

Spokane

It is good to be here at Spokane, the largest metropolis in the vast northern reaches of our country, from my hometown of Minneapolis to Seattle on the Coast.

Democratic Administrations traditionally have helped develop the massive electric power and irrigation resources of this great Inland Empire, as well as those of the other western states, and you can rest assured that after the Johnson Administration wins victory at the polls in November, we will continue to work to develop the economic potential of this region.

While serving in the Congress of the United States, President Johnson and I never thought that our responsibility for American economic development ended at the borders of the state which we represented. Unlike the temporary

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Republican spokesman, who voted only for reclamation and power projects which would help his home state of Arizona, President Johnson and I have voted for legitimate projects regardless of their location in America. We believe that the interests of America come first, not only the interests of one state.

America is not just Arizona, or Texas, or Minnesota-- adding to the opportunity of each American adds to the wellbeing of every other, regardless of the state in which he lives.

Just as we must continue our efforts to build the economic strength of this Inland Empire and of all America, so we will continue to keep the military strength of this country second to none. We shouldn't have to spend much

time in this campaign explaining our massive military strength, but our opposition has made some uninformed charges about the state of our national defense.

The truth is that we are not only stronger than any other nation, we are stronger than any possible combination of nations.

The United States has 800 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles which can reach any base or city in the Communist world. Almost all these missiles are in hardened underground bases while few of the Soviet Union's 200 ICBMs are in underground shelters.

Our Navy has 256 Polaris missiles on 18 nuclear submarines, about two-thirds of which are on patrol and ready to fire at a moment's notice. The Soviet Union has a smaller force of inferior missiles based on inferior submarines. Their missiles are of much shorter range and cannot be fired from beneath the sea's surface as can ours. We are now building another 25 Polaris submarines which

will carry 400 Polaris missiles.

On the question of bombers, the United States has a force several times as large as that available to the Soviet Union. Half of our bombers are ready at all times to take off on 15 minutes notice.

In other words, there is a bomber gap -- and it is in our favor. It will remain in our favor through the foreseeable future.

Since 1961, this Administration has achieved a 150 percent increase in the nuclear warheads and a 200 percent increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert forces; a 45 percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions; a 75 percent increase in airlift capacity; and an 800 percent increase in special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

And, we have planned ahead to maintain full military capacity for many years to come. We have initiated or completed 208 new weapons research projects. I could continue to list our weapons accomplishments for hours.

But you know, and I know, that wisdom as well as military strength is needed to keep the peace. The man who serves as the final judge of the use of our awesome nuclear arsenal must be a man of great prudence and wisdom. A President cannot change his mind after pulling the nuclear trigger. A President cannot claim that he was misquoted after announcing the decision which would destroy the civilized world.

In today's hair-trigger world, we need a President who is fully responsible and who fully understands the

world's problems. We need a President who is aware that the bipartisan foreign and defense policy of the last two decades has preserved the world from both nuclear war and Communist domination, and a President who is aware that the United States and the rest of the Free World is strong and thriving.

President Johnson--as did President Kennedy before him--has that greatest of talents we seek in statesmen: an understanding of the uses of strength in our relentless pursuit of peace.

Our defenses are strong. They will remain strong. While the time for beating swords into plowshares may be far off, we shall continue to work to eliminate war. Perseverance in the pursuit of peace is not cowardize--but courage. Restraint in the use of force is not weakness--

but wisdom. Let us be wise, let us persevere, and
America will endure. With our hard-won freedom
intact, we shall survive and flourish.

SALT LAKE CITY

I have often reflected during the last two months on the totally different views of America expressed by the two candidates for President.

Lyndon Johnson has held out before us a vista of a nation stronger and freer, a people more unified than at any time in all our history.

Barry Goldwater has painted for us a picture of a startlingly different America -- a land of bitter and discontented men and women, yearning for the past, resentful of the present, fearful of the future.

I find it hard it hard to believe that Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater have been talking about the same America. Peering through the lensless frames of his moral and emotional shortsightedness, Barry Goldwater has seen only what he wishes to see: the private and distorted vision of the misguided few.

But the real world, the real America, is not at all what Barry

Goldwater believes it to be. The ugliness, the hopelessness, the sheer misery, of Goldwater's America lies in the eye of the beholder.

The real America, the America we see stretched out before us, clothed in the crisp and sprightly mantle of autumn, is as different from the strange and tortured world of the Goldwaterites as the philosophies of Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater are different.

The real America, the America which you and I know, the America of Lyndon Johnson and of the Democratic party, is what it has always been. With God's help-- and with your help on November 3rd -- thus it shall ever be.

No fairminded person, looking about himself in the America of 1964, can fail to see that the citizens of this land of the free have more freedoms than any people at any time in the history of the world. And under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson we have taken long and purposeful strides toward that "new birth of freedom" which men have always sought, and never truly captured.

And we have begun to create about us the conditions under which

man can enjoy the fruits of his labors -- at leisure -- with zest -- and in dignity.

The Goldwaterites have been telling you what's wrong with America. Here, my friends, is a small slice of what's right with America:

--We are riding the crest of a wave of unparalleled prosperity.

--Economic growth is continuing at a phenomenal rate.

--Unemployment is down; more Americans are at work than ever before; and we are approaching the time when every able-bodied worker will find gainful outlet for his energies.

--We have more of the comforts and fewer of the hardships, more of the luxuries and fewer of the burdens, than any people in all of history.

What is unique about the civilization we are building for ourselves and our children. It is not our unprecedented level of material prosperity. It is not our stately mansions, nor yet our alabaster cities. If history is to reserve a place of honor for this generation, it will be for a bolder, a more enduring contribution.

That contribution, my friends, is the spirit of public morality.

I have chosen my words carefully and advisedly. The ethical conduct of the highest order in which a President can engage -- and the most fundamentally moral course which an Administration can pursue -- is to assure the right of every individual to achieve all of which he is capable.

In the white heat of this demanding standard, all else melts to insignificance. And by that standard, no period in our history has more nearly captured the spirit of public morality than the last four years.

For that spirit, the hallmark of civilization in full flower, has been the distinguishing characteristic of every significant achievement of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

--We passed a poverty bill -- to help those unfortunates among us, cast aside by the march of progress, and set them back on the road toward useful lives.

--We passed a civil rights bill -- to help lift from the the lives of millions of Americans the indignities and humiliations of second-class

citizenship.

--We passed a test-ban treaty -- to help lift from the world the tense and oppressive climate of a black cloud of fear and radioactive fallout -- a cloud which had distorted tomorrow's hopes as it had multiplied today's fears.

--We created a Peace Corps -- to lift our eyes toward a higher destiny and a richer life for those we help-- and, in helping others, for ourselves.

But we know that "... the great society is not a safe harbor, a final resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

What challenges lie before us?

We must, of course, labor unstintingly to eliminate inequality of opportunity wherever it may exist. But we must never restrict our vision solely to the acquisition of material possessions.

Where there is poverty of the spirit -- or sterility of culture-- the freedoms which mark the fulfillment of democratic man will not

flourish.

We must labor to improve the quality of life. We expect culture to be the portion of everyman -- a robust enjoyment of the pleasures which art and the creative use of leisure can bring.

We must rebuild our cities to provide a place where man's life can unfold amidst an exciting and stimulating environment. The air will be pure and spaces between buildings will be green. Our mammoth cities must not dwarf the spirit -- they must permit the richness of city life to be lived on a truly human scale.

Every person must have access to the finest education available -- he must be encouraged to develop his abilities to the fullest.

In all we do, we must encourage a rich flowering of individualism. "I believe in democracy," said Woodrow Wilson, "because it releases the energy of every human being."

That, my friends, is what we have been doing. And that is our commitment to future generations.

That is the ethical, the moral path we have followed under the leadership of John Kennedy and will continue to follow under Lyndon Johnson.

That path, illuminated by the insight of history and bounded only by the limits of our own vision, leads straight to the Great Society.

For the Great Society, is, before all else, a society which exists in the hearts of men.

The Great Society of Lyndon Johnson and of the Democratic Party rests upon that same spirit which moved the poet of ancient times to write¹⁷:

"Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well builded, nay nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity."

That is the city we have been building . It is far from complete. Join us in building it. Join us in building the world's first Great Society.



*This is Sen. Humphrey's Speech
for release whenever
they give it*
news release

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

FOR PM'S RELEASE
MONDAY, OCTOBER 19

B-3880

For Release
Monday
A.M.S.
**TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA
SENIOR CITIZENS MEETING
OCTOBER 19, 1964**
*Prepare for local
city dists.*

On November 3rd the American people will decide their future, the future of America, and perhaps the future of all mankind.

I know ~~that you~~ ^{our senior citizens} will not be passive at this crucial moment. Our older citizens have an outstanding voting record in presidential elections -- fully double the average for younger people. This is indicative of ~~your~~ ^{their} interest and ~~your~~ ^{their} concern. It is also a tribute to ~~your~~ ^{their} knowledge and experience.

Today I want to talk about some of the problems which have occurred in America because of changes in the composition of our population.

Today, we have more older people and more younger people in our population than ever before.

Lyndon Johnson and I do not look upon this as a problem. Rather we look upon our population -- young or old -- as a vital resource. People, not our material possessions, are the real wealth of America.

We further believe that an opportunity to live self-sufficient and meaningful lives is the prerogative of every citizen. So is the opportunity to contribute to the community life of this country. And we hold ourselves responsible to make these opportunities available to everyone, without regard to race, religion, national origin, sex or age.

We see the scrap heap approach to our older citizens as callous, immoral and incredibly shortsighted.

Thousands of older people throughout America are giving millions of hours of voluntary service to their communities -- they are giving new life and new dimensions to the American tradition of voluntary service in behalf of others.

We intend to initiate specific legislative proposals for the establishment of community centers where retired persons can participate in a variety of social activities, educational programs, and programs of community service.

We intend also to ask the Congress to explore the creation of a National Senior Citizens Corps, perhaps as special component of the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), to provide a vehicle for retired citizens to serve as volunteers in developing a wide variety of community services not now available.

Today hospitals, libraries, schools, museums, parks, health and welfare departments are providing only limited services because of limited personnel. At the same time, our 20 million retired and older people represent a huge reservoir of skill, talent, experience, and energy seeking useful and constructive outlets. We must capitalize more fully on these priceless resources.

At the same time we recognize that older people in our society have special wants and needs.

My You are concerned about the level of retirement income and whether it is going to be eroded away by inflation. *My* You are concerned about medical bills which may pile up. *My* You are concerned about comfortable and functional retirement housing at costs and rents you can afford.

From the extensive hearings held in the United States Senate, we know that many fast-buck artists, schemers and quacks are seeking to exploit these needs.

Senator Goldwater says these are ~~your problems~~ *of our elderly citizens --* and ~~your problems alone~~ *and of our elderly citizens alone*. He says these problems are of no concern to the Federal and State governments.

In a speech before the White House Conference on Aging in January 1961, Senator Goldwater said ~~that~~ financial security and other provisions for older people are responsibilities solely for the individual and his family.

We reject this position categorically. We believe that sensible governmental programs can help immeasurably in making the years of retirement an exciting and fulfilling period of life.

Perhaps Senator Goldwater needs the chance to learn by personal experience about the problems of retirees. So let me suggest that we join together on November 3rd to help provide the retirement from politics he so richly deserves.

This country is enjoying the benefits of the American society ^{our senior citizens} ~~you~~ ^{these} labored diligently to build. We understand this. And we believe ~~you~~ ^{these} are entitled to share fully in the rewards of ~~your~~ ^{these} efforts to build a better America.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has worked consistently toward this objectives.

Since 1961, the Congress has increased fourfold the appropriations for the construction of hospitals and centers for diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation, and geriatric facilities.

In 1961, the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Congress passed the Community Health Facilities Act.

In 1962, we enacted the welfare amendments to the Social Security Act to establish comprehensive information and referral centers, health clinics, home-maker services, meal delivery to homebound older people, visiting nurse and other services.

~~Florida has been one of the principal beneficiaries of these programs. The University of Miami was designated a major center in the United States for research on aging.~~

In 1962 the Harris-Kefauver drug amendments assured new protection in drug manufacture, tighter inspection requirements, and prohibited the indiscriminate use of dangerous experimental drugs.

In 1963 we passed the mental health act to assist in the construction of community mental health centers and various types of mental retardation centers and to train teachers of the handicapped.

In 1963, we passed legislation to construct new dental, medical, public health and osteopathic facilities and to expand existing ones.

In 1964 we provided funds to modernize and replace antiquated hospitals in many of our metropolitan areas and doubled funds for long-term care facilities.

We revised the income tax so that an older couple pays no tax at all until their reportable income exceeds \$3,000. And all -- not just part -- of expenses for medicines and drugs are deductible from income tax by persons 65 and over.

While Senator Goldwater's remarks about many issues have been cryptic and confused, his voting record is crystal clear. In session after session, he has voted against constructive common-sense proposals to help our older citizens enjoy a more healthy and worthwhile life.

He voted against Federal housing for the elderly on at least four occasions.

He voted against creating the disability insurance program.

He voted against increased federal matching funds for aid to dependent children and to the needy aged, blind and disabled.

He voted twice against medical care for the aged financed through Social Security.

He voted against increased research programs into diseases of the elderly.

He voted against restoration of funds to the Housing and Home Finance Agency research programs on housing for the aged.

He voted against legislation to provide new hospital construction, more medical schools, and more doctors and nurses.

This record discloses a shocking disregard for the needs and concerns of our older citizens. And it discloses either indifference or ignorance toward the remarkable medical and social breakthroughs which hold such promise for transforming and enriching the lives of our older citizens.

But enough of the past. What of the future?

I predict that the 89th Congress, convening this January, will be remembered as the Congress to establish a common-sense, sound, and long awaited plan for prepaid hospital insurance under social security. In the 88th Congress, the legislation passed the Senate. Next year, I predict, complete victory will be achieved.

The Goldwaterites say ~~that~~ the aged should buy private insurance.

They say ~~that~~ most of the aged are better off financially than younger people, and can easily pay their medical bills. Well, let's try a little experiment. Think of three people you know who are over sixty-five. The odds are that two of them will soon have an annual medical bill of \$1,200. Can they afford it?

You know that "medicare" will not cost your house, or your savings, or your grandson's education. It will cost a small payroll deduction during working years and will take the bite out of those hospital bills when you are trying to live on a fixed retirement income.

And we think this makes sense. We think this is sound public policy.

We intend also to enact increased monthly social security benefit payments. And once we get such monthly payments up to a decent level, we hope to modify the social security benefit structure so that it is responsive to economic changes and fluctuations in the cost of living.

(more)

In addition to hospital insurance and increased social security payments, we must continue to build more and better hospitals, nursing homes, geriatric centers, and provide for more doctors, nurses, and other skilled medical personnel.

We must continue to provide assistance for the construction of housing for our older citizens. Since 1961, almost 200,000 dwelling units have been authorized with the aid of public funds. But more must be done.

We must also face up to the unique problems which exist in communities -- just as we provide special assistance to local school systems in areas of high concentrations of Federal employees?

We have just begun to understand fully the nature of these exciting challenges and opportunities. But I can promise you that a Johnson-Humphrey administration will meet these challenges and capitalize on these opportunities.

The most recent medical advances have occurred for the earlier -- not the later -- years of life. The principal infant killers have been almost wiped out. Medical science is discovering the causes of dreaded and congenital defects. Medical science has almost exterminated many of the infectious diseases.

Now we must assault the citadel -- degenerative diseases -- the chronic diseases of later years. We must provide funds so that the National Institutes of Health can focus their vast resources on this problem. Let us move forward to make the decade of 1965-75 the golden era of medical progress for Americans 65 to 75 and older. This is an objective worthy of a great nation and a great people.

Lyndon Johnson and I ask for your help in this historic effort.

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