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Senator Humphrey
City Hall
Columbus, Ohio
October 6, 1964

Thank you -- thank you very much. Thank you.

My very warm greetings to the gentleman that we hope that you will elect to the Congress of the United States, your own Bob Van Heyde. Bob, we want to wish you the best.

I simply can't tell you how delighted I am to be here in Columbus, Ohio, in a year when the University of Minnesota does not play Ohio State.

(Applause.)

I just came out of Nebraska, and they really put it to me down there after that rugged day that Minnesota and Nebraska had where Minnesota came out on the short end. I told them that evened it up. That Minnesota, the man from Minnesota, had taken his licking two weeks ago and now it was time for the man from Arizona to take his licking.

Mr. Mayor, I am just delighted to be in this great all-American City of Columbus. It is a remarkable city. It is a growing city, it is a progressive city, and I have a feeling that in 1964 it is going to be a Democratic City.

(Applause.)

May I say that in all of my travels, and there have been many miles that we have traveled, that I haven't found more cordial, more kindly people and I want to make it clear from this platform that when I was mingling amongst some of the folks here I had the privilege of shaking hands with some of those who carry signs that are not on our side.

But I want them to know that they were gracious, they were kind, in fact, they had such a smile on their face that deep down in their heart I think they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Well, I can see that Ohio loves its politics and I have a feeling that you fight hard here but you fight clean and that is a very wonderful, refreshing experience from all of our

many competitive activities.

May I just for a moment tell you how much I hope and pray that the State of Ohio will see fit to send back to Washington to the United States Senate, a gentleman that has a record of constant service to the people. I have heard many charges that have been leveled at some of us, some of us are accused of this or accused of that, and we have people that make rather tough remarks about us. But the only charge that I have against your United States Senator Steve Young is that he is soft on people. He just loves people.

(Applause.)

And I have known of no one that is more willing to stand up and be counted, more willing to show his colors, more willing to work for the people, and to work for them day in and day-out than the United States Senator from the great State of Ohio Stephen Young and he deserves your support and re-election.

(Applause.)

Plus the fact, may I add that you might just as well have a Democrat serving you in the United States Senate in this election because you are going to have a Democrat in the White House and he will know how to get in.

(Applause.)

I see many friends here. I surely want to say to Bob Sweeney once again what a joy it is to be with him. I have been in Ohio several times and every time that I come here is this find good-looking smiling optimistic and very able man to meet me, and I hope that when you come to that ballot box on November 3, that you are not going to forget a man that is running at large in your state and you are going to send him down there to represent all of Ohio in the House of Representatives and that is your own Bob Sweeney.

(Applause.)

Now, there are many members of Congress here, and I can't go down the whole list. The only thing I can tell you is as my father said to me one time when I was casting my first vote, I said, "Dad, I am a little worried about this person or that person. What do you think I ought to do?"

He said, "Son, there is a rule of thumb that a young man ought to follow. Whenever in doubt vote Democratic."

(Applause.)

So, I hope that if any of you have any doubts at all, that you will vote Democratic and that you will give our President the support which he is going to need for his program.

Well, I can see that Franklin County is doing right well. I understand that you had a tremendously successful registration drive, and once you have gotten the people registered, then the next thing to do is to make sure that they are voters. And I have been noticing as I have come down your streets and see this warm reception, I have noticed that the people here take their politics seriously, and I will make a prediction, Mr. Mayor. I will predict that in the election of 1964 you will have a higher percentage of the people of this city going to the ballot box than ever before, and I will also predict that a majority of that high percentage will vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

(Applause.)

I see here on the platform my old friend Mike DiSalle and I see here Frank King of the AFL-CIO. I see others -- (applause) -- and I surely want you to know that it is sort of like old home week to come back to you.

Today I want to talk some good politics to you. I want to talk to you about the importance of our government, the cooperation that is needed in government from the White House to the court house and from the court house to the White House, because government in the United States, dear friends, is not just in Washington, it is in your state house, it is in your court house, it is at your township, it is in your cities, it is in your villages and one of the things we need to keep in mind is the importance of all of these great areas of government working together, pulling together, not pulling apart, and one of the lessons that Lyndon Johnson teaches the American people is the lesson of a united America, a lesson of an America that is cooperative, a lesson of an America that is working together, and that doesn't only mean the governmental structure of working together.

It doesn't only mean Washington, State House and court house pulling together, but it means capital and labor, it means

people of every race and creed and color, it means people of every walk of life, it means farmer and city; it means all of us, acting as Americans, and recognizing that we have great responsibilities in this world, and great opportunities in our wonderful country.

And I want to talk to you a little bit about those opportunities, and those responsibilities.

I know that in a campaign the easiest way to get a cheer is just to attack the opposition. Tonight, as you have come here to listen to me, let me tell you a little bit about why I think that we owe the Democratic Party, the Johnson-Humphrey team and the Democratic Party, why we have a right to come to you to ask for your support.

You surely don't need to support us simply because of a party label, even though many people vote a straight party label.

I think more importantly that we ought to support or reject a candidate or candidates on the basis of their record, on the basis not only of their words, but on the basis of their deeds, on the basis of their performance.

Can I take you back just a little while? I am not going to take you back as far as the temporary spokesman of the opposition, he goes back too far.

(Applause.)

By the way, may I say to these fine students of Ohio State and of Capital University, and of St. Mary's of the Springs, let me say, that it is wonderful -- yes, of course, not merely but a good receptive, I can hear -- it is a wonderful thing for all of you fine young people to study ancient history, and I want you to study your courses well. But don't you ever vote it.

(Laughter and applause.)

Now, let me, therefore, talk to you of our record, because you have just now come to a point in the political year of 1964 where you can take inventory of that record. The 88th Congress, the second session, has completed its work. The 87th Congress was the first Congress of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

On January 20, 1961, a brave, courageous, intelligent,

gifted young man, stood before a multitude in Washington, D. C. on a cold day, and he said to the American people on that day, he said, "Let us begin. Let's get this great America of ours moving once again."

He then said to us in those words that we shall never forget but we can only paraphrase them, he said, "Ask not what your country can do for you but ask what you can do for your country."

He gave us this message of service, he gave us this message of doing our part as citizens, and then he looked at the whole of America through the television and the radio and the press as he glanced out over the multitude of people before him, and he said, "I welcome this responsibility."

He didn't shirk from it. He said, "Here are responsibilities to be performed and I welcome them."

And may I say that the first quality of a man that is worthy of public trust is whether or not he is a responsible man, whether he speaks responsibly, whether he acts responsibly, whether he thinks responsibly, and if there is any one word that is the hallmark of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, that will complete its work this coming January, if there is any one word that symbolizes this Administration, that characterizes it, it is the word "responsibility."

We have been a responsible administration.

(Applause.)

Our late and beloved President had only one thousand days to give his service to his country in the Presidency. He had given a lifetime of service in Congress, in the Senate, in the war, he was a great man, and he left a message for us that will live forever, and that message was the message of hope. Here was a man that charted the course of the future. He wasn't willing to just praise the achievements of the day. He always looked ahead, and he was the man that looked ahead even in the moment of his nomination, because as he was nominated in Los Angeles, in 1960, this man looked ahead to the good of his country, and he selected as his running mate, and as his Vice President, one that he knew that if ever the hour came, if ever the time arrived, if ever tragedy should befall him that that man that he selected as Vice President could hold high the torch of American freedom, and could fulfill the responsibilities of

the Chief Executive of this land, and I personally think that the greatest decision that John Kennedy ever made for America was the decision that he made to select and ask the convention to give to him Lyndon Johnson as the Vice President of the United States.

(Applause.)

And how well history bears out that statement. That terrible ugly day of November 22 in Dallas when our President, young, gay, at the zenith of his Administration, at the climax of his first term, was struck down by the assassin's bullet. Then the whole world faltered. Nation's wept. But then out of all of this grief and pain stepped a strong man, and there was a continuity of government.

Many a person right in this audience wondered what would happen. Would America be able to carry on? We wondered what would happen in our country, in our programs, what would happen in the world, because every nation of the world at that moment recognized the tremendous role that the United States fulfills.

It is a matter now of historical record that even behind the Iron Curtain hundreds of thousands of people walked into American embassies and signed their names in a book in memoriam expressing from their hearts their love of America. The totalitarian, the Communist, couldn't keep down that expression of love, and that expression of faith. And I ask Americans tonight to remember that this nation has the faith of the world and it has in its hands the destiny of the world.

If there is a better world it is because we helped make it. If there is to be a world that is incinerated, a world that may be annihilated, it could be because of some rash decision here or there. Our tasks are monumental. Our responsibilities are unbelievable.

Now, what do we do about this? How do we fulfill these responsibilities? Well, one way is to make America strong not just by military power, even though we have today the mightiest military machine that the world has ever known, and right here in Columbus, you know of it with your defense plants, with your army depots, with all of the many facets of your industry that contribute to our military power.

But no nation has been great only because of its military

power. It takes more than that. We don't want America to be a Sparta. We want America to be an Athens, a strong nation, a rich nation, an enlightened nation.

(Applause.)

So, we build the strength of our nation, how do we build its strength? We build it as John Kennedy said by beginning to do things for people. A government that is worthy of the respect of the people is a government that serves the people, and I think maybe we ought to get that simple lesson driven home once again because there are voices today that would make you believe that when government does something that it is wrong, that the government shouldn't do anything.

There are even voices today that say that the Federal Government is a greater threat to your freedom than communism. What nonsense, what unbelievable nonsense.

(Applause.)

It was Abraham Lincoln, it was Abraham Lincon, the authentic Republican, the real Republican who said this is a Government of the people, and by the people and for the people. It was Lincoln who said that it is the duty of government to do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or do so well for themselves. That was Lincoln.

(Applause.)

And there have been hundreds of people in the great history of our nation that have remained us that in a Democracy a government has as its duty first to serve the people, and to serve those people justly, to serve them fairly.

So, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson, President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson, launched a tremendous program of trying to revitalize the whole American economy and that program included such things, for example, as training our workers who had been left aside by automation, retraining. Minimum wages for those that were not covered. It included area redevelopment for some of the distressed areas of our country. It included public works for areas that needed civic improvement and jobs, and it included tax cuts to stimulate the American economy.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration put faith in the American enterprise system, put faith in the free enterprise

structure of this country and by a great tax cut -- (applause) -- by a massive tax cut of 11-1/2 billion dollars injected back into that economy free capital to be used for the consumer, for the investor, for the producer and, ladies and gentlemen, in 1960 the economy was stagnant.

In 1964 this economy is bubbling with power and vitality and today we have unprecedented prosperity.

(Applause.)

I heard the other day that the opposition accused us of having business on our side, and labor on our side, farmers on our side, they said the minority groups were on our side. I said, well, that is good, that adds up to a victory.

(Laughter and applause.)

Why do you think-- pay no attention to that extreme right over there.

(Applause.)

You know, friends, even on the best of programs there is occasionally a little static. You can tune it out.

(Applause.)

Why do you think that many of the great industrialists of America are supporting the Johnson Administration? They are supporting it because they know this Administration has been good for business. Why do you think that great newspapers like your own press in the great State of Ohio --

(Cries of "Not all.")

Not all -- not all -- but when I was in Cleveland I found those two great newspapers in Cleveland -- (applause) -- why do you think, for example, why do you think that a paper that never before has ever supported a Democratic candidate like the New York Herald Tribune, the Life Magazine, the Saturday Evening Post support Lyndon Johnson?

(Applause.)

Let me tell you why they support him. They support this Administration because this Administration seeks to encourage the

American economy, not to hold it back, but to offer the opportunity to move ahead. No harrassments, but the encouragement of enterprise.

Why do our workers that are represented here today by the President of the AFL-CIO why have they joined in this great struggle for the re-election or for the election of Lyndon Johnson? They have joined in it, my friends, because this economy and this government has done well by the working man.

The standard of living in this country is better today than it has ever been before.

(Applause.)

Now, friends, my dear friends, I have mentioned to you certain programs we have sponsored and passed, and I am happy to say that most members of Congress, even Republicans and Democrats alike, voted for these programs -- the tax cut, public works, area redevelopment, minimum wage, manpower training, a host of activities, all backed and passed by the Congress and signed by the President.

But one man, one man stood aside, not Senator Goldwater, he voted "No."

(Applause.)

And, my friends, now let's talk about one other area of our endeavors. The strength of this nation is not in its factories, it is not in its banks, it is not in its checking accounts. Ultimately the strength of this nation is in its people, because it is from the people, the great human resource, that we truly gain our wealth and our strength, and it is the strength that we need for our responsibilities, and this Administration has been conscious of the needs of the people.

If nothing else was done, my dear friends, in millions of families in this country there is affliction, affliction, sometimes it is mental problems, mental retardation, sometimes it is disease of the heart, or cancer, and in each and every one of these areas, this Administration has seen fit to take action.

I will say that this Administration will go down in the history books as, known as, the health Administration. We have expanded our hospital program. We established a mental

retardation program. We established a mental health program, we established -- we have moved into one area after another for people, to help people.

(Applause.)

And let me clear the record. Compassion, my fellow Americans, plain old-fashioned compassion, is not weakness, and concern for the afflicted and the needy is not socialism. It is good solid Americanism.

(Applause.)

And your government and this Administration has not stopped with just the care for the needy. We have moved on to the frontiers of education, and the broadest program of aid to education that America has known since the time of the land grant college has been enacted by this government, and the 88th Congress under the Administrations of President Kennedy and President Johnson -- this is an investment in our future.

(Applause.)

This is an investment in our future.

Every thoughtful person in this great community knows that in the next 30 to 35 years we will have to build more college classroom space than we have constructed in the last three hundred. Every person here knows if he will but think ahead that we must have trained minds, trained people -- that education is becoming a national necessity, no longer a luxury, and we need to pour in the wealth of America to train our people, to train them for their tasks, to train them for the good life, to train them for the skills, to train them in science and technology, and this Administration has had the foresight to lay the groundwork for a tremendous program of educational investment that will enrich and strengthen America.

(Applause.)

And then may I say with considerable pride not as a Democrat but as an American, because both parties worked on this one, the American people through their two political parties in Congress decided to end for once and for all this shame of discrimination, the shame of the denial of equal rights and equal opportunity, and together as a great people and as one government we saw to it that we passed an act that guaranteed

constitutional rights, civil rights, first-class citizenship to every American regardless of race, color or creed.

(Applause.)

And, ladies and gentlemen, and -- ladies and gentlemen -- America is the better for it.

(Applause.)

This great America of ours that seeks to lead a world in peace and freedom must come to the world with clean hands, and, ladies and gentlemen, we have tried. We are working at that, coming to the world not only with clean hands but coming to the world with a promise for the future and we are going to carry that promise for the future not only to our own people here at home but we are going to carry it to people everywhere, and I conclude my notes with you this evening and my message to you by saying this -- I am fully aware of it, my friends -- I conclude my message to you tonight by saying that with all of these things that we have sought to do, that the ultimate purpose is to make sure that we live and that we live a good life, and that we live in freedom, and that we live in peace.

What good is it, what good, my friends, is it to build magnificent cities and great universities, what good is it to have extended the hand of compassion and of help if in some act of foolishness or some act of irresponsibility we trigger a nuclear holocaust?

The simply truth is that America today must have at its helm a President that is strong, that is understanding, a President that knows not only the country in which we live, but knows the world in which we live, and ladies and gentlemen, it is not weakness to seek a just and honorable peace. Only the giants of the earth have the courage to seek peace.

(Applause.)

And our great country today is a giant on this earth. Only the brave and the strong can talk with humility and with kindness. It is the weak and it is those who are so uncertain of themselves that are the belligerent and the arrogant.

(Applause.)

I am proud to be a United States Senator, proud to be a

member of the United States Senate and the United States Congress at a time when our America saw fit to take the lead to keep our air clean from nuclear radioactive contamination. I am proud to have served in the Senate.

(Applause.)

I am proud to have served in the United States Senate at a time when I could vote for a treaty that at least represented the hope of mankind for a better world, and ladies and gentlemen, I say to you that a man that seeks to be President of the United States, that could not find it within his conscience to vote for human rights, that could not find it within his conscience to vote to help future generations live at least a better life, to see that our air was free of pollution, to see that our food was not contaminated, to see that our soil was not adulterated, I say that a man that cannot see the opportunities for youth through education, that cannot see the opportunities for people through equal rights, that cannot hope and pray and work for peace through treaties and negotiation, that that man does not deserve to be President of the United States.

(Applause.)

I ask, and I ask of this audience tonight, I ask of this audience tonight what John Kennedy asked, what Lyndon Johnson has asked, I ask for your hands, I ask for your hearts, I ask for your help and, frankly, I come to you and ask you for your vote for Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States.

(Applause.)

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Senator Humphrey
Airport Rally
Toledo, Ohio
October 6, 1964

Boy, oh, boy -- all right -- all right -- all right.
Which one of these works?

Well, my dear friends, may I say first of all, that --
is this the one, that works better -- O.K.

May I say first of all that I have made more speeches
today than my good friend Tom Ashley and he can talk louder
than I can.

I have been out trying to explain to the American people
why they shouldn't elect that man from Arizona.

(Applause.)

Yesterday, I was speaking to an audience of about 12,000
students out at the University of California at Berkeley,
and I told them that I, as an old teacher, felt that it was a
good idea to study ancient history but you ought not to vote it.

(Laughter and applause.)

And so I would like to give you the same advice tonight.
Don't you vote it at all.

Dear friends, let me tell you that of all the many nice
things that have happened to me in this campaign, I don't think
anything has been more exhilarating to me, more encouraging, and
frankly more fun than the fact of your presence here tonight at
this great community of Toledo, and I want to thank you all
very, very much.

I should tell you that as I have traveled around this
country, I found an awful lot of young people that are interested
in our campaign, and believe me we need your help, and we need
it badly and I know you are going to give it to us.

You know there was a time that GOP stood for Grand Old
Party. Now, it is "Goldwater is our Problem."

(Applause.)

Let me tell you, I want to and I am very grateful that I
have you here tonight and may I assure you of one thing, we are

going to try to conduct this campaign in these remaining four weeks so that you will be proud of us so when we have won this victory you will know that it is not my victory or President Johnson's victory.

You will know that it is your victory. And I can promise you one thing, that you will never regret the efforts that you are putting in to help us, because there is one reason that I am in politics above all others, and that is to try to keep our country a young country, a vital country, a country that works for future, one that has really just constant new experiences.

I have said to many students that we are in the age of discovery, and we are. We have just begun to live and don't let anybody ever tell you about those so-called good old days.

I lived through a lot of the good old days. They weren't half as good as the one I am experiencing today, I can tell you now.

I will tell you one other thing, that when I was a college student, there were never as many young people interested in the political life of our nation as there are today, and I think that the finest group of young people that we have ever had in our lives exists right now, and very frankly, if they would just quit looking at the calendar I could be as young as you are because that is the way I feel.

(Applause.)

Now listen, we have got to go over to Toledo University, we are going to have a little meeting over there, and I plan to be telling you a little something about these other folks, you know, that are attempting to get into office.

I don't know whether you have seen it or not but the Republicans have got a crowd going around that they call the Truth Squad. Now, that is a play on words, of course, you know that. And for that crew to be in charge of truth is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop.

So, we are going to tonight not only talk about the opposition, because I don't believe we need to do too much of that, what I want to talk about, what I want to talk about is what we have been doing, what our country has been doing, what President Kennedy tried to have us do and started us to do, and what President Johnson is continuing to do, and then what President

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Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and you are going to do in the years ahead, that is what we are going to talk about.

All right -- O.K. I know you have been here a long time and I am glad you are all steamed up now and all warmed up, just keep on a full head of steam, folks, until November 3rd and after that you can relax.

Goodnight.

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Senator Humphrey
University of Toledo
Toledo, Ohio
October 6, 1964

Thank you very much -- thank you. Thank you -- thank you.

Well, my dear friends, my goodness me, if the Senator from Arizona could hear what I have heard tonight he would fold up his tent and give up the campaign right now.

(Applause.)

And my dear friends, down deep in his heart he may vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Congressman Ashley, President of this great university, Mr. Carlson, and many students who have come here not only from Toledo University but many universities throughout Ohio, I greet you.

What foolish columnist was it who said that the young people were going to, to back that man from Arizona? Never, never.

(Applause.)

I have a feeling, I have a feeling that the young people of America are going to back Lyndon B. Johnson, Linda Johnson and Luci.

(Applause.)

I have a feeling that we are going to have quite a meeting tonight. It appears to me it may have some pep to it.

(Applause.)

So, let me get on now, if I may have your attention. First, I want to extend my thanks to John Kelly, the County Chairman, to Ned Skeldon, our Campaign Director, and I surely want to bring to this wonderful audience of the good people of Ohio, most of you, many of you from the Toledo area, but many from other parts, I want to bring to you the warm greetings, the good wishes of a gentleman that I have known in the United States Senate

and a man who by his votes and by his actions lives up to his name. He votes young and his name is Steve Young and he ought to be re-elected.

(Applause.)

And while you are about it, while you are about electing a United States Senator to back the President may I suggest since you have a Congressman-at-large contest in this state, that there is a fine young man by the name of Bob Sweeney that deserves the support of the people of this great state.

(Applause.)

Congressman Ashley, if all of these people in this great auditorium and this fine university hall are your friends and your constituents, it seems to me that you have the election won, and I think it is a good idea to re-elect Congressman Ashley.

(Applause.)

Well, there ought to be something to a campaign except just the heat and the commotion so I think that for a moment or two we will settle down and see if we can't bring some light and some understanding to it.

This is my second visit to Toledo in the last few months. My first visit was to a Democratic dinner, at which dinner I found great enthusiasm for the Democratic Party and for the programs of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and I am here tonight as a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology.

I am here tonight as a Democratic leader to support the programs of the late and beloved President Kennedy and our now President Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Our opposition, our opposition says to us what does this Democratic Party stand for? This Democratic Party stands for the commitments and the promises and the inaugural message and the policies and the programs that were set down in this country from the date of January 20, 1961 to this very hour.

(Applause.)

And may I add, and may I add, that we are not content, we

are not content, to just base our case upon the most amazing record of accomplishment that any two Congresses have had within a hundred years. We base our program and our plea to the American voter not only on the record of achievements but we base it, if you please, upon the pledges and the promises for the future, which is what the young people of America want from a political party.

(Applause.)

The simple truth is that in this election we are faced with a real choice, a choice of a man who would like to direct the destinies of this country by looking through a rear view mirror or one who looks straight ahead down the road of progress.

(Applause.)

And we are also given a choice, we are given a choice as to whether or not we want to vote for a man who is known by his deeds or whether we want to vote for a man who is known by his misdeeds, and I intend to talk about them tonight.

(Applause.)

Now, a man in public or private life is known by his deeds as well as his words, and a man in public life is also known by his record, by the votes that he has cast or failed to cast, by the legislation that he has sponsored or worked for or worked against, and by the Administrative decisions that he has taken.

In other words, by the public positions that he has held over the years and I would say to every conscientious voter in this land, that the best way to find out who you ought to support on November 3 is to examine the record not merely the speeches, but to examine the record, of the Senator from Arizona and to examine the record of the President of the United States and you will vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

I am sure that after having examined that record you will come to the same conclusion that some of the leading newspapers of America have arrived at, some of the leading Republicans of America have concluded, you will come to a decision that the man who today is our President is truly a gifted, talented, experienced, able, steady, stable political leader for a great

country and we ought to keep him.

(Applause.)

Never in the history of our nation, indeed, my friends, in the history of the world, have so many people shared in such general and rising prosperity, and it was not always so.

Four years ago here in this great State of Ohio there was trouble in the economy. The men and the women who are here from the ranks of labor know that four years ago in the State of Ohio there was a rising tide of unemployment, and that business was at a standstill.

But following those great decisions of, starting with January , 1961, the American economy has been propelled forward until today no one can contest the fact that this great America of ours is enjoying the greatest prosperity and the highest rate of employment, the highest profits, the highest dividends, ever in the history of this Republic.

(Applause.)

I respectfully submit that a wise and prudent people do not cast such a record aside.

Never in the history of our country, in fact, never in the history of the world, have we ever enjoyed such unbelievable opportunity as now this great people of ours experiences and enjoys.

Never in the history of our country has there been greater business confidence, more jobs and larger paychecks.

Never in the history of the world has the nation been so strong militarily as this great country of ours.

And never has there been a greater concern on the part of the leaders of our government on the part of our leaders in government, for the plight of the poor, for the needs of the senior citizens, the elderly, and for the care and the concern of the handicapped.

This is a record of performance by an Administration that gets things done.

(Applause.)

But, you know the temporary spokesman of the fraction of a faction of the Republican Party -- (laughter) -- that spokesman says, this is all an illusion. It is all fake. It is all just make believe.

Well, my dear friends, don't be too harsh in your criticism because when you hear from a man who has no months on his calendar, no hands on his watch, and no lenses in his glasses you can't expect much.

(Laughter.)

More seriously, this kind of talk, this utter political and economic nonsense, that America is somehow or another on the skids, and that the prosperity that we are enjoying is nothing but an illusion, this talk about fake prosperity is the talk of a man who has no program, who has no knowledge of the economy and has no understanding of what is happening in America.

(Applause.)

And then we hear, we hear talk of the weakening of our defenses. May I add that nobody else in the world seems to think our defenses are weak. It is an amazing thing how one out of millions could have made the discovery all by himself that somehow or another that as a reserve general he has discovered that America's defenses are weak and weakening. Nonsense.

(Applause.)

The truth is, my fellow Americans, the truth is that the United States of America, our country, is a great powerful rich country with responsible resourceful and experienced leadership, and I am of the opinion that the American people will not choose to replace this kind of strong and trusted leadership with a man who would radically change everything that we tried to build through these many years.

(Applause.)

I cannot believe that the people of America will turn their backs on a wise and trusted President. I do not believe that they will choose a man who represents only uncertainty and impetuosity. The American people will not elect a man whose public record demonstrates a lack of concern for the American businessman, for the working man, for the farmer, for the elderly,

and for the young people of our country and indeed for the parents of America.

(Applause.)

Now, my fellow citizens, in this campaign we will bring and are bringing to the American people the record, the record, the accomplished record of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. We offer a record of economic development and progress upon which we can stand, and a record, may I say, that has already received the overwhelming support of the captains of industry and finance in America because they know that record is true and good, and so do you.

(Applause.)

We come to the American people with a record of strengthening our national security, a record of strength for one purpose, not the purpose of aggression, not the purpose of bluster and threat, but the purpose of building and pursuing the path of peace and that is what your President is doing.

(Applause.)

I come to you tonight, I came to this audience tonight, to remind you once again that this expanding society of ours can be maintained and improved only under a President who is both a capable administrator and a great educator; under a President in whom the business community can find and have confidence, in which labor and farmers can have confidence and place their trust, under a President where the mothers and fathers of America can place their trust, and under a President who has the respect of the leaders throughout the world and throughout the nation. That is the way you build a better America for tomorrow.

(Applause.)

And such a President, such a President, is in the White House today, and to night, such a President is the man that succeeded our late and beloved President Kennedy and his name is Lyndon Johnson and he will be our President for four more years.

(Applause.)

America and the world need a man in the Presidency who means what he says when he says it, and says what he means when

he says it, and you have such a man.

(Applause.)

In the coming weeks, in the coming weeks we shall make it crystal clear what responsible leadership has meant to our country, and how irresponsible leadership could wreck all that we have created. We are going to demonstrate and we are demonstrating beyond a shadow of a doubt that President Johnson's record and the record of the leadership of the Congress is one in which all Americans, Democrats, Republicans and Independents alike can and should take pride.

It is the kind of a record that a world power requires, that a great nation to remain great must continue, and the way you continue it is to elect for a full four-year term the President of the United States and a Congress to back him.

(Applause.)

Every one of us knows that the problems of America and of the world are still vast, but the difference between a forward-looking leader and one who has his vision in the past is that the difficulties turn into being challenges, and the problems turn into being opportunities.

Yes, our problems are vast, but they inspire us to greater things, and the opportunities in America are unlimited, and they are challenging and they are exciting and they are made for a country that is young at heart, vital in spirit and that has confidence and faith in its destiny and future, and I think that kind of a country needs a big man in the Presidency and one that loves this country enough to lead it forward and not backward.

(Applause.)

To put it another way, America needs as a President someone that unites us, not divides us. America needs as its President someone that heals the wounds and not opens them. America needs as its President someone that thinks in terms of the total America, not just a section of it. America needs as a President a man who is optimistic, confident, prudent but also who is strong and wilfull so that this great nation can fulfill its destiny, and that man's name is Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

(Applause.)

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The fundamental objective of the Johnson Administration, might I add, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, that the objective of that Administration -- (applause) -- will be to harness together all the great intellectual and economic resources of our nation, our objective will be to call forth from every walk of life men and women who can work together, and who are pledged to the greater good and the general welfare. We know where those people are, and we shall call upon them, and I say that despite the great accomplishments of today, that what we have done thus far will only be a beginning. It will be but a launching platform for America to achieve even greater goals.

With Senator Goldwater, the leader of the opposition, what does he have to offer? A cold and perilous alternative. He offers you by his own words a house divided against itself, a nation ridden by bitterness, uncertainty and controversy.

I don't believe that is what America wants. I believe that America wants a country that can literally reach up to the stars. I believe that this nation believed with John Kennedy that there were new frontiers to be discovered and conquered, and I believe -- (applause) -- and I believe that the people of America agree with President Johnson when he said, when asked what was the objective of his Administration, he said, "My purpose and my only purpose is to seek a better deal for America, a better deal for the world."

A better deal in education for the young, a better deal in welfare and care for our crippled and handicapped, a better deal for our elderly, and a better opportunity for our business and our labor, a better chance for everybody that is willing to take a chance and work to help build America -- that is the promise of your President.

(Applause.)

Let me now just address myself for a moment to the young in this audience in particular. A young man was President of our country for one thousand dramatic days. This young man touched the hearts not only of the youth of America but all through the world. On that evil day of November 22, 1963, in Dallas, when the assassin's bullet took the life of that young President, every man, women and child in this country felt the pain.

It was like a personal loss, not only the loss of a life, but the loss of a promise, the loss of a hope. And for-

fortunately, fortunately for America, this young man who was our President, made a very wise decision in Los Angeles in 1960 -- when he was nominated for President he didn't think only of himself or of his victory that was to be his. He thought of his country, and he reached out into the life of America, into the public life, and he found one man that he thought could best serve with him to safeguard this Republic.

Every man that is President knows that his life is literally in the hands of Divine Providence. It may be long or it may be short, and, therefore, when he takes on the duty of safeguarding this Republic and giving it leadership he must think of how he can always protect the interests of this great people of the United States.

John Kennedy's greatest decision was before he was elected, it was the decision to select as his Vice President a man of experience, of maturity, a man that is known for responsibility, a man who is a craftsman, a capable, skilled man in the art of government, a man who understood America and its dynamism, and President John Kennedy, then the nominee of our Party, reached into the State of Texas, and asked Lyndon Johnson, then Majority Leader of the United States Senate, one of the most important jobs in this country -- he asked him to give up that big job and to become his Vice President.

Lyndon Johnson put country above power, he put his country above his own personal position, because, make no mistake about it, to be the Majority Leader of the United States Senate is a powerful position, and Lyndon Johnson gave his word and his life to John Kennedy, and John Kennedy gave to America the assurance of the continuity of great leadership.

So, that when that evil day came, and when America stood in shame and anguish and pain and grief, as this young President was struck down, a tall, big man rose up, took the oath of office and from that day has continued to lead America in the spirit of John Kennedy, in the spirit of the American Republic and in the spirit of progress for the American people.

(Applause.)

Now, I give you but one -- I ask you to do but one thing for us. I ask you to make this election a living tribute to a fallen President. I ask you to make this election a resounding mandate to the programs of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and I ask you to put the same confidence by your votes in

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- 10 -

Lyndon Johnson that John F. Kennedy put in Lyndon Johnson when he selected him Vice President, and I ask you to vote for Johnson for President.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

Excerpts from Remarks by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate

For Release: A.M.'s
Wednesday
October 7, 1964

Democratic Rally
University of Toledo Field House
Toledo, Ohio
(Delivered 9:00 p.m.)

A man is known by his deeds as well as by his words. A man in public life is known by his record -- by the votes he has cast, by the legislation he has sponsored and worked for, by the administrative decisions he has taken, by the public positions he has held consistently over the years.

I believe that the American people -- as they examine the public record of President Johnson and of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and of the Democratic Congresses of the past four years -- will agree overwhelmingly that this Administration and those Congresses have done magnificently well for our country.

Never in the history of our nation, indeed, in the history of the world, have so many shared in such general and rising prosperity.

Never in the history of the world has there been created so much opportunity.

Never in the history of our country has there been greater business confidence, more jobs, larger paychecks.

Never in the history of the world has a nation been more militarily strong.

And never has there been a greater concern on the part of the leaders of a government for the problems of the poor, of the elderly, and of the handicapped.

Talk of "fake prosperity" is nonsense. Talk of "weakening of defenses" is nonsense. Talk of "weakening moral fiber" is nonsense.

The truth is that the United States is a great, powerful, and rich country with responsible, resourceful and experienced leadership. That the American people would choose to replace this kind of strong and trusted leadership with a man who would radically change the existing system is inconceivable.

I cannot believe that the people of America will turn their backs on a wise and trusted President for a man who represents only uncertainty and impetuosity and whose public record demonstrates that he cannot be trusted -- not by the businessman, not by the working man, not by the farmer, not by the elderly, not by the young people of our country, not by the parents of America.

In the next weeks of the campaign we shall remind the American people of the record of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. We shall remind them that economic development and progress, that peace and national security, do not just happen. We shall remind them that this stable, expanding society can be maintained and improved only under a President who is both an administrator and an educator, under a President in whom the business community, labor and the farmers can have confidence, under a President whom the mothers and fathers of America can trust, under a President who has the respect of leaders throughout this great pluralistic society.

Such a President is Lyndon B. Johnson -- a man who means what he says, and says what he means.

Such a man is clearly not the temporary spokesman of the Republican party.

In the coming weeks we shall make clear what responsible leadership has meant to our country, and how irresponsible leadership could wreck all that we have built. We shall demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that President Johnson's record and the record of the leadership of the Congress is one in which all Americans - Democrats and Republicans and independents alike - can take pride. It is the kind of leadership that a world power requires, that a great nation - to remain great - must continue.

The problems of America are still vast. And the opportunities in America are challenging and exciting. With a unified nation we can solve these problems and we can seize those opportunities. And that is the fundamental objective of President Johnson: to harness together all the great intellectual and economic resources of our nation, to call forth from every walk of life men and women who can work together for the greater good and the common welfare.

What Senator Goldwater offers is a cold and perilous alternative -- a house divided against itself - a nation ridden by bitterness, uncertainty, and controversy.

I believe that in November the American people will turn away from such an alternative, and that they will ratify and endorse the strong, steady, reliable and responsible leadership of a great President, Lyndon Johnson.

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LBS

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC RALLY

University of Toledo Field House

Toledo, Ohio

October 7, 1964

John Kelly ©

Lud Ashley

Steve Young

Bob Sweeney

Ned Skeldon

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Choose a man who represents only uncertainty and impetuosity, *and* *They will not*

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news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1964

B-3832

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
TOLEDO, OHIO
OCTOBER 6, 1964

Have you every noticed the air of catastrophe which hangs over the Goldwater campaign like the mist on a Minnesota lake on a chilly fall morning? They have every reason to expect catastrophe from the American people on November 3rd, but must they impose their personal doom and gloom on all the rest of us?

The other night in Cincinnati, for example, the Senator cranked up his crossbow and let fly with a borrowed bolt. This Administration, he said expectantly, is "soft on communism." His audience, welcoming an old familiar cliché -- and perhaps preferring it to Goldwater's home-grown variety -- whooped and hollered.

The next day, talking to the newspapermen, the Senator announced that Richard Nixon had suggested this line of attack. Can anyone imagine a better qualified authority on how to win an election?

Now Mr. Nixon says he didn't suggest this approach to the leader of the Goldwaterites. Perhaps an exchange of air mail letters will help clarify the situation.

Then, the leader of the Goldeater faction continued, and I quote, "We're going to see what the reaction is before we push it." This is worth repeating. We're going to see what the reaction is before we push it," before we push the soft on communism line, that is. Have you ever heard anything quite so cynical, so outrageous? The Goldwaterites have repudiated Eastern capitalists, but somehow they must have picked up a Madison Avenue man. So, in the language of the advertising business, they are going to run this flag up the mast and see who salutes?

But the worst part of the whole affair is the attitude that it reveals toward the American voter. The Goldwaterites are not concerned with the truth of the statement, but with its appeal. If the reaction to the "soft on communism" toothpaste is bad, they will pull it off the market and try another package.

Senator Goldwater thinks he has found a real issue in my middle name. But I have been handling that old chestnut since I was five years old. In the spirit of charity, however, I must warn him: the hidden middle-name vote -- all those youngsters blessed by loving parents with a middle name they choose to convert to an initial -- may rise against him. He should beware of midlash!

In an effort to clear up some of the chaos and confusion surrounding the public statements of Senator Goldwater, I asked him 10 days ago to explain the meaning of some of his ominous statements.

I asked him for example, to clarify his remark to a German correspondent that he -- Goldwater -- would employ brinksmanship, and I quote exactly, "Just as your country" -- that is, Imperial and Nazi Germany -- "has used brinksmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

I asked him if he thought Imperial and Nazi Germany provide us with a good model for the conduct of American foreign policy. Imperial and Nazi Germany which twice in this century took the world over the brink.

I asked him if he did not think that Imperial and Nazi Germany provided perfect examples of "shooting from the hip," deeply tragic examples of recklessness and irresponsibility.

The closest he came to a reply was to compare President Johnson with Hitler and Mussolini.

Tonight I would like to ask him to clarify another of his remarks. On August 25th, Senator Goldwater told the Veterans of Foreign Wars that tactical nuclear weapons were just oversized handgrenades and should be considered "conventional."

Let me quote him exactly: "these small conventinnal nuclear weapons are no more powerful than the fire-power you have faced on the battlefield. They simply come in a smaller package."

How, as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee who has received full briefing on tactical nuclear weapons, can the Senator possibly talk about these fearful instruments of destruction as "conventional."

(more)

The facts are these.

Just one average size tactical nuclear bomb in Europe has greater explosive power than all the bombs the United States Army Air Force dropped on Germany during the month of our heaviest air assault in World War II. And 12 average sized tactical nuclear bombs would approximate all the explosive power of all the conventional bombs the United States dropped on Germany and Japan during World War II. Fifteen such tactical nuclear bombs would exceed all the bombs, conventional and atomic, we used in World War II.

On March 18, 1945, the United States Army Air Force conducted one of the largest daylight air attacks of World War II. One thousand two hundred fifty of our heavy bombers dropped over 3,000 tons of bombs on Berlin. These bombs contained about 1600 tons of explosives.

Nearly every one of our tactical nuclear weapons has many times the explosive power of all the bombs dropped by all our heavy bombers on that memorable raid.

The nuclear fire power available to a single American infantry division today has over 100 times the destructive force of all our bombs dropped by all our heavy bombers in that Berlin raid and, indeed, exceeds the explosive power of all the conventional bombs the United States dropped on Japan during World War II.

I am here tonight to tell you that there is nothing conventional about any nuclear weapon, that the world entered a new era at Los Alamos in 1945, an era fraught with greater peril than any mankind has known before. We certainly can not deal responsibly with the crises of our time if we deny that they exist, if we argue that a tactical weapon is just a bazooka with a bigger bang.

A friend in San Francisco the other day told me that the Chinese symbol for crisis also means opportunity. In this sense, the awesome peril to our civilization created by nuclear weapons can be converted into opportunity for the establishment of lasting peace.

But this can only be done by responsible leaders, by men like John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson who know that we are walking down an uncharted road into the future; who recognize the appalling responsibility that rests upon the shoulders of the President of the United States -- responsibility not only to the American people but to all mankind. For the first time in history it is possible for one man to destroy the past, the present and the future -- literally to bring time to an end.

I ask you to support Lyndon B. Johnson -- a courageous, experienced, responsible President who has earned the right to your trust.

Speech and Travel Input Data

OHIO
Ashtabula
Wes., Oct.7

Ashtabula, Ohio -- pop. 27,000
Ashtabula County

Lake Erie Port, on Ashtabula River-important coal and ore port,
fine harbor

diversified manufacturing -- chemicals, molded fiber, glass plant
(The "Molded Fiber Glass Co.," makes fiberglass boats, headed
by "rabid Goldwaterite", has continuous labor trouble, recently
settled months-long strike.

Settled 1796 by New Englanders -- described in 1830s as "typical
New England town. Early strongpoint of abolition sentiment,
bitter attacks on slavery began in "Ashtabula Sentinel" in 1850.
Town became an important underground railroad center. Hubbard
Homestead, headquarters for the underground RR now community
house.

11th Cong. District (Bolton, Rep. Incumbent running at large)

Dem. Candidate C. D. Lambros, 1350 Myrtle Avenue, Residence
telephone- 964-3358, office - 993-0141: State Assistant
Director of Welfare under Governor Mike DiSalle; Two terms
as City Manager, during which time he started Ashtabula City
Development Committee, now expanded to Ashtabula Area Development
Association, non-partisan- working on economic development such
as: Extensive street improvements through APW, Urban Renewal,
city just received planning grant

Ashtabula receives ore for transshipment to Pittsburgh, ships
coal. Railroads are down and heavy layoffs worrisome.

Ashtabula County has extensive dairy farming, with typical
political problems.

Economic cross section of 11th District shows balance of
industry and farming.

Increasing interest in recreational facilities.

Senior citizens' problems of increasing interest -- Lambros
cites his welfare experience.

Senator Humphrey will be speaking on steps of "new" City Hall,
an old U.S. Postoffice building taken over by city and being
converted.

c.d. Lambros *Student 50 cars*
Kent State U

ASHTABULA, OHIO

OSU
11th

my De Luca

Steve Young
Bob Young

A few days ago I raised the question: "Is

Senator Goldwater really a Republican?"

I then analyzed the votes of Senator Goldwater

on 25 specific positions set forth in the 1960

Republican Platform as compared with the votes of

Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, Saltonstall, and

Hickenlooper.

The elected leaders of the Republican Party in the Senate.

An honest appraisal of what Republicanism

means is found in this 1960 platform. *(It was a*

conservative platform -- but it was a responsible

platform. *too.* *(It reflected the fact that a*

Republican Administration had been in office for

eight years, and had dealt with the complex problems

of a great nation in a turbulent world.

from
Italian
Swedish
Hungarian
none

L The record shows that Senator Goldwater voted against every one of the 25 major positions adopted by the Republican party in the 1960 platform.

L The record shows that Senator Kuchel supported his party's declared position on every one of these 25 major issues. And Senator Saltonstall supported the platform on 20 occasions.

L Of course, Senator Goldwater has called ^{the} Senator Kuchel an "extremist" (presumably because he was loyal to the Party platform) and Senator Saltonstall comes from the Eastern Seaboard -- which Senator Goldwater, in the spirit of good all-Americanism -- once suggested should be cut off from the United States and set adrift.

L But what about Senator Dirksen and Senator Hickenlooper?

L They are neither extremists nor Easterners.

They come from the Midwest; they are deeply committed
to the tradition of the Republican Party; and they
are universally and rightly known as solid conservatives.

L Senator Dirksen voted for his Party's platform

18 times, and went against it only four times.

L Senator Hickenlooper voted 17 times for his

Party's platform, and went against it only 8 times.

L In short, Senator Dirksen, Senator Hickenlooper,

Senator Saltonstall, and Senator Kuchel --- all

supported the 1960 Republican platform an overwhelming
majority of the time.

L But not Senator Goldwater. He opposed the party

platform all 25 times when these major issues came

before the Senate for a vote. Always the same refrain:

"No, no ... a thousand times no!"

↳ So I came to the conclusion that Senator

Goldwater is neither a Republican nor a conservative.

↳ He is a radical, not a conservative } and he'd

rather be "right" than Republican -- at least as

the 1960 Republican platform defined the policies

of the Party. And in terms of that platform, he

is right -- far, far right.

↳ "Radical Goldwaterism does not ~~mean~~

responsible conservative Republicanism. The

Goldwaterites have, in short, kidnapped the conservative

~~the GOP~~ tradition and are using it to mask a radical assault

upon the very fabric of the American community.

↳ This contention is reinforced by citing

Abraham Lincoln's thoughts on the proper role of

↳ Lincoln

government. He said:

L "The legitimate object of government is to do
for a community of people whatever they need to have
done, but cannot do at all - or cannot so well do -
for themselves."

Lincoln

< Contrast Lincoln's philosophy with the observation
of a businessman who was recently transferred to a
community which is a hotbed of Goldwaterism. He said:

"I always thought of myself as a conservative...

But these Goldwater people aren't my kind of conser-
vatives. They don't seem to believe in any kind of
government."

< Now, Senator Goldwater doesn't go so far as
many of his followers. But he has said: "I fear
Washington and centralized government more than I

do Moscow. 11

He doesn't propose to dispense with modern,
positive government all at once. He merely
proposes to dismantle it in easy installments.

As he has written: 1

"The government must begin to withdraw from
a whole series of programs that are outside its
constitutional mandate - from social welfare
programs, education, public power, agriculture,
public housing, urban renewal....We should establish
a rigid timetable for a staged withdrawal. 11

I think Senator Goldwater must have skimmed
through the Constitution too hastily. He evidently
hasn't read the preamble, which sets forth the
promotion of the general welfare as one of the great

Gen'l
Welfare

purposes for which our government was established.

↳ This is positive government, as Abraham

Lincoln - not only a Republican, but the greatest

of Republicans - defined it.

↳ To Senator Goldwater, however, this kind of government is "the greatest threat to freedom."

↳ What is this freedom which Senator Goldwater sees as threatened?

To me, it sounds like the freedom against which the noblest spirits of Senator Goldwater's favorite century - the 19th - rebelled. The great French writer Anatole France said with deadly irony:

"The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

h This is freedom for the sweat shop proprietor,
the slum landlord, the robber baron of a century ago.

L This is not liberty for the many--it is license for the
privileged few.

h I think most of us have a deeper understanding
of freedom today.

h We know that a man cannot be fully free if he is
ill-housed, ill-fed, or ill-clothed.

h We know that a man cannot be fully free if he works
ten or twelve hours a day for starvation wages.

h We know that a man cannot be fully free if he
faces an old age of poverty and insecurity.

h We know that a child cannot be fully free if he
grows up in an urban or rural slum, and gets an inadequate

education in overcrowded and ill-equipped schools.

L We know that true freedom is achieved only in a society where each and every person has an opportunity to develop his or her native abilities to their fullest extent, to put them to work in a decent job at decent wages, and to look forward to an old age of dignity and comfort.

L It is to ~~ensure~~ ^{insure} this kind of freedom that modern, positive government has acted at every level--
local, state, and national.

L Certainly, we do not and need not always look to Washington. There are many problems best dealt with closer to the people they concern--and, under President Johnson's concept of "creative federalism," they are being dealt with that way.

4 But the United States is a nation as well as a federal union of 50 states. It is a big country with big problems and bigger opportunities--and they are getting bigger every year.

2 When we elect a President of the United States-- and only then--we choose a man to act for all of us-- all of the people of the United States.

4 In his ten months in the White House, President Johnson has proven that he accepts that responsibility in full measure. He does not propose to withdraw from it by retreating into the 19th Century or by dismantling the Federal Government so that it cannot fulfill its Constitutional mandate to promote the general welfare.

4 Above all, I can assure you that he does not and will not delegate to any other man--in uniform or out--the

awesome responsibility a President of the United States bears day and night in this nuclear age.

That is why Democrats, responsible Republicans and clear-thinking Independents will cast their votes for the one man qualified to be President of the United States.

They will vote for Lyndon Baines Johnson.



news release

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[Oct 7?]

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
ASHTABULA, OHIO

I few days ago I raised the question: "Is Senator Goldwater really a Republican?"

I then analyzed the votes of Senator Goldwater on 25 specific positions set forth in the 1960 Republican Platform as compared with the votes of Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, Saltonstall, and Hickenlooper.

An honest appraisal of what Republicanism means is found in this 1960 Platform. It was a conservative Platform -- but it was a responsible platform too. It reflected the fact that a Republican Administration had been in office eight years, and had dealt with the complex problems of a great nation in a turbulent world.

The record shows that Senator Goldwater voted against every one of the 25 major positions adopted by the Republican Party in the 1960 Platform.

The record shows that Senator Kuchel supported his party's declared position on every one of these major issues. And Senator Saltonstall supported the platform on 20 occasions.

Of course, Senator Goldwater has called Senator Kuchel an "extremist" (presumably because he was loyal to the Party Platform) and Senator Saltonstall comes from the Eastern seaboard -- which Senator Goldwater, in the spirit of good all-Americanism -- once suggested should be cut off from the United States and set adrift.

But what about Senator Dirksen and Senator Hickenlooper?

They are neither extremists nor Easterners. They come from the Midwest; they are deeply committed to the tradition of the Republican Party; and they are universally and rightly known as solid conservatives

Senator Dirksen voted for the Party's platform 18 times, and went against it only four times.

- more -

Senator Hickenlooper voted 17 times for his party's platform , and went against it only 8 times.

In short, Senator Dirksen, Senator Hickenlooper, Senator Saltonstall, and Senator Kuchel -- all supported the 1960 Republican Platform -- an overwhelming majority of the time.

But not Senator Goldwater. He opposed the party platform all 25 times when these major issues came before the Senate for a vote. Always the same refrain: "No, no, ...a thousand times no!"

So I come to the conclusion that Senator Goldwater is neither a Republican nor a conservative. He is a radical, not a conservative -- and he'd rather be "right than Republican" -- at least as the 1960 Republican platform defined the policies of the Party. And in terms of that platform, he is right -- far, far right.

Radical Goldwaterism does not equate with responsible Republicanism. The Goldwaterites have, in short, kidnapped the conservative tradition and are using it to mask a radical assault upon the very fabric of the American community.

This contention is reinforced by citing Abraham Lincoln's thoughts on the proper role of government. He said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all -- or cannot so well do -- for themselves."

Contrast Lincoln's philosophy with the observation of a businessman who was recently transferred to a community which is a hotbed of Goldwaterism. He said:

"I always thought of myself as a conservative...but these Goldwater people aren't my kind of conservatives. They don't seem to believe in any kind of government."

Now, Senator Goldwater doesn't go so far as many of his followers. But he has said: "I fear Washington and centralized government more than I fear Moscow."

He doesn't propose to dispense with the modern, positive government all at once. He merely proposes to dismantle it in easy installments. As he has written:

"The government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate - from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal....We should establish by law a rigid timetable for a staged withdrawal."

I think Senator Goldwater must have skimmed through the Constitution too hastily. He evidently hasn't read the Preamble, which sets forth the promotion of the general welfare as one of the great purposes for which our government was established.

This is positive government, as Abraham Lincoln -- not only a Republican, but the greatest of Republicans -- defined it.

To Senator Goldwater, however, this kind of government is "the greatest threat to freedom."

What is this freedom which Senator Goldwater sees as threatened?

To me it sounds like the freedom against which the noblest spirits of Senator Goldwater's ~~favorite~~ century -- the 19th -- rebelled. The great French writer, Anatole France, said with deadly irony:

"The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread."

This is freedom for the sweat shop proprietor, the slum landlord, the robber baron of a century ago. This is not liberty for the many -- it is a license for the privileged few.

I think most of us have a deeper understanding of freedom today.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he is ill-housed, ill-fed, or ill-clothed.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he works 10 or 12 hours a day for starvation wages.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he faces an old age of poverty and insecurity.

We know that a child cannot be fully free if he grows up in ~~a rural or~~ an urban or rural slum, and gets an inadequate education in over-crowded or ill-equipped schools.

We know that true freedom is achieved only in a society where each and every person has an opportunity to develop his or her native abilities to their fullest extent, to put them to work in a decent job at decent wages, and to look forward to an old age of dignity and comfort.

HUMPHREY/comfort.

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It is to insure this kind of freedom that modern, positive government has acted at every level -- local, state, and national.

Certainly we do not and need not always look to Washington. There are many problems best dealt with closer to the people they concern -- and, under President Johnson's concept of "creative Federalism," they are being dealt with that way.

But the United States is a nation as well as a federal union of fifty states. It is a big country with big problems and bigger opportunities -- and they are getting bigger every year.

When we elect a President of the United States, and only then, we choose a man to act for all of us -- all the people of the United States.

In his ten months in the White H^Use, President Johnson has proven that he accepts that responsibility in full measure. He does not propose to withdraw from it by retreating into the 19th Century or by dismantling the Federal government so that it cannot fulfill its Constitutional mandate to promote the general welfare.

Above all, I can assure you that he does not and will not delegate to any other man -- in uniform or not -- the awesome responsibility a President of the United States bears day and night in this nuclear age.

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A D D R E S S

Ashtabula, Pennsylvania, *[Ohio]*
Wednesday, October 7, 1964.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

They just put Senator Goldwater in orbit. (Applause.)

May I just take a moment to express to the City Manager, Mr. DeLuca, my gratitude for this key that unlocks the City Hall, I gather that he feels that this key will unlock the White House.

Well, may I say that there is a whole lot better chance for a gold key to get into the White House than there is a Goldwater?

(Applause.)

I am very happy to be here in Ashtabula, this home of the good Swedes and Norwegians and Italians. Coming as I do from Minnesota, I can really appreciate this snappy weather that you have. There is about the temperature we have in Duluth on the 4th of July. I am particularly pleased this evening to see some of the young people here.

(Applause.)

I understand that about 50 carloads of young students came over from Penn State University. I like that, and I'm sure that others came from other parts of this great state of Ohio.

Senator Young, it's good to see you here again. I have been traveling along the State of Ohio a good deal these past weeks. It has been my privilege to go into this great state, and I like to see my old colleague and friend from Ohio in the United States Senate there on the platform with me.

If the people of this state have the good judgment that I believe they have, they are going to keep in the United States Senate a man who works ceaselessly for the people of Ohio, who is known for his courage, who is known for getting things done, who is known for staying on the job and serving the people, and of all the young men that I can think of that do that job and do it well, none is better than Steve Young.

(Applause.)

And I might add that this man knows how to get over to the White House, and see the President, and he is going to be seeing a Democratic President, not a Republican, so you'd better have a Democratic Senator.

(Applause.)

Now, this great 11th Congressional District of Ohio ought to have a man representing it down there in the House of Representatives that can speak to our government, can work for you, can give you the kind of service and the kind of leadership and representation that this 11th District -- that is so well balanced between agriculture and industry -- that this District deserves. We have on this platform the next Congressman from the 11th Congressional District of Ohio, C. D. Lambros, and I know you're going to elect him.

(Applause.)

He is a fine looking man. You put down there Steve Young and Lambros, and with Johnson in the White House and Humphrey presiding over the Senate, you're going to have quite a team down there.

(Applause.)

By the way, Senator Young has been very good to me. In case you see the ways things are working out as they are planning, and I think they will, I'll be the man that administers him the oath, so between now and that happy day in January when the Senator from Ohio appears in the United States Senate to take his oath of office for his second term in the Senate, he will have to be very, very considerate of Hubert Humphrey.

I want you to know, Steven, that no matter what you may do between now and the election, as long as you get Democratic votes and as long as you get elected, and as long as you behave the way you have these many years, I'll be very happy and very honored to administer the oath as the great Senator from the State of Ohio, representing this great Buckeye State.

By the way, is my friend Bob Sweeney around here tonight? He couldn't make it?

Well, let me tell you that Bob Sweeney is the candidate for Congressman at Large from Ohio.

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That's good. Put that sign up good and high down there, young lady.

That's the man you want to vote for for Congressman at Large from Ohio. Get that name clear.

We have had quite a time tonight. First of all, we were over there at Sharon and Farrell, Pennsylvania. Then we were at Erie, Pennsylvania, and then we are over here in the great State of Ohio, at Ashtabula.

Each place that we have gone, there has been a great audience, enthusiastic, happy-looking people. You can just plain tell that the Democrats are doing well because there are so many people that look so happy, and one of the ways that you find a Democrat, the difference between a Democrat and a Goldwaterite, is just by looking in their eyes, looking in their faces, and when you see a fellow that looks like he has just swallowed a turnip, you know that he is most likely carrying a Goldwater sign.

(Applause.)

But when you see somebody whose eyes are shining, whose countenance is happy, who is an outgoing, joyous individual, you know that that person can hardly wait for November 3rd to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

Now, friends and neighbors, a few days ago -- they just got the message back there.

A few days ago, I raised the question in a neighboring state: Is Senator Goldwater really a Republican? And this question deserves thoughtful analysis. I raised the question because literally hundreds of thousands of people of Republican persuasion are joining in the ranks of the Democratic party and supporting President Lyndon Johnson for election.

Great newspapers across our land that traditionally have supported Republican candidates are today announcing openly and happily their support of Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States. And I think we have a reason to ask why that has taken place.

And the reason it has taken place is quite obvious. The reason is, first of all, that President Johnson has given this nation remarkable leadership, that the nation is enjoying a new

era of prosperity, that great progress is being made, but also, people who are traditionally Republicans sense that their party is in hands that do not really respect Republican tradition.

Now, my fellow Americans, we don't expect a candidate of the opposition party to vote for Democratic programs most of the time. That would be asking too much of an opponent. You don't expect a leader of the opposition to carry the banner of the Democratic party.

But you should have a right to expect that when a man says that he is the spokesman of the Republican party, that he has a record that indicates support for the principles of that party.

We have a candidate today, as the temporary spokesman of a faction of a fraction of the Republican party, that does not speak for the Democratic party and he doesn't speak for the Republican party. He apparently speaks for a small core group, hard core group that is his group, that goes his way despite the great traditions of the two political parties.

Now, I make this charge tonight that Senator Goldwater, the temporary spokesman of the Republican party, really does not represent that party in terms of its Platform Committee, in terms of its traditions. He surely doesn't represent the Democratic party. He has made no pretense of that, and he is an honorable man. I take him at his word.

Let's see where he stands then, in terms of his own party, and let's see where he stands in terms of the great issues of our time.

The 1960 Republican platform to which the Senator from Arizona had pledged his support during his service in the United States, a service, if you please, that was characterized primarily by being a spokesman for his particular point of view, that 1960 platform had 25 specific commitments or positions that were given to the American people.

In that 1960 platform, we ought to compare the votes of Senator Goldwater with the Republican leaders in the United States Senate. Let's see who those leaders are. Senator Dirksen of Illinois, Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Senator Kuchel, the minority whip, of California, Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa. These are the elected representatives of the Republicans in the United States Senator.

Senator Dirksen is their leader. Senator Kuchel of California is their minority whip. Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, a distinguished Senator, is the Chairman of their

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Conference Committee, and Senator Hickenlooper, a man who has served in the United States Senate for four terms, is the Chairman of their Policy Committee.

These are the leaders of the Republican party in the Senate of the United States. These are the men who served alongside of Senator Goldwater, and these men, like every other Senator, make a commitment in terms of party program and platform.

Twenty-five issues, an honest appraisal of what Republicanism means, is found in that platform. It was a conservative platform, but it was a responsible platform, too. It reflected the fact that there had been a Republican President. It had responsibility. It reflected that a Republican administration had been in office eight years, but had dealt with the world as it was, not this world of mythology and fiction that the temporary spokesman of the Republican party today talks about.

What does that record show? The record shows that Senator Goldwater voted against everyone of 25 positions adopted by the Republican party in the 1960 platform. The record shows that Senator Kuchel of California, a great Republican, supported his party's declared position 25 times, for every position.

Senator Saltonstall, a man of great integrity, this man supported his party platform on 20 issues.

Of course, Senator Goldwater is called the Republican leader. Senator Kuchel from California -- he is called an extremist. Extremists, in the eyes of Mr. Goldwater, are those that don't agree with him, apparently. He was an extremist that supported the Republican platform.

Senator Saltonstall comes from the Eastern Seaboard. That is the area of the country which Senator Goldwater said in a spirit of good old All-Americanism, he suggested that they cut off the whole Atlantic Seaboard, and let it float out to sea.

Well, may I say, he is going to think that happened when the votes come in from the Atlantic Seaboard in November.

(Applause.)

By, my dear friends, what about those two Midwesterners, Senator Dirksen and Senator Hickenlooper? Neither one of them is an extremist. They are avowed conservatives.

Senator Dirksen voted for the Party's platform 18 times. He went against it only four. Senator Hickelooper voted for it 17

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times, voted against it eight. In short, Senators Dirksen and Hicklooper supported the 1960 platform an overwhelming majority of the time.

But one man was always out of step. One man was always on the sidelines, the far right. One man, on 25 major commitments of his party, the party that he says he leads, on 25 showdown votes, 25 issues in their own platform that he said and that the leader of his party, Mr. Nixon, said should be the platform of the Republican party, and the commitments to the American people, on 25 occasions, the Senator from Arizona said "No, no, 25 times, no."

So, I come to one conclusion, that Goldwater is neither a Republican nor a conservative. He is a radical, and he is a very, very definite radical. Radical Goldwaterism is what we face and it doesn't mean conservative Republicanism.

The Goldwaterites, in short, have kidnapped the conservative tradition in the G.O.P. and are using it to make an assault upon the very fabric of the American community.

You know, there was a time when the "G.O.P." stood for "Grand Old Party." Now, it stands for "Goldwater's Our Problem."

(Applause.)

Somebody is going to tell you, "Well, now, the Senator just picked up 25 positions. Senator Humphrey picked up 25 positions and he found that Goldwater voted wrong on them 25 times, and from that, the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Humphrey, draws conclusions that Mr. Goldwater is not even a good Republican."

But let's go a little farther. Who is the father of the Republican party? Abraham Lincoln, the finest of them all, a great American, one revered by Democrats and Republicans alike. What did Abraham Lincoln say about the proper duty of the government? He was a great exponent of the duty of the government.

I quote his words, the words of the great Abraham Lincoln:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves."

I think we have to recognize that there are people, frequently, who support a candidate that go much further in their

extremism than the candidate himself.

But here is what Senator Goldwater has to say:

"I fear Washington and centralized government more than I fear Moscow."

Two, here's a man, my fellow Americans, that wants you to give him your vote, wants you to give your vote to him so that he can be President, and he says that he fears Washington, he fears our own government more than he fears Moscow.

Well, let me say from this platform that I think our nation is blessed by the finest government that was ever created by the hand of man. I believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. I don't think the government in Washington is a greater threat to our freedom than the Communist government in Moscow, and I say to Mr. Goldwater, "Shame on you for even intimating such a thing."

Now, friends and neighbors, Senator Goldwater says, however, that he doesn't propose to do away with the government at once. He merely proposes to dismantle it in easy installments. And here's what he has written -- one of the most interesting aspects of this campaign is to quote what the Senator from Arizona has written. Of course, you're not always sure you get the same story, because there have been many things written.

You know, I feel many times that what the nations needs today is a President who says what he means and means what he says, not a President who means something, and then says it, and you don't know what he means after he has said it.

Now, what did the Senator from Arizona say? He said:

"The government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate."

Listen here, my friends, he says the government must withdraw from "social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal."

I think Mr. Goldwater must have skimmed either through the Constitution too hastily. I was a teacher at one time and if any student of mine had given as poor a description of the duties of the government under the Constitution as Mr. Goldwater has, I would flunked him, or at least, I would have given him some remedial reading.

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Now, the Constitution sets forth in the Preamble the general welfare, the promotion of the general welfare, as the one great duty of a government. It is the major purpose of the government.

There are only two directions in the Constitution, just two, to the government of the United States: To provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. Those are the two directives. Mr. Goldwater seems to have forgotten one.

Now, this is the government that Abraham Lincoln talked about, not as a Republican but as a great American. He defined it and he defined it for us as positive government. But Senator Goldwater finds this kind of government to be our greatest threat to freedom.

Now, what is this freedom that Senator Goldwater seems to think is threatened? To me, it sounds like the freedom against which the noblest spirits of Goldwater's favorite century, the 19th, rebelled. This is the freedom from the sweat shop proprietor, the slum landlord, the robber baron of a century ago.

This is not liberty for the many. It is license for the privileged few.

I think most of us have a deeper understanding of freedom today. We know that a man cannot be fully free if he is ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed.

We know that a man cannot be fully free if he faces an old age of poverty and insecurity. We know that a youngster cannot be fully free if he grows up in an urban slum or a rural slum, and if he gets an inadequate education with inadequate teaching and ill-equipped schools.

We know that true freedom is achieved only in a society where each and every person has the opportunity to develop his or her native abilities to their fullest, to put them to work in a decent job and at decent wages, and to look forward to an old age of dignity and comfort.

The freedom that America wants is the freedom of choice, the freedom of opportunity, not the freedom that the Senator from Arizona talks about, where you are left behind, where no consideration is given to your needs, but a freedom, if you please, where the American people can at least have the

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opportunity for a gainful job at fair wages, where industry can expand and grow and where our youngsters can be educated.

And the record of the Republican candidate in this election is not one that indicates a sympathy with that course of freedom.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the United States is a big nation and it requires a big leader. It is a big country with big problems and bigger opportunities, and they are getting bigger every year. The country is getting bigger; the problems are big and the opportunities are unlimited.

When we elect a President of the United States, and only then, we choose a man to act for all of us, all the people of the United States.

In his ten months in the White House, President Johnson has proven that he accepts that responsibility of working for all of us and that he accepts it with the spirit of a government that has as its duty to serve the people.

He does not propose to withdraw from this duty by retreating to the 19th Century or by dismantling the Federal government so that it will fail its constitutional mandate to promote the general welfare.

I say to this fine audience tonight and to this splendid community that you are privileged this year of 1964 to have in the White House a man that has demonstrated by his leadership and by his performance the capacity to be a great President of the United States.

And I don't think the people of America are going to turn away from him. In fact, I am convinced the people of America are going to embrace him and they are going to elect him as their President for four more years.

Finally, now, my friends and fellow citizens, let me say this: our country has tremendous responsibilities these days. We live in a different time than those that preceded us. There isn't a thoughtful citizen that doesn't know that America cannot afford a depression. There isn't a thoughtful citizen that does not know that with a growing population, we must be able to provide more jobs.

There isn't a thoughtful citizen that doesn't know that the children of this generation must be better educated than of

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another generation. There isn't a thoughtful citizen that doesn't know that the peace of the world, indeed, the safety in this world, is in the hands of the people of the United States, and their elected leaders.

Therefore, when we elect a President, we need a man that will unite us, that will bring us together, that will develop a national purpose and great national goals. We need a President that can speak for all of us, not one that divides us, not one that plays off one group against another.

We need as a President of the United States one that understands the problems of today and doesn't propose to be a student of ancient history. We need a President, we need a man in the White House, who clearly understands his responsibilities as Commander in Chief to keep our country strong, but to use that power with restraint.

Every mother and father in this audience tonight knows that everything that we hope for and pray for can be lost if a President of the United States is impetuous, if he makes a wrong decision, if he is irrational, if he is unreliable, if he is irresponsible, and we cannot afford to make any mistakes.

George Washington told the people of America in his time that during seven years of the War for Independence, he knew every day that that war could be lost and that the hope of independence could be lost if he, the Commander in Chief, the Father of our Country, ever made a major mistake of judgment. And he prayed for divine guidance. He thought through every problem.

And today, may I say, even more than in Washington's time, with the nuclear power, with the unbelievable potential of destruction, the President of the United States must be a man that is calm, he must be a man that is steadfast, he must be one that is skilled in the art of government, he must be one that our allies respect, he must be one that will command attention and respect at home, and above all, he must be one that pursues the paths of peace.

He must be one with a great heart as well as a strong mind. And I sincerely believe that John Kennedy, in selecting Lyndon Johnson as his Vice President, made the greatest decision of his life and it has been proven by history.

Because, when President Kennedy was struck down by the assassin's bullet, and America was left faltering for those

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moments, everybody wondered, "What will happen?"

Then, as if we were protected by Divine Providence, itself, a strong man was there, one who under the most difficult of circumstances, stood up, took the oath of office, and became our President and has carried on in a masterful manner.

I don't believe there is a fair-minded American that does not honestly believe deep in his heart that Lyndon Johnson has been a great President and has served our country well.

I ask you to have the same faith in President Johnson that John Kennedy had in him. John Kennedy said to Lyndon Johnson, "Stand alongside of me and help me."

I ask the American people now to stand alongside of President Johnson and help him. Give us your hands. Give us your hearts. Give us your help.

Thank you, friends.

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-end-



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