

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Penn Square  
Reading, Pa.  
October 15, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Thank you.  
Thank you, my friends.

All right. Thank you. Congressman Rhodes, ladies and gentlemen, my good young friends, may I suggest that you just hold up that enthusiasm.

Congressman Rhodes, members of the County Committee, the fine and good people of Reading, Pennsylvania -- (Applause) -- Senator Joseph Clark, who has been here with you today to speak to you and my distinguished colleague in the Senate, and may I add a new member of the United States Senate, if you go to work on November 3rd, Genevieve Blatt. We are very pleased to see you, Genevieve. (Applause)

I am particularly happy to come to the District of one of the most able and dedicated members of the House of Representatives. I have known your Congressman for many years in Washington, and I have never known him to do anything else but to serve and serve and serve the constituents of his district with fidelity, with energy, with ability, and with results.

And I am pleased to be here on the platform today to ask the people of this great area of Pennsylvania to once again give their vote of confidence to a faithful, honorable, effective member of Congress, your own Congressman George Rhodes. (Applause)

And when you are doing that, and when you are doing that, may I also suggest that you keep in mind the necessity of having in the United States Senate someone that will dedicate her life to the progressive principles of government, the sound principles of government, of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and I know that you are going to do that by sending to the United States Senate one of the most experienced, one of the most trusted, and one of the most talented public servants in the history of Pennsylvania, and that is your own Genevieve Blatt, democratic candidate for the United States Senate. (Applause)

Now, my dear friends, this is a wonderful audience and I am eternally grateful to you. I want to thank my young friends today and ask for their cooperation. We love to see our young people with us. I am very fond of them. After all, I have a houseful of them, and I think I appreciate their enthusiasm and their energy. But I think the time has come in this campaign, may I say quite honestly, when we need to have some very serious discussion of issues. We also need to take into consideration our great responsibility as citizens of this Republic on election day.

So I say to my younger friends how grateful we are for their presence and I ask them to do a civic service, not only in this gathering but in the weeks ahead.

I ask these young friends that are here to go to their respective homes and to talk with their parents and to talk

with their brothers and sisters who may be of voting age. And I ask them to appoint themselves as a committee of one, a committee of one, to safeguard the institution of American democracy in the home of America which, by the way, is the backbone, is the strength of this great Republic.

Now, your parents many times have advised and counseled you, just as I have advised and counseled my three sons and daughter. I would like to say that this is your chance

How many of us realize that in the last election in this country in 1960, the presidential election, less than two-thirds of the American voters eligible to vote took time out on election day to think of their government, to think of their country, and to act one way or another. Of course, we all have our point of view as to how we would like the election to come out, but I think it is equally important that we have an expression not just of a few of the American people, not just of 60 percent, but that we have an expression of every eligible voter in America.

So I say to my young friends, if the Republic of Italy could cast 93 percent of the total electoral vote on the part of its adult citizens in the most recent election in Italy, if France could cast 90 percent of all of its eligible votes, if the Scandinavian countries can cast 95 percent of all of their eligible votes, if in Belgium they can cast 87 percent of all of their eligible voters, then I ask my friends of the United States of America, and I ask my young friends in particular, what is wrong in this great Republic of ours where we enjoy more freedom, where we enjoy more prosperity, where we enjoy more of the blessings of life, what is wrong with us when only 63 percent of the total electorate in 1960 in that great election between President Kennedy and Vice-President Nixon, what was wrong with America then when we were so slack, when we were so limited in our political expression?

So, my dear young friends, as a friend of young people, and I am eternally grateful for your help and your enthusiasm, your smiles, your idealism, your pep, will you take some of this home with you now? Will you contact your mother and your father and your neighbors and say that if they can do it in Italy, if they can do it in France, and I predict that today in Great Britain where they are holding a great national election that not less than 85 to 90 percent of the voters of Britain will turn out to the polls, if they can do it in Norway, in Sweden, in Denmark, in Holland, in Germany, in Belgium, for not in a single country does less than 85 percent of the total electorate turn out, why can't we do it in America?

Make it your business to be a good citizen. Get your parents, my friends, to stand up and be counted one way or the other on election day for your future. What do you say, young men and women? (Applause)

All right. I thank you. Now let me talk to you a little bit about what I think are some of the great issues in this campaign. We have gotten to a point in the election process where the American people are entitled to know where we stand on foreign policy, fiscal policy, domestic economic policy,

where we stand in terms of the future of this Republic.

Let me start by saying that we live in the greatest land in the world and everybody knows it. That is not a partisan question. Both candidates for the office of Presidency know that.

And let me start also by saying that I do not contest the patriotism or the devotion to this country on the part of either candidate.

We have differences of views, sharp differences of views, and I think we ought to talk about them.

One of the things that I have noted is a substantial number of people who call themselves and are Republicans that this year have indicated they are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson. And I think the question may be asked why.

They are not running away from their Party, not at all. They feel their Party has run away from them. And may I add that one of the -- (Applause) -- and may I add that this feeling goes across this land.

Great newspapers that have long supported Republican candidates for President are this year supporting a Democratic candidate. The New York Herald Tribune, Life Magazine, the Saturday Evening Post, just to mention three, but many more, all across this land, in your own state of Pennsylvania, newspapers that traditionally, consistently have supported Republican candidates this year say no. This year they say "We are going to support President Johnson."

And I think the answer is quite simple. The standard bearer of the Republican Party in this campaign has not followed the Republican policy.

The 1960 platform had 25 specific commitments on the part of the Republican platform, 25 issues, 25 commitments, 25 points that were laid down in the Republican platform, and each of them brought up for a vote in the Congress of the United States, and on all 25, the Senator from Arizona voted no.

On all 25 the Senator from Illinois, Senator Dirksen, the Republican leader in the Senate, he voted 18 times yes.

On those 25 the Senator from Massachusetts, the distinguished Senator Seltonstall, one of the truly great men of the Senate, the leader of the Republican Conference, he voted 20 times yes.

The Senator from Arizona voted 25 times no.

The Senator from California, the second man in command of the Republican Party in the Senate, Senator Thomas Kuchel, one of the most enlightened and able men of our country, and I say it in California to my Democrats just as I say it in Pennsylvania because a good man deserves praise, Senator Thomas Kuchel voted 25 times yes for his platform of the Republican Party. But the Senator from Arizona voted 25 times

no.

The Senator from Arizona says that Mr. Kuchel, the Republican Senator from California, is an extremist. But what can he say about Senator Dirksen who nominated him? What can he say about Senator Hickenlooper who was one of his strong supporters?

The Senator from Iowa, conservative Republican, Senator Hickenlooper, voted 17 times for his Republican platform. The Senator from Arizona voted 25 times no.

And, ladies and gentlemen, this is why thousands, you millions, of Republicans that love their Party, that are going to come back and work in their Party, that most likely again will never support another Democratic candidate, but those Republicans have left the standard bearer of their Party, the Republican Party today, because that standard bearer does not represent responsible, responsible middle-of-the-road, moderate, constructive, conservative Republicanism. He represents a new brand of American radicalism, and it is being repudiated throughout the land because there is no room for it. (Applause)

Now let me give you some specific evidence. This great community of Reading, Pennsylvania, has three elderly housing projects to help give better decent homes and housing to people that are our senior citizens, elderly housing, a program sponsored in the Congress, bipartisan, not just Democratic, bipartisan.

These three elderly housing projects of Reading which mean so much to this community could have never been built if you depended on the vote of the Republican Standard Bearer today. He voted no.

He voted no on urban renewal. He voted no on issue after issue.

Your distinguished Republican Governor in this State served in Congress from 1960 to 1962, Governor Scranton, Republican, who had some very, very tough things to say about Mr. Goldwater.-- but I shall not repeat what he said because it was Senator Goldwater who said "By your votes you can judge us, not by our talking."

Senator Goldwater said that on May 26, 1964, and I agree with him.

I think that you do judge people by their votes. I think you do judge them not only by words and by the printed material that they put out in a campaign. I think you judge men who have served in the Congress, who have served in government, by their deeds and by their votes, and everybody is entitled to take his position.

In the Congress we vote aye or nay, yes or no.

Now, listen to this. Governor Scranton when Congressman from 1960 to 1962 -- take that two year period -- Area Redevelopment, which has meant so much to Pennsylvania,



thousands of jobs, Scranton voted yes. Goldwater voted no.

The Housing Act of 1961, middle income housing, elderly housing, college dormitory housing for your students, public housing for underprivileged, Scranton voted yes, Goldwater voted no.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1961 to train the workers that were the victims of automation or the change of industrial patterns, workers that had lost their jobs through no fault of their own, workers that needed new skills, and the Manpower Training Act has been a very effective Act. It hasn't cost a dime. It has produced revenue. It has produced wealth.

On that issue Scranton as Congressman voted yes. Goldwater voted no.

The Social Security Act. Oh, Mr. Goldwater says those Democrats are trying to make it look like I am against Social Security. You shall know them by their votes said Mr. Goldwater. By our votes you can judge us.

Well, Senator Goldwater in 1961 when we amended the Social Security Act, when we increased its benefits, when we increased its coverage, Governor Scranton, Republican of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, voted yes. Senator Goldwater voted no.

This is the record, and it goes down the line. In recent years the Republican Standard Bearer voted no on higher education, voted no on the Economic Opportunity Act, voted no on the Anti-Poverty Program, voted no on the Peace Corps, listen to this. Not only did he vote no on the Peace Corps which is the greatest development of our foreign policy since the Marshall Plan which put our young people, the true voice and image of America, out around this world and every country in the world has praised the Peace Corps, every free country, as one of the greatest developments of American life.

What did Mr. Goldwater call it? A haven for beatniks. A haven for beatniks.

But more importantly, I can forgive a man for making a phrase, making some little statement that gets the headlines, but how did he vote on the Peace Corps? And how did he vote on the Arms Control Agency? He voted no.

How did he vote on the Alliance for Progress for the help of our friends in Latin American? As he said, the menace is communism. How does he vote on the great programs to fight communism? He votes no.

I submit that the record must be studied. How did he vote on sustaining the United Nations which is one of the great hopes of mankind for peace, the United Nations that serves in peacekeeping functions throughout the world. The Senator from Arizona voted no.

So, ladies and gentlemen, all that I can say is that if you want an America that repudiates the United Nations, if you want an America that will cut back or jeopardize Social Security, if you want an America in which there is no interest in housing for the elderly, if you want an America in which you don't care for workers, if you want an America in which education is downgraded, all you have got to do in this election, if that is the kind of America you want, is to vote for the Senator from Arizona.

But if you want an America, my fellow Americans, where we put a premium on education, where we are trying to give our young people the best chance in the world to make something out of their lives, if you want an America where we do something about the elderly and that we talk about them and work for them, for their dignity and their security, if you want an America where we care for the afflicted and the sick, if you want an America where we train workers for productive work, if you want an America where jobs are increasing, where wealth is increasing, if you want an America that pursues relentlessly the path of peace, then I say keep what you have got and you go ahead and back Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party. (Applause)

Now, friends, my dear friends, most every campaign ends up in a flurry of

vindictive. How unfortunate. The American people want to know what of the future? It isn't enough just to look at the yesterdays. It isn't enough even to be concerned with today.

I see in this audience, this great flow of audience and people here, I see hundreds of young people, and I want to say to the mothers and fathers that are gathered here, you had better make sure that in the office of President you have a man who is responsible and not irresponsible, a man who is steady and not impetuous, and above all you had better make sure that America remains strong, strong for the purpose of one objective -- peace -- strong so that we might secure the peace.

Make sure that America is just because if America stands for anything in this world today, it stands for justice, social justice.

This is the commitment of our religion. This is the commitment of our country. This is the commitment of our forefathers.

And this Senator that stands before you today says that it is not weakness to pursue peace. It takes courage. It is not cowardice to be for compassion. It takes strength.

And I want to say that I have never considered care for the unfortunate, the afflicted and the sick as socialism. I consider it good decent honest Americanism. (Applause)

And may I add as one who has grown up in a family business, and as I look up and down this street I see one thriving enterprise after another, America is not as rich and as strong as these retail establishments, important as they are. America is as rich and as strong as its people at work, in the constructive importance of employment, as investment of our businessmen and management of our enterprises.

We are all in this together. We have got a great prosperity. Let's maintain it.

I saw the morning's newspaper that told me that America's prosperity had increased another \$8,900,000,000 this last quarter. Every month it is better, and this is not by accident. It is because a government and a people, a friendly government has worked with industry. It is because of the tax cut that Mr. Goldwater voted against. It is because of area redevelopment that Mr. Goldwater voted against. It is because of foreign aid that Mr. Goldwater voted against.

It is because you have in the White House today a President that encourages American enterprise and doesn't discourage it, someone that says to America let's move forward, let's do our best, let's try to overcome our problems and let's make possible opportunities.

I appeal to this audience between now and November 3rd to study this record. I ask every citizen in this great assembly today to be a good American, fulfill your political responsibilities, cast your vote.

I hope and pray that you will see possible to cast your vote for Genevieve Blatt for the Senate, for George Rhodes, for the Congress -- (Applause) -- and I hope and pray that you will be able to see fit to cast your vote for a man that has had 30 years of honorable public service in our government, from congressman to senator to Vice-President to President.

I hope that you make this election a resounding tribute to a man who is working every hour of the day for a better America, a more peaceful world, and a more just society, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States. (Applause)

#####

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Central Park  
Johnstown, Pa.  
October 15, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Thank you very, very much.

I understand there may be a little competition here between St. Vincent's and St. Francis, is that right? (Applause)

Well, I am simply delighted to be here today in this great, wonderful city of Johnstown, and I am very honored to have been introduced by the gentleman that is going to be the next Congressman, the Democratic Congressman, from this, the 22nd District of Pennsylvania, James McCaffrey. Also we have on this platform a gentleman I don't believe was introduced, so let me be the introducer. He is the Congressional Candidate, that is, the Democratic Congressional Candidate from the 12th District, from over in Somerset County, Paul Stephens. Where is Paul? (Applause)

And you have all met before many times your wonderful public servant here in the State of Pennsylvania, a lady that has honored her state by service beyond the call of duty, and I ask my good friend and our candidate on the Democratic ticket for the United States Senate, Genevieve Blatt to stand and take another bow.

Now, if you will just translate all of that enthusiasm into votes, we have really got this thing made.

And with this group today is your distinguished Senator, Democratic Senator, from Pennsylvania, my good friend, Joe Clark. Joe, stand up and take a bow. (Applause)

And Mayor Thompkins, may I again personally thank you for the medallion that you were so kind as to give to me. I shall cherish this as a memento of this campaign, but more importantly, I shall keep it in remembrance of the hospitality and the kindness of your City, the generous reception, the warm reception that has been given to me as I came to this great industrial community of Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

Mayor Thompkins, I was once mayor of Minneapolis. I always said it was the best job I ever had, the hardest job, and they tell me that this is your first term. Are you going to have some experiences! (Laughter)

Well, I want to say how honored I was at the airport to have the privilege of meeting a very dear and fine lady who has given all to her country. She gave her son, the winner of the highest honor of our government, the Congressional Medal of Honor. And I want this lovely lady to stand and be recognized, Mrs. Strank of your own community. (Applause)

And I told here that she looked just exactly as my grandmother did, who I loved very much, and I can't pay a nicer compliment to any woman than that. (Applause)

I just feel like I am in northern Minnesota. I come up here and see all these fine workers in the steel mills. I gather there are a few Slovenians here, a few Slovaks and Czechs and Poles and a few others. It is like in Minnesota, I see almost as many Democrats up there as I see here. Oh, that makes me feel good. Do you all feel Democratic out there today? (Applause)

I understand when John Kennedy, our beloved President, when he was here in 1960, he made quite a speech. I understand that when he was here he called it Johnson City. Well, he was right. He is a prophet. It is going to be Lyndon Johnson City come November 3rd. (Applause)

As I say, I can plainly see you folks know just what to do and you look happy. You look healthy. You look like you are just going to vote the straight Democratic ticket from top to bottom and whenever in doubt, that is the thing to do. (Applause)

Now, Mr. Mayor, the medallion that you gave me commemorated the survivors -- first of all, the 75th, I should say, anniversary of the great Johnstown Flood and the survivors of that flood. Well, let me say that Johnstown back in 1889 may have been in a situation where a flood could have destroyed it and taken hundreds, yea, thousands of lives, but I wish to say now that Johnstown is flood free, free from floods, and one of the reasons it is is because you have had a government that cared about you, a Federal Government that worked with your state government, a government that cared about you and it cared about you under a Democratic Administration, and today Johnstown is flood free. (Applause)

I am happy to say that a telegram that I have been waiting for just came in. You know, you have to be pretty nimble on your feet in this campaign business because once in awhile a message doesn't get through to you on time. But I have a message here, Washington, D. C., and it tells us a story that I think you would like to hear.

This telegram came in yesterday. It was supposed to have been given to me promptly when I got off the plane. But here it is.

It says, "I endorse wholeheartedly and unqualifiedly for the Congress the Honorable James E. McCaffrey and Paul A. Stephens. I wish them the best and they have my sincere good wishes. Lyndon B. Johnson." (Applause)

Well, now, boys, you have got that endorsement. All you have got to do is go to work and all you good voters, all you have to do now is to elect them and I think you are going to do it.

Today in the few moments that we have here I want to discuss with you seriously the issues in this campaign.

In less than three weeks, in fact, in about two and a half weeks, the American people are going to make a decision, a vital decision, about their future.

I have heard many people talk about the game of politics. Some people would have you believe that it is sort of like baseball or football. It is not a game. Politics in a democracy is the most serious business of our time. Politics in a free country requires careful attention by the citizenry. Politics in a democracy requires an informed citizenry if that . . . politics is to be worthy of a free people.

Every place I have been in these recent days I have tried to remind our people of our civic and public duty as citizens of this, the greatest country on the face of the earth. America is not as strong as its banks or its industries. It isn't even as strong as its armies or its defense establishment. America is as strong as its people. It is people interested in their country, in their government. It is people educated and healthy and committed to the proposition of human dignity and political freedom.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this country was established on the principle of popular sovereignty. What do we mean by that? We mean that ultimately the powers of government must come from the people. Government by the consent of the governed.

Lincoln put it "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." If you want government for the people, if you want a government that is interested in the people, if you want a government that is concerned about the people, if you want a government that serves the people, then the people must take an interest in that government. (Applause)

And that, my friends, means that on election day, that you perform your duty, not only your privilege but your duty to vote.

Isn't it a pity that in the greatest free country in the world we have the lowest voting percentage of eligible voters. No other free country in the world has as low a percentage of the eligible voters go to the ballot box as in America, a country that is rich, a country that God Almighty has showered his blessings upon, a country that has the responsibility for



leadership in the Free World, a country that is the hope of the world.

Yet this country, my fellow Americans, in the last election, a great election for the future of the world, this country had less than two-thirds of its eligible voters going to the ballot box.

Italy, 93 percent in the last election. France, 90 percent. The British will vote today in their national election, and I will wager that over 85 percent of the eligible voters in Britain will go to the ballot box. The Scandinavian countries, over 90 percent. Belgium, Holland, any country that you can think of in Europe, about 90 percent of the eligible voters age 21 or over go to vote.

But here we are in America where more people can gripe about government than any other place, where more people complain at times about government. Yet in this great country, one out of every three voters stays home and says "I don't care."

Now, my friends, if you don't care, who will care? I think we ought to make this election the greatest outpouring of voters that the world has ever known. I think we ought to tell the communist world that we know how to be free, and I think we ought to tell the Free World that we know how to exercise our duties and our privileges of citizenship, and therefore, I appeal to every boy and girl in this audience to tell their daddy, to tell their mommy, to tell their grandfather, to tell their grandmother, to tell their brother and sister 21 years of age and over, I ask every little boy and girl, I ask every young man and woman under 21 to go to their parents and say, "Do me a favor, will you? Be a good citizen on election day."

Election day ought to be known as Citizenship Day. We ought to change its title. We ought to determine then who are the good citizens.

Oh, I want you to vote for my ticket, but I think it is more important that you vote. I think the important thing is that we be good citizens and don't you take anything for granted, you people that say that Lyndon Johnson is going to win. I think he is going to win. I think President Johnson deserves to win.

I think that when John Kennedy selected President Johnson as his Vice President, he made the greatest decision of his life. He protected the future of America. And I say to you that if Lyndon B. Johnson was good enough for John Fitzgerald Kennedy as his strong right arm he is good enough for you and he is good enough for me. (Applause).

This City proved it. This great City voted overwhelmingly for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. You loved him as I did. I worked with him. I know him. I knew him. I know what happened in America on that terrible day when he was taken from us, and I know that a strong man rose up. I know that the faith that John Kennedy put in Lyndon Johnson, that faith was proven to be sound and true because President Lyndon Johnson who came into office under the most incredible and terrible circumstances, proved himself to be a man of humility, proved himself to be a man of strength, proved himself to be a man of experience, proved himself to be a man who was responsible, and ladies and gentlemen, to be President of this country is the most difficult task in the world.

You not only have to be President of the United States. You have to lead the world. And Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States of America, has proven to be a great President, a good President, a human President, a working President, and your President. (Applause)

So let's not let this thing go by default. Don't let a single person stay home.

You know, in my state of Minnesota we had an election in 1962. 1,300,000 votes were cast and the governor in my state was elected by a majority of 91. 91.

Every vote counts. Your vote counts. Make it an intelligent vote.



Now, let me ask you something. Do you want to see the gains, Mr. Worker? And I come to a city where the steel industry represents the backbone of the economic strength of America. And I come from a state where the iron ore comes from, where the taconite pellets come from. I have been in those iron mines. I have been with those steel workers. I know. I have been there.

I know how important this industry is, and I know what this industry looked like in 1960. This City didn't have the employment it now has. Not on your life. And there was many a mother and many a father here who wondered where the paycheck was.

You had unemployment compensation. Why? Because you had a President like Franklin Delano Roosevelt that thought into the future. (Applause)

And let me say to my friends who are merchants, my family has been in business for 63 years. We still operate a business. I am the head of that little family corporation.

I have never kidded myself for one minute. That business is no better than the customers that walk in the door. I don't care how smart you are, how many nice goods you have. If your workers that are there have no paychecks, you have no business, and if the farmers that come in don't have any price for their commodity, you don't have business.

There isn't anybody more dependent upon the working man, upon the farmer, upon the school teacher and the clerk and the secretary and the stenographer and merchant on Main Street. Every one of them.

So we are in this together, and that is what President Johnson teaches us. He reminds us that we need to build this country together. And we have. We built a great system of social security, and if I went around this great assembly today and asked you how many of you want to lose social security, you wouldn't get one hand.

We know how important social security is and we intend to make it better, not to weaken it. We intend to improve it, not to downgrade it.

And what did Mr. Goldwater do when he had a chance? Well, dear friends, I will just give you one or two examples. You have got a Governor in this State that served in the Congress. He is a Republican.

You have got a Governor that in 1960 to 1962 voted in the Congress.

On the Social Security amendment in 1961, this Republican Governor who now says you ought to vote for Goldwater -- but he didn't say that a few months ago, you know. Oh, no. He said Goldwater was worse than the plague. (Laughter)

But now he says you have got to do that. You have got to vote for Goldwater.

Well, that is his privilege. I understand. I am a Party man myself. I appreciate that.

I believe that really what Mr. Nixon and Mr. Scranton are doing is not asking you to vote for Goldwater. They are just out to pick up the pieces after Goldwater has literally wrecked the Republican Party. (laughter - cries of hurrah, hurrah, hurrah.)

Senator Humphrey. Good. Good. I guess that must be part of the University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown Branch. (Applause -- laughter)

Now, listen to this. Why is it that so many good Republicans today are going to vote for President Johnson? It isn't normal. They generally don't switch ballots. But they are going to, and I will tell you why. Because Mr. Goldwater doesn't vote the way Republicans are expected to vote. Mr. Goldwater doesn't even vote for his own Party. He obviously doesn't vote for John Kennedy's New Frontier program. He obviously doesn't support Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal or Harry Truman's Fair Deal. He condemns those

programs as if they were consummate evil. But everybody in this audience with few exceptions knows that without them there wouldn't have been any Johnstown and you know what would be your lot. You good friends in the labor movement, do you want a man in the White House that is against you? (Cries of no from the audience.)

You good folks under Social Security, do you want that Social Security to be weakened or lost? (Cries of no.)

And I ask my young friends who are students, do you want your educational structure to be weakened or destroyed? (Cries of no.)

Well, if you feel that way, then you had better make up your mind that you can't afford to have in the White House a man who is opposed to education assistance, who is doubtful about Social Security, who voted against Social Security. You can't afford to have a man in the White House who voted against minimum wages, who is against your organized trade union movement, who voted against tax reduction to help these business places on Main Street.

You tell me what he voted for. I will tell you what he voted for. A billion dollars for Arizona. (Laughter) Oh, yes. He voted for a one billion dollar project for Arizona. But when it came to California, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, he said, "oh, no, no, no. We haven't got any time for you folks."

You need a president that thinks of the future and will preserve the gains of the past.

You need a president that thinks and talks well and knew Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

You need a president that was a friend of and supporter of Harry S. Truman, and you need a president that when he was the Senate Majority Leader didn't snipe at and didn't make difficult the life of President Eisenhower.

You need a president who was the strong right arm of John Kennedy, and you need a president who today is doing a big job for you, a job for the world, a job for every American, and that President is none other than Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, I leave you with just this expression of hope. I say that everything that we talked about, every economic gain, everything about Social Security and wages, everything about the general prosperity which is ours today, all of this can be lost, all of it, if this world gets into a war. And we need in the White House someone that understands that the pursuit of peace is not weakness but is strength.

We need someone in the White House that understands that the peacemaker is the great man and not the little man.

We need someone in the White House that understands the use of power and how to restrain its use. We need someone in the White House that will try to stop or slow down this dangerous arms race, not someone that will speed it up.

We need someone in the White House that will unite Americans, not divide us, someone that will speak to us as citizens, not as Catholics and Protestants and Jews or white or colored.

We need a president that understands America, that loves America, and that asks us to do better every day.

And ladies and gentlemen, I know that man. I work with him. I have served with him 16 years in the Senate of the United States. I know what is in his heart. And let me say I know that deep down in the hearts of many people who carry a Goldwater sign they are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States. (Applause)

Thank you.

#####

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Street Rally  
Alliquippa, Pa.  
October 15, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Genevieve.

You know, my good friends of Beaver County, Genevieve Blatt introduced me so quickly that I didn't quite realize that I was on the program. (Laughter). That is the kind of a senator to have, someone who gets things done in a hurry. (Applause)

I am simply delighted to be here today in this great area of Pennsylvania. I am particularly pleased to be here in the company of one of the finest citizens of our nation, one of the greatest Democrats of all times, a great Governor of this State, a great Mayor of Pittsburgh, and your own beloved David Lawrence, a great man for your State.

I also want you to know that I insisted that the Mayor of Pittsburgh come down here too, so he could see some mighty nice people. (Applause) And we have got Joe Barr with us. (Applause)

And I see my friend, the Congressman here. I have been in Frank Clark's District so many times they got suspicious. People thought I was running for Congress instead of Clark. But I am delighted to see my friend Frank, and I want to say to you that you couldn't do better than to re-elect this fine Congressman to represent you in Washington in the House of Representatives.

Frank, stand up here. (Applause)

As I came through here, I saw an old friend, and I shook his hand, and I want Scott Thompson to know how good it was to see him. And I came walking down the line and two beautiful girls planted a kiss on my cheek. I like that. (Laughter) (Applause) This is a great town. Then I see these fine bands. (Applause) And I just want to -- oh, we have three bands, of course. I want to compliment all three of them. (Applause)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have had a big day and we have had a very wonderful day. Every place has been a generous warm reception, starting out this morning in Reading, Pennsylvania, and then going to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, coming through Homestead, Pennsylvania, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and now out here in this great area of democracy where they tell me they have got the best Democrats, the finest people in all of Pennsylvania right out here in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. (Applause)

And I was so pleased to see so many of you here waiting for us so that we can talk a little politics.

Today I want to talk to you about your election. We are coming close to a time when we make a decision. This has been some election. It has been a difficult campaign. I think it has been different in many ways than any I have ever participated in.

First of all, the candidate of the Republican Party doesn't believe in being too much of a Republican. He has his own party divided, because his record, surely not a record of supporting the Democrats, is almost equally bad in supporting the Republicans.

I think he is rather comfortable, however, because those that do follow him are very, very zealous. Yes. They are very devoted to his candidacy.

The one thing that I hope, and you can make this hope come true, is that he will not have a following big enough to take away from every working man and woman and every businessman on this main street the great programs, the progress, which has been created and developed and built over the last 30 years in the United States of America. (Applause)

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party is not merely running against Lyndon Johnson. He is not merely attacking our President. He is attacking Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. He is attacking Harry Truman and the Fair Deal. He is attacking Dwight Eisenhower. He is attacking John F.

Kennedy.

He is against everybody that has done something for you, and I suggest that you keep that in mind on November 3rd, and that is the time you can do something to him.

Vote no when that man's name is on that ballot, and vote yes for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and Genevieve Blatt. (Applause)

You know, when you tell people these days that they could lose some of the gains they have made, some people say, "Oh, I don't believe that is true." Well, one thing I want to say for the man that heads up the Republican ticket this year. I want to say that he is determined to set this country back. He has promised you that. He tells us of the yesterdays. He talks about ancient history. He condemns every program of social progress.

He says, for example, that we should have a timetable to repeal the laws that relate to public welfare, agriculture, education.

He says we should get the Federal Government out of these things, which is just a nice way of saying to you, Grandmaw, that we are going to get rid of social security, which is a way of saying to the young student, we are going to get rid of national defense education assistance, which is a way of saying to the worker we are going to get rid of your union.

And let me say to every trade unionist in this city that the gentleman from Arizona means exactly what he says when he says he believes in those so-called right to work laws. He means he believes in the right to destroy your union and you had better remember it. Do you want that? (Cries of "no.")

And may I say to my friends in business, when President Kennedy asked the Congress of the United States to pass a tax reduction bill to help that store across the street, to help every one of these business places, whether it is Olier's, whether it is Culp's or whether it is the Vogue Shop or whoever it might be, every one of them got some help and so did you.

Remember, we reduced taxes eleven and a half million dollars. We had the tax reduction for business. We have a tax reduction for consumers.

We had a tax reduction for families. We have a tax reduction for workers, and every worker saw his pay envelope. Your withholding tax is down.

When that tax reduction bill was put through, it was put through for one purpose, to help American enterprise to expand, to help to create new jobs, to help to create new purchasing power, to help a businessman have a little more profit, to help a worker have a little more take-home pay.

Most members of Congress thought it was a good idea. The AFL-CIO, the steel workers, and the United Mine Workers and the Teamsters and all of them, they said it is a good idea.

The Chamber of Commerce endorsed it. The National Manufacturers Association endorsed it. Most Republicans voted for it. Practically all the Democrats voted for it.

They wanted to see America move ahead. They wanted to help President Kennedy keep his promise to get America moving forward.

But the vote came in the Senate, and I can still hear it because that man's name from Arizona comes before the name of Humphrey, and I can hear it when they said, "Goldwater." He said "No;" "no." No to every businessman, no to every worker,



not to every farmer, no to every wage earner, no to every single citizen in this country.

He said, "No."

Now he is out campaigning for President, and now he says, "You know what? I think we should reduce taxes."

Well, Senator, Congress is out. They closed it up a few weeks ago. The time to have reduced taxes was when you had a chance to reduce them.

And one thing I noticed about the Senator from Arizona, he is always late. He is never there when you need him. He is always backwards. (Applause)

Now, we have done pretty well in this country. There was a time that America was plagued by depression and recession. There was a time in America when young people like I see here today couldn't look forward to going to college, to the university.

We want those days to be gone forever. We want to have a government that serves the people. We want to be with Lincoln who said that this should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We believe that a government should act as the partner with business and with labor, with young people and with old people. We want a government that has concern for the unfortunate, that has compassion for the needy. We want a government that wants to help the elderly and we want a government that wants to see that there is opportunity for the young.

We want a government that seeks to expand the American economy. We want a government and a president that believes in full employment. And you have got that kind of a government, and the man at the head of it is President Lyndon Johnson. I suggest you keep him. (Applause)

Now, of course, if you want to go back, if you would like to go back to the days of the covered wagon, if you want to go back to the days of the open shop, if you want to go back to the days when there was little or no social progress in this country, you can do it.

The Senator from Arizona says he has given you a choice. I'll say. The choice of the 20th Century or the 19th.

You can have it. He gives you a choice. You can have minimum wage laws or none. You can have a union or none. You can have a prosperous economy or you can go into a depression.

You can have a president who rattles the saber, who talks loud, who threatens people, or you can have a president who works for peace, who works to save this world from nuclear destruction.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you the stakes are high in this election. We need a president that unites this country.



We need a president that doesn't think in terms of sections or regions. We need a president that unites us rather than divides us. We need one that is proud of the people of America, that doesn't talk about minorities as if they were evil groups in our society.

We need a president that wants to humanize the immigration laws. We need a president that respects collective bargaining and the rights of labor. We need a president that says to business, grow, expand. You have the help of this government. We are going to give you a break. We are going to encourage you.

We need a president that says to the young people, you need an education and America is going to see that you get it because, mothers and fathers, let me say to this great audience of fine American citizens, the future of this nation is in the hands of our young. The power of this nation and the wealth of this nation is in the brain power of our people. And we need our young people educated.

We need better schools, more of them, better universities and colleges, more of them, and we are going to need government at every level, federal, state, and local, to do its level best to see to it that every boy and girl in America, regardless of income, regardless of race, no matter where they come from, that if they want to go to school, they will have that opportunity. (Applause)

Well, my friends, this is what we are going to do. We are not going to be satisfied with what we have.

We have got many good things now. We are the richest nation on the face of the earth. Of course, the Senator from Arizona says that is all an illusion. He says it is a phony prosperity.

Well, I want to tell you something. It may be phony, but when you have got money in the bank and you can write a check, the check is good. There is nothing phony about that.

It may be phony, my friends, but the automobile industry is selling more cars than they ever sold before. It may be phony, Mr. Goldwater, but this morning's newspaper has a newspaper clipping in it, a news story, and here it is. It says right now, \$8,900,000,000 increase in gross national product.

That is even a little money, may I say, to the folks in Arizona. (Laughter -- Applause)

We are very fortunate. We are a blessed people. We are a people, my dear friends, that have had the blessings of a divine providence. And I say in all reverence, we ought to be eternally grateful. Much has been given to us, and much can be expected of it.

We are a people that have shared in the bounty of God's goodness. We are a people that are well fed. We are a people that are reasonably well housed. But we know there can be better days. And that is what we are talking about. We want to make sure that every American if he is willing to work and wants to

work can have a job and a good job.

We want to be sure that every senior citizen has a decent place in which to live and has proper hospital and medical care.

We want to be sure that every child that is crippled or diseased will be cared for.

We want to be sure that every community can have modern facilities.

And, ladies and gentlemen, we can have it. We have got it if we want to go to work to get it done. We have built a great country and for goodness sakes, let's have leaders that take us forward. Let's have leaders that tell us we can do the impossible if we need to do it.

We can do anything in this country that we put our mind to. All we need to do is to get the people on the job, to get the job done, and I know we have got one who knows how to do it.

30 years in public life. 30 years. He started out with young people, a teacher in a country school. Then with young people at university level. Then a congressman, then a United States senator, then the Majority Leader of the United States Senate. And a great Majority Leader. No Republican will deny that he was the best we have ever had.

And then a Vice-President, selected by whom?

Voices. John Kennedy.

Senator Humphrey. John Kennedy. Bless your heart. John Kennedy selected Lyndon Johnson as his Vice-President. (Applause) And I want to say to this audience that John Kennedy thought of his country every minute of his life. John Kennedy as our President thought of his America whether he lived or died.

And he knew as President that his job was dangerous. He knew that he lived constantly under the threat of some mad man. And then on that cruel day of November 22nd an assassin took the life of our President and the whole country wept.

You wept and I cried. We wondered what is going to happen to us. We wondered if our government would survive. And then we realized how wise John Kennedy had been because there in Dallas, Texas, along side of a President that no longer lived, stood a strong man, tall, calm, understanding, knowledgeable in government.

He took his oath of office. He came to Washington and he went to the Congress and he said to us, "We must not hesitate. We must finish the unfinished tasks." He called upon that Congress and the American people in these words. "Let us continue." And Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, has lived every hour of his life since that day of November 22nd to fulfill the promises and the commitments of John Kennedy to the people of America and the people of the world. (Applause)

Well, I will tell you something. If Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, was good enough for John Kennedy, he is good enough for me, and he is good enough for you, and he is good enough for America. (Applause)

So my friends, let's make this election a real reaffirmation of our beloved President Kennedy. Let's show the world that we have faith in him.

Let's make it crystal clear to the world that we believed in Kennedy and that we believe in President Johnson.

Let's make it clear to the world that we believe in statesmen. Let's make it clear to the world that we believe in progress. Let's make it clear to the world that we are a vital, active people, and you know how to do it? Elect Genevieve Blatt in the State of Pennsylvania to the United States Senate. (Applause). Re-elect Frank Clark. (Applause) Elect these county commissioners and these Democratic candidates and then cap it all off. You go home, you young people, tonight and tell your mother and father that they have a duty to you and to the future and, mother and father, you might meditate a little bit about your country. You think about its future and when you are all through, you remember that November 3rd is your day, not my day, when the citizen of America decides the future of his country.

It is on that day that you have more power than any person in the world. It is on that day that you will choose the leading public official of the world. It is on that day that you will make the decision as to the future of America, and I say that it is on that day that the American people are going to elect for four years the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and, may I say, the Democratic ticket. (Applause)

Go home and have a good time and vote Democratic.

~~THE END~~



# news release

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

FOR P.M.'S RELEASE  
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15

B-3866

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE  
THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 15  
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Some of my friends ask me why I spend so much time talking to university audiences -- talking to college students who are not eligible to vote.

Students have a lot to teach politicians -- and sometimes vice-versa. I find university audiences receptive to new ideas and willing to face world realities -- but at the same time they ask me probing questions and give me new perceptions that sharpen my own thinking.

In speaking to you, I know that I am not speaking to a group whose brains have atrophied from disuse -- from cerebral unemployment. It's not like speaking to that collection of Goldwater supporters housed across the street in the dinosaur section of the Carnegie Museum.

When I talk to university audiences, I am not only refreshed by new ideas -- I am restored by new zest and energy. Our opponents in this campaign are going around this country saying that Americans are "sick and tired" of this, and "sick and tired" of that. After speaking to any audience, and especially to student audiences, I know once again that Americans are not sick, and Americans are not tired.

Beware of those who peddle the politics of despair. Choose those who offer the politics of hope, of enthusiasm, of joy.

Let us always remember that it was the new energy and enthusiasm which men brought to America that gave new reality to the old dream of

(more)

human freedom. The American dream was not conceived in the conscience of conservatives but in the hope of enthusiasts.

Yet in place of the American dream, we are now being offered an American nightmare by the peddlers of despair.

Some time ago, we heard complaints about the complacent and self-indulgent generation of the 1950's. But this accusation was ill-directed. American youth has always been willing to meet the challenge -- if they are made aware of the shape of the challenge.

Under the Administration of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson the challenge has been presented and accepted. The most dramatic evidence of this acceptance is seen in the response to the Peace Corps.

President Kennedy lent the full weight of his office to the Peace Corps, and President Johnson has maintained this strong support. But the people who bear primary credit for its success are the Peace Corps Volunteers themselves -- those Americans who realize that there is a moral imperative to service beyond that of mere self-service.

Yet the Peace Corps was only a beginning. Into the older programs of America's foreign relations, this Administration poured a new vigor and new excellence. In our recruitment and placement of men and women abroad, we demanded and obtained a greater knowledge of relevant foreign languages and greater sensitivity to the problems of the new nations. We re-fashioned the foreign aid program; we created the Alliance for Progress; we made use of our agricultural abundance by sending Food for Peace to more than 100 million people.

We have been able to recruit -- and equally important -- to keep good men in high positions because President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life the spirit described by John Adams as one of "public happiness." It is this spirit, said Adams, that produces delight in public discussion and public action -- a joy in citizenship and self-government.

Historians who write of our turbulent era will note another milestone in our conduct of foreign affairs: our renewed effort to tame the atom --

(more)



through the Test Ban Treaty, the "hot line," and the prohibition of nuclear weapons in outer space -- before it maims us.

Now where do we find the nominee of the Goldwater faction on these vital issues of foreign policy?

He has told us where he stands: he rejects foreign aid; he disdains negotiation; he dismisses the United Nations; he opposes bridge-building to the peoples of the Communist nations; and he condemns our efforts to end the armaments race.

Recall, for instance, the solid bipartisan backing for the nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- the support of General Eisenhower and 25 of 33 Senate Republicans. Recall, as well, the moving words of Everett Dirksen, the Republican Senate leader:

"I want to take a first step, Mr. President," he said. "I am not a young man...one of my age thinks about his destiny a little. I should not like to have it written on my tombstone, he knew what happened at Hiroshima, but he did not take a first step."

Senator Goldwater knew what happened at Hiroshima. Yet, he refused to take this first step.

His seeming callousness about this treaty is hardly surprising. For Senator Goldwater has often talked as if he believed peace could best be achieved by escalating conflicts that might well lead to nuclear war.

Senator Goldwater now bemoans the fact that most of the American people have turned against him because of his recklessness. He claims to have been misinterpreted and misquoted.

Senator Goldwater deludes himself. He has acquired his reputation for recklessness not by misinterpretation, but through his own statements. Let me quote to you from his book, The Conscience of a Conservative:

"A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective."

Or

"We must -- ourselves -- be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

And remember what happened when the reporter from the German magazine Der Spiegel asked him, "But would you go to the brink of war?"

(more)

"Yes," Goldwater replied. "Just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

What kind of a statement is that? What kind of man could make such a statement? You don't have to major in history to know that any man who offers the disastrous examples of Imperial and Nazi Germany for us to follow is a man who has no understanding of past history or current reality.

In his frantic impatience with the world as it is, Senator Goldwater wishes to back the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war. Indeed, one of his main goals seems to be -- and again I quote him -- "to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

Those who have not yet reached the age of 21 realize what Senator Goldwater never seems to have realized -- that such juvenile games of nuclear "chicken" will eventually result in the horrendous death of both players. Senator Goldwater does not yet understand that in our age of quick and total destruction, there is no such thing as quick and total victory.

Let us reject a candidate and a foreign policy which offer us nothing better than glib slogans and the risk of nuclear war. Let us continue our great peaceful plans to tame the atom, to explore the stars, and to make the benefits of abundance and education open to all men.

All our great plans require creative ideas and willingness of the spirit. These are the qualities that we must continue to demand of our leaders -- and of ourselves.

We need an America with the wisdom of experience. But we must not let America grow old in spirit.

When I was in Washington yesterday, I noticed that the wooden stands for next January's Presidential Inauguration are now being constructed in front of the Capitol building. Four years ago, we all watched as our brave young President accepted the torch of leadership for a new generation of Americans. Although his own life was brutally extinguished, the torch he

(more)

HUMPHREY/the torch he

B-3866 -- page 5

bore burns on in the programs and ideals which his successor carries on.

At next January's inaugural, the world must not witness the extinction of that torch by a man who has never realized that the American dream is progression and renewal, not stagnation and reaction. And America must not witness the extinction of the torch of our world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of holocaust.

The time of true national testing is close at hand. Remember the message of the Scriptures -- without vision, the people perish. Let us hold fast to our vision of America. Let us preserve that vision against those who would so casually destroy it.

If we work with diligence this autumn, this glorious American vision --- conceived in hope --- forged in battle --- tested in adversity --- shall not soon perish from this earth.

# # # #

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Allegheny County, Pa., Airport  
October 15, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. My dear friends, this delegation from the county of the Pittsburgh area, it is such a joy to be here once again, to be here in the company of some of those distinguished Democrats and the most distinguished citizens not only of your State but of the United States.  
(Applause)

You are right. When I can be met at the airport by the former Governor of this State who to my mind will always be Governor of Pennsylvania and Mayor -- (Applause) -- Mr. Lawrence, that is a great honor. And then to be greeted by Mayor Joe Barr, one of the fine, good Democratic mayors of a great city, that is second to none, and then to be introduced from this platform by the lady that is going to be the next United States Senator from Pennsylvania, Genevieve Blatt -- (Applause) -- ladies, I shouldn't do this because I am afraid I am betraying my sex, but it is just about time that you ladies had a senator in the United States Senate to represent this great area of Pennsylvania. (Applause)

It has been said a number of times that the women control most of the wealth and frankly we know you have the majority of the population which means you can control the vote, and we also know that you control the men.

You can elect anybody you want to, and may I make a couple of suggestions to you.

Start electing Democratic members of Congress. That is very important. Democratic members of the State Assembly, Democratic members of the City Council, Democrats wherever you see them. Just start electing them. That is a good idea and then when you get around to the national ticket I would like to just share one or two words of confidential information.

The information that I would like to give you is this, that if you want to preserve the gains that you have made, if you want to build on those gains, if you want to have America go ahead, if you workers want to make sure that you can still have a good strong effective trade union, if you businessmen want to make sure that we can continue to expand this economy, increase our national product and our profits, and if you students want to be sure that you have good colleges to go to, and good schools to attend, and if you elderly want to be sure that you have someone that is interested in your well-being; in other words, if you good Americans want to be sure that America will be a better place every year and a greater and a stronger country every year, then may I suggest that on November 3rd you get out and vote for Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States. (Applause)

Voice. LBJ all the way.

Senator Humphrey. You have got the idea up there, young lady. You have got the idea. She says "LBJ all the way."

By the way, before I forget, I want to thank this band, this wonderful band that is here with us for their music. What high school is that? Homestead. I want to thank this sweet little girl down here for giving me that rose. That is just about the nicest thing that happened to me since my wife kissed me the first time.

And I want to thank all of your many friends here from the different organizations that are here, the members of the City Government, City Council, members of our trade union movement, labor movement.

Let me say to our friends in labor, we have got a fight on our hands. Don't take it easy. You had better get out and battle. I am going to give everything I have got. I know that, too; we don't intend to let this country fall into the hands of those who would take us back.

We intend to have this country move forward, and may I say to our friends who believe in an expanding economy, and this great area is one that needs it -- we need more jobs. We need a stronger America. We need a richer America. We need a healthier America. We need a better educated America.

And I am here to tell you that the man that is in the White House, when he was asked what he was going to call his Administration -- a reporter said to him, Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had the New Deal. Harry Truman had the Fair Deal. John Kennedy had the New Frontier. What will you call your Administration? And he said, "My aim in life, my only purpose, is to have a better deal, a better deal for every American, and for all of humanity."

Let me say that is what President Lyndon Johnson is working for. He gets plenty of abuse. He gets a good deal of criticism. And I have known this man for 16 years in the Senate. I have known of his record for 30 years. A man trained to the job, one that loves young people, one that believes in the future, one that was a steadfast ally of our late and beloved President John Kennedy. Let me --

Voice. Hurray!

Senator Humphrey. That is right. Anybody that remembers the service of President Kennedy in those 1,000 dramatic days, they remember along side of him through every one of those days stood this man from Texas, this great American, and when the hour came and President Kennedy was taken from us by a cruel assassin's bullet, there was the strong man, a faithful man, a good man to rise up and take control of this government and manage its affairs.

I think the greatest decision that President Kennedy ever made was when he selected Lyndon Johnson as his Vice-President. He protected America. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, let us protect America. Let us make sure that we don't give away what we gained. Let no one take it away from us. Let us make sure that we have a President that is responsible, a President that is strong, a President that is understanding, a President that unites us, a President that builds America.

And the way to do that is to get out and make sure that on November 3rd the American people elect for four years in the White House President Lyndon Johnson, your President and mine. (Applause)

#####



## ALIQUIPPA, PENNSYLVANIA

### 1. DON'TS (Subjects to avoid)

--The Blatt-Musmano fight. The area is heavily Italian and favored Musmano; Blatt and Clark are not popular just now.

--Goldwater and Miller should not be mentioned by name. Around here they think that would be giving free publicity to the enemy.

--Avoid references to distressed areas and the poverty program. This area was a distressed one until very recently and they do not like to be reminded that the Federal Government helped them out of it.

--Automation. These are mostly steelworkers and they suffer greatly from automation.

### 2. Politics

--Kennedy, 1960. Four years ago today John F. Kennedy spoke from a platform just a few miles away in Beaver Falls. Perhaps some of you were there to hear him. It was the first time a Presidential candidate had ever visited this area.

--Plug votes for the straight Democratic ticket in order to avoid the Blatt-Musmano question.

--Local candidates:

1st State Assembly District	-	H. Buryl Klein, Robert K. Hamilton
2nd       "               "	-	Charles D. Stone, Ronald G. Lench
State Senate       "	-	Ernest P. Kline

--Republican promises: When Governor Scranton ran for office two years ago, he promised a modern road system to the people of western Pennsylvania. The people of western Pennsylvania held up their end of the bargain -- they elected him. Now the question is, when is the Republican Administration going to hold up its end of the bargain? Where are the roads?

### 3. Audience

--95% industrial workers, mostly steel

--Heavily Italian

--They like to consider themselves industrial pioneers, the people who stayed behind to pioneer the factories while others ran off to the frontier. Many old workers here.

### 4. Issues

--Immigration. This Administration is committed to a humane revision of our immigration laws. We see nothing wicked in reuniting divided families, nor in bringing to our shores new infusions of that dynamic spirit which has made our country great.

You can choose the Democratic Party that seeks to revise and improve our outdated and inhumane immigration system, or you can choose those who seek to replace the Statue of Liberty with an iron, padlocked gate.

It is not a question of opening the "floodgates."  
It is a question of opening the "fairgates" to admit  
45,000 more immigrants -- one-fortieth of one percent of  
our present population.

I believe we will be a better nation when those  
45,000 live among us.

--Mass Transit. With the help of the Federal Govern-  
ment there is a good chance that Pittsburgh will soon  
take a long step toward solving its transportation with  
the creation of the South Park Monorail.

--XX  
XX  
XX  
XX

--Social Security and Medicare. Lyndon Johnson has  
no intention of dumping our senior citizens on the slag  
heap of society. We were unsuccessful in getting Medi-  
care this year -- we will try again next year. We shall  
not give up until all our workers can retire to the life  
of proud citizens, not paupers or parasites.

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, Pa.  
October 15, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Genevieve Blatt, for your gracious introduction, and may I say thank you to our band. I haven't heard the "Minnesota Rouser" played so good on the Pittsburgh Campus for many, many years.

But it is great to be here today. It is a great privilege to be here in the presence of a distinguished citizen of your state, former Governor, former Mayor of this City, truly one of the remarkable men of our country, Governor David Lawrence. (Applause)

And I am delighted to be welcomed to this campus, not only by its students but also by the fine Mayor of the City of Pittsburgh, Mayor Joseph Barr. (Applause) And to be here in the presence of and along side of one of the best members of Congress, a member that knows the world that we live in, has some ideas what to do about our problems, has the courage to initiate those ideas, and has represented this great district in Pennsylvania brilliantly, and I refer to your own Congressman Bill Moorhead, and you know he is a good man. (Applause)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I hope that you will take to heart the suggestions that were made a moment ago about our friend Genevieve Blatt who has such a remarkable record of public service in this State. She will make a fine United States Senator, and she is the kind of a person -- (Applause) -- she is the kind of a person that understands the responsibilities of public service.

Well, now, just a word or two. I understand this campus today is not only graced by the presence of the students of the great University of Pennsylvania, one of our wonderful institutions -- (Applause) -- but I also understand that you permitted on the sacred premises students from Duquesne and Carnegie Tech -- (Applause) -- and Mt. Mercy and Chatham. (Applause)

So all of these wonderful schools are gathered together here.

You would be interested to know that the last score I heard, it was the St. Louis Cardinals 5, Yankees nothing. (Applause).

Now, friends, I only hope that on election day the odds can be that good for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

I almost let it slip my mind but for goodness sakes, after looking into those beautiful eyes of Sylvia Shapiro and hearing her wonderful voice and having her sing to me and to you as she did, I want to thank her very, very much for making this visit just a little better, even as good as you can make it. Sylvia, you did a wonderful job. You have got a lovely voice. I know that you are quite a girl. I know you are going to vote Democratic. (Applause)

Voice. She's too young.

Senator Humphrey. Well, if she isn't old enough, we will

wait. It is worth waiting for. (Laughter)

Now, I also understand that on this Saturday the students of this campus are being asked to help in a voter canvass. I can think of no more worthy endeavor between now and the election date, and I hope that all of you who are involved in that effort will be on the job, and I might now encourage additional volunteers.

Saturday the voter canvass.

Well, I am delighted to see so many wonderfully good, intelligent citizens with a smile on their face. It means that this is almost a solidly Democratic audience. (Applause)

Now, I did see a sign or two of the opposition, but may I say that the people that were carrying those signs had a smile on their face, so I know that deep down in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

This is quite a day for Americans. Last night as I was getting the midnight news I heard that our athletes at Tokyo, our great Olympic athletes, had captured five gold medals, and America today leads in those Olympics.

I kind of wonder how they feel when they hear that they are sick and tired old Americans, as the opposition says.

Frankly, they are wonderful representatives of our country and you know what? They represent every race, creed, and nationality of America. There is no color line. There is no religious line. There is no ethnic line. As a matter of fact, two or three of them were members of what they call minorities -- (Laughter) -- and they are winning for America. (Applause)

Now, I do not come to this campus to speak to you in just a light vein. I come here as a representative of a great political party, and I come here seeking an office that is a very important office.

Therefore, it is my view that when a man seeks this office or when he asks others to support a candidate for President, that he has an obligation to speak responsibly, that he has an obligation to the best of his ability, whatever that may be, to talk about the issues, talk about the great questions of our day.

I could sit here and hurl invective, but it will do no good. I happen to disagree with the spokesman of the opposition. I find many other people do, too. I find that many people in the Republican Party, regular Republicans, authentic Republicans, disagree with the temporary spokesman of that Party.

I find, for example, that at one time the great Governor of this State disagreed with him not only in word but in the Congress of the United States. They have a record, as I recall, of never voting the same on any major issue. (Laughter)

Not one. They didn't vote the same on education, they didn't vote the same on area redevelopment, they didn't vote the same on the Peace Corps, they didn't vote the same on the Arms Control Agency, on the Alliance for Progress, on any major



issue before the Congress. When the present Governor of this State served as Congressman, he voted opposite of Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Goldwater voted opposite of him. But Mr. Goldwater said, and I think I should quote him from his own report, he said, "By our votes you can judge us, not by our talking."

Well, I think that is a fair statement. (Laughter)

And my good friends, if you want to judge someone on the basis of how many no votes he can cast, why then I would say that everybody that believes that you should sit under the "No-No Tree" -- (Laughter) -- and bask in the shadows of your own indifference, that if that is your feeling, then you have a candidate. He is the fellow that planted the tree. (Laughter) He is the little scorn. (Applause)

But if you should believe, as I think you do, and as I hope you do, that we ought to look ahead, that we ought to look into the sunshine, that we ought to look into the atmosphere of hope, that we ought to come to grips with the problems of today and tomorrow, if you believe that America has even better days before itself, better days ahead, then I have got a candidate for you there, too, and his name is Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, lest I be misunderstood, and there are always those that at times try to make people a little more, oh, a little more sarcastic and cryptic than the words would justify, let me make it clear I happen to know the Republican pretender to the Presidency. (Laughter)

I know this gentleman, and he is a gentleman. I know him as a patriot, and that he is. I know him as a decent man. I know him as a fellow member of the Senate. I know him as a sociable human being.

I will tell you this. I think he would make a wonderful neighbor, but I sure don't want him for my President. (Applause)

And now having made that statement, I want to tell you why. Don't pay any attention to the static to the right back there. It always comes out. (Laughter)

Let me tell you why. You know, many people have asked me, they say, "Senator, when you have a choice of speeches, you always want to speak to a university audience. Why?" I have some of the good professionals of politics that say to me, "Don't you know these young folks are too young to vote?" But as I said about Sylvia Shapiro, she may be too young. But we will wait. (Laughter)

Not only that, my friends, but I find when I speak on university campuses that I find alert, intelligent, active interesting people. I happen to think that university audiences are good for politicians, and I think sometimes that it might be vice-versa, that politicians can be good for university audiences. We can talk about the realities of the world as we see them.

I believe that the university audience compels you to do a little fresh thinking. I also think that it gives you some fresh thoughts and what this nation needs today and in this campaign, what it needs more than anything else right now, is an

honest discussion of our position on these issues. What we need -- these fellows don't know that "Barry-picken" time is over out there. (Laughter)

They are always a little late, always a little late.

Now, you be patient with him. He may still be in meditation. We will get him into the 20th Century yet.

You see, it was when I mentioned new ideas that it scared them a little bit. (Laughter)

But what I wanted to say to you before we were temporarily and momentarily interrupted, what I meant to say to you was that it appears to me that in a campaign, that it is somewhat of an insult to the intelligence of the American people to just go around casting aspersions upon a person's character, just to go around talking innuendo and personalities and smears and half truths. Don't we have some other things to talk about? Don't we have the problems of education where we have to double the facilities of our universities in the next 30 to 40 years? Don't we have problems relating to the growth of our cities? Shouldn't we talk about those things? Shouldn't we be talking about how this country is going to be able to come to grips with automation to make it a boon instead of a bane?

How are we going to provide 300,000 new jobs every year? This is what we need to do. Shouldn't we be talking about problems, even relating to our public health, the pollution of our streams, of our air? The public health facilities of our cities and counties and the health needs of our people?

I think these are some of the issues that need to be talked about, and I think other issues that need to be talked about are our foreign policy, our defense policy, our fiscal policy, and I want to talk to you just a little bit about them.

When I talk to these university audiences, I come away refreshed physically as well as spiritually, and a man needs both in this business, I will tell you.

Our opponents in this campaign, they are going around the country acting as if somehow or another they are selling patent medicines. They say, and I quote them, that Americans are sick and tired. I have a sneaking suspicion they have an interest in Geritol. (Applause)

Tired blood. It is bad enough to have tired blood but to have tired ideas, that is inexcusable. (Applause)

And after speaking to many audiences, after speaking to many audiences in this country, I find that Americans aren't sick. I find that Americans aren't tired. I find that they are just about like those champions we have got over in Tokyo today. I find that they are the kind of people that know the kind of a world they want to live in, that feel they have the spirit and the vitality to carry on in that world.

Would you excuse me for a minute? I do have an urgent call. Will you stay here until I finish this call? (Applause)

Okay, let's go. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope you will forgive me, but I did have a call, and it was a rather important one. I indicated that we had a little important meeting, that I would call right back after it was over, and I will tell you his name after the meeting is over. But it was the President and he wanted to have a little visit, and I need to have a little visit with him. We will talk afterwards.

In the meantime I told him that I was talking to thousands of good Democrats that are going to vote for him. Is that right? (Applause) When I have the privilege of talking to an audience like this, I like very much to be able to converse with you, as I have said, on some of the problems of our day. My fellow Americans, this country wasn't built out of pessimism. This great America of yours and mine didn't come out of the "Conscience of a Conservative." It came out of the hope and the dreams of an idealist and of people who had enthusiasm for the future.

Yet in place of this American dream, born out of idealism, this American dream born out of optimism, this American dream that told the American people that we could master our own destiny, in place of that American dream I say we are now being offered an American nightmare by the peddlers of despair and this is not the philosophy of this young Republic.

Some time ago we heard complaints about the complacent and self-indulgent generation of the 1950's, but this accusation was ill-directed. American youth has always be the subject of criticism of every older generation. I think it is a fact without doubt that this generation of American young people with all of its vitality, with all of its ability, is the best generation that this nation has ever known and I am sure that the history books of the future will so record it. (Applause)

What this generation wants is what President Kennedy gave to it, a challenge. I think you remember with me those days of the early days of the Kennedy Administration. I think you remember with me when John Kennedy took that oath of office. I think you recall his clear eye and his clear vision. I think you remember when he asked us to have the courage to take responsibility. He said, "I welcome responsibility. I do not run from it." He asked us to begin and then he listed the beginnings that he wanted America to have, and he asked us to be unselfish.

He asked us to remember that it wasn't what our country could do for us but what we could do for our country, and I believe that no man in this century has so inspired the young, given them such challenge, offered them such opportunity, given them such hope as the late and beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy during his 1,000 days. (Applause)

I would remind this audience of the tragic circumstances under which President Johnson took on the mantle of leadership as the President of this Republic.

I remind you of November 22, 1963. I remind you how Lyndon Johnson had to take on the duties of the Presidency at a time when millions of people wondered if our constitutional system could survive the assassination, when the whole world faltered, and make no mistake about it, my dear friends. As Americans and as visitors from other countries that I see here, it is a fact of history that the world wept and the hopes of peace seemed to be dashed, but as the world wept and as people prayed for this great world of ours, and for the possibility of keeping the peace, a strong man, a good man, an experienced man, a trusted lieutenant of President Kennedy, the man he had selected as his Vice-President stood tall, stood strong, and he stood up well, and he accepted the responsibilities of leadership under the most incredible, under the most unbelievable of circumstances, and I say to you that any fair-minded American will have to admit that President Lyndon Johnson has done what he said. He has continued the Kennedy-Johnson program, and he has done well by it. (Applause) This Administration of which I have been a part, I have been in on the councils of this Administration, it did not run from responsibility. It did not act from fear. We saw unemployment, and we did something about it. We saw an economy in stagnation, and we did something about it. We saw young people needing inspiration and needing challenge, and we did something about it. I am proud to stand on this platform and say that I am the author of the Peace Corps, a great proposal that was sent to the Congress by President Kennedy. (Applause)

I introduced that bill at the request of our President. I handled that bill on the floor of the Senate. I was there when we counted the votes, and I saw the Senator from Arizona brand that bill a haven for beatniks. He wasn't for it. He didn't see the hope that it offered. He didn't see the inspiration

that it provided. He didn't believe in you. He didn't believe in a volunteer corps of trained and dedicated young Americans.

He said it is a lot of razzle-dazzle. He said it was a haven for beatniks. He said it wouldn't work and he voted against it.

But how wrong he was. (Applause)

This program is one of the greatest successes of our government and it isn't a government program only. It represents the success of volunteers, thousands of them, voluntary agencies. The American people are a good people. They want to do good things, and they want their government to help them in the achievement of these good goals. I remind the standard bearer of the Republican Party that it was his Party that gave us Abraham Lincoln and yet it was Abraham Lincoln who proclaimed the Emancipation Proclamation, and yet today in 1964, 101 years later, the standard bearer of the great Lincoln Republican Party voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He repudiated Lincoln. (Applause)

And everybody in this audience knows that the only purpose of the Civil Rights Act, its only purpose, was to fulfill the moral commitment of this nation to the doctrine of human equality. What we sought to do was not to give special privilege. What we sought to do was to eliminate discrimination and at long last the people's representatives in Congress assembled, Bill Moorhead, yes, the senators from this state, they voted for a Civil Rights bill regardless of party. Republicans and Democrats alike. They voted for it because it was right, because it was needed, because it was constitutionally imperative, because if America was going to go to the rest of the world and offer leadership, it had to come with clean hands.

And may I say that an overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats alike supported this measure, but not Senator Goldwater. He stood alone. He stood over there and said, "Oh, no, oh, no."

It makes him popular in some areas of the Ku Klux Klan. (Applause) But it doesn't make him right, and deep down in his heart he knows he is wrong. (Applause)

Now, my friends I say that the Administration that I am privileged to represent did not rest on the accomplishments of yesterday. We pioneered. We did seek new frontiers, and we went to those new frontiers.

We have the Peace Corps. We have the Civil Rights program. We passed the Alliance for Progress, the greatest single foreign aid program to our brothers and sisters in Latin America which President Kennedy described as the most serious area of the world, the most critical area of the world. The Alliance for Progress supported by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths, supported by the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO, supported by every reasonably intelligent forward looking person in this country, supported overwhelmingly in the Congress of the United States, supported as a policy of the good neighbors, Republicans, Democrats alike in Congress. Four-fifths of them voted for the Alliance for Progress. But again the Senator from Arizona would not vote for an alliance and "progress" he can't spell. (Applause - Laughter)

The Food for Peace program -- a man that complains about American costs of government, the Food for Peace program designed to aid the hungry, to carry out scriptural admonitions of feeding the poor, feeding the hungry, America's agricultural abundance produced on our farms, one of the great forward looking programs of your government.

Today, my fellow Americans, we are helping to feed 100 million children in schools. In other parts of the world these young people are learning that America is a nation of love and of compassion, that America is a nation of peace and of hope, and they are learning it through the gift of American food, food for peace, supported by Dwight Eisenhower, started under his Administration.

I was one of the authors of the Act. Food for Peace, expanded under John Kennedy. Food for Peace, expanded under Lyndon Johnson. Every person



in Congress with few exceptions, with the exception of a hard core of reactionary radicals, everyone voted for Food for Peace. Churches, every religious organization in America supports it. Every business organization. But again the Senator from Arizona said no, no food for peace. No food for people.

What kind of leadership is this? Is it any wonder that people turn from him?

Then we go a little bit further. We have tried in our public life, in our government, to add to education, to implement our universities, to help our young people, and we voted a great program of higher education, the first higher education assistance since the Morrill Act of 1862, and again the vast majority of Democrats, the vast majority of Republicans, voted to put America's government on the side of learning, on the side of education.

But once again the man from Arizona says no. In fact, at Jacksonville, Florida, this man made the unbelievable, incredible statement that he did not think it was the responsibility of government to provide education. He thought that it was only the responsibility of parents, and then he added insult to injury by saying some folks would be better off without it.

It seems unbelievable. When I say it people say, "Why do you say these things, Senator? Why are you so unkind?"

I am not unkind. I repeat that this is a statement of the Senator from Arizona, just the same kind of a statement that he said he recommends that the government withdraw from a whole series of programs of social welfare, of agriculture, of public health, of education.

I guess he forgot to read the Preamble to the Constitution. The Preamble to the Constitution lays down two mandates, to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. And let me say it again, that the great Abraham Lincoln made it crystal clear as to the duty of government. He said government's duty is to serve the people, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Government must do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or so well for themselves said Abraham Lincoln.

I have a feeling that if Lincoln were living today, the Senator from Arizona or one of his adherents would have to brand him a socialist because Lincoln thought that government ought to serve the people.

Well, let me say I think Lincoln was right, and I think Goldwater is wrong. (Applause) Historians who will write of our turbulent era will note another milestone in these recent years and that milestone is the negotiation of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, our effort to tame the atom, this powerful weapon, this incredible power, for good or evil, and what was the Senator's reaction on that?

Four-fifths of the senators of the United States, 25 of the 33 Republicans, General Eisenhower, Christian Herter, Mr. Wadsworth, Henry Cabot Lodge, all came down before Congress and testified, asked that the Government of the United States negotiate that treaty, asked that the Senate ratify it. The first step in curbing the arms race, the first real effort, successful effort, to tame the atom.

And what happened? The Senator from Arizona, the Senator said no.

If his vote had prevailed, the atmosphere today would be polluted with more radioactive fallout. The land on which we depend for our food would become corrupted and adulterated with radioactive debris.

Thank God that better minds prevailed. (Applause) I say thank God for those that put humanity above prejudice, that put their country even above party.

I remember the words of Senator Everitt Dirksen. He is no radical. He is a good Republican and he is a responsible leader. And here is what he said as he voted for that treaty in a moving speech in the Senate. "I want to take



a first step, Mr. President. I am not a young man. One of my age thinks about his destiny a little. I should not like to have it written on my tombstone that he did not take a first step."

Now, Senator Goldwater knew what happened at Hiroshima just as did Senator Dirksen. Yet he refused to take that first step. His seeming callousness to this treaty should not have been unexpected for the Senator from Arizona has often talked as if he believed that peace could best be achieved by ultimatums, by being tough, ultimatums that could lead to nuclear war.

Senator Goldwater now bemoans the fact that many American people have turned against him because of what they call his recklessness. He claims to be misinterpreted, to be misquoted.

Well, may I say it is kind of hard to keep up to him. (Laughter). It would be nice -- it is very good, you know, to be able to have a consistency, but one thing I think this country needs above all other things, it needs a President who means what he says and says what he means instead of having to reinterpret his statements every other day. (Applause)

But the Senator from Arizona makes the point, and I think it needs to be answered, he makes the point that he is being misjudged.

He makes the point that he is being accused of being reckless.

But may I say that he acquired this reputation not by misinterpretation of what he said, but through his own statements.

Let me quote to you from "The Conscience of a Conservative." "A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people, including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective."

Happy landings, boys! (Laughter)

Secondly, "We must -- ourselves -- be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

And remember, now, friends, what he had to say to a reporter in that German magazine, "Der Spiegel," when they asked him, and I quote the question, "But would you, Senator, go to the brink of war?"

And listen to the words of the Senator from Arizona: "Yes." "Yes."

Yes, he says, but that isn't half of it. "Yes, just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully." Ye, gods!

Voices. (Chorus of "boos.")

Senator Humphrey. Germany, that two times in one century under imperialism and under nationalism brought this world to a bloodbath; Germany that used under the Kaiser and Hitler brinkmanship, and the Senator from Arizona says "Just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

What success have they had? What misery, what unbelievable terror has been brought to this world because of brinkmanship.

I say to you that a senator or a person that can vote against the Civil Rights Act, that can vote against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and that can applaud the brinkmanship of Imperial Germany and Nazi Germany, I say to you that that man has demonstrated the lack of judgment, the lack of understanding, the lack, may I say, of responsibility and he cannot possibly be called upon to serve as President of this country. (Applause)

Now, may I just conclude with these words. One of the main goals set by the standard bearer of the Goldwater faction of the Republican Party is, and I quote him, "to invite the communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

This is why the great Walter Lippman wrote the article entitled "Ultimatum Diplomacy." This is why newspapers like the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Times, the Saturday Evening Post, the Life Magazine, historically Republican papers, this is why they rejected the Senator from Arizona.

They don't reject him because he is a man that you couldn't like as an individual. They don't reject him because he is a man that you couldn't like as an individual. They don't reject him because he is a Republican, because he is really not. He has rejected his own Party. He has left his Party. He is not a Republican. He is a Goldwater radical, and he knows it. (Applause)

To my young friends, I say this. We must reject any candidate and a foreign policy which offers nothing better than ultimatums and a risk of nuclear war. Our purpose must be to continue our great peaceful plans to tame the atom, to explore the stars, and to make the benefits of abundance and education open to all men.

When the Senator from Arizona was asked about the space program, he said he wasn't interested in getting to the moon. He wanted to lob a bomb in the Krenalin's men's room. (Laughter)

What kind of talk is this for a president

What kind of thinking is it? It would be interesting and it would be a fine joke if our lives weren't at stake.

All great plans require creative ideas and a willingness of the spirit and these are the qualities that we must continue. And added to those qualities of creativeness and willingness of the spirit must come the quality of responsibility, responsibility in word, responsibility in deed. We need an America with the wisdom of experience, but we must not let America grow old in spirit.

When I was in Washington just yesterday I saw that they are building the stands for the inaugural in January, 1965, in front of the Capitol. I remember four years ago as we watched our brave young President accept the torch of leadership for a new generation of Americans. I was there.

Although his own life was brutally extinguished, that torch that he carried so faithfully burns on in programs and ideals which his successor carries on, and at next January's inaugural the world must not witness the extinction of that torch of hope by a man who has never realized that the American dream is one of progress, one of renewal, and not of stagnation and reaction.

And America must not witness the extinction of the torch of world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of a nuclear holocaust.

The time of true national testing is here. It will be here November 3rd. And I think we should remember the message of the scriptures, "Without vision the people perish."

Let us hold fast, therefore, to the vision of America. Let us be like Mrs. Roosevelt in her final book when she said "Tomorrow is Now."

And anyone that can't think in those terms, anyone that can't think in the terms -- it must be a Goldwater technician in charge of this. (Applause)

Well, I guess this is as good a way to tell me the time is up anyway. (Laughter)

But as I said to you, Mrs. Roosevelt's final writings are in a book entitled "Tomorrow is Now."

My young fellow Americans, you know that. You know that anybody that doesn't understand change and how to come to grips with it is dead and doesn't know it.

It is all right for you to study ancient history. I want you to study it. I hope you do well in it. I hope you learn all about it. But for goodness sakes, don't vote it. (Laughter and Applause)

So may I conclude, then, this message, by saying that if we work with diligence this autumn, and this is the autumn that is important, this glorious American vision, a world of peace, a world of plenty, and a world in which human dignity is more than a phrase, but indeed is a reality, if we work diligently this American dream conceived in hope, forged in battle, tested in adversity, shall not perish from this earth.

I ask you, therefore, to consider the questions of public policy. Look at the candidates. Look at the platforms. Look at what they said. Look at how they voted.

Come to a decision and I hope that when you do, you will come to the decision that I have come to, that it would be good for America to re-elect or elect for four more years in the Presidency Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, too. (Applause)

#####

Background material

Pittsburgh, Penna.

University of Pittsburgh is one of centerpieces of the new setting of the city. It is 175 years old.

Other important universities there: Carnegie Institute of Technology, Duquesne University. All have extensive improvements with federal assistance.

Univ. of Pittsburgh has country's largest college facility project with federal help to provide 1855-student dormitory and 2800-student dining room. Carnegie has new dorms and Duquesne a \$3 million student union building. Chancellor Litchfield of Pitt is city sparkplug.

City has long been one of nation's leading medical centers, since shortly after Civil War, but is now heading to be leader in research. Pooling resources of all universities and industries under city planning, with federal assistance, will mean establishment of a mile of laboratories in a once unattractive ravine and railroad cut.

Pitt's "Cathedral of Learning," 42 stories, is known as world's tallest schoolhouse.

City has two federally assisted apartment projects for elderly, one sponsored by Jewish, one by Baptist organization.

Major progress probably started with the smoke abatement program begun in 1939. It has been successful. Then came the Golden Triangle development, which opened "the point," where Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers form the Ohio. \$100 million urban renewal approvals.

Freight tonnage moving on the three rivers in Pittsburgh area is greater than through the Panama Canal. All are waterways made possible by federal activity.

Still steel capital of the world, Pittsburgh's blast furnaces at night once prompted the description, "Hell with the Lid Off."

Free Soilers sponsored big conference in Pittsburgh in Feb., 1856, brought liberal-minded scattered groups together, formally organized the Republican Party with a philosophy 180 degrees out of phase with Goldwaterism.

The AFL was also founded at Pittsburgh.

Background material     Pittsburgh   -- page 2

George Washington was one of earliest landowners, expressed confidence in future growth. Today's Pittsburgh spirit is infectious.

March over the Alleghenies through knee-deep snow of 8th Penna Volls from Pittsburgh to join Washington's Army was incredible feat, suffering even worse than Valley Forge, equal of any military movement in history.



at P.H.  
Carnegie  
University  
Mount  
Chatham

U.S. Olympics  
Gov Lawrence  
Mayor Barr  
Bill Moorhead  
Lucille  
Blatt

Address by

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

University of Pittsburgh

October 15, 1964

Some of my friends ask me why I spend so much  
time talking to university audiences -- talking to  
college students who are not eligible to vote.

Students have a lot to teach politicians -- and ~~occasionally~~  
sometimes vice-versa. I find university audiences  
receptive to new ideas and willing to face world  
realities -- but at the same time they ask me probing  
questions and give me new perceptions that sharpen my  
own thinking.

In speaking to you, I know that I am not speaking  
to a group whose brains have atrophied from disuse --  
from cerebral unemployment. It's not like speaking  
to that collection of Goldwater supporters housed

across the street in the dinosaur section of the Carnegie Museum.

When I talk to university audiences, I am not only refreshed by new ideas -- I am restored by new zest and energy. Our opponents in this campaign are

going around this country saying that Americans are "sick and tired" of this, and "sick and tired" of that.

After speaking to any audience, and especially to student audiences, I know once again that Americans are not sick, and Americans are not tired.

Beware of those who peddle the politics of despair. Choose those who offer the politics of hope, of enthusiasm, of joy.

Let us always remember that it was the new energy and enthusiasm which men brought to American that gave new reality to the old dream of human freedom. The American dream was not conceived in

Olympics

American Dream

the conscience of conservatives but in the hope of  
enthusiasts *and idealists.*

Yet in place of the American dream, we are now  
being offered an American nightmare by the peddlers  
of despair.

Sometime ago, we heard complaints about the  
complacent and self-indulgent generation of the 1950's.  
But this accusation was ill-directed. American youth  
has always been willing to meet the challenge -- if  
they are made aware of the shape of the challenge.

Under the Administration of Presidents Kennedy  
and Johnson the challenge has been presented and accepted.

The most dramatic evidence of this acceptance is seen in  
the response to the Peace Corps.

President Kennedy <sup>first</sup> ~~lent~~ the full weight of his  
office to the Peace Corps, and President Johnson has  
maintained this strong support. But the people who

bear primary credit for its success are the Peace  
Corps Volunteers themselves -- those Americans who  
realize that there is a moral imperative to service  
beyond that of mere self-service.

*Have  
for  
Beatniks*

Yet the Peace Corps was only a beginning.

*Peace  
Corps!*

Into the older programs of America's foreign relations,  
this Administration poured a new vigor and new  
excellence. In our recruitment and placement of  
men and women abroad, we demanded and obtained a  
greater knowledge of relevant foreign languages and  
greater sensitivity to the problems of the new nations.

We re-fashioned the foreign aid program; we created  
the Alliance for Progress; we made use of our  
agricultural abundance by sending Food for Peace to  
more than 100 million people.

We have been able to recruit -- and equally  
important -- to keep good men in high positions  
because President Kennedy and President Johnson

brought back to American life the spirit described  
by John Adams as one of "public happiness." It is  
this spirit, said Adams, that produces delight in  
public discussion, and public action -- a joy in  
citizenship, and in self government.

*This is  
what  
we  
need  
to carry  
our  
burdens  
of  
leadership.*

Historians who write of our turbulent era will  
note another milestone in our conduct of foreign  
affairs: our renewed effort to tame the atom --  
through the Test Ban Treaty, the "hot line", and the  
prohibition of nuclear weapons in outer space --  
before it maims us.

Now where do we find the nominee of the  
Goldwater faction on these vital issues of foreign  
policy.

*Wait,* He has told us where he stands: he rejects  
foreign aid; he disdains negotiation; he dismisses  
the United Nations; he opposes bridge-building to



the peoples of the Communist nations; and he condemns

Slow Down  
our efforts to ~~end~~ the armaments race.

Recall, for instance, the solid bipartisan  
backing for the nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- the support  
of General Eisenhower and 25 of 33 Senate Republicans.

Recall, as well, the moving words of Everett Dirksen,  
the Republican Senate leader:

"I want to take a first step, Mr.

President," he said. "I am not a young man...  
one of my age thinks about his destiny a  
little. I should not like to have it written  
on my tombstone, he knew what happened at  
Hiroshima, but he did not take a first step."

Senator Goldwater knew what happened at Hiroshima.  
Yet, he refused to take this first step.

His seeming callousness about this treaty is  
hardly surprising. For Senator Goldwater has often

talked as if he believed peace could best be achieved  
by ultimatums - ultimatums that  
escalating conflicts that might well lead to

could lead to nuclear war.

-Hester  
- LODGE  
- Wolcott

~~maliciously.~~

Senator Goldwater now bemoans the fact that most of the American people have turned against him because of his recklessness. He claims to have been misinterpreted and misquoted.

**But,** Senator Goldwater deludes himself. He has acquired his reputation for recklessness not by misinterpretation, but through his own statements.

Let me quote to you from his book, The Conscience of a Conservative:

"A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective."

Or,

"We must -- ourselves -- be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

And remember what happened when the reporter from the German magazine Der Spiegel asked him, "But would

you go to the brink of war?"

L "Yes," Goldwater replied. "Just as your country  
has used brinkmanship down through the years and done  
so very, very successfully."

L What kind of a statement is that? What kind of  
man could make such a statement? You don't have to  
major in history to know that any man who offers the  
disastrous examples of Imperial and Nazi Germany for  
us to follow is a man who has no understanding of  
past history or current reality.

L In his frantic impatience with the world as it  
is, Senator Goldwater ~~wishes~~ <sup>appears to want</sup> to back the Soviet Union

into a corner where its only alternatives would be  
surrender or nuclear war. L Indeed, one of his main

goals seems to be -- and again I quote him -- "to

invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destr-  
uction of the Soviet Union and accepting local defeat."

*We must*

- 9 -

*L* ~~Let us~~ reject a candidate and a foreign policy which offer<sup>s</sup> nothing better than glib slogans, *ultimately*

*d* the risk of nuclear war. *Our purpose is to* ~~Let us~~ continue our great

peaceful plans to tame the atom, to explore the stars,

and to make the benefits of abundance and education

open to all men.

*L* All our great plans require ~~only~~ creative  
ideas and willingness of the spirit. These are the  
qualities that we must continue to demand of our  
leaders -- and of ourselves.

**RESPONSIBILITY!**

*L* We need an America with the wisdom of  
experience. But we must not let America grow old  
in spirit.

*L* When I was in Washington yesterday, I noticed  
that the wooden stands for next January's Presi-  
dential Inauguration are now being constructed in  
front of the Capitol building. *L* Four years ago, we

JFK

all watched as our brave young President accepted  
the torch of leadership for a new generation of  
Americans. Although his own life was brutally  
extinguished, the torch he bore burns on in the  
programs and ideals which his successor carries on.

At next January's inaugural, the world must  
not witness the extinction of that torch by a man  
who has never realized that the American dream is  
progression and renewal, not stagnation and reaction.  
And America must not witness the extinction of the  
torch of our world leadership by the bitter whirl-  
wind of holocaust.

The time of true national testing is close at  
hand. Remember the message of the Scriptures --

"without vision, the people perish." Let us hold fast  
to our vision of America. Let us preserve that

vision against those who would so casually destroy

it.

If we work with diligence this autumn, this

glorious American vision -- conceived in hope --

forged in battle -- tested in adversity -- shall

not ~~be~~ perish from this earth.

###



This Sat Vote  
Canvass -

Miss Sylvia  
Shapiro



# Minnesota Historical Society

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

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



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)