

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Ardmore, Oklahoma  
October 19, 1964

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

Thank you very much, Congressman Albert, and I thank our enthusiastic young friends. I see that in Oklahoma you train the young early, you train them right. (Applause)

What a wonderful privilege it is to be able to journey from our Nation's Capital here to Ardmore tonight and as your great Congressman has told you, only this afternoon we were closeted with our President, with the legislative leaders of the two parties, discussing the many matters of international crisis that face our country. But we were able to make a hurried trip from National Airport in Washington, D. C., to the airport here at Ardmore, Oklahoma. And I am just delighted that things worked out so that we could be with you because I know I am in the land of Bob Kerr and of Sam Rayburn and of Carl Albert and of Mike Monroney and of Fred Harris, and when you are in that kind of democracy, believe me, you feel at home (Applause)

Permit me just a moment of thanks to the Mayor of this community who was so kind as to meet us when we arrived, Mayor Woodrow Hulme, and may I also say how pleased I am with the reception that was accorded us by your County Committee.

Time doesn't permit me to express my thanks to each and every one of your many Party officers and office holders, but I do know I just met a young man that is going to be Congressman here from your own 6th District, and that is Jed Johnson, Jr. (Applause) I believe if I recall, Jed, you were a Page in the Senate. So if you can start out being a Page in Congress and end up running it, that is pretty good. (Laughter)

And we want to wish you well, Jed.

And then might I hope to say a word or two in reference to a man that I think is so eminently qualified to serve in the United States Senate, and I know from the response of this audience that I heard earlier tonight that you agree with me that you need Fred Harris to represent you in the Senate. (Applause)

When we arrived here this evening a bit tardy, my dear and good friends, one of the most illustrious, able, respected members of the United States Senate was speaking to you, and I

have always wanted to come to Oklahoma whenever the opportunity was afforded me if for no other reason than to be in the state that has in the United States Senate this wonderful man, Mike Monroney. (Applause)

It appears to me that Oklahoma has a pretty good grip on this government. You have that outstanding Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, this package of political dynamite. He has more power per square inch than any man in the United States Government. (Applause)

Whenever we want anything done in the House, indeed, whenever we want anything done in the Congress, we know where to turn. We just take a look over at the House of Representatives. The President calls up Carl Albert. Carl Albert calls up the other folks, and that is it. (Applause)

Well, I come to Ardmore, Oklahoma, and I have been looking up a little bit about this wonderful city in this 3rd District, Carter County, and I would say that this community of Ardmore is famous for several reasons.

First of all, it is famous because it is Carl Albert's home town. That is enough for any town.

Secondly, this town didn't stop growing. They just pulled up their trousers, regrouped, started to grow on a steady but unspectacular basis.

And third, this community has done what so many enterprising communities have been able to do. It has been beating the swords into plowshares.

I understand that you have taken that fine military airport that was here and you are making it into an industrial park, new industry, about a hundred new industries.

And then finally you have made this the recreation capital for southern Oklahoma and northern Texas. And believe me, I would like nothing better if Carl or Mike, when Fred gets to the Senate, if they would be just kind enough to extend Mrs. Humphrey and myself an invitation to come down to the Platt National Park, down to Lake Murray State Park -- (Applause) -- or to come down to Lake Texoma and see if we can find any good fishing out there. (Applause)

And if you do that, I will respond by bringing you up to

Minnesota.

By the way, you know, I gather that there are a few Minnesotans that work down around these precincts. I want to have a word about this, too. Ever hear about that fellow, you know, I believe he was from Oklahoma or Texas, and he was talking to one of these men that had come to live in this area, and I believe the fellow was from Minnesota. He said, "You know, it is pretty dry down here, and it is pretty wet up there in Minnesota."

We have 22,000 lakes according to the Chamber of Commerce, 17,000 according to accurate count. (Laughter)

This fellow was making quite a speech and somebody got up and said, "You know, if that fellow had as much suction as he has got blow, we would have all that water down here." (Applause -- Laughter)

I came here tonight to Ardmore, Oklahoma, for several purposes. First, I came here to urge you to vote on November 3rd, and I want you to vote for a long time friend of this state, a long time friend of your congressional delegation, and a long time and a good friend and good neighbor, and his name is Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States. (Applause)

I made that statement early. You ordinarily would expect that to be held up for a little while, but I wanted to let you know why I was here because I understand that the Republicans down here, particularly my fellow Minnesotan that is having a little political exercise which will result in only exercise -- (Laughter) -- I understand that he has been doing all of his campaigning against me.

I want to let you in on a secret. I am not the candidate for President. (Laughter) No, I am not, folks. I am just the candidate for Vice-President, and the secret that the Republicans are trying to keep from you is that the candidate for President is Lyndon Johnson who is going to be the next President of the United States. (Applause)

My, they have been saying some juicy little morsels about me, and I have enjoyed reading it so much. If I was half as bad as they say or half as good as some say, I would be a terribly mixed up fellow.

But let me tell you that I am here to talk to you about a

man that is superbly qualified to be President of the United States, and believe me, it takes qualifications, high qualifications, for this, the most responsible office in the world, and the man that is President, the man that Carl Albert spent three and a half hours with or two and a half hours with today, that Hubert Humphrey spent four and a half hours with, that man is qualified by wide experience and by a burning faith in America and its future, and wherever I go I am proud to stand as the spokesman for Lyndon Johnson who deserves to be elected and will be elected. (Applause)

Now, let me emphasize this word "experience." I want to underscore it. Experience.

If I decided to change my profession and applied for Gomer Jones' job as head coach of the University of Oklahoma, I doubt that the Board of Trustees or Regents or the people of this state would want me. They would most likely say, "That fellow doesn't have enough experience. He wasn't even a good football player in Doland, South Dakota. And I really wasn't. I made the team, but the competition wasn't much.

It is sort of like, you know, campaigning in the Republican Party. (Applause)

The truth is that your legislators and others would just plain laugh me right out of the field, and they would be right.

Well, I happen to think if it takes experience to be a football coach, I think it also takes some experience at the higher levels of government to be a government official. And you need there men of experience, not amateurs, not beginners.

I served two terms as mayor of the great city of Minneapolis, a city of over a half million people, before running for the Senate and serving in government employment. Lyndon Johnson, our President, served I believe twelve years in the House of Representatives, twelve years in the United States Senate, four years -- two years with the National Youth Administration, and he had all of this service before he became Vice-President of the United States.

And your candidate for the United States Senate, your excellent candidate, Fred Harris, has learned his job at legislating in your State Senate eight years. Eight years of experience. And he has learned it well.



You don't have to take him on faith. You know what Fred Harris can do. You know what he has done in your own state, and you know what he can do for you in Washington.

So if you believe in experience and if you believe that a man ought to be tested before he is given a promotion, I suggest that you vote for Fred Harris. (Applause)

Now, let me add this, that according to the reports that we hear in Washington, Fred Harris has been called by the newsmen at your State Capital the busiest and the hardest working member of the Legislature, and I might say, Fred, that sure qualifies you to serve in the Johnson Administration because you have got to be a hard worker to get along there. And that is just the kind of a man that is in the Johnson tradition.

I mentioned our President a moment ago, and since there are so many that are mentioning things about him these days, let me just tell you a little bit about what I know of him.

He is a man of unquestioned competence in the arts and the sciences of government. He served the people of America for 30 years. I think that it is fair to say, and I believe that I quote from Republicans and Democrats alike, that no man is more experienced and qualified. No man works harder.

This man works seven days a week. He works 24 hours a day. He is a full time President. In fact, my dear friends, if anything, he is an overtime President. (Applause)

Now, let's take a look at that fellow that is the pretender, the Republican pretender to the Presidency, the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of the old Republican Party. Let's see what he has done.

This is the man that calls our President a part time President. I must say that people who live in glass houses not only shouldn't throw stones. They should pull the shades. (Applause)

Well, let's take a look at the record of the Senator from Arizona. Now, it is true he has been enrolled in the Senate for twelve years. He hasn't been there, but he has been enrolled. (Laughter) He has been an off-and-on, now-and-then, in-again-out-again United States Senator. That is when he can spare time from his gadgets, his hobbies, and his political speech-making.

I wouldn't say this, but I don't believe in letting this fellow get by attacking our President for being a part time President when he is working his heart out for the American people. (Applause)

I was just checking here. He has introduced 144 bills since he has been in Congress. The most important bill that he ever passed was for the shipment in the mail of live scorpions. And that is generous. 144 measures and the total accomplishment, six little teeny-weeny, itsy-bitsy little old bills that nobody ever heard of.

And yet this man says that President Lyndon Johnson is not attending to his duties.

No significant piece of legislation carries the trademark or the name of the Senator from Arizona. And he said "no" far more often than he said anything else.

Seven times, for example, my dear friends of Oklahoma and Northern Texas, of Arkansas, this whole great Southwest, seven times he cast his vote against the development of the Arkansas River, and you wouldn't expect him to vote for the Red River, would you? (Applause) (Laughter)

Oh, he would vote for the Central Arizona project. Oh, yes. Yes. \$1 billion. But not one nickel, not one penny for the Mississippi, for the Missouri, for the Arkansas, or for the Red Rivers. Oh, no. Just let me get my hands on a little for the folks back in Arizona. (Applause)

Well, let me be very frank about it. I think the Central Arizona Project merited support. The Senator from Minnesota, as your senators, we don't go around just voting for our own projects. We happen to believe that this is one country. the United States of America, and Senator Hubert Humphrey and President Lyndon Johnson believe that what is good for Oklahoma is good for Texas and Minnesota, and what is good for Minnesota is good for California and Maine and Vermont and Florida. We believe in an America. (Applause)

Well, the Senator from Arizona has had 35 opportunities to vote for REA. If there is any man in America that has fought the battle for the Rural Electrification Administration, for REA, for rural electric cooperatives, for electrification on the farms, that man is on this platform tonight, two of them, one a

United States senator and one a congressman, U. S. Senator Mike Monroney, and when our late beloved Bob Kerr was there he fought the battle the same way, and then Carl Albert.

But how about the Senator from Arizona?

Now I want to qualify this. A man ought to be fair. They have got a few old kerosene lamps left out there in that department store and everybody has a right, I submit, to try to make the best out of their merchandise. But this man -- (Laughter) -- has had 35 chances to vote for REA. He has voted against it 33 times. Two times for REA. Two projects in Arizona. (Applause)

This isn't what I call seeing the nation. This isn't what I call national vision. This is what I call trying to get rid of old merchandise and taking care of a few local constituents.

I want you to know that Humphrey's Drug Store used to have some kerosene lamps, too, but we sold ours in 1936. (Applause -- Laughter)

Now, I speak again of the man that condemns our President for being, as he says, away from the job. Look who is talking. Most of the time the Senator from Arizona has been away. Ever since -- even before he became an avowed candidate for the Presidency, he missed more rollcalls in the United States Senate than any man that was physically well. 35 percent of them from 1960 to 1963. And this year of 1964, while he is telling everybody how to run the government, out of 225 rollcalls -- out of 312 rollcalls, he was absent 225 times. (Applause) 225 times.

Ladies and gentlemen, I generally find out that the people that criticize your government most are the ones that know it the least or are never there. (Applause)

Now, folks, I figure that anybody that is absent from Washington 72 percent of the time ought to be given the privilege of being absent all of the time. (Applause)

And here is a man that comes out and goes into Southwest America or he goes into the Deep South and he goes into the West and he goes to the cattle country, and he tells you what he is going to do for America. And yet, when your senators and your congressmen were fighting their hearts out to protect the cattle industry, and the Senator from Montana, Mr. Mansfield, the Majority Leader, was working to help this cattle industry, and we passed legislation, legislation to safeguard the interests

of the American cattlemen, where was this great friend of the West, this outdoor specialist, this man that loves the range, this man that speaks for the Southwest?

I will tell you where he was. He was in the Northeast campaigning up in New Hampshire or some place else. He wasn't attending to business.

I think we need a man that is on the job. We need experience.

Let's take a look at the record because the Senator from Arizona said, "We'll judge them by their votes, not by their words."

I think that is a fair standard. I want to be judged by my votes. I want to be judged by my votes for agriculture. I want to be judged by my votes for American free enterprise. I want to be judged by my votes for the Communist Control Act. I want to be judged by my votes for mutual security. That is the way I want to be judged.

The Senator from Arizona was eminently fair when he said judge them by their votes. Those are his own words.

Well, Senator, let's take a look at you.

Voice. Pour it on.

Senator Humphrey. I plan on doing just that, neighbor.  
(Applause -- Laughter)

Well, let's take a look. I already told you about the Arkansas River. I have already mentioned to you about REA. I thought everybody was for REA. I really did. Even the old lamp industries, they did come out for it. But not Senator Goldwater!

So what is the record? Let's take a look. No on REA. No to the cotton bill. No to the meat bill. No to the Feed Grains bill. No to the Public Works bill. No to the Community Facilities bill. No to the Area Redevelopment bill. No to aid to your universities and higher education.

No to the Medical Facilities bill to provide the training of more doctors and nurses and medical technicians. No to the National Defense Education Act. No to the Anti-Poverty bill. No to a youth job training program. No to housing legislation.

No to minimum wages. And no to a tax cut that provided \$11.5 billion tax reduction, the greatest tax reduction in the nation's history.

And this man says he is a friend of free enterprise.  
(Cries of "boo.")

Let me say right now, my dear friends, that anybody that can vote against that kind of a measure when American business, all of it, the Chamber of Commerce, manufacturers association, labor, farmers, every group, the American Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, every one of them supported the tax cut. Why? To get America moving again. To help this great country progress. And what happened? The Senator from Arizona votes no. Votes no.

What else? Well, I want to give him credit for one thing. He votes "maybe" on Social Security. Sometimes it is no, sometimes it is yes, but down the middle somewhere it is maybe.

No to the young, no to the elderly, no on every program that we have had in Congress to be of help to our elderly.

No to the sick, no to the farmer, no to the worker, and no to the businessman.

And let me repeat once again that the man who today parades as a friend of free enterprise stuck the dagger into the back of American enterprise when he voted against the tax bill which was needed by American business and American consumers for a more prosperous America. (Applause)

I am proud to come here in the presence of the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives who played such a great part in building the record of the 87th and 88th Congress of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. Those two Congresses have gone down in the annals of American history as the two most productive Congresses of our time.

Conservation, agriculture, health, the first congress to ever do anything about the problems of mental health and mental retardation. For the youth, for the elderly, for American enterprise, for people. Equal rights for our people to make American citizenship first class citizenship, to make its pledge of allegiance, one nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all. That is the kind of Congress we want. (Applause)



And now, my good friends, our friendly competitor from Arizona doesn't want to talk about economics, he says. First of all, he said about a month and a half ago that all of this prosperity was just phony, it was an illusion until the President of General Motors got him and said, "Look, we have just paid more dividends this year than any time in our history, and it looks better than it has ever looked in our history and today investment is at the highest rate in history." And finally people came to the conclusion so overwhelmingly that the argument of the Senator from Arizona was wrong that he has quit talking about it.

But he can't deny that times are good. He cannot deny that America has enjoyed 44 consecutive months of uninterrupted economic progress and continuing prosperity. The longest period of uninterrupted economic progress in the history of the world. And that is the record of this Administration. (Applause)

Now, the Senator from Arizona says "I guess that is right." He now admits that there is prosperity. But he says, "I don't want you to feel good about it. Don't enjoy it." He cannot deny that profits are up, wages are up, dividends are up, employment is up. He can't deny it. He merely thinks that your spirits should be down.

In other words, when Senator Goldwater looks at all this, he sees only the hobgoblin of his own imagination.

You know what he calls it? Socialism.

My dear friends, why give a socialist that much credit. I will tell you what I call it: not Mr. Goldwater's creeping socialism but President Johnson's leaping capitalism, and we like it. (Applause)

Now let me just say a word or two for our Republican friends because most of them are our friends, and by the way, a substantial proportion of the Republicans are going to vote for Mr. Johnson, President Johnson. (Applause)

And why do you think they are going to vote for him? They are putting their country above their Party. They are putting their nation's welfare above their partisanship.

The New York Herald Tribune, The Saturday Evening Post,

Life Magazine, today the Philadelphia Bulletin, one newspaper after another, traditionally Republican, former members of President Eisenhower's cabinet, Republicans.

They say by the public opinion polls that one out of four or one out of every three Republicans is going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

Well, let me say in all fairness to these good Republicans, you are not leaving your Party. Somebody just walked in and captured it. (Laughter) The pirates boarded the ship. They kidnapped the crew, and they have taken it over. And I don't expect them to hold on to it long because after this Goldwater crowd gets through with this campaign, they are going to think that a hurricane is a sofe breeze. (Applause)

Now, Mr. Goldwater is not a Republican. He called the last Republican Administration -- he is now trying to cosy over to President Eisenhower -- they had a meeting up there at Hershey, Pennsylvania, not long ago. Both Republican Parties were there. A little splinter that Mr. Goldwater has, and then a large part of the Republican Party that Mr. Eisenhower has.

He is not a Republican. He called President Eisenhower's Republican Administration -- I quote him -- "A dime store New Deal." Cute phrase, I must say. He voted fewer times for President Eisenhower's program than Hubert Humphrey or Lyndon Johnson. He is no Republican.

He voted 25 times against the 1960 Republican Platform on 25 specific issues listed in that platform. His batting average? He went to the plate 25 times and fanned out 25 times. And mind you, they fired Yogi Berra. (Laughter -- Applause) And let me say to you that he is not a conservative.

Now, I want the candidates down here, these Republican candidates, to know what kind of association they have. Mr. Goldwater surely is not a Republican. Few think he is, ask Governor Scranton. Why, I never heard a more unbelievable blistering than Governor Scranton, Republican of Pennsylvania, gave to Mr. Goldwater. He said, "Mr. Goldwater is out of the mainstream of Republican thought." And he said, "He is not a Republican. He doesn't follow the Republican principles or Republican tradition." Ask Mr. Rockefeller. Ask Mr. Romney from Michigan. Mr. Goldwater goes to Michigan, Mr. Romney introduces him, and the reporters say, "Are you endorsing him?" And he says, "No, I am just presenting him." (Applause)

Now, I say he is not a conservative because a conservative is a man who wants to preserve the best in the past and to build on it.

Then what is he? Well, let me give you the definition of a radical. A radical is a man that breaks with tradition. A radical is a man that repudiates his associations. A radical is a man that departs from the patterns that have been established. A radical is a man that seeks to destroy that which has been gained.

I charge on this platform tonight that Barry Goldwater is not a Republican, he is not a conservative, he is a radical. (Applause) I would suggest to my Republican friends that are good, sincere, conscientious, middle-of-the-road conservative Republicans that as yet haven't seen the light that they ought to be as careful about associating with that kind of radical as someone would be with associating with a left-wing radical.

We don't need any left-wingers, and we don't need any right-wingers. We have got plenty of room down the roadway of American progress, right down the middle. (Applause)

Now lest anybody have any doubts, any man that says we ought to get out of the United Nations, any man that repudiates the bipartisan foreign policy, any man that can't even make up his mind to be for REA, any man that has doubts about Social Security, any man that can join with the Birchers time after time, and I think we ought to make it clear that he has yet to fully disassociate himself, I say that that is radicalism, and the American people are going to repudiate radicalism in America in any of its forms. (Applause)

Well, maybe I should just put it this way: he is just unhappy. (Laughter) Did you ever notice those folks that carry those Goldwater signs? They look like they are just getting over the colic. (Laughter)

He is an unhappy warrior. Nothing about America seems to satisfy him, and he views its future with the most unbelievable forebodings. The people who have rallied to his banner seem just as downhearted. They are always saying they are sick and tired of this and sick and tired of that. May I say they are sick and tired. (Applause)

But may I be equally frank. We are not. We are not sick. We are as healthy, may I say, as can be. And we are not tired.

We are as vital and as vigorous as can be. And we intend to demonstrate it between now and November 3rd, and on November 3rd he can have all the sick and tired ones, and we will take all the healthy and vigorous ones. (Applause)

Now, my friends, Carl Albert and Hubert Humphrey listened today to a President, to a Secretary of State, to a Secretary of Defense, to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency who talked to us about the changes in the Soviet Union, development of the nuclear device in Red China, and undoubtedly and not too long from now a further development, changes of government in Great Britain.

We reviewed for two and one half hours, not as Democrats, not as Republicans, because present there were the Republican leaders. We reviewed the world scene because America must not permit narrow-gauged partisanship to in any way weaken its firm resolve to be a nation of strength, of high moral purpose, a nation that is dedicated to freedom.

We must make up our minds regardless of those who would lead us astray that we are going to maintain a national unity for the defense of this country and for the projection of our foreign policy.

On the election day of November 3rd, we are not only going to be deciding what happens to Social Security, even though that is very important, what happens to REA, what happens to the Arkansas River, what happens to Oklahoma's economy or Minnesota's.

This is all important. We are not developing this great America, prosperous and rich, just for luxury. We are not developing the power that we have in America, unbelievable power, uncontested power, my dear fellow Americans, for conquest.

We are developing all of this for one purpose, to maintain the standard of freedom and decency in this world, to protect our own country, to stand with our allies, to see to it that mankind does not destroy itself.

The spokesmen of the opposition peddle easy remedies to the American people. The spokesmen of the opposition come to us and say, "We must have a win policy now, instant win." Well, ladies and gentlemen, there isn't any such thing. The only thing that is instant in this world today is death, instant annihilation, and we are not going to pursue a policy. Lyndon Johnson, your

President, is not going to pursue a policy, John Kennedy didn't, Dwight Eisenhower didn't, Harry Truman didn't, no responsible man pursues a policy of bluster, of bellicose statements of belligerency that can lead to nuclear war, to annihilation.

On November 3rd we decide what kind of leadership America wants. There is no more fundamental question in this campaign, and performance of duty will be the only criteria you should exercise in choosing your President. Performance, responsibility, competence.

I say that we must have a President who is neither erratic or unpredictable, who is not rash or impetuous, and who is neither belligerent nor warlike.

We need a President that unites our people. We need a President that unites the free peoples of the world. We need a President that constantly gives to humanity hope, hope for a better day, hope for peace, hope for better living, hope for a better America. We need a leader in the White House that lifts us and doesn't depress us. And we need a man above all that understands the realities of the world in which we live, dear friends, that at least understands accurately the history of this country, and has some comprehension of its possibilities for the future.

Oh, my good fellow Americans, anybody can get this country into a war. The politics of war, the politics of ultimatums, the politics of playing war games, that is for another century, not the 20th.

We can't take those chances today. And those who come out and make these far-reaching statements that if you seek to accommodate, as somebody said, to the Communists you are wrong, well, let me say we don't seek to accommodate them at all. What we seek to do is to try to press forward relentlessly, to change the systems that oppose us, to build the power that protects us, to have that massive nuclear deterrent so that no one dare strike us.

Congressman Albert sat there this afternoon and heard this message, that in less than one hour, my dear friends, if all that we have in mind is destruction, we can destroy a hundred million people behind the Iron Curtain and 75 percent of their total productive capacity, but they can do the same to us.

We have unbelievable power for retaliation. Does it make



America more noble? Does it make America more dear? Does it make it more moral? Does it make it more righteous to stand here and say we can destroy you?

Let me be very clear about it. The only brave person in the world is the peacemaker, the one who really pursues with honor, with integrity, the path of peace. (Applause)

On the one hand we have our guard up. On the other hand we have our hand out, willing to work for peace, unwilling to be blackmailed, unwilling to be threatened. But always willing to walk the extra mile.

And I have heard many a lecture on morality. Well, let me say that one of the great moral lessons of the Scriptures is to be a peacemaker. Blessed are the peacemakers. And great people who have been peacemakers have demonstrated the courage of a soldier at the battlefield and then some.

John Kennedy said that peace is a process. Great people of religious orders and organizations have reminded us that peace requires sacrifice. And in this election, ladies and gentlemen, you have a decision to make.

Do you want to have a man in the White House who is your commander-in-chief who practices foreign policy by ultimatums, who says what he would like to do is lob a bomb in the Kremlin's men's room? Is that what you want?

Do you want one in the White House who says that he admires the brinkmanship of Germany? Imperial Germany and Nazi Germany? (Cries of "no.") I think not. I think you want one in the White House who understands that power is not an end in itself. Power is to be used with restraint, that power is for the purposes of good.

Power we will use for our defense if we must, but the power that we build is for the -- is to save the world, not to destroy it. The power which we have today and the wealth that we have today is to lift up the world, not to blast it to pieces. And I am happy to say that Lyndon Johnson, big and strong man that he is, is a man of peace, but he is also a man who has defended freedom with courage and strength, and I know and I believe the American people know that he is a man who possesses the capacity and the understanding to lead America and the Free World in these perilous times.

Ardmore

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In other words, my friends, he is the one man in this campaign that you can trust, and America needs a man in the next four years in the White House in whom we can place our trust for peace and for prosperity.

Thank you very much.

WILLIAM

OKLAHOMA  
ARDMORE

3rd Dist

carbon country

TALKING PAPER ON ARDMORE:

This town is famous, and making an even greater name for itself for a number of reasons:

1--First, it is Carl Albert's home town, and for most cities, that would be enough;

2--Second, this town didn't stop growing when the gushers stopped, it just regrouped and began to grow on a steady but unspectacular basis (C. of C. words).

3--Third, it is making real progress in the modern version of converting swords to plowshares. This town successfully and profitably converting an unneeded military airport into an industrial park.

An interesting sidelight is that one of the industries in the erstwhile Ardmore Air Force Base is a maker of fine gunstocks.

4--Finally, becoming a frontier city again, a new frontier of America that is symbol of changes. Ardmore is the capital of the new recreation frontier of southern Oklahoma.

Platte Natl Park  
Lake Murray State PK  
Lake Texoma (Product of Mutha Bypass Dam on Red River)

ARDMORE

2-

City started on cows, then got oil, now moving into diversified industry and recreation--provides a foundation for the lines in the song from "Oklahoma," which say, "We belong to the land and the land we belong to is grand."

Ardmore is the crossroads---U.S. 70 E&W and U.S. 77 N&S--of southern Oklahoma and its trade and recreation territory extends from the Arbuckle Mountains (with natural springs and manmade lakes) to the Red River and Lake Texoma, and includes Lake Murray State Park right next to the city of Ardmore.

The outlook of this town, the determination of the people in the whole area to make it a better place to live and play, and preservation of its natural resources, is not the outlook of the temporary spokesman of the Republican party, who votes against all the conservation projects except in his own state.

More economic and general development information available on Oklahoma towns than most places in the United States because of tremendous promotional job done by

ARDMORE

3-

Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company (check this with Albert).

This town is out for business.

Ardmore is strikingly clean town because of use of natural gas as fuel. (not supplied by Oklahoma Gas and Electric).

Current population about 25,000---nearly 100 industrial establishments.

Ardmore has one TV station (KXII Ch. 12 NBC) but gets five other channels via community antennae system; one radio station, KVSO (ABC), one weekly newspaper, THE ARDMORE DEMOCRAT, and one daily, THE DAILY ARDMORITE.



\* Mayor Woodrow Hulme

\* Harold Springer County Ch

\* Annette  
Aiken

\* Daphne  
Sherr

Carl Albert (3rd Dist

Mike Monroney

Fred Harvey

~~Ed Edmondson~~ (2d)

~~Howard Edmondson~~

Jed Johnson (Cong Card)  
6th

~~Tom Steed~~ (4th Dist)

(Bob Kinn Jr } Sms of BK  
} ~~Bill Kinn~~

Bob Kinn

Vic Wickertman

*The Land of Sam Rayburn*  
*Booker*

① *nick monroe*

*Carl Albert*

*Smithwick & Northern Times*

*JA Nelson - Tuesday*  
*AM 12*

DCW

*I'm a Democrat*

My friends, I am here to urge you to vote on

November 3 for your long-time friend and good

neighbor, Lyndon B. Johnson, as President of the

United States.

I emphasize this because I understand that the  
Republicans here--and particularly my fellow Minnesotan

Bud Wilkinson--have been doing all their campaigning  
against me.

*Campaign  
a secret  
me!*

So I'll let you in on the secret the Republicans  
have been trying to keep from the good people of  
Oklahoma--Lyndon Johnson is the Democratic candidate  
for President of the United States.

*Secret*

*LB5*

And Lyndon Johnson is superbly qualified for that  
high office--the most responsible office in America and,

indeed, in the world. He is qualified by his  
wide experience and by his burning faith in America  
and its future.

L First, let me emphasize that word experience. *E/perience*

L If I decided to change my profession and applied  
*Gomer Jones*  
for Gomer Jones' job as head coach at the University  
of Oklahoma, they'd laugh at me--and they'd be right.

~~Now I do have some experience in teaching. I was a  
pretty fair football player on the Doland, South Dakota  
team. Maybe I'd have a chance at a high school coaching  
job. Then, when I'd had some experience, I might look  
for a better coaching assignment.~~

I happen to think that the higher levels of  
government are places for men of experience, not for  
amateurs and beginners. I served two terms as Mayor

of Minneapolis before running for the Senate. Lyndon  
Johnson served twelve years in the House of Representatives  
and twelve years in the Senate before becoming Vice  
President.

L Your fine candidate for the United States Senate,  
Fred R. Harris, has learned his job in your State  
Senate and learned it well. You don't have to take  
him on faith--you know what he can do for you in  
Washington. I urge you to send him there.

Fred Harris

L President Johnson is a man of unquestioned competence  
in the art and science of government. He has served  
the people of Texas and the people of America for more  
than 30 years. No American President has applied more  
sheer physical and mental energy to the job--worked  
harder at his tasks--labored more hours a day--more days  
a week. He is a 24-hour a day, full-time President.

L Fred Harris has been called by the newsmen at  
your State Capitol "the busiest and hardest working  
member of the Legislature." And that puts him right  
in the Johnson tradition.

L Now let's look at Senator Goldwater's record.

Sen  
Goldwater  
Record

L It's true he's been in the Senate for 12 years--  
but it's been off-and-on, now-and-then--when he could  
spare the time from his gadgets, his hobbies, and  
political speechmaking.

L No significant piece of legislation carries his  
name. ~~He has spoken little in the Senate.~~ And he  
has said "no" far more often than he has said anything  
else.

no legis!

No.

L Seven times, for example, he cast his vote against  
the development of the Arkansas River. And he's voted

(Red River Projects - no too)



against every REA project, except two in his own  
State of Arizona.

L Much of the time he hasn't even been on the job.

Even before he became a candidate for the Presidency,  
he missed many rollcalls--more than 35 percent of  
the votes taken in the Senate from 1960 to 1963.

L This year--1964--he missed 225 out of 312 roll  
call votes--an absentee record of 72 percent. L This  
year, for example, he wasn't on hand to cast his vote  
in support of protection for your cattlement against  
excessive imports. But some of us were. We voted  
with your Senators to safeguard American cattlemen.

Yet he  
calls  
our  
President  
Part-time  
President.  
Cattlemen

Introduced 144 Bills

In 1964 alien ~~amendment~~ Radio operators bill

Experience and ability are important--but just as important is what a man does with them, what he wants for America and for its future.

President Johnson knows and loves and trusts the American people in all their infinite variety. He knows the strength of America lies in the initiative and enterprise of its people and their ability to work together--not at the behest of some all-powerful government, but by their own free decisions, freely made.

In this spirit of free initiative and free enterprise you built this great state. In this spirit Americans worked themselves out of the depression. In this spirit we became the arsenal of democracy in the hot war and the leader of the free world in the cold war.

yes the Record is NO - NO

✓ NO to REA

✓ NO to Cotton, wheat + Feed Grains

✓ NO to Public Works - and ARA

✓ NO to Aid to Higher Educ

✓ NO to NDEA

✓ NO to Econ. opportunity Act

✓ NO to Housing Legial

✓ NO to Tax cut

✓ NO to ~~Minimum~~ Wage

Maybe NO to Soc Security

✓ NO to the young

✓ NO to the Sick

✓ NO to the Elderly

✓ NO to the Farmer

✓ NO to the Worker

✓ NO to the Businessman

But Here - The Democ Record - 87-88th Cong!

✓ Freedom Cong

- Educ Cong

- Conservation

- Business Cong. Tot - For Trade

- Health Cong. - mental, + Public

- Nat. State Cong. - Power. - + Peace

When Senator Goldwater looks at this, he sees only some hobgoblin of his own imagination which he calls "socialism."

He cannot deny times are good. He cannot deny we have enjoyed 44 months of sustained economic growth. He merely says we shouldn't feel good about it. He cannot deny that profits are up--he merely thinks our spirits should be down.

I have been searching high and low to find whether there is anything--anything at all--that's happened in the past 30 years for which Senator Goldwater has a good word. I want to be fair about it. He has given his approval to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Securities and Exchange Commission. But that is about all.

and, in all fairness to Regular  
otherwise he has sought to pull everything up <sup>Republicans</sup>

~~by the facts~~ He's not really a Republican. He

called the last Republican Administration a "dime-store

New Deal." He voted 25 times against the 1960

Republican Platform. And he's not a conservative-- that is -

a man who wants to preserve the best in the past and

build upon it. He is a radical and an extremist.

In this campaign, he is the Unhappy Warrior--

nothing about America seems to satisfy him and he

views its future only with the direst forebodings.

The people who have rallied to his banner seem

just as downhearted. I call them "sick and tired"

Americans. They're always saying they are "sick and

tired" of this and "sick and tired" of that.

*but*

L A great poet and a good Democrat, Archibald MacLeish, has written that "America was promises."

You have seen the great promise of the Oklahoma Territory fulfilled in this great State of Oklahoma.

L You have seen the promises of America being fulfilled in the administration of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. And we believe this record of peace, prosperity and progress will continue with the election of Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States.

*but*

L On November 3 you will also be deciding something even more important. You will be deciding whether the peace of the world and the survival of mankind will continue in the hands of a man--President Johnson--who



Peace any one can get in war

- 10 -

fully understands and accepts this responsibility.

There is no more fundamental question in this campaign. The dramatic changes in the Soviet Union--in Red China--in Great Britain--demonstrate the need for a President who understands the world as it really is--not as he imagines it to be.

*world changes!*

Performance of duty can be the only criteria you exercise in choosing our President.

*Performance*

*Responsibility*

We must have a President who is neither erratic nor unpredictable, neither rash nor impetuous, neither belligerent nor warlike.

Lyndon Johnson is a man of peace--but he is also a man who has defended freedom with courage and strength.

He is a man who possesses the capacity and understanding to lead America and the free world in these perilous times.

- 11 -

He is a man you can trust with the destiny of  
America.



# news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE

B-3885

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

ARDMORE, OKLAHOMA

MONDAY, OCTOBER/9

My friends, I am here to urge you to vote on November 3 for your long-time friend and good neighbor, Lyndon B. Johnson, as President of the United States.

I emphasize this because I understand that the Republicans here -- and particularly my fellow Minnesotan, Bud Wilkinson -- have been doing all their campaigning against me.

So I'll let you in on the secret the Republicans have been trying to keep from the good people of Oklahoma -- Lyndon Johnson is the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States.

And Lyndon Johnson is superbly qualified for that high office.-- the most responsible office in America and, indeed, in the world. He is qualified by his wide experience and by his burning faith in America and its future.

First, let me emphasize that word experience.

If I decided to change my profession and applied for Gomer Jones' job as head coach at the University of Oklahoma, they'd laugh at me -- and they'd be right.

Now I do have some experience in teaching. I was a pretty fair football player on the Doland, South Dakota team. Maybe I'd have a chance at a high school coaching job. Then, when I'd had some experience, I might look for a better coaching assignment.

I happen to think that the higher levels of government are places for men of experience, not for amateurs and beginners. I served two terms as Mayor of Minneapolis before running for the Senate. Lyndon Johnson served twelve years in the House of Representatives and twelve years ~~also~~ in the Senate before becoming Vice President.

- more -

Your fine candidate for the United States Senate, Fred R. Harris, has learned his job in your State Senate and learned it well. You don't have to take him on faith -- you know what he can do for you in Washington. I urge you to send him ~~there~~.

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Fred Harris has been called by the newsmen at your state capitol "the busiest and hardest working member of the Legislature." And that puts him right in the Johnson tradition.

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No significant piece of legislation ~~carries~~ his name. He has spoken little in the Senate. And he has said "no" far more often than he has said anything else.

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initiative and enterprise of its people and their ability to work together -- not at the behest of some all-powerful government, but by their own free decisions, freely made.

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R.TAYLOR:wb

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Airport  
Tulsa, Oklahoma  
October 19, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much. Well, well, thank you very much, Senator Monroney, and thank you very much, my good friends of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

It is great to be here with you. And by the way, I just want you to know that we had a marvelous meeting at Ardmore, Oklahoma, tonight. A lot of good Democrats down there, people with a lot of good sense. They are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson.

I am simply delighted to be here not only in the presence -- (Applause) -- of my good friend, your Senator, your Senator Mike Monroney, but also to be in the presence of the soon to be Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. Fred Harris. (Applause)

And by the way, of all the signs that I have seen here that I really like, there is one up here that says "Go, go Horatio." (Applause)

I think America is entitled to a Vice-President with a middle name by the name of Horatio. (Applause)

No other candidate can make that claim. (Applause)

My dear friends, may I just add that we are having a very, very pleasant experience on these campaign trips. Once in awhile we find a poor misguided soul -- (Laughter) -- that is carrying around a Goldwater banner. You know, I always look at them very carefully, and when I find one who is smiling, I know that deep down in his heart he is going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

And by the way, I noticed another sign here. It says here something about Tulsa being the Oil Capital of the World. (Applause) Well, let me say that you have got a choice between a Senator that never is around to do anything for the oil industry and a President that comes from Texas that knows the oil industry. Anybody with enough brains to come in out of the rain will vote for Lyndon Johnson.

I come here tonight just to say this, that the people of America that are interested in their country's prosperity, that are interested in their country's social justice, that are interested in their country's crusade for peace and strength,

those people are going to put their confidence in and their trust in the man that can be trusted, the man that is being trusted, and the man that you can afford to trust, and that man is the man that I speak for and that I join, my good friend and your next President and our President, Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Listen, I want you to translate this enthusiasm into some good hard work. There is one thing that the opposition understands. They are slow to learn, but they do learn if you put the heat to them, and all I ask you is to give them an election spanking on November 3rd. Take them out to the political woodshed, administer the treatment to them and give them a whipping the likes of which they have never seen before. (Applause)

I just want to thank many of our friends that are here, these young people in particular that have come out. We want you, and I want to thank these Tulsa University young folks that are out here, and I want to thank our friends from the labor movement that are out here. (Applause)

~~~~~

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
KVOO-TV Taping  
Tulsa, Oklahoma  
October 20, 1964

Senator Monroney. We are honored today to have as a guest of Oklahoma one of the most distinguished men in the United States Senate, a man that I have been proud to serve with as a colleague for 12 years, have seen him author many of the landmark pieces of legislation throughout this 12 year period in the field of human rights, in the field of agriculture, in the field of international affairs.

It is a distinct pleasure to have here with us today in Oklahoma the next Vice-President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey. Thank you, Mike.

Senator Monroney. And, of course, it is nice to have our own Oklahoman, the little giant from Oklahoma, the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, and with these two men, Senator Humphrey and the Congressman Carl Albert as Majority Leader, they have quarterbacked the team that has enacted more important legislation in a shorter period of time under the Johnson Administration than ever has been achieved in our nation's history.

Sitting along side Congressman Albert is our own great Senator from the eastern half of the state, the eastern side of the state, a great builder of Oklahoma's resources, Congressman Ed Edmondson.

And over here next to me is the man that I am hoping that you will send up to Washington to be my partner, to help us achieve the victories that we need in the development of the Arkansas program for navigation, to keep it on schedule until 1970, Fred Harris.

Mr. Harris. Thank you, Mike.

Senator Monroney. As we start this program, I know you are saddened as we are by the loss of a truly great American, a man who devoted his life to public service, a man who cooperated not only with the Democratic Party under the great Woodrow Wilson to help relieve the suffering after World War I, the man who served a very difficult period in our nation's history, and came back to help us greatly under the Truman Administration to reorganize the Executive Branch of government.

I want Hubert Humphrey to say what is in his heart.

Senator Humphrey. Well, Senator Monroney and gentlemen, of course it saddens every one of us when a great American passes on, and President Hoover actually grew into even greater recognition and greater popularity and respect as his years went on.

As you have said so appropriately, Senator Monroney, his work after World War I in relieving human suffering and his work after World War II in again relieving the famine and the sickness of humankind will always be remembered. These are marks of character and marks of his greatness.

But, you know, I think it would be well for us just to note for a moment that the kind of political discussion that takes place in America was best exemplified or its good qualities were best exemplified in these campaigns in which Mr. Hoover was so actively engaged.

President Harry Truman was a very active, hard-hitting Democrat, still is, and needless to say, he fought hard against what he considered some of the Hoover policies. And yet President Hoover and President Truman became fast friends.

I would say this is one of the most beautiful friendships of American political life. It is like Jefferson and Adams. Jefferson on the one hand was the Democrat and Adams the Republican of his day. They were hard opponents during their youth and during the fullness of their life and yet in the twilight of their lives, they became fast friends.

And the same is true of President Truman and President Hoover, and I don't know of anyone that has done more for the Truman Library than President Hoover.

The whole nation mourns the loss of this great man, and maybe it is a good time for us to remember that you can conduct a political discussion without bitterness and acrimony if you will just remember the friendship that does develop between men of different persuasion.

Well, Mike, you know, I think maybe that we might also remember that Herbert Hoover saw the need of the use of our food and fiber for the cause of humanity and the cause of peace.

Senator Monroney. He certainly did, and the world should be

tremendously grateful for the survival of millions because of that.

You two, Carl Albert, Majority Leader, and Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic Whip, were in conference only yesterday with the President at the White House. It was a bipartisan conference I know with Majority Leader Dirksen and the Policy Chairman, Senator Saltonstall, both great Republicans, and with our Democratic leaders.

The people of Oklahoma are much concerned about the three crises coming in a row within about 36 hours of each other that have changed somewhat the rather tranquill attitude of this nation toward foreign policy. We would certainly appreciate having a little bit of your judgment and reaction to that, Carl.

Mr. Albert. Well, Mike, yesterday Senator Humphrey and I were among the Party leaders in Congress who had been invited to Washington by the President to discuss these three developments, the Chinese detonation of an atomic device, the change of leadership in Russia, and the result of the English parliamentary elections.

I think this was the longest bipartisan meeting on foreign policy that I ever attended, and I have attended every one going back to the Lebanese landing when President Eisenhower was President and called us all in from the Democratic Convention. We were there a little over two and a half hours, and then the President asked Senator Humphrey to stay on and to discuss these matters further with him. So Senator Humphrey was at the White House for at least four and a half or probably five hours.

As a matter of fact, he was there so long I was almost afraid we were going to miss our Ardmore meeting. I broke in on his conversation with the President and called him in the President's office to see if he had forgotten the plane. But we made it. But there at that meeting were the top advisers of the President of the United States as well as all the congressional leaders in the area of military and foreign policy and the leadership themselves.

There was the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and others who are experts in these various fields. They gave us a very complete briefing and updating on international developments, and the President gave us I think certain assurances which I know Senator Humphrey will



want to develop.

I don't think there is an area in which Hubert Humphrey is better qualified than in this area. I don't think there is an area in which President Johnson is better qualified, and they are both two of the most qualified and eminent men I have ever known.

Hubert, what was your reaction after sitting there listening to the President and his top advisers for four or five hours yesterday?

Senator Humphrey. Well, Congressman Albert, first of all, I couldn't help but note that sitting around that room were not Republicans and Democrats. We were in the cabinet room, gentlemen; we were Americans. And when you discuss your foreign policy and when you discuss your programs of national security, your military strength, your intelligence services, your diplomatic maneuvers or your diplomatic policy or foreign policy, you ought not to discuss it as a Democrat or a Republican, and I can honestly say that not a single partisan word was uttered during that two and a half hour conference in the cabinet room with the President.

I think one should note that Mr. John McCone, who is the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was with President Eisenhower as the head of the Atomic Energy Commission. He is a Republican, you know, if you want to identify by party. McGeorge Bundy who was brought in by President Kennedy, however, was of Republican persuasion. He is a special adviser to the President of the United States on matters of foreign policy. Mr. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense, at least should be classified as a political independent.

So you see, we have tried over the years, and this was so emphasized to me yesterday, we have tried to develop what we call bipartisan foreign policy, or should I say only a non-partisan foreign policy.

We try to think in terms of our country's needs, our role as a world leader. And I have a feeling, gentlemen, that this is the central point of concern in this election.

We all like to talk about all these other matters, and they are all important, where we stand on this bill or where we stand on that bill, but the real concern of the American people is can we prevent a nuclear war? How will we manage this



fabulous, unbelievable power that is in the world today and of which we have the major portion?

Our military power today is so incredibly large that it has never been equaled, and it is really beyond almost human description. We are stronger than any other country and stronger than any of the combinations of countries. We had listed there, Carl, yesterday, the amount of -- the number of nuclear warheads.

Gentlemen, it is a highly classified matter, and some of you may know because of your role in the Congress, but we do not talk about these things in numbers.

But it is so unbelievable the amount of power that we have that for anyone even to spread doubt about this power is either to be ignorant of the facts or to deliberately mislead the American people.

But we don't want power just for power. That isn't what it is all about. We want power for the purpose of a peaceful world.

We have developed this fabulous nuclear power, and we have it for one purpose, as a deterrent to prevent others from using it. We had a figure given to us, for example, which is not classified, and people ought to know this: that if you should get into a nuclear war by accident or by design, we could destroy 70 to 75 percent of the entire Soviet Union's industrial base just like that -- (snap of fingers) -- and they could destroy a very substantial portion of ours. A couple of hundred million people just like that -- (snap of fingers) -- instantaneously.

So when I hear people talk about instant victory or they want a win policy, I wonder if they really realize that peace is what President Kennedy talked about when he said it was a patient process.

The win that we want is a win over war itself. That is really what we want. We want to win over the use of the nuclear weapon so we never have to use it. We want to win for a peaceful world and a world in which the areas of freedom are expanded, and that is what we were talking about yesterday.

Now, we know that the Chinese atomic device poses some serious problems. Will we be able to bring China under the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty? And instead of just pretending that

the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ought to be scrapped, what we ought to be thinking about is how can we broaden its inclusion to bring in France, to bring in China, because it is very probable, gentlemen, that within the next five to six years, ten or twelve more countries could become nuclear powers, and unless we are able to slow down this nuclear arms race, then I think we will have to say to every mother and father that we are living on borrowed time for our children, and it is a terrible thing to contemplate.

So what we have been doing, we have been trying desperately and I think somewhat successfully to do certain things.

We have been trying to keep the Communist group off balance and we have. It was their government that changed, you know, and by an inside kind of coup or peaceful revolution inside. It is the Communists that are having troubles in Eastern Europe. It is the Communists of Russia and of China that are split. It is their economy that is faltering, not ours.

It is we that, for example, are strengthening the United Nations, and the United Nations has been helping to keep the peace, and when I hear a candidate for public office, gentlemen, say that we ought to get out of the United Nations, I think that it is just simply issuing an invitation to suicide.

Mr. Edmondson. That is exactly what the Russians would like to have us do when you get right down to it, isn't it?

Senator Humphrey. You know, every once in awhile I hear one of these extreme radicals say "Get the UN out of the US and the US out of the UN." You know that is what Khrushchev said time after time after time, and these super-duper patriots that like to wrap themselves in bunting and the American flag, with 13 stars sometimes -- however, not 50 -- they say, "Get the United Nations out of the United States and get the US out of the UN."

Of course, that would be just handing the world organs such as the United Nations over to the Russians, over to the Communists.

We have had, and I just don't want to keep you much longer on this, but we have taken programs like Food for Peace. We mentioned Mr. Hoover here a while ago. We are feeding --

Senator Monroney. You are the author of that bill,

incidentally, and you have been a proponent of it ever since the program started.

Senator Humphrey. You, sir, and others here, you have all been a part of this program, and I have tried to keep it moving, and we are working with the great religious organizations, voluntary organizations, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Lutheran. We have them all working feeding 100 million school children from Food for Peace, American surplus, American abundance, a hundred million little children, and I think that of all the Scriptural lessons that we know, you know, ask the little children to come unto me, this is the child, the Food for Peace Program.

The Peace Corps, that is the finest program of manpower that we have overseas.

The candidate of the opposition called the Peace Corps a haven for beatniks, and yet right here out of Oklahoma you have hundreds of volunteers, and they are some of the finest people that we have in America. They are practically doing it for nothing.

Mr. Edmundson. We are very proud of the fact that many of them have trained at the University of Oklahoma for the Peace Corps. It has been one of the principal training centers for the Peace Corps volunteers.

Mr. Albert. I rode up with Sargent Shriver yesterday to Washington. He was telling me what a successful program he had had in Oklahoma University.

Senator Humphrey. And every country practically in the world, gentlemen, is asking for Peace Corps volunteers. And they are taking the message of American democracy all over the world, and they are helping people to help themselves.

So we have done great things. We have had our -- we have revised our whole foreign aid program, the Alliance for Progress.

Mr. Harris. I was going to ask you about that, Senator. My opponent has made a rather bitter attack on the Alliance for Progress program in Latin America and said that we ought to do more to encourage local investment there.

I wonder if you could comment on that?

Senator Humphrey. Well, my goodness me. The Alliance for Progress is, of course, based a great deal upon local investment. I am the author of an amendment which guarantees private investment, the Investment Guarantee Program. I have worked with Senator Javits of New York, Republican, to establish what we call a private -- a private equity capital foundation in which we have over \$100 million already raised from private funds with no government help at all. The first \$20 million loan was made out of that just the other day. That is known as ADELA. It is the Atlantic Economic Development for Latin America.

We have Western European capital in it, Japanese capital and American private capital.

Now, Senator Javits and Hubert Humphrey put that together as an auxiliary to the Inter American Development Bank as a private fund, working with the International American Development Bank just like we have the International Finance Corporation working with the World Bank.

Now, the Alliance for Progress, Mr. Harris, is possibly one of the most, well, one of the most successful programs that we have today. The last report I saw shows that ten nations in Latin America have already exceeded, have already gone beyond what was the projected gains that they were supposed to make in the first three years of the Alliance for Progress.

Remember, we have only been at it three years. We have made tremendous progress in housing, in roads, in ports, in schools. We have built more classrooms, we and the Latin Americans, I want to say. We only put in ten cents out of every dollar. The other 90 cents comes from Latin America. The ten cents that we put in is public and private capital from the United States. There have been more classrooms built in Latin America in the last three years than in the preceding 100. There have been more textbooks printed in Latin America, textbooks that are decent and clean and wholesome, not any Communist indoctrinated type of thing, but good, solid textbooks printed where we and our teachers have had something to do with it; more printed in the last three years than the preceding 200.

Senator Monroney. Communism can't spread against the bulwark of education and knowledge and industrial and economic improvement and better food for their people.

Senator Humphrey. And every country in Latin America has cut off diplomatic relations with Castro save one, only one.

All but Mexico, and that is within the realm of possibility in the future. So everybody who would charge the Alliance for Progress with being a failure insults the intelligence of the voter, the religious organizations, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. The Catholic Church is doing tremendous things in Latin America in cooperation with the Alliance for Progress. I just can't believe that anybody made that statement, Fred, and I will have to read it in print, but if they did, they just don't know what is going on.

Senator Monroney. Ed, you had some questions on the Republican farm program and what it would do, I believe, earlier in the day, didn't you?

Mr. Edmondson. I did, and I would like to have the Senator's comment upon them. One point I would like to reach before we leave there, though, is this point, that one of the things that the Alliance for Progress flag has flown over in Latin America was the SS Hope, the hospital ship.

Senator Humphrey. Oh, yes, indeed.

Mr. Edmondson. And it flew the flag throughout its Peru stay, and the Senator has been one of the outstanding champions of Project Hope in the Senate of the United States. Congressman Albert and Senator Monroney also joined in sponsoring it.

Senator Humphrey. This is private activity at work. Project Hope is really the expression of the hope of the American people through private voluntary activity for other people abroad, and it is a wonderful program, and I have just been delighted to be able to work with the people of Project Hope to keep it going.

Mr. Edmondson. I know that you have.

Senator, all over Oklahoma we are keenly interested in what happens in the agriculture field, and, of course, one of the dominant industries for Oklahoma is the cattle industry. And there has been considerable concern in our state about the level of prices on cattle and the import level and somehow or other the impression is being promoted by some in the other camp that this Congress did nothing in this field and that we didn't respond in any way to the needs of the cattle industry.

I wish you would comment on that, if you would, for just a minute.



Senator Humphrey. I will, quickly. As a matter of fact, this government went into a free purchase program, as you know, to stabilize cattle prices. There was overproduction, and there were excessive imports.

The second thing we did is we passed legislation. I remember Carl Albert and you, Congressman Edmondson, and you, Senator Monroney, and Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, and may I add Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, we worked to pass legislation, and we did. We passed legislation that restricts the amount of imports of beef products that can come into the United States when that beef product import adversely affects the American beef price or the American beef industry.

Now, I come from a state where we have cattle feeders. We buy a lot of cattle down in Texas and Oklahoma and other places and bring them up there for our feedlots, and, as you know, the cattleman doesn't want very much government help. He just wants a fair break, and that is what we have given to him.

We have been working with the cattlemen, and we have a President, by the way, who knows a little bit about agriculture. Ever been down to his ranch? He's got I don't know how many head of cattle, but he is a cattleman, and not as toys, not as playthings, but this is a ranch that operates as a farm and a ranch ought to operate.

But I do recall that with all of this criticism of the Democrats in the Democratic Administration on cattle, that the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, he wasn't even there.

Mr. Edmondson. He wasn't there, Senator?

Senator Humphrey. He wasn't there to vote when we had this issue before the Congress, and it was a hard fought issue.

Mr. Edmondson. But we did have that followed closely by the Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association, Mr. Freeney, and he assured all of us at the time of the final vote on that on the House side that the bill that was passed was the bill that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association solidly supported. So I think when you look at the record, that the 88th Congress did move and move in a very constructive way along the lines that the cattle industry was speaking of.

Senator Humphrey. Well, I met with the cattle representatives day after day and time after time, and may I say that we



followed their advice and their counsel, and we acted prudently. We acted wisely.

And when Senator Goldwater and his group talked about us as if we didn't do anything, may I just repeat Mr. Goldwater wasn't even there when the cattleman's fate was on the line in the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives. Mr. Goldwater was out criticizing us for not doing what we were already doing.

Senator Monroney. He wasn't there for three votes on the depletion cuts that we had, either. He missed all three of them.

Senator Humphrey. By the way, he was there on the Arkansas River Project, gentlemen. I am a long ways -- I live a long ways away from the Arkansas River Project but the Arkansas River means a great deal to Texas and to Oklahoma and Arkansas. It means a great deal to this whole area. And I recall, the Senator from Arizona who tries to parade down here as your great friend voted eight times, seven or eight times -- I want to be accurate -- I will make it seven so I am on the short side.

Mr. Edmondson. Eight times in five years.

Senator Humphrey. Eight times in five years to either weaken it or kill it.

Senator Monroney. He was one of about five, one of about five. He is a minority of a minority.

Senator Humphrey. Yes, indeed, and when it came around to REA, he had 35 chances to support REA. I want to be fair with him. He supported it twice. Both projects were for Arizona. He never ever once voted for a project for Oklahoma or Minnesota or any other place in the Union. When it came around, he even said that REA ought to be dissolved.

Now, he says that when we make that statement that we are unfair, that -- he says he has never said that it ought to be stopped. Well, what does "dissolve" mean? He says REA ought to be dissolved. Most states have no further use for it. And that is what he means.

And he has also said that we ought to have prompt and final termination of agricultural price supports, as he put it, of farm subsidies.

Now he says he doesn't really mean that.

Well, he does mean it because he said it repeatedly.

Mr. Albert. I would like to ---

Mr. Harris. I was just going to say about this general conservation, soil and moisture conservation is a subject very close to our hearts as it is to yours by your record. I think there is a sharp departure between the Republican Party philosophy and the Democratic Party philosophy at this time on conservation.

I wonder if you might comment on that.

Senator Humphrey. Well, there surely is. I was just reaching in my pocket to take out a listing of some of the votes, and I won't have time to run through them all here, but as I note, at every opportunity that the spokesman for the Republican Party has had to back up conservation and to back up a better use of our water resources -- and the late Senator Kerr, as you know was a great student of the water resources of America --- on every single occasion except where it affects Arizona, the Senator from Arizona voted against everybody else.

Mr. Albert. Speaking of the late Senator Kerr, the Kerr-Mills bill and Social Security have been kicked around a little bit. How did Senator Goldwater vote on the Kerr-Mills bill when it was before the Senate of the United States?

Senator Humphrey. Well, he voted against the Kerr-Mills care bill for the elderly. He voted against Social Security benefits for the disabled. In 1961 he voted against any further increase in the benefits for Social Security. He said Social Security ought to be voluntary. And beware of the man that wants to tinker with that. And I think that every person that is on Social Security ought to beware of that kind of thinking.

One other thing that I noticed here. He voted against a bill introduced here by Senator Monroney that would have permitted old age assistance recipients to earn \$50.00 per month without deductions from monthly benefits. In other words, to give the old age recipients just a little better break.

Now, that bill was introduced by Senator Monroney and Senator ---

Senator Monroney. Douglas.

Senator Humphrey. Senator Douglas. The Senator from Arizona who votes against Kerr-Mills, he votes against expanding Social Security, votes against increased -- including disabled workers under Social Security; he also comes around and votes against the old-age assistance recipients.

This is a negative record. I wish this camera could take a look at just one list of votes and in one session of Congress. No, no, no, no, no. 299 roll calls in 1964 and the Senator missed 214 of them.

Senator Monroney. And over 12 years he has missed one-third of the votes. He has been there two-thirds of the time. I say that is the best part of his work, his voting record. Think how much damage he would have done if he had been there all the time.

Senator Humphrey. Well, gentlemen, I think we might summarize this just a little bit. The central issue is the one you raised, Carl, and Mike, of war and peace. We need a man in the White House that is steady and prudent, that understands the world situation, that is a student of international politics and one that can be trusted.

You cannot afford impetuosity, irresponsibility, nor can you afford to have someone that wants to play war games. We ought to remember that searching for peace is a noble pursuit and a noble work. The peacemaker must be courageous just as well as he must be steadfast. It is not a sign of weakness to search for peace. It is a sign of strength. Peace with justice.

How are we going to maintain the gains that we have made? How are we going to prevent this country of ours from slipping out of the role of world leader and possibly slipping into conflagration?

I think we have got to get our people out to vote, Fred,

Mr. Harris. Right.

Senator Humphrey. You talked to me about this earlier, before this program. Any apathy would be tragic.

In Italy in the last election over 90 percent of the people voted. In our last election slightly over 60 percent voted.

So, gentlemen, my plea to the people of Oklahoma is regardless of how you are going to vote, please vote. Be a voter. Be a good citizen. Make Election Day Citizenship Day, and if we do that, I will have no fear about the outcome.

Senator Monroney. Thank you very much, Hubert. Senator Harris, Majority Leader Albert, and Congressman Ed Edmondson, we deeply appreciate your being on this panel.

Thank you very much for listening.

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Tulsa Civic Center  
Tulsa, Oklahoma  
October 20, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Well, Senator Monroney and my good fellow Americans, these wonderful happy people from Oklahoma -- of course, whenever I see happy people, I know they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States. (Applause)

And whenever I see somebody that has a smile on their face and is carrying a Goldwater sign, I know that deep down in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I am just delighted to be here. I see that as usual we have a few souls that are misguided, that come to these public gatherings for the purpose of confessing their political sins. (Applause) And may I say we welcome them. We welcome them.

I generally notice that they are always off to the far right. And believe me, they do have some fancy sign painters. You will have to admit that.

They really indulge in it no end.

Well, we are going to talk a little politics today. First of all, I want to thank the Mayor of this City, Mayor Maxwell, for his gracious reception, for this typical Tulsa, Oklahoma, hospitality, and, Mr. Mayor, I am going to give you credit for the weather. I am not going to let a member of Congress take credit for this. But I haven't seen finer weather than this since the last time I was elected in Minnesota. (Applause)

And I want to thank Major Kominsky of the Oklahoma Military Academy for the band. We are very, very grateful to him, and he is indeed entitled to a little thank you from all of us.

It is a great privilege to be on this platform with one of the outstanding members of the United States Senate, a gentleman that I have served with in that body for 12 years, and you get to know people there, and this fine man, your own Mike Monroney, is a tower of strength for American democracy for people all over this country. (Applause)

And I am simply delighted to be in the presence of the Little

Giant of the Congress, a man who has done more than any other single individual in the Congress to guide through the programs of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, your own Congressman Carl Albert. (Applause)

Ed Edmondson is with us, and he has been noted already, but you folks when you send Democrats to Congress, you surely do a good job. You sent us a great Senator some years ago, a man who had his summer home in Minnesota and who was a personal friend of mine, and we literally weep at the thought that he is no longer with us to carry on as he did so ably and effectively, and I must say that we miss this fine man, Bob Kerr, that was such a tower of strength for all of us. (Applause)

Well, now that you have done so well, you ought to do better. First of all, you ought to make sure that that seat in the United States Senate that was occupied by Senator Kerr and then Senator Edmondson, that good Democratic seat in the Senate, is occupied by another good Democrat, one who is experienced in legislation. I don't know how good he is in football, but he is a wonderful legislator. (Applause) Your own Fred Harris. (Applause)

And I want to be very frank about this. I always thought we could conduct political campaigns and still like the opposition, and I wouldn't want to come to Oklahoma without saying that I do think very highly of and like as a fine gentleman the man that is Mr. Harris's opponent. I believe that he is a fine man. I just think that he ought not to be in the United States Senate since he is for Mr. Goldwater and his program and that program isn't good for America. (Applause)

And Doug Martin, Doug is here. Doug, did you stand up? If you didn't, they ought to get another look at you. Stand up once again. (Applause)

Doug Martin of your own First District right here in Tulsa surely deserves your warm support and your help.

Father King, we are grateful to you for your invocation. Might I just say that it was my privilege in the Senate to have printed in the Congressional Record as official documents the great encyclicals of that wonderful man of peace, that wonderful man of God, the late Pope John XXIII. And when you read from his encyclicals, two great encyclicals, "Pacem en Terres" and "Mater et Magistra," I couldn't help but contemplate once again what a heavy burden all of us have in this campaign to be worthy,



to be worthy of the respect of the American people and to be worthy of the faith and confidence of the people who look to us for some leadership.

Mike, you mentioned newspapers. Well, it is a wonderful experience for a Democrat this year. My goodness! I never knew there were so many newspapers that were for us. Why, all over America they are saying that they want to see President Johnson in the White House. The New York Herald Tribune that hadn't endorsed a Democrat since the time of Thomas Jefferson, and they weren't publishing then -- (Applause) -- (Laughter) -- endorsed the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, for President.

The Saturday Evening Post, published since 1797, never ever endorsed a Democrat, but in the year 1964 it endorsed Lyndon Johnson for President of the United States and Hubert Humphrey for Vice-President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, Life Magazine, edited by the Luce Publications, in fact, these great publications, Life and Time and Fortune, these publications have never been particularly sympathetic to Democratic candidates. I don't want to be misunderstood. They are outstanding publications. But this year they are supporting President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey for President and Vice-President of the United States. (Applause)

And, Senator Monroney, you said that possibly the people in your own state knew you best, and I think that is true. But we also face up to general partisan problems.

In my State of Minnesota, most of the press is of Republican orientation. That is typical, but let me also say that in this election, in this election not a single major daily newspaper in the State of Minnesota supports Mr. Goldwater. (Applause)

No other vice-presidential candidate can make that claim for his state. (Applause)

Well, I want to talk to you today about some of the hard, serious problems that face our country.

I have noticed as we have gone along the campaign trail an awful lot of shouting. I want to say I think at long last people are beginning to sober down a little bit, get a little more serious about this campaign.



This isn't a question of just shouting epithets. This isn't just a matter of hollering "We want this and we want that."

I was at a meeting not long ago where there was a group of people that had a whole lot of these signs of opposition, and they were hollering, "We want Barry," and I said, "Which one, 'Razz Barry' or 'Straw Barry'?" And I had to remind them that "Barry Pickin" season was over by November 3rd. (Laughter)

It isn't a question of "We want Lyndon" or "We want Barry." This is not the issue. The issue is where do these men stand on the great issues of our time? What is their competence? What is their ability? What about our country? That is what we need to think about, and we need to think seriously, and we need to think long about how well America is going to do in these perilous times because we live in perilous times. Everybody knows it.

We live in a world of transition. We witnessed it just these past few days. We witnessed, for example, a change of the power structure in the Soviet Union. We have heard and witnessed the detonation of an atomic device in Red China. There has been an election in Great Britain. There are great social and political forces moving, and the question before the American people is which candidate for the President of the United States is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility and burden for the destiny of America and indeed for the destiny of mankind. That is the question before the American people. (Applause)

And, ladies and gentlemen, this one issue overshadows all others. And this one issue and the only issue relates to the survival of our people and to the cause of all mankind.

So in choosing the next President of the United States, the people of America must base their decision on performance, upon competence, upon performance, and not upon slogans, not upon placards, and not upon promises. Performance is the true test of the man. (Applause)

And it is performance that separates the great leaders from the second-raters. And performance is the one basis on which Americans in this election can make the correct choice. And make no mistake about it. There is no room for error, no room for mistake in electing the President of the United States because there is no second choice, and there is no opportunity to repair the damage for at least four more years, and in today's world the next four years may determine the course of civilization for a

century to come.

That is the seriousness of this election, my fellow Americans  
(Applause)

And I am proud to stand on this platform, to speak for the man that is now our President, a man that has been praised before this election by Republicans and Democrats alike, a man that was praised by one even who left the Democratic Party. I don't think he ever left it. I doubt that he was in it. (Laughter) But the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Thurmond, who called President Johnson the most able and gifted man in the history of our country, and now he says he ought not to be President, who has been praised by the Republicans and the Democrats alike, this man who now is villified and attacked day in and day out by irresponsible radicals, irresponsible radicals in American life.  
(Applause)

On the basis of performance, I say, my friends, President Lyndon Johnson is richly and fully qualified to assume the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next four years and to insure the national security of the United States and to preserve the peace of the world. That is the President that we need.  
(Applause)

I ask you to think back to those ghastly days in last November. Our beloved great President on a mission of good will, speaking again in the cause of progress for America, of equal rights for every one of our citizens, speaking in terms of peace for the world, and that was his message to be delivered in Dallas -- he was struck down by an assassin's bullet, and history stood still. In fact, the nation and the whole world teetered on the brink of despair and collapse.

No matter where it was in this world, my friends, people were grieved and pained and worried. We knew that one slip, one misstep, one rash judgment, one impetuous word, one single error by the President of the United States could have produced an international crisis and chaos.

But then we understood the wisdom of John Kennedy's decision on vice-president. He had in Los Angeles selected a man that he believed was capable of assuming the burdens of that office if some stroke of fate should take the President from us. And there was Lyndon Johnson on the date of November 22, 1963, and he stepped forward, he grieved with us and he wept with us, but he calmed us and he guided us and he strengthened us, and very

frankly, friends, he saved us at that moment of crisis in our life. (Applause)

Never in my memory, in fact, I don't believe, never in the history of this country has a human being carried such heavy responsibilities upon his shoulders under such difficult circumstances. and yet responded with such courage, determination, wisdom, and leadership.

Never has the American Presidency known a finer hour than that moment when this man, this tall man, your good neighbor from Texas, stepped forth and took the oath of office and became the President of the United States. (Applause)

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, performance, doing the job, not promises, is the test of a man. And the American people understand this fact. They know that promises and allegations and distortions and half-truths and radicalism and extremism cannot substitute for the hard currency of responsible performance by the President. (Applause)

And may I say that in this great State of Oklahoma, that now should come home to the Party of its fathers, the Democratic Party, that in this State where there are many people of Republican persuasion, let it be clearly understood that responsible Republican leaders have lost control of their Party temporarily. It is as if a ship had been boarded by the pirates and the crew had been put in chains.

The Republican Party today has been kidnapped by the irresponsibles and the radicals of American public life. (Applause)

Maybe this is why the New York Herald Tribune endorsed Mr. Johnson. I think so. Maybe this is why over 50 percent of all of the Republican press in America has endorsed the President of the United States. Possibly this is why three cabinet members of Dwight Eisenhower's cabinet have refused to support Mr. Goldwater and are supporting Lyndon Johnson for President. Possibly this is why one out of every three Republican voters in America has said no to Mr. Goldwater and yes to President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause) These good people have put their country above their Party. They have put their patriotism above their partisanship. They know that the temporary leader of a fraction of a faction of the Republican Party is not Republican at all.

He is surely not a Democrat, and he is surely not a

Republican. He repudiated the platform of 1960 of the Republican Party. He called Dwight Eisenhower's Administration a "dime store New Deal." He has repudiated bipartisan foreign policy of the late Arthur Vandenberg. He is not a Republican; he is, my friends, a radical, and we don't want him. (Applause)

And let me make it clear. Radicalism, the radicalism of the left and of the Communists and the radicalism of the right and the Goldwaterites has no place in responsible American politics. We want none of it. (Applause)

Let me remind you, my fellow Americans, of the outcome of the Goldwater convention in San Francisco where there was a flat refusal to repudiate the worse forms of extremism and radicalism. It refused to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics, and it permitted, the Goldwater leadership permitted, into the ranks of the Republican Party individuals and organizations whose stock in trade is the politics of hate and the politics of fear and the politics of smear and the politics of despair.

We want none of it. (Applause)

This back alley politics has no place in our public life. Yes, my friends, GOP once stood for "Grand Old Party." Now GOP stands for "Goldwater, Our Problem." (Applause -- Laughter)

Now, let me make it crystal clear. I want to make the point that my personal conviction is that Senator Goldwater in his private life, in his private capacity -- and I know him as a private citizen as well as a public official -- he is a pleasant and even charming man. I want to make that crystal clear. (Cheers) I think Mr. Goldwater would make a fine neighbor in Phoenix, Arizona, but I don't think he would make a good President in Washington, D. C. (Applause)

What is at stake in this election is not the private view of the able senator, of this pleasant and pleasing man. But what is at stake is his public role in American politics, and the gist of my message is simply this: that though Senator Goldwater may be a charming guest at a social party and at a country club, he is no fit spokesman for a great political party or for the American nation. (Applause)

I ask my fellow Americans, regardless of their political persuasion, what do you think of a leader and of a faction of a political party that refused to repudiate a society, the John

Birch Society, that called President Eisenhower in these words -- they called President Eisenhower "A dedicated, conscientious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Any group that will say that about General Eisenhower and President Eisenhower is beneath contempt. They are despicable people, and they ought to be -- (Applause) -- and they ought to be repudiated. They ought to be repudiated. (Applause)

And yet this same society has directed its members, the list of which is not public, a secret society in our midst, that prints all these placards and hasn't the courage to come out in the light of day, it directs its members to join the local PTA, to go to work and to take it over.

That is what the Communists did. That is what the Fascists did. That is the kind of infiltration that is a denial of everything we believe in in this country, and we want none of it. (Applause)

And what did the Senator from Arizona think of the John Birch Society? Well, listen to what he said. He said, "I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics."

This is quoted in the Christian Science Monitor of November 8, 1963.

He went on to say again in the Milwaukee Journal, "These John Birch Society members are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of Communism."

Ladies and gentlemen, is it calling attention to the dangers of Communism to say that President Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy? Is that what you mean?

Well, let me say we may have had our political differences with the President, President Eisenhower, but the Senator that is speaking to you now voted more times to support President Eisenhower and his foreign policy and his national security policy than did the Senator from Arizona. I think I am a better Republican than he is. (Applause)

I would think that if I were carrying a Goldwater sign and said I was a Republican, I would hang my head in shame. (Applause)



And before this election is through, that is what they will be doing. (Applause)

Well, let's make it clear, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey do consider the Birchites to be radicals, and dangerous ones. We do consider the Communists to be radicals, and dangerous ones. We don't like them. We don't want them. We don't associate with them. And we are not impressed with them. We repudiate them and so do you. (Applause)

And we repudiate a few others. The Gerald L. K. Smiths and the Robert B. de Pughs, the national leader of the Minutemen, a wild radical right-wing group which trains its members for open guerilla warfare in America. And what do they say? What does de Pugh say? He says his Minutemen are "as close to being 100 percent for Goldwater as it is possible for an organization to be."

Well, if that is the kind of support the Senator from Arizona wants, let him have it. We don't want to deal in the gutters of American politics. We want to be out in the bright sunshine of Oklahoma. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, this United States is a great nation, almost 200 million people, and I want to say that the overwhelming majority of our people, whether Democrats or Republicans or independents, are loyal to the central values of our country and its traditions. The overwhelming majority are committed to those priceless ideals that we hold in common, that we are one people. Yes, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

That is the consensus, and that is the commitment of the American people. (Applause)

And we don't believe in dividing people by religion or race or ethnic origin. We don't believe in insulting people that may be of Italian or Greek or Spanish or Yugoslav or any other kind of nationality or origin. We don't believe in insulting them as have the spokesmen of the Goldwater Party.

We don't believe in pitting white against black, Protestant against Catholic, Jew against Gentile. We believe, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey believe, that this is one country, one people, one Republic, one great nation, we the people of the United States, and we love it that way, and we are going to unite this country. (Applause)

Let me say, my friends, if the price of political victory, if the price of political victory is to divide this nation, if it is to increase racial tension, if it is to arouse suspicion and distrust, if the price of victory is to destroy the great common purpose that we have, it is too high a price to pay. We are not going to do it. And I watched the opposition playing on the fears of the American people. I watch the opposition talking to the American people about their frustrations, their prejudices, and their fears, and then I say to you, my friends, what we need in the White House is a man that will unite us, not divide us; someone that will lead us, not depress us.

Let me read you a quote from our President, and you will see the kind of a man that he is. Here is what President Johnson had to say: "Let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of the law and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream."

Ladies and gentlemen, as we stand here today with this beautiful heaven above us, with this sun shining down upon us, we know that we are a blessed people. We know that we are in the richest nation on the face of the earth. We know that we are in the most powerful nation on the earth. We know that we are in a nation in which there is more opportunity than any other nation on the face of the earth. We are in a nation where compassion and charity and kindness are virtues and not sins.

Let me say to the spokesman of the opposition that we do not consider compassion by government to be weakness, nor do we consider concern for the afflicted, for the sick and the elderly, the lame and the blind, we don't consider that to be socialism; we consider it to be high grade, good, 100 percent Americanism. (Applause)

So I leave you with this challenge and this assurance. There are those that would spread doubt about our strength. Let the record be clear to friend and foe alike. Never has America been stronger. There are those that would tell us that we are sick people and tired people. The spokesmen of the Goldwater Party always are sick and tired of something. Frankly I think they are sick and tired of themselves, and I don't blame them. (Applause)

And just between us, so am I. (Laughter)

What we need is to have leadership with qualities to create



unity from diversity, consensus from conflict, and a man and a President who pursues his duty as Commander-in-Chief with responsibility and with restraint, someone that doesn't go around waving nuclear bombs as an answer to world problems. (Applause)

Strong men don't have to flex their muscles. Wise men don't have to parade their knowledge. Courageous men don't have to beat their chests. It is the weaklings who are the ones that are full of braggadocio. It is the weakling who goes around and waves his sword. It is the weakling and it is the ignorant who tries to parade his synthetic knowledge.

Thank God we have a President who knows that power must be used with restraint, who knows that power and richness of America is not for conquest or luxury but rather is for freedom and peace and for justice.

I come to this audience today and ask you not to listen to the false prophets. I ask you to stand up and be counted on the great issues of our time, the issues of decency, the issues of human equality and human dignity, the protection of the rights of every citizen regardless of his race, his color, his creed. I ask you to think in terms of how we can use America's strength to carry out that noble message of John Kennedy and of Pope John, if you please, of peace.

Peace takes courage. The pursuit of peace takes bravery. It requires a giant to do it. Peace is not instant. The only thing that is instant is annihilation.

Peace will take time. Peace will take perseverance. Peace will take patience. Peace will require wisdom. Peace will require faith.

And we have in our United States of America millions of people that know this. And thank goodness they believe it. And we have a President who, if you give him your mandate, if you give him your help, if you give him your hands and your heart, if you give him your confidence and your trust, he will lead us in the paths of justice and the paths of peace, Lyndon Johnson. (Applause)





# 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  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20

B-3886

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY  
BY  
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY  
TULSA, OKLAHOMA  
OCTOBER 20, 1964

We live in perilous times.

We live in a world fraught with danger and transition.

Within 24 hours Nikita Khrushchev tumbled from power in the Soviet Union -- the Red Chinese detonated an atomic blast -- and the Labor Party assumed control in Great Britain.

These 24 hours -- these three historic events -- illustrate the basic issue of this campaign.

Which candidate for President of the United States is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America -- and mankind itself?

This one issue overshadows all other considerations. This one issue -- and only this issue -- relates to the survival of our people -- and the cause of all mankind.

In choosing our next President of the United States, the people of America must base their decision on performance -- not promises.

Performance is the true test of a man. Performance separates great leaders from second-raters. Performance is the one basis on which America can make the correct choice.

And make no mistake about it -- there is no room for error in electing the President of the United States. There is no second chance. There is no opportunity to repair the damage for at least four more years -- and in today's world four years may be too late.

On the basis of performance -- not promises -- Lyndon Johnson stands alone as the one person qualified to assume the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next four years. He stands as the one person qualified to preserve the peace of the world -- to insure

- more -

the national security of the United States.

Think back to those ghastly days last November. Our great President was struck down. History stood still. The nation and the world teetered on the brink of despair and collapse -- one slip, one misstep, one rash judgment, one impetuous remark, one single error by the President of the United States could have produced international chaos.

And Lyndon Johnson stepped forward. He grieved with us. He wept with us. But he calmed us -- guided us -- strengthened us -- saved us.

Never has a human being carried such responsibility on his shoulders. And never has a human being responded with such courage, determination, wisdom and leadership. Never has the Presidency known a finer hour.

Performance, -- not promises -- is the test of a man.

The American people understand this fact. They know that promises -- allegations -- distortions -- radicalism -- extremism cannot substitute for the hard currency of responsible performance in the Presidency.

The American people understand that the responsible Republican leaders have temporarily lost control of their party to the apostles of discord, radicalism, and extremism.

The outcome of the Goldwater convention in San Francisco was a flat refusal to repudiate extremism. By its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics, the Goldwater party has permitted into its ranks those individuals and organizations whose stock in trade is the politics of hate.

For a generation these extremists and radicals have been pushing their accusations, their innuendoes, their nuances in the back alleys of American politics.

Now they have captured the Grand Old Party and transformed it into Goldwater's Own Party.

I want to note at this point my personal conviction that Senator Goldwater in his private capacity is a fine, decent American. What is at issue is not his private, but his public role in American politics. And the gist of my message is that since Senator Goldwater is a good private citizen, but a public disaster, he should be returned to that

private life for which he is so eminently qualified.

Our concern is only with Goldwaterism -- the politics of extremism -- not Goldwater.

In San Francisco the Goldwater Party deliberately refused to repudiate support from the John Birch Society.

The Goldwater Party refused to repudiate a Society that called President Eisenhower "a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

The Goldwater Party refused to repudiate the Society that directed its members to "join your local PTA...and go to work to take it over." (Monthly Bulletin, April, 1961.).

What does Senator Goldwater think of the John Birch Society? Listen to his own words:

".....I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics ..." (Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 8, 1963

"These (John Birch Society Members) are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of Communism." (Milwaukee Journal, June 24, 1962).

"I don't consider the John Birch Society as a group to be extremists." (New York Times, April 17, 1964).

Well, Lyndon Johnson and I consider John Birchers to be extremists. The Democratic Party considers the Birchers to be extremists. And responsible Republicans consider the Birchers to be extremists.

We also repudiate such extremists as Gerald L.K. Smith, leader of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, who has built his career around the dissemination of hate. Smith has written:

"Franklin D. Roosevelt in the mind of every mature, intelligent patriot was a complete fraud and a ruthless demagogue surrounded by ... corrupt politicians and international strategists who used the big lie as a fixed instrument of policy..."

Gerald L.K. Smith has also written about Senator Goldwater in the current issue of The Cross and the Flag:

"He is a godsend for America ...For the first time since I have been a man, one of the old parties has nominated a candidate for whom I can have complete respect."

Robert B. dePugh, national leader of the Minutemen, a wild right wing group which trains its members for guerilla warfare, has said:

"(President Johnson) is a political opportunist who would sell the United States out to the Communists or anyone else who would pay his price."

His Minutemen, dePugh noted, "are as close to being 100% for Goldwater as it is possible for an organization to be."

American politics has often involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this scale -- never with this virulence.

These are not merely political attacks -- they are attacks on the very fabric of our community, particularly on that atmosphere of trust which is essential for the survival and development of a free society.

The United States is a great, diverse nation of almost 200 million people. The overwhelming majority -- whether Democrats or Republicans -- are loyal to the fundamental values of our society. The overwhelming majority are committed to those priceless ideals we hold in common.-- faith in our future, mutual trust, and the spirit of liberty.

The overwhelming majority of Americans repudiate the politics of extremism -- whether of the right or of the left. They agree with Lyndon Johnson, who said:

"Let us put an end to the teaching and preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fantasies of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream"

The overwhelming majority of Americans know that performance,-- not promises -- is the true test of a man.

In Lyndon Johnson we have a man tested as few men in our history: by public service under four Presidents, by leadership in the Congress of the United States, by sudden elevation under tragic and dreadful circumstances to the White House.

In Lyndon Johnson we have a man who possesses the qualities to create unity from diversity and consensus from conflict -- who pursues his duties as commander-in-chief with responsibility and restraint.

HUMPHREY/restraint.  
Page 5

In Lyndon Johnson we have the one man superbly qualified to lead our nation and the world away from the last Great War toward the first Great Society.

Performance -- not promises -- is why the American people will elect Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States on November 3rd.

#####



Gene Howard

Senator

Tom Frazier

Thank Major Kaminsky  
and Oklahoma Military Academy  
for the band. Bob Scott

+ Carl Allert

+ Mike Mommey

Mayor Mayhew

Tom Frazier

Ed Edmonson

Fred Harris

Doug Martin

---

Goldwater back to the RT

Papers on Main for LB5-12111

Fred Harris

Doug Martin  
Dist

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY P.M.S OCT. 20

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Carl Albert

Nikita Khrushchev

Maya Maxwell

Return to  
Senroe

Father King

TULSA

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There is no second chance. There is no opportunity to repair the damage for at least four more years --- and in today's world four years may be too late.

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For a generation these extremists and radicals have been pushing their accusations, their innuendoes, their attacks ~~innuendoes~~ in the back alleys of American politics.

GoP

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I want to note at this point my personal conviction that Senator Goldwater in his private capacity is a pleasant and even charming man. What is at issue is not his private, but his public role in American politics.

And the gist of my message is that <sup>though</sup> ~~Senator~~ Senator Goldwater may be a charming guest at a <sup>social</sup> ~~party~~, he is no fit spokesman for a great political party. on a great country

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# We Repudiate Birchers & Communists

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OK

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Goldwater Personally

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seek to destroy that atmosphere of trust which is essential  
for the very survival and development of a free society.

The United States is a great, diverse nation of  
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year term

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(X) Stgth - Military

(X) Stgth Economic - Purp

(V) Stgth - for Place



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