



news release

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

FOR A.M. RELEASE
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

B-3935

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

The leader of the Goldwater Party--through public statement, written word, and basic philosophy--has left responsible Americans with only one course of action: an overwhelming vote of confidence for President Johnson on November 3.

By every standard of American life, Senator Goldwater is a radical -- and he preaches and practices the doctrine of radicalism.

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

He repudiates the bipartisanship in the conduct of our foreign affairs-- a tradition established by Senator Arthur Vandenburg and President Franklin D. Roosevelt and upheld faithfully by leaders of both political parties.

He distrusts the past, misrepresents the present, and misunderstands the future.

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

It is not surprising that the harshest denunciations of Senator Goldwater have come from members of the Republican Party.

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." (Des Moines Register, June 10, 1964)

Governor Nelson Rockefeller described Goldwater as the candidate of "an extremism outside the main currents of American life." (Kansas City Star, April 28, 1964).

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It was Senator Goldwater who said "Nixon would be difficult to sell to everybody." (Newark Evening News, June 16, 1961)

It was Senator Goldwater who termed the Eisenhower administration a "dime store New Deal." (U. S. Senate, May 6, 1960)

It was Senator Goldwater who repudiated the 1960 Republican Platform by casting his vote in the Senate against 25 of its key provisions.

In his heart, Senator Goldwater is neither a loyal Republican nor a true conservative. He is a radical in the true and basic meaning of that word.

Senator Goldwater wants to pull everything out by its roots--whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past.

Recently we have seen an increase in the pace of hysteria--that same hysterical tone which always marks a radical who has been exposed.

But the American people cannot be fooled. Their eyes are open and their minds are clear. They cannot be tricked by slogans and cliches. Their memories are not that short. They remember the accomplishments of the past four years. They know America has begun to move under President Kennedy and has continued to move under President Johnson.

They know performance--not promises--is the test of a political party. And we have kept our promises.

We are proud of the \$11.5 billion tax cut--it provides 80 million taxpayers with a 20 percent decrease in their taxes.

We are proud of the nuclear test ban treaty--it cleans the atmosphere of radioactive fallout and takes us a step closer toward peace.

We are proud of the civil rights act--it proclaims that there is no room for second-class citizenship in America.

We are proud of the economic opportunity act--it signifies our determination to banish poverty from our land.

We are proud of the college aid bill, the vocational education act, and the library services act.

We are proud of the hospital construction act--it provides funds for construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers in urban areas.

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We are proud of the mass transportation act--it provides grants and loans for local transit facilities.

We are proud of our record in agriculture--the feed grain program works--farm income is up--surpluses are being reduced--we are exporting more food overseas--REA has been strengthened--reclamation and irrigation projects are going forward.

We are proud of our record in conservation--the wilderness bill--the land and water conservation fund--new national parks and seashores were established by the 88th Congress.

During the past four years, President Kennedy and President Johnson dedicated every effort toward building a better America and providing for a more peaceful world.

We believe the record of the Democratic Party under the Kennedy-Johnson administration demonstrates its fidelity to the ideals of the past, its responsibility to the challenges of the present, and its commitment to the opportunities of the future.

We are the party of hope, We are the people of faith. And we do not run from problems--we regard them as opportunities.

We seek a better America--a Great Society--where there is opportunity for the young, security for the elderly, compassion for the afflicted, and peace for all mankind.

But the issue dominating all others in this campaign is this: which candidate for President of the United States is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America both at home and abroad?

We live in perilous times.

We live in a world in transition--fraught with danger.

Two weeks ago, events beyond our control changed our world. They brought an abrupt end to the age of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union. They brought the first burst of primitive nuclear power to Communist China. And they brought a peaceful change of government to our close ally, Great Britain.

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These events must remind us of something else: all we are--and all we seek as a nation--is utterly dependent upon keeping this world of ours from self-destruction.

That is why the supreme issue of this campaign is the prevention of nuclear war. Without peace, there can be no freedom. Without peace, the

survival of our planet is in doubt.

What does this mean in terms of your duty as Americans on election day? Simply this: In choosing our next President of the United States, you must base your decision on performance--not promises.

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

And make no mistake about it--there is no room for error in these times in electing the President of the United States.

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

He stands as the one person qualified to preserve the peace of the world.

He stands as the one person worthy of your trust on November 3rd.

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Seattle, Washington

Sat AM's
local dist. only
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WBS YH

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO BE READ BY SENATOR HUMPHREY
IN SEATTLE

"GOVERNOR ALBERT D. ROSELLINI AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE
GIVEN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON ENLIGHTENED, HUMANITARIAN
LEADERSHIP OF THE HIGHEST ORDER. GOVERNOR ROSELLINI HAS
BEEN DOUBLY EFFECTIVE DUE TO HIS NATION-WIDE PRESTIGE AS
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE. HIS KNOWLEDGE
AND EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH OTHER STATES HAVE BEEN A BIG
BOOST TO HIM AS HE WORKED WITH US IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON THESE
FEDERAL/STATE PROGRAMS.

THERE IS NO STATE WITH A GREATER POTENTIAL THAN WASHINGTON'S. I
HOPE TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH SENATOR JACKSON, GOVERNOR ROSELLINI
AND YOUR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN TO REALIZE THAT POTENTIAL. I URGE
THE PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON TO RE-ELECT THEIR GREAT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Gov Rosellini

Brook Adams

7th

Lloyd Meeds

2nd

OPENING REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

IT'S GOOD TO BE BACK IN SEATTLE AND THE STATE OF WASHINGTON
WHERE I RECEIVED SUCH A WONDERFUL RECEPTION LESS THAN A MONTH AGO.
I AM HAPPY TO BE IN THIS STATE WHERE BOTH THE CLIMATE AND THE
PEOPLE ARE NATIONALLY KNOWN FOR THEIR MODERATION.

WASHINGTON HAS GIVEN TO THE NATION TWO GREAT NATIONAL
LEADERS. I REFER TO MY CLOSE FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES, SENATORS
WARREN G. MAGNUSON AND HENRY M. JACKSON.

WASHINGTON STATE HAS ALSO GIVEN TO THE NATION A GREAT
GOVERNOR---GOVERNOR ALBERT D. ROSELLINI! ROSELLINI'S WISE AND
MODERATE LEADERSHIP OF THIS STATE HAS PRODUCED GREAT GROWTH IN
THE LAST 8 YEARS---AND HE HAS TRULY HELPED WASHINGTON MOVE INTO
THE BIG LEAGUE THROUGH LEADERSHIP THAT HAS SOUGHT AND ACHIEVED
THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CONSENSUS---JUST AS PRESIDENT LYNDON B.
JOHNSON HAS ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

WITH YOUR VOTE YOU CAN FURTHER ASSIST THIS STATE AND THE
NATION BY SENDING TO CONGRESS MEN LIKE LYLOYD MEEDS AND BROCK

Background material --- Seattle

The original settlers of Seattle went to bat to get themselves a University before they did anything else.

What they got, the great University of Washington, started with one teacher gathered a class by canvassing the countryside and taking firewood for tuition.

He didn't add academic qualification to the wood-cutting ability, so he had plenty of firewood and a ten-year spread in academic attainment.

The fisheries laboratory of the University of Washington is the only institution of its kind in the world. One of its jobs has been to measure the effect of radiation from nuclear weapons tests on marine life.

The University Arboretum is also unique, centered around a Japanese Tea Garden.

Seattle is the closest American port to the Orient. With 193 miles of waterfront within the city limits, it is one of the world's great port.

The state of Washington is the most electrified area of its size in the world

Three transcontinental railroads terminate in Washington.

The harbor, the electrification, and the railroads are all important economic resources strebtgebed by federal participation in their development, an important item in America's continuing growth not approved by the Temporary Spokesman of the Republican party.

Released text

Seattle, Washington

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~~ARA - Public Works Act~~
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~~We are Proud of Food Stamp -~~

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THINDEA

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Food for Peace
Peace Corps
alliance treaty
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AD-LIB REMARKS BEFORE THE STUDENT BODY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Seattle, October 30, 1964

To Al Marovitz -
a very special friend
with affection
Hubert H. Humphrey

I want this audience of young people, primarily, to share with me for just a few moments a couple of observations.

Our opposition says to you, and says to the American people, that we have lost our freedom. In fact, Mr. Goldwater has gone so far as to say that the Government in Washington is a greater threat to our freedom than the government in Moscow.

I regret that he said that, because I don't think he really believes it. Any person who believes that the government in Washington, D.C. which is subject to the votes of the American people, which must stand for election in a free election, is a greater threat to the freedom of the American people than Moscow, is someone who has no comprehension of what communism is all about, knows nothing about the structure of the Soviet Government, knows nothing about the discipline of the Communist Party, and knows less about the Government of the United States.

And might I add, also, that people who say that we have lost our freedom have a weird definition of what freedom means.

Freedom is not merely the absence of restraint. Freedom is not negative. Freedom is positive.

It is perfectly true that back in the year 1890 every young person had freedom to go to college, except they didn't have the income, there were not enough colleges, there wasn't enough money in public or private resources. So that

the freedom to go to college meant nothing. One out of a hundred went.

Today, in the 1960's, the last count being in the 1960's, some 30 out of every 100 go, to an institution of higher education.

Who has the greater freedom? And the choice. There are many more schools, many more classrooms, many more colleges. Who has the greater freedom?

Your great grandfather, who had no real chance to go to a college, or you today?

I think the answer is quite obvious.

Who has the greater freedom? The worker that worked in sweatshops and for slave wages 50 years ago, or the man today who gets a decent wage and a 40-hour work week, and some fair labor standards. I think the answer is obvious.

Who has the greater freedom -- your great grandfather or grandfather who, if he were the victim of some financial disaster, and no one was there to take care of him, was shunted off to what he used to call the "poor farm" that each county had, or your father who today has the social security card which Mr. Goldwater says is a government number. But that number brings him an envelope every month of social security payments. What freedom did he lose? He lost none, except the freedom to starve, the freedom to live in abject poverty, the freedom to be the subject of ridicule.

Today, I am happy to say that we have put some meaning to human dignity. We really believe that young people ought to have an education, we really believe today that the elderly ought to have a sense of dignity and decent care. And we really believe today, because of men like Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, yes, and Dwight Eisenhower, and John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, and thousands, yea, millions more who support them, we really believe that it is right for the government to aid the blind, to aid dependent children who are dependent not because of their fault, but because of the fault of either a society, a social institution, or a family, or a breadwinner.

We believe that it is right for the government today to have some interest in the totally disabled, if that totally disabled man has paid into a fund of social insurance. And yet the Senator from Arizona says this means you have lost your freedom, this means big government.

Well, let me tell you, it may mean a little bit bigger government, but not as big a heartache, not by a long shot.

We believe today that government has a role to play. And I speak now just for myself -- I believe that Abraham Lincoln was right when he said that government's duty is to serve the people, that it is right for both Republicans and Democrats alike to abide by that admonition.

I believe that if it is right that we the people are taught individually that compassion and charity is noble and

moral and decent. You have been taught by your mothers and fathers that you should never permit a person to lie sick or hungry if you can help them -- you have been taught that it is good to share, to be compassionate, to be friendly, to be charitable, to be considerate. That is what Sunday School and Church and schools are all about.

Now, if it is right for individuals to be that way, what's wrong for a government that represents those individuals, a government of the people, by the people and for the people to be that way?

The most heartening sign that I have seen in America today is that the young people are not selfish. The young people of America know that they are living in a blessed land. They know that in many ways it is much better now than it was for their parents. They know for sure that it is much better than it was for their grandparents. And our young people are not saying to themselves and to others, "Let's just keep it for ourselves." Those of us who have had a college education (and I have been privileged to have one), didn't get it alone. You attend this great university. There are people here in this State whom you have never met who are helping pay the costs of this university. You don't pay it with your tuition. Neither did I.

We have a cultural heritage of 5,000 years in our libraries. You didn't pay for that. You couldn't pay it. You

have in your great art treasures pieces of art that are priceless, immortal. You could not buy them. But they are here, for you.

Now, anybody who gets the privilege of a college education is the person above all who ought to be willing to do something for somebody else. And it ought to be college trained people who above all want their government to be friendly, to be a government that cares, a government with a heart -- not a government to take care of everybody so that no one has to work, but a government that removes from the paths of opportunity, and from the paths of progress, the rocks and the boulders, the impediments, that stand in the way of people. That is the duty of government -- to clean out the pathway, to clean out the roadway. And then if you have something on the ball, if you have any ability, if you have any energy, if you have any drive, and if you can get an education, if you are healthy, if you are strong, if you are spirited, you ought to be able to make it on your own.

So the question in this election is: Do you want a philosophy of government that recognizes social responsibility, or do you want a philosophy of government that recognizes only individual irresponsibility and selfishness? That is what it boils down to.

Now, the second great issue is what kind of a peace do you want?

Peace is not for the wishing. You don't get it because Barry Goldwater says to the Russians, 'Drop dead.'

Peace doesn't come because somebody serves ultimatums. The foreign policy of braggadocio and nuclear missile rattling and of ultimatums is the foreign policy of madness and suicide. We ought to recognize it for that. We do not have omnipotent power. We are the most powerful nation in the world, but our power places limitations upon us. And I think that Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller and others were rightly concerned when they said that it is the fast draw, it is this irresponsibility, that bothers them. This is what bothers every thoughtful person in America today.

We cannot simply say: All the world is wrong and we are right, and we are going to tell you what to do, and if you don't do it, have a little bomb on us.

Wyatt Earp is dead. And Dodge City is for the movies and the six-shooter is for the museums. What we need to remember is that we live in the nuclear age. And we ought to remember that the nations that are in the nuclear club have the power now to destroy all of humanity.

Therefore, what we ought to be seeking to do is to apply the rule of reason to this world, to build the shield of strength that gives us a deterrent to war. Strength is absolutely essential. It is a shield to protect us. And then we can reach around that shield with mind and hand and try to see if we can't reason with the world. It is like the use of atomic particles in

the cure of malignancy, the use of cobalt. The radiologist protects himself with a shield, and he manipulates a machine to bring to the afflicted part the healing of radioactivity.

We need to have this shield of strength. But then we need to understand that the shield alone is not enough, that we need somehow or other to help bring about in this world better conditions, to try to approach people, to build bridges, to negotiate, not from weakness, but from strength. To exercise diplomacy, to build a better foreign service; and to recognize that if Karl Marx had never lived and Josef Stalin and Lenin had never been heard of, there would still be explosive problems in this world.

And you know it. You are students of government and history. Nationalism, trade rivalries, tribalism, conflicts of all kinds have existed throughout all the life of mankind, and they are still here.

But Mr. Goldwater thinks that all you need to do is declare loudly, beat your breast, and wrap yourself in a flag, and say, "I am an anti-communist," and that fixes it.

Well, may I say the most effective anti-communist is the one whom the communist respects for his strength and whom he fears for his knowledge. The one who understands the real operations of the communist apparatus, and ideology. The most effective anti-communist is the one who goes into the world like

a doctor to heal the sickness that produces a favorable environment for the spread of totalitarianism.

So peace is a process, said John Kennedy, and he was right. Every peacemaker has known it. It is only the men of little faith, the men of little or no vision, the men of weakness, the men of cowardice, who have been afraid to work for peace.

And I am happy to say that I can represent on this platform an Administration, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, one fallen President and one living one, that recognizes that the pursuit of peace requires sacrifice, requires intelligence, requires strength, requires perseverance, requires faith in ourselves and what we stand for, requires an understanding, not only of the material power that is ours, but also of intellectual and spiritual power.

I happen to think that the passage of the Civil Rights Act did more for us internationally than anything that we have done for many, many a year.

I happen to believe that the passage of the Peace Corps, the initiation of that program, was one of the finest examples of what American life means to the world. And yet the Senator from Arizona said the Peace Corps is a haven for beatniks. What a low appreciation of America, what a lack of understanding of American youth, what a lack of appreciation of the world's problems!

But one thing he did, at least he was true to his misguided convictions. He voted no.

He voted no on the first step that we made for trying to halt the arms race or slow it down, the nuclear test ban treaty. Twenty-five out of thirty-three Republicans said, "Let's do it." His own Minority Leader, Everett Dirksen, said he thought he ought to do it, that he didn't want it written on his tombstone that he failed to take that first step. He knew of Hiroshima. So did Senator Goldwater. But Senator Goldwater thought that it was better to have unlimited nuclear testing, which was not in our national interest, which was not in the interests of our national security according to the written testimony, and which surely was not moral. It wasn't moral at all.

So we build patiently the steps to peace. We build the pathway to peace. It will take a decade, a generation, yea, two or three generations. How long, I don't know. But I know this. That to become frustrated, impatient, to lose our temper, to do as Mr. Goldwater says, shoot from the hip, means catastrophe.

So I appeal to the young, who have everything to live for, I appeal to those whose future is yet to be, to try to get a government that will give you a future. Anybody can start a war. It doesn't take enough brains to come in out of the rain to do that. Anybody can do that. But it takes some understanding, it takes some conviction, it takes a sense of reason, it takes a

decent attitude about people, it takes judgment, and it requires statesmanship, real statesmanship, to pursue the tedious path and course of trying to find the way to peace.

And I tell you that the only reason I am in this campaign is because I believe this. And I believe that you have got to get excited, I believe that you have to go out and tell the people that you do not want a man as President who has a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. You want a man as President who is calm, who is responsible, who has a record of experience and performance, who understands that war is not inevitable, that peace is the noblest pursuit of mankind. And that man is my man, President Lyndon Johnson. So let's get him elected.

Remarks of Senator Hubert Humphrey
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October 30, 1964

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Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Well, Governor, when you introduce somebody, you surely do stir up a lot of commotion around here.

I want to thank you very much for your words of welcome. I hope you will forgive me for being momentarily, at least for a few seconds, tardy, as you gave those challenging words, that the Senator from Minnesota was about to speak. I was. But I was speaking to some members of my staff before I got a chance to come in here to this great auditorium.

Well, it is good to be back in Seattle, it is good to be back in the State of Washington, it is good to be back at the University of Washington.

Both of us can sympathize with each other this year -- Minnesota isn't doing too well, either

But I will say this. Year in and year out, if you just average it out, you won't find two better schools or two better football teams than the University of Washington and the University of Minnesota.

I am particularly delighted to be at this campus to talk to you. We are drawing to the end of a rather long campaign, one that has had quite a little heat, sometimes, I'm afraid, not quite enough light. And tonight, or late afternoon, I want to speak to you a little bit about the issues as I see them.

But before I do that, I want to say how pleased I am to share this platform with not only your distinguished Governor, but with some of your young leaders, the young Democrats in your Student Association, and the Young Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey.

I am very pleased, too, to share the platform with a gentleman that I am absolutely sure, with your help, your enthusiasm and your encouragement, can be the new Congressman from your 7th District, and that is Brock Adams.

For some reason or another Brock seems to like that enthusiastic applause that you gave him. I looked over there and he was smiling contentedly. He started looking like a Congressman all at once. That is a very satisfied look, I might add.

Washington, this great state, has given to our government two very distinguished United States Senators, two great national leaders. They have meant a great deal to your State and to our country. Both of them occupy high positions of leadership. One of them, your senior Senator, is the chairman of one of our most important committees, the Committee on Commerce, a very active member of the Committee on Appropriations, and he was re-elected here a couple of years ago, and he is looked upon as truly one of the gifted legislators of our government.

And I refer to Senator Warren Magnuson.

The other gentleman is going through a little political exercise. Now, I think it is good for him. I think it is good for the State. And I think it is going to be good for the nation. Because I don't know of any member of the United States Senate that has done a better job and that occupies a more important role in the security of this country and the destiny of this nation than the Senator from the State of Washington, Henry "Scoop" Jackson.

But I should also add that it takes a team to run a government. One lesson that the leader of the opposition, the temporary spokesman, I should say, of the opposition -- I thought I would flush out one or two of them. You can always tell, you know. If you just mention it -- they don't cheer, they boo. There is a difference between us you know. The Democrats are cheerful and happy. The other ones are grouchy and booing.

I said that it takes a team to run a government. The government isn't all in Washington by any means. The Government of the United States is a Federal system. It is the Federal Government, the national government in Washington, the State government, local government. And when these Federal programs or national programs are legislated, it requires sympathetic administration at a state level, and sympathetic and understanding consideration of a state government. And here in the State of Washington you have such a governor. I know that he has served you for some years, and sometimes people say, well, when they have been here for some time, maybe you ought to change.

Well, if you make a change, you ought to know what you are getting, and in this election, if you want to get a junior Goldwaterite, make a change. And I know it is kind of hard to identify them, because very few Republican candidates for anything want to do much more than be on the platform with the Senator from Arizona. You can't find very many of them that endorse him openly. They do it privately, over to the club, when nobody is looking. But never on the platform. You can go to state after state and you will find governor after governor that is a Republican that will say, "I am a man of courage, I will introduce him," but, oh, not endorse him, oh, no.

Well, I am happy to say that the governor from the State of Washington, your own Governor Rossellini, not only will introduce the next President of the United States, he endorses the next President of the United States, he is a friend of the next President of the United States, and I expect to see Governor Rossellini and Lyndon Johnson both elected on November 3.

And I might add that the President of the United States expects that, too. I have a message here from him -- not about his election. I am going to speak about that. But I got the President's message here to me in Seattle. He asked me to have it read. And it reads as follows:

"Governor Albert E. Rossellini and his administration have given the State of Washington enlightened humanitarian leadership of the highest order. Governor Rossellini has been doubly effective, due to his nationwide prestige as the Chairman of the National Governor's Conference, his knowledge and experience in dealing with other states have been a big boost to him as he worked with us in Washington, D. C., on these Federal-State programs. There is no state with a greater potential than Washington's. I hope to continue working with Senator Jackson, Senator Magnuson, Governor Rossellini, and your Democratic Congressman, to realize that potential.

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I urge the people of Washington to re-elect their great Democratic Governor " Signed, a friend of mine and yours, Lyndon B. Johnson

Governor, I got an endorsement from the President at the Democratic Convention, and it got me the nomination. You have got an endorsement-- you have received an endorsement from the President just before the national election, and it is going to gain you the victory. Governor Albert Rossellini deserves on the record, on the record of performance, on the basis of his progressive government, on the basis of his administrative ability, he deserves to be rewarded by re-election by the people of this great State of Washington.

Before I forget it, may I just put in a plug for Lloyd Meeks, too, I believe, of the Second District, who is a candidate for Congress. He is a very fine gentleman. And, as I have said before, the teamwork that is required in government means that you have people that know how to work together.

Now, I want to visit with you a little bit about the temporary spokesman of a faction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party. I thought you might like to know my views.

Well, I am going to not only give you my views, because some of you may feel that those views are somewhat less than objective. Therefore, I shall speak a little today about the views of some of his compatriots, those who know him better, because I only know him as a United States Senator, and we are very tolerant of each other. I want to say this, however -- that I do not speak of the Senator from Arizona, of his private life or of his private activities. I consider the Senator from Arizona, Mr. Goldwater, to be a fine citizen. I consider him to be one of the -- to be loyal and patriotic and dedicated to what he believes are the best interests of this country. I think that the Senator from Arizona would make a fine neighbor. But I think he would make a very bad President.

Now, I have just been notified that on this platform is Dr. Ed Paulmson, who is a candidate for Congress from the First District. I think Dr. Paulmson would make a fine neighbor and a fine Congressman. That is why I would like him in Washington.

Yes, I would like to see you down there at the Nation's Capitol, Doctor. I plan on being there. I want you as my neighbor, as close as we can get you.

Let me speak to you very seriously, now, about the decision that we Americans must make between now and November 3rd.

I want to talk to you about, not only the position of President Johnson -- because we ought to speak indeed about our position on the issues -- that is the position of the President and his running mate in the Democratic Party. But we ought to speak about the opposition as well, and how we interpret their position. I do this because they give us so little information as to where they stand on the issues. I know where they stand on sin. They have come out against it. So am I, I might add. That makes it bipartisan.

That doesn't mean that either of us are not guilty of some, I might add.

But I think it is better that we should speak of the public policy and of the public attitudes and of the public utterances of the candidate

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who seek this high office of President.

Now, the leader of the Goldwater Party --and I say Goldwater Party, because I do not consider the Senator from Arizona to be a truly authentic Republican, which I shall delineate in some detail here in a moment. Through his public statements and written work, and basic philosophy, I think he has left responsible Americans with but one course of action in the coming election. And I believe that that statement is corroborated or it is supported by many others. And the course of action that I suggest is an overwhelming vote of confidence on November 3 for the President of the United States, President Johnson.

By every standard of American political life, the Senator from Arizona is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, nor is he a conservative or a liberal. He is a radical. And he preaches and acts the doctrine of radicalism.

Why do I say it?

Because a true conservative seeks to conserve and to build on the best of the past. And the true doctrine of conservatism is one of positive government, not one of negative government. The real conservatives of American life were Alexander Hamilton -- they were men like the first Chief Justice, John Marshall. These were not people that believed that the Federal Government should be paralyzed, that it should have little or no powers. These were the men who preached the doctrine and acted on the doctrine of responsible activity, positive activity on the part of their government.

Senator Goldwater doesn't believe that. What he believes in terms of Governmental philosophy is a bit confused and confusing. But he surely says and makes no bones about it that the Federal Government ought to withdraw, as he puts it, on a time-table basis from a number of activities, such as education, social welfare, agriculture, health, power, including, I imagine he means, since he was going to sell the TVA, he would like to sell the Columbia River programs as well -- he ought not to show any favoritism.

Yes, he says that the Federal Government should have a time-table of withdrawal from this host of activities that I have just mentioned, which are traditional with American Government as the Constitution itself. Because the Constitution lays down two mandates to this government of ours, and to the President. To provide for the common defense, and to promote the general welfare.

Mr. Goldwater does believe in providing for the common defense, but he has forgotten the second mandate, to promote the general welfare. He seeks to destroy or to weaken the social and economic achievements of the past generation. He wants no part of them; . And he says so. He repudiates the foundations and the achievements of the bipartisan foreign policy, which has been worked out after better than 25 years of painful, sacrificial effort, between Republicans and Democrats alike. He accepts the support of irresponsible radical extremist groups, and he alienates loyal and responsible members of his own party and drives them from him.

I ask this audience not to forget the Republican Convention at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, when a chief executive of the State of New York was literally booed from the platform by fellow Republicans when a Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, one of the most popular states in our Nation, was booed and hissed, when the Governor of Michigan received the same treatment, when anybody that disagreed or

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had a different point of view from the Goldwater faction spoke, they received the ill manners, the uncouth treatment of booing and jeering by their fellow partisans.

I submit to you that that is not within the tradition of the party of Lincoln or of Dwight Eisenhower. It is not within the tradition of the party of McKinley or Herbert Hoover. This is a different kind of party, very different. And I intend to discuss it.

It is not surprising, is it, therefore, that the harshest denunciations of the Goldwater Party and of the Senator himself has come, not from Democrats, but from Republicans. Listen to what former Vice President Nixon said before he decided to go around and see if he could pick up the pieces. That is what he is doing. He is in a great reclamation program right now.

Listen to what he said here. The Vice President said, "It would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated." Hubert Humphrey didn't say that. That gentleman from California, or where it is -- I believe it is New York now -- that is what he said.

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

Governor William Scranton, Republican, termed Goldwater's views "A weird parody of Republicanism, the echo of fear and reaction, the echo from the never, never land that puts our nation backward to a lesser place in the world of free men, the fast draw, and the quick solution."

And it was Senator Goldwater who announced himself that "One Eisenhower in a generation is enough." And it was Senator Goldwater who said of the Eisenhower Administration, "It is a dime store new deal."

My, how these folks love each other.

These are the words, not of Democrats, but of prominent leaders in the Republican Party.

And it was Senator Goldwater who repudiated the 1960 Republican platform which was the truly authentic Republican platform, after eight years of responsibility of managing this government under the Eisenhower Administration -- he repudiated that 1960 platform on 25 counts, 25 commitments, 25 votes, he voted 25 times no.

So, in his heart -- I think you have heard that before -- Senator Goldwater knows that he is neither a regular Republican nor a true conservative. He can qualify for but one descriptive word or phrase. He is a radical in the true meaning of that word.

Recently we have seen this radicalism step up its pace of hysteria, the same hysterical tone which always marks a candidate who is doomed to defeat. We see it, we hear it. The attacks are unbelievable. The smear, the innuendo, the half-truths, and more to come, we hear. They will not be tricked, however -- the American people. The American people have gone through this before. And they are not going to be tricked or fooled by slogans or cliches, or by vilification. Their memories are not that short. The American people remember the accomplishments of the past four years, and they know that America did begin to move forward, did begin to move economically, socially, in terms of our foreign policy, under the leadership of President John Kennedy,

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and has continued to move forward under the leadership of President Johnson. The people know this.

And the people also know that it isn't promises that is the test of leadership, it is performance. And performance is the test of a political party. And I submit that on the record of performance we have had a good record. Business is better, education has received aid from this government, and as long as I am at a great university, let me say that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration will go down in history as the education administration, because under this administration the first great new efforts were made in the field of aid to higher education -- the National Defense Education Act, the vocational education act, the manpower training act, the medical schools facility act -- every one of them needed in America, every one of them designed to strengthen America's educational structure, everyone designed to make opportunity a reality rather than a theory for young people. And each and every instance, my fellow Americans, the Senator from Arizona voted no. He voted no despite the facts, despite the known facts of the need of educational improvement and expansion. Despite the historical fact of Federal aid to education since the time, if you please, of the Northwest Ordinance and the Morrill Act.

But I must say that while all of these matters are of great consequence, the most important matter of all, it seems to me, is the record of this administration in the field of foreign policy and national security. And I take these moments now that remain to discuss that matter with you.

During the past four years President Kennedy and President Johnson have dedicated every effort of themselves and their administration towards building a better America and providing a more peaceful world. And I say that we can be proud of that record -- proud of the Peace Corps, of the Food for Peace Program, of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, of the Arms Control Program, of the Alliance for Progress -- because President Kennedy and President Johnson, know as you know and I know, that without peace there is no freedom, and without peace there is no progress. Therefore, this administration, unashamedly, and proudly, has dedicated itself to peace, and on that basis alone President Lyndon Johnson deserves to be re-elected on November 3.

I thank you very much.

(Excerpts follow, marked pages A through E, Oct. 30, 1964.)



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