and brain and satisfy the human need for constructive effort, and those cities of the future must remove not only the ugliness of the slum which regrettably is a mark of American cities, but also the ugliness of intolerance, create not only -- (applause) -- those cities of the future must create not only the beauty of design but even more importantly the beauty of spirit, and those citie of the future must provide an environment for the enrichment of life.

Now, this mammoth task ought to be talked about in this campaign, and this mammoth task challenges whatever creativity and courage that we can muster, and I suggest that rather than reviewing the pages of ancient history that we must begin now on the job that is set before us and we must use every resource at our command, and I am also convinced that on November 3, because these tasks remain to be done, and because there is a future ahead of us worthy of us, if we but will it and work for it, that on November 3rd the people of the great State of California as well as the other 49 states of this Republic will return Lyndon Johnson to the White House.

(Applause.)

And they will return him to the White House not merely because his Administration has been characterized by responsibility in matters of national security and foreign policy, not merely because he has shown a unique capacity to translate ideals and policies into programs and legislative achievements, but because he also has the ability to lead us in the herculean task of mastering the challenges of the American metropolis.

I ask, my fellow Democrats here tonight, to dedicate themselves to this election as they have never done anything before. I say this because the tasks that we seek to perform in the years ahead are tasks that were outlined for us by a President that never had a chance to finish his work.

(Applause.)

John Kennedy served his nation well. John Kennedy gave America one thousand days of the most exciting, exhilerating and courageous leadership that this nation has ever known.

(Applause.)

President John Kennedy thought enough of his America to make sure that if anything should happen to him that there would be somebody by his side that could take up the torch, that could carry on, and that could continue the efforts which had been so nobly begun, and that man is now President of the United States.

I suggest to my friends, particularly the youth of this nation, that you make this election a living memorial to the man that inspired you, that you make this election a living tribute to the life and to the works and the deeds of a fallen President, and I suggest that you conduct yourself in such a manner throughout this campaign that whatever may be the outcome, that you can honestly say that the battle was cleanly fought, that we did it with dignity, and that we carried on with honor, and I am sure if we do this, if we pledge ourselves now to the struggle of winning this campaign with honor and with dignity and with dedication, that our efforts will not be in vain, and that on Oakland Aud.

November 3 the American people will once again respond to the challenge of an idealism, to the challenge, if you please, of a vision for a better America, and when they do that, they are going to send to the United States Senate a man like Pierre Salinger from California, and to the White House Lyndon Johnson.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

KEREBERERERE

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Los Angeles, California FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Saturday, October 3, 1964

"The Johnson Administration's determination to assure fully competitive credit policies for financing commercial export of aircraft is a major opening step in what will be a continuing effort to stimulate export markets for U.S. products," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey told a group of Los Angeles businessmen last night.

Senator Humphrey explained to the group further details of a new administration policy first outlined in Seattle Friday night.

"As one of the great aerospace manufacturing centers of our country -an industry of vital importance to our economy and to maintaining our defense strength -- Southern California has a tremendous economic stake in the announced intention of the administration to help increase production in the aircraft industry by providing fully competitive export financing," Senator Humphrey declared. "Je vill attempt to accomplish this both through seeking international agreement and by asking our own export-import bank to make its credit policies fully competitive with terms offered by other nations."

Senator Humphrey told the businessmen the plan for the aircraft export aid would be discussed before the aerospace industry's export committee at a meeting in San Francisco Monday by Dan Goldy, Thite House Export Expansion Coordinator.

Senator Humphrey added:

"With this partnership help of your federal government, we are optimistic that the United States can substantially increase the exports of the fine products of our aerospace industry.

"We have been told by authorities in the aerospace industry that by supplying this financing, their exports could increase easily from the current level of 1.3 billion dollars a year to over 2 billion dollars per year by 1970.

"Our aerospace companies estimate that there is a potential overseas market in jet transport planes alone of more than 2 billion dollars from 1964 until 1969. If this estimate proves correct, we could see an increase of 50,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry.

"This policy of your government is an outgrowth of studies by the White House Committee on Export Expansion.

"In today's world marketplace, it is not possible to realize the full export potential of a product -- no matter how superior it is -- unless suitable and adequate financing can be arranged on terms which are competitive with those offered by other nations. These terms sometimes are not available through ordinary commercial credit channels. Government can be of help in seeing to it that our products have an equal opportunity to compete in world markets, especially when those products are of superior quality."

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