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NEW YORK, NEW YORK

OCTOBER 27, 1964

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This tommyrot -- to borrow a term from General Eisenhower -- is a further insult to the intelligence of the American voters. Every American knows that the Johnson Administration is so "socialistic" it won the enthusiastic support of Henry Ford and a host of other leaders of American industry -- not to mention many of the most influential Republican newspapers in this country.

Every responsible businessman and banker knows that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has helped lead the American economy through the longest period of prosperity and sustained growth in our history -- 44 months in a row.

Businessmen know that President Johnson practices sound fiscal policy -- a tight budget policy, and has encouraged American business.

But I must say the Goldwater propagandists do not stop trying. After all these earlier "bloopers" they have resorted to the tactics of political desperation -- the sure sign of defeat. They turn to personal vilification of their opponent. There is nothing new about personal abuse directed toward the President of the United States. It's been an unfortunate part of American campaigning throughout our history.

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, Hoover, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Truman, and John F. Kennedy -- all were the subjects of abuse and unfair attacks.

But Senator Goldwater goes beyond tasteless personal attacks on our President. He indicts an entire nation. He heaps scorn on the American people. He has launched a systematic campaign to degrade almost every aspect of American life. The Goldwaterites spread doubt and suspicion about our government. They promote dissension and disunity among the American people. They scold our youth; vilify our cities and show a cynical disregard of our elderly. To the Goldwaterites America is sick and tired. What an insult to this great country.

Senator Goldwater knows he cannot wage a successful campaign by defending his stubborn opposition to specific programs of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. He knows he cannot win by continuing to attack laws that were enacted by the bi-partisan majority in Congress.

↳ Instead, he and his fanatical followers feel they must propagandize with cynically contrived television commercials that our whole society is delinquent, immoral, corrupt and rotten.

I do not know whether Senator Goldwater believes all this hogwash, but I do know that he and his advisers have coldly calculated that their only chance to win this election is to play on what he believes are the passions and the prejudices of the American people. But he misjudges the American people. He doesn't know them. But they are getting to know him.

↳ The American people know such tactics are unworthy of any political candidate -- much less a man who is running for the highest office in the land. ↳ Such tactics reveal that Mr. Goldwater has lost faith in his country and has lost faith in the American people.

I have news for the Goldwater party. The American society has never been stronger -- in ~~both~~^a material and a spiritual and a moral sense -- than it is today. This country is not beset with moral decay. The American people are strong and vital.

While the Goldwaterites are ~~wallowing~~^{indulging} in self-righteous breast-beating about the flaws in our society, the American people are building a better America -- a better America with more opportunity for our young, with compassion for our afflicted, and security and dignity for our elderly. Yes, a better America that is dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom.

This negativism

Its application to every step
toward peace and
international understanding

- (1) U.N.
- (2) For Aid
- (3) Trade Act
- (4) Peace corp
- (5) Arms control
- (6) Fund for Peace
- (7) Alliance for Progress
- (8) Negotiations
- (9) Cultural exchange

and,

The American people are going to give their answer to the candidate from Arizona just 7 days from today. They are going to tell Senator Goldwater that even though he lacks faith in this country -- they have faith in our country -- they have faith in themselves. *and in President Johnson.*

In his desperate search to find an issue Senator Goldwater fails to recognize what the American people have long realized. The issue in this campaign is Senator Goldwater himself.

L The American voters realized long ago that the overriding issue in this election is which man is best equipped by training, by experience, by intellect and by temperament to lead this nation through the perils of the nuclear age.

*and the answer comes through
loud & clear - President
Lyndon B. Johnson.!*

I am confident the American people will choose a man of patience -- a man who has met the test of leadership -- a man of wisdom and courage and restraint.

I am confident the American people will give an overwhelming vote of confidence to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
President's Club
New York, New York

FOR RELEASE: Tuesday 27th 1964
October 27, 1964

The following are excerpts from the text prepared for delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey before the President's Club in New York City on October 27, 1964

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(MORE)

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Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
President's Room
Waldorf Astoria Hotel
New York City, New York
October 27, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Well, thank you very much, Harry, for the sudden promotion. Sort of something like Barry's instant solutions. And I am very grateful to you.

Arthur Krim, may I once again thank you for your graciousness, and for your leadership in these wonderful programs, your support of President Johnson, and for myself. I am simply delighted to see all the good members of the President's Club here. And I am pleased to see my old friend Mr. Farrell, a friend of my father's, and my friend here, and see Harry and Frank and Al and all of you. And then my friend, Senator Ribicoff. He said he is up here to protect his interests. Listen, I heard you were going to be here, I came up here to protect my interests.

You don't realize that some of those days when I would sneak away from the Senate I was coming up here, sort of working the vineyards of New York and trying to just move in on you just a little bit.

But I am very, very proud of the friendship that I am privileged to have and to share, and that is with the Senator from Connecticut, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, who is a wonderful Senator, and a good friend of ours.

Well, I looked around this room. I remember the times that I had been here before. I am a man that has been to the well many times, you know. Each time my cup runneth over. If ever there was, as I said -- Marvin will remember this, Marvin Rosenberg -- one time a few years back we had a little gathering, it wasn't quite as large as this, and surely didn't do quite as well. But it was sort of an emergency treatment for a sick and dying patient. And we were up raising a little money in the campaign in 1960. And I looked around the room and I said what in the world am I going to say to these folks, I have talked to many so many times, there is really nothing new to say. And then it just dawned on me why I believe in a full employment economy, and a prosperous economy. I said this is the only way you can afford me. And I might add that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party are committed to this program of ever-expanding prosperity in the hopes that you will be able to continue to afford us. And you have been mighty generous, very, very generous.

I wish that I could come for other purposes than just asking for your help. But if there is any endeavor in human life that requires the cooperation of others to make it a success, it is the endeavor of politics. There isn't a single man in public life that ever got there alone. It is impossible. You need friends, you need loyal friends, you need giving friends, you need generous friends. I used to say on some of my good friends back in Minnesota, when they would hear these things about you I said, "Look, if you are going to give me a political blood test every time you see me, I am going to die from political anemia. Just believe in us or don't believe in us, and help us or don't help us."

And you have been the people of faith. You have helped generously. It is a fact that without the President's Club, and without the generosity of the club here in New York, that President Johnson's program or re-election, and his program for America, and his efforts to meet this onslaught, the likes of which I don't believe we have experienced for many a generation -- that these efforts would be futile, they could not possibly be undertaken.

But you have made it possible, and you have made it possible for us, not only to fight back, but more importantly, to state the case for a better America, and for the things in which we believe.

I want to just say two or three things to you that may indicate why we think this is a serious business.

By the way, there have been a couple of discoveries in this campaign. The first one is my middle name. I think that Mr. Goldwater has been very helpful. Some people address me as Hubert, the newer friends call me Horatio. But I was asked about that on a program, and I told them that my father would have been most happy if he could have known that that name would become so popularized, because, really, it was given to me in the hopes that an uncle would leave us a little in his will. (laughter)

The fact of the matter is the old rascal never left a cent. He went out and voted the Republican ticket, and denied his relationship.

The other discovery, I think, is the fact that the candidate of the opposition is not within the traditional pattern of a Republican opposition. We have always had tough opposition. There are men and women in this luncheon today that can recall campaigns that were hard fought, always filled with some distasteful aspects. But this candidate of the Republican Party is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. At best, he represents, as I have put it somewhat facetiously, but I put it now in all seriousness, a fraction of a faction of reaction in his party. He captured his party. And actually we are doing a service for two parties, and for the Nation, by his defeat. Because if the Republican Party is to be maintained under the leadership of its present sponsors, or under the sponsorship of its present leaders, then for the first time in American public life, in political life, the most ugly and distasteful forces and attitudes gain a respectable platform. And that is what I think is very, very important for us to understand.

I don't like to indulge in personalities in politics. I am very frank with you. I have never run on the sainthood ticket, I have never qualified. But I must say that the campaign of vilification that has been carried on against President Johnson in this campaign has known no equal in our time. And it isn't just a campaign of vilification against the President. It really is a campaign of vilification against the American institutions. No one has been spared -- even yesterday he came out against daddy, according to what I saw in the paper.

It says, "Barry opposes Daddy." By that I gather that he meant that the government was being a little too kind to the citizens of this country.

But we are faced today with several challenges. And I have said from every platform that I believe that Mr. Goldwater is very serious about what he is talking about. Many people try to laugh him off. And I don't think you should. Because it isn't just the man that is talking. He represents a set of forces in this country, or attitudes, and they have gathered around him, and they have gathered around him on public platforms, and on his airplane, and they have gathered around him in every one of his councils.

You can examine into that yourself without Hubert Humphrey giving you detailed information. But when I noticed the Washington Star carrying an article that the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux was on the platform in Columbia, South Carolina, when a candidate for the office of President speaks, I think it is about time that we were concerned. And when I hear a candidate for the office of President saying that he thinks that the members of the John Birch Society are the very kind of people that ought to be involved in American politics, and that he is impressed with them, a society that has branded the former President Eisenhower as a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy, I think we ought to be concerned. And that is why we are here.

Let's face it. We are here for two reasons. We are here because we want to see the continuation of the Kennedy-Johnson program, and we want to see President Johnson re-elected in his own right. Because we believe in his sense of compassion, we believe in his sense of progress. But we are also here, if you just think it through, because you can literally be terrified at the prospect of what can happen in this country if you lose this election. And we ought not to take this in just, you know, sort of as they say, take it in stride. This isn't one of those ordinary elections. This is a very different one. And that is why I am throwing myself into it with everything I have. I don't labor under the idea that this election

couldn't be won with a little less effort on the part of the candidate. I have never been quite sure just how much good a candidate really does out on the hustings. But I suppose you do some. You have to feel that you do. I have been told by many -- "what are you out there wearing yourself out for? Why don't you take it a little easier? You are going to win this election." Many an election has been lost with that attitude.

But, more importantly, I want to feel in my own soul and heart that I gave everything that I have to see to it that this country wasn't poisoned with what I consider to be an ugly and unwholesome political attitude and doctrine.

I want to be able to look myself in the mirror on the morning of November 4, regardless of the results of that election, and say, 'I did my part.' And I think that if we all do that, there won't be any doubt how it will come out.

But let me say this. It isn't important just to win it. You are in the process of stamping out in this country, at least for the foreseeable future, forces of hate and bitterness and violence and distrust and suspicion and cynicism and negativism that are the very forces that have destroyed many a good country. And the time to stamp that out is before it gains too much momentum. We have let it gain too much already. It has been working around the perimeter of America for a long time. It has been influencing people in Congress, governors and legislators and mayors. It has been influencing public opinion and public journals. And the time has come to call a halt. And I think that Barry Goldwater has performed a great national service, and I would like to honor him for it. He has said we are going to make a choice. He has said very frankly that it is about time the American people had a real choice, and he is giving us one. And if a man wants to have a fight on that basis, if he wants to fight it out on the basis of clear-cut cleavage of attitude and philosophy, I am for taking him on, and for giving them a whipping that they won't forget for another generation or so.

Then I think there is yet another point that needs to be clearly understood.

I know it is important that we are prosperous, I know that it is important that we have Social Security. We have worked for these things together for a long time. But all of this will go by the boards, every bit of it, if our country falls into untrustworthy hands, or falls into the hands of those who preach a doctrine of division, disunity, and prejudice and bigotry and hate.

And, remember, that every public figure takes with him people that help him. You need to look at his helpers, as well as the man. That is why I can be proud in this room today. I am proud of our helpers. I know the people in this room have fought the good fight, against religious intolerance, against racial intolerance, against every form of bigotry. I know that the people in this room have fought for better education for our young, better health for our people, better care for our elderly, better opportunity for our business community, fairer standards for our laboring people. That is why I like the company that I keep.

And you have to know a man, not only by what he is, but with whom does he associate? Who are the people that help him?

But all of these great social gains that we are so proud of will be lost if we cannot perform the real task of statesmanship. And that is the preservation of our national security and world peace. That is the issue.

Last night I spoke in Madison, Wisconsin. I gave the speech I wanted to give all during this campaign. We had a packed house. Huge crowd. Of students and faculty and towns people. And I spoke on the truth and the consequences of Barry Goldwater's foreign policy. And, believe me, it is a frightening exposition.

A man who openly advocated withdrawal from the United Nations. A man that says you should never negotiate. A man who serves ultimatums, who believes that foreign policy is advanced only by ultimatums. A man who says that war is inevitable. A man who says we will either be in war or we will be subjugated without war in five to ten years. A man who says that we should not attempt to have cultural exchanges and build bridges between people. A man who says we should serve notice on the leaders of communism that they either accept total defeat, or else.

That kind of loose talk frightens our friends, aids and gives comfort to our enemies, and will leave America standing alone, alone in the cold wintry indifference of other people in an ugly nakedness. We will just be there alone. We will be the garrison state. And everything that we ever believed in will be on the line.

I truly believe that this man that is our opponent in this election has no comprehension whatsoever of the nature of the world in which we live, of the forces that are at work. I quoted that last night a passage from the late beloved Pope John the 23rd, who in his greatest encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, traced for us some of the causes of war, as he did in *Pacem in Terris*, two of the greatest documents of our time. And when you read what that great man said, and then read what our opponent says, I think you know what the issues are. When you read what President Kennedy said, that peace is a process, and you read what President Johnson has said, that our goal is to build and not to destroy, that we shall go the extra mile, we shall go any place, anywhere in the cause of peace, just peace -- not appeasement, a peace with honor and a peace with freedom. That is what is on the line. And I know that every thoughtful person in this room realizes it. But you have to realize it right down into the very depths of your heart, it has to be seared right into us. Because if we think for a minute that you can win this effort by just hoping you are going to win, or even public opinion policy -- those policies disturb me a little bit, I want to be frank with you, because every Goldwater voter is going to vote once and more times if they can. I give them credit for voting once. They will be there, if the weather is bad, they will be there. And instructions are out in my State to every Republican leader that is a Goldwater leader, I should say, out there to see to it that every Democratic vote is contested -- if there is any doubt whatsoever -- to make it difficult for our people.

Mind you, they put out a memorandum in my State -- to make it difficult for our people to vote.

They are going to try everything. And that is why Hubert Humphrey comes here to you today and says == Look, give of yourselves. Anybody can do what is possible. We have got to do what is impossible. And we have got to let the world know. We have to let the world know that in this election that the American people are ratifying and reaffirming the policies that this Nation has been pursuing. We have to let the world know that America refuses to be intimidated by the forces of hate, violence and reaction. And you are the people that are doing the job. You are providing us, as they said in those war years, pass the ammunition.

You are passing it. You are making it possible for us to do it.

Well, I wanted to be a little more of light heart today. I am going to make a little tour out on the West Coast. I must say that I feel very confident, I feel we are going to do all right. But I don't want to do all right. It is sort of like I tell my kids. They come home with those report cards. And they come by and they say -- "Well, Dad, I passed." I say anybody can pass. Go back and do better.

We don't want to just pass. We don't want an election where we squeak through. We want an election like we had, Jim, in 1936, where when the votes are in (applause) -- when the votes are in, we have made it manifestly clear to friend and foe alike the direction of America for the next generation. And you are in the process of giving us the fuel to do that job.

I will go back and tell President Johnson that you have taken care of it, and he doesn't need to worry, he can sleep well. Everything is fine.

Thank you very much.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Television Interview with
Walter Cronkite
10/27/64

Mr. Cronkite: Senator Humphrey, do you believe the polls? Are you winning?

Senator Humphrey: Well, Walter, the polls are indications, they are indicators. They give us some trends. And I suppose that when the polls read well, you like to believe them.

But I remember what President Truman told me. He said he never paid too much attention to them, he just went out and worked and worked and worked.

And that is what we are doing. But the polls look very good.

Mr. Cronkite: Do you have any personal assessment as to what States among these key States you are going to carry as opposed to Senator Goldwater?

For instance, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana.

Senator Humphrey: Well, I do feel that it looks very good for President Johnson in New York, the whole New England area is strong Democratic area this year, and not just Democratic -- there are a large number of Republicans in this area in particular that are moving over to support President Johnson. I believe that we are going to do well in Michigan and Illinois, California. The key States, Pennsylvania, very good. Ohio is always somewhat of an enigma to me politically. Even though it looks very good in Ohio. And I believe that this time President Johnson has a tremendous following in that area. We feel that the key States should fall in line in terms of a Democratic victory. And there are, as you know, approximately -- well, if you carried 11 or 12 of the large populated States, you have a sufficient number for the electoral vote. But that wouldn't quite be satisfying. We would like to have a large popular vote, a large majority, and, of course, to carry as many States as possible.

Mr. Cronkite: What about the south?

Senator Humphrey: I have a feeling that the south is coming around to the banner of President Johnson and the Democratic Party. It has been a battleground. But the President is the first southern President, well, since Woodrow Wilson, and you might even say the real -- in terms of being really a southerner, for a hundred years. And I cannot believe that the southerners are going to turn their back upon President Johnson. I think that he understands their needs, he understands their problems. He understands the attitudes of the people there, and some of their sufferings, and some of their hopes and aspirations. And I think this message is getting through. I am interested as to how the President approaches the people of the south. His speech at Columbia, South Carolina, was a very, very fine address. He has a way of communication.

And I believe that that message and his personality and his understanding will bring the victory.

Now, I don't mean in every State. I want to be frank with you. I think we have some problem areas. Mississippi, Alabama. But even there, I think it is going to be surprising, the large vote that President Johnson will get in Mississippi, and in Louisiana.

Mr. Cronkite: How about Florida?

Senator Humphrey: I personally feel, from what I have heard, and my own observation, but primarily from those who live there, they are in a much better position to give you a really objective observation -- that President Johnson is going to carry Florida. It is a close State, but I think we will carry it. His recent visit to Florida was very heartening.

I had one of the best meetings I have ever had at St. Petersburg, Florida, and

another one at Tampa -- very, very good. But most of the Democratic officeholders in Florida are out helping the President, working for the Democratic ticket. There will be a large vote in Dade County, Miami, for President Johnson, and the Democratic ticket. I think this, plus what we will get elsewhere, will bring the State into the Democratic column.

Mr. Cronkite: Senator Humphrey, in view of the defection of some southern leaders, some of your fellow Senators, do you feel that there will be a revision of party loyalties and party lines in the south, particularly in the Senate?

There has been talk in the past of throwing out the seniority system in some of these States that don't deliver Presidential votes for the party. Do you think anything like that is likely to occur after this year?

Senator Humphrey: Well, I wouldn't think that we would want to throw out the seniority system because a state didn't deliver its vote for the national ticket. I think that would be most unfair. But if a Senator or a Congressman belts his party, and does as Senator Strom Thurmond did, and says, "Look, I am going over to help the opposition", and openly goes over to help the opposition, and denounces or renounces his Democratic Party affiliations, he obviously shouldn't have any seniority under the Democratic party majority in the Congress.

Mr. Cronkite: Anything short of outright renunciation should not be penalized?

Senator Humphrey: I don't think that it should call for the loss of their seniority status. However, I would like to encourage my colleagues in the Senate to stand up for their President, and most of them are, may I say. Some of them are not as active as others. But there have been very few. Actually, I know of only one United States Senator on the Democratic side that actually bolted the party, and has refused to take a stand for President Johnson. Some of them haven't been very active. But Senator Richard Russell, for example, of Georgia, has announced that he would support the President. Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Senator Eastland, and Senator Stennis -- these are men that have difficulties in their respective States, but they have announced for the President.

I wish that some of them were a little more active. But that is their decision.

Mr. Cronkite: Is it going to make it more difficult for them to go along with the President's various programs, not just civil rights but the President's various programs if their states this time turn Republican for the first time in some cases in their history?

Senator Humphrey: Yes, I think it will for some. But let me say that while in a way one doesn't like to see as a Democratic I speak now -- I do not like to see the weakening of the Democratic Party in these areas. The development of a good two-party contest in every State is a healthy development.

Of course I would like to see that development with a Democratic majority.

But there is a realignment taking place, not by fiat or by edict, but by just evolution. And more and more you are seeing younger progressive forward-looking political leaders coming into the Democratic Party, and the more conservative are moving over to the Republican Party.

You take Governor Sanders of Georgia, a very fine forward-looking Governor. We wouldn't agree on every issue, but he is a man of the future.

Governor Don Russell, of South Carolina -- splendid, progressive-minded, that is, a forward-looking, modern up-to-date political leader.

Now, again, I want to say that we in the Democratic Party always leave some room for individual decision. We don't have a disciplined party organization, and we don't want it. We don't ask for unanimity. We ask for unity, based upon respect for the other fellow's ideas.

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But these are the leaders of the future. These are the men that I think are building the Democratic Party. I think a man like Senator Talmadge of Georgia is another one of the forward-looking leaders. And others have given a great deal. I don't think we ought to forget that some of our colleagues from the south have made great contributions to the United States, and in a campaign we are prone to do that. You take a man like Senator Lister Hill of Alabama. The whole hospital construction program of this country, and much of the medical research undertaken by the National Institutes of Health are due -- these achievements are due to his leadership, Senator Sparkman of Alabama, the housing programs that we have throughout America, the small business activities of our Government -- much of this is due to his leadership. Senator Russell has been a guardian, so to speak, of our national defense establishment, he has been a great friend of American agriculture. I can't bring myself, Walter, around to just criticizing people because they don't always agree with Hubert Humphrey on this issue or that issue. We have our differences, and you have to judge these men in terms -- and I hope to be judged the same way, I might add -- in terms of the total spectrum of political life, rather than rifling in on one issue and saying you, Hu, you weren't on that one, therefore out. I don't believe that that is the way to operate.

Mr. Cronkite: Senator, there has been a great deal of discussion about the dirtiness of this campaign. Do you feel that it has been a dirty campaign?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I think it has been a campaign that has not really done what it should have in terms of lifting the levels of public discussion. There has been a great deal appeal to prejudice and passion and emotion on the part of our opposition.

I really believe this. I think there are forces at work in this Nation of ours today that are not good, not in the public interest. We had a period of time in America when there was an infiltration of Communist left-wing politics into many of the social and economic and political structures of America, back in the '30s and the early '40s. But they were repudiated, they were thrown out of the trade union movement, they were thrown out and kicked out of the political parties, they were decisively defeated. Their defeat in 1948, the period from '46 to '48, when the Progressive Party was launched. I don't want to be misunderstood. There were many people in that party that were fine, decent, wholesome, loyal, idealistic Americans. But there was an effort made to penetrate the party with Communist influence. It was defeated. It was denounced and renounced, and some of us were in the vanguard of that denunciation, and renunciation of their efforts.

Now, we see the extreme right-wing radicalism in American politics, and in these past 15 to 20 years, there has been a growth of this right-wing radicalism, these forces of bitterness and hatred and discontent and disunity and cynicism and negativism they have been working on the fringes of American public life. We have seen them in the John Birch Society. We have seen them under the mantle of the Ku Klux Klan. We have seen them under the leadership of a man like Gerald L. K. Smith, and there is a movement -- I have forgotten now just the name of it -- but where they train people actually for guerilla warfare. These are the forces that are sinister and evil, I think.

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I mean they are wrong, they appeal to the meanness that some of us -- that all of us may have a little of. And I don't want to see them gain a respectable platform. And I regret to say that I am afraid that is what is happening in this campaign. Some of them are being able to gain a platform to enunciate their ideas, to articulate again in the open their programs and policies. I think this is very bad. That is the ugliness of this campaign.

Mr. Cronkite: Well, now, if there is a trend, a growing trend in that direction in this country, as you have just said, it must indicate some underlying dissatisfaction with what we have in this country. Therefore, doesn't this raise a genuine issue for this campaign?

Senator Humphrey. Well, I want to say that this not unusual. Every nation has had within it people who are the victims of frustration and impatience. And we have been mobilized as a nation now since 1940. We had World War II, the postwar period, the constant Communist pressure upon us, the evolution and revolution throughout the world, whole new areas of the world in convulsion and erupting and nationalism, the Continent of Africa and Asia in turmoil, Latin America. And we have people that just weary of this. They actually -- the pressure upon them is more than their systems can seem to take. And they want -- they become impatient, they want answers. And some of the answers that they seek are literally to issue orders -- do it this way or else, as they see our massive military power, they begin to think that that power is omnipotent -- even though there are many problems in the world today that do not lend themselves to the use of force, the solution, to the use of force. You don't conquer hunger by the use of force. You don't conquer illiteracy by the use of force, you don't conquer even the emotions of nationalism by the use of force. You cannot even stamp out communism by the use of force. As a matter of fact, the use of force itself may, if it is large enough, could bring a nuclear war, might well leave a world in which the forces of communism and fascism were really dominant forces in the world in the sense that people would be so beaten down and so destroyed that there would be little freedom left.

I would say this. We have gone through this before. We had the know nothing party in the United States prior to the Civil War. The know nothing party blamed everything onto the Catholic immigrants, all the problems, you know. We have had these little fringe parties before, and these fringe elements. But we have always been able to repudiate them, we have always been able to cleanse ourselves, purge ourselves of them. And I hope that in this election we will be able to purge ourselves of this, too, purge ourselves of any form of active political or any form of political action based upon racism -- and there are appeals to racism in this election, we know that. There are appeals based upon sensationalism. There are appeals based upon painting our Federal Government as a conscious enemy of the people. We have one organization in this country that even charged the former President, General Eisenhower, of being a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. That was the John Birch Society.

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Now, my good friend, anybody that makes a statement like that, of course is irrational. This is incredible, because General Eisenhower, whatever you may think of some of his politics was one of the greatest men of our time, a great General, a great patriot, and a loyal American.

These forces need to be repatriated, and they will be.

Mr. Cronkite: Senator, do you feel that an overwhelming majority for President Johnson and yourself will represent a repudiation of Senator Goldwater, the man, or will it be interpreted as a repudiation of these fringe elements that you are talking about?

Senator Humphrey: Well, Senator Goldwater, the man, is not the issue at all in this campaign. I know the Senator. I wouldn't indulge in any personality discussions at all, except to say that I have always found him a sociable man. I consider him a thoroughly loyal and patriotic American. It isn't Senator Goldwater the man. It is Senator Goldwater's public utterances, it is his public posture. And it regrettably is the forces that have surrounded him. Every man is more than just -- when he is in public life, he is more than just a man. He becomes a leader of a group, he becomes a leader of a philosophy or of a program or a policy of a set of attitudes. And Senator Goldwater the man we must disassociate in a very real sense from the Goldwaterism, and you take the foreign policy of Goldwaterism, which is expressed doubt about the United Nations. In fact, get out of the United Nations, and maybe we ought to stay -- said that we ought not to negotiate, we ought not to build bridges of cultural exchange with the eastern European countries, the expression that possibly war is inevitable, either we will have a war or we will be subjugated by war in the next five or 10 years. This is Goldwaterism. The feeling that you can't -- that you ought to have no arms control, that we ought not to discuss any disarmament, even though we can have safeguarded disarmament. The Goldwaterism of voting no on the Peace Corps and calling it a haven for beatniks. Voting no on the arms control agency. Of opposed to the extension of the Food for Peace program. Of voting no on the Alliance for Progress.

Now, I consider all of those items that I have listed as steps in the stairway to peace, or to put it another way they are like stones in building the cathedral of peace.

And, to me, to build a secure world, and a world in which peace is more than the absence of war, in which peace becomes something of a positive force for human betterment, or an environment conducive to human betterment, this takes time, it takes patience, it takes understanding. It is like building a beautiful cathedral. The cathedrals in Europe, they were not built in one generation. Some of them took a hundred, two hundred years, and each generation contributed something to the magnificence and the beauty and the spiritual quality of these magnificent cathedrals.

Well, peace is a cathedral. It is really man's -- man's political cathedral. He seeks to add something to it, and sometimes you may put a stone in place in the structure that is out of place, you have to re-do it,

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you have to redesign it. We are not always right. We make mistakes. But I think that we need an attitude that peace is possible. I think the world will be very disappointed in America if in our present situation of wealth and power and of prestige, we fail to lead and to lead kindly, and yet to lead with strength, and to have compassion, and to have understanding.

Mr. Cronkite: Senator, in view of the, seemingly the overriding discussion of personalities in this election, do you feel that the vote will contain any sort of a mandate to -- whichever side wins -- to pursue a given course? It seems to me that the situation is so confused, that perhaps you won't have a mandate, no matter how large the vote.

Senator Humphrey: I think there will be a mandate. It is my hope that, first of all, that there will be a repudiation and a rejection of some of the more ugly and unsavory elements in American life. I can only speak for myself. But I can think of nothing that is more injurious to the future of this country than to have doubt and suspicion of one another. You can't build a free society on that. You must have some faith, you must have some trust. The whole -- the central theme of freedom is human dignity, and respect for human dignity. And when there are voices that are heard loudly and sometimes very racially and brashly that scream out against different ethnic groups, or that condemn a man because of his color, or cast suspicion upon him because of his race, or because of his religion, or because of where he lives -- I say that this is bad, and we need to repudiate it. It is evil, and there is such a thing as evil. And we ought to repudiate it. And I think that in this election, we can do that. I regret to say that in the process of doing that, we may very well appear to be repudiating a man.

I have no personal animosity towards the Senator from Arizona. I want that quite clear. I have said quite frankly that I think he would make a good neighbor.

But I don't think he would make a good President. And there is a great deal of difference between a man's social -- his friendly associations as a social being, and the standards that he has for political leadership.

Now, the other mandate will be for President Johnson, and Hubert Humphrey, and what we stand for, to move ahead. And that means, I think, in the field of education -- we have got to do much more. We have to do much more in terms of a Government and a people, all areas of Government working to build better cities, to make these cities livable. These cities are becoming congested, not only in terms of traffic, but of air pollution and all sorts of problems. We have to do a better job of building our cities. We have to think in terms of how we can apply this wonder of science and technology called automation, not merely to the production of better and more goods, but how do we improve life with it -- how do we use leisure time?

There are many things that I think that we get a mandate to do, plus, as I said, the search for peace.

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Mr. Cronkite: Well, taking the other side of that coin, if there is a sizable vote for the Republican Party in this election, if it is a close result, wouldn't you consider that a mandate to go slow in the things that they call big government?

Senator Humphrey: Well, if there is -- and there will be, mind you, of course, in any election, a rather sizable vote for which every Party may lose, because there are a number of straight party adherents. I appreciate that. I am a man in politics, and understand that. But I think it is very, very important that if we speak of a mandate, that we talk about a rather handsome, a rather big majority vote, running into several millions.

But to answer your question specifically, I think what it would really pose is a challenge to us, if we believe what we are doing is right, to get out and work a little harder.

Now, no one believes in big government for the sake of big government. I hope no one does. But this is a bigger country. In fact, the Federal Government today, in relationship to the growth of population, has grown smaller, rather than larger, than it was, let's say, 20 years ago, or 15 years ago. State and local government have had to expand their revenues, their taxes, the largest increase in employment in government officials is local and state government.

Yet our opposition tells us that the Federal Government is drying up local and State government, that it is taking over from local and state government.

Well, now, I consider myself to be somewhat of a student of government. It was my work as a teacher. The fact of the matter is that local and state government today have grown by leaps and bounds. And why? Not because some mayor wanted it or some governor. Because most of the legislatures are rather conservative. And most of the cities are generally governed by rather middle of the road people. Why? Because you have more people. You need more water service, more sewage service, more police service, more fire service, more health service. It just grows.

Every man's business is a little bit bigger today, too. He hires more people. That doesn't mean he is a bad manager. When you look at the business expenses of a large corporation today you see that it is much larger than it was 25 years ago. You don't fire the manager because of that. You look and see how much business he is doing, how many customers is he serving, and then you look at the balance sheet. Is he making a profit or is he losing? Is it well managed or is it poorly managed? I think that the judgment on government as to what it ought to do in its size is related to the needs that it fulfills and, to the services that it is required to perform. And today, our government, much of our government, most of it is in the field of defense and national security

and research.

We have a whole new area of government today. In the last six years, that is larger than the total budget of Franklin Delano Roosevelt at the highest peak of his pre-war administration.

In other words, when you used to hear about the terrible expenditures of the New Deal, we are spending more on the space program right now, one program, than we spent on all of the New Deal at any one year.

Now, that has just been added, that has been added since 1958. So you take that kind of a program, and you can plainly see that government activities do change, and they do expand.

Mr. Cronkite: There have been many Democratic voices raised in protest to bringing morality into the campaign, as not a fit subject for the campaign. And yet it would seem that there is some legitimate concern on the part of the American people regarding a certain moral decay. Don't you feel that this is something the people should be entitled to discuss in this campaign?

Senator Humphrey: I think that every issue is entitled to full discussion. And surely morality is one of them.

I want to say that one of the reasons that I attend church, Walter, is because I am not a perfect man. I need counsel, spiritual guidance, I need to be lifted, I need to have a chance for prayer and meditation. Everybody does. And this is a very private matter, as well as a public matter.

And there are problems of morality. You have people. When you have people, you have problems of morality, and immorality, of mediocrity, and less than mediocrity, and sometimes a genius. These are all subjects of discussion. And we ought to have a high level of performance in our government. But morality is a very broad subject. I think a man must be honest. I think he should have respect for a fellow human being. That is morality. I think that he should conduct himself in a way that proves that he believes in the high standards of what we call ethical or moral conduct. Personal moral conduct. But there are some other kinds of morality, too. Is it moral to walk by a man who is sick and leave him? Is it moral for a government of the people to be unconcerned about the afflicted or the blind or the unemployed or the needy?

My morality, my sense of morality is both personal and public. And I may at times fail in both. But that sense of morality includes more than just whether or not I go to a cocktail party, or whether or not I may use profanity, or whether or not I may have done something that is personally evil or sinful. It also includes how I feel about my fellow human beings. Do I think that the elderly ought to be shunted away in attics, in the richest country in the world? Am I concerned about little children that may never have a break, that may be the victims of a broken

family, or a father that is unemployed? It is not their fault. Should they be helped? Should the child of an unemployed father or mother receive help? Or should we say that that is socialism, and just push them aside? Should we be concerned about our cities? We ought to build cities that are beautiful -- not jungles of asphalt and concrete. We ought to have schools, better schools for the poor even than the rich, to be frank about it, because they have less chance, or as good schools -- let me put it that way. We ought to want to see that young people have guidance in their schools. Some of them are emotionally disturbed. They ought to have psychological guidance, courage. Do we do that?

I consider it immoral.--my religion tells me, my personal feeling tells me that it is wrong, it is evil, to let a man be sick that can be healed. It tells me that it is wrong to leave somebody hungry when you have a surplus of food.

And yet I hear people talking about morality who vote against food for peace, who vote against helping use American food and fiber to feed hungry children. I have as much obligation to a child that was put on this earth as a creature of God, surely, as I have to myself.

Mr. Cronkite: Senator, I don't think that is what the opposition is talking about.

Senator Humphrey. No, I am afraid that is not what they are talking about.

May I say that ought to be talked about. Both sides of this must be talked about. I am saying that the American people need to understand that compassion and charity and kindness and love for one another are also items of morality. That is what we are taught. And it isn't just morality, the immorality of an individual that is the only problem. No one can deny that. And that ought to be openly and frankly faced, wherever there is a mistake. Sometimes it is a personal tragedy, as we have witnessed, and then you have to ask yourself how much politics should one play with personal tragedy?

I think one ought to ask himself that. What right do I have to really bring anguish and pain into the life of a family?

I think you have to ask yourself that. And then see if you can sleep well at night.

Mr. Cronkite: Well, I think that the Republican position on that, regardless of some perhaps misuse of the issue, was on the basis of security problem in the White House.

Senator Humphrey. Yes. Now, that was answered, wasn't it, by J. Edgar Hoover. I think Mr. Hoover is possibly a better judge, a better objective non-partisan judge, as to whether or not there was any security problem, than a partisan on the platform, whoever that partisan may be. And Mr. Hoover said there was no security problem after an intensive, exhaustive survey. So that matter, I think, has been fairly well, at least reasonably well handled.

Mr. Cronkite: Does it reflect, though, a weakness in procedure up to the time that J. Edgar Hoover went through a rather late examination of the issue?

Senator Humphrey: Well, we have been trying to improve our security procedure for some time. I had the privilege in 1956 -- '55 or '56 -- of

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Television Interview with
Walter Cronkite (continued)

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introducing a resolution in the Congress to establish a Commission on Security. I was joined in this by Senator Stennis of Mississippi. It was passed in both houses. President Eisenhower appointed the Commission. It was headed by the president -- then president of the American Bar Association, Mr. Wright, of Los Angeles, California. And that Commission examined the entire security structure of our government, and made many recommendations for its improvement. I thought there was a need for improvement. That is why I offered it. I thought that the whole security structure had become a patchwork, that it ought to be reviewed, not by people that had a partisan or political interest, but by competent lawyers, by people who were in the best sense of the word objective. That Commission was established. I did not serve on it. I was asked to serve, to be frank about it, because I was the author of the Act, I felt it was not right for me to, that I would be looked upon as possibly an apologist for one side or another, or an advocate. So I did not serve. And the Commission, I think, made a good report.

Now, we maybe ought to again, in light of these developments, take a look at our security mechanism. procedures. I might add that every country has had a problem. The Swedes have had a very serious problem. The Russians have problems in the police state of the Soviet Union. The Federal Republic of Germany has had several serious problems. The British, the French, the Italians. It is very difficult to have a fool-proof security system or procedures of security, because you are dealing with human beings. And you never can tell when one goes off base, or when something goes wrong. So you cannot develop even in the most cruel police state an absolute security system. Every day you are reading of somebody, if not every day, every month, I should say, of someone that defects behind the Iron Curtain. This is happening in China, it has happened in Czechoslovakia, it has happened in the Soviet Union, it has happened in a free country like Britain several times, as you know, and it happened only this last summer in Sweden, it has happened in Italy, it has happened two or three times in Germany.

What we need to do is to recognize this, and then try to improve it, try to improve it without becoming a police state.

Mr. Cronkite: What can a Federal Government do to try to lift the moral tone that the Republicans charge is being lowered because of an example in high places of graft and corruption? I am not pointing a finger directly in this case at some of the cases that they bring up, but through our recent history, and of several administrations, there have been a case or a couple of cases of some kind. And I think the Republican attitude is that there is this trickle down that finally ends up with the juvenile violence in the streets.

Senator Humphrey: Yes. Well, now, Walter, I don't think there has been a finer man in government than General Eisenhower. I didn't agree with all of his policies, but, goodness me, he surely is a good man. He has given his life to his country. And yet in the Eisenhower Administration there were a number of instances where people violated their public trust, very seriously. I don't even want to repeat their names. And I haven't spent my time doing it. Not once in this campaign.

I have felt that General Eisenhower took remedial action -- President Eisenhower -- and I didn't accuse and I wouldn't accuse the President, the former President, of doing any wrong.

Now, President Johnson has been the victim of vilification. So was every other worthwhile man. Washington -- what they said about him -- Jefferson, Lincoln, Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, Dwight Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover.

You name any man that has been in public life, and he has had somebody that failed his trust that was near him, someone that somehow or another got out of line. It is just one of those tragedies.

Now, I don't think that America is immoral, and I -- it is one thing to level a political charge upon a political candidate. But what I really protest of the opposition is that they attack the whole of the country. They say that anybody that is unemployed is just sort of a loafer, and they have said it right here in New York City. They say that our children are acting as if somehow or another they were delinquents, all of them.

Sure, we have delinquency. But we have more children than we ever had before. And I might add we have more reporters. And one of the things that I have found out, when I was Mayor of Minneapolis was that I initiated that working with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a new police reporting system, so we kept better records. And the crime rate in my city jumped 200 percent. Now, the crime rate wasn't up. The reporting was up. They just didn't used to put it on the tab before.

Now, there is a good deal of that. Now, I am not trying to play down what are real factors of social breakdown. We have gone through a world war. We have had a country that has been at least in many cold war police actions. There is a question of whether we have -- how do we learn to live with prosperity? Our youngsters today live in automobiles, they have more freedom. As a matter of fact, I marvel at the self-discipline and the moral code of our youngsters. They are not under the watchful eye of Walter Cronkite or Hubert Humphrey all the time, as parents. They are out on their own. They are in the countryside, they are in the car, they are away from home. They do mighty well. As a matter of fact, they are a whole lot better than many of them in our day and age. We just didn't get caught, to put it quite frankly.

I think that there are more good things going on in communities, more people are helping one another. We are building more churches. Not that that within itself is a sign of morality, but at least it indicates a sense of spiritual need. I resent the attacks that are being made upon America. I know that we ought to lift, and the President of the United States is a man of good conduct, he is a human being. He is what he is. But he is a man of religious faith, he is a man of good familyman, he is a good man in every sense of the word. And to try to paint out a President, or paint him as some sort of, well, irresponsible, immoral individual, I cannot take. I don't like it. And I don't like it even more when it appears that our whole country is rotten, as they say, that the American people are sick and tired of this, and sick and tired of that, the opposition says. The American people aren't sick.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Television Interview with
Walter Cronkite (continued)

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They are very healthy. And they are not tired. They are very vital. And they are doing things. They are building schools, and they are building better communities.

Walter, I travel. I get in these motorcades, and I come into these cities, and I see these lovely homes, these fine yards or lawns, and I see mother there, a young mother, four or five little children, she is a good mother. She is taking care of those children. The man, her husband, is working, he is bringing home the paycheck. He is a good father.

Now, I don't think I have any right to stand up and scold them about their moral conduct. And I don't think that I have any right to scold all of my contemporaries in public life. I know the members of the Senate. And I don't want to brag on them, but by and large I think they are just about as good a group of men and women as you will find any place in America. Not a saint in the crowd, even though some may occasionally want to feel that they are. But they are pretty good. They are pretty nice people.

Mr. Cronkite: Well, the people will decide on next Tuesday.

Senator Humphrey: Yes, they will. We will await the decision.

Mr. Cronkite: Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator Humphrey: Thank you, sir.

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Vernon Riddle
Thurmond
To my
Sen. Celebrezze

Bill Coleman
Bob Sweeney - at 80
Sen. Steve Young
Jack Hillman - 1st
Harry Sanders - 2nd

One issue dominates all others in this campaign:

which candidate for President of the United States is
better prepared to assume the awesome responsibility
of leading the land we love, for the next four years?

This election comes at a time, and in a world,
where there is nothing certain but the fact of change
itself.

Only a few days ago, the world witnessed a vivid
demonstration of this fact of twentieth-century life.

Within 24 hours, in one short breath-taking day,
Nikita Khrushchev tumbled from power in the Soviet Union--
the Red Chinese detonated an atomic blast--and in Great
Britain, the reins of government changed hands.

That historic day clarified and illuminated the
basic issue in this campaign, made it stark and simple:

L At a time in history when no man can know what the

ask yourself
morrow will bring, which candidate is better qualified

for the responsibility of the Presidency.
~~to work for the preservation of our ideals?~~

L On November 3, you will have to make that decision.

It may well be the most important decision of your

life, and the most important decision for the lives

of your children.

now L How should the American people go about making
this fateful choice?

L Reason, experience, and plain common sense--all tell

us that
~~us that~~ in choosing the President of the

United States, we must look to performance--not promises *apologues*

L Performance is the true test of a man. Performance

separates great leaders from second-raters.

and L On the basis of performance--~~not promises~~ *President* Lyndon

Johnson towers head and shoulders above his opponent.

He is the one person qualified to bear the fearful
burden of the Presidency for the next four years.

Think back to those dreadful days last November.

Our ^{Beloved} ~~great~~ President ^{Kenedy} 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 judgement, one
impetuous remark by the ^{new} President of the United States

could have produced international chaos. It was

imperative that our own citizens, as well as our allies

and our enemies, see that we were still a united people--

still determined to seek peace--^{and} still determined to

maintain the capacity to preserve that peace.

And Lyndon Johnson stepped forward. He grieved

with us. He wept with us. But he calmed us--he

strengthened us--and with his guidance, we walked out

of that valley of despair.

Never has a human being carried ^{more} ~~such~~ responsibility
on his shoulders. Never has ^{a president} ~~a human being~~ responded
with ^{more} ~~such~~ courage and determination, with such wisdom and
^{and}
^{American}
leadership. Never has the ^A ~~Presidency~~ known a finer hour.

Lyndon Johnson's vision of a ^{Better America} ~~Great Society~~ is one
which is shared by most Americans--for it is a vision
which arises from the very promise of American life.

But, There are some who do not believe in the promise
of American life. Senator Goldwater is one of them.

~~He~~
Senator Goldwater flatly rejects all that we have
learned, all that we have become, all that we hope
to be. He shows himself as the radical he is--
preaching and practicing the doctrines of radicalism.

--He seeks to destroy the social and economic
achievements of the past generation.

L --He repudiates the tradition of bipartisanship
 in the conduct of our foreign affairs--a tradition
established and upheld faithfully by leaders of both
 political parties.

L --He distorts the past, misrepresents the present,
 and misunderstands the future.

L --And finally--and ~~and he has~~
 he accepts the support of irresponsible extremist groups
 and alienates loyal and responsible members of the
Republican Party.

By ^{his} ~~his~~ refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of
 American politics, the Goldwater party has welcomed
 to its ranks those ^{whose} stock in trade is the politics
 of hate. and division.

L For a generation, these extremists and radicals
 have been pushing their filth and their accusations

in the back alleys of American politics. Now they
 have come in off the street corners ^{and out of the alleys} and are peddling

their hideous wares in the front parlor of what was
 once a proud and honored establishment.

L They have captured the Grand Old Party and
 transformed it into Goldwater's Own Party.

L At the San Francisco convention, the Goldwater
 Party deliberately refused to repudiate support from the
John Birch Society, and organization which called
 President Eisenhower "a dedicated conscious agent of the
Communist conspiracy."

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

"I don't consider the John Birch Society as a
 group to be extremists.

"...I am impressed by the type of people in it.

They are the kind we need in politics..."

L Well, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party are not impressed.

L And neither are the great majority of responsible Republicans. So it is not surprising that the harshest denunciations of Senator Goldwater have come from the leaders of the Republican Party itself.

But Nixon
L Former Vice President Nixon said: "it would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated." *I agree!*

Rocky
L Governor Nelson Rockefeller described Goldwater as the candidate of "an extremism outside the main currents of American political life."

Scranton

L Governor William Scranton termed Goldwater's
 views 4 a weird parody of Republicanism...the echo of

fear and reaction....the fast draw and the quick

solution." 11

*These Republicans state the
 case for the defeat of Sen Goldwater*

My friends, the message which Lyndon Johnson and

I have sought to bring to the American people is this:

L The era of the fast draw and the quick solution

in foreign affairs is over. It died at Hiroshima,

when the first atomic bomb was detonated in 1945.

IFK

L The era of "a long twilight struggle..." is here.

4th the awesome, the momentous, question facing every

American on November 3 is this:

L Do you want a President who will devote his

enormous energies toward leading us through that twilight

struggle to the dawn of a brighter day for free men

everywhere?

Or do you want a candidate who casually accepts
the possibility that the twilight will suddenly be
illuminated by the blinding flash of nuclear holocaust? ?

Listen to Barry Goldwater:

"Someday, I am convinced, there will either be a
 war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear
 war...I don't see how it can be avoided."

What is the American voter to think of a man
 who frankly admits that he does--and I quote--"shoot
 from the hip?" --Or a man who concedes that, in the
 conduct of foreign affairs, he will ^{cite} ~~take~~ Nazi Germany
 as his model *for the conduct of foreign policy.*

Just before his nomination, Barry Goldwater was asked
 by a German newspaperman whether he would take America
 to the brink of war. He responded: "Yes. Just as your

country--that is, Germany--has used brinksmanship
 down through the years and done so very, very
successfully." —

Twice in this century irresponsible leaders of
 Imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world over
 the brink. Indeed, the history of Imperial and Nazi
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 consequences of shooting from the hip, of impulsive
 action without restraint or responsibility.

But Nazi Germany and her allies met defeat in the
 last World War that will ever be "won." by any nation. On that August
 morning in 1945, the face of war changed suddenly and ~~suddenly--and~~

permanently. Since that moment, the initiation of
full-scale war as an instrument of national policy has
 become unthinkable.

Yet those are precisely the terms in which
Senator Goldwater thinks *and speaks,*

In no area is the difference between President
Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than on the question
of responsibility in the field of international affairs.

In no area are Senator Goldwater's views more dangerous
to the safety and welfare of all Americans--to the safety
and welfare of all mankind.

One overriding conclusion has emerged from the
campaign: the American people do not want Barry
Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger.

And the American people are *right.* ~~and~~ *#*

The American people know that President Lyndon
Johnson will continue to provide this Nation with

responsible, moderate, progressive and enlightened

 leadership.

The American people know that ^{President}~~Lyndon~~ Johnson

is superbly qualified to lead America

and the world away from the last Great War toward

the first Great Society.

We have Victories to win -
~~Victory over war itself~~
 Victory over man's ancient
 enemies of Hunger, disease,
 ignorance, and Poverty.
 Victory over Prejudice
~~and his brother~~
 Victory over war itself
 Victory for humanity.



news release

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

FOR A.M.'S RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28

B-3917

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
CINCINNATI, OHIO
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27

One issue dominates all others in this campaign: which candidate for President of the United States is better prepared to assume the awesome responsibility of leading the land we love, for the next four years?

This election comes at a time, and in a world, where there is nothing certain but the fact of change itself. Only a few days ago, the world was witness to a vivid demonstration of this fact of 20th Century life. Within 24 hours, the world was shaken by three events which point up, as no words can, the character of the world we live in, the times we live through. In one short, breathtaking day, Nikita Khrushchev tumbled from power in the Soviet Union -- the Red Chinese detonated an atomic blast -- and in Great Britain, the reins of government changed hands.

That historic day clarified and illuminated the basic issue in this campaign, made it stark and simple: At a time in history when no man can know what the morrow will bring, which candidate is better qualified to work for the preservation of our ideals?

On November 3, you will have to make that decision. It may well be the most important decision of your life, and the most important decision for the lives of your children.

How should the American people go about making this fateful choice?

Reason, experience, and plain common sense -- all tell us that for guidance in choosing the President of the United States, we must look to performance -- not promises.

Performance is the true test of a man. Performance separates great leaders from second-raters.

On the basis of performance -- not promises -- Lyndon Johnson

- more -

towers head and shoulders above his opponent. He is the one person qualified to bear the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next four years.

Think back to those dreadful 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 by the President of the United States could have produced international chaos. It was absolutely imperative that our own citizens as well as our allies and our enemies, see that we were still a united people -- still determined to seek peace, and still determined to maintain the capacity to preserve that peace.

And Lyndon Johnson stepped forward. He grieved with us. He wept with us. But he calmed us -- he strengthened us -- and with his guidance, we walked out of that valley of despair.

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

Lyndon Johnson's vision of a Great Society is one which is shared by most Americans -- for it is a vision which arises from the very promise of American life.

But there are some who do not believe in the promise of American life. Senator Goldwater is one of them. Senator Goldwater flatly rejects all that we have learned, all that we have become, all that we hope to be. He thus shows himself as the radical he is -- preaching and practicing the doctrine of radicalism.

--He seeks to destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation.

--He repudiates the tradition of bipartisanship in the conduct of our foreign affairs -- a tradition established and upheld faithfully by leaders of both political parties.

--He distorts the past, misrepresents the present, and misunderstands the future.

--And finally, -- and perhaps most corrosively of all -- he

accepts the support of irresponsible extremist groups and alienates loyal and responsible members of the Republican Party.

By its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics, the Goldwater Party has welcomed to its ranks those whose stock in trade is the politics of hate.

For a generation these extremists and radicals have been pushing their filth and their accusations in the back alleys of American politics. Now they have come off in the street corners and are peddling their hideous wares in the front parlors of what was once a proud and honored establishment.

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

The first public act of the Goldwater Party was to display its pedigree -- and its devastating potential for evil -- in San Francisco.

The Goldwater Party deliberately refused to repudiate support from the John Birch Society, an organization which called President Eisenhower "a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

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

"I don't consider the John Birch Society as a group to be extremists.

"...I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics."

Well, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party are not impressed.

And neither are the great majority of responsible Republicans. So it is not surprising that the harshest denunciations of Senator Goldwater have come from the leaders of the Republican Party itself.

Former Vice President Nixon said: "...it would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated."

Governor Nelson Rockefeller described Goldwater as the candidate of "an extremism outside the main currents of American political life."

Governor William Scranton termed Goldwater's views "a weird parody of Republicanism...the echo of fear and reaction...the fast draw and the quick solution."

My friends, the message which Lyndon Johnson and I have sought to bring to the American people is this:

The era of the fast draw and the quick solution in foreign affairs is over. It died at Hiroshima, when the first atomic bomb was detonated in 1945.

The era of "a long twilight struggle..." is here.

The awesome, the momentous, question facing every American on November 3 is this:

Do you want a President who will devote his enormous energies toward leading us through that twilight struggle to the dawn of a brighter day for free men everywhere?

Or do you want a candidate who casually accepts the possibility that that twilight will suddenly be lit up by a blinding flash of nuclear holocaust?

Listen to Barry Goldwater:

"Someday, I am convinced, there will be either a war or we'll be subjugated without war...real nuclear war...I don't see how it can be avoided."

"Perhaps," he said, "in 1966."

What is the American voter to think of a man who frankly admits that he does--and I quote -- "shoot from the hip?" Of a man who concedes that, in the conduct of foreign affairs, he will take Nazi Germany as his model?

Just before the nomination Barry Goldwater was asked by a German newspaperman whether he would take America to the brink of war. He responded: "Yes. Just as your country--that is, Germany--has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Twice in this century irresponsible leaders of Imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world over the brink. Indeed, the history of Imperial and Nazi Germany in this century is a case study in the tragic consequences of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action without restraint or responsibility.

But Nazi Germany and her allies met defeat in the last World War that will ever be "won." On that August morning in 1945, the face of the war changed suddenly-- and permanently. Since that moment, the initiation of full-scale war as an instrument of national policy has become unthinkable.

Yet those are precisely the terms in which Barry Goldwater thinks.

In no area is the difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than on the question of responsibility in the field of international affairs. In no area are Senator Goldwater's views more dangerous to the safety and welfare of all Americans --to the safety and welfare of all mankind.

An overriding conclusion has emerged from the campaign: the American people do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger.

And the American people are absolutely correct.

The American people know that President Johnson will continue to provide this nation with responsible, moderate, progressive and enlightened leadership.

The American people know that Lyndon Johnson is the one man superbly qualified to lead America and the world away from the last Great War toward the first Great Society.

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Mills
nash

Senator Humphrey
Cincinnati, Ohio
October 27, 1964

Mr. Secretary, when you introduce a man, he is really introduced.

It is plain to see that you have an electrifying effect upon these fellow Ohioans of yours. But I must say that it also amazes me how the former Mayor of Cleveland gets such a great response in Cincinnati. I know he deserves it, but I was Mayor of Minneapolis, and I hate to tell you what used to happen to me in St. Paul.

Father McCarthy, and Governor Welsh, and Chairman Beckford, and Chairman Coleman, my good friends of Hamilton County, Ohio, and if there are a few of you who crossed over the river here from Kentucky -- (applause) -- I just can't tell you how happy I am that it is my privilege to visit this beautiful and wonderful city of Cincinnati that now appears as if its program of higher education is taking effect and will vote Democratic on November 3.

I had hoped that I might see this evening two very good friends of mine, but I understand that they are exceedingly busy, and they ought to be out on the hustings, bringing the message of progressive and constructive Democracy to some that may have strayed from the fold.

And I want to once again ask the people of Ohio to give their support to a United States Senator that has never any moment in his public career forgotten his allegiance to and his dedication to the well-being and the welfare and the progress of the State of Ohio. And I refer to my colleague in the Senate, and your United States Senator, Steve Young.

(Applause.)

Perhaps if I would make my speech as short and meaningful as Steve's letters, I would be a howling success. And I guess I should learn, but I am too old now. I just cannot change.

But this is a fine and good man. He exercises independent judgment, but also a loyalty to the program of our President and the program of the Democratic Party. He always keeps in mind, and uppermost in his mind, the needs of his state and of his great America, and the obligations of our America in the role of world leadership.

And I come before the people of Ohio, if I may be permitted to, and you have generously given me that privilege, to ask you to send to the United States Senate, not someone that flirts with Goldwaterism, but someone that embraces the New Frontier and the New Horizons, and the better America of the late President Kennedy and now our President Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause.)

I also say in the same spirit, and with the same depth of sincerity and personal affection that we need, as Congressmen-at-large from this, the Buckeye State, this wonderful State of Ohio, Bob Sweeney, and please give him your help. See to it that he can join President Johnson in the opening of the 89th Congress, so that he, too, can work for you and work for this state and this nation. I ask your support for Bob Sweeney.

And I do the same thing for two distinguished Democrats, great citizens, who are candidates for the House of Representatives, the people's body in our government, and I know that you have already heard from them, and I know that you know of them and are working for them day-in and day-out. But we need them. And we need them badly to help us, to help you, because after all, they are going to be your servants.

I speak of Jack Gilligan -- I believe Jack is in the First District -- and of Harry Stans in the Second District.

I suppose I should have been more formal and said John J. Gilligan and Robert H. Sweeney and Harry H. Stans, but that is one thing about we Democrats -- we are kind of friendly folks, and kind of friendly, even in a hurry, you know.

Well, I have a little message for you -- several, in fact. I don't know how we are going to do it tonight. I hope you are not in a hurry. All I have to do is get to Lexington, Kentucky, sometime between now and tomorrow noon. I haven't too much to do. So, just lean back and enjoy this evening.

First of all, I am very pleased to learn that President Johnson and I are running far ahead in Ohio already, having received at least three votes -- two from Ohio's best-known and highly respected voters, Senator Frank Lausche, and his very charming and wonderful lady, Jane Lausche, tell us that they already voted for us by absentee ballot. So we are two ahead right now.

Well, we got a few more I hear down the table. And by the way, as I was walking down the hall, just coming to this wonderful roof garden room, a young man looked at me, and I looked at him, and after all, I am running for office, and I said, "How do you do," and he said, "How do you do, Senator." He said, "I am from New Orleans, and I have cast my absentee ballot for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey."

So things look good in Louisiana, too.

Oh, I will tell you. It is going to be a whole lot better than some of you ever dreamed, and it is going to be so much better than the opposition ever dared to think that I am really worried what is going to happen on November 4.

By the way, I know this is a fund-raising dinner. That is a very noble exercise, may I say, of political activity, because I can't think of any political party that needs more funds in order to carry on the activities that we are carrying on than the Democratic Party.

But I want you to know that the Humphrey household is also sort of bipartisan in the sense that we do receive mail from the opposition. This morning, just to make my day a little more dreary, -- I wake up feeling bright and sunshiney, it has been a lovely day, and a marvelous day yesterday, a wonderful day from Chicago to Milwaukee to Racine to Green Bay to Madison, Wisconsin, and back to Washington.

This morning the postman, who, by the way, is not only an excellent letter carrier, not only a fine upstanding citizen, a fine family man, with high qualities of character, but also good political perception -- he votes Democratic -- this gentleman stopped by the door and he said, "Oh, Senator, I hope you will forgive me, it is all in the line of duty. And you know we must be non-partisan."

And he handed me the mail. And here I want to show you Exhibit A. I want you to know that my friend Senator Goldwater thinks enough of me to ask me to contribute.

(Laughter.)

It says here, "Citizens for Goldwater-Miller, P.O. Box 1964. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, 3260 Copeland Terrace, Chevy Chase 15, Maryland."

Now, I ought to look into it. But I want to tell you something. Hallowe'en is so close, I am afraid that there may be a trick in here.

(Laughter.)

Now, that I have mentioned it, I think I will look into it. And it indicates to me that -- oh, yes, I have a prepaid -- postage-will-be-paid envelope, which indicates that I could send them a little something. And I plan on doing it. I plan on sending them a few of President Johnson's speeches, a couple of mine, and a bumper sticker.

(Applause.)

I wouldn't want my friend Barry to think I had forgotten him. All these Senators have a cozy little club. We get to know each other pretty well. And I want to say one thing about this man -- he would make a fine neighbor, but a very, very bad President.

I am simply delighted that our good friend Secretary Celebrezze -- I want to just call him affectionately Tony Celebrezze, because we think so much of him -- I am happy that he, took the time here this evening to be with you, and I am highly honored by his introduction. He is one of the outstanding public servants of our country, and truly a remarkable man, and I am so grateful that he is a Democrat, because I am afraid I would like him even if he wasn't.

Well, I had a speech I was supposed to deliver, and I suppose now I will have to run along and see what I can do about it.

I want to talk to this audience very seriously tonight about this campaign, because it is not just joy and happiness that comes with contact with our people. Let me be very frank with you. I do enjoy campaigning. I am having a marvelous time. Once in a while I find a citizen or two that is somewhat in doubt and confused, carrying insignia that indicates that they are lost in the fog of confusion and political uncertainty. But we speak to them, we extend the hand of fellowship, and you would be surprised how often they lay down their arms and confess their political sins.

I can always tell the Democrats. They look happy. I can always tell a Republican that has put his country above

his Party -- they, too, look happy.

And I can always tell a man that is really in doubt, because when he carries that Goldwater banner and he has a smile on his face and a sort of a gleam in his eye, he knows that deep down in his heart he is going to vote for Johnson. But he also knows why he is going to vote for the President. He knows this because he is a serious citizen. And I think Americans are very serious about their politics, and they are very much concerned this year of 1964. And they have a right to be, because we love our country, we know that our country has tremendous responsibilities.

We also know that there are fantastic changes taking place in our own country, everyone knows that, and all around the world.

In fact, the one fact of our life is change. And within 24 hours we witnessed or at least we heard the reports of a detonation of a nuclear device, explosion in Communist China, and another political explosion in the Soviet Union, and also a change in government through the process of free elections in Great Britain.

That day, I think, that very brief period, clarified and illuminated the basic issue of this campaign and made it stark and simple -- at a time in history when no man can know what the morrow will bring, we have to ask ourselves, don't we, which of these two men that stand for the office of Presidency in this election have the capacity for that office, which of them is better qualified for the responsibility of the Presidency, because that is what the issue is.

There isn't any office in the world with the power of the Presidency of the United States. And no nation has the burden of responsibility for freedom and for decency and for what we believe to be human dignity, such as the office of the President of the United States.

And it is on November 3 that you and your neighbors and my neighbors will make that decision. The President isn't going to make the decision as to the future of America on November 3. We the people are. The Constitution says, "We the people of these United States of America do establish and ordain"-- we the people, popular sovereignty.

And on November 3, the most powerful person in the world

speaks, and speaks quietly. And that person is the American citizen. And he is going to determine, by the sum total of his votes, what your life is going to be and what the life of your children is going to be. Because make no mistake about it, my fellow Americans -- in the next four years, decisions are going to be made that will affect the lives of generations yet unborn.

Because in the next four years there will be fantastic advances in science and technology, in the next four years we will find our way to the moon, in the next four years we will explore outer space. In the next four years there will be changes all over this world. And once you have elected a President, you cannot repeal it. You cannot say "Wait a minute, I made a mistake, I want to take my vote back."

Once you have elected a President, he is there. And, therefore, that decision is the most important decision that you will make for many a year. That is why I go around this country saying that what we need in the White House, at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, is a man of responsibility, a man of competence, a man of experience, and one who can base his claim to that office, not upon a promise, not upon a word, not upon a speech, but upon performance.

And I will tell you who the man is. Lyndon B. Johnson.

(Applause.)

Performance separates the first raters from the second raters. Performance determines the quality of the man. We all remember, don't we, the sadness, almost with continuing grief, what happened in November of 1963, almost a year ago. A President, a wonderful man, brilliant, intelligent, wise, inspirational, courageous, was struck down. And the whole Nation, for a moment, was in confusion and doubt. There was real uncertainty as to whether or not our constitutional system could survive. And the world wondered, too. Not only on this side of the Iron Curtain, but on the other side.

I think the greatest testimonial to America, to America's policies, to America's promise, was the fact that behind the Iron Curtain millions of people wept, just as they wept here. That shook up the Kremlin, and shook up the Communist world more than anything, because they found out, those men in the Kremlin, they found out these men of international communism, that their propaganda hasn't worked, that their

lies had not been believed, the people loved America, they loved our President.

We wondered what was going to happen. And then a man came forward. He was the man selected by John Kennedy. He was our Vice President. And under our system, he became the President of the United States. And that man took hold of this government -- five days after that tragic moment of assassination, this man stood before the Congress assembled and reminded us that we could not hesitate, that there were unfinished tasks, that the fallen leader wanted the torch to be carried, the torch of freedom.

The torch of freedom -- and just as John Kennedy had said to you and to me on January 20, 1961, "Let us begin," President Lyndon Johnson said to the world, "Let us continue."

And we did continue. And we have been moving ahead.

I think that President Johnson assumed burdens that were almost unbelievable in their immensity. And he stood up like a man, like a giant. And he has commanded the respect and the attention of friend and foe alike.

It was only a few weeks ago that people who today were criticizing him were praising him, before they became too partisan. Is it any wonder that some of the leading publishers of America, some of the leading businessmen of America, traditionally Republican, have come out to support our President?

And one of the reasons that they left the man who temporarily leads the opposition is because they cannot place their faith in him, they cannot find him reliable, they find him irresponsible, they find him not truly either a conservative or a Republican. They find him, if you please, to be a radical, and a radical in every sense of the word.

Why do I make this charge -- can you say it is not a charge that should be made without evidence? I make the charge that Senator Goldwater is a radical because he repudiates his own Party and drives those away from him that do not agree with him.

I make this charge because he seeks to destroy the social and economic achievements of the past generation. He repudiates the tradition of bipartisanship in our foreign policy-- the tradition that was established and upheld faithfully by

leaders of both political parties. He distorts the past. He misrepresents the present. And regrettably, he misunderstands the future.

Finally, he accepts the support of irresponsible extremist radical groups that are the very antithesis in their words and philosophy of everything that this country stands for.

(Applause.)

By his refusal to condemn and disassociate himself of these lunatic fringe groups of American politics, the Goldwater Party -- I say Goldwater Party because I have too much respect for my fellow Republicans --

(applause.)

-- has welcomed into its ranks those whose stock and trade in politics is division and doubt and confusion and suspicion.

For a generation these extremists and these radicals have been pushing their filth and their accusations in the back alleys and the sewers of American politics. Now, they have come out in the open, they have come off of the streets and out of the alleys, and they are peddling their hideous wares in the front parlor of what was once a proud and honored establishment of the Republican Party and the American political scene.

Yes, they have captured the Grand Old Party.

This man who leads that Party today has repudiated the very founder of it, the great emancipator. Ohio, they say, for many years has been so strong a Republican state. It has given many great Republicans to this Republic. But let me say -- and I wish now that I could speak to every citizen in this state -- that the man who presently heads what is known as the Republican Party is the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction of that Party. He does not represent that Party.

(Applause.)

And this gentleman has repudiated the very founder of it, the great Emancipator.

GOP stood for Grand Old Party -- as I have said to many

an audience now. it stands for our Republican friends as "Goldwater, our problem."

Let me review with you just a minute some of the developments, because we occasionally forget them in the hurly-burly of the campaign.

At the San Francisco Convention the Goldwater Party deliberately refused to repudiate support from the John Birch Society. I suppose that was their privilege. But this is an organization, my fellow Americans -- not fellow Democrats now -- my fellow Americans, that branded and called the former President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, General of the Armies, patriot and as loyal as any man could be, branded him, and I quote, "A dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

These are the words of an organization that the Senator from Arizona spoke of in these terms. "I don't consider the John Birch Society as a group of extremists", said Senator Goldwater, "I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind of people we need in politics."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is why this campaign is different than any that you have ever been in before.

When a man standing for the high office of Presidency can say that these are the kind of people we need in politics, people that brand a former President of the United States as a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy, when he says that we need them in politics in America, I say he has disqualified himself to be President of the United States.

Let me say that Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are not impressed with these people. We don't want any radicals from the right and we don't want any radicals from the left. We don't need any Communists, and we don't want them, and we repudiate them, and we don't need any Birchites, or any Ku Kluxers, or any of the rest of them. We repudiate them.

(Applause.)

Lest you think that my words are just too partisan, let's listen to what some Republicans have had to say.

Now, one of these that I am about to quote is around doing a little speaking now for the Senator from Arizona, but

I don't think that is really what he is doing. He is going to be here I understand tomorrow. He is going around as a sort of what you call the cleanup crew.

Oh, yes, pick up the pieces. And I can't think of anyone that is better at it, because he has had so much experience.

(Applause.)

I want to make it clear, just as he says about me, that he is a fine, loyal, patriotic American. But -- and he takes off and starts on Hubert Humphrey.

Well, I think he is such a high taker-offer of the Senator from Arizona, that I think I will just leave him stand with his own words.

The former Vice President, Mr. Nixon -- you have heard of him -- he said -- and I quote him now -- these are his exact words, and somebody might want to ask him about it, "It would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if ever Goldwater's view as previously stated were not challenged and not repudiated."

Thank you, Mr. Nixon.

(Applause.)

I can well understand why he feels this way, because Mr. Nixon's views on many of the great issues of the day, when he was Vice President and candidate for President, are diametrically opposite to those of Mr. Goldwater. Mr. Nixon is a Republican. And he is a leader in his Party. The man he speaks for is not really a Republican, and I don't think he will be a leader long.

Now, the next man I would like to quote from is Governor of a great state, the Empire State, New York, Governor Nelson Rockefeller. He described Mr. Goldwater as the candidate of "an extremism outside of the main currents of American political life."

Thank you very much, Mr. Rockefeller. I thoroughly agree -- a bipartisan support for that statement.

Then let me quote from the Governor of Pennsylvania, Governor William Scranton. And he, too, is getting around a little bit -- not much, just enough to be known. Governor

William Scranton termed Goldwater's views, and I quote him word for word as "A watered parody of Republicanism, the echo of fear and reaction, the fast draw and the quick solution."

Now, I want to say that these Republicans who know this gentleman better than anyone state the case against him better than any Democrat could possibly state it.

(Applause.)

But let me say that the era of the fast draw, to which Mr. Scranton referred, and the quick solution in foreign affairs is over, and it has been over for a generation. It died at Hiroshima, when the first atomic bomb was detonated in 1945.

The era of the long twilight struggle that John Kennedy referred to, the long twilight struggle of building slowly, patiently, solidly, for peace and security, is here. The question facing every American voter on November 3 is simply this-- do you want a President who will develop his enormous energies towards leading us through that twilight struggle to the dawn of a brighter day, for free men everywhere, or do you want a candidate who casually accepts the possibility that the twilight will suddenly be illuminated by the blinding flash of a nuclear holocaust.

I think that is the question. And I ask you to listen for just a moment to the words of the spokesman of the opposition.

Listen to what Mr. Goldwater says. These are his exact words, "Some day I am convinced there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without a war. Real nuclear war. I don't see how it can be avoided."

Now, what is the American voter to think of a man who says that war is inevitable, who frankly admits, and he does, and I quote him, that he shoots from the hip, end of quote, or then concedes in the conduct of foreign affairs, that he cites Nazi Germany as his model for the conduct of foreign policy.

Now, that is a rather serious charge. Can it be documented? And the answer is unqualifiedly yes.

Just before his nomination Barry Goldwater was asked by a German newspaperman, who by the way is in this country now, and has been covering this campaign, whether he would take America

to the brink of war. And the answer to this newspaperman, who was the correspondent for the newspaper publication in Germany known as Der Spiegel, an outstanding publication, Mr. Goldwater responded, "Would you take America to the brink of war?"

He said, "Yes, just as your country, that is Germany, has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

My fellow Americans, twice in this century responsible leaders of Imperial and Nazi Germany have taken the world over the brink, not to the brink. Indeed, the history of Imperial and Nazi Germany in this century is a case study in the tragic consequences of shooting from the hip, of impulsive action without restraint or responsibility. And this is why today that the lovers of freedom, and men dedicated to Democracy in Germany, like Chancellor Adenaur, who is no longer the Chancellor, but the former Chancellor, and Chancellor Erhard, are men who are dedicated to NATO, dedicated to friendship with the United States, dedicated to our policy of security, and our foreign policy. They don't want brinkmanship. They want responsibility.

But Nazi Germany met defeat in the last war. But ladies and gentlemen, that will be the last war that was ever won by anybody. On that August morning in 1945 the face of war changed. Suddenly and permanently. And every mother and father in Ohio, in America, needs to remember it.

Since that moment, the initiation of a full scale war, as an instrument of national policy, has become unthinkable, and the task of statesmanship from this day forward is not to use war or force as an instrument of policy, but the task of statesmanship is to pursue a policy of peaceful pursuit of the objectives of a nation. And the objectives of free men.

In no area is the difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than on the question of responsibility in international affairs. And ladies and gentlemen, the future of this country will not be determined in the Middlewest, nor even in the Northwest, or the Southeast. America's future may well be determined in Southeast Asia, or Berlin, or it may be determined in the Middle East, or Africa and Europe and Asia.

And that is why we need a man in the White House who understands that power, that this unbelievable power that we

have, is not for conquest, but that it is as a deterrent to war itself, that it is like a mighty shield that gives us protection while we use our minds and our hearts and our hands, while we use our intelligence, while we use every instrument of peaceful pursuit and negotiation, to find answers to problems in this world, and to push back the forces of tyranny patiently, persistently, by example, by pressure, and indeed by deed itself.

The overriding conclusion emerging from this campaign, which needs to be driven home, not as a partisan message, but as a message of life and death, of survival, that message is the American people must have someone in charge of this country who is responsible, who understands the use of power with restraint and reason.

In recent days, the Chinese detonated an atomic device. That within itself is enough to frighten humanity.

The possibility of the proliferation of nuclear weapons--- but my fellow Americans, to have the Chinese detonate an atomic explosion and to turn over the nuclear power of this country to the Senator from Arizona's compounding danger beyond anything, that we ought to take into consideration.

(Applause.)

I summarize my case for you tonight by saying this. The American people do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger. And the American people are right, very, very right. The American people know that President Lyndon Johnson will continue to provide this nation with responsible, moderate, sensible, progressive and enlightened leadership.

And the American people know that President Johnson is superbly qualified to lead America and the world from the last great war towards the first great society.

My fellow Americans, we have many victories to win, and this Nation is dedicated to the winning of those victories.

We want a victory over man's ancient enemies of hunger, of disease, of ignorance, and poverty, because these, too, are the cause of man's downfall and of his trouble. We want victory over prejudice and bigotry, and we are winning that victory. And we want victory over war itself, because without victory over war, there isn't any victory, there isn't any victory for

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anybody, for anything.

So, on November 3, we make the choice of the kind of an America that we want -- one that is dedicated to the future, to hope, to progress, and peace, or one, if you please, that has given up the hope of the future, that has cast it aside, and we will become a garrison state, living by itself, eroding and corroding in its own troubles.

We can make that decision.

But you know what? The American people are a wise people. And they are a good people, and they are a peaceful people.

And the American people are going to continue to support the policies of reason and moderation, policies of peace and progress. And those policies today, in this election, are represented in the living spirit of and in the program of President Lyndon Johnson, and he will be victorious.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey,
Street Rally
New York City, New York
October 27, 1964

Senator Humphrey: . . . But they have been looking for an issue, and they are in the process of doing this, they set up what they call one bombshell after another, and they kept ending up with a dud, and the American people know. What is more, my good friends, in all seriousness, the American people are weary, weary of innuendo and half truths, weary of personal vilification and attack.

I have said a number of times about Mr. Goldwater that I consider him to be a loyal patriotic American. I have never made a personal comment about him in terms of his fine family or himself and I don't think one needs to. It isn't his private life. It is his public utterances that disturb me. I happen to think that Mr. Goldwater would make a wonderful neighbor, but a very poor President.

And in this campaign we are not selecting neighbors. We are selecting an occupant for 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, and that place needs someone of reason, someone of judgment, someone that has a record of performance, someone that is responsible, someone that understands the world in which we live, and the challenges of that world.

Now, our opposition has indulged in the same kind of old politics of desperation that every great President has faced. You go back over the life of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Eilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, or Jack Kennedy. And you will find that they were all the victims of great personal abuse. But there is something different in this campaign. It isn't just the candidate that is being abused, and it isn't just the President that is being villified. It is the entire Nation. As a matter of fact, the opposition launches its attack upon the people of this country. They say we are sick and we are tired, and they talk about it so much that even an amateur psychologist could make this examination and analysis. People that talk about others being sick and tired are generally the sick ones themselves, and they are very tired, and they need a rest, a long rest.

The people of America have been scolded. The elderly have been treated with cynicism. The American community has been told that it is demoralized and rotten. The American people, however, I think, have a better idea about themselves. This country is strong economically, it is strong politically, it is strong in its terms of the spiritual quality of our life. This country of ours is the wonder of the world, and it seems to me that we ought to have a President in the White House, and we have one now, that seeks to tell of the wonders of America, of its glories, that tells of some of its good things, rather than one who downgrades us and degrades us, rather than someone who scolds us, and indulges in breastbeating with self-righteousness.

My, it must be wonderful to be so pure. It must be wonderful to be able to -- it must be wonderful to feel that you are so right, so far right, I might add.

But, frankly, there is an issue in this campaign. And the issue, if Mr. Goldwater will look for it, he can find it. The issue in this campaign is the policy, the pronouncements and the utterances of Mr. Goldwater himself. He ought to just play back his own tapes, and read his own stuff. And that is the issue. The issue of a man whose statements on foreign policy frighten the daylights out of our friends, and give aid and comfort to our enemies. Statement on foreign policy that carry the air of belligerence, statements that say that we ought to get out of the United Nations, statements that say that war is inevitable, statements that tell us that we ought to break our alliances. Statements that tell us that we ought to indulge in brinkmanship. Statements that tell us that nuclear weapons are really conventional.

Ladies and gentlemen, the issue in this campaign is the public posture, the public attitude, the public statements, and the public records of the candidates of the Republican Party, or should I say a segment of the Republican Party.

That is the issue. And, my good friends, on that issue we are going to win this election, because the American people want a responsible government, they want

a President, that can lead this Nation forward, not backward. And the American people want a President that knows of the present and things of the future. They want a President that believes in education, and doesn't say that it would be better if some children -- some children would be better if they didn't have it. They want a President that respects the many ethnic and religious groups of our country, and recognizes that in this great land of ours, we are a great national symphony of many peoples, many voices, many cultures, many ethnic groups, many attitudes, but blending together in these United States of America. That is the kind of a President that we want, and we have got one.

Now, I want you to know that I have been highly honored in this campaign. I never knew that anybody took quite so much interest in who was going to be Vice President. But for all of you that may be concerned, the candidate for President is Lyndon Johnson, and when you elect him, like it or not, you get me, too.

So I suppose the opposition has a point. They say you ought to take a look at that Humphrey. Well, look me over, folks. I feel fine. And may I say that I am happy to stand here on this table in rather improvised, I might add, and just about as wobbly as the opposition's platform, -- I am happy to stand here on this table and say that I believe in an America that provides opportunity to all of its people, I believe in an America that is a government of laws and not of men. I believe in an America in which every boy and girl has an opportunity for an education, regardless of their economic status. I believe in an America where there is only one kind of citizenship, first class citizenship for everyone. I believe in a America where we encourage enterprise, private enterprise, to expand and to grow, where we encourage investment, where we encourage a worker to do a better job. I believe in an America, if you please, that has respect for human dignity and for human rights.

I believe in an America that understands that the wealth of this country and its power is not just for ourselves. We are a blessed people, we have been given an opportunity for world leadership, and leadership is not just the privilege of having it your way. Leadership means that you must occasionally sacrifice, it means that you must act responsibly, it means you must take into consideration the needs of others.

We are the richest Nation on the face of this earth, and the strongest, and we will continue to be that way, if we are worthy of it. I think we are worthy of it.

This wealth of ours is to buttress our noble efforts for peace and security. I know our opposition doesn't like to hear us talk about this. but the task of statesmanship is not to rattle the saber, it is not to demonstrate that you are belligerent and bellicose. The task of statesmanship is to work patiently, persistently, sacrificially, for a just and enduring peace, because everything that this great city means, these buildings, these schools, these cultural institutions, we, the people, everything, is lost if we lose the peace. And I say in the words of John Kennedy, that the pursuit of peace is man's noblest work, that peace is a process, we build it stone by stone, and block by block, like you build a mighty and a beautiful cathedral. And we are going to build it decade after decade and generation after generation, and we are not going to lose faith. But I do not want a man in the White House who has never contributed to the building of that peace. I do not want a man in the White House who voted no on the Peace Corps, who voted no on the Arms Control Agency, who tells us to get out of the United Nations, who voted no on the Alliance for Progress. Who says we ought not to negotiate. Who says we ought to lob a missile in the men's room of the Kremlin. I don't want that kind of man. I want a man in the White House that resolutely and carefully searches for peace, and know that the peacemaker is truly the courageous man, knows that the quest for peace is the task of strong people.

Finally, let me say this. All of this will mean nothing unless we vote. I have got some suggestions for you, in case you haven't gotten the idea how to vote. But that is up to you, basically. You are in charge next Tuesday, seven days from today. You will make the decision. Popular sovereignty. On that day you will select the leadership of this country, and this is a high privilege and a heavy responsibility because the decisions that are made in the next four years will be decisions that will affect the lives of people for generations yet to come. We cannot make a mistake.

You cannot repeal an election. When you elect a President, he is elected for four years. You cannot back away from it.

I urge upon you, your citizenship responsibilities. Not merely your privileges. I urge that there be a turnout, the likes of which you have never known in New York. I urge this because we are not in an ordinary election. We are faced today with forces of hate and bitterness and dissension. There are forces at work in America today that must be defeated -- the Ku Kluxers, the Gerald L. S. Smiths, and the others.

I say to you that this election is the most important one that you will participate in for many a year. And join me, will you -- join us, with your hands and with your votes, to elect as the next President of the United States President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you.



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