

500 WBZ—LINO

1 VBS — LINO

Lexington, Ky.
Blue Grass Field
October 27, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor.

Well, thank you very much. Keep it up until that plane lands.

Mr. Mayor, and my good friends of Lexington, Ky., these wonderful students that are here tonight—and that poor wayward soul that was up there a moment ago.

I must say that it is a real treat and a pleasant surprise to find so many people at the airport at this rather reasonable hour—reasonable hour for any body that really feels the sense of vitality that makes you a good Democrat.

Well, it is good to be in the Blue Grass country, and it is wonderful to be here in this lovely city of Lexington, a city that I have had the privilege of visiting many years ago. I had an uncle that lived here. He was a wonderful man. He had one blind spot in his life—one limitation. The poor soul, I had never been able to get him to vote the Democratic ticket. But I think that everybody is entitled to a little transgression. Most everybody is entitled to make a few mistakes, except this year.

May I just give you a little rundown of what we have been trying to do these busy days.

Tonight, prior to coming here, we were in Cincinnati. Earlier we were in Charleston, W. Va. Earlier than that we were in New York City.

Well—how do you do, New Yorkers.

And a little earlier than that, we were in Washington, D.C.

Last night at about 11 o'clock we were in Madison, Wis. We had a wonderful day yesterday at Chicago, Milwaukee, Racine, and Green Bay and Madison and Washington.

This is a nice way to see the country. I don't think you live long this way, but it is sure fun while you are living.

I do want to thank the students who have taken the time tonight to come here.

This expression of your interest in politics is one of the most heartening developments as far as I am concerned. I find all over America young people that are tremendously interested in the outcome of this election. You have every right to be. Because, for the first time in my memory, in a national election there is really, as the Senator from Arizona said, a choice, a real choice. There is a choice between one candidate, or, I should say, between the candidates, with one candidate feeling that America has had her best days, in other words, that it is sort of over the hill, from here on out it is downhill. And there is a choice for the other candidate, who is your President, that feels that America is just now getting into orbit, so to speak, going into new opportunities.

I can't tell you how much it means to those of us that are in this national political program to find the young element of America, the younger people of this Nation, committed more and more to the Democratic Party and to its programs of economic and social progress.

Tomorrow we are going to have a little gathering downtown. There may be a few folks here that haven't heard the truth yet. And we want to talk to them. And I want you to help us talk to them.

As I recall, Kentucky is one of the States where at the age of 18 you can vote. Is that correct?

[Chorus of "Yes."]

I think that is a very good thing. As a matter of fact, I have been a supporter of that program. And there are two States, as I recall, where that privilege is accorded the people—Kentucky and Georgia.

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So may I add that in Kentucky you have an opportunity to show that when people of age 18 and over take a good look at program and policy and candidates, that they are capable of making a mature and responsible decision. And if you are, and if you are going to be a participant, I think you are going to agree with me that the Kennedy-Johnson program of economic and social progress is the one that you want, and that you are going to cast your vote for it, by giving a vote for the election of President Lyndon Johnson on November 3.

I find that whenever you talk to a group like this, and see smiles on people's faces, you know that right off the bat that they are going to vote Democratic.

Then occasionally, when I am out on the hustings I look around and I will see somebody carrying a Goldwater sign, and they have a little glint in their eye, and a slight smile on their face—not too much, a little. And I will say to them, you know that deep down in your heart you know you are going to vote for Johnson.

So when you go back to your respective schools tomorrow, if you find anyone there that looks like the joy of life is about to descend upon him, be considerate, be charitable, welcome them into our friendly fellowship of the Democratic Party.

If you should find one or two that look as if somehow or another they are just sort of walking around like political zombies, don't spend too much time on them, folks. Don't spend too much time.

All I ask you to do now is to help us, by helping yourself, help us, and I mean this—help us by getting out a big vote, help us by seeing to it that on November 3, which is election day, and ought to be called citizenship day, that on that day the biggest turnout of American voters in America's history is recorded. It is nothing short of tragic that in this the greatest free land in the world, less than 65 percent of the eligible electorate has ever cast a vote. And I generally find that the people who never voted, or who vote seldom are the ones that complain the loudest. We ought to have in America a demonstration of our faith in the institutions of freedom and democracy that exceeds any other country in the world. Yet in the British election of only a few days ago over 85 percent of the electorate cast their vote. In the Italian election of a year ago, 93 percent cast their vote. In the election in the Scandinavian countries, over 90 percent cast their vote.

But in America, where we tell the whole world about democracy, and how they ought to live, and the blessings of freedom, less than 63 percent voted in the last election, and that was the largest vote in the Nation's history.

So I call upon my young friends, people that know what life is about, people who have a zest for living, people who know that this country is just beginning to move forward, I call upon you to get everybody that you can to those polls. I don't know how they are going to vote; but I will trust their good judgment. I have a feeling that when they look over the candidates, and they look over the programs, they are going to want a President that is reliable, that has a record of experience and performance, someone who has a spirit of reason and moderation, and not someone who is impetuous and irresponsible. They are not going to want a President who constantly revises his remarks. On one week he is for something, and the next week he is not.

I think the American people, if given a chance, and if you encourage them to exercise their duty and their privilege of voting, that the American people will demonstrate in this election the greatest affirmation, the greatest affirmation of positive government, of progressive government, that America has ever known. And we need it. We need to let the world know that this country cares about its own people, and cares about the world.

And we need to let the world know that the forces of bitterness and division and dissension and confusion, which are represented in this campaign by some, that those forces will never gain ascendancy in America. That this is the last time that they will ever have a platform to speak from that is a respectable platform.

And I urge upon you to make it your business to see to it that the Goldwaterites—not Republicans, because let me tell you, a large number of Republicans are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson.

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I ask you to make it your business to see that the Goldwaterites are given the worst trouncing that any splinter party ever received in the history of this country.

Article

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C., October 28, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY,
LEXINGTON, KY.

I have a genuine and longstanding sense of kinship with Lexington. For many years my Uncle John lived here, and through him, I came to know Lexington and its people. He had a drugstore—right over there, I believe—and someday, when I'm old and gray, maybe I'll come here and practice my trade at Uncle John's old establishment. But not this year.

In a sense, Kentucky is a home to all America—for here east meets west, north meets south. And, in a sense, Kentucky is a source of our cherished sense of national unity, that rare and precious spirit which has sustained us over the long generations since Kentucky—and the Nation—was indeed a “dark and bloody ground.”

Kentuckians fought on both sides of the Civil War. Here, Abraham Lincoln was born—and here, too, was the home of Jefferson Davis.

Yet Kentucky, split as she was in temperament and tradition—survived that ordeal—and so did the Nation. Kentucky's young men came home; brothers, who had but a few months before battled fiercely one against another, embraced and set about to build a new and stronger State—a new and stronger Nation.

Today, we are once again being tested. There is abroad in the land something of the same reckless, heedless temper which dragged Kentucky and the Nation into a conflict which was, as we see in retrospect, as much a drain upon the Nation's spirit as a tragic waste of her manhood. There are in the America of 1964 as in the America of a century ago, those who would set brother against brother, class against class, race against race, State against State, region against region.

Kentucky has seen the folly of such a course—and so has the Nation.

Lyndon Johnson has pledged his solemn resolve that the Nation shall *not* again be torn asunder by internal conflict—conflict which can render us incapable of fighting that greater war beyond—war against the common enemies of mankind.

Lyndon Johnson has pledged himself, his administration and the Democratic Party to a “new birth of freedom”—freedom from fear, hatred, mistrust of one another, those destructive, divisive, corrosive elements which set us at each other's throats, rub us against one another until the friction produces sparks which can but lead to national conflagration.

Lyndon Johnson, like your own immortal Henry Clay, in devoting his enormous energies and his formidable abilities to the elimination of sectional rivalries; to the smoothing of all the eagle's feathers; to the welding of a stronger, more truly united America.

And Lyndon Johnson is the one man who is truly, eminently qualified to assume so challenging a task. Like Alben Barkley, he has traveled that long, arduous, enlightening road from the South up through Congress to national office. With a perspective captured by few men of our history, he has seen that it is possible to merge the interests of a single State, a single region into the interests of the Nation.

Not just possible—but imperative.

And Lyndon Johnson has always known, as John Kennedy knew and as the Democratic Party has historically known, that in merging the interests of each into the welfare of all, the Federal Government can be the chief instrument of the public interest; not a master, but a servant; not a ravaging Frankenstein, gobbling up our taxes and robbing us of our independence, but a creature of our own making, doing our bidding and providing for us and for our children those things which we are unable to provide, or provide so well, for ourselves.

Kentucky, of all States, needs no lecture on what a creative, intelligent, compassionate, progressive Federal establishment can produce, or of the devastating effect which the policies of Barry Goldwater would have on the economy of your State.

I need not remind you of the benefits which Kentucky has reaped—and properly so, legitimately so—from the agricultural policies of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

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And I need not remind you of the 10-cent tobacco which you would have left if Barry Goldwater were to be free to effect—and I quote him: “Prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program.”

I need not remind you of the miracle wrought by rural electrical cooperatives.

And I need not remind you that Barry Goldwater believes that the time has come—and I quote him, “to dissolve the REA.”

I need not remind you that 9 out of 10 American workers participate in social security, that program which, molded in the forge of the depression, today provides a basic measure of security and dignity for the future of millions upon millions of us.

And I need not remind you that Barry Goldwater would kill social security by making it voluntary.

Nor, certainly, need I remind this city—this home of the University of Kentucky; of the first schoolhouse in Kentucky; of Transylvania College, the oldest institution of higher learning west of the Alleghenies—of the significant strides which, by cooperation between the Federal and State governments, we have made toward the goal of an education for every American.

And I need not remind you that Barry Goldwater believes—and again I quote him: “The child has no right to an education. In most cases he will get along very well without it.”

But there is one subject so critical, so unmistakably the most disturbing aspect of Barry Goldwater's philosophy, that I would be derelict if I were not to express my views upon it. And these are the views of Lyndon Johnson, of the Democratic Party, and of the great bulk of responsible Republicans as well.

I am speaking, of course, of the question of national survival in this nuclear age.

The history of our era has taught us that peace is best preserved through strength—strength used with restraint, with wisdom, and with a clear sense of perspective.

In 1961 President Kennedy and the Democratic Congress acted decisively to insure that our strength would be preeminent—that our balanced military power could deter or defeat any foe in any foreseeable situation.

Our enemies know this—and so do our allies.

But President Johnson also knows that it is easier to destroy than to build. He knows it is easier to make war than to think, persuade, construct, and act responsibly in this nuclear age.

President Johnson knows—and we know—that responsible action is the only sure path to peace. And he knows that mankind yearns for a world where peace is more than just an interval between wars. For he knows that the next war will be the last war.

President Johnson has pledged himself to work for the growth of freedom and the survival of mankind. Listen to his words:

“* * * as long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace. That peace is much more than the absence of war * * *. If the strong and the wealthy ignore the needs of the poor, frustrations will lead to force. Peace, therefore, is a world where no nation can force another to follow its command.

President Johnson will honor that pledge.

Our opponents ask, “Why not victory?” We reply, “Why not victory indeed?”—victory over war itself, victory for peace, victory for mankind.

This is our cause. This is our commitment.

We ask your help.

Lexington, Ky.
Fayette County Courthouse
October 28, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUMPHREY

Thank you, thank you very much.

Thank you, thank you. I do thank you very much, Governor. And I want to thank John Watts, your Congressman, for his thoughtfulness in presenting to me this symbol of not only good luck, but this symbol of a champion, of citation.

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And believe me, if that doesn't hang in the courthouse, or in the White House, it is going to be in the Humphrey house, and it will remind me every day that we have got to keep on wing. [Applause.]

Governor, I have never been surrounded by so many Governors in all my life. The only one that is missing that I can think of is Governor Combs, who is over in another part of your State, making a speech today in the cause of freedom and progress, which is synonymous with the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

And I understand that our friend Earl Clements is also speaking in another part of the state. So, we have opened up all the big guns of the Democratic Party upon those moving targets called the Goldwaterites.

You know, folks, just a while ago I looked up there, and there was a great big sign up there that had the picture of a fellow that is running for something. [Cry of "Goldwater."]

That is the man. Yes, I had forgotten his name. I thank you very much. And I just want you to know that is about as high as that fellow is ever going to get. [Applause.]

Well, you know, friends, that it is just wonderful to be here in the presence of Governor Breathitt, to be here in the presence of Governor Weatherby, to be here in the presence of a native son of one that loves this community so much, and that time after time, through your votes, has expressed that love and affection, my friend and your friend, former Governor of this State, Happy Chandler. [Applause.]

And I just want to serve notice on those Goldwaterites—because I separate them from the regular Republicans—they are different—I want—we will take care of you a little later, boys, don't get anxious. Just wait your time. You are way back, you are way back, you know.

I will tell you—when you can get all the top political leaders of the Democratic Party of the State of Kentucky working together as a team, that means that there is victory in the air for the Democrats, and that means that there is good news that is on the way, just 6 days from today.

And that good news, my friends, is that President Lyndon Johnson will be elected with an overwhelming, smashing majority.

I am particularly pleased to once again see my friend, the Lieutenant Governor of your State, Harry Lee Waterfield, and his wife, here today. And I was greeted last night by the mayor of Lexington, Mayor Fugazzi. I cannot think of a nicer reception.

I might as well make a little family confession. My uncle, John Humphrey, lived in this community for many years. You know—if you boys wouldn't be so anxious, you might get something to make you feel happy here for a minute.

Uncle John was a fine man, he was a good man, he was a successful businessman. But he had one weakness. He voted Republican. But you know something—he has gone on to his heavenly reward, but his widow says, "I am a Republican, Hubert, but I am like a lot of other Republicans, I am going to vote for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey."

Well, you know, it is a great privilege to come to a college and university center. Lexington, Ky., the home of great educational institutions, Lexington, Ky., that had the first college or the first institution of higher learning west of the Alleghenies.

And I want to extend my congratulations to Transylvania College. And I want to thank you for having such good political judgment as to be out here for Lyndon Johnson.

And then I understand that next year, in either January or February of 1965, that the University of Kentucky will be celebrating its centennial. I want to congratulate that great university.

One of the advantages of higher education is that after you have attended these great universities and been privileged to receive some understanding of history, that you know that it is perfectly OK for a person to study ancient history, but you ought not to vote it.

Well, Governors, and fellow Democrats, and fellow citizens, I am so delighted to be here that my cup runneth over with gratitude and appreciation. We are coming down now to the stretch, as they say in the campaign. We have had many an argument. We have had

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all too little discussion at times of the issues, because in order to have a debate, you have to have two participants. But I am going today—may I just say that in every good program there is also a little static. Don't let it bother you at all.

And you know something, it is always from my far right.

Well, today I want to talk to this splendid audience about the record of stewardship of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

Four years ago, a brave, intelligent, able young man became President of the United States. It was in November of 1960 that the American people, in a hard-fought, close election, selected John Kennedy as their President.

Every day that he served, he became more loved. Every act of his public life was one of leadership and inspiration. I think every one of us remembers that day in January 1961, January 20, when this fine-looking, intelligent, gifted man stood there on the steps of the Nation's Capitol, and looking out on that multitude, said to the American people: "Let us begin."

It was like a command, or should I say a challenge. A nation was wondering what the future would offer. Our economy was in its third recession in 8 years. And Kentucky and Minnesota and California and Michigan and Florida and Maine, yes, every part of America was feeling the effects of that recession.

Our industrial plant was being used to about 80 or 85 percent of its capacity. Unemployment was high. The gold reserves were diminishing. And the Nation—if you listen, you will learn something—and the Nation wanted to know what was to be offered in terms of hope and policy.

And President Kennedy, assuming that office, started immediately on a program of progress. And this great State of Kentucky, like every other State in America, has shared in that progress.

I will only say this: That 4 years ago the economy of this Nation was barely moving. In fact, it was static. Our gross national product was slightly above \$500 billion. Today, this economy is growing more rapidly than that of any other nation in the world, and our gross national product is \$623 billion.

In three and a half years.

Today, over 73 million Americans are at work, at higher wages than ever before. Today American business is expanding at an unprecedented rate, and the net profits of corporate industry last year were \$13 billion higher than any other time in the history of American corporate enterprise.

Dividends are up, wages are up, employment is up, profits are up, and the American businessman knows that for 44 consecutive months, the longest sustained period of economic growth in the history of any country at any time in the history of man—44 consecutive months of economic growth.

The American businessman knows that this is solid progress.

The man from Arizona says it is an illusion. He says it is fake. He says it is phony. But let me tell you Henry Ford doesn't think so. Oh, no, and let me tell you not a single corporation in America thinks so. Because the rate of investment this month is higher than any other time in the history of this country. American business has faith in the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

So, the gentleman from Arizona says he doesn't want to discuss economics. I shouldn't think so. I wouldn't either if I was in his position. Because this man has yet—and I will leave it to any fair-minded American to judge as to whether or not I tell you the truth—this man as yet has not presented a single basic program for economic development of this country, save one—when he was flying around up there in the atmosphere, 2 months—1 month after Congress had adjourned, he said he was for a tax cut. But my dear friends, we voted on the tax cut last winter. And we didn't vote on it in the compartment of a jet airplane. We voted on it in the Chamber of the U.S. Senate.

I voted for it. I voted for it. Your own two Republican Senators from this State voted for it. Most everybody voted for it. Most Democrats and most Republicans voted for the tax cut, to help Ameri-

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can business, to help the American consumer, to help the American Nation. Yes, most Americans wanted the tax cut. Business and labor, Republicans and Democrats. And most of them voted for it.

But not Senator Goldwater.

Well, my dear friends, there are other matters of concern. But the prosperity of this country is a vital part of our national security. I speak in an area of America that is known for its agriculture as well as its industry. I speak in an area of America that has one of the proudest records of agricultural management of any part of this Nation. The Senator from Arizona has been quite true to his convictions. I want to say this about him.

First of all, I want to make it crystal clear, lest I forget it, that I have never and nor shall I ever personally attack the man as a man. I consider him a loyal, patriotic American. I would like to have him, as a matter of fact, as my neighbor, in my country club. But I don't want him as President of the United States. [Applause.]

But I will say for Barry Goldwater that he not only says what he is for, he votes that way. That is the trouble. That is the trouble. And here he says to the farmers of Kentucky, to the farmers of Minnesota, he says he wants a prompt and final termination of the farm price-support program.

All right, my friends. Every tobacco producer in this State should listen, every small grain producer should listen. But I know that I am in a center of tobacco production where a program has worked for 30 years successfully—30 years. And while that may not mean much to some who chant, chant, chant nonsense, let me tell you that there are people here in this audience that remember 10-cent tobacco, and they don't want to ever see it again.

There are people here in this audience who want to see our farm people living better, who believe that rural electrification is good for the Nation, who believe that there is room in America for both public and private power, who believe, if you please, that America's countryside has a much right to enjoy the blessings of modern science and technology as the cities.

And President Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, and Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, believe that rural America should have every opportunity to live the good life, just as they do in Lexington or Minneapolis or Austin, Tex. [Applause.]

And now, my friends, we have people in our community, an ever-growing number of young, an ever-growing number of the elderly. The miracles of modern medicine and better diet, better environment, has extended the lifespan. And America in its prosperity is growing rapidly, not only economically, but in population.

By the year 1970 over half of our population will be under age 25. This is a young nation. And believe me, that is a good sign. But here we have a man that seeks the Office of Presidency, on the Republican ticket, and may I say that he is only the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

He is not, as your illustrious Governor has pointed out, a true Republican. He has voted more against the Republican platform than Hubert Humphrey. And that is a matter of official record.

This man, however, seeks to repeal the accomplishments of 30 years of tireless effort, 30 years of effort, into which, may I say, the great work of an Alben Barkley, and a Franklin Roosevelt, and a Harry Truman, yes, a Dwight Eisenhower, and a John Kennedy, went into that 30 years of work.

And this man today—this man today says, unashamedly, he says the Federal Government must withdraw from a whole series of activities, including education, social welfare, agriculture, health, and other matters.

Now, may I add, my friends, that a man that says that has forgotten that the Constitution of the United States says. That Constitution—you know, this is why you fellows lose a lot of votes—exactly. [Applause.]

You know, one of things I have found out about most Americans—Democrats and Republicans alike—they are generally people of good manners, and good will and good humor. Except some. [Applause.]

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Now, when you read that Constitution, the first thing that it tells us is to promote the general welfare. That is the duty of Government. And may I add that one of the greatest measures of promoting the general welfare was sponsored by a great statesman from this State, and by another from the State of Texas, both now gone to their heavenly rewards. One, Sam Rayburn, and one Alben Barkley. [Applause.]

The Social Security Act—the Social Security Act—and what does the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party say? He says—he says the Democrats are misrepresenting his position on social security. And why? Because we quote him accurately.

Here is a man who, campaigning for the office of Presidency in February of this year, in the State of New Hampshire says, “I think that social security would be better if it were voluntary.”

Here is a man who says, by his votes, and Senator Goldwater, again, I say, is a man of conviction. He says you shall judge me by my votes. And here is a man who in the United States Senate, in 1961, when he had an opportunity to vote for the extension and the expansion of social security, voted no.

Here is a man, who when he had the opportunity to include the totally disabled, the crippled, those who were totally disabled, at age 55 and over, to include them under social security, he voted no. And he says we misrepresent him when we say that his attitude and his votes represent either the weakening of or the destruction of social security. I say we quote him fairly. I say that man is no friend of social security. He is no friend of the elderly. [Applause.]

Now, let me speak of the younger. I suppose one ought to consider what we call the future of our Nation. Everybody in America knows that there is no future for a young man without an education or a young woman. Education today has become a necessity, not a luxury. Education today is not something for the rich and the well-born alone. It is for everybody. And the young man or woman of the future that is without some technical or vocational or liberal arts education or professional education is a young man that has been denied equality of opportunity.

It is in the national interest that everyone have education. Our national security depends upon it. Our industrial progress depends upon it. The health of our community depends upon it. The good living of America depends upon it. And every mother and father in this audience, and every Governor in every State, and every Congressman and legislator knows that the costs of education rise every year, and that the need for classrooms and teachers and elementary, secondary, and higher educational establishments expands.

Your Government, since the days of the Articles of Confederation, since 1785—your Government, since the Northwest Ordinance, your Government, since the Land Grant College Act of 1862, has been engaged in aid to education.

Every year—it is as American as Bunker Hill. It is as American as the Statue of Liberty. The Federal Government, the State government, the local government, the churches of America, the great philanthropic institutions of America have together built a tremendous educational establishment for the American people. [Applause.]

But here is a man—here is a man on the Republican ticket who in Jacksonville, Fla., but 2 years ago, in speaking there, said the following, “The child has no right to an education. In most cases, he will get along very well without it.”

My dear friends, those are the words of Barry Goldwater. Those are the words of a man who seeks to be President of the United States. And any man that—[Voice. Tell the truth.] And any man that will say that, will generally get the kind of clague that you are hearing today, and doesn't deserve to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, according to the doctrine of Barry Goldwater, you shall know them by their votes. This man, Mr. Goldwater, voted against the National Defense Education Act, voted against vocational education extension, voted against the Higher Education Act, that aids your university, that aids your college, voted against college dormitory aid from your Federal Government, voter against, if you please, aid to medical schools, voted against nurses training assistance.

9 VBS – LINO

Ladies and gentlemen, any man that seeks to be President of the United States, that can vote against every single educational act that has ever been brought before the Congress I say to you should not be given that high office. He isn't worthy of it. [Applause.]

America is the land of opportunity. And opportunity is but a vision and a theory unless opportunity is backed up by education. It is through education that we make equality of opportunity meaningful.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, let me say that America needs a President that binds up our wounds and doesn't open them. America needs a President that seeks to unite us, and not divide us. America needs a President who, like Henry Clay, said, I know no North, no East, no South, no West. America needs a President that thinks in terms only of we the people of these United States of America. [Applause.]

Many people, all Americans, sometime in their life have said our pledge of allegiance, our pledge of allegiance. And may I say that that pledge of allegiance is not merely a reputation of words. It is a national commitment. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. And that is what we mean by opportunity. One nation. Not North, not South, not rich, not poor, not white, not colored. One nation, indivisible, under God. [Applause.]

And ladies and gentlemen, when I hear a candidate for the most noble office within the gift of the American people appeal for votes on the basis of Dixie or the North, on the basis of white or colored, I say that that man has not met the moral test of being President of the United States. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, the greatest issue before us—the greatest issue before us is the issue of national security and peace. And I think it is on this issue—and I think it is on this issue that thoughtful, considerate, fairminded Americans will ultimately make their choice. Because with all that we—because with all that we may say about our prosperity, about our social and economic programs, important as they are—all that we say of our beautiful homes and communities—and they are better today than ever before—all of this is for naught, my friends, if we lose the peace.

The task of statesmanship, the task of statesmanship is to preserve the peace without the sacrifice of freedom. The task of the President of the United States in the years ahead is to guide not only this Nation, but to guide this world in the paths of peace.

Almighty God has been good to America. No nation so rich, no people so healthy, no people so well fed, so well clothed, no people so free, no people so blessed as we, the American people.

It is my view that these blessings that have been showered upon us impose some responsibilities. America, above all, must be a responsible nation.

There are only two policies of leadership in this world today—one is the policy of tyranny and dictatorship that is represented by the Communist forces that seek to overwhelm this world. And the other force is represented by the people of the United States, through their President and through their Government. And this force today is led by a man who has dedicated his life to public service, by one who walks in the footsteps of his predecessor, by one who learned his compassion—by one who learned his compassion from Franklin Roosevelt, who learned how to stand up courageously from Harry Truman, by one who learned to walk in the paths of peace by his association with John Kennedy.

And I say today that America is indeed a fortunate land to have as the leader of the free world that man from Texas, Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States. [Applause.]

Let me leave you with these thoughts.

Peace is not attained by the wishing for it. Peace is not ours merely because we ask for it. John Kennedy, in that memorable address at American University on June 10, 1963, said to the whole world that peace is more than the absence of war, that peace is a process. And that peace requires the courage of a warrior, that peace requires sacrifice, that it requires responsibility, and that it requires, may I say, a sense of humility and understanding.

10 VBS - LINO

Peace is like building a great cathedral. It is not done in a generation or in a decade. The mighty cathedrals which are the wonders of the world took sometimes a hundred years, yea, 200 years for the building thereof. But every generation made its contribution. Each generation added to the beat and the spiritual meaning of that cathedral. And peace itself will not come quickly.

There are no easy and quick solutions. The only instant solution that you have at all, and the only instant thing in this day and age of complex problems, in this age of the nuclear era, the only thing instance is annihilation, if we make a mistake.

Therefore, we must build—we must build patiently, and we must build solidly. And we have been building.

We started that process of building first with the United Nations—the United Nations, which is man's effort, his most recent effort, to try to find a path to peace. I say to you that it is not perfect. But it is the best that we have.

We further built the path to peace, or this great cathedral of peace, stone by stone, by our Marshal plan, by our efforts to stop the onward aggression in southern Europe and Greece and Turkey of the Communist forces. We organized and constructed NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We have been generous in foreign aid. And my fellow Americans, in these years of the Kennedy-Johnson administration many things have been done.

Strengthening of the U.N. Yes, my friends, food for peace—to use the abundance of our fields, to use the bounty and the abundance of our agriculture to feed the hungry, and to clothe the naked, and to heal the sick. This has not only been good morals, it has been good economics. Because we have expanded our markets, we have aided the needy peoples of the world. And needy people are the first victims of the tyrant.

We have passed the Peace Corps. We have established the Arms Control Agency. We signed the nuclear test ban treaty. These, my friends, are steps in the peace.

But in every instance—in every instance, ladies and gentlemen, the man who seeks the Presidency on the Republican ticket said, the U.N., we should get out of it.

Secondly, he now says maybe we should stay in it, if it does our bidding.

Secondly, he is the man who said of the Peace Corps, as he voted against it—President Kennedy sending it to Congress, and this Senator that is speaking to you is its author, I handled that bill on the floor of the Senate [applause] and what did the Senator from Arizona call this, our noblest effort at utilizing the ability and the talent and the decency of the young Americans for international service? What did he call it? A haven for beatniks, as he voted “no.”

Here is a man who saw our warehouses overflowing with food, and votes against the use of food to feed the hungry, to permit our churches, our philanthropic organizations and our Government to use food for peace.

Here is a man who was one of the few, 25 out of 33 Republicans voted for the nuclear test ban treaty. Both of your Republican Senators, one of them speaking for it, and yet it was Senator Goldwater who said that he would have no part of it, and voted “no.”

Here is a man who, when President Eisenhower, and later on President Kennedy, asked for an Arms Control Agency, to see if we could not slow down the arms race before it destroyed the human race. This man said he would never vote for such a thing, even though, may I say, most Democrats and most Republicans saw differently.

Ladies and gentlemen, the path of peace requires statesmanship. The path of peace requires a man of deep dedication to human values. The path of peace requires sacrifice, and that requires that the wealth of this Nation and the power of America, which is unbelievable—power such as no other nation has every known—that this wealth not be for luxury, that this power not be for aggression, but that this wealth and this prosperity and this power that is ours, that it will be used to save man from suicide, to save him from nuclear catastrophe.

Ladies and gentlemen, within the last 2 weeks tremendous things have happened. In 24 hours there was a political explosion in Russia, a change of leaders, an atomic explosion in China.

11 VBS - LINO

If ever there were two events that focussed upon America the need for responsible leadership in this country, it happened in that 24-hour period.

I do not want the finger of Barry Goldwater on the nuclear trigger. I think he is too irresponsible. [Applause.]

I want to be sure that the man that is Commander in Chief of this Nation is a man that understands the use of power with restraint, that understands that a leader must be responsible, that understands that a national leader must be able to lead all of the people and not just some of the people. I want him to be a responsible man for the cause of humanity throughout the world.

And I say we have that man. And in the next 6 days you are going to make the decision as to the future of your country and of this world.

Once you elect a President, you elect him for 4 years. You cannot repeal that. You cannot withdraw your vote. Once that vote is cast, once that man takes that oath of office, he is there for 4 years. And the decisions that he makes in those 4 years will not only affect America for 4 years, but will affect America for a generation or longer.

Therefore, on election day you have the responsibility, the faith of the world is in your hands, not the President's on that day. The faith of the world is in the hands of sovereign people of the United States.

And people everywhere, in every continent, people in every country, people of every race, people of every creed and religion, are looking to you to see what you are going to do. They want to know whether or not you are going to elect a President who—by the way—a President who is uninformed of the past, misrepresents the present, and misunderstands the future. Or they want to know if you are going to elect a President who has a record of performance, who has a record of reason, who says, as the Prophet Isaiah said, "Come, let us reason together."

They want to know if you are going to elect a President by your votes who will walk that extra mile in the path of peace. They want to know if you are going to elect a President who will direct the energies of America, not only to a better America, but to a better and a more peaceful and just world.

I think you are.

And I ask this audience—will you join with me, on November 3, to elect President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Thank you very much.

Falls Church, Va.
George Catlett Marshall High School
October 28, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

We meet this evening in the magnificent George Catlett Marshall High School.

Gen. George C. Marshall—he will truly be remembered as one of the greatest Americans of the 20th century.

Gen. George C. Marshall—he brought eternal honor and glory to his alma mater, Virginia Military Institute—the West Point of the South.

Gen. George C. Marshall—as Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, he brought eternal honor and glory to every American.

Gen. George C. Marshall—as initiator of the Marshall plan, he made an immense contribution to restoring life and hope to war-ravaged Europe and to erecting a bulwark of freedom against the forces of communism.

Gen. George C. Marshall—patriot, statesman, humanitarian—yet extremists of the radical right attacked this great American. They even called him "traitor."

What a shameful page in American history—what a shocking example of extremism in action.

12 VBS – LINO

But let this be a lesson to us. The irresponsible forces of hate, violence, and suspicion seek to rip asunder the very fabric of our democratic society. They seek to besmirch the names of Americans whose lives are shining examples of patriotism and devotion to freedom.

They tried to destroy the career of George C. Marshall. And they failed.

Today they are abroad once again—spreading their slander, innuendoes, and lies. But—once again—they will fail.

The President of the United States has shown extraordinary self-control in the face of scurrilous attacks which have been directed against him. I can recollect no presidential campaign since 1928 in which there has been such a concentrated attempt to defamation of character.

George Catlett Marshall never deigned to reply to his slanderers—and Lyndon B. Johnson will never dignify his attackers by answering their vile charges.

Along the shores of the Potomac River, which marks the northern and eastern boundaries of Fairfax County, stands Mount Vernon—the residence of our first President.

George Washington—more than any other single American—stood as the one indispensable person in the creation of this Republic. Through his great courage, strength of character, wisdom, and determination, he achieved victory in our war of independence—and one decade later, as first President under the new Constitution, he rescued our 13 States from dissension and anarchy.

But the character assassins and slanderers were at work even in colonial America.

George Washington was called “treacherous in private friendship * * * a hypocrite in public life.” The Father of our Country was told that “the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an anostate or an imposter—whether you have abandoned good principles—or whether you ever had any.”

George Washington never replied to his attackers. Who even recalls their names today.

And Lyndon B. Johnson will never reply * * * his attackers will also vanish into the discard pile of history.

The American people understand that allegations, distortion, radicalism, and extremism cannot substitute for the hard currency of responsible performance in the Presidency.

The American people also understand that the responsible leaders of the Republican Party have been displaced by the apostles of discord, radicalism, and extremism.

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

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

These are not merely political attacks—they are attacks on that atmosphere of trust which is essential for the survival and development of a free society.

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

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

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

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

13 VBS - LINO

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

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

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

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

Falls Church, Va.,
George C. Marshall High School,
Wednesday, October 28, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Congressman Johnson.

Ladies and gentlemen, my good friends of Fairfax County, this great metropolitan area of our Nation's Capital, you good and fortunate residents of the Old Dominion State—let me say that it is a joy, second to none, to have been privileged to come to George Catlett Marshall High School and to see such a wonderful audience.

Before I say another word to my friend Gus Johnson—I hope that the word may go outside to the hundreds and hundreds of people that could not get into this assembly hall, that once this little gathering is over, if I have any strength left in me—it is rather warm here this evening—that I intend to come out there and talk to them, too.

Gus, I was told several times the last couple of days, and I almost began to believe it, because it was told so often, that possibly people had lost interest in the campaign. But if that is the case, it surely is not true in Fairfax County.

May I add that if all of this explosive energy that I witness here tonight can be put to work between now and the third day of November in Virginia's 10th Congressional District, there isn't a shadow of a doubt but what this district at long last is going to have a Congressman that will truly represent the people of the 10th District.

I have been honored tonight to be received at your portal, at the gateway of this magnificent high school, by one of Virginia's outstanding State senators—a gentleman that is respected for his sense of integrity, for his constant diligence to the needs and the wants and the requirements of this great, growing county, and a truly fine Democrat—and I am delighted to be able to be in the company of and to be received by your State Senator Fenwick, one of your finest representatives.

It was also a rare privilege to be received in good friendship and hearty welcome by Delegate Marion Allen, who is also here with us tonight.

And just in case you did not know it, a gentleman that worked with me during my days as mayor of Minneapolis, as my administrative assistant, and then came with me to Washington, D.C., when I was elected U.S. Senator for my first term, for 6 years in my office as my trusted and invaluable aid and assistant—a gentleman who today resides in the neighboring community of Springfield, in Fairfax County—I want to salute him here tonight and to thank him—my good friend William C. Simms—Bill Simms.

Well, now, I am going to let you in on a big secret. I generally go to meetings that I am invited to. But tonight, it is a fact that I asked for the opportunity to come here to this great high school and this town of Fairfax—that I asked for the privilege of coming to Virginia, in this 10th District, to speak up for and to let the people know that the President of the United States—who will be the next President of the United States—and his Vice President, Hubert Humphrey, want to see Gus Johnson as the Congressman from the 10th District.

14 VBS - LINO

And let the word go from this place to the man who, for these many years, has been in Congress misrepresenting this district—let the word go from this place that he will be retired, and that a new man that understands the problems of a growing metropolitan area, and a new man, who is dedicated to President Johnson—that that new man, Gus Johnson, is going to be elected on November 3.

Somebody asked me today, he said, "Well, Senator Humphrey, what are you going to say is the issue between the incumbent Congressman in this district and the man on the Democratic ticket that challenges him?" And I said, "The issue is clear for all to see and easy for all to understand."

And let me say to you what it is.

In this district, you have two men aspiring to the office of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress. One man is unqualified for, embraces, attaches himself to the Senator from Arizona, who will do no good for this district at all. That man is the incumbent Congressman of the Virginia 10th District. Let him not deceive you for a moment, if he tries. Let him not act as if he is an independent. This man is a Goldwater man.

And Gus Johnson is a Lyndon Johnson man.

If we are going to have any kind of a program for America, once we have elected President Johnson for 4 years as our Chief Executive—if we are going to have a program for America, and particularly for our great metropolitan areas, we are going to need Members of the House of Representatives that are willing to work with our President, that are willing to support our President, that are willing to back these programs—instead of having men who sit there and cut him down every day.

The Congressman in this district is no friend of President Johnson, and he is no friend of yours. So get rid of him and elect Gus Johnson.

Now, if you have any doubt as to where I stand, I will be glad to repeat that.

Well, there was a time, I am sure—there was a time when representation for this area could have been of that fine agrarian old-fashioned stock, where the problems were simple, where the countryside was vacant.

But now Fairfax County is the fastest growing county in the United States. And it needs someone who knows what the score is about government—about local government, about Federal Government. And it needs a Congressman that understands how we develop our cities, how we plan for better cities, how we provide for the great necessities of a growing population. And I have the man for you. He is my friend. Gus Johnson—all the way.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, since we have made our position perfectly clear on this matter of Congress, let me talk now about the national election.

We are coming down to the stretch. We will soon be crossing the finish line. It is just 6 more days, and the American people will decide the kind of an America they are going to have.

And make no mistake about it, my fellow Americans. When you elect a President at this time, knowing, of course, that you elect one for 4 years, there is no turning back. You cannot say, "Oh, my goodness, give me the eraser, I want to change my vote." You cannot say, "Oh, my goodness, I made a mistake, let's repeal it." Once you have elected him, once that man has taken the oath of office, and once you cast your vote for him—and whoever gets that majority vote and takes that oath of office, that's it; that man occupies the most important office in the world, the most important office within the gift of the American people, the most powerful office in the world. He will be in charge of the greatest military power in the world. He will be the headman of the richest nation in the world. He will be responsible for the direction of this Nation's life and activities. He will have in his hands the decision of life or death. And that is a factual statement.

Therefore, my friends, let you weigh that decision carefully. Don't you for a single minute make that decision lightly, because the decisions that are made within the next 4 years will not only determine the 4 years, but will determine the course of history for a decade, for a generation—yea, for many, many more years.

15 VBS - LINO

What America does does not just affect America. What America does or does not do affects the whole world. And what a President does, does not just affect the Congress for a few people; it affects the total economy, it affects the whole Nation, it affects the entire world. In fact, it may determine even what happens in those far stretches of outer space.

Therefore, it is an important decision. And this decision ought to be weighed on the basis of the performance and the competence of the man that you vote for, and on the basis of his philosophy, on the basis of his program, on the basis of his achievements, on the basis of his experience. And I think that if you do that, you can come to but one decision—one decision.

I stand on this platform tonight proudly to speak up for a man that I have known for 16 years in the Congress of the United States, and as Vice President—and I say that America has no more able, competent, experienced man in the field of government than the man who presently occupies the White House and, with your vote, can occupy it 4 more years—Lyndon Johnson.

The issues, broadly stated, are these.

Shall we repudiate and repeal the gains, social and economic, that we have made for 30 years. And shall we turn our back upon and repudiate the achievements of better than 25 years of sacrifice and work on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike in the development of a foreign policy?

I think the answer is clear. The American people will say "No." Yes, you will say "No."

But then you must say "Yes" to Lyndon Johnson, to make sure it does not happen.

For 30 years we have strengthened this country. For 30 years we have made government an effective servant of the people. We have put into practice what the Great Emancipator said—a government of the people, by the people and for the people. We have made our Government responsible and responsive. It is not a government that engages or indulges in giveaways or handouts. It is a government, if you please, that has helped remove the impediment, to remove the obstacles in the path of progress, so that those that wish to give of themselves, those that wish to do their best, could engage or have an opportunity to engage in gainful work, engage in business, in the professions, in the development of the community.

In other words, what we have sought to do and what has been our goal is to develop a Nation of opportunity, equal opportunity, opportunity for every American, opportunity for him regardless of where he lives, in the North or the South, opportunity regardless of his religion, opportunity regardless of race, color, or religion. This is America. This is the America that we believe in. And this the America that is strong and just.

And may I say that the man who represents the opposition in this campaign would seek to destroy those gains.

I ask every person in this very privileged area of Fairfax County—I ask you to study his words, to study his pronouncements.

The Senator from Arizona said you shall judge them by their votes, and not only by their words. Judge him, then, by his votes.

And may I say most respectfully to every mother in this room, and every father—he has never once voted to help our schools. He has never once voted for the National Defense Education Act. He never once voted for aid to higher education. He did not vote to help control the pollution of our streams, to provide for community facilities for growing cities. He didn't vote for a public works program that could be of help for our unemployed. He didn't vote, if you please, for a tax cut, so that we could expand our business, and so that you can have more take-home pay. He didn't vote for a single one of the programs that has meant so much to America.

He did not vote even for a program to share the abundance of our fields and our farms with the hungry. He would not vote for a food stamp plan for the needy—not only in this county, but in other counties.

His record, from public works to old-age pensions to disability insurance under social security, to area redevelopment, to aid to education, vocational education, higher education, medical education, nurses training—you name any constructive piece of legislation that has passed the 87th Congress and the 88th Congress, and you can bet your life that the Senator from Arizona voted no, no, no, no.

16 VBS – LINO

My friends, if you want a program that repeals social security, if you want a program that does nothing for education, if you want a program that says that we will do nothing for hospitals, if you want a program that says let the disabled take care of themselves, if you want a program that says no tax cuts, if you want a program that says no, no, no, you have a candidate, and his name is Barry Goldwater.

In other words, if you are moved to say what America needs is a President who says no, no, no, the Republican candidate is the man.

But if you want a President who says to us go, go, go, then the Democratic candidate is your man.

But, my friends, with all of this, there is a greater issue, and the greatest issue that bothers everyone is essentially the peace of our country, the peace of the world, the security of this Nation. And where is it better to take just a few moments to talk about security and about peace and about justice and about foreign policy than in the great George Catlett Marshall High School, dedicated to the life of this great man.

It is my privilege to have known this great American, and I know his dear widow. He is truly one of the greatest men of the 20th century. He honors his State by his life. He honors the Virginia Military Institute by his competence as a soldier. He honors America by the brilliance of his citizenship.

We live indeed in a time in history when there are powerful forces at work in this world, where America must be strong, where we need the strength that we can give through our Military Establishment; in fact, a vital Military Establishment, or a Military Establishment, I say, is vital and essential to a free society. Without it today there would be no freedom. Make no mistake about it.

Power alone, military power alone, is not enough. But without military power, there would be nothing.

Therefore, as we speak tonight in this assembly named after this great American let us not forget that he was a soldier, and a great soldier, who understood the necessity of national strength, of military strength. But he also understood the importance of civilian control, he also understood the importance of other aspects of our strength, our economic strength, our political strength—yes, our spiritual strength.

I am sure that Gen. George Marshall, if he were living tonight, would be the first to say that we should work and pray for the day when our swords can be beaten into plowshares. But, as this man would know, this is not the time that we can do that easily. We have to make sacrifices for the defense of our country.

I think that General Marshall's life provides a worthy pattern for the men and the women of the uniformed services, because he understood the relationship between the military and a free society, he understood the aspirations and the political objectives of a free people.

He loved America, and he honored the uniform that he wore.

I am happy to say that we still produce men of this caliber. And I want, as one citizen, to thank those in uniform for their dedication to the constitutional principles of our Government.

Frankly, America is a very fortunate country to have in its Defense Establishment, in all of the services of this country, leadership and men who know that their task is not merely to make America militarily strong, but above all is to make America's freedoms secure. For this we can always be grateful, and we are indeed indebted.

Think of that life of General Marshall—general, soldier, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize—all in one life. What a remarkable career. Initiator of the Marshall plan, literally to rehabilitate and revive a war-torn Europe. Patriot, statesman, and humanitarian.

And yet, my friends, this blessed man, who is honored by every decent citizen in America, this blessed man, even during the days that I served in the Senate in my first term, was victimized—yes, he was attacked by the extremists of the radical right then—they attacked him and they called him a traitor. How indecent and how shameful can you be? Yet, it happened.

17 VBS - LINO

And may I say, dear friends, that this was taking place upon the periphery or the perimeter of America—these ugly forces of bitterness and hatred—they were growing. And those forces today find a new platform.

So let this be a lesson to us. The irresponsible forces of hate that attacked General Marshall, of violence and of suspicion, seek now, as then, to rip asunder the fabric of our society. They seek to besmirch the names of Americans whose lives are shining examples of patriotism and devotion to freedom.

Imagine anyone saying, as the John Birch Society said, of our former President, Dwight Eisenhower, that he is a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. And then imagine a man running for President who says that those are the kind of people that we need in American politics.

How unbelievably bad can it be?

Ladies and gentlemen, those are the kind of people that you do not need in American politics. Those are the kind of people that destroy America.

Well, my friends, these radicals—that is what they are, because they seek to destroy—radicals of the left or radicals of the right, what difference? They are all the enemies of human dignity. They are the enemies of freedom. They are the enemies of every spiritual and political value that we believe in.

It doesn't make any difference whether they are a Communist or a Birchite. They are all alike. They hate America, and they hate what it stands for.

And we love America, and we love what it stands for.

Well, my dear friends, some of these same people, a little older and with some new recruits, the same ones that attacked George Marshall, or of their ilk, those of the same cloth, the same bitterness, are today attacking others, attacking responsible leaders in government; indeed, attacking the President of the United States.

Well, just as George Marshall never once dignified them by a response, never once paid any heed to their vicious lies and their character assassination techniques, so the President of the United States has shown extraordinary self-control in the face of the scurrilous attacks which have been directed against him.

I can recollect no campaign in America's recent history, save possibly the campaign of 1928, when any one man seeking the office of President has been under such unbelievable attack and defamation of character.

Oh, my good friends, this is not unusual, I should say, in American life, even though it is most unfortunate.

I spoke not long ago in Knoxville, Tenn., and I reminded those good people of the attacks then upon Andrew Jackson, upon James Polk, President of the United States, upon Andrew Johnson, who sought to preserve this Union after the death and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, of Andrew Johnson, who would not let the radicals of his day destroy the South because they had won a war.

The words that were said of Jackson, of Polk, and of Andrew Johnson are words of infamy, scurrilous, indecent, obscene.

And yet—can you remember the names of their detractors? Not even a history book records them—unless you go into graduate study, you have to search for it.

But Andrew Jackson lives today as Old Hickory. And James Polk live today as the President of manifest destiny, and Andrew Johnson lives today as the man that sought to bring about some semblance of compassion and fairplay and reconstruction.

And then may I take you back to the Father of our Country, lest you think that he was immune from the same kind of hate groups and haters and attackers—George Washington. Listen to what they said of him.

George Washington was called "treacherous in private friendship, a hypocrite in public life."

The Father of our Country was told by his detractors, "The world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an imposter, whether you have abandoned good principles or whether you ever had any."

This is what the puny little minds and the dirty little souls of that time said about the Father of our Country.

18 VBS – LINO

And the same puny little minds and dirty little souls are talking the same way now.

Well, George Washington never replied to his attackers. And you cannot recall their names. History replied to them. And every boy and girl in America and throughout the world that loves liberty knows of the good life of George Washington, knows of the good deeds of the Father of our Country.

And may I add that in this year of 1964, that another President is being attacked; but he, too, will not reply. The American people will reply. And the American people will reply on Election Day, November 3, with an avalanche of votes for Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

Now, let me say to my friends of the Republican Party that I do not hold the responsible leaders of the Republican Party accountable for this debasement of American politics. These responsible leaders have been displaced by the apostles of discord, of extremism, and of radicalism.

The Republican ship was boarded by the pirates out in San Francisco. And when the Goldwater convention refused to repudiate, at the request of leading Republican spokesmen—refused to repudiate the extremist groups and the radicals, on that day American politics changed, and not for the good.

By the Goldwater convention's refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe and the haters of American politics, the Goldwater party has permitted into its ranks those individuals and organizations whose stock in trade in politics is hate, distrust, despair, suspicion, and doubt.

Now, American politics has survived this before, and it will survive it again. There was once a party in this country, before the Civil War, called the Know-Nothings. I'm afraid they have some descendants.

Let me say that the present attacks are not merely an attack on a President. The vilification is not only of a man. This is an attack upon America. This is an attack upon the atmosphere of trust, mutual trust, which is essential for the development of a free society.

It is impossible to have a democracy if people are taught to hate, if violence is encouraged, if you put group against group, section against section, class against class, or economic group against economic group, or race against race.

You cannot have an America, one nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all, if you preach dissension, if you preach division, if you set group against group, and person against person.

I think that the Pledge of Allegiance should be more than a memory lesson. I would think that the Pledge of Allegiance, since we have incorporated in it a reference to divine providence, would be a mandate, would be a command to us.

I would hope that every man that seeks public office would remember that that Pledge of Allegiance was especially written for him—one nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

Surely, if the leaders cannot believe it, if the leaders cannot practice it, if the leaders are unwilling to preach it, how do you expect the others to live by it?

And in this campaign we have heard spokesmen of the opposition party castigate immigrants as if we were all native born. The only candidate for office that I know that is a native of this country has been made an honorary Indian chief—he wasn't born here.

My friends, when you can have a candidate for the office of President make the word "minority" sound as if it is ugly—and democracy is dedicated not only to majority, but to the protection of the rights of the minority—a majority can be just as tyrannical as any minority if it has no respect for the rights of a minority. And yet we have heard from public platform high officials of this Government, seeking even higher positions, say that we don't want to open our gates to the immigrants, no floodgates—when all we have ever asked for are fair gates. "We don't want to have all these minorities running America."

And yet, as I look through this hall tonight, there are practically every known ethnic and racial group on this globe represented here. That is what makes America beautiful.

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Well, thank goodness that the overwhelming majority of the American people, whether Democrat or Republican, are loyal to the fundamental values of this society. They believe in and have faith in the future, they have mutual trust and mutual respect. And they believe in faith and the spirit of liberty.

I think President Johnson gave us what you might call the reading lesson for the day—and let me read it to you. And I ask particularly that our young friends take this to heart—because this America is yours.

Here is what he said—the President of the United States:

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

I think that the American people agree with Lyndon Johnson in that statement.

So as we conclude this meeting tonight, let us resolve once again to keep this America of ours united. Let's have a President who does unite us and not divide us. Let's have a President who heals our wounds, rather than to open them. And let's have a President who understands that the noblest task of American statesmanship is the pursuit of a just and an honorable peace.

We have that man—a man who understands that peace is a process, a man who understands that all that we have—our high schools and our homes, our cities and our farms—that all that we have can be lost if we lose the peace.

Thank goodness that we have as President of the United States one who understands that the power of America will be used with restraint and with reason.

This is the fundamental issue before us. We must be sure that the man who has his finger on that nuclear trigger is a man that can be trusted, is responsible, is moderate, is calm, is experienced, is reasonable. We cannot afford to have a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger.

I think that is why the American people are going to overwhelmingly repudiate Mr. Goldwater and overwhelmingly elect Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States.

New York, N.Y.
The Garment Center Rally
October 29, 1964.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Well, thank you very much, David. Thank you very much, David Dubinsky.

I have heard the mayor of New York, Robert Wagner, and may I also say one of the great public officials of our country, and the next U.S. Senator from the State of New York, Robert Kennedy, and I trust the next Congresswoman from the 17th District, Eleanor French.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can't tell you what a joy it is to have as my advance man the man that gets the crowd out, the President of the United States. We owe him a great debt. Frankly, from here on out, I am going to have him booked all the time and then permit me to come on up and say "hello," so I can feel good by the size of the crowd.

I know that President Johnson would be delighted today if he could be here, as I am, by this amazing turnout of wonderful good citizens, all of whom I am confident are going to support President Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, and Robert Kennedy, and the other Democratic candidates.

Before I launch off into a few remarks for this amazing gathering, let me say that when I came to your city this morning, I found a new low in American politics. Someone handed me a pamphlet that was directed against the record of our candidate for the U.S. Senate, Robert Kennedy. This pamphlet is known as one published, supposedly, by a committee of Democrats for Johnson, Humphrey, and Keating. Let me make it crystal clear that the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and his vice-presidential running mate repudiate this document. It doesn't represent our views. And it has no rel-

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evancy to fact. This man that is our candidate for the Senate, Mr. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, has been a champion of and a fighter for liberal programs and liberal policy. And what's more, he is one of the architects of the civil rights program that was passed by the Congress of the United States.

I say that anyone that will distort the record as this pamphlet does, anyone that will attempt to mislead the people as this pamphlet does, that that candidate is unworthy of the respect of the voters. And Robert Kennedy's record is for everyone to see.

I worked with him. I know what he tried to do. And I know what he can do. I know that we wouldn't have had a civil rights bill, had it not been for the Attorney General and his staff who worked with us in the Congress to make it possible.

So may I suggest what you do with this kind of literature. Tear it up. Throw it away. It is no good. It is this kind of thing that brings disgust to people who want some integrity in American public life.

Now, let me talk to you just a little while about the decision that is yours.

On November 3, just a few days from now, on the 3d of November, you are going to make the decision of your life. You are going to make the decision as to whether or not there will be a good life for the American people and for people in other parts of the world.

November 3, election day—I call it the Big E Day. Remember it, just as you remembered in wartimes D Day. E Day, election day. "E"—examine the issues. Evaluate the candidates. Exercise your judgment. And, my friends, exert yourself to get out that vote. And finally, elect Lyndon Johnson President of the United States.

The Democratic candidates today come before the American people with a program that is designed to help our people live a better and a fuller life, a program that is centered around people, progress, and peace. For our people, equal rights, equal privileges, equal opportunity, and dignity. Progress—economic progress, the likes of which America has never known.

Prosperity for most Americans unequaled.

America today, richer, stronger than ever before. And peace, yes, peace is on the line in this election, because the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party—that that man today, by his utterances, by his policies, by his commitments, jeopardizes the cause of peace and security for this country and for the entire humanity.

There are two fundamental issues at stake. Through the 30 years of economic and social progress, started by Franklin Roosevelt, continued by Harry Truman, forwarded by John Kennedy, and now entrusted to the care and to the leadership of Lyndon Johnson—30 years of economic and social progress is on that ballot. If you want to repudiate it, if you want to veto it, you can vote for the candidate who says no, no, no, the candidate of the noes, Mr. Goldwater.

But if you want to continue this progress, if you want to advance, if you want to make America rise to even greater heights, if you want to go places, if you want America to be a nation on the move instead of voting for the "no, no" man, vote for the "go, go" man, Lyndon Johnson.

Yes, my friends, there are issues at stake, and there are differences in this campaign that are sharp and meaningful.

Let me just cite one or two.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, the Republican pretender to the Presidency—this man has never yet cast a vote for a workingman or a workingwoman. This man voted against minimum wage. He voted against not only its increase, but its extension. He voted to retract it rather than to expand it. He believes that minimum labor standards should be left to the law of the economic jungle, rather than to the law of social justice.

In the area of social security—no, he doesn't like to have us talk about that. Oh, he says, President Johnson and that fellow Hubert Humphrey, they misrepresent my views on social security. Well, Senator, if we do, it is because you, by your statements, have not only confused us, you have confused the entire Nation.

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But let me make it clear what he did so, because Senator Goldwater says we shall be known by our votes. Well, on the record, the Senator voted against the extension of social security. He voted against including the totally disabled under social security. He said social security should be made voluntary, which means a slow death for social security. He would take it away from you, if not in a hurry, he would make it in one term as President—make no mistake about it. And this man voted against hospital and nursing home care under social security. In fact, he voted against any medical care for any elderly person, whether it was under social security or not. That kind of a man doesn't deserve to be President of the United States of America.

Finally, I think the worst condemnation of all that one can deliver, the worst criticism is this: That America is a land of many peoples. America is a Nation, like a symphony that has many, many peoples to it and many parts. The Senator from Arizona and his running mate have condemned our immigrants, insulted our minorities, and have said very frankly that all this Government tries to do is to please those minorities and to be run by them.

Ladies and gentlemen, America is a composite of minorities. It is the minorities of America that makes up its majority, and the Democratic Party headed by Lyndon Johnson believes that the American people regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, are American citizens, and we are proud of them, and we welcome all people into the folds of progressive democracy.

So, then, what is our program? Education for our young, because without education there is no opportunity. Education that we support, that we advance, and that our opponent denies and rejects.

Care for our needy, which is only an act of charity and compassion from a blessed people and a rich Nation. Dignity for our elderly, which is the policy and the program of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, prosperity, economic expansion, and profits for American enterprise. This we have not only promised. This has been delivered. Today American business enjoys a prosperity unheralded in the history of this Republic.

So I ask every man and woman to consider this election as your personal decision, make up your mind as to whether or not you want to go forward or backward, and make up your mind whether or not that our Pledge of Allegiance is what we mean it to say.

And I wish that every American, before he votes, says to himself, thoughtfully and prayerfully, that allegiance, that pledge. And you know what it is.

"One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." That cannot be realized unless a President unites us, unless a President speaks to us in terms of unity.

We need a President that heals our wounds, not opens them. We need a President that has us work together, rather than working against one another. We need a President who will call upon Americans to do their best, and we have many. And I ask you to join with me in seeing to it that for the next 4 years, that we have as President of the United States one who believes in America, one who loves this Nation, one who will inspire this Nation, one who will lead us to further prosperity and to peace, and that man is President Lyndon Johnson.

Article

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

October 29, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

The most exhilarating aspect of the last 2 month has been the marvelous opportunity it has provided to meet individual Americans in all parts of the Nation. I have had the chance to learn a great deal. And day in, day out, what I have learned has invigorated me and filled me with faith in the future of this land.

Most Americans are happy Americans. Most Americans are hard-working Americans. Most Americans look to the future with confidence and hope. Most Americans yearn for lasting peace.

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But there have also been storm clouds on the horizon during the campaign. In foreign affairs, Khrushchev was reduced from an autocrat to a pariah in 1 convulsive day. Within 24 hours the Chinese Communists—a nation of 700 million—entered the nuclear era.

Here at home, the land was full of prophets of defeat beating the cracked drum of disunity, saying that Americans were “sick and tired,” bitter and frustrated attacking our political leaders as traitors, fascists, crooks, liars, and fools. It has not been a pleasant campaign.

Yet this campaign gave me a new sense of the dedication of this society to the ideals upon which it was founded. Our people simply take certain things about America for granted. They take it for granted that we, their political spokesmen, share this vast, submerged body of principles.

What do they take for granted?

First of all, they take freedom as a common denominator for all discussion of the American future. They love freedom. They live freedom. It is the atmosphere of freedom which gives American life its enormous vitality, its magnificent promise.

They realize, too, that American liberty cannot now mean—nor has it ever meant—the right to pursue self-interest unhindered by the welfare of the community, by the welfare of one's neighbors. They appreciate the fact that in this complex, industrial society government—national, State, and local—is not an enemy of liberty, but the means by which the liberty of one and liberty of all can be reconciled, and the whole spectrum of freedom enlarged.

Second, they take responsibility for granted. All of us, for example, would like to see the nations now subjugated by communism freed from their chains. But the American people realize that talk of “instant liberation,” of “instant victory,” are in the nuclear age statements of reckless irresponsibility. At a point in history where 40 minutes lie between here and eternity, when a nuclear exchange would kill hundreds of millions of people in hours, the American people have the courage to act responsibly.

This is a vital point. Ours is a new era, one which calls for a new kind of courage. For the first time in the history of mankind, one generation literally has the power to destroy the past, the present, and the future, the power to bring time to an end.

This fearful knowledge leads some to quiver in terror, to back away from any positive international policy because it might trigger a nuclear holocaust.

It leads others to take a loudly defiant, tough-guy pose which is really a disguise for insecurity. This belligerence hides the absence of the moral stamina which is absolutely essential—the stamina to live, work, dream in a world with no guarantees of the future. This is the true criterion of courage in today's world.

The American people demonstrated in the Cuban crisis they have this remarkable courage. In the greatest exhibition of democratic solidarity since the Battle of Britain, a free people quietly went about their business while the future hung in a balance for almost a week. There was no hysteria—only a solid determination and collective acceptance of the risks that must be taken to preserve the national integrity.

The Cuban crisis serves, I think, as a refutation of those men of little faith who say that a free society cannot be truly determined or responsible—who say that a democracy can never take strong medicine.

Furthermore, the Cuban crisis made it clear that the American people want leaders who share their quite courage, who combine commitment and readiness to act firmly with prudence and patience. They do not want jingoes, loudmouthed anti-Communists who would risk nuclear annihilation because they lack the bravery of responsible action.

But there is even more to it than this. Demands for reckless, impetuous action—action at any cost—reflect more than a defect of character in a leader. They also reflect a fundamental distrust of the present, a defeatism about the future.

If you believe—as I do—that freedom has a fierce vitality, you have no fear of the longrun consequences of peaceful competition between democracy and communism. Our opponents seem to think that the options we face are sudden death, or longrun strangulation at the hands of powerful, all-knowing Communists.

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I see the picture entirely differently: I see communism in deep trouble everywhere. I see inner conspiracies and turmoil in the Kremlin. I see conflicts between the Soviet Communists and their supposed friends in Western Europe. I see a pretentious conflict between the national interest of Russia and China in central Asia, I see a bankrupt Cuba living on Communist dole. I see, in short, the Communist empire degenerating and fragmenting before our eyes.

Everywhere the corrosive acid of freedom is eating away at the totalitarian structure of communism. Stalin's heirs did not dare imitate Stalin, and Khrushchev's heirs did not dare imitate him. Underneath the surface of Communist totalitarianism—which is already showing cracks and fissures—the force of freedom is seething, the commitment to freedom is spreading. And freedom is the most contagious virus known to man.

How then in 1964 can anyone serious tell the American people that communism is winning?

Such a person starts with the pessimistic, defeatist premise that freedom has lost its punch, that we cannot compete, that we are degenerate and doomed. I submit that this set of convictions are precisely those of our opponents. In the realm of ideas, they have the "no win" policy.

The American people take freedom and responsibility for granted. *But beyond this, I am convinced, they take compassion as a standard of democratic behavior. Not compassion in the narrow sense, but compassion which is the giving of one's love and one's dedication to the interests of all.*

In specific terms, the American people want to build a society of beauty, a society of quality. We are often denounced for our materialism, but I believe that no society in the world is more willing than America to fulfill the obligations of human brotherhood, to aid the weak, heal the sick, feed the hungry.

We do this not from pity, but because we feel, deep down within us, that so long as another human being stands outside the door, we have failed to keep faith within ourselves, with our religious traditions, with our democratic credo.

The people, in other words, look beyond affluence to the shape of a community, and a world, which it lies within our power to nurture, if not create. Our situation is unique: we have the resources, the capabilities—what is needed is only the commitment, the decision to go ahead.

There is no reason why every American youngster should not be educated to the limits of his potentialities—except that we have never decided to do it.

There is no reason why any elderly American should lack proper medical care, or decent surroundings—except that we have never decided to turn old age from a blight into a blessing.

There is no reason why our air and water should be polluted, why our cities should be ugly sprawls, why poverty should exist—except that we have never decided to eliminate these evils.

The only limits on our future are those created by lack of imagination and lack of compassion.

The American people, I have learned in my travels, are not sunk in bitterness and despair. On the contrary, they are eager to face the challenge of an open future, eager to get on with the job of creating a Great Society worthy of our dreams.

In a society such as ours—a huge, tumultuous, free community—leadership can never be a matter of intimidation or manipulation. Rather, it is the common commitment of the people and their elected representatives to deeply held ideals which provides the energy, the creativity, the imagination.

You have, I am convinced, made your commitment and will elect Lyndon B. Johnson as President of the United States with an overwhelming mandate. I pledge to you on behalf of President Johnson and myself that the administration you endorse will provide the leadership you rightfully demand.

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New York, N.Y.
Grand Ballroom, Astor Hotel
October 29, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much—thank you. Thank you, my good friends, for your generous and kindly reception.

May I first of all express a personal note of thanks to Abe Schroeder on all the hard work that he has put into making this meeting such an obvious success. And may I thank him again, not only for his work, but I sincerely thank him for his friendship and for his help in all of the many endeavors that build for a better country, for a better county, for a better city, and for a better industry. Abe Schroeder is a mighty fine man.

Now, I want to pay my respects to the mayor of this city, one of my personal friends and a gentleman that I admire for his sense of public service, his sense of integrity, and his dedication to the finest qualities of American citizenship.

Your mayor, Bob Wagner, in my mind, is one of the finest men in our country.

What a joy it is to share this platform today with so many old friends. As a matter of fact, I almost feel like I ought to be in the garment industry myself—the way I have so many good friends here.

I want you to know that to be here with Dave Dubinsky—and there is only one like Dave, as you know. This is what makes America such a wonderful place, that we have men of the quality and the character and of the ingenuity and of the dynamism of all those wonderful qualities, like David Dubinsky, one of the dearest men that I have ever known in private or public life. And my golly, David, if that doesn't help you get a good contract, I don't know what will.

I am delighted also to be with another friend, a very responsible, patriotic, intelligent leader of organized labor. And that man is on this platform, and his name is Walter Reuther.

I am a poor substitute for what you had expected. But I am delighted that the tape was played, because I know that President Johnson wanted to be here—and I think you understand why he had to change his schedule. In fact, both of us have had to make—well, reshuffle our plans. I had intended to be in the Rock Mountain States today. And when I leave here, I speak this afternoon at Topeka, Kans.; later on at Hutchinson, Kans.; and later on at Denver, Colo.

So you can understand that we have to make a few adjustments. But in the last 2 weeks certain things have happened which have necessitated this. A former President of the United States passed away, and every patriotic and decent American wanted to pay his respects to this President of ours, one who in the fullness of his life was more respected every day and more loved every day. And we canceled our whole campaign program for 2 days, out of respect for the former and late President Hoover.

Then we had a meeting of the National Security Council, because of the developments in China and in the Soviet Union. And you put aside campaigning when America is in grief, or when America feels that it may be facing new international situations. And I can assure that had it not been for these two developments, that President Johnson would have been here, and it would have been the happiest day, I am sure, of your lives. But you will just have to settle for second, or third, or fourth best, whatever you may think it to be, and take me.

Abe just gave me a little reassurance.

I want to talk to you very seriously today, because we are arriving at a point in this campaign where we ought to be giving thoughtful consideration, not just as partisans, but as citizens, to what is going on.

I happen to be one of those Americans that believes that a political campaign ought to have more to it than just heat; it ought to have some light. And it ought to point to the future. It ought to bring people into contact with their public officials, so that people and the public officials can communicate, that we can talk together, and we can visit together, and that we can begin to understand each other a little better and our country a little better.

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One of the great joys of this whole campaign—and, by the way, I have loved it, every day of it, even though I, sometimes, have been a bit weary. I have traveled all across this country, and by the time we are through, on Monday night, November 2, I will have been in 42 States. And Mrs. Humphrey, right at this day, is in Hawaii—she went up to Alaska—she has been in 32 States herself. She has been working as hard as her husband.

We have tried, during these days, to not only bring a message of performance and of stewardship—because I have been in the Congress for 16 years—but also to bring a message of hope and understanding to the American people.

And let me tell you something. There is some good news about this country.

Don't you be led to believe that America is on the skids, or that it is rotten, as some say, or that it is evil.

I have traveled from city to city and State to State, in the rural areas, in the great metropolis, in the greater urban centers, and out on the farms and in the small communities, to the colleges and to the high schools, and to the union halls and to the chambers of commerce. And what do I see?

I see a healthier people, physically, mentally, and spiritually, than ever before. I see people living better than ever before. I see them in better homes than ever before. I see their children well dressed.

I see our people looking optimistic and confidently to the future.

This is the America that I see.

I don't find Americans afraid. And I have not found Americans, as our opposition says, sick and tired. They are not at all sick and they are not tired. They are sometimes concerned, as any thoughtful person ought to be. But I find a sense of vitality. I find also a sense of community participation. I find more people today willing to do more for their community, for their churches, for their synagogues, for their cities, for their States, for their Nation, than ever before.

I find our young people bright and scintillating, exhilarating. They are the hope of the future.

And let me tell you there may be a few of them that get out of line once in a while. But would you mind thinking back a little about yourself, or were you one of the unusual ones?

I tell you, I have said to many a friend, one of the reasons that we seem to think people are a little worse today than they were before is because we report on them more often. I remember when we changed the police reporting system in my city, when I was mayor. I called in the FBI to check up on all of our police operation. I wanted to be sure that we had a clean department, and we reorganized our department, and we did something about our city. And, Mr. Mayor, one of the first things we did was to put in a modern system of reporting. And crime jumped 200 percent in 1 week. We were reporting everything, even a domestic battle once in a while. And did you ever send a police officer out to settle one of those? Ah, me, poor fellow.

Americans have taken many things for granted in their country. They take for granted, for example, that freedom is a common denominator—common denominator for all the discussion of the American future. Americans love freedom. They do not believe they are losing it, because they know they are not losing it. They know that a child educated is more free than one that is not educated. And they know that a person that has a social security card—even though it may be a number to Mr. Goldwater—that it means some freedom in old age.

They are not of the opinion that freedom is withering on the vine. And you know better. We have more choice today than ever before. And the first criterion of freedom is freedom of choice. You have more choice in the clothes that you want to buy, you have more choice in the cities you want to visit, you have highways that bind this Nation together, and you can travel freely from one end of America to another. And you don't have to report in to the local police station, as you have to do in many other countries. You register into the hotel, or you visit a friend, or you pass through the city, or you go camping. You are free. And I don't think we need to be lectured and scolded by the prophets of despair that we have lost our freedom. We have not lost our freedom. We have just become a little more intelligent, and we know how to differentiate between one who spreads false alarms and one who truly knows what he is talking about.

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Now, it is this atmosphere of freedom which gives American life that great sense of vitality and good humor, which characterizes America. We are one of the few people in the world that know how to laugh at ourselves. And that is a sign of good health, may I say.

Let me say just a little more about that, because Americans have never believed that American liberty means the right to pursue self-interest unhindered by the welfare of the community or by the welfare of our neighbors.

Liberty is not license. Liberty does not permit one to destroy. Liberty includes responsibility. And Americans appreciate that in this complex industrial society—and it surely is different, it is a lot different in New York City than in Topeka—there are more problems here—they know that in this industrial society government, Federal, State, and local, has responsibilities, and that this Government is not an enemy of liberty.

In fact, our Government and our courts protect liberty. Had it not been for the Federal Government, and had it not been for the courage and the respect for law and of the Constitution of our judges, we might have lost some liberties during the days of jingoism, McCarthyism, and John Birchism, and the other “isms” that have occasionally infected the body politic.

There is a second thing that we take for granted in our country. We take for granted that people are going to be responsible. Americans feel that responsibility is a part of our life. All of us would like to see nations, for example, now subjugated by tyranny, by communism, free from their chains. But the American people realize that this loose talk of instant liberation and instant victory, all of these catchy slogans, are, in the nuclear age and in the age of rockets and missiles, statements of reckless irresponsibility.

At a point in history when 30 minutes—that is all, and that is giving you the benefit of the doubt—when 30 minutes lies between here and eternity, when a nuclear exchange can rub out hundreds of millions of people in a day or less, the American people have the courage to act responsibly. And they are going to reject these jingoists and these sloganeers that talk as if somehow or another every problem can be answered at once by an American ultimatum.

I think this is a vital point, and this is one of the reasons that I work as I do in this campaign. I want it to be known, win or lose, that when this campaign is over, that I did what I thought was right, to alert the American people, not just to candidates, but to the issues—to the big ones, not the little ones—but to the issues of life and death, of survival, the issues of peace and war, because those are the big ones.

All the prosperity, all the trade unionism, all the garment industry, will be for naught. And New York is a target city, make no mistake about it, you are first. And just exactly as America has its missiles poised and set on target for key areas in potential enemy territory, make no mistake about it, you are on target, too.

I think the task of statesmanship today is to see to it that these terrible weapons of destruction are never unleashed, but that men somehow or another find ways and means of saving humanity from destruction and at the same time protecting and saving our values and our ideals.

Ours is a new era. The day that that atomic explosion took place on the sands of New Mexico, the face of war changed, and all foreign policy changed. And when you read about the thousands of nuclear warheads that we have—and may I say to you as one that is privileged to know, that this country has such unbelievable power today that it is one of the most staggering facts of our life. And the more power is developed, the more that naked military power is developed, the more there must be spiritual power, restraint, character, a sense of moral value for ourselves and our leaders. What I am trying to say to you is that, in this generation, this is the first time in the history of mankind that one generation can literally have the power, and does have the power, to destroy all of God's creation, to obliterate it, to destroy the past, the present, and the future—the power to bring time to an end. We have it now—this very hour, this minute.

Now, this fearful knowledge leads some to shake and quiver in terror, to back away from any positive international policy because it might trigger a nuclear holocaust. It leads others to stand up and

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beat their breast and loudly shout in defiant language and to get a tough-guy pose, which is really a disguise for insecurity.

I will never forget Joe Louis, the great champion, in the heyday of his championship. He walked quietly. He didn't have to go around flexing his muscles and saying, "Look, I'm champ." Everybody that ever came in contact with him in the ring knew it. He could be quiet, he could be calm, he could look as peaceful as a dove. But nobody mixed it up with him without knowing that they were through.

A strong man doesn't have to flex his muscles. It is the coward, it is the town bully that is the one that is always serving ultimatums, particularly if he is well surrounded by other bullies. And it is this belligerence that hides the absence of moral stamina, which is absolutely essential if we are to live and to work and dream in a world with no guarantees of the future.

I think this is the true standard of courage in today's world.

The American people demonstrated in the Cuban crisis all that I am talking about in terms of quiet, calm, reasoned courage, remarkable courage. And I was there with President—the late and beloved President Kennedy—when those decisions were made. I was with our late and beloved President the night that he made that television broadcast to you, and told you of the crisis, told you of the missiles, told you of what we were going to do. I was there in the White House that evening, and I was with him for better than a half hour alone after that evening. I know what we were faced with. And I have never witnessed such cool, calm courage—knowing full well that the hour of decision had arrived, that we faced the possibility of nuclear war. But we didn't flex muscles. We made a decision in the full knowledge of what it meant. And from that day on the world's face has changed. That October of 1962, the Communist world found out that we not only had the power to destroy them, but that we had the will, if forced, to do it.

And that brought reason back into international affairs once again. But it didn't come by beating the breast, and by shouting defiant slogans, and it didn't come afterward by saying to Mr. Khrushchev and others, "You coward." It came by thoughtful, careful presentation of fact. And then restraint. Because the power that we have today, my fellow Americans, requires that the President of the United States not only know of that power, not only know that he can use that power, but above all, that he have restraint in the use of that power.

I think the Cuban crisis made it clear that the American people want leaders who share the people's quiet courage. The American people didn't panic. We know what it meant. The people were calm. And they also had a commitment in readiness to act firmly and with prudence and patience.

I know that the American people do not want jingoes, loudmouth anti-Communists who would risk nuclear annihilation, and never even understand the first thing about effective anticommunism, because they lack the bravery of responsible action.

But there is more to this. Demands for reckless, impetuous action, action at any cost, reflect more than a defect of character in a leader, they also reflect a fundamental distrust of the present, and a defeatism about the future.

Now, if you believe, as I do, that freedom has a fierce vitality, and I think it has, you have no fear of the longrun consequences of peaceful competition in any area, whether it is trade or whether it is politics, or an ideology, or on the world scene with the Communist nations. Our opponents seem to think that the only options that we face are sudden death or a longrun stragulation at the hands of a powerful all-knowing, all-wise Communist.

Well, they are not that way. They are people, and they are the victims of their own dogma, the victims of their own doctrine, the victims of their own rigidity. And we, I say, are the strong people, because we are willing to think aloud, we are willing to exercise the mind, we are willing to develop the spirit. And there isn't any way in the world that a man or a nation can be strong without freedom of movement. And we have that. And freedom of choice.

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I see our picture differently, as you can see, than those who are constantly painting the alternative of one of immediate defeat or long-run strangulation. I see America strong, and I see the free world gaining in strength—Western Europe, Japan, the Alliance for Progress is beginning to work in Latin America, new nations are coming out of colonialism. There are many signs of growth and many signs of progress in the world. And what we need is a positive attitude to make sure that these signs of growth and progress are appreciated and that they are encouraged.

Who is in trouble? We? I think the trouble is on the other side. Communism is in deep trouble everywhere. I see interconspiracies and turmoil in the Kremlin, and more to come. I see economic trouble in the Soviet bloc and more to come. The failure of their agriculture stands as a colossal failure, one that they can't rub out, no amount of propaganda can dispel the fact that today in the Eastern European Communist-dominated countries, where the regimes hold a tight whip-lash over the people, that agriculture is a colossal failure. And do you know something, that in those countries there is a love of the American people second to none.

I have been in these countries. When the American car goes by, with the American flag on it, the people rush out. And I would say that out of a terrible tragedy of John Kennedy's death, the truth came as to the respect of other people for this country, and for our President. No matter how many lies they have told about us, no matter how they have distorted, no matter how the Communist propagandists had distorted the picture of America, no matter how much they had attacked him, that when he was dead, thousands of people, yea, hundreds of thousands of people wept openly. They love America. Not just the land, but they love what America stands for. Because the Russians have more land than we have. They have more resources than we have. They have more people than we have. And, as you put Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union all together, it is potentially much richer, in material resources, in the earth, in the hills and the mountains. But they loved America. And I think I know why. Because America stands for them for individual freedom, for human dignity, for compassion, for charity. It stands for them for opportunity. And we ought never to forget this. This is the real weapons that we have. These are the real weapons, or this is the real weapon—the spirit of our people—what we are as people—not our checkbooks, not even our gold reserves, but what we are as a people, as a culture, as a life.

So I see real troubles there and not here. I see conflicts between the Soviet Communists and their supposed friends, in Western and Eastern Europe. I see a conflict between the national interests of the Soviet Union, or Russia and China. I think it is inevitable, in terms of the differences that will exist, not only ideological, but nationalist differences, territorial differences, ethnic differences, which they have never tried to overcome.

I see, in short, the Communist empire—if you will be patient, if you will persevere, if you will not lose faith, if you will keep strong in attitude and mind and body and economy, I see that empire degenerating and fragmenting before our eyes, before the eyes of our children.

Everywhere that corrosive acid of freedom is eating away at the totalitarian structure called communism. Is it any wonder that the most disciplined leaders want no contact with the West? Is it any wonder that the Chinese Communists called Mr. Khrushchev a disbeliever and a defector? He was, in fact, because he opened up the gates, he let a little fresh air in. And once the contact came again with freedom, once that the gates were opened in the Scandinavian countries, to Western Europe, once they were opened to the United States ever so little, once the people had a chance to breathe the fresh air, the pure air of freedom, to get a book, to whisper a word, to grasp a hand, to know that there was some love and care in this world—from that day on, my friends, communism was in trouble.

And it's going to be in more and more trouble, because communism violates humanity, it violates what people believe in, it violates everything of their spirit, of their religion, and of their very nature. This is why they can't win.

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Now, a little bit more and I must go along. But this message meant so much to me, and I wanted to speak to you about it. I want to speak to you about it, because there has been so much misinformation in this campaign. The American people do take freedom for granted. But we are also well able to protect it. And we take responsibility for granted. We expect our public officials to know what is right. But, beyond this, I am convinced that they take compassion as a standard of Democratic behavior—not compassion in the narrow sense, but compassion which is the giving of one's love and of his dedication to the interests of all. And if there is anything that has disturbed me in this entire period that we have lived through it is that there are voices in America that would have us believe that compassion is weakness. Particularly if it is compassion by government. But this is a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people. This Government is not separate from the people. This is our Government, it serves us, it is our reflection. It is the spirit of our country, and if individual compassion is good, then compassion of a government, of the people, and by the people, and for the people, is good.

Compassion isn't weakness. It is strength. And concern for the afflicted and the needy is not socialism, Mr. Goldwater. It is the fine qualities of decent Americanism. It has been a part of our life.

You see, what we are trying to do is to make that song, "America, the Beautiful," come true. We want a society of beauty, a society of quality. We are often denounced for our materialism. But I believe that no society in the world is more willing than America to fulfill the obligations of human brotherhood, to aid the weak, to heal the sick, to feed the hungry. And might I add that actions like the Peace Corps, the food for peace program, the Civil Rights Act—these programs demonstrate that we mean what we say, that we take individual commitment and make it public commitment. I am proud of these programs. And I have very little respect for those who feel that somehow or another that these violate our standards of decency and morality. In fact, I would say it would be immoral for an America that is privileged to have more food than it knows what to do with not to share it with the hungry. I think it is wrong to pay people not to produce when the whole world is in hunger or large sections of the world are in hunger. I think we ought to train people to heal the sick when we know that over 50 percent of God's creation, humanity, is sick. I think we ought to train teachers when we know that illiteracy and ignorance stalk the earth.

If this America is to be a leader, then it must lead with something else besides the checkbook. It must lead in terms of its hands and its hearts and its soul and its mind. And this is what your Government must stand for—if it is good for the church, if it is good for the synagogue, if it is good for your community chest to believe in these values and these virtues, to heal, to feed the hungry, to teach the illiterate, to help the blind to see, and the lame to walk, then isn't it good for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people?

So I want to leave you with this thought. I am not one that believes that American business is just a profitmaking business. I know, as has been said, that we need profits if we are going to have business. Profits are the rewards of management, of ingenuity, of quality, of service. We believe in the profit system. And we believe also that this profit system is the better when there are fair labor standards, when people are paid well, when the worker shares and feels a part, feels within this whole system. And we know that it is a better system and profits are better when the consumer is satisfied. So make no mistake about it.

President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are as committed to the profit system as anyone could ever be committed. But I want to tell you something else. I found something in my travels around the world, I found out that the American businessman is the most humane, the most considerate, and the most compassionate businessman on the face of this earth. I want to say that if every man that lived under what we call capitalism was as socially conscious and had as much sense of social justice as the American business community has now obtained and learned and practices, there wouldn't be any revolution, and there wouldn't be the violence and the disorder and the bitterness that grips so many societies. And can I be equally

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frank, I think that our trade union movement has helped humanize the American enterprise system. I think that our trade union movement, working with management and with finance, with capital, has helped to not only produce a higher standard of living for the American people, but has produced a higher standard of conduct, of decency, of ideals, for the economic structure of America. And this combination of American management with a social conscience, and American labor with a social conscience, has given to America a force in this world that no other nation on the face of the earth has today.

So, as I leave you, let me ask you this, to do this. I ask you not to believe these prophets of despair. I ask you not to believe those that say you have lost your freedom. You know better. It is an insult to your intelligence. I ask you not to believe those that say America has fallen into paths of debauchery. I ask you to believe this—that all men have their limitations. None of us are perfect. I have been in the Senate 16 years and haven't found a saint yet.

And, frankly, I have looked around some other places, and haven't found very many of them either.

But this I know. I know that if the American people will believe that the duty of their Government is to do justice, that the duty of their Government is to help other people to help themselves, I know that if the American people will come to the conviction that our Government has but one major responsibility, to remove the impediments, the roadblocks to progress, to permit people to use their abilities to the utmost capacity. I think if the American people will ask their Government to do that, then the American people will have a government and a people the likes of which no other country on the face of the earth has ever known.

So, go with me, please, walk with us, help us in this campaign. This isn't a campaign just to get elected. This campaign has as its purpose not only to continue what we believe is progress, not only to work for what we believe is the patient process of building peace—because you build the peace just like you build a cathedral—generation after generation, stone by stone. But this campaign has as its purpose also to repudiate for once and for all in American life, at least in this century, hate and bitterness and dissension and violence, and all that they mean. I must say that when I can read of the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society and the Gerald L. K. Smiths, and that ilk being back in American politics, and when I can hear a candidate say that these are the kind of people that ought to be in American politics, I say to you there is only one thing for decent Americans to do, regardless of party—and this is why millions of Republicans have taken a new stand this year. They haven't left their party. Their party left them. And they know it. And the Republicans and Democrats alike are putting their country above their party. They are putting their ideals above their partisanship. And Americans, whether they are Protestant or Catholic or Jewish or white or black or Oriental, whatever may be their background, Americans do not like the radicalism of bitterness and hate and distrust, they don't like the radicalism of the Communist left or the radicalism of the extreme right. They don't like those that preach hate and venom and bitterness. And we have had too much of it. We permitted it to grow in this country, my friends, for years. It has been nibbling at the edges of American life. And now it is moving in on the front stage. I say to you that it is time to empty that stage. It is time to rebuke them, to repudiate them. We have done it before, and we can do it again.

And I come to you and ask you to help us to do it, and one way to do it is to elect Lyndon Johnson President of the United States

Article

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

October 29, 1964.

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
TOPEKA, KANS.

One issue dominates all others in this campaign: Which candidate for President of the United States is better prepared to assume the

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awesome responsibility of leading the land we love for the next 4 years?

And no characteristic, no attribute more directly reflects that capacity for leadership than the candidates' response to the most urgent and critical problem which has ever faced a world leader—how to keep our people strong and free in an age of nuclear weapons.

Fortunately for the American voter, we *know* what the response of each candidate is.

We know where Lyndon Johnson stands:

All that we have built in the wealth of nations, and all that we plan to do toward a better life for all, will be in vain if our feet should slip, our vision falter, and our hopes end in another worldwide war.

If there is one commitment more than any other I would leave with you today, it is my unswerving commitment to the keeping and the strengthening of the peace.

And we know where Barry Goldwater stands, too.

"Someday," he has said, "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."

It is not enough that Barry Goldwater believes that "real nuclear war" is inevitable. No—he has gone beyond that dark and fatalistic view to a philosophy of action calculated to lead this Nation to destruction. He frankly admits that he *does*—and I quote him—"shoot from the hip," as if he were dealing with six-shooters. And, perhaps most incredible, and certainly most damning, he concedes that, in the conduct of foreign affairs, he will take Nazi Germany as his model.

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 brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully.

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

That leadership, under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, has extended to every phase of our national life.

This administration and this Congress have a magnificent record to bring before the American people. It is a record of pledges made and pledges kept, of promise and performance.

It is the record of President Kennedy in his 1,000 days of office, and of President Johnson in his remarkable 9 months. It is a record of the two Democratic Congresses of the past 4 years—the most fruitful in achievement since I first came to Washington in 1949.

Abroad, it is a record of peace through preparedness and power—and restraint in the use of our power.

At home, it is a record of economic thrust and vigor.

Democrats should be proud of this record. Americans should be proud of this record. And we are.

We know that 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 provided 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—it provides urgently needed assistance for the construction of new college classrooms, libraries, and laboratories.

We are proud of the Vocational Education Act—it increases by millions the number of students and teachers in vocational schools.

We are proud of the Library Services Act—it insures library facilities for 61.5 million people who do not have local libraries.

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We are proud of the Hospital Construction Act—it provides funds for construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers in urban areas.

We are proud of the mental health bill—it establishes local mental health centers for research, training, and treatment.

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 4 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.

During the next 4 years we will face staggering challenges and unparalleled opportunities.

We have the opportunity to banish hunger throughout the world.

We have the opportunity to make America the land of first-class citizenship for all our people.

We have the opportunity to make machines the servants—not the masters—of men.

We have the opportunity to create new jobs and achieve full economic development in a nation growing at the rate of 3 million persons a year.

We have the opportunity to make our cities decent places in which to live.

We have the opportunity to destroy poverty in America forever.

We have the opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly. And this is not merely an opportunity; it is a moral obligation.

We have the opportunity to improve and expand our educational system to train and prepare our youth for life in the age of science, automation, and technology.

These are the opportunities and the goals of President Johnson's Great Society.

These are the goals of the Democratic Party—a better America—where there is opportunity for the young, security for the elderly, compassion for the afflicted, and peace for all mankind.

Senator Goldwater not only would bar our access to the future and reject the possibilities of the present but he would cancel the progress of the past 30 years. If conservatism really means the preservation of what is best then Goldwater has no claim to that label.

I have analyzed the votes of Senator Goldwater on 25 specific positions set forth in the 1960 Republican platform as compared with the votes of Senators Dirksen and Hickenlooper.

An honest appraisal of what Republicanism means is found in this 1960 platform. It was a conservative platform—but it was a responsible platform too. It reflected the fact that a Republican administration had been in office 8 years, and had dealt with the complex problems of a great nation in a turbulent world.

Senator Dirksen and Senator Hickenlooper come from the Midwest. They are deeply committed to the tradition of the Republican Party. They are universally and rightly known as solid conservatives.

Senator Dirksen voted for the party's platform 18 times, and went against it only 4 times.

Senator Hickenlooper voted 17 times for his party's platform, and went against it only 8 times.

In short, Senator Dirksen and Senator Hickenlooper supported the 1960 Republican platform an overwhelming majority of the time.

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But not Senator Goldwater. *He opposed the party platform all 25 times when these major issues came before the Senate for a vote. Always the same refrain: "No, no, a thousand times no."*

So I come to the conclusion that Senator Goldwater is neither Republican nor conservative. He is a radical and he is a Goldwaterite. And radical Goldwaterism simply does not equate with conservative Republicanism.

Fortunately, the American people have a choice on November 3. But what we vote *for* is far more important than what we vote *against*.

Yes; we shall reject all that is retrograde and reactionary in American life. But we shall also reaffirm what is constructive and forward looking.

Recognizing that America has great problems, we shall affirm that it has great opportunities.

Remembering that it has a glorious past, we shall affirm that it has an even more glorious future.

President Johnson has asked us to join with him in building the Great Society. He faces these challenges with courage, determination, responsibility, and confidence. He believes in America. He believes in her people. And he believes this Nation wants to continue moving forward.

I believe the American people share this vision of a better tomorrow—this vision of the Great Society. I believe the American people will say "yes" to Lyndon B. Johnson on election day.

Mid-American Exposition Hall, Topeka, Kans.
October 29, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. I want my friends to know that you have me, and I am delighted to be with you.

FROM THE CROWD. We love you, Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. If you would wait until November 3, maybe we could work that out.

Governor Wiles, because I think we ought to get used to calling him that, and Congressman-to-be John Montgomery, and Congressman-to-be Red Russell, and the attorney general-to-be, Francis Donnelley, and my good friends of the beautiful State of Kansas, I am particularly pleased to be able to come to this fine city of Topeka. I must say that no visit and no other stop on our journey has been more pleasant and has the hospitality of the community been finer or more generous.

Let me say in the presence of a very partisan audience, that I am particularly grateful to the Governor of this State, who is not of our party, but who is a gentleman, and who was kind enough to extend every courtesy to a Democratic candidate for Vice President. And I want Governor Anderson to know publicly that I appreciate it.

And then I come to the city which is the home of one of the great Republicans of our country, a gentleman that it has been my privilege to know for better than 20 years personally, a man who carries the banner of his party under the most difficult of circumstances. But one who has at all times demonstrated his love of country above his partisanship, one who has put America above his personal interest, or the interests of his party, and one who, during these days of the cold war, when America has been tested on every conceivable front, this man has been a true patriot, a stalwart. He is not of our party, but he is a great American. And I pay my respects to your honored senior citizen in this community, your statesman, Alf Landon.

Now, let me say that I also pay my respects to a gentleman that I really ought not to, for college reasons, because I am a graduate of the University of Minnesota, and on this platform is an all-American football player. And what he did to the Golden Gophers is exactly what we hope to do to Barry Goldwater.

I gather you know of whom I am speaking. I am speaking of the gentleman that will be the new Congressman from the Fifth District, Red Russell.

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Any man that can out-fullback a Minnesota fullback must be some man. But he was a good, clean, hard-hitting player, and he is going to be a good, clean, hard-working Congressman for the people of Kansas Fifth Congressional District.

And this gentleman, John Montgomery, was given the best title that you can have, if you live in the State of Kansas. He was called by Mr. James Farley the outstanding national chairman of any political party of any time—he was called Mr. Kansas. And when you can be called Mr. Kansas, John Montgomery, believe me the people of Kansas, in their Second District, are going to see that you serve them in the Congress of the United States.

I am sure you know what our President thinks of your candidate for Governor, the Democratic nominee, in this great State of Kansas. If you don't recall it, let me read to you, because I have here a little message from the President of the United States. And President Johnson is going to be President just as surely as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

Here is what President Johnson said of your Governor to be, Harry G. Wiles:

It is my hope that the citizens of Kansas will decide on November 3 to elect Harry G. Wiles as their Governor. Having visited with Mr. Wiles several times, I have every confidence that he will serve Kansas and its people with honor and distinction. I look forward to working with Mr. Wiles for the best interests of Kansas and our Nation.

Well, now, that is just about as good an endorsement from as important man as you can find. And if you can get endorsed by the President of the United States on every occasion, believe me, Kansas is going to have a Democratic Governor.

Now you folks sure do like warm meetings. And I gather what you are really doing is just steaming it up for the opposition here. If it is this hot on the opposition—well, there they come, right out of the woodwork.

You know, I was wondering where they were. I always tip them a little bit to bring those signs in, because the meetings aren't really worthwhile unless they are around. The only way you know how good you have it is to see how bad they got it.

Well, now, ladies and gentlemen, we are coming down to the final days of this campaign. This has been an unusual campaign. It has been unusual from the day that the Republican National Convention selected its nominee. This convention was the one that denied a great Governor of the State of New York to speak without being hooted out of the hall. This convention was the one that insulted a Republican Governor from the State of Pennsylvania. In other words, this convention was one that was dominated by a little clique, a fraction of a faction of reaction. And they took over this party.

I think it is fair to say that one of the reasons that millions of people of Republican persuasion, ordinarily Republicans in their partisan attitudes, are going to vote in this election, not for the standard bearer of the Republican Party, but they are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

I think people have a right to ask why is it that former Cabinet members of Dwight Eisenhower's Cabinet, why is it that the New York Herald Tribune, a noted Republican newspaper, Life and Time magazines, Saturday Evening Post, just to mention a few, including, may I say, such newspapers as the Kansas City Star, and others—why is it that newspapers that oftentimes and generally, and some of them always, have supported a Republican candidate this time are supporting the Democratic candidate?

My friends, it is not because the Republicans are leaving their party. It is because the party leadership left them. And it is because of the great issues in this campaign, the way that they have been handled.

I think that one issue above all dominates this campaign, and that issue is close to the hearts of every one of us—which candidate for President is better prepared to assume the heavy responsibilities of leading the land we love for the next 4 years? And no characteristic more directly reflects that capacity for leadership than the candidates' response.

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May I ask my enthusiastic young Democratic friends just to let the opposition cheer. This is their last moment of happiness.

May I say that if they are all through losing votes for themselves, maybe we can go on.

No characteristic more directly reflects the capacity for leadership than the candidates's response to the urgent and critical problems which face America as a world leader. And that question, and that criterion is how to keep our people strong and free in this age of nuclear power.

Fortunately, for the American voter, we have a response from each candidate. And I believe that the only way to know what a man will do is to ask him and to let him be quoted from his own words.

President Johnson said this:

All that we have built in the wealth of nations, and all that we plan to do toward a better life for all will be in vain if our feet should slip, our vision falter, and our hopes end in another world war. If there is one commitment more than any other that I would leave with you today, it is my unswerving commitment to the keeping and the strengthening of the peace.

And now let us hear from the Senator from Arizona. Let us hear what he said, word for word. "Some day," said Senator Goldwater, "I am convinced there will either be a war or we will be subjugated without a war, real nuclear war, and I don't see how it can be avoided."

Yes, there is a difference, and there is a choice.

The President of the United States says that his full commitment, his unswerving commitment is to the keeping and the strengthening of the peace. The Senator from Arizona says, "I don't see how war can be avoided."

Yes, he believes that real nuclear war is inevitable. He even said that he didn't have to think through the detailed problems of the day, that he shoots from the hip. But, ladies and gentlemen, mothers and fathers, my fellow Americans, we don't play cowboys in the second half of the 20th century, we don't have six-shooters.

We are not talking about Wyatt Earp, or we are not talking about Dodge City. We are talking about this world, and we are talking about nuclear weapons, and we are talking about the power to destroy all of God's creation if we unleash that power.

Just before his nomination, Mr. Goldwater was interviewed by a leading publication in the Federal Republic of Germany, and he was asked this question: Would he take the Nation to the brink of war for the fulfillment of his policy objectives? And he responded as follows: "Yes, just as your country, that is Germany, has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Ladies and gentlemen, the present leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, committed to peace, committed to Democracy, know that the brinkmanship that was used in two World Wars or prior to two World Wars, was not used successfully. It was used in tragedy, it was used in defeat, and it was used in death.

Brinkmanship is not a substitute for statesmanship. And believe me, the use of force—the use of force, nuclear force, solves no problems. It may dissolve a nation or a people.

Now, the American people know that President Johnson will continue to provide this Nation with what you want, which is responsible, moderate, progressive, enlightened leadership. That is his creed. That is his hallmark. If there is one thing by which the President of the United States is known for, it is his sense of responsibility, his capacity of leadership, his sense of responsible moderate leadership for the American people.

Now, my friends, Senator Goldwater once said—and may I say before I go 1 minute further that I have never contested at any time or cast aspersions upon at any time or reflections upon the loyalty, the patriotism and the character of the Senator from Arizona. I want the record clear. I consider him a man of good character, a fine family, a patriot, and a loyal American. I think we would make a fine neighbor. But I think he would make a bad President.

It is not Barry Goldwater, private citizen, that disturbs me, because as a private man, I am sure that we would find him as fine as anyone in our neighborhood.

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What worries me are his public utterances, his public position, and his record of public service. And it was Senator Goldwater himself who said, with all sincerity, and whether we like what he says or not, he is sincere. For this he ought to be respected. He said with all sincerity, "Judge me by my votes." And he said, "Judge them by their votes, and not their words."

Well, let's take a look.

In 1960 the American people were given promises and pledges by the late and beloved President Kennedy, and then the candidate for Vice President, Lyndon Johnson.

President Kennedy, in his inaugural message of January 20, 1961, laid down a program for America, as he did in his message to the Congress. And his first days in office demonstrated that he meant to keep those promises. And the 87th and the 88th Congresses were under Democratic majorities. And there were two Presidents—the late President Kennedy and his 1,000 days of dramatic leadership, and now President Lyndon Johnson, with his better than 11 months of leadership. And we can judge them by their records, not by their words, but by their performance. And I say that it is a record that has been the most fruitful, the most outstanding record of public service and accomplishment of any time within my memory. Abroad it is a record of peace through preparedness and power, and restraint in the use of our power. At home it is a record of unprecedented prosperity, of forward advance of this economy, with America today growing more rapidly economically than any nation on the face of the earth, and the people of this Nation sharing in the prosperity of an economy the likes of which no country has ever experienced.

Forty-four months of consecutive economic growth, \$125 billion added to the gross national product. The stock market itself in 11 months of Lyndon Johnson's leadership has increased in value \$100 billion.

I submit that this is a record that no one can dispute and one that every American ought to hail and be proud of.

Now, quickly, this administration said, the Kennedy-Johnson administration, we are going to get this country moving, we are going to do the things that need to be done. And we did. We proceeded at once. Where there were areas of difficulty and unemployment we moved in with area redevelopment, with public works, with tax concessions. And America today has a lower rate of unemployment by one-half of what it had three and a half years ago. We passed the biggest tax cut in the Nation's history, \$11.5 billion. And that \$11.5 billion tax cut meant an increase in your take-home pay of 20 percent. It meant a decrease in your taxes. And it meant new prosperity, new investment for industry, new purchasing power for consumers.

More than that, we took some steps toward peace. We passed a nuclear test ban treaty, and it clears the atmosphere of radioactive fallout and takes us a step down the road to peace.

We passed the Peace Corps, another great measure in this path to peace.

We passed the arms control bill, another step in sensible paths to peace.

We passed the Civil Rights Act that proclaimed once and for all first-class citizenship for every American.

We passed the Economic Opportunity Act to strike blows against poverty itself and lack of opportunity.

We are proud of our aid-to-education measures, National Defense Education Act, vocational education, the Higher Education Act, Medical Education Act, Library Services Act—every one of them designed for but one purpose: to extend the benefits of education to more and more people, to permit those who are coming along as the youth of our land to have what is absolutely essential if they are to have any opportunity; namely, education.

But, ladies and gentlemen, whatever it was, whether it was the Peace Corps, the Arms Control Act, the nuclear test ban treaty, the tax bill, the farm bill, the feed grains bill, the wheat bill, the cotton bill—whether it was the Economic Opportunity Act or aid to education, you can rest assured that the Senator from Arizona voted no, no, no, no.

Now, my friends, if you want a President whose philosophy is one of retreat, if you want a President who is negative, if you want a President who says no, no, no, then vote for Mr. Goldwater.

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But if you want a President that says go, go, go, vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

One of the reasons that we need men in Congress like Mr. Russell and Mr. Montgomery, and men of that quality and background, is because we need people in this Congress that understand that the Federal Government does have a role to play in the life of this Nation.

I would remind my fellow Americans that the greatest Republican of them all, the father of his party, said that the Government of the United States was to be the people's servant, said that it was the duty of government to do for the people what the people themselves could not do for themselves or do nearly so well for themselves. That is Lincoln's philosophy. It was Lincoln who said that this is a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

And yet the standard bearer of Lincoln's party today says that he wants to have a timetable of withdrawal of the Federal Government from such activities as education, as health, as agriculture, as social welfare, and one thing after another.

Apparently this distinguished gentleman fails to remember that the Constitution lays down the mandate that we the people of the United States do ordain and establish this Constitution for the purpose of promoting the general welfare.

The Government of the United States is not to be paralyzed, it is not to be looked upon, as Mr. Goldwater says, and I quote him—"Washington is a greater enemy to the American people than Moscow."

Anybody that will say that, my good friends—anybody that will say it or cheer it has little or no respect for the citizenship in this Republic.

Yes, we need men in the Congress to help us, to work for a better America, to help, if you please, to make rural America an even better place in which to live, to help our cities, so that they become—these vast metropolises of the east and the west—so that they become liveable environmental areas.

There are many problems ahead. We need men and women in the Congress of the United States to work with our President who understand that the needs of the future will be in the field of education, in the field of conservation, in the field of science and research, in the field of finding out how we can live together and work together as one people—not as separate races, not as northerners or southerners, not as people from the cities or from the farms, but to live together as one people.

And one thing you can be sure of—that the man who is now the President of the United States, President Lyndon Johnson, is a man who unifies our country, he known no north or south, or no east or west. He does not pit race against race. He does not talk about the city and rural area as if they were enemies or as if they were engaged in mutual antagonism. He speaks of us as we the people of the United States. And he thinks of America as the Pledge of Allegiance tells us—one nation, indivisible, under God—with liberty and justice for all.

I think public officials should learn that as well as schoolchildren. And I think we ought to know what those words mean:

"One nation, indivisible, under God, and with liberty and justice for all."

When we get that message clearly in our minds and our hearts, then we will not have people that try to pit race against race, nor will we have candidates that are willing to accept, if you please, the support of some of the most hateful areas in American life, people who preach the doctrine of bitterness and of hate.

You know, my good friends, there is no room in America for those radicals, either of the left, the Communist left, or of the far right, that would tear America apart and that would inculcate into us a doctrine of bitterness and resentment and suspicion and doubt.

I ask the Senator from Arizona—why did you say that the John Birch Society and its members are the kind of people that we need in politics—a society, if you please, that called the former President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, called him in these words, "a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Anybody that will say that of Dwight Eisenhower has violated his citizenship.

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And any candidate for public office that cannot repudiate that kind of utterance is the kind of man in his public posture that ought not to be given the privilege of the highest office of this land, the Presidency of the United States.

Yes, my friends, as I leave you—as I leave this hall, let me say to you that this is not just a partisan election. This is no partisan election. And may I say that this election gets right down to the fundamentals of American life.

We have two or three questions to ask ourselves.

Do we want to repudiate the gains that this country has made on a bipartisan basis for the past 30 years at home, in our economy, in our social structure? Do we want to repudiate a bipartisan foreign policy to which Republicans and Democrats alike have given so much?

I think the answer is obvious. We do not.

We want to move ahead.

I must say to my friends of Republican persuasion, the Senator from Arizona, as I said earlier in these remarks, has never considered himself to be a responsible Republican. He has not even supported his own platform on the 25 major issues of that platform's commitment. Twenty-five times he voted no on 25 commitments of the Republican platform.

I submit that Mr. Goldwater is surely not a Democrat. I submit that his record of denying Dwight Eisenhower—in fact, my vote on Dwight Eisenhower's program is much better than Mr. Goldwater's. I am a better Republican than he is, by far.

I submit to any fairminded person—when the record was called in the 87th and 88th Congresses, on 25 issues in the Republican platform, the Senator from Arizona voted no 25 times. His Republican leaders voted yes, 1 of them 25 times. Senator Dirksen, 18 times. Senator Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, 20 times. Senator Hickenlooper, of Iowa, 17 times.

Mr. Goldwater is not a Republican. He is not a Democrat. The Senator from Arizona, I regret to say, is a radical—a radical. And America does not intend to elect radicals. America does not intend to place into high public office those who would undo the work of four Presidents since World War II, those who would undo the work of 30 years of hard work in the Congress of the United States, those who would cast doubt upon even the social security system itself.

I submit to you, my friends, that when you have had this sort of a record facing you—one, a record of performance and the other a record of no, a record of repudiation of his own party, as well as a record of no, no, no on the great issues of our time—that when that record is analyzed, there is but one answer.

For people that want to see America go forward, for people that wish to see us build for peace, for people that understand that we are living in a new age and that this age is one of immense power, and that this power requires restraint in its use and requires reason in its application—and the man of reason, the man of responsibility, the man of moderation, the man who understands that the wealth of America and the power of America is not for our luxury or for conquest, but rather for service and for peace, that man I speak for from this platform tonight in Topeka, Kans. And I ask you, whether you be Republican or Democrat, as long as you love your country, as long as you believe that America is moving forward, as long as you believe that the search for peace is the work of noble men, it is God's greatest work—and as long as you believe that we can find the path to peace and that we must search for it relentlessly, without fear or without frustration—if you believe that, then do this favor for yourself, think it through for yourself, for your country, for your family, and if you do, I am sure you are going to do what I am going to do—vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

Denver, Colo.

TV program, Colorado Committee on Political Education.

October 29, 1964.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANNOUNCER. A visit with Hubert H. Humphrey, brought to you by the rural Political Education Committee and the Colorado Com-

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mittee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Machinists Nonpartisan Political League, Eric S. Roth, chairman.

Now we meet former U.S. Senator and Governor of Colorado, Ed C. Johnson.

Senator JOHNSON. We are pleased to have with us Hubert H. Humphrey, the vice-presidential candidate. He will be speaking with two outstanding congressional candidates: Roy H. McVicker, and Frank E. Evans.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Senator, it is surely a joy to be with you. I can say this, that the President of the United States told me at his visit here to Denver, and he told me how good it was to be with his old friend and his true and good friend in the U.S. Senator, Senator Ed Johnson. And I want to say that, Governor, and Senator, to be back in your company once again is a joy to me. I will always be indebted to you for your friendship and for your helpfulness in my days in the Senate.

Senator JOHNSON. That goes double, Hubert.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, Ed.

Well, now, let's hear what these Congressmen have to tell us here.

Mr. McVICKER. Not yet, sir, but we are sure working at it. And as anything that is worthwhile, you work for it. I know Frank and I and all of us have done this.

Senator Humphrey, as we were chatting in the car coming here from the airport, we feel in our area in Colorado, we have all the native basic ingredients of having one of the true flowerings of the economic rise that the rest of the Nation is having, and that we should have here. And we have a really great university, and a university complex. We have a topnotch defense installation. As you know, sir, we just got the good news today that the Titan III at Martin is still going to be and has agreed to be the workhorse of the space platform and space program that we are using. We feel, sir, that the national administration, that President Johnson and yourself, all of the people working in this private business, union leaders, are—ladies and gentlemen that are citizens here, all understand that we want to take a part, we want more and more to be part of this scientific complex that we see elsewhere. It is going to be here. It isn't as it should be. This should be the flowering of the area. And we look forward to this, sir. And I know that Frank and I both feel strongly that in this area we hope we can be of some service to our community and to our Nation.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Roy, we all know that Denver is the gateway to the great West of America. Of course, it is very much a part of the West, of the steps, so to speak, the gateway to the Rockies. I had some very happy days out here as a student. I studied pharmacy at one of the little colleges here that is no longer a going institution, but it was going long enough to get me graduated, so I could become a registered pharmacist. And I must say that Denver and Colorado is one. Denver as a city and Colorado as a State, are simply beautiful. And they have untold riches in terms of natural resources, the potential of this area. And with your great universities in your State, your great university here at Denver, and the Colorado State University, and the University of Colorado, and the other many fine institutions of higher learning that you have in Colorado, the College of Scientific Research and Development, as we call it research and development, on the part of government, that is government working with the universities, working with your management, with your business institutions, this is inevitable. In fact, it is bound to flow this way. In my own State of Minnesota, we are just now beginning to feel the impact of Government research spending. Some \$5 billion is being expended in research and development by the Federal Government alone in the Department of Defense.

So when you go into—not only defense, but I should say space and defense—when you get into all these many areas of medical research and space research and defense research, and all the other aspects that come into scientific research, this offers a great opportunity for a State to expand its industrial base. And we are going to keep this up. I think Senator Ed Johnson can tell you that the leader in the space activities in the Senate of the United States some years ago was then

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the majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, who today is our President, and he has presided over the National Aeronautics and Space Administration as the sort of chairman of the board. And I know of no man that has a greater interest in seeing these activities be broadly spread throughout the United States. And with the friendships that he has out here, with this good dear friend that has a hold on the President's heart, plus the great universities and management that you have here, I haven't any doubt but what this is going to be a whole new area of development for you. And it is wealth.

Let me just pin it down for you. It is wealth. Because when you bring in her brainpower, and you develop the physicists and the scientists that you need for these tremendous research activities, and with your airbase, and with your Air Academy, and with your defense industries, plus your great medical centers and all, the prospects are very, very good.

Mr. EVANS. You know, Senator, in this regard, in the Third Congressional District, we have the largest county, El Paso County, that contains within it Colorado Springs. We have Norad, the Air Force Base, the Air Force Academy, Fort Carson and so forth. These are great military establishments. And the people in this area are certainly realizing the economic impact on this area of these military decisions that cause these facilities to be constructed there. And we are very concerned, of course, about the posture of the administration regarding the future of these things.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes. Well, as I was saying to you, we realize more and more that the industrial base of America, and the research and development base of America must be widespread, that you cannot just concentrate it either on one or two places on the eastern seaboard—or one or two on the western seaboard. And as these requirements for research and development and defense grow, and they will, this area, of course, is going to move right along. In fact, it has made fantastic development. I remember coming here right after World War II, and the developments right here in this great metropolitan center of Denver area almost beyond—well, beyond the dreams, the fondest dreams of anybody, let's say, 15 years ago, or even 10 or 12 years ago.

Well, gentlemen, it seems to me, too, that what we are talking about is not just our defense-related activities, but the total economy. I have been very pleased to be able to tell the American people, as I have traveled across this country, that the commitments that President Kennedy made, and now that President Johnson has made, in terms of our economy, of getting this economy of ours tuned up, and getting it moving as President Kennedy put it—let us get the country moving again, that those promises and commitments, they have been kept. We have increased the gross national product of this country—when I say “we” I mean the American people and their Government. Because Government doesn't do these things alone. It works with industry, and it works with labor, it works with agriculture. America, after all, is not just Government by a long shot. It is really the people. But the people and their Government working together, with enlightened policies on the part of Government, and encouragement on the part of the Government, the President and the Congress—we have made unbelievable progress. We have increased the gross national product of this country \$125 billion in three and a half years. The net profits of corporate business have gone up a total of \$13 billion. Dividends are higher than ever before. Profits are better than ever before. Seventy-three million workers at work, at gainful employment, higher wages than ever before. Per capita income is up. These things didn't just happen. We passed tax legislation to encourage investment. And I might add that the spokesman for the opposition, gentlemen, voted against that, Mr. Goldwater voted against that tax reduction, which reduction was like injecting new fuel into the machinery, into the motor of the American economy. We have increased agricultural net income by sensible, sane policies. And recently we have taken action in the beef and cattle industry, to give protection and to give help to our cattle raisers and cattle raising is a big business out here. It is in my State, too.

So when you add it up, with our wheat program, our feed grain program, and our cattle program and agriculture, we have a solid base

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now to build from. And we have been able to improve net income. And then area redevelopment and public works, and tax cuts, all of this has acted like a stimulant. It is like getting vitamins, gentlemen. You just take on new strength.

Mr. EVANS. The people in this Third Congressional District, and I am sure it is true with Roy and his district, are very concerned about people who are locked in poverty, and then the general requirements of education in the future of these coming generations, when we have 25 million more people on the labor force, and no more unskilled jobs than we have now. And these programs—my opponent has voted against the ARA and the poverty programs. And yet these are of deep concern in my area.

Senator HUMPHREY. Of course they ought to be. You know, the only time you can really afford any poverty in a country is when you are so rich that you can absorb it, so to speak. And actually the greatest drawback today on the American economy are these—that drawback is represented in these little pockets of poverty.

Now, in northern Minnesota, Senator Johnson has been up in our State. We have the ironing mining area up there. And we have gone through a change of mining. There is a great deal of change in that industry. We have had the continuing unemployment. But we are beginning to get at it now, with area redevelopment and public works, and new industries in the area. ARA was a solid investment. And the man that voted against that in Congress, he wasn't saving any money.

Mr. McVICKER. My man voted against it four times.

Senator HUMPHREY. I know. When you vote against ARA all you do is keep people on relief, and that is out of the taxpayer, too. It seems it is a whole lot better to let a man work and earn his way, and invest and permit a man to invest, and build a business, than it is to go around passing out unemployment compensation checks or relief checks.

What we want in America are people at work, and what we want in America are businessmen that are managing businesses, and we want investment. And I want to say this, gentlemen. That the Democratic administration under President Kennedy and President Johnson has done more to encourage American business than any administration in the history of this country. This is why men like Henry Ford and some of the big businessmen in America today are solid for President Johnson. They found a friend in him.

Mr. McVICKER. My experience, Senator, has been this: I have talked to the businessmen in my area, and of Denver. I don't hear the slogans. I don't hear the hatred of government. I don't hear this nonsense of cutting government clear back, as we hear from the other side. Equally silly in my book are those that say it should take care of us from cradle to grave. The question is what is the role of government, where does it belong in any specific issue, where does it not? And as Frank was saying, it seems to me that an individual like myself, that wants the privilege of representing the people the most they can ask from us is that they know where we stand. We have seen these gentlemen that vote on both sides of issues, take credit for voting for the key issues they have also voted to kill. When that loses, they go for it. Is this really the way you help your area? Is this the way you work for your people?

I have been saying, though, it hasn't been my experience in the State legislature, and I see it there, that this is the straightforward way. I know you step on toes. But that is part of the process of representing people, this being all things to all people, voting yes to kill; when that loses, yes to pass.

It seems to me—

Mr. EVANS. Roy and I both have this. A couple of opponents who vote to kill or to take the heart out of a bill, and then when they fail to kill it, or when they fail to take the heart out of it, it is going to pass anyway, then they will get on the bandwagon and vote for it.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, that surely is not an act of courage, gentlemen, and it doesn't require much judgment.

What you are really saying is that you try to bury the creature, and then if he still insists on living, that you accept him.

Well, now, that is not really the way to bring up a happy family.

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Mr. McVICKERS. Is it the way to help your area grow and help the economy grow?

Senator HUMPHREY. Of course it isn't. And may I say those of us who have been in Congress, just as you have been in the legislature—and by the way, it is the same experience, it is just on a different level of government—we know that if you go around ignoring the needs of other people in other sections of the country, they are going to ignore you. I mean, after all, Members of Congress, they are to represent their people. And if you continue as a Member of Congress to constantly push aside the other man's legitimate requests, and give him no help, you cannot expect him to help you. And you don't fool very many people by voting on one afternoon to kill it, and then a little later, about 2 hours later, when you see it is going to pass, to vote to pass it. The only one you are fooling is yourself.

Mr. EVANS. You know, Senator, in this regard, don't you think it would be a fair statement to say, whether it is in regard to installations in the Second District or in military installations in the Third District, in Colorado Springs, that certainly as a Democrat, as a Democratic Congressman in Congress, I would get as much attention in regard to this sensitivity to these installations as a Republican Member of the opposition party?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I know that our Republican friends who are incumbents in Congress say that, "Oh, you must reelect me because if you don't you will lose everything that you have in this district."

Well, now, the truth of the matter is that Lyndon Johnson is going to be the next President of the United States. The American people are going to keep this man on the job, because he is a trustworthy, responsible man of performance. He has vast experience. He knows about the Government, he is a professional in the arts and sciences of government. He is going to be elected President of the United States.

Now, it just plain makes sense that if you are going to have a Democratic President and a Democratic administration, that if you elect a man to Congress who is on the Johnson team, who supports the President in his program, who has demonstrated friendship for the President, and who is going to be a part of a Democratic majority of the Congress, that that Democratic Congress, that that Democratic Congressman, even if he is a freshman, is going to be able to represent his district as well and better than a member of the opposition, particularly an opposition that has spent its time trying to make the role of the President difficult, and has opposed these programs.

So I think you can get your message across to the people on that.

Mr. McVICKER. May I make this point, too, Senator Humphrey. When the President was here, as, of course, you know, he told a really great group of people, "Education will be at the top of my agenda." And when he said this, he struck our heartstrings. We look here in our State here as indeed in so many States, we told the public schools, we have told our colleges and universities, "Look to your local tax source," and the local tax source is the property tax basically. This is hurting us. This is a regressive thing to bring into economy, and new industries. And I know the President has demonstrated by bills both that he has supported and that he has helped bring about as President, that we are looking to a total tax base, to a total equalization program, to help my school districts, Frank's, Governor Ed's, all of us, because this is the key. What else is there if you don't look at education? But you see all politicians, sir, are for education. The question is and the hard question is we would like the gentlemen we are running against who say how do you pay for it—this is the key question.

My local school boards decide how to run it, and it can't be any other way. But we help in helping to determine how do you pay for it.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, one thing I think that needs to be understood is that the Federal Government has always participated in the development of education. Back in the days of the Articles of Confederation, before the Northwest Ordinance, in 1785, and then the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Federal Government set aside land. And that was real property in those days, even as much as now. And a certain amount of land was set aside to be given to the school districts, to the States, to establish public education. And then we had the Land Grant College Act, and the Morrill Act of 1862, under President Lincoln. We have 68 land-grant colleges.

Mr. McVICKER. CSU is ours.

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Senator HUMPHREY. The Colorado State University.

Mr. McVICKER. Yes, sir.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, now, that is Federal aid to education. Going back in the early 1900's, some of our more conservative Members of Congress sponsored legislation to aid vocational education, agricultural education, industrial education. And here in recent years, because of the needs of America as a world power, because of the needs of America for its own security, we must have an educated people. The greatest limitation on American defense today is not the number of men that we have, but the educational training of our people.

Mr. EVANS. And my opponent voted against the student loan program in college, against the loans to medical students, voted to cut \$150 million off the vocational education.

Mr. McVICKER. Then did he vote for it after that failed?

Mr. EVANS. Yes; that is the pattern of experience I have.

Mr. McVICKER. Well, it is not really looking toward the future.

Senator HUMPHREY. Gentlemen, the best investment that any family ever made was in education. Every mother and father knows that. The best investment any community ever made is in good schools. Every chamber of commerce knows that. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has led the fight for years for better education. You can't go broke educating people. Education produces wealth. Besides that, it produces better living. It produces better citizens. And in this day and age, education is the new power, it is the new wealth. It is the brainpower that you develop that represents the real power. That is what we were talking about in the early moment on this program. Science, technology, the development of research. This can't come without a broadly based educational structure. Elementary, secondary, and then higher education. That is why this year, this Congress passed and President Johnson signed the bill—I think it was the first major bill that the President signed—the aid to higher education, to help our colleges and universities. And then the National Defense Education Act. And it says just what it means—National Defense Education Act. Then our aid to education and vocational training.

Why, we have everybody worried about our school dropouts, we have people worried about our young people not having skills. Well, the answer to that is to train them. Then we had manpower training for people that were affected in industry, thrown out of jobs, needed to be retrained. There isn't a single one of these programs that costs the taxpayer a nickel ultimately. The GI bill of rights proved that. The amount of money that we have spent on the GI bill of rights has been returned to the Treasury tenfold in new income that was earned by the veteran that received his education as one of the benefits of his military service.

Mr. EVANS. And yet our opposition—I think this is true of Roy Vickers, too—our opposition say we can't have this Federal aid under any circumstances.

Mr. McVICKER. Oh, no, sir, not mine. He takes credit for it.

Mr. EVANS. So many people in my area, the Goldwater people in my area, say Federal controls will come with any Federal assistance, and it is going to be a federally dominated program.

Senator HUMPHREY. We have had Federal aid to education now, gentlemen, for 179—no, about 177 years. And we haven't had any Federal control yet. We have had land-grant colleges since 1862, and we haven't any Federal control as yet. As a matter of fact, all the Federal Government has done in the field of education is to provide funds out of the great broad tax base of America to be used to bring equal opportunity in education to America.

Mr. EVANS. With good, strong, local control. Of course.

Mr. McVICKER. Senator, let me tell you our experience here. Under the Capps construction grant that the Congress passed, here in the State of Colorado we had a change of administration 2 years ago on the slogan "Cut Taxes," which they did the first year.

The second year we had the largest tax increase this State has seen. We did nothing for local government schools. We said rely entirely upon the property tax. One thing we did do. We appropriated some \$2½ million under the Federal bill, even before the Congress passed it. Thank goodness they passed it. I don't know what we would have

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done. When Gov. Ed Johnson was Governor in 1954 to 1956, all the groundwork was laid for the bill that is our foundation act which is equalization program, in all the areas of the State without which your major areas, Frank, I know mine, in the suburban areas, sir, we would be bankrupt.

It means 20 mills to my area, this equalization program that so much of the work you did laid the groundwork. This has been our experience. Unfortunately, in the last few years the property tax has taken the full burden. And we look up and say what is happening to us, we are not getting industry.

Well, you cannot, with this regressive tax. And this has been our experience. And our businessmen here, sir, in Denver, understand this, they have raised a million dollars for Forward Denver, part of which is looking at this whole question of restructuring government. And especially looking at this basis, the property tax as being not the answer as giving us a real educational program. Because if you want something you have to pay for it, sir. We know that. But how do you pay for it equitably? That is our question.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Roy, one of the ways we are trying to equalize educational opportunities in America, that is make education a truly—a true opportunity for young people, is with this Federal-aid program. Now, it is limited, and we approach it prudently and cautiously. But we know that our institutions of higher education will have to be doubled in capacity in the next 35 years. We have to build more college classroom facilities in the next 35 years than we have built in the last 300. We know that we are going to have to have additional facilities for elementary and higher education, or secondary education. So we are trying to do federally now what your State government did under Gov. Ed Johnson's basic program of equalization. We are trying to upgrade this whole educational structure.

And what happened with Mr. Goldwater's vote? Let us just take a little look at him. Because that man is running, too, gentlemen. I know you have got opponents. But may I say that important as a seat in the House of Representatives is, unless this office of the President is occupied by someone that appreciates the value of education, we are in serious trouble. And President Johnson was a teacher. His first job was a teacher. He still is a teacher. And that is why he put at the top of the priority list for his administration, education.

But Mr. Goldwater has said, for example, that education is not the responsibility of government. He even went so far as to say it would be better if some children didn't have any education—incredible statement—but he said it. He voted against higher education, medical facilities, aid to medical facilities, nurses training, manpower retraining, National Defense Education Act, Peace Corps, anything that related to education the Senator from Arizona has voted no. And I say that a man that has no better appreciation of the future of America and the true wealth of America in terms of its young minds, its young people, that man has disqualified himself for the office of the President.

Mr. McVICKER. Sir, it is not also true—I know we have all been saying it, I know how sincerely and deeply we feel about this—that when you talk about the real power and the might of this country—I know it is the nuclear armament that keeps Communist aggression from sweeping over the world. It is this applying of the free enterprise system as it has been able to adapt itself since World War II to unparalleled heights, its ability to meet the new technology, and to find automation and to conquer it. Seventy-three millions.

I remember the book right after World War II said 60 million jobs for America. But, sir, what is the real strength of this country? What is the real pushing of the idea of America, which is freedom, spirit of liberty, which we say all peoples must have? What is the strength?

It lies in this thing which is education. As we look at foreign policy, which, of course, is the key issue, America's position in the world, you talk this way, because it is right here, in our community, in Denver, in my county.

Senator HUMPHREY. Let me just inject in this point this issue of foreign policy, because I think there are two basic issues the people are facing in this campaign. First of all, do we want to repeal the prog-

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ress of economic and social progress that we have made for 30 years because Mr. Goldwater is very vigorously opposed to the many policies that we have been talking about, which have built this economic growth. And, secondly, do we want to repudiate our bipartisan foreign policy, which is the product not of just the Democrats, but of Republicans and Democrats alike, American citizens all. And I believe that when John Kennedy said to the American people in June of 1963 that the task of statesmanship was the pursuit of peace, and that peace was not available just for the asking, but that it was a process that you had to work at it, that he gave us the central concern and problem of our time. And I believe that the greatest difference between the two candidates today is on this great issue of peace, because one candidate feels that you can use naked force to impose your will, to issue ultimatums, to just denounce evil and somehow or another it just fades away. That seems to be Mr. Goldwater's point of view.

President Johnson, working within the traditions of our country, and the pattern of our development of foreign policy, knows, No. 1, we must have national strength, great strength, to deter aggression, so that we can speak and speak and be respected, so that when we go to the conference table, we negotiate from strength. But he also knows that there are no simple answers to the world problems. He knows that you have to build peace patiently, perseveringly, sacrificially. He knows that it takes as much and more courage to be a peacemaker than it does a warrior. He knows, and I know, and you know, and I think the American people all know, that when—the United Nations is really a part of the total structure of this search for world peace. It is not perfect, but it has done great things. Mr. Goldwater said that we ought to get out of it. A little later he thought maybe we ought to stay in provided that it did our bidding. The Peace Corps is a part of peace, a very important part. Mr. Goldwater voted against it, and said it was a haven for beatniks. The food for peace program, where we use our surplus food and fiber to help feed hungry people for economic development to work with our churches abroad in their great programs of compassion and charity, this is another building block in peace. Arms control, to slow down the arms race before it destroys the human race, and the nuclear test ban treaty. These are the steps of peace to which President Johnson is committed.

Governor JOHNSON. I am sorry to interrupt this wonderful discussion but time is up. We will have to close. How proud we are of you, Hubert.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Governor.

Article

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
POCATELLO, IDAHO, OCTOBER 29, 1964

One of the most famous statements about American politicians is the line "They never go back to Pocatello."

Well, I want to stop that rumor once and for all. All good Democrats come back to Pocatello again and again to be refreshed in this sensible area where the Democrats win elections. Barry Goldwater may not have come to Pocatello. His sidekick may not have come to Pocatello. But the Democratic vice presidential nominee is honored to come to Pocatello.

Lyndon Johnson and this administration are committed to developing the great resources of this State. Do you know that Senator Goldwater has voted against every piece of legislation to help develop the water resources of Idaho and the rest of the West, except, of course, for Arizona?

We can't afford this kind of narrowminded provincialism in our 20th century world. President Johnson and I have consistently supported worthwhile reclamation projects for Idaho and for other States. We know that the well-being of Idaho is beneficial to every American, just as the well being of every American is beneficial to Idaho.

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Senator Goldwater has just never learned we have one great country. He has never learned it is harmful to set State against State, region against region, race against race, and class against class.

America has too many things to do, too many challenges to meet, to risk a President who has never learned the United States is larger than the State of Arizona.

Senator Goldwater advocates reactionary ideas wholly outside of the best traditions of the Republican Party. It is not surprising that many leading Republicans and Republican publications are supporting President Johnson this year.

Your Republican State Senator, Perry Swisher, was right when he said this July about Senator Goldwater:

When told most Republicans are for him, I deny that.
When told "we know where he stands" I can prove that we no longer know.

Many leading Republican businessmen, such as the President of the Boise-Cascade Corp., Robert Hansberger, have declared they will vote for President Johnson this November. Let us also remember the words of a former Idahoan, now the Republican Governor of Michigan, George Romney, who said this summer about Senator Goldwater:

With this Nation desperately requiring a more vigorous expression of principles than ever before in our history, the Republican Party is confronted with the possibility of a nomination of a candidate who does not accept these basic principles.

Let us also remember Governor Romney's firm stand against Senator Goldwater at the Cleveland Governors' Conference.

Unfortunately, the responsible Republicans sat on their hands too long. The Republican Party, once the noble party of Lincoln, has been taken over by radicals. No wonder so many Republicans will vote for Lyndon Johnson this November.

And radicalism must not only be repudiated on the national ticket. It must also be repudiated in the State and local elections.

Be sure to reelect Ralph Harding for Congress, a devout, hard-working Congressman who is a vigorous fighter against all enemies of the American system, whether Communist or Birchite.

I hope Idahoans will reelect Representative "Comp" White in the First District so that he can continue helping Ralph Harding and Frank Church in working for Idaho and our country.

There are many issues in this campaign, but the main issue is similar to that defined by John F. Kennedy when he spoke 4 years ago at the high school auditorium in Pocatello:

"The great issue which the United States faces in this campaign," President Kennedy said, "Is our relationship with the Sino-Soviet bloc, how we can live in the same world with them, possessing, as we both do, a hydrogen capacity which could destroy mankind as well as our society."

The issue of living with the Communist bloc becomes especially significant when we remember the events of the last few days—the Kremlin leadership change, the Chinese explosion of a nuclear device.

These events remind us once again that we need a President who knows that all we are, and all we seek, is utterly dependent upon the prevention of nuclear war.

This is the supreme issue of this campaign—the supreme issue of our generation and the precondition for future generations. Without peace, there can be no freedom. Without peace, the survival of our Nation and our planet is in doubt.

How does Senator Goldwater tell us that he will manage our foreign policy and keep the peace? Your own Senator, Frank Church, an outstanding member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has continually warned of the futility of Senator Goldwater's foreign policy and the danger such ideas pose to the peace.

For instance, in his book, "The Conscience of a Conservative," Senator Goldwater says we should, and I quote directly, "be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

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In so doing, he tells us, his goal would be to "invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union and accepting total defeat."

In his frantic impatience with the world as it is, in his hot pursuit of the mirage of total victory, Senator Goldwater wishes to back the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war.

Senator Goldwater does not yet realize that initiating such juvenile games of nuclear "chicken" will eventually result in a horrendous death for both players.

Senator Goldwater does not yet realize that in our age of quick and total nuclear destruction, there is no such thing as quick and total victory.

Today, we are fortunate to be led by a President who understands his duty to preserve this world and this Nation for our children and for generations yet unborn. Lyndon Johnson is a man of firmness but he is also a man of responsibility, of prudence, of compassion. He is a fit and tested leader for the dangerous era in which we all live.

The people of Idaho are good friends and good Americans. Many of you waited at the airport until 4:30 one September morning 4 years ago to greet the young and courageous Senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy.

President Kennedy set forth a challenging vision of a better America and a more peaceful world. For 1,000 days, this great President brought America closer to this vision.

In Washington, they are now building the wooden stands for next January's presidential inauguration. President Kennedy accepted the torch of American leadership on this inaugural platform. Although President Kennedy's life was cruelly extinguished, the torch he carried burns brightly in the responsible hands of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Next January, the world must not be forced to witness the extinguishing of this torch. We must guarantee that it will continue to burn. And we can only do this by voting for Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let us remember the message of the Scriptures—without vision, the people perish. Let us hold fast to our vision of America. Let us preserve the vision of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

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

Article

News release from the Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, SEATTLE, WASH., OCTOBER 30, 1964

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.

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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.)

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

Gov. William Scranton 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 freemen * * * the fast draw and quick solution." (As quoted by Arthur Krock, New York Times, July 10, 1964.)

It was Senator Goldwater who announced that "one Eisenhower generation is enough." (Times magazine, July 24, 1964.)

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 4 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.

We are proud of the mental health bill—it establishes local mental health centers for research, training and treatment.

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 4 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.

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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.

Once again, history has swept its fierce beacon across our horizon. Once again events have reminded us of the interdependence of men and nations, of the limits of even our great power, of the dangers of nuclear arms, and the inevitability of change.

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 4 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 3.

Seattle, Wash.
Meany Hall, University of Washington
October 30, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Well, Governor, when you introduce somebody, your surely do stir up a lot 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 a little 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.

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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, in 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 Seventh 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 U.S. 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 reelected 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 U.S. 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:

Gov. Albert E. Rossellini and his administration have given the State of Washington enlightened humanitarian leader-

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ship of the highest order. Governor Rosselini 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 Rosselini, and your Democratic Congressman, to realize that potential. I urge the people of Washington to reelect 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. Gov. Albert Rosselini 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 reelection 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 fraction 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 U.S. 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 3.

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 policies and of the public attitudes and of the public utterances of the candidate 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 state-

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ment 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 make no bones about it that the Federal Government ought to withdraw, as he puts it, on a timetable 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 timetable 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 irresponsibly 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 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 is it—I believe it is New York now—that is what he said.

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

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Gov. 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 freemen, 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 another 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 8 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 4 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, 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 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, every one 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 4 years President Kennedy and President Johnson have dedicated every effort of themselves and their administration toward 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 reelected on November 3. [Applause.]

I thank you very much. [Applause.]

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I want to just leave you with one little admonition—we have been on some television here, and I want to say to these electronic instruments, it isn't the politician that is enslaving America, believe me—it is electronics.

You are always under the rigid control of somebody with a button, a switch.

And, I might add that I am not sure I quite always like it.

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

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. I know him as a man, and I can't believe that he means that, because, if he does, he ought not to be a candidate for public office. Any person that 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 that 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 that say that we have lost our freedom apparently 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 sweatshop and slave wages 50 years ago, or the man today that gets a decent wage and a 40-hour work week, and some fair labor standards. I think the answer is quite 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 we used to call the poorfarm that each county had, or your grandfather that 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 some sense of dignity and 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 that support them, we really believe that it is right for the Government to aid the blind, and we have a Government program for help to 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 perfectly all 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

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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 let me say for myself—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 perfectly all right for both Republicans and Democrats alike to abide by that admonition.

I believe that if it is all right for we the people to be taught individually that compassion and charity is noble and moral and decent, and 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 America and schools are all about.

Now, if it is all right for individuals to be that way, what's wrong with 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 of America 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 that have had a college education, and I have been privileged to have one, we didn't get it alone. You attend this great university. There are people here in this State that you have never met that 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, they are immortal. You could not buy it. But they are here for you.

Now, anybody that gets the privilege of a college education is the one person above all that 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 and to be a partner, 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 do anything, but a Government that removes from the paths of opportunity, 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 of the impediment. And then if you have got something on the ball, if you have got any ability, if you have any energy, if you have any drive, and if you can get an education, you ought to be able to make it on your own, if you are healthy, and if you are strong, and if you are spirited.

So the question is, in this election, do you want a philosophy of government that recognizes social responsibility, or do you want a philosophy of government that recognizes 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?

I had to quickly go over the steps to peace. But I don't intend to come to a university and only be a politician. I come here as a teacher.

Peace is not for the wishing. You don't get it because Barry Goldwater says to the Russians "Drop dead." He can't even make Republicans do that.

Peace doesn't come because somebody serves ultimatums. The foreign policy of boss and braggadocio, and nuclear missile rattling and of ultimatums is the foreign policy of madness and suicide. And 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 some limitation 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. Everybody may not be fully content with the decisions that the Government is making. Sometimes I am not. Believe me, most of us are

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not. But let me say that I surely couldn't be content with a government that just made decisions on the basis of impulse, on the basis of some kind of jingoism that said 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. And what we need to remember is 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. This is not a statement of exaggeration. It is a sad fact.

Therefore, what we ought to be seeking to do is as to whether or not we can apply the rule of reason to this world, whether or not we can build the strength, the shield of strength, that gives us a deterrent to war, because strength is absolutely essential. This is why we do believe in a strong defense structure. It is a shield to protect us. And then we 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, if any of you have ever seen it, or as they use cobalt. The radiologist protects himself with a shield, and he manipulates a machine or tools or fingers to bring to the body, the afflicted part and the affected part, the healing of radioactivity.

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

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 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 that the Communist respects for his strength. And the one that he fears for his knowledge. The one that understands the real operations of the Communist apparatus, and ideology. And the most effective Communist is the one that goes into the world like a doctor to heal the sores that produce a favorable environment or condition 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, that 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 the 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, as far as I can remember.

I think it is very important.

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, it is a haven for beatniks. What an appreciation of America, what an understanding of American youth, what appreciation of the world's problems, what an unbelievable shameful lack of understanding.

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—25 out of 33 Republicans said let's do it. His own minority leader, Everett Dirksen,

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sen, 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, Mr. Goldwater—since you seem to be a specialist in this area. 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, is to have no hips at all, and nothing else. It means catastrophe.

So I appeal to the young, who have everything to live for, I appeal to those who 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, whose record of experience and performance is one you know of. And 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. [Applause.]

Pendleton, Oreg.
Pendleton Airport
October 30, 1964

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Congressman Ullman. Thank you for your welcome. And may I thank the good people of Pendleton, Oreg., and the neighboring areas who are taking time out of your busy day to come here to the airport, into this hangar where we can visit just a little while about some of the problems that face us and some of the decisions, or should I say the decision, that we will be called upon to make between now and November 3.

I want at this moment to thank the young people of the junior high school band that played for us when we arrived. I am very honored by their presence and by the quality of their music. They played the Minnesota rouser with such enthusiasm that I told them if our football team could play football as well as they played that Minnesota rouser this year, we would win more games.

But they surely have honored me with their presence.

I am particularly pleased that here today with us on the platform are not only your Congressman, a personal friend of mine, and one of the most able Members of the House of Representatives, and one who performed great services for the Democratic Party at the convention in Atlantic City, and should be honored and respected for that leadership. But also that we have the candidate for Congress from the Fourth District in the State of Washington.

Now, it is unusual to speak for a candidate in a different State. But here we are in Pendleton, Oreg., and we say also a good word for Stephen Hussa, who is from the State of Washington, and I believe he is from the fourth district there.

And I am delighted to see an old friend, Gene Conklin, who is the candidate for the State senate from Pendleton, and I do hope that you folks are going to get that man elected, too.

And Martin Buchanan, your candidate for the State representative. So you have a full job cut out for you, to elect these good men.

Well, Martin, you have got some supporters back there. I hope they can vote, too. And if they can't, if they are young ones, they can always get their parents to vote.

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Now, let me take a moment, Chief, to thank you for your gracious presentation, for the Chief Joseph blanket. And for that wonderful robe which both Mrs. Humphrey and myself will cherish as a fond remembrance of Pendleton, and a remembrance, sir, of you and your people. I am very honored.

I do want to say once again that in my office there is a sign that says, "Chief Leading Father." Not Chief Leading Father; Chief Leading Feather. And I am honorary chief of the Red Leg Band of the Chipewewa Indians of Minnesota. And only the other day I was made an honorary chief of the Rosebud Sioux Indians, out in South Dakota.

I must say that if there is any finer people in the world than our people of Indian descent, I haven't met them. And I only hope that our Government will keep in mind the many obligations that we have to these fine and good citizens, fine and wonderful people.

We are going to be together here for just a little while. I first want to address my remarks to the junior members. They are always enthusiastic. And one of the heartening parts of this great national campaign has been the privilege of meeting with so many young people. These young people come to us with a sense of idealism and enthusiasm. And now we come to them with a message of co-operation and an urgent plea for their assistance.

In most States you have to be 21 years of age and over before you can vote. In the States of Kentucky and Georgia, if you are 18 years of age you are permitted to vote.

So I ask my young friends in Oregon, and those that may come from the neighboring State of Washington, or wherever you may come from, I ask you now to become the chief adviser in your family household.

Your parents from time to time advise you what to do. I am sure that has happened to you. You have been called in, occasionally even called on the carpet, by a parent or teacher and said, "Now, here is the way you ought to do things. We expect you to act this way"—or that way.

So it is your turn to get even, so to speak. Between now and November 3 may I suggest to every young boy and girl in this audience, to every young man and woman under age 21, when you go home, you call in mother and dad and say, "Now, listen here, it is about time we had a heart-to-heart talk about some of the political facts of life." And you talk to them about their citizenship responsibility. Because the truth is, my young Americans, the truth is that there is no free country on the earth, no free country of democratic institutions that has a poorer voting record than the United States of America. I hate to have to say that, but it is a fact.

Here we are, the great democracy. Here we are a nation telling everybody that they ought to live by the standards of freedom. And yet the United States of America has never at any time in its history been able to produce at election day two-thirds of the eligible voters to cast a ballot.

In the recent British election, almost 90 percent of all the eligible voters in Britain cast their ballot. In the Scandinavian countries, many of you here are of Scandinavian extraction—over 90 percent always cast their vote. In Germany, 90 percent. In Italy, 93 percent. And in the last election in France, 95 percent of all the French adult citizens eligible to vote cast their vote.

But this country tells everybody else about democracy. We give more lectures on how other people ought to live than any other people. And yet when it comes to the choice in America of voting for our representatives in Congress or the State legislature, or a city council, or a county commissioner, or a President, the average vote in this country has never been over 63 percent. And that was in the last election.

So, young friends, if you want to scold your mother and father, this is your chance. If you want to tell them about what their votes are, this is your chance. And I wish that every boy and girl in America would make it their business to be a sort of a constant ringing bell in the house, and saying every 15 minutes on the minute, "Mother, are you going to vote?" "Father, are you going to vote?" If you have a 21-year-old brother, ask him if he is going to vote. Ask him so often that he will pray for November 3 to hurry up, so he can get his obligations over with.

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And then let me tell you one other thing you can do. You can call dad and mother aside privately, as they have done it with you once in a while, and you say, "Now, look. I have urged you to vote, I gather you have gotten the message. Now, I want to give you a little advice on how to vote." You tell them that you met a friend by the name of Senator Humphrey, and you were impressed with what he had to say. That you think that he was right, and that if they want—if these parents want to protect your future, if they want to assure a better America, if they want to see a world that lives in peace, the way to do it is to vote for President Lyndon Johnson on November 3.

And don't forget to back up the President with some Congressmen, like Al Ullman, right here in Oregon, and also—I heard you—and also Stephen Husa.

Now, my friends, just a word or two about one or two matters of concern to us.

Just as I was waiting to come to this platform, I was privileged to meet with some of the representatives of agriculture in this area. Pendleton, Oreg., is one of the great agricultural centers of America, and the people here know, as should people all over America, that there is a great interdependence and a great relationship between the prosperity of agriculture and the prosperity of the total community.

In other words, you cannot have much prosperity on "Main Street" if there is no prosperity out on the farm-to-market roads of rural America.

This is a great area for wheat producers. This is a great area for cattle raising. And we have gone through some difficult days in America, in our agriculture, even though I must say that compared to the rest of the world we have done very well.

When you stop and think that in the Soviet Union agriculture is a colossal failure, and in America our problems about agriculture is because we are too successful, I think we Americans have something to be proud about, something to be most grateful for.

I want to say to the wheat producers here—and I shall make it brief—that I do believe that the Wheat Act which was passed was of benefit to our agricultural community. I think, as was said in our little private conversation behind this platform, that the tools are there for a good, solid, substantial constructive agricultural program for the wheat producer.

What we need is to have a closer working relationship between that producer and the Government, and what we need to do is to keep in mind at all times that the purpose of an agricultural program is to raise farm income. That is its purpose.

And I come here, as the representative of President Johnson, I come here to tell you from this platform that the Johnson-Humphrey administration will bend every effort within our power to make these programs better and more workable, to make them better income-producing programs, to make them better programs for rural America and for the entire Nation.

We believe we can do it, and with your help we will get it done.

I am sure you realize that the candidate of the opposition party, Mr. Goldwater, has said quite frankly that he does not believe in these farm programs. And not only has he said so—he has voted that way. He has asked for the prompt and final termination of the farm price support program. And I ask every wheat producer in this great valley, I ask every wheat producer in America, to think about the consequences of that policy. Because if that policy were to be followed, the wheat producer of America would be getting about 50 percent of the income that he is receiving today. And that not only would bankrupt the wheat producer, but it would tend to lead to disastrous economic consequences throughout the entire Nation.

Mr. Goldwater is no friend of the farmer. He said he doesn't know anything about agriculture, and his votes prove it.

I don't think we want to trust your future to that man. I don't believe that there is a thoughtful farmer in America that really believes that if you took the Government programs away, that American agriculture would be better. In fact, what we need to do is to improve those programs, to make those programs even more effective than they are. And that will help America, and help the farmer, and help the world.

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Let me just add this other matter. That this area that I visit today is in the Columbia River Basin. This great river was given to us by a beneficent divine providence. These rivers were put here to help us, not to hurt us. These rivers represent energy and power and wealth.

If man will but put himself to the task of cooperating with the river, of harnessing its waters.

(Background noise.)

There goes Barry—frankly, I didn't think we were going to get rid of him until November 3.

But these great rivers, such as the Columbia River, the Tennessee River, the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, and others—I have visited all of these areas. Every one of these great river areas has the potential for wealth or destruction; floods destroy, the harnessing of the waters of the river build and create. And I say that one of the reasons that Oregon and the State of Washington are two of the fastest growing States in America is because of the Columbia River Basin and the development of the hydroelectric power and the flood control programs on those rivers.

This is your wealth.

And these areas which were traditionally agricultural are now becoming industrial, and with great development in industry there means more jobs, more incomes, a diversified economy, a more stable economy. And all of it is possible because a Government, a friendly Government, a Government that was willing to work with the people, did work with the people. And the people and the Government working together have produced really a whole new society in these areas of our great river valleys.

I want to assure this audience once again that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, and your Congressman Al Ullman, and the Congressman from the Fourth District in Washington, Mr. Hussa, that we will stand together and work together to see to it that these great river resources are further developed, so that there may be industrial progress and better community living all through the entire Pacific Northwest.

Now, then, let me leave you with this thought.

I mentioned early in my remarks the importance of agriculture to this area. I think I know a little bit about this. I have served on the Committee on Agriculture for 10 years. I come from the Midwest. I frankly have put a good deal of my time and energy into the study of agricultural policy, and becoming acquainted with the needs of our rural America.

I want to see our rural America have every opportunity of our metropolitan America. But I also want America, all of America, to appreciate what rural America is doing for America and for the world.

I want now just to speak a word about one of the best programs of our Government, called the food-for-peace program.

The food-for-peace program is one of the building blocks of America's efforts to build world peace. The food-for-peace program has celebrated its 10th anniversary, and that program has been expanded and developed, intensified, under the administration of the late President Kennedy, and now President Johnson.

I am one of the authors of the food-for-peace program. I saw early the necessity of putting our food abundance to work for a better world, for a more peaceful world, for a more just world. And the wheat-growers of this great area, along, may I say, with the dairy farmers of my State of Minnesota, and the feed grain producers of southern Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, and other areas—these great farm people have produced an abundance of food and fiber that has made possible one of the most effective foreign aid programs, one of the most effective assistance programs that we have today. This program has made possible the saving of millions of lives. The wheatgrowers themselves can honestly say that with their wheat they have saved country after country from revolution, that with their wheat they have not only fed the hungry, and fulfilled really the great promise of Biblical admonition, "Give us this day our daily bread"—ladies and gentlemen, we now have the possibility, the potentiality, through agricultural science, through the knowledge that we have in agriculture, of banishing from the face of the earth for the first time man's ancient enemies of hunger and famine.

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Never again need famine stalk this earth. And what a marvelous achievement that is. And as we hear people today talk about the evils of our time—and we have one candidate that preaches to us all the time about our sins and our evils, telling us how bad America is, how debauched our people are, I want to remind that candidate, and I want to remind you, that we have performed an act of mercy, an act of compassion and charity in our food-for-peace program. That food-for-peace program has not only fed the hungry, which within itself would be enough to make any American proud, but it has healed the sick, it has built hospitals, it has provided the construction of schools, it has afforded hundreds of thousands of people an education, and it today provides school lunch programs for 100 million children in Latin America and in Asia and Africa—American food doing the work of peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, while we have been doing this, it has helped our own farm producers, it has been good economics at home, it has been good morals privately and publicly. And might I say that when one speaks of morality, he might also consider the needs of his fellow citizens, the needs of people who have less than we. Food for peace has developed commercial markets for the wheatgrowers of Oregon. And I give you this good news—that in the month of December of this year there will be a conference of the growers and of Government representatives and of people who seek to expand our markets and of our church groups who seek to use this food for charitable purposes—there will be a conference to see how we can expand the use of wheat in our overseas program of food for peace, particularly for the Far East and to the Oregon wheat producer this means so much economically, and to America it means so much morally.

I want to wish all of you the very best. And I hope that on November 3, election day, that you will join with me in seeing to it that our country moves forward, in seeing to it that we have in the White House a man who is dedicated to peace and security, and if you believe, as I believe, that the gains we have made over the past 30 years must be preserved, and that we must march to even higher ground of accomplishment, if you believe, as I believe, that America has a role to play in preserving the peace and helping to build a better world, then I think you are going to vote as I am going to vote, for President Lyndon Johnson, and those that support him on November 3.

Thank you.

Portland, Oreg.
October 30, 1964

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

On Tuesday, the American people go to the polls. I would like to summarize the central issue of the campaign. Your choice is between the politics of responsibility and the politics of radicalism.

On July 12, 1964, a leading American told Senator Goldwater: "You have too often casually prescribed nuclear war as a solution to a troubled world."

He continued: "Goldwaterism has come to stand for nuclear irresponsibility * * * Goldwaterism has come to stand for being afraid to forthrightly condemn rightwing extremism * * *. In short, Goldwaterism has come to stand for a whole crazy quilt collection of absurd and dangerous positions * * *."

This was on July 12, 1964. And the author of these statements was Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania. The Governor has since chosen to rise above his principles—but the condemnation he issued that July day has been confirmed a thousandfold in recent weeks.

Look at the type of campaign the Goldwaterites have waged. The American people have a pretty wide range of tolerance for campaign extravagance. But they also have a deep sense of dignity, a sense of the ground rules which are even stronger for being unwritten.

One of the ground rules which has been ignored flagrantly by the leadership of the Goldwater faction is that behavior of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States should reflect the dignity of these majestic offices.

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Since time immemorial Presidents have been accused of nursing dictatorial ambitions, of being obsessed with power, even of being unkind to animals.

But never before in the history of the United States has a major political party accepted the support of organizations and individuals who assert that the President of the United States is a *traitor*. And that President John F. Kennedy was a *traitor*. And that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a *traitor*.

These attacks are made with the certain knowledge, the coward's courage, that no President would demean himself or his office by bringing action for libel.

The Goldwaterites at their national convention denied there was any guilt in associating with extremists. What emerged clearly from their convention was a decision that accepting the support of extremist votes was no vice.

Indeed, Goldwater's handpicked national chairman, Dean Burch, said he would accept support from the Ku Klux Klan. "We are not in the business of discouraging votes," said Mr. Burch. Senator Goldwater, however, did at least later repudiate the Klan.

We Democrats would feel guilty if we associated with the Communists, the Birchers, or the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, we expressly repudiated them in our platform. We discourage *their* votes.

The Goldwater faction has chosen not to repudiate the radical right—the American people must decide whether there is any guilt involved in this association.

Why do the extremists welcome Goldwater? What is there about this man which has made him the vehicle of the twisted aspirations of the radical right?

What is at issue here is not Senator Goldwater's *private*, but his *public* role in American politics. He is a decent private citizen, a man you would welcome as your neighbor. But he is clearly unqualified for the high office of President of the United States.

Our concern is with *Goldwaterism*. And I repeat the question: *Why* does *Goldwaterism* have so magnetic an appeal to the radicals, to the extremists in the cause of discord and disruption? Why have these addicts of gallows politics—who want to impeach, even lynch, the Chief Justice of the United States—rallied to the Goldwater standard?

The answer, I think, is not hard to find. 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 Vandenberg and President Franklin D. Roosevelt and upheld faithfully by leaders of both political parties.

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

Take the Senator's shocking announcements that President John F. Kennedy had arranged the Cuban crisis in 1962 to win the congressional elections. Take the charge that President Johnson would manufacture a world crisis this fall for electoral purposes.

We have faced a number of great crises in our history under Democratic and Republican Presidents but we have never thought of them as Democratic or Republican crises. They have been American crises.

The men who faced them, and led the Nation to overcome them, have not done so as party leaders but as *Presidents of the United States*.

This distrust of our institutions and our leaders nourishes all the prophets of radicalism and extremism.

Listen to the testimony of Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the extreme rightwing Christian Nationalist Crusade, announcing his support for Senator Goldwater:

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

When Wendell Wilkie in 1940 discovered that Gerald L. K. Smith and others of his ilk were supporting him, he vigorously repudiated them. No man could fairly accuse Wendell Wilkie of nurturing ex-

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tremism. In 1960, Richard Nixon similarly repudiated the support of Gerald L. K. Smith. But there has been no indication from the Goldwater leadership that such support is not welcome.

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

The Goldwater party refused to repudiate a society whose leader 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 word:

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

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

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

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

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

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

American politics has often involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this scale, or with such outrageous virulence.

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

At a time when we have never been stronger, and the Communist world system is in turmoil, the radicals see us sliding down the slope to defeat.

At a time when we have reached a breakthrough in the struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice, they talk of nothing but race riots and street violence.

At a time when we are reaching forward to eliminate poverty, the despair of old age, disease, and poor education, they say we are becoming a Nation of slaves.

At a time when human survival depends upon the exercise of responsible power, they encourage nuclear adventurism and shooting from the hip.

Events of the past 2 weeks demonstrate the need for a President who understands fully the destructive nuclear power which is his to unleash. These events illustrate the need for a man in the White House who knows peace is not pursued through the rattle of rockets or the issuing of ultimatums.

The central fact which has emerged from the campaign is that Americans do not want Barry Goldwater's finger on the nuclear trigger.

By contrast, our President is a man of prudence and compassion—a man fully conscious of his responsibility to use our awesome military power with restraint and reason.

Under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, America will never risk the extinction of the torch of world leadership by the bitter whirlwind of nuclear holocaust.

In every area of foreign and domestic policy the Goldwater faction cultivates catastrophe. It invents catastrophe. With a conspiratorial spirit, its leaders assume that everything in America is dishonest.

The free spirit which invigorates American life and provides the environment for our great accomplishments does not exist for the Goldwater faction—they live in the conspiratorial police state of their own twisted imaginations.

The United States is a great, diverse Nation of almost 200 million people. The overwhelming bulk of the population, Democratic or Republican, urban or rural, white or Negro, northern or southern, is composed of individuals who are loyal to the fundamental values of our society.

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Some of them may be unhappy about the decisions that are made by the elected officials, by the President and Congress, or by the courts. Yet it would never enter their heads, or their hearts, to decry as treason decisions which they personally oppose.

The opposition is a loyal opposition. The Government is a loyal Government. Sometimes it may be mistaken, depending on one's viewpoint, but nonetheless, it is committed to those priceless ideals which we hold in common. This is the faith which has sustained American democracy for almost 175 years.

President Johnson and the American people are wholly committed to this spirit of liberty. We are committed to this spirit with the faith and devotion expressed in this statement by the late Judge Learned Hand:

* * * The spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women * * * the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near 2,000 years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten: that there is a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest.

This is the spirit which will cause Americans of all political persuasions—Democrats, Republicans, and independents—to vote overwhelmingly for Lyndon B. Johnson November 3.

Los Angeles, Calif.
Statler-Hilton Hotel
October 31, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY COMMITTEE OF LOS ANGELES

Senator HUMPHREY. Pierre, my good friend—my good friend, Senator Salinger. You might as well get used to it, you know. Just keep calling him Senator, because he is going to be Senator for 6 more years.

Pierre, I was interested in how you identified me. I have been called many things here. But the thing that I like to be called most, or the name that I have enjoyed the most, that has come to the forefront in this campaign, is my middle name, which, of course, has aroused for me great sympathy, great support.

You have heard of the back lash, and you have heard of the front lash. All those that have middle names that they wish they did not have are members of the middle lash. I want to say that I am the king of the middle lash for my middle name—Horatio.

I know you are here tonight preparing for the countdown in this campaign. But I want to visit with you for a little while about it.

I am delighted to be back once again in the great area of California, known as Los Angeles—Los Angeles County.

I have heard it said back East that the temporary spokesman of a faction of a faction of reaction—the temporary spokesman of that part of the Republican Party, is of the opinion that this is an area where he is going to do very well.

Well, I just wondered what your reaction would be. It seems to be very healthy.

I am up here to ask you to make sure that claim is not a reality. And I do not think it is going to be, and neither do you.

But I would be less than honest with you if I did not tell you that we have been drinking some pretty heady political wine, when we hear of these public opinion polls, when we read that this is going to be an overwhelming victory for President Johnson and the Democratic ticket and Democrats generally.

I know we love to hear it, I know we love to see it and I know we love to believe it. And quite frankly, there is good reason to believe it, provided that every person in this room, provided that hundreds of thousands more like you will realize that the elections that are generally lost are the ones you think you have won before you vote.

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So I come here with one special plea to you—I come here to ask you to redouble your work.

I spoke in Chicago about a week ago to a great precinct meeting. All of the precinct captains of Cook County were there. And as I said to the good mayor of that city, one of the outstanding Democratic leaders of our country, and to his precinct workers—I said that unless I hear on election day that the hospitals are literally filled with people who have dropped from fatigue, unless I hear that the Democrats are the victims of overwork and prostration due to overwork, I know that we are in trouble.

So I am going to be watching Los Angeles. And if I see anybody that looks like they are enjoying it, if I see anybody that looks like they are sort of in limbo, that somehow or another everything is all right, all I can say is that if we lose the election, you will find out who it is by taking a good look in the looking glass, as a friend of mine said, or in the mirror.

Truthfull, we have a big job ahead of us in the next 3 days. And that big job is to make doubly sure that nothing goes wrong, to make sure that we are out and working in every precinct.

I think you know that the Republicans are engaging in an operation that they call Operation Eagle Eye. You may have heard about it. We call it Operation Evil Eye.

But what is this technique or tactic they are using? It is one of trying to confuse or arouse doubt or fear in the minds of thousands, yea, millions of voters. This is a very insidious operation. It is one that the Republican Party ought to renounce and denounce—at least responsible Republicans should.

It is the first time that I have ever known of it to happen in American politics. It is the first time that I can recall that instructions have gone out to party workers to see to it that those party workers harass potential voters at the voting booths.

Now, may I say to my fellow Democrats, there is just one way to meet that, and that is to get the voters to the voting precinct, to get them there, to make sure that they understand fully between now and Tuesday their rights.

Every citizen in this country that is a registered voter is entitled to vote. And all of this nonsense of self-appointed agents at the polling box to some way or another see to it that a man does not cast his vote, or if he does that he may have some doubt as to whether he should have—this is really foul play, and it needs to be so denounced.

So be on guard—eternal vigilance. Because this election must be won, and it must not just be won by a slight margin. The surest way that I know for you to reelect or to elect your U.S. Senator for a 6-year term is to see to it that President Johnson has the biggest victory that California has ever seen.

Pierre Salinger supports President Lyndon Johnson, and his opponent is a supporter of Barry Goldwater. Those are the simple facts of politics in California. And the way to defeat Mr. Salinger's opponent is to see to it that Mr. Salinger's opponent's political godfather gets the licking of his political life.

I must say there are many, many good reasons for you to elect Senator Salinger, just because of what he is and what he stands for and what he has done in his public life. And I urge upon you to spread that message far and wide.

But this is a team operation, and we are standing together as a Democratic team, and we need to encourage everyone to do the job.

Now, what other reasons do we have to win this election?

This campaign is different from any other in our history. For the first time in American politics since the Know-Nothing Party, prior to the Civil War, which was a party based upon prejudice, which blamed all the ills and evils of America upon the immigrant, particularly that time the Catholic immigrant. And that Know-Nothing Party was repudiated and its was destroyed.

Since that time there has never been a major political party that has given a respectable platform to the forces of bitterness and hatred and bigotry and prejudice in America—until this election.

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Now, at the Goldwater convention at San Francisco, when that convention refused to repudiate the John Birch Society, refused to take a stand on what was called extremism in American politics, when they rebuked those who sought to take that stand, when they booed the Governor of New York, when they refused to listen to the Governor of Pennsylvania, when they booed the Governor of Michigan—on that day the councils and the portals of the Republican Party were opened—that faction of the Republican Party—those councils and gates were open to forces in America that have no right to be on front stage in American political life.

Mr. Goldwater's chairman, Dean Burch, when asked about the support of the Ku Klux Klan for his candidate, said, "We are not in the business of driving away votes." To the credit of Mr. Goldwater, he did repudiate the Ku Klux. But he did not repudiate the John Birchers. He said, "These are the kind of people we need in politics." He said, "I don't find them to be extremists."

I wish you would not boo. I like Democrats always to cheer. That booing sound belong to another group.

To put it directly and firmly on the line, the Goldwater candidacy has been surrounded by and supported by Gerald L. K. Smith, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, DePugh's Minutemen, who are openly engaged in the practice of guerrilla warfare—all of these are the forces of bigotry, they are the forces of the bitterness, they are the forces of hate, and they are the forces of prejudice. And these people must be defeated, they must be repudiated.

Now, my friends, I want to say a word or two more to you about what we have been trying to do.

I have been traveling from one end of this country to the other, talking about the issues of this campaign. We have discussed tax and fiscal policy, we have discussed economic growth and progress, we have discussed education. The President of the United States recently gave a splendid address in Florida, at Boca Raton, on the high priority that our country will place upon education.

We have discussed the problems of our growing cities. I have discussed in detail in several sections of this country resource development, conservation, space exploration, scientific research.

We have discussed, I think, every major subject that confronts the American people.

I say this because some people say there has not been much discussion of the issues. There has been plenty of discussion, but not much debate. Because it takes two to make a debate. We have discussed them and we have attempted to build on that discussion everything we have accomplished in the 87th and 88th Congress. Everything we have accomplished in the past 30 years is on the line in this election.

The question is do you want to go ahead with what you have done, or do you want to repeal it. That is the question before the American people. That is the issue we have been bringing to the American people.

We have been asking—do you want to build on the bipartisan foreign policy, or do you want to repudiate it?

You have a candidate of repudiation. His name is Mr. Goldwater. You have a candidate of repeal. His name is Mr. Goldwater. You have a candidate of going forward, you have a candidate of bipartisan foreign policy, you have a candidate of security and peace—and his name is President Lyndon Johnson.

I hope you will bear with me just a moment, because in this campaign we want to discuss every issue. And while I am here in California, it is my intention to discuss what I consider to be one other issue that needs a little more attention.

While we have discussed education for our younger people, we have not given, I think, full enough attention to the needs and the problems of our senior citizens, our older people. And right here in California, this is a paramount issue. Therefore this issue needs to be understood and it needs to be discussed, even at a late hour in this campaign.

You see, the President of the United States and I do not look upon age or upon the elderly or the senior citizens as problems. We look upon them, if I may say, as opportunities for better living and for better service to our America.

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We happen to think that when you talk about civil rights, and when you talk about constitutional rights, you should not only be talking about the fact that there should be no discrimination because of race, creed or color, or national origin, but also of sex and of age.

We must provide opportunities, better opportunities for those thousands and thousands of elderly people, a growing section in our population. And we need to do some fresh thinking about it, and we are doing it.

Let me tell you what we intend to do—briefly.

We intend, in the 89th Congress, when Pierre Salinger is returned, and when President Johnson is reelected—we intend to initiate specific legislative proposals for the establishment of a number of community centers throughout the United States where retired persons can participate in a variety of social, educational, and economic activities and programs of community service.

We intend to ask the Congress to create a kind of domestic Peace Corps, but this time of our senior citizens.

We intend to ask the Congress to explore the possibility of the creation of a National Senior Citizens Corps, perhaps as a special component of the Volunteers in Service to America, to provide a vehicle for retired citizens to serve as volunteers in developing a whole, wide variety of community service programs.

We have 20 million retired and older people. They represent today the greatest reservoir of untapped, unused talent and experience in any part of the American population.

We have the belief, may I say to our younger friends, that life can be rich and meaningful even in what we call the twilight years.

And it is not good enough just to keep people living in terms of physical health. They must be able to live and live a rich and full life in terms of mental and spiritual and emotional health.

I do not need to review to you the record of negativism of the Senator from Arizona on any matter on any bill. It doesn't seem to make a great deal of difference what problem it has been. The fact is that the Senator from Arizona has had a consistent record of voting against housing for the elderly, medical care, aid to dependent children, aid to those that are on pensions, aid to any aspect of the special and economic life in this country that deals with elderly citizens.

So probably we need to give Mr. Goldwater a little practical personal experience about the problems of retirees. So may I suggest that Senator Goldwater said back in 1961 that elderly people, that is those that were 65 or older, frequently have better financial security than younger people, and that he did not feel there was any great need for the Federal Government to do anything about it. May I suggest that we join together in a very friendly, cooperative effort on November 3 to help provide him retirement from politics, which he so richly deserves.

I would like to tell you just a few of the things we have accomplished.

In 1961 the Congress increased by fourfold the appropriation for the construction of hospitals, centers for diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation and geriatric facilities.

In 1961 we passed the Community Health Facilities Act.

In 1962 we passed a whole range of legislation—the welfare amendments to the Social Security Act, homemaker services, health clinics, meal delivery to homebound older people, visiting nurse and other services.

In 1962 the Harris-Kefauver drug amendments assured new protection to our people to make sure that drugs were pure and that they were of value and that they were not in any way dangerous.

In 1963 we passed the Mental Health Act and legislation to establish community mental health centers. We also passed legislation to construct new dental, medical and public health and osteopathic facilities.

In 1964 we provided funds for modernizing antiquated hospitals.

We revised the income tax schedule so that older persons would not have to pay any tax upon income below \$3,000; and may I add that we permitted deduction of all medical expenses for persons 65 and over.

Now, that is the record thus far.

I have told you the record of the opposition.

Now, let me tell you what more we intend to do.

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We intend, when the 89th Congress convenes, to make this Congress the one that will do the most, not only for our young in the field of education, but also to do the greatest service for our senior citizens who are in the twilight of their lives. We intend to make the 89th Congress remembered as the Congress of compassion and care for the dignity of our senior citizens.

With Senator Salinger's help we intend to pass, and we will pass, hospital and nursing home care under social security—that we will do.

And finally, we are going to pursue the study of ways and means to up social security income as the cost of living goes up. This, in addition to expanded benefits under the Social Security Act, which we passed in this last Congress, but which was lost in conference.

We are going to make the 89th Congress a Congress that will be remembered forever for what it does for the young and what it does for the old.

Now, my good friends, that is just a little more ammunition for you to go out and work on.

Now, why do I tell you this? Because the opposition has no program at all for either our youth or our senior citizens. The opposition has no program for those that are sick, for those that are in need, for those that are unfortunate.

For the first time in a national election you really have a choice. If you want to have the choice of ignoring the needs of the young people of America in education, of ignoring the needs of the senior citizens of America for their participation in community life, for their health and for their welfare; if you want to have a choice of ignoring the needs of the afflicted, you can do it—and tell your neighbors they can do it. Tell them they can do it by voting for the candidate that votes no, no, no, no. And that man's name is you-know-what.

Now, I don't think the American people appreciate or have any fondness for those in public life that are constantly digging in and dragging their feet. I don't think the American people want to stand still.

I think the American people want a President that knows how to get things done and who emphasizes, not the word "no," but emphasizes the word "go" and get the job done.

So if you agree with me, let me give you a suggestion.

We have been at this little party, as far as I am concerned, maybe too long. So let's get out and get the job done. Let's make sure that 1964 is an election year that will stand alongside of 1936 or even better, and reelect President Lyndon Johnson.

Article
Saturday Review
October 31, 1964

POSITION PAPERS: 1964—THE CASE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The following article, written by the 1964 Democratic vice-presidential candidate, concludes Saturday Reviews series of election-year position papers. Other articles in the series were published February 29 (Arthur Larson on liberal Republicanism), April 25 (James J. Kilpatrick on southern conservatism), June 13 (Ralph McGill on southern progressivism), July 11 (Joseph S. Clark on Democratic liberalism), August 22 (Robert Taft, Jr., on middle-ground Republicanism), September 26 (Roy Wilkins on a Negro view of the candidates) and October 17 (Barry Goldwater on the case for the Republican Party).

(By Hubert H. Humphrey)

The issue this year is less one of liberalism versus conservatism than of responsibility versus irresponsibility, prudence versus recklessness.

The main requirement placed on us in 1964 is to consider carefully whether Federal authority should be delegated to a radical fringe group or whether President Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party should continue the enterprises begun by President Franklin Roosevelt and continued by his successors of both parties.

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In President John F. Kennedy's 1,000 days he inspired this country and the world. In a time of national anxiety, President Johnson challenged us to continue. And that we have done. Shall this continuity now be broken?

The supreme priority of 1964 is the maintenance of peace.

Militarily, we are stronger than any other power or any conceivable combination of powers.

President Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis and President Johnson in the Gulf of Tonkin crisis proved that the greatest military power on earth can act responsibly, calmly, and justly.

It has not been lost on the people of the world that it was the United States that took the lead in proposing the treaty prohibiting nuclear tests. They respect us for this and look to us for continued leadership, particularly in disarmament.

Unilateral disarmament would fatally impair the security we must maintain to insure the peace. Unilateral *initiative* is something else. One example of this is our creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the first such agency established by any nation in history. Its highly specialized staff has done monumental work in coordinating the complex and interrelated efforts to protect national security and maintain a viable foreign policy at the same time as we look to a reduction in arms. Such work is imperative, but it will take time. (We must beware of what Adlai Stevenson refers to as "get peace quick" schemes.)

One result of the easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union is the eruption of a rash of lesser disputes not directly related to the confrontation of the two superpowers. This makes the maintenance of peace much more delicate, if we are to avoid a major confrontation. We must continue to maintain an active role in mediating brushfire incidents. But at the same time, the United Nations must be equipped with a police force ready to go anywhere in the world to bring shooting to an end. Ultimately we must establish a world rule of law. The goal is a distant one, but we must never lose sight of it.

The United States is a big country with big problems. We are enjoying the longest period of sustained economic growth in our history, but there is poverty, misery, and discontent. We have done well, but we must and can do better. Even at its present eye-opening rate our growth has not kept pace with the technological revolution and the population eruption that have shaped our lives in the 20 years since World War II.

The \$11.5 billion tax reduction enacted this year should help increase economic growth. This is the most significant economic measure Congress has passed since the Employment Act of 1946. It was boldly calculated to provide our economy with the greatest fiscal shot in the arm we have ever known in peacetime. Our gross national product now stands at a record \$600 billion plus. With the tax cut acting as a stimulus, we can look forward to a growth of perhaps \$35 to \$40 billion in the gross national product. This will help reduce unemployment, but we will still face the problems brought about by automation and technological progress. The enormity of this problem is shown in the statistics: We shall soon face the need to provide 300,000 new jobs every month—more than the population of such cities as Omaha, Rochester, and Akron, more than the population of the State of Nevada.

Public works can provide some of these jobs; others will come through the various levels of government and from the services and professions. But I am convinced that we must look to science and technology to generate new jobs in place of those they have abolished. Experts believe this can be done, if we set about it in the right way.

The Federal Government devotes about \$15 billion a year to research and development—some in Government laboratories but mostly in industry and educational institutions. We are counting on "spin-off" from defense-related and space-related research to yield new products, new industries, and new economic opportunities. We already have some of this spin-off, but not enough—and we have learned that although the potential is there it does not just happen. It has

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to be planned. We must develop more intermediate institutions between the laboratories and universities, where basic research takes place, and the existing and potential industries that can deploy it to make new products, develop new markets, and offer new jobs. There should be more joint industry-university ventures like the center established at Indiana University for retrieving and collating research data developed by agencies of the Federal Government. The Department of Commerce should be more adequately staffed and funded to give help and advice to new enterprises. Security classification rules on basic data need to be reviewed to make more new knowledge available to industry. At present half our gross national product comes from a group of industries that account for less than 15 percent of our total research and development expenditures for civilian purposes.

Above all, we need—and have recently provided for—a fundamental and long-range study of the total impact of automation and technology and what to do about it. This is the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, created in August through legislation that I originally proposed. This commission is patterned after the Commissions on Government Reorganization of the Hoover type, with representation from the Government, business, labor, and educational and scientific communities. Its report and recommendations are to be submitted to the President and Congress by January 1, 1966.

As President Johnson has said, we have the intelligence to make machines a "boon, not a bane" to humanity. The ideas, even the concrete proposals, are not lacking. What we need to do is to gather them together, sift them, and perfect them and, above all, implement them.

One of our greatest needs is to create opportunities for our young people. Sixty-nine million children—more than a third of our present population—were born between 1946 and 1962. Most of these are now in grade school and high school. This floodtide of young people will begin to hit the colleges and the labor market next year.

It's imperative that we be prepared to meet this challenge. We can do this if we give inspiration and incentive to our young people and provide a constructive outlet for their boundless energy. We have seen a fine example of this in the Peace Corps, which recently celebrated its third anniversary. We can turn this same youthful idealism and energy to good use at home through a Youth Conservation Corps and a Hometown Youth Corps.

Such programs will provide a sensible attack on the mounting problem of youth unemployment. There is a national backlog of needed conservation work in our forests and in our scenic areas—and, yes, in our cities, too. These young people will be performing a service to their Nation, and in return they will be given vocational training and the opportunity to develop new skills and reliable, dependable, and mature working habits.

The central part of our domestic policy must be a greater, new emphasis on education—with the kind of education that is best suited to each individual. Education, which has become a necessity for all, must become a reality for all.

We added new jobs in our economy—2,500,000 of them in the past 3 years. But, 2 million of them were in the white collar sector and required educational qualifications. We can create more white collar jobs—but they will not, in the nature of things, be open to people without education. As it is now, two out of every three Americans who are unemployed do not have a high school diploma. Unless we reverse the trend, this ratio will grow. Therefore we must keep millions of our young people in school longer and educate them better.

Like the crisis in employment, the crisis in education is not the result of culpable error or ignorance, but of the simultaneous impact of the technological revolution and the population explosion. At the same time that we have many more children to educate, we are confronted with the urgent necessity of training them to step into the kind of jobs that our sophisticated economy and technology require.

The sight of the first sputnik in 1957 shocked us into giving attention and support to the development of our scientific manpower. By enacting the Higher Education Facilities Act last year, we took a significant step toward preparing for the new flood of college students who are the Nation's future supply of brainpower, but this is not

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enough. Moreover, federal support of higher education has been concentrated in overwhelming measure upon science, mathematics, engineering, and modern foreign languages. I have fully supported this emphasis, but I think that the time has come for some rectification of the balance in favor of the liberal arts and humanities. Computers can assemble and collate knowledge and make it readily available—but they cannot make the value judgments involved in deciding how to use it.

We have taken many steps to strengthen the top of our educational pyramid. But there is much to do yet to keep the foundation from being eroded. The population pressure on our elementary and secondary schools is mounting day by day. In this decade, elementary and secondary school enrollments are going to increase by 55 percent—that is, by 23 million students.

These schools must have more help. In addition to greater State and local effort, there will have to be some Federal assistance. The situations in our great cities are particularly critical and urgently need attention. The elementary and secondary schools of these areas are already suffering from an exodus of the well-to-do and a steady influx of the poor, from problems of desegregation, teacher shortages, building and equipment deterioration, and the need for new methods and equipment to deal with the difficult educational problems in these areas. These problems will get worse as more and more of our population crowds into giant cities. By 1980, when this country will have 250 million people, more than 75 percent of that number—more than our entire population of today—will be living in the great urban centers.

Direct Federal aid will have to come—not only for school construction and teacher salaries, but also for greater research at all levels on the problems of teaching our young. We must learn more about educating our teachers, about curriculum reform and the problems of the culturally deprived, the slow learners, and the dropouts as well as the challenges presented by the unusually gifted and creative young people.

The figures I have cited concerning our growing, concentrated population highlight a whole new complex of problems. Our cities are “overgrown and underplanned.” Their transportation channels are strangled, their air and water increasingly polluted. We can correct this—but, if we do not act promptly, the rot in our cities will cost us untold sums in welfare payments, crime, and political deterioration.

By attacking unemployment and inadequate education, we shall be striking at two of the main roots of poverty. The poor are not shiftless and lazy. They are, among others, marginal farmers, struggling along on \$500 to \$1,000 a year and unreached by the Federal farm programs. They are migrant laborers. They are unskilled workers, discarded in the process of automation. They are residents of depressed areas like Appalachia, not only country people but a growing number from dying mining and industrial towns. They are people marooned among the exhausted mines of the Upper Great Lakes region. Ten to 15 million of them are Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Eighteen million of them are elderly people—1 million of them living in misery on less than \$580 a year.

This is the poverty President Johnson has declared war against—a war in which every man and woman of good will should enlist. Some things can be done promptly—like the enactment of medicare for the aged under Social Security. Others will require more time. The important thing is that we are on our way, and that we have the capability and the resources to banish the bitter word “poverty” from the American language.

Another bitter word—“discrimination”—is on *its* way out. It was dealt a severe blow with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—the longest stride taken since the Emancipation Proclamation to insure justice for Negroes.

This historic achievement gives us our first real opportunity to close the “citizenship gap” that has long brought embarrassment and shame to this country. It gives us our first real opportunity as a world leader to come before the other billions with clean hands—to set an example of respect for human dignity and equal rights.

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For the average Negro family this citizenship gap means an income about half that of the average white family. Sixty percent of Negro families make less than \$4,000 a year. This is true of only 26 percent of white families. Not only that, but the dollar gap between wages of whites and nonwhites has increased. In 1939 the difference was about \$650 a year. Now it is more than \$2,000.

Two other disturbing facts help show how wide the citizenship gap has become. First, a Negro has less than half the chance of a white American to go to college. Second, even if he does get a college degree, his opportunities to put it to use are severely restricted.

A determined Congress has given us this great opportunity, Senator Goldwater's "no" vote notwithstanding. It now remains for a determined executive branch to carry through, and I am sure millions of Americans wonder how much of his heart Mr. Goldwater would put into it.

I wrote at the beginning of this paper that the 1964 election is not so much a test of liberalism versus conservatism as of responsibility versus irresponsibility. In truth, Senator Goldwater is no conservative; he is a radical. True conservatism does not have a national candidate this year. It has defaulted.

This is not to say that President Johnson is therefore less liberal, or will be so during his first full term—or his second, for that matter.

Authentic liberalism inspired President Kennedy; it inspires President Johnson; and it inspires me.

The enduring strength of American liberalism is that it is both warmhearted and toughminded. It takes a warm and open heart to respond spontaneously to the needs and longings of all people. But it takes hard and searching thought to frame the policies and programs to meet those needs. To act, we must feel deeply. To act effectively, we must think deeply.

Long Beach Recreation Park
Long Beach, Calif.
November 1, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, Senator Salinger.

Before I go 1 minute further, I find that there is a very charming lady back here that wanted to make a presentation to Mrs. Humphrey. And if I fail to respond to that situation, I may not be a candidate. So I think I will call Mrs. Humphrey up to the platform once again, and the lady that wants to make that presentation. [Mrs. Humphrey was presented with a bouquet of flowers.]

Well, I think that went off just about as well as the election is going to come off on Tuesday, with a victory for our fine President, the man that we ought to keep in the White House for 4 more years—President Lyndon Johnson. [Shouts of "We want Barry" from the audience.]

Did you ever notice they are so few in number they have to gather the wagons around in a circle to protect themselves? They have togetherness—all six or seven of them.

Now, my friends, while they are over there picking "barrys," we will start picking Presidents. And I suggest that you pick President Johnson.

Well, it is surely nice to come to Long Beach. It is wonderful to be here, if only to see so many wonderful good Democrats and Republicans that are going to vote for President Johnson all gathered together on one beautiful Sunday afternoon.

I am very pleased also that Mrs. Humphrey and I can be here to see many old friends. I noticed as we came into the park that there were many, many people here from Minnesota, many people from South Dakota, many people that we have known throughout our years in those two States. And I am so pleased that they are enjoying their residence here in California and here out in this beautiful community of Long Beach, Calif.

I am particularly happy today that we can be in the company of one of the finest Governors of any State in the United States of America.

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And I am pleased that the gentleman that is going to represent you in Congress from the 32d Congressional District—Mike Cullen—that he can today ask you to celebrate with him the birthday of his wife, Kit.

Now, Mike, I don't know whether the folks all know that, if they have been singing happy birthday songs to her or not. But Mike has many things going for him. He is not only a good, intelligent person, he is not only a good Democrat, he is not only privileged to have a very loyal wife. But his father was born in Minnesota.

So for all of those many reasons, plus the fact that we need in the Congress a man that can work with us and that will back the Johnson program in the 89th Congress, I suggest that the good people of this community settle down to the task between now and next Tuesday of electing as their congressman Mike Cullen and getting him to Washington.

Then, too, may I once again remind you that we people who have been working in the Nation's Capital, those of us that have had responsibility these past 4 years under the Kennedy-Johnson administration, feel that California is one of the most fortunate States in all of this great Republic, because you now have, as one of your Senators, a very distinguished Democrat and fellow citizen, one who was the trusted friend and confidant of our late and beloved President Kennedy, and now one who is your Senator, who has earned for himself in just a few short months a reputation for getting things done, for activity on the part of the State—and he is one of the most articulate, one of the most talented men in American politics, and I hope you are going to see to it that you send to Washington someone that can work for you, not someone that dances for you—but someone that works for you.

Well, we are looking forward to Pierre being there.

Now I want to talk about just one or two issues, and then we are going on to a couple of more rallies this afternoon, and later on tonight Mrs. Humphrey and I are journeying over to a neighboring State of Arizona. We thought it was time that in Arizona they had an opportunity to hear the truth.

We are coming down now to the finish line in this campaign. Frankly, it has been a good deal of fun. But it has also been hard work and strenuous work.

The American people take their politics seriously, and they should. There is no more important decision in your life than the decision you are going to make on this coming Tuesday, because the decision is not only going to affect your lives for the next 4 years, but in fact the decisions that are made by our President the next 4 years are going to affect the lives of the American people for decades and generations to come.

This is, indeed, a very important and crucial election.

Therefore, I urge upon every voter, regardless of his party or of his political persuasion, to ask himself these questions.

Which candidate truly discussed the issues that affect this country today or that face our country? Which candidate is better equipped to lead this Nation as the leader of the free world in the critical years ahead? Which candidate for the office of President do you feel that you can trust with your lives, with the sacred honor of this country, with your jobs, with the future of your children? Because the office of President is such an important office that you cannot afford to look upon it lightly.

I must say to you that it is of the utmost importance that the American people analyze and evaluate, not only the candidates as personalities, but also what they stand for.

In this campaign President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have talked to you about our economy. We have told you that we have kept the faith, fulfilled the promises of 4 years ago. And we have.

We said then, and President Kennedy said then, and Vice President Johnson said, let us get this country moving again, let us do something about stimulating our enterprise. And, ladies and gentlemen, we have had 45 months, consecutive months of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity, the likes of which no other country has ever had.

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We said to the American people, as a party, and our leaders said to you, we must do something in areas of education, we must do something in the areas of the care of the elderly—just to pick out two issues. And we have kept that promise. And we have fulfilled at least in part our commitments.

I am in one of the great communities of California, where education means so much to you. And this State has done wonders in the field of education. But your State is growing as no other State in the Union, and you sense the importance of your young people having a good education. The 87th and the 88th Congresses of the United States, of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, have done more for education than any other Congresses in the history of this Republic.

Aid to higher education, aid to vocational education, national defense education, nurses training, manpower retraining, aid to medical education, and professional schools—the largest educational program of any country on the face of the earth. Because we know and you know that education is an investment in the further progress and the future prosperity of the American people. And we are going to continue to build on what we have started.

But our opposition, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party—our opposition has voted against every single bill that has ever been offered in the Congress of the United States to forward the cause of education, for students and teachers, for school facilities. His record is one of complete negativism—no, no, no, a thousand times no. When it comes to schools, teachers, and education, that is his record.

Now, the other issue that I would call to your attention is that other end of the spectrum of human life. Education is an opportunity for the young. And then the respect that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people ought to have for those who have lived their three score and five, those who are the senior citizens of our country—20 million of them—the largest single age group in the American population. And this age group today deserves at least the thoughtful, respectful consideration and cooperation of its Government.

This is why President Johnson and the Democratic Party point with justifiable pride to our social security program and say that that program is but a beginning, that it must be expanded, that it must include better provisions. This is why we say that housing for the elderly, that hospital and nursing home care for the elderly, that programs of community activities for the elderly, that upgrading of social security benefit payments toward our elderly, that all of these are not only necessities—they are promises of the Democratic Party for the coming years.

And, my friends, here once again we find the opposition taking a negative point of view. And I think, my friends, you can better understand the nature of the opposition when you hear their childlike chant at public meetings like this.

I don't know how we can adequately thank our opposition for making votes for us. I really don't. Because, you know, the American people are a decent, fairminded people. They are a tolerant people. And there is one thing the American people cannot stand. That is bad manners, poor sportsmanship, and ugliness.

While our opposition chants, "We want Barry," we, the Democrats say, we want a better America for everybody in this country. We want to see Americans of every race, creed, and nationality and ethnic group have a better opportunity for a better life in America.

We even want that for Barry.

And you know what we are to do. We are going to give this good man from Arizona an opportunity to appreciate the wonderful privileges of retirement, because we are going to retire him on November 3.

So, my friends, we must go along now to another meeting. And as I leave you I ask you to keep this in mind; that we, for 30 years, as a people, Democrats and Republicans alike, have built a great program of social and economic progress. We want to keep building on that program. For 30 years we as a nation have built a great program of security, designed to work for peace in the patient process of peace. And we want a President who will work for us, who will unite us, who will help heal our wounds, who will be a leader in the search for man's noblest work, the search for a just and an enduring peace. And I will

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tell you who the man is. And I want you to go to work for him. I want you to get your people out on election day. That man is the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

Los Angeles, Calif.
East Los Angeles College
Nov. 1, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, thank you very much.

First of all, may I say to my good friend, the Senator from California, Pierre Salinger, that I notice that as I grow a little older, the teachers look a little younger. I was just presented an apple by a member of the American Federation of Teachers, and I must say that when I was going to school, I never thought teachers looked that pretty. And had I known that they were going to be that pretty, I would have had more apples available.

But I do thank you very, very much.

Pierre Salinger has addressed this wonderful audience that has been so patient and has been so faithful to us on this day, has addressed you in Spanish. I want all of you to know that even though I may come from the land of Scandinavians, that I know at least four words in Spanish. Muchas gracias, mes amigos. And buena puerto, Señor Salinger.

Señor Cantinflas, I must say that we are very sorry not to have been here for your participation. And I want to thank all of these wonderful generous talented artists that help us all along the pathway of this campaign.

I don't know why we are so lucky. But I have looked over the talent on both sides, and whether it is the candidate for President, or whether it is those that come to us to bring us good cheer and entertainment, I tell you that the Democrats are out in front 3 to 1.

Governor Brown and Senator Salinger and Congressman George Brown, and Congressman Ed Roybal, Congressman Chet Holifield, and our cochairman of the Citizens for Johnson and Humphrey, your assemblyman, Phil Soto, and our national committeeman here today, Gene Wyman, and our fellow Americans—4 years ago on this very day, as Pierre Salinger has indicated to you, a truly great and talented, gifted, remarkable young man addressed this community and spoke in this auditorium or this stadium, which was overflowing, as I recall it, in one of the greatest political rallies in the history of California. And you good friends here 4 years ago made John Kennedy realize on that day that he was going to be elected President of the United States. You did something then, not only for President Kennedy, but you did something for America, because on that day 4 years ago he was but a candidate in a close election. And I think it was the spirit of this occasion, of the people of this community, that gave him that extra energy and drive and inspiration that permitted him to go on to win that election. And may I say that that election was won by less than one vote per precinct in America. President Kennedy won that election because there were people like those in this great arena and stadium that were willing to go to work and make sure that the citizenship responsibility of being a voter, that that responsibility was fulfilled.

I want to say to this audience, and I want you to take this message to your neighbors—the Goldwater Republican Party—and it is a special breed unto itself—that party is conducting a program of voter intimidation. They would like to have you stay home, if you are going to vote as I think you are, for President Lyndon Johnson.

The Republican Committees supporting Mr. Goldwater and the gentleman that is running for Senator—his name for the moment has escaped me, the man on the Republican ticket—but those committees have instructed their precinct workers to be at the polls to challenge your vote.

Let me say to you as a U.S. Senator, and as a candidate for the office of Vice President, that if you are registered, your name is in the voting list, then all you need to do is to turn up at the election box on Tuesday, November 3—you are entitled under your citizenship to vote. And no one is entitled to question your right to vote if you are a registered voter in the State of California. And don't you let them interfere with you.

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There were some countries back in the 1930's where people lost their right to vote, because of interference, because of confusion, because of doubt, and because of pressure tactics. I say to the Republican Party and its leadership, you ought to be ashamed of yourself for even indicating by any bulletin or any word or any pamphlet that you are going to harass an American citizen who comes to the election booth to cast his vote—you ought to bow your head in shame and say that you are apologizing for being such a poor representative of American citizenship. Our Republican opposition calls this "Operation Eagle Eye." May I say that the better term for it is "Operation Evil Eye." All you need to remember is that the Republican Party has yet to lift its finger to ever aid a person that was in need, a workingman, a farmer, or someone that has ever been dispossessed. The Republican leadership in this campaign, headed by Mr. Goldwater, is no friend of America's Mexican Americans, and of any other kind of American that wants to see America move forward.

I come here today to represent the Democratic Party and its candidates. I come here to represent a party since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that has worked ceaselessly for the economic and social betterment of America.

I would be the last to say that we have made no mistakes. But I say that the mistakes that we have made have not been mistakes of the heart. We have tried to do what we thought was right to equalize opportunity in this country, to permit people to make something out of their lives. We have sought to correct injustices. We have sought to expand education. We have sought to be just and considerate with those who were in need. We have sought to be a party that cared for the American people and to have a government with a heart.

So I come with no apologies. I come only to say that what we have built for 30 years we would like to have as a launching platform from whence we can take off to higher grounds.

There is yet work to be done.

If the American people believe that what we have sought to do over these past 30 years is wrong, if they believe that there ought to be no aid to education, if they believe we ought to do away with social security, if they believe that we ought to do away with the many programs that have aided American enterprise, if they believe that we ought to deny a worker the right to bargain collectively and to have seniority and union protection—if the American people believe those things, then they have a clear choice in this election. They can vote for the candidate of the opposition who on every occasion has voted no and fought against every single effort that we have tried to make in this country for social and economic progress. They can have that vote.

But I don't think they want it.

If the American people want to join with what I believe is the spirit of today, if they want to continue what we have been doing, if you would like to see better schools, if you would like to see better colleges, if you would like to see your young people have a chance for a better education, if you would like to see our elderly better cared for, better housed, with hospital and nursing home care under social security, if you would like to see the workingman given a fair wage for a fair day's work, if you would like to see America be a country in which there was only first-class citizenship, equal rights, equal opportunity, and full protection of the law for all people, regardless of race, color or creed, then I will tell you what to do. Go on out and vote for President Lyndon Johnson, Pierre Salinger, and the Democratic ticket.

We come here today, not with a record of promises, but with a record of performance. Four years ago John Kennedy told the people in this community if you give us a chance, we will get America moving again, if you give us a chance we will work for social justice, if you will give us an opportunity, we will try to help our young and be more considerate of our elderly. And you gave us that chance. And in those 4 years, with 1,000 days of the most dramatic leadership that America has ever known, President John Kennedy and a Democratic Congress passed more constructive legislation than has been passed in any comparable period of time of American history. And we are proud of that record.

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Then on that day in November an assassin's bullet took our President from us. He was struck down at the zenith of his career. And America and the whole world wondered what next. The Nation seemed to falter and stagger, as did the whole world.

And then all at once we realized the strength of our constitutional national system. We realized also the good judgment that President Kennedy had exercised when he had selected his Vice President, because he had selected here in Los Angeles in 1960 the outstanding leader of the U.S. Senate, the senior Senator from Texas. And that gentleman became the Vice Presidential nominee, and went on with John Kennedy to be elected Vice President of the United States. And on that day of pain and grief, on that day of doubt and concern, a big man, a strong man, a humble man, a man who would have 30 years of experience in government, who had served under three Presidents, and who knew this Government as few others, that man stepped forward and picked up the torch of freedom and progress from the fallen leader. And, my fellow Americans, we have now had a little over 11 months of the leadership and of the performance of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and I say to you that it is a good record, a responsible record, a great record.

This election, on November 3, will be a reaffirmation of the Kennedy-Johnson program, if you will make it that way. It will be the way that we have of telling the world that what we have been trying to do at home and abroad in terms of justice and opportunity and peace is right. We have an opportunity, indeed we have a duty in this election, to reject and to repudiate once and for all the forces of reaction, of bitterness, of hate, of prejudice, and of bigotry, which are marching loose in this land right now. And they must be stopped.

We have the opportunity in this election to tell our friends throughout the world that America still keeps the faith, still holds high the promise of a better life. We have the opportunity in this election to tell our neighbors south of the Rio Grande that we have not forgotten them, that the Alliance for Progress, which was the creation of our beloved late President Kennedy, that that Alliance lives, and that North America and South America, that we in the United States and they in the Latin American countries, will stand together as brothers and sisters, working for a better life for all of our people.

Make no mistake about it, my friends. We can turn off the lights of progress on November 3. Mr. Goldwater is a man of his word. He says, "Judge me by my votes," and if you judge him that way, then you will know the consequences of any vote that is cast for his candidacy.

This is the man who has yet to vote for a program to house our elderly, this is a man who has yet to vote for any program to provide any kind of medical or hospital care for our elderly. This is a man who has yet to cast any vote for education for our young. This is the man who has yet to cast any vote to help a worker who is unemployed or needed a job.

This is the candidate who has yet to cast any vote for any of the great programs that build toward peace.

The candidate of the Republican Party has cast his vote against the nuclear test ban treaty which was our first step in the path of peace. He expresses his doubt about the United Nations. He cast his vote against the Peace Corps. He voted against the use of our food under the food-for-peace program to aid hungry people abroad. And today, my friends and neighbors, in Latin America alone 40 million school children are receiving aid under the food-for-peace program for a school lunch, because America has had a John Kennedy and a Lyndon Johnson to give this country leadership.

Yes, the candidate of the Republican Party has voted "No" on progress, he has voted "No" on social justice, he has voted "No" on the steps to peace. I suggest that on November 3 you vote "No" on the candidate of the Republican Party, and vote "Yes" for Lyndon Johnson.

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Los Angeles, Calif.

Reception at Beverly Boulevard and Fairfax Avenue
November 1, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much.

Thank you, Jimmy.

Thank you very much, Congressman Roosevelt, and my fellow Americans. Let me talk to you so I can thank you for this wonderful, wonderful crowd that we have here today on this great day, just 2 days before you are going to go to the ballot box to cast your vote for the Democratic ticket headed by President Johnson, Pierre Salinger, and Congressman Roosevelt.

I haven't seen a crowd that looks as large as this—frankly, I have never seen one that was more enthusiastic.

I don't think that we have seen anything like this since that great rally in the garment district in a community back on the other seacoast called New York City.

But you good friends here are showing the kind of spirit, the sort of enthusiasm, the Democratic vitality that it takes to give the Republicans a good whipping on election day.

Congressman Roosevelt, Jimmy, I gather all these folks out here, that you have got them well educated in the principles of liberal and progressive democracy.

Now, I want to make doubly sure that you are not only enthusiastic in your support of this remarkable good friend and Congressman of yours, and good friend of Muriel Humphrey's and Hubert Humphrey's and President Johnson's, I want to make sure that you are not only cheering and cheering for Jimmy Roosevelt, but you are cheering and cheering and voting for Pierre Salinger.

Now, may I just say a word to my young friends here, those that are under 21. You tell all the others now to be quiet just a minute while we have a little visit.

You see, there isn't a one of us here, there isn't a parent here but what at some time has called the young ones in and said, "now, I want to tell you something, I want to give you some advice." Now it is your turn. This is for every boy and girl, every young man and woman under 21 years of age. It is your turn this weekend. What you do, sometime tonight or tomorrow, or maybe you will have to wait until Tuesday, you call in mother and father, you call in your older brothers and sisters, and you get a hold of anybody in your family that is 21 or over, and say, "Now, wait a minute, I want to have a word with you." You say, "It is just about time that you heard some of the facts of political life." And you remind them, you remind your parents, you remind your friends in the neighborhood, that election day is the big "E" Day in America. It is on election day that we cast, not only our vote, but it is on election day that we register our convictions and our commitments. It is on that day, may I say to my young friends here, that you have a right to ask your mother and father, your grandparents, anyone that your family of voting age—you have a right to ask them to protect your future. And the only way that you have, as citizens, may I say very respectfully to you—the only way that you have, whether you are adults or whether you are young people, to protect your future and to participate in your government is on that election day when the campaigners and the candidates must be quiet, and the citizen speaks.

But the citizen speaks quietly, too. He speaks by walking to that ballot box, or driving there, and going into the voting booth, and alone with himself, his conscience, and his God, he makes up his mind what he is going to do for his country and his family, for himself.

We Americans have the right of what we call popular sovereignty. On election day we are the sovereign people. On that day, those who are elected become the representatives of the American people. There is no more important day in the history of your life, there is no more important day in any part of your life, than this November 3. And I will tell you why.

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First of all, on this day you are going to have to tell the American people and the world whether or not you believe that this great Republic, which is committed to the promotion of the general welfare, which is dedicated, as our pledge of allegiance says, to one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all—whether we really mean it. That is what you are going to have to ask.

And let me say every boy and girl in America has been taught that pledge of allegiance. I think it is about time that those of us who are voters and that those of us who are public servants, not only learn how to recite it, but that we understand every word of it. Every word of it.

This is, my fellow Americans, one Nation, but it is made up of many peoples. And the diversity of our peoples, the variety of our peoples, their cultural groups, their ethnic groups, their religious groups, their many ways of life, all of this adds to the richness of America, all of it adds to the beauty of America.

America is America the beautiful because there is such a richness, a variety. And we want to keep our country that way.

America is like a mighty symphony orchestra, there are many instruments. Individually and standing alone they don't mean much. But when they are harmonized, when they are brought together, they bring forth beautiful music. And the conductor of that orchestra in America is the President of the United States. He is the one that must blend us into one country without the loss of our identity as peoples.

And I am proud to stand here today to represent a President and a political party that doesn't cast evil and ugly remarks about immigrants and minorities.

I think that one of the most unfortunate developments of this campaign was that spokesmen for a major political party would have people believe around the world that somehow or another in America you all have to be alike, and that if everybody doesn't look alike, talk alike, and act alike, that there is something wrong.

Not on your life, my friends. Let me tell you that freedom in America means the right to be as we are, to be individuals, to have our faith, to have our respective religions, to have our respective groups. But yet at the same time to have a common allegiance—a common allegiance and a common citizenship. Allegiance to this great Republic, and citizenship as Americans of this great Republic.

So in this election we are not merely, we are not only selecting a President. What we are really doing, my fellow Americans, is rebuking and repudiating the forces of bitterness and of bigotry and hate and of intolerance and of doubt and of suspicion, and of distrust which have been abroad in this land.

And let me say right here on this street that in America, where there are forces like the John Birch Society, where there are forces, if you please [chorus of boos] we don't do that, that is for the opposition.

May I say that there is no sound that I like less than a boo. I love to hear people who love America, who are vital and young and spirited—I want to hear you cheer. Let's cheer.

That's better.

But we want to make sure that in this election that the forces of extremism, the forces of destruction, the forces of bitterness, whether they are of the far left or of the far right, whatever they may be; that they are defeated, that they are trounced, and that they are given a licking that they will never forget for another hundred years.

I think one of the most unfortunate developments has been that a candidate of a major party, a candidate of a major party has been willing to permit on the public platform of public acceptance and respectability the forces that I have spoken of—the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the John Birchers, the Minutemen, and the other kind who have no respect for human dignity. And I say from this platform that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey repudiate the support of those that I have mentioned, repudiate the support of the Communists and repudiate the support of the Birchites. We don't like them, we don't want them, and we want nothing to do with them.

80 VBS - LINO

Now, 30 years of progress is at stake—30 years of it—since the days of Franklin Roosevelt. And let me say, as I look out over this audience, that I can see gray heads here, I can see people here of maturity. And I know that many of these people at one time lived under conditions which our young people don't remember. And we know that back in those days, we know that in those days a government—there is a man right there that remembers those days. He remembers when there was a Government headed by a great President, Franklin Roosevelt, who cared about America.

The candidate, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party, who is nothing but a candidate of a fraction of a faction of reaction of that party, that candidate wants to repeal the work of Franklin Roosevelt, he wants to repudiate the work of Harry Truman, he wants to even ignore the work of Dwight Eisenhower, and he fights against with all his power the good works of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

And, my friends, I ask you right now, are you going to let a man who votes "No," "No," "No," are you going to let him become the President of the United States?

Do you want as your President someone who embraces the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontiers of John Kennedy, and who wants to move forward?

Do you want as your next President of the United States Lyndon Johnson?

Do you want as your next U.S. Senator Pierre Salinger?

Do you want as your Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt?

Well, I will tell you what to do about it. Go to work. Go to work. And don't you take anything for granted. The Republicans are going to try to frighten some of you away from the polls. I never thought I would live to see the day when a political party of America would pass out information to its workers to say: "Challenge the voters, harass them at the ballot box, ask them for their receipts, do this, do that."

May I say to the Republicans here and throughout America, you ought to be encouraging people to vote, instead of trying to stop them from voting. You ought to be ashamed of yourself.

Well, let me tell the forces of reaction in this country, let me tell you right now, that the forces of decency, the forces of reason, the forces of moderation, the forces of progress, represented by our President, represented by the Kennedy-Johnson administration, and now represented by Lyndon Johnson, those forces are going to win this election, just as surely as we are here today.

And we are not only going to win it for ourselves. We are going to win it for the world, we are going to win it for the cause of human justice, we are going to win it for the cause of equal opportunity, we are going to win this election so that we can be assured that this country dedicates its efforts and its resources to the noble task of pursuing peace and pursuing it relentlessly, so that all that we have may not be lost because of the madness of war.

This is what is at stake in this election. And we know it.

I want a President who unites America, I want a President who heals our wounds, I want a President who respects our Government, I want a President who loves our people. I want a people who will walk the extra mile in the pursuit of peace. And I give you that man, if you will follow us, if you will work with us, if you will see to it that every voter is at the ballot box, you will have that man, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson.

Tucson, Ariz.
Tucson Sports Center
November 1, 1964.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

Senator, my good friends, Senator Carl Hayden, and the new Senator-to-be from this great and beautiful State of Arizona, Roy Ellson, any your splendid Congressman that you will undoubtedly reelect, Morris Udall; and that new Governor that we can hardly wait to take the oath of office in Arizona, Sam Goddard.

81 VBS - LINO

And may I add how pleased I am to be here with the great Democratic Party of Arizona, the party that has such wonderful leadership, that has given to the United States one of the greatest statesmen of our time, I think the outstanding Member of the U.S. Senate over better than a quarter of a century.

I am honored and delighted to be in the city of Tucson, Ariz., and to salute the Senator's Senator, the best of them all—Carl Hayden.

And just a brief word of greeting to an old friend that was our majority leader and one that we love so much, and one that worked so closely with our President. I refer, of course, to your former Governor, one of the great citizens of this State, Gov. Ernest MacFarland. Ernie, it's good to see you again.

Also, just a word of greeting to Bob Allen and Lee Ackerman, who are doing such good work for our party here.

Well, I am delighted to be out in the good, fresh air of Arizona. I felt I owed you a visit, because one of your native sons came to my State to pay us a visit. This gentleman that came to Minnesota was cordially received, they say even enthusiastically, because in Minnesota people, as in Arizona, enjoy the privilege of a visitor, and they always extend to him the hospitality of a good neighbor.

I want you to know that when your junior Senator was visiting in the State of Minnesota, we gave him a great, big crowd, and we are going to give him many fewer votes on November 3.

Well, you know, I want to just talk to you a little bit about your campaign out here—Senator Hayden. I have been asking a number of questions, and I find that your favorite son, the native son of this State, who is the nominee of the Republican Party, has been doing a little work around the country. Occasionally he has done some work for me. I want you to know how much I appreciate the fact that he has popularized my middle name. Until now no one ever called me Horatio. Now almost everybody calls me Horatio. And no one would have done this for me except my friend, the junior Senator from Arizona. And I want to thank him very much.

You know, I have been a bit puzzled about this campaign, because it is one of the most unusual campaigns in the history of our country.

I have been puzzled and I have been amazed at one aspect of the campaign. I keep asking myself about your distinguished Senator—that is, the candidate of the Republican Party—how does he do it, or perhaps the better phrase is why does he do what he does.

Now, I want to be quite frank with you. I am not here to in any way cast any reflections upon this son of your State. We are Senators, and when we are Senators we try to treat each other with the respect that is due that office.

But Senator Goldwater seems to have gone out of his way to chastize an awful lot of people in our country.

Now, I know that some of them need to be scolded, most of them in his party.

But the good Senator has gone out of his way to lecture the press, even to say a word or two to the clergy. He has had something to say about big business and little business, none of which was too complimentary.

He has given a verbal spanking to labor.

And he even tells off the minority groups.

Now, I can appreciate the Senator's candor, and I suppose he ought to be congratulated for it. But I must say I doubt his judgment, and I am not at all sure but what this has all the earmarks of a campaign that seems destined to be known as Operation Lost Cause.

Now, I had not really realized—I had not quite realized until I touched down out here again at your magnificent airport at Tucson, and as I thought about coming back to this beautiful State that Mrs. Humphrey and I have visited so many times—I had not quite realized just why the Senator was doing what he was doing. But I think now that I have found the secret behind Barry Goldwater's no-victory strategy.

Frankly, I do not really believe that he wants to be elected President, I think he would rather be far right than President,

82 VBS - LINO

I really believe that the Senator was quite sincere when he said he longed to come back to Arizona, and he longed to come back and to put on his riding boots, to get on his horse and ride across the desert. I don't blame him. I think it is a wonderful place and a wonderful State. This is one of the most beautiful States in all of the Union, and one that we all love to visit.

I know that I don't need to say this to my friend Barry. He was born here. He has grown up here. You know what? I think he has had retirement on his mind for a long time. In fact, I think that deep down in his heart—that deep down in his heart what he really wants to do is to come home. And I think we ought to help him.

So may I say in all charity and friendship, you good friends owe this to your native son. He is a fine man. Return him to where he loves to live; 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is a very, very difficult place, and only one man in this time can live there, and he is from Texas.

Well, now, let me say that I have come to the conclusion that I am even a little more old fashioned than my friend Senator Goldwater. I say that because I never believed that you could win an election by maintaining a constant position of saying no, no, no to everything that came before you. But I must say that the Senator is consistent. And may I add that the distinguished Senator, and the Senator from Minnesota, have at least two things in common. We both think that Arizona is one of the loveliest and most charming places in the world—that is No. 1. No. 2, we both supported Senator Carl Hayden on the central Arizona project.

So let it be said that there is still some bipartisan charity, there is still this feeling of neighborliness and of togetherness. We are together at least on two of the most important items that face Arizona: No. 1, Arizona is a great place; No. 2, it will be better if you follow the leadership of Senator Carl Hayden.

And I might add it will even be better if you elect Roy Ellson to help Senator Carl Hayden and give him Sam Goddard as Governor.

Well, now, let me just say a word to you about the issues in this campaign.

I came here tonight at this late hour in the campaign to talk to you seriously about some of the great challenges and problems that confront this Nation.

I said a moment ago that your Senator, that is your junior Senator, Senator Goldwater, had had a consistent position of opposition to certain programs and policies. I want to make it quite clear. A man surely is entitled to his point of view, and in the Senate every one of us respects the other man's point of view.

I want to say with equal candor that had the position of Senator Goldwater been followed in the Congress of the United States for the rest of America as well as Arizona, there would have been very, very little activity taking place on the Mississippi River, the Missouri River, the Columbia River, the Tennessee River, the Cumberland River.

I want to say with equal candor that the senior Senator from this State has understood that it is important to build all of America. Senator Hayden has given of himself to build each and every one of the 50 States of this Union.

I am pleased, however, to say that your junior Senator has seen fit to vote for one of the States of this Union in the central Arizona project. But may I add that is not the way you get things done. You get things done by helping the other fellow as well as helping yourself. You get things done for your State by helping other Members build their State.

You really get things done in America by building the whole country, all of it, and not just part of it.

I don't think that America wants to turn back. I cannot believe that this great West, which has such a great need of the cooperation of government, would want to turn its back upon a friendly government. I cannot believe that a part of America that has been benefited by one Democratic administration after another would want to forget its benefactor. I cannot believe that the people of the West, of the Southwest, will ever forget that it was Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy that helped build this part of America by their policies.

83 VBS - LINO

And I do not think that you are going to forget that it is no way to build a better America to say no to improve social security, or at least to say that social security ought to be voluntary and thereby weaken it.

You cannot build America by saying no to education at a time when our schoolrooms are inadequate, at a time when our youthful population is growing rapidly.

You cannot build a better America by saying no to a carefully worked-out tax cut designed to help American wage earners, American business, and the American consumer.

And you do not build a better America by saying no to efforts on the part of this Government to bring into some reasonable balance the arms race and to try to slow down the nuclear arms race.

My fellow Americans, America was not built, nor was it extended, nor was it enriched by people who said no. America was built and America moves forward when you have leadership that says yes.

The simple truth is that you cannot meet the complex problems facing this Nation by running away from them or by throwing up your hands and saying no.

And you do not do a service to your country by pretending or by saying that government is the enemy of the people.

This Government of ours is a government of the people and by the people and for the people. And this Government has been a great source of strength and a great source of good for the people. And I submit to you that you need as a President someone that understands the meaning of partnership between the Government and the people.

In the years ahead the American people are going to be faced with challenges and opportunities the likes of which we have never known before. And we are going to do something about these things.

We have for the first time the opportunity to banish hunger from the face of the earth. We have for the first time the opportunity to help every child realize his full capability through better education. We have an opportunity to provide security and dignity to our elderly.

This is not only an opportunity, my younger friends. This is a moral obligation on the part of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

We have an opportunity to abolish poverty from this land and to abolish it from areas here in the State of Arizona, as well as the State of Minnesota.

And any people that are moral and anyone that preaches morality should first of all make up his mind that to wage war on poverty is a moral obligation of individuals and a democratic and free government.

Yes, we have an opportunity, my fellow Americans to win victory over war itself if we set ourself to the task.

Now, these are the goals of the administration of the man that I am privileged to represent on this platform. These are the goals of President Lyndon Johnson. And these are the goals of the Democratic Party. For these are the goals demanded of all people who have moral and religious convictions.

I submit that we cannot carry out these goals by a policy of negativism, by a policy of saying no.

We will carry out these goals under the affirmative and positive leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Now, my friends, as we conclude this evening, I want to make one thing further clear here in Arizona, something that I have stated from every platform across America.

I want to say here that I have never at any time cast reflection upon the loyalty, the patriotism, the sense of community spirit of the Senator from Arizona, Mr. Goldwater. I happen to think that he is a good man. I have known him in the Senate for 12 years. And I have found him to be an enjoyable colleague, a personal companion, a man who would make an excellent partner on a fishing trip. Yes, I say in all candor I would really love to have him as my neighbor, if I lived in Arizona. But I do not want him as my President.

I say this because I do not believe that Senator Goldwater has the necessary qualifications to assume the heavy burdens and responsibilities of the most powerful office in the world.

84 VBS - LINO

Electing a President is more important than picking a winner in a personality contest. Indeed, if I may say so, here in Arizona it involves more than just State pride, important as that is. State pride and a native son.

The choice of the next President is the choice that could decide the future, not only of this country, but perhaps the future of mankind. We are not selecting a President just for 4 years—even though that is the term of his office. We are selecting a President for 4 years, yes—but the decisions that he will make will affect the lives of people for years to come and generations yet unborn.

Therefore, this is a heavy responsibility, and it must be looked upon as a civic duty, indeed a civic burden, and sentimentality, love of native son and pride of native son is not adequate as a basis of qualification.

The central fact of our time is that we live in the nuclear age, and the central issue of this campaign is for Arizonans, for Minnesotans, for Americans everywhere—the issue is which man is best equipped by intellect, by temperament, by training, and by experience to lead this Nation through the constant dangers and the perilous times of the nuclear age.

I am very confident that the American people will ultimately, on November 3, the decision day in this Republic, place their trust in a man who has had the test of leadership, a man who has shown patience and prudence, a man who is responsible and understands the nature of power and the restraints upon the use of that power, and the importance of approaching our problems with reason, with moderation, and, indeed, with always responsibility.

It is because I believe that the American people take this question so seriously of the peace of the world, of the necessity of America leading this world in the paths of a just peace, of building the strength of America so that we can resist any enemy, and so that we can do the great work of pursuing the cause of peace—it is because I believe that Americans are thoughtful citizens, because they love their country more than they love a political party, because they are patriots before they are partisans, because they are good citizens before they are just neighbors—because they believe these things, I am confident tonight, but 2 days before this election, that the American people will do as our distinguished statesman in this State, Carl Hayden, will do—I think the American people on November 3 are going to give the greatest victory that America has ever known in American political life to the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson.

National Television
Today Show Interview
November 2, 1964
(As recorded from NBC-TV)

(EDITORIAL NOTE.—An interview between Richard Hunt and Congressman William E. Miller preceded the interview with Senator Humphrey, and will be found in vol. 4.)

This is Richard Hunt, NBC News, Washington.

Now back to "Today," in New York.

MR. RAY SCHERER. Thank you.

We'll get right to it.

Senator, this has been a long campaign. You've gone—what is it?—50,000 miles. It will soon be over. I sometimes have the feeling this is one of the longest campaigns in history. I wonder if you ever feel that way?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I think it has been very long, Ray. It may very well be too long in view of the type of communications we now have, and the news media that's available.

It seems to me that the political parties might be well advised to hold their conventions about the first part of September and then sometime in the middle of September or a little later we could get on with the campaign. I truly believe that you can make these campaigns too long. The people become a little tired of them, and I have the feeling that the people have already made up their minds and are ready to vote.

85 VBS - LINO

Mr. SCHERER. Have you found this going to the people an uplifting experience, or as some people have said, have you found it a dull and kind of dirty campaign?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, there's been a little too much of the innuendo, and the smear, and the half truth in this campaign. Some of the booklets and pamphlets that have been peddled around, I think, are rather shocking and distasteful, and do a disservice to not only the individuals but to the public and the intelligence of the public.

But I like campaigning. I think you know that. And I—I love to see our country, and when I see the people I see them as happy, vital, healthy people. The young people are particularly attractive. They look bright and they look healthy, and they're lively; they're spirited; they're full of enthusiasm and optimism.

And then as you come across the country and you drive in from these airports and see the fine housing—I'm sure you've noticed the wonderful homes, the way the families take care of their property and how you see these families out there, carrying their banner. Once in a while it's not the one I like, but they're carrying their little banner and they're speaking up and singing for their candidate. I like that. That's good.

Mr. SCHERER. Why do you suppose it is that this campaign has become so preoccupied with the personalities of the two leading candidate rather than issues?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I must give my point of view. I think the opposition has been unwilling, really, to discuss the fiscal policy of our Government or the defense policy of our Government or the social welfare policy of our Government. There has been the use of slogan and the use of personal attack on the President, the use of digging into what they feel are—the backgrounds of individuals that might be damaging to the President.

I had hoped that we could honestly get a debate, a good debate going on Federal aid to education, for example, or the role of Government in education, the role of Government in social welfare, the role of Government in the development of the industrial base of our country, or should we do more, for example, in working together, Federal, State, and local governments, in remaking and remodeling our cities so that they're more liveable.

Now, we've tried, as you know, to cite these programs and I tried to discuss them, but, by and large, this campaign has many of the factors that others have had in it. I've never been in a campaign yet that somebody wasn't denounced. And the great men of history have all been denounced—I mean Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln.

As a matter of fact, Ray, they're easier on us now than they were back in the time of Lincoln. They called him everything. They called him an ape and a baboon, and they called him vile and vulgar, and they accused him of every crime in the book. And the same thing was true of Jackson and of Jefferson and of Wilson.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, they call you a radical socialist. Do you think you've succeeded in obliterating that image?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I didn't have to obliterate it because I—first of all, I'm not that. I'm a Congregationalist, and a Democrat. And I'm an American citizen, and I love my country. And I think the people don't believe all that bunkum.

As a matter of fact, if I were to encourage my opposition as to how to lose an election, I think I'd encourage them to do what they're doing, like charging people with these ridiculous epitaphs and by having people in audiences that are rude. I think they lose votes. Frankly, I think the American people like fairplay. They enjoy a good contest. They enjoy a good debate. They enjoy you stating your case and then they want to hear the other fellow state his case.

Now you asked about that image. Humphrey's drugstore still operates and the opposition sold their store, so I really believe in free enterprise, you see.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you think the central issue has changed any as this campaign has progressed?

Senator HUMPHREY. No; I think the central issue in the campaign—if we could really find the point that people are most concerned about is the issue of our national security, the issue of the nuclear—the use of power, and what this power that we presently have will be used for.

86 VBS - LINO

It's the issue of peace. It's the issue of reason and stability in foreign policy. And it's really become actually now the issue of Goldwaterism, the statements and the pronouncements of Mr. Goldwater on these issues as related to the policies that have been established by President Kennedy and President Johnson—and I might add, the bipartisan foreign policy.

Actually, Ray, I think the bipartisan foreign policy is on the—is on the line in this election because Mr. Goldwater doesn't agree with that. And I respect him for his disagreement, his right to disagree. But he's given us a choice. He says he doesn't believe in that. He's very doubtful about the United Nations. He voted against the Peace Corps. He doesn't believe in the Arms Control Agency. He says he doesn't believe in cultural exchanges with the Eastern European countries. He voted against foreign aid, and the Alliance for Progress.

I think that there you have it, that the whole program of the steps to peace and better understanding in the world, that that program is being decided in this election. If you want to continue what we've been trying to do, patiently and perseveringly, then we vote for President Johnson. If you want an abrupt change, get rid of the Peace Corps, get rid of the Alliance for Progress, get rid of foreign aid, get rid of our active participation in the U.N., then you vote the other ticket.

Mr. SCHERER. There seems to be a widespread feeling that this is going to be the year of the split ticket. What can Democrats do about that?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, the American people do exercise independence of judgment. There is much less straight party voting. I've always found that in my State. But we've been encouraging, as you know, the voters to give President Johnson a Congress that can work with him and, of course, it's natural for a party leader to encourage people to vote the party ticket.

And I think that there will be a good deal of splitting of ticket; I'll give you a frank and honest answer, but I do think also that if you want to back President Johnson, that you ought to give him a Congress that he can work with and not—not elect a President on the one hand and then opposition on the other.

Mr. SCHERER. Thank you, Senator. We shall all look to tomorrow night. Thank you very much for coming.

That's it.

Los Angeles, Calif.

TV tape of remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
November 2, 1964

Senator HUMPHREY. American Government is a partnership between the people and their Government. And, of course, this Government is representative of our people. The position of the U.S. Senator is the contact between the people back home and the Government in Washington. You surely need in Washington Senators that know their Government and also that know the needs of their people. Pierre Salinger has been around Washington many years, working with the late and beloved President Kennedy while President Kennedy was yet a Senator, and then going to the White House to become President Kennedy's press secretary, but more importantly one of his close intimate friends and aids.

I have known Pierre Salinger during all of these years, and he has an intimate knowledge of the workings of government. He is a friend of President Johnson. President Johnson kept him on as his press secretary and as his personal aid.

I know that California will do much better in the next 4 years by having as one of its Senators Pierre Salinger, a Democrat, who is a close working partner with President Johnson.

President Johnson is going to present a program to our Congress, and that program ought to be supported by Senators who wish to see it fulfilled.

Pierre Salinger will work for education, he will work for resource development, he will work to help California in its problems relating to water, irrigation, reclamation, reforestation, flood control—all these many problems which mean so much to a State that is growing faster than any State in the United States.

87 VBS - LINO

You need a Senator that gets things done, knows his way around Washington.

And may I add that Pierre Salinger has been in Washington as a Senator—not just as a friend and as an aid to a President or Presidents. But he is a Member of the U.S. Senate. He has, in other words, had his boot training, he has fulfilled the duties of a freshman Senator. He is on the committees, he is a working Member of the U.S. Senate. And that kind of experience, and that early experience, which is now behind him, gives him a much better opportunity to serve California in the years ahead.

I urge upon the people of this State to send a man to Washington that knows your Government, that knows your needs, and that can speak for your people and that can help California grow more and more and better and better every year from here on.

Thank you.

Los Angeles, Calif.
TV Interview with Grant Holcomb, CBS
November 2, 1964

(In response to questions by Mr. Holcomb, Senator Humphrey replied as follows:)

Senator HUMPHREY. You may have recalled that Senator Goldwater said in Seattle that the 1962 Cuban crisis was politically manufactured by President Kennedy to aid the Democrats in those congressional elections. Of course, it was an outrageous statement on his part. He has also said repeatedly that President Johnson is attempting to manipulate matters in Vietnam for political purposes.

Truly, I don't think Americans believe that kind of talk, because it is irresponsible.

The President of the United States is not a Democrat when it comes to national security. He is our President. We have never had a crisis that has been confronted by a Democrat or a Republican. We have had crises that are faced by President of all the people.

This situation in Vietnam is very difficult, very dangerous. We have a commitment there. That commitment was not made by President Johnson; it was made back in 1954 under President Eisenhower. It was renewed under President Kennedy. And it has been renewed under President Johnson.

So what we are attempting to do is to fulfill our commitments for the safety and the freedom of South Vietnam.

The situation that developed there on the weekend is most unfortunate, and it is one of the tragedies of war. It is just one of those things. I guess we just have to expect it. We cannot have manpower and machines of defense without some trouble.

I have not been in touch with the Pentagon or with Mr. McNamara. But I know this. That two of the best military officers that this Government has ever had in Vietnam—one of them is the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Taylor. There isn't a better soldier in the world than General Taylor, and a great American. And the other one is General Westmoreland, who is the former head of the Military Academy at West Point.

Now, we have sent the best that this country can provide to Vietnam in terms of leadership. Now, I happen to think these men are trying to do the best they can do for our country. They are not Democrats or Republicans. These are professional military officers. And I resent the fact that people play politics with these tragic circumstances, because these men are giving their lives, literally giving their lives for our country.

When he says that President Johnson has been playing some politics with Vietnam, I guess the only conclusion you can draw is that Mr. Goldwater is playing some politics.

88 VBS - LINO

There have always been what we call poll watchers. This is traditional in America. But the thing that is different this time is that the Republican organization has set up a special training program, so to speak, and a set of instructions to their poll workers or poll watchers to challenge voters that appear to be looking like they might vote Democratic. For example, in the District of Columbia they said don't challenge well-dressed ones. Well, in other words, if you have your business suit on and you look well dressed and look like you might vote Republican—don't challenge him.

In other areas they have asked the Governors to deputize their poll watchers, so that they could walk in as if they were officials of the State. This is the first time in the history of this country that a political party has issued instructions to harass and to confuse voters by premeditation. And it is called Operation Eagle Eye. And I call it Operation Evil Eye.

I want to say that every American that is a registered voter, where registration is required, is entitled to vote. And if there is any contest over those votes on registration, it can be made after the voting.

But to have any political party try to intimidate an American voter is un-American, it is illegal, and it is shameful. And I have said so. And I hope the Republican National Committee will withdraw their edicts and their orders to their workers so as not to bring shame upon the Republican Party.

Well, I hope that the proper law enforcement officials in each State will see to it that this is an honest vote and that there is no harassment or any confusion at the ballot box. That is the task for the Governor and the attorney general of the State, the duly constituted law-enforcement officers—whether the Governor is a Republican or a Democrat, he is the Governor of the State. And I think he will do his duty. And I hope that they will. I hope the Governors will issue instructions, or will issue a general, let me say, message to the voters of their States—"Look, go to the voting box, go to the ballot box, be a voter, because your vote—don't let anybody intimidate you, don't let anybody cause you trouble or confusion. If your name is on the list as a registered voter, you are entitled to get a ballot, you are entitled to the secrecy of the ballot box, you are entitled to be treated lawfully and respectfully by the officers of this Government."

You know, just a moment ago somebody said to me that if these polls are successful, just as you are saying—if they were accurate, as you were saying, I would no longer be a Senator. Just the thought of that kind of made me a little unhappy for a moment, because I have enjoyed being a Senator. It is a great responsibility and a wonderful, wonderful privilege to serve in the Senate.

My Senate seat, if I am elected Vice President, will be filled by the Governor of Minnesota through an appointment. The Governor has the right to make that appointment up until the next election, which is 1966—my term is up in 1966. And I think our Governor will announce very soon after the election, if I am elected Vice President.

The Governor is a very close friend of mine. But I want to add he is a very independent fellow. We always say he is one of the most independent and occasionally one of the most stubborn fellows you have ever met. I don't know whether he will really take my advice.

Thank you.

Los Angeles, Calif.
Interview with Dick Garton, KTLA, Channel 5
November 2, 1964

Mr. GARTON. Senator, this has been acknowledged as one of the most vicious, dirtiest campaigns. How will the winner reconcile both sides?

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Senator HUMPHREY. Well, it has always been my view that the office of the Presidency was not only an office of administrative and executive responsibility, but also one of education and of persuasion and of example. I have said that a President must be an educator as well as an administrator. So I would hope that the policy of persuading and educating the American people to their citizenship responsibilities would be the continuing policy and it will be, when President Johnson is elected as President, because I expect him to be elected.

President Johnson is the sort of man that seeks to heal wounds rather than to open them. And all during this campaign, I might add that both the President and myself have tried to talk about one country and one people. We haven't tried to speak in terms of North or South or East or West or religious groups or ethnic groups. We have talked about Americans. And I think that is the way we ought to continue the emphasis.

I would also add that it isn't just a matter of a President trying to bind up the wounds. It is also a responsibility of the people themselves. The American people must come to understand that hate groups, groups that play on passion and prejudice, groups or individuals that promote bigotry and intolerance, are really un-American, because this country, if it means anything at all, and it means everything to me, is as our Declaration of Independence said—or our Pledge of Allegiance says, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Now, if that is the case, and it is, and it must be at least our challenge, then the individual citizens must turn away from groups that preach intolerance and bigotry and hate and bitterness, and the only thing that has disturbed me in this entire campaign is the fact that certain groups in our country that are truly extremist and very detrimental to the public interest have been able to gain a respectable platform. We must see that that doesn't happen again. There isn't any room in America for the intolerance and for the doctrinaire ideas of the Communists, who is really an intellectual tyrant. And there isn't any room in the American political scene for the radical right-wing that is also a tyrant of the mind and of the spirit. These forces are filled with venom and evil, and with the kind of poison that if permitted to run free in America will literally poison the bloodstream of the country.

So I think it is a citizen's responsibility as well as a public official's responsibility, to cleanse ourselves, so to speak. And we have a real job ahead of us.

Mr. GARTON. If, as the polls indicate, sir, the Democratic Party wins by a huge landslide, do you see them attempting to woo the supposedly or so-called far right?

Senator HUMPHREY. No, I do not. Not that far right. There is a great consensus in America, there is a great middle. Actually, these extremist groups of the left or the right, they are a very, very small element in the American population. Actually you could hardly measure them in terms of public opinion sampling. But they are very vocal, they are very articulate, they are very active, they are vigilantes, they are guerrilla warriors, they keep nipping at you, biting at you, chopping at you. And they make you feel that they are much larger in numbers than the actual numbers. So what I think is important to us to do is to solidify, or should I say to unify the great center of American public life, which represents 98 to 99 percent of the American people.

The trouble with the great majority is that frequently it breaks up into small little particles, and doesn't have any cohesiveness. There isn't any doubt in my mind that the overwhelming majority of the American people, Republicans or Democrats, this isn't a partisan matter, I might add, I want to make that crystal clear, because I have seen some people travel under the label of the Democratic Party that are very intolerant, very, very bitter, and I have seen some under the Republican label do the same thing. But there is a great feeling amongst most people in America that intolerance and discrimination and bigotry and prejudice is wrong.

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Now, what we need to do is try to bring that together. And there is where I think the voice of the President and of his Vice President, of his Cabinet officials, of the leaders in American public and private and religious life and educational life can be of help. But this is every leader's job—everyone's. Not just mine or the President's. It isn't just the job of the man on the newscast or the editorial writer. It is the task of the teacher and of the preacher, and it is the task of the doctor and of the worker and of the businessman. It is all of us together.

Mr. GARTON. Thank you very much, Senator.

Los Angeles, Calif.
November 2, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey spoke to a special invitational luncheon of more than 100 Los Angeles business leaders at the University Club, 614 South Hope Street. He was introduced by Jesse W. Tapp, chairman of the board, Bank of America, one of the hosts.

The other hosts were: Charles R. Able, head of Missiles and Space Division, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc.; J. L. Atwood, president, North American Aviation, Inc.; Daniel Haughton, president, Lockheed Aircraft Corp.; L. A. Hyland, vice president and general manager, Hughes Aircraft Co.; and Charles B. Thorton, chairman of the board, Litton Industries.

Text of the Senator's remarks are attached:

It is good to be here.

I am deeply grateful to our hosts for arranging to bring us together this way to discuss some of the problems and opportunities that lie ahead.

The years just ahead of us clearly add up to a period of strain and difficulty. Certainly the developments—political and economic—throughout the world make it clear that we must continue to call upon national strength, our creativity, and our courage.

It is comforting to me, and it must please you as well, that at this time, a great challenge at home and abroad, we are witnessing a great change in the relations of business and Government. Certainly there are close relations between the business community and the White House. This is an era in which trust is replacing suspicion between business and Government. Cooperation is replacing conflict, and hostility is giving way to a mutual respect.

Of course, there is one vital reason for the improvement of the relations and that is the economic prosperity in which we have been living.

For 44 straight months business has been expanding steadily, employment has been rising steadily, and income has been growing steadily.

This is unprecedented. In 100 years only two periods of peacetime business expansion have lasted more than 3 years. The average business expansion period usually last about 2 years. But consider this—today we are in the fourth year of expansion.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration will be the first peacetime administration in the history of the United States without a recession or a depression.

But it is not simply an unparalleled 4 years of prosperity which is impressive.

It is also the size of our economic gains. During the last 4 years the rise in real output of goods and services—screening out all price changes—is more that the entire rise in real output during the preceding 8 years.

Let me just cite two examples of statistics—measurements that support my point that this is a sound prosperity.

First, consumer prices in the United States have risen less than 4 percent since early 1961. While they have increased anywhere from 10 to 19 percent in major Western European nations.

Secondly, labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have fallen almost 3½ percent since 1961.

That, my friends, adds up to stability as well as prosperity.

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These achievements—prosperity and price stability—are certainly not just the result of Government action. For these achievements we are most indebted to the initiative, the enterprise, and the genius of American industry, and to the skill and energy of American workers.

Business and labor have contributed to the health of the current expansion by restraint and moderation in wage and price policies. Business has been careful to cut costs and to avoid excesses in inventories and in plant and equipment, and yet remain responsive to opportunities for sound and profitable investment.

The policies of the Federal Government have also played a part.

For the first time in history, Federal fiscal policy has combined rigorous economy and efficiency in Government, with due attention to the impact of the budget and taxation upon the private economy. Monetary policy has also contributed to a deliberate, steady, and controlled expansion.

There has been no repetition of the sudden shifts to tight money that cut off previous expansion. Nor will there be, so long as business expansion remains healthy, well balanced, and not inflationary.

A major contribution has come from the tax policies of the past 4 years. These have played a key part in providing the climate and the expansionary fuel for a sustained prosperity.

Another factor is the renewed confidence of business in Government. Business likes a businesslike administration of Government programs and funds. And that's precisely what we have had.

People may have their little jokes about turning out lights in the White House. But this is a symbol of the new spirit of cost consciousness in the Federal Government.

The Federal budget for fiscal year 1965 calls for a decrease in expenditures—only the second budget in 9 years to do so.

Budget expenditures this year are smaller in relation to the gross national product than at any time since 1951.

Instead of increasing Government civilian employment, this budget calls for a reduction—the first budget to do so in the last 8 years.

Civilian employment in the executive branch in September 1964 was down 21,000 from the beginning of the Johnson administration and at the lowest level in nearly 21½ years.

During the first 2 months of this fiscal year budget expenditures are \$675 million below the same period last year.

In the Government's effort to encourage free business to expand and develop there are two additional attitudes or policies that have been vital.

First, we have made it clear that it places its primary trust in the workings of fair competition as the principal guardian of the marketplace.

Secondly, it has recognized the legitimacy of profits for business. Profits are rewards for successful risk-taking, ingenuity, and hard work. Not only are such profits fair, their reinvestment in an expanding economy benefits everyone. That has been the Government's policy—action not merely words. I am quite confident, it will continue to be the Government's policy.

This emphasizes that the American businessman is not well served by a do-nothing government. For the sake of his profits, his freedom, and his future he requires proven competence in government, not empty slogans no matter how appealing.

The chief role of Government is to support—not supplant—the private enterprise system. But support is not passive.

When a lack of private credit stifles business growth, Government must stimulate a flow of credit.

When tax incentives are needed to encourage private investment the Government must consider such action.

When business firms seek to compete successfully in the markets of the world, Government must try to remove international trade barriers.

When massive investment beyond the means of private business is required for pioneering efforts in space, communications, atomic energy, or aviation, Government has a crucial role as an investment partner.

We need a government that is not afraid of mere bigness in business for its own sake. But understands that expanding markets and growing economic opportunities provide business with the means to stimulate competition and to avoid restraints on trade.

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Let me just single out two examples of what I mean when I say the Government must act with energy, with imagination, and with competence in its effort to provide a climate of opportunity for free American business.

For instance, we need to study the possibility of some easing of the arms race. You can be sure that this administration will act effectively to ease the adjustments for defense dependent industries—for both labor and capital. We shall do our utmost to preserve the general prosperity that will permit the labor and capital released from military uses to be used in constructive civilian purposes. And, we shall devise additional means to keep the human costs of the changeover as low as possible.

But we shall always spend what is necessary for national security—for the defense of freedom. Without peace and security there is no freedom—there is no prosperity. There is no free enterprise.

Then, let me take another area that is of considerable interest and concern to me. That is the need for American private investment in Latin America. I note that it is increasingly recognized there that foreign private investment is absolutely essential, both to increase the productivity of a country and to develop an efficient industrial and agricultural sector. With the strong encouragement of the U.S. Government—for example, through investment guarantees and tax credits—American business can continue to provide leadership in building a strong private sector—not only in Latin American countries—but in Asia and Africa as well.

We should be pleased with the progress we have made in recent years in improving the quality of the partnership between business and Government. However, we dare not be complacent, to assume that all our work is done, that we understand each other completely. This is not true.

In order to build and maintain a working consensus of all groups in our Nation we must constantly try to educate each other. We need a constant dialog between business and Government. The joy, the excitement of our system—whether in business or Government—is its dynamic character. It is not static. We must study our history to understand, but we must look to the future so as to establish the objectives we must aim toward.

Let me in closing leave you with some words of that great American philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, “A great society,” he said, “is one in which businessmen think greatly of their functions.”

I would amend that to say that “American society is a great one when all of us think greatly of our function.”

Thank you.

Los Angeles, Calif.
University Club
November 2, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Tapp, for your introduction and for your willingness to live dangerously and act as my host No. 1.

And may I also thank the members of the host committee—in this very pleasant and accommodating and secure economic, political environment of southern California. I think it is very good for you people to occasionally see someone that may arouse your concern, your worry, may give you reason to want to be ever alert and attentive to the freedoms that are yours, the privileges that you have justly earned.

Not only that, I always feel it is good to keep your Governor on his toes, too. So I come out here and visit Pat Brown ever so often. As I told him, you never can tell, I may run for something out here some time.

Well, I am singularly delighted to be here, and to have this opportunity of just visiting with you on this day before election.

Now, I haven't deluded myself into believing that there is going to be any sudden mass movement to the Democratic Party or the Democratic standard bearers because of these words of wisdom that I am

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about to impart. I say that even though I am sure that I am going to persuade you. But possibly some of you have already made up your mind, and it is a little late to change.

But I want you to know we may be back again, and therefore you keep these thoughts in mind for 4 years hence, and whatever time it may be, and we will be back to visit you once more.

There are a number here that I want to just mention from my own State, that have been very helpful to me, and have been here in your community.

First, I want to let you know that we have the former past commander of the American Legion, who is a fellow Minnesotan, and a very dear and close friend of mine, Dan Foley, that is with us today. And we have his brother, Gene Foley, who is the Administrator of the Small Business Administration at Washington, D.C.

We have a very prominent member of your community in the western part of our country, Mr. Dan Martin, the Under Secretary of Commerce.

We have my former administrative assistant, who is now the Deputy Administrator of the AID Administration, well known to Mr. Tapp and others, Mr. Herbert Waters.

And then I have a friend of mine who gives me free legal advice, and its worth much more than that, very active as an attorney with Sears, Roebuck, and others, and that is Mr. Pat O'Connor.

Now, I bring these men along as a sort of a flank protection. I send them in first into the minefields, and if they come out alive, then they let me come. And they tell me that you have treated them very, very well. So my few fellow Democrats, some of whom I brought with me, and the many enlightened Republicans that are here, I am delighted to be with you. And I want to talk to you today just for a few moments as a fellow citizen, and not so much as a candidate, about the relationships of our Government, your Government and your business.

I happen to be one of those that believes that this synthetic built-in and built-up animosity that prevails in all too many areas of American life between Government and its people, between the people and their Government, and particularly between the business people and their Government, is neither good for the country nor good for business, nor good for America.

I predicate my remarks today, not on the basis of what is only good for those of us individually, but really what is good for this country in the trying days ahead.

The headlines of your morning's newspaper, every morning, tell you that this Nation is being tested as never before. You know it. But sometimes it needs a little reemphasis.

I happen to be one of those that believes that if there is to be any freedom left in this world, and if there is to be any such thing as respect for human dignity, which is at the very center of American democratic life, and differentiates the totalitarian from the free-man—if there is to be any peace in the world, and without it there is nothing—it will be because we the American people individually and through our leaders, through the policies of our Government and the practices of our private life, and private economy, are able to give leadership and to sustain the strength of the free world.

Everyone warns us of the menace of communism. But too few tell us of the responsibility of leadership.

It isn't enough just to identify the enemy, gentlemen. It is equally important to know your own strength, and to know what to do with it, to know how to develop it, to know how to apply it, to understand the methodology of combating the evil as well as identifying the evil.

And what has happened, I regret to say, in American life, is that we have many people who did diagnose the trouble, or at least can identify part of it. But they stop right there. From there on out it is kill the patients rather than to heal.

I don't consider it a remark of leadership, or even intelligence, to merely arouse the American people's fears and passions. I consider that a disservice—unless you can offer some solution, or at least some program of action that may lead to solution.

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Now, an honest man will have to tell you that we can never be sure that the policies and the programs that we follow, or that we effectuate, will succeed. You don't know. You don't know in your own business that the decision that you make today will be the decision that you ought to have a year from now or 5 years from now. You are not at all sure that the policies that you adopt at your board of directors are the policies that will carry you through successfully to your goal.

You have them under constant review.

And so does our Government have under constant review its policies. And so do the people of this country have under constant review the policies of the Government. And that is why we have elections. And that is why there ought to be more intelligent discussion of the issues.

The greatest disservice that can be given or performed is to try to provide simple answers to difficult questions.

There are none. And every intelligent person knows so. And every American knows today that even if Karl Marx had never been born, and Lenin had never happened, that there would be problems in this world today that are staggering.

Of course—of course the threat of Communist aggression, infiltration, indoctrination, is the No. 1 problem. But it is not the only one. And the question is how do you meet these problems.

Well, you don't meet them by destroying ourselves. We don't meet these problems by setting race against race or group against group, or advocating in this country the class conflict. Nothing is more foreign to our nature and to our needs.

I think that what we in America need more than anything at this time are the healers, and not the purveyors of disease, or those that open the wounds.

I think what is needed in this country more than ever before are the educators that get us to talk to each other rather than ever hiding away from each other. I think we need people in this country today that begin to understand that there is a great interdependence in this economy, and that none of us live alone.

What we need, in other words, speaking now to this group, is a new and better relationship between your Government and your business. You are the custodians of a great section of the American life. Many of you are custodians without full ownership—very much like an elected official.

I have only one vote, but as a U.S. Senator, I have been one of two from my State responsible by my every word and every action in the U.S. Senate, not only for my State, but for my country.

I don't own it. But I have been given stewardship for a period of time. Those of you that are presidents of great corporations in this room, you don't own them—you are there as the guardian, as the steward of other people's investments. They depend on your judgment, your vision, your decisions.

Just as you depend today, and you must, upon the decisions and the judgment of your Government.

And, therefore, my fellow Americans, isn't it important that instead of setting up barriers, that we break those barriers down, that we set up dialog instead of monolog; that we try to work together, instead of pull apart? If there is any one thing that President Lyndon Johnson has done—I care not what politics—he has made the White House your house. He has opened its doors. He doesn't hide off the workingman in one room and the businessman in another. He doesn't put the colored man over there and the white man over there, and try to run them out of different doors.

President Johnson may have his limitations—who hasn't? He is a human being. But this I know—that he seeks to build in this country a unity based upon respect—not a unanimity based upon discipline. He seeks to build in this country a consensus based upon mutuality of interest, not a conflict based upon conjured up animosities.

And this is what America needs, is an unity based upon respect for one another and a consensus.

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Now, what has happened in the role between Government and business? Why are so many businessmen today supporting our President? I don't think many of them have changed parties. I don't delude myself that way. But I think they sense that there is something happened in American life. And maybe it happened out of necessity, as well as out of conviction. But knowing the President as I do, I think it happened because of the kind of a man that he is.

I will put it simply to you. The policy of your Government today is to encourage you to do better—not to harass you and to make your life miserable. The policy of your Government today is to have trust in you and to replace distrust or suspicion. The policy of your Government is one of cooperation with you, replacing conflict. And the policy of your President and of the man that is speaking to you is one of having mutual respect as a replacement for hostility.

So to simplify what we are seeking to do is to say let's join together, and let's find these areas of common agreement.

The Government of the United States is going to be here whether you like it or not. It is the powerful force, and it can be friend or foe, it can be passive or it can be positive, it can be negative or it can be affirmative. And I think you want it as a friend. I think you want it as positive. And I think you want it as affirmative. At least I do. And the reason for it is that American is not just its Government. We need to get this message to the people of the world. This is not a country based on Government. This is a government based on the country. And the Government is but a small part of the total life of this Nation, but a vital part. And that small part has a tremendous influence on the pattern of the Nation.

Therefore, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey want to see our friends in industry, in commerce, in finance, in management, to become partners, working partners, seeking your advice and counsel, asking you to guide the Nation's destinies in terms of economic policy. Because somebody is going to do it. One thing you need to remember about politics, gentlemen, is politics is another word for power. There has never been and there never will be a power vacuum. Someone will fill it. And the questions who do you want?

Do you want someone to fill it that has no faith in our system, that has no faith in our enterprise, that repudiates our constitutional guarantees, that has no understanding of the inspiration of our history?—Or do you want people to fill these areas of responsibility that understand the motivation of American life since the very days of the beginning of this Republic, that understand the meaning of opportunity, that understand the importance of education, that understand the importance of a close and cooperative relationship between their government, local, State, and Federal, with the people.

This is what we are trying to talk about in this campaign. We haven't maybe done it too well, because it is very difficult to get the message through the noise. Every campaign becomes so loud that the only man that is ultimately heard is the one that whispers. Everybody shouts at everybody. And somehow, somewhere, there must a day in which people can sit down and reason together rather than to shout at one another and to build up false battles when there is no battle, when there ought to be understanding.

Well, I come before you today in the knowledge that we have had 44 months of continued economic growth. I don't need to recite these figures for you, and I shall not take your time. I will only say this, gentlemen, that facts are facts, that never before in the history of this Republic has there ever been an administration, peacetime administration, in which the Nation was not engaged in full war, in which there has never been a depression or a recession in a 4-year period—never. I am a student of history and government and economics, and so are you. We have had the longest sustained period of economic growth of any nation on the face of the earth. This we ought to be proud of. And, by the way, I don't think it is all due to government. Not by a long shot. Because I think Government has had some role to play.

But, basically, this is a testimonial, not to a political party alone, it is a testimonial to the American enterprise system. And instead of going around having people deny it, as I have heard some say, it is all an illusion, it is a fake—why don't we proclaim it to the world that our free enterprise system, more free than ever before, more in

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the hands of individuals than ever before, bigger than ever before, with more stockholders than ever before, with more private managers than ever before, that this system is outstripping everybody in the world.

I think it is a great success story.

Instead of that, we listen to voices that say it is a phony, it will break up, it is a fake, it can't last.

I think it can last. I will tell you why. Because it has to. It is sort of like when I became married. I asked my dad one time, I said, "Dad," after we looked like we were going to have that first baby, "how do you afford them?" He says, you get them and then you afford them, son. And you just go ahead and start working a little harder, doing a little better. Because if your dad had waited to afford you you would still have been nothing but a dream and a hope. And possibly less than that.

No, we have to do what we have to do. And that is why I said to you in the beginning, we don't really have much of a choice. It isn't any longer a choice of whether or not we are going to go ahead. If we don't go ahead, we are finished. If this Nation becomes the victim of some major economic catastrophe, the forces of radicalism, of the left or the right, will take over just as surely as we are in this room. And they are not a bit different, you know, gentlemen. I used to teach courses in comparative European governments. And there has never been a bit of difference between the forces of the extreme left and of the extreme right, except their armband. One had a black one, and one had a red one. The Communists and the Fascists are alike, they sleep in the same bed. The only difference is they fight over the covers. But they are in the same bed. [Applause.]

I think we have made some remarkable progress that we ought to tell the world about.

We have not only had great economic growth, but we have had better cooperation between labor and capital than ever before in any comparable 4-year period, and better cooperation between Government and labor and capital. We have produced more consumer goods and we have not had an inflation. In fact, my study from the Federal Reserve Board Index indicates that consumer prices are up less than 4 percent since 1961; this compared to 10 to 19 percent in any of the Western European countries.

And labor costs due to efficiency in management, due to new machinery, due to new practices, due to productivity of labor itself—labor costs per unit of manufacturing output have fallen 3.5 percent in three and a half years. No other country on the face of the earth can claim that record.

Now, these are the things we ought to be telling in our broadcasts, instead of just going around telling the world that the Communists are bad. We ought to add that they are not only bad, but they are a failure; that the Socialist is not only one that misleads his people, but he is also one that is ineffective, he does not produce the fruits for the people.

We have the system.

But instead of that, we have self-proclaimed 110 percent patriots that denounce the evils of other countries and forget about the blessings of our own and how they were achieved.

Make no mistake about it. Most people in the world want freedom, most people in the world hunger for better things, most people in the world have heard of consumer goods and they are yearning for them, even in the Soviet Union.

I was in the Soviet Union 1 year ago and came back to the U.S. Senate and predicted, on the floor of that Senate, in the month of August that there was political unrest in the Soviet Union, that there was a new party rising, called the consumer party, and that Mr. Khrushchev was in serious trouble. But that didn't make any news.

What makes more news is for somebody to get up and say "You are a radical Socialist."

Whenever a man is short of argument, he is long on temperament.

We need to understand the facts of international life and the competition that we face. And we need to understand the facts and the promise of this American life.

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I want to compliment American business on doing a splendid job of management. You do it automatically. But somebody ought to tell you once in a while how well you do it—avoiding excesses of inventories, keeping down production costs—and may I say this so that it can get someplace else besides America; that no single business group in the world is as humane, may I say as progressive, may I say as liberal, if that is not a word that we have to avoid, as the American businessman and the American business community.

Why there isn't a government on the face of the earth that provides the fringe benefits, as they call them, for the workingman that the American economic community provides out of private capitalism. Why don't we tell everybody about it? Why do we pretend that it is somehow or another bad? Why don't we just shout to the world that here in America a worker with his union and management can get hospital care and he can have all forms of care and of recreation, and of good living and wages and fair working conditions. This is what the people in Latin America are interested in. This is what the compacino and the peasant and the worker that has never had a thing in his life wants to know.

But the Communist comes there and says "Follow us, listen to us." And we come down there and scold them.

We ought to be down there and say "Follow us, see what your brother is doing in Los Angeles, and see his standard of living, see what he is doing in Chicago, even in the packinghouses, see his standard of living, see his automobile, see his home, see his community, see his church, see his clothes, see his bank account, see his hospital contract, see his mother, see his children."

We have got the story of the world to tell, and the businessman ought to be telling it.

This is why Hubert Humphrey believes that we ought to have more businessmen going behind the Iron Curtain.

Our diplomats have to be careful lest they become persona non grata. But I believe—and by the way, our Western European friends, they know how to do this, for several reasons. Our great friends in West Germany have more businessmen behind the Iron Curtain now than we have troops in many places overseas. And while you are sitting here saying "I'm an anti-Communist" they are over there getting the business—and you know it.

But more importantly, my friends, it is not only a matter of getting the business.

Are we afraid to stand up to their ideological competition? I am not. I think we have got a better argument. I think we have got a better story to tell. Why don't we have whole cadres of American businessmen as teams going into every country behind the Iron Curtain, yes, searching for markets in nonstrategic goods, if you please. But, more importantly, let them take a look at you, let them see you. No place in the world are you more popular than where the government doesn't want you. The most popular person in the world is an American that gets behind the Iron Curtain. The regimes try to control the people, but they cannot control inside of them.

But we rely on others. We let Mr. Nasser send a team of his people. They cannot even run Egypt. But they go and they try to impress on them what they call their Socialist democracy.

Or we permit our good friends—not permit—they go on their own, of course, from England or Britain or France or someplace else, or Germany or Belgium or Holland—they are all over, all of the Latin American countries, Asia and the Eastern European countries.

But we have been told, and you have been told—and if you will pardon me for saying so, we are suckers to believe it—that you ought not to be there, because you may get contaminated.

I have a lot of faith in you. I don't think a one of you is going Communist if you get behind there. I really think you will do all right. I think you will come out pure. I even think you might convince one of them to defect.

More importantly—show the flag, be unafraid.

Why is it that a nation that can send its marines someplace is afraid to send its business people?

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Well, I got off on my favorite topic—because I don't think we are going to win this struggle with the Communist world by machines, military machines. I don't think we are going to win it with just troops. We have got to have our military force. No Member of the U.S. Senate has taken a stronger position for a strong national defense than Hubert Humphrey. I said very frankly, and I repeat—I had a better voting record during the Eisenhower administration of support of President Eisenhower on foreign policy and national security than the standard bearer of the Republican Party—200 percent better—200 percent better on the record.

I don't happen to believe that there is any partisanship in security. I think that if you are dead, it doesn't make much difference whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. I think that there are some matters that ought to be above party, and those two matters are foreign policy and defense. We ought to have an American policy there, not a Republican policy, not a Democratic policy, but an American policy that is overwhelmingly supported by the great broad section of American public opinion.

Now, I know you must go, and I just want to conclude with these words.

This business partnership, or this partnership of Government and business—this has not been just words. We have acted. There are men in this room that know that I was one of the initiators of the investment tax credit program—because I believe that we had to modernize American plant to make it more competitive.

I have traveled overseas and I have watched other governments stand alongside of their businessmen, like partners.

For a long time our American businessmen did not want to be seen with our Government, and then you got the Government convinced and they did not want to be seen with you.

In the meantime, when you go to the Argentine or any other country, there is a British Ambassador right alongside the British corporation, and the Government and business house takes your business.

I go into country after country that we have been loaning money to—and you have hoped do it, either out of your private institutions or out of your governmental institutions—and there is machinery from Holland, from Germany, from Belgium, from Britain, from France. Why? Well, first of all we did not have what we called proper guaranteed credits, because some of these countries needed more than 60-day terms or 90 or 100 days. We did not have investment guarantees. Our Export-Import Bank had not worked out its cooperative relationship with our private banking structure to see to it that American capital and American technicians and American goods and American know-how went to work.

This is what I mean by positive government.

This doesn't mean the Government takes over. We don't want the Government to supplant; we want the Government to supplement.

As Mr. Tapp knows, I have been one of the most vigorous critics of some of the actions of the Commodity Credit Corporation, because I see it moving in as a Government corporation, trying to take over the normal marketing operations of the private trade. I am opposed to it. And when I get elected Vice President, I am going to have something to say about it.

I don't think the Commodity Credit Corporation ought to be doing our export business. I think we have got more people in Minneapolis, Minn., in the private grain business that know more about export policy than all the Government officials put together. And I am going to see that they have a chance.

But you cannot get much done if nobody will back you, and if people are going to believe that somehow or another, that if you take these stands, that you are really working against the interests of your country. No—I think that Government policies, fiscal and monetary, have had a great deal to do with our prosperity, the investment tax credit, the tax cut bill, the depreciation schedules.

When the mining companies in my State began to leave, I got hold of my political party and said, "Listen, change your attitude. We need investment. We don't need an argument. There has been 4 years of unemployment up here. We need money, we need technicians, we need

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capital, we need plants. And if we get enough of that, we will still win the elections without hating the steel companies." And we put together a program.

It can be done.

We in politics have to learn that this great machinery of our enterprise system requires profits, profits must be invested, they must be returned to investors on good management.

We also need sensible fiscal and monetary policies, fiscal policies that encourage incentives, credit policies that provide for the credit when it is needed. But always placing full reliance and major reliance upon the private sector of our economy.

The Government is here to supplement, not to supplant; to encourage, not to take over; to help, not to harass; to regulate, yes, where regulation is needed, but not to act like a Gestapo.

And I speak for the President of the United States when I tell you these things. These are not just words from the lips of a candidate—because frankly the election is all over. We are not going to change the outcome of this election right now. You know that. As important as you are, and as important as I think I am, I just do not think we are going to change it here this afternoon. I think that election has been settled. We are just waiting for the tabulation.

But I do think it is important that you understand what your Government is trying to do.

In those areas where it requires massive investment, where it is too much for a private individual—in space, in aviation, in atomic energy, in the field of electronics, some of it, where there needs to be pioneering in research and development, Government can work with private enterprise. And you in California know more about that than we in Minnesota. I want to compliment your Governor on being able to get a rather sizable share of the research and development dollar of the American Government to California. You would be surprised how little we got in Minnesota. Maybe this is one reason I wanted to run for Vice President instead of Senator again.

But the truth is that your Government does play a distinct role, and you know it.

Well, now I want to leave you with this thought.

You know, a great corporation that is having a success, its sales are up, its profits are up, its consumer acceptability is high, its reputation is good, it seems to be doing better than any of its competitors—that kind of a corporation, when the board of directors sit down and evaluate, it doesn't fire the manager. Oh, no, you never do that.

No, my friends—when that corporation board of directors sits down and reviews the balance sheet and looks also at the market, and looks at the competitors, and looks at what the product is, and looks at what it is doing, and it sees a success story, you know what it generally does? It calls in the manager and it says, "We want to renew your contract." You even may offer him a few stock options. You may even offer him an increase in pay, or he may even ask for one.

Well, now, I can tell you that I have a manager of the biggest business in the world, called the Government of the United States. He is not asking for any options, he doesn't even ask for an increase in pay. He is not even asking at all. I am asking that the American businessman that knows deep down in his heart, to use a phrase—that knows that this country is doing well, that knows that this Government is prudent, that knows that this country is going to see to it that the security of this Nation is protected regardless of the cost—and let that be clear; no matter what the budget may be, the security of this Nation is going to be sustained and maintained.

I am here to tell you that this country, that is doing well in every area, that this country should not change managers.

I suggest, if I may be permitted to be just a friendly visitor to the board of directors—I would like to offer a motion, that in light of the fact that the manager has done very well in the 11 months that he has been privileged to guide the destiny of this great enterprise, that he be given an extension of contract. And I am here to tell you that Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, deserves your support—he respects you, he wants to work with you, he would like to have you work with him. And I am here to ask you to do it.

Thank you very much.

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Salt Lake City, Utah
November 2, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

I have often reflected during the last 2 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.

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 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 3—thus it shall ever be.

No fairminded person, looking about 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.

The people that say that we have lost our freedom apparently 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 did not have the income, there were not enough colleges, there was not enough money in the public or private resources. So that the freedom to go to college meant nothing.

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

Who has the greater freedom?

And the choice. There are 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 the sweatshop at slave wages 50 years ago, or the man today that gets a decent wage and a 40-hour workweek, and some fair labor standards? I think the answer is quite 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 we used to call the poorfarm, or your grandfather that today has a social security card.

What freedom did he lose? No freedoms. Except the freedom to starve; the freedom to live in abject poverty; the freedom to be the subject of ridicule.

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.

We keep hearing what is wrong with America. Here is a small slice of what is 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.

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What is unique about the civilization we are building for ourselves and our children? It is not our unprecedented level of material prosperity. 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—the most fundamentally moral course which an administration can pursue—is to assure the right of every individual to achieve all of which it 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 4 years.

For that spirit, the hallmark of a 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 lift up 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 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 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 every man—a robust enjoyment of the pleasures which art and the creative use of leisure can bring.

We must build 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 write:

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.

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Salt Lake City, Utah
Airport Rally
November 2, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you. Thank you. Well, thank you very much. My goodness. When that Ted Moss introduces you, he causes a lot of commotion around these parts.

First let me just say that this is a most unusual experience. I have addressed airport rallies, I have been inside of airplane hangars, I have spoken in garages, I have spoken in barns, I have spoken in parks, hotels, and arenas, and stadiums, I have never spoken inside an airport. And I think it is just about time it happened, and I am glad it happened on the last day of this campaign.

I am delighted that it is possible for Muriel and myself to be here in this beautiful State of Utah, this marvelous city of Salt Lake. And may I say that I truly asked for the privilege of coming by here so that Muriel and I could say hello to two of the dearest friends that we have, and two of the finest people that ever came to the Nation's Capital, two of the most dedicated people to the interests of our country and your State. And I guess you know who I mean. I am speaking of your own Senator, Frank Ted Moss, and his wife Phyllis.

Let me just say at this point that I am proud, proud of the campaign that Ted Moss has launched in Utah. I am proud that he has conducted his campaign in a sense of dignity and decency and honor, because the State of Utah is a fine, decent, wholesome State, and America is a fine, decent, wholesome country.

And, Ted, if the price of political victory is to wallow around in the filth of the gutter, if the price of political victory is to injure another person's character, if the price of political victory is to act as if you had no character, then the price is too high, and we won't pay it.

I am proud to be on the team of President Johnson and Senator Moss, to men that have conducted themselves with dignity, with honor, with respect, and with humility. That is the kind of candidates and campaign that Americans should respect.

Well, I have a feeling that things are going to be mighty good in Utah. I have a feeling that the people of this great State are going to respect the quality of leadership which they have in their Senator, and the kind of campaign that he has conducted.

And may I say that the same thing is true of our candidate of the Democratic ticket for Governor.

When I was here on other occasions, I have been privileged to share the platform with Calvin Pampton, and I know that Calvin is going to win this election, because you are going to help him win it, and because President Johnson wants you to help him win it.

And in your First District, in your First Congressional District, you have one of the gifted men of your State, a gentleman that will make you a fine Congressman. He is here with us, and we are so proud of him, and I refer to your own William G. Bruhn, who will be your next Congressman from the First District.

And how wonderful it is to come back to Utah, and just to have the privilege of saying publicly again, that one of the fine friendships that has been privileged to come to me, a precious gift it is to share in that friendship, is the friendship of the candidate for Congress here in your Second District, one who has served you in the past, served you with such ability and integrity, is known as one of the most able men that ever entered public life. And I want to salute and compliment early on his coming victory, David King, your new Congressman.

Now, my friends, I am going to let you in on a secret. My Muriel has been just campaigning all over the country. We tease each other as to which of us has been in the most States. But she has been to Alaska, and she has been to Hawaii. And, my, the election must be close in Hawaii, because she spent several days there. She tells me that she had to work so hard campaigning island to island, beach to beach.

But, anyway, let me say that Muriel and Hubert Humphrey have found America just where we thought it would be. We found it beau-

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tiful, we found it interesting, we have found it active and vital, and, above all, we have found it Democratic, going to vote for President Johnson.

Ted, and my fellow candidates, I have such respect for your city and your State, and because this is the final night of the campaign, I thought that I would speak to you for a little while very seriously, and I hope in a manner that is worthy of your attention and worthy of your respect.

Truly, the shouting and the campaigning is really over. Now we come down to that point where we must make the great decision, the decision not only of a President, but the decision, if you please, of the future of our country.

When we elect a President this time, we don't only elect him for the next 4 years, which is his term. But actually we are making a decision about a President whose decisions, his decisions, will affect the lives of the people of America for decades to come. Yes, generations still unborn will be affected by what the next President of the United States does.

We are a great country. We have heavy responsibilities. And, therefore, whoever we select as our President will be the most important figure in the life of this world—not just this Nation. That is why I think that we are right in asking for sober, thoughtful consideration of this candidate or of these candidates and their programs.

You know, there have been totally different views of America expressed by our two candidates for President. One of them, President Lyndon Johnson, has held out before you and me the vista of a new, stronger, freer—*an America* where its people are more unified than any time in all of our history.

The other gentleman, Senator Goldwater, has painted for us a picture of a startlingly different America, a land, in his mind and words, of bitter and discontented men and women, yearning for the past, resentful of the present, fearful of the future. But the real world and the real America that you and I know is not at all what Barry Goldwater believes it to be. The ugliness and the hopelessness, the sheer misery of Mr. Goldwater's America lies, my friends, in the eye of the beholder.

The real America, the America which you and I know, the America that Ted Moss knows, the America of President Johnson and the Democratic Party, is what it has always been, and with God's help, and with your help and your vote on November 3 thus it shall ever be.

No fairminded person, looking about America in 1964, can fail to see that the citizens of this land, this land of the free, have more freedom than any people in any land at any time in the history of the world. And under our late and beloved President John Kennedy, and now President Johnson, I think that we have taken long and purposeful strides toward that new birth of freedom which man and women have always sought but never truly captured. The people that say that we have lost our freedom—and we have heard that—apparently have a very personal weird definition of what freedom means, because, you see, freedom is not merely the absence of restraint. Freedom in America is not negative. Freedom to the American people is a positive force. It is perfectly true, you know, 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, and there was not enough money, either in the public or private resources, to send them to college.

So the freedom of 1890 that was available to everyone to go to college meant absolutely nothing.

Today, however, today in the 1960's, the last count being in 1960, some 30 out of every 100 young men and women in America enter and go to an institution of higher learning.

I ask the question—which generation has the greater freedom? The generation that seems to be worshipped by Mr. Goldwater of the 1890's, or the generation of today, where young men and women can aspire to learning, to professional life, to better living—or was the greater freedom with those who knew not a college, knew not the pleasures of modern culture.

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There are more schools today, more classrooms, and many more colleges. So who has the greater freedom—your great-grandfather, who had no real chance to go to college, or you today?

I think I may say to the young people that the answer is pretty obvious.

So let me ask this question again. Who has the greater freedom—the worker that slaved in a sweatshop at starvation wages 50 years ago, or the man who today gets a fair and decent wage, a 40-hour week, and fair labor standards, the man who today, because of his union and because of the sense of good management has a chance for a good living for him family. I think the answer is obvious.

Who has the greater freedom—your grandfather, who if he were the victim of some financial disaster, and no one was there to help him, was shunted off into what we used to call the poorfarm, or your grandfather today who has what Mr. Goldwater sneeringly refers to as a number, on his social security card? No freedom except the freedom to starve, the freedom to live in abject poverty. The freedom to be the subject of scorn, of neglect, and of ridicule.

Yes, my fellow Americans, this Senator tells you that we are freer than ever before, and that our freedom really means something in our personal lives. We have freedom to move across this country, we have freedom to change jobs, freedom to change residence, freedom to even change our vote, as millions of Republicans are going to do in this election.

I am proud to say tonight, and I say it with a deep sense of gratitude, that we have begun to create in this beautiful America of ours the conditions under which mankind can enjoy the fruits of his labors at leisure, with peace, and with dignity.

You know, we keep hearing these days what is wrong with America. Oh, my, if we only listened to it all the time we would be the victims of some sort of neurosis. Let this man tonight that is speaking to you tell you a little bit about what is right about America, what is good about this country—just a little slice, if I may, for a moment.

I will tell you what is good. We are riding the crest of a wave of unequaled and unparalleled prosperity, and we ought to be prayerfully grateful to a beneficent and kind divine providence and a great Government and a great country.

We are today enjoying economic growth at a continuing rate that is nothing short of phenomenal. And you take shares in it.

We ought not to complain or be bitter. We ought to be prayerfully grateful.

Unemployment is down. More Americans are at work than ever before at good wages. And we are approaching the day when every able-bodied man and woman that wants to work will be able to find a gainful outlet for their energies.

I will tell you what is good about America today. We have more of our young people in high school and elementary school and institutions of higher learning than ever before in the history of this Nation. We have healthier young people, brighter young people, more creative young people, than ever before. And this Senator doesn't happen to believe that the youth of this generation is debauched. This Senator believes that this youth, this younger generation of ours is the most gifted, the most active, the most creative younger generation in the history of this country.

Yes, we live longer, and we live better. We eat better. And we dress better. We have more and better housing, more recreation, better health, better opportunities than ever before. Why don't we hear more about that in the campaign instead of always the voices of doom and gloom, the kind of visible outlook upon America which indicates that the person who beholds it has a beam or mote in his own eye. We have more of the comforts and fewer of the hardships, more of the luxuries and fewer of the burdens than any other people in all of history. And for this I say America shall be grateful and we should at least attribute a part of it to the partnership between government of the people, by the people, and for the people, with the people, together, government and the people, that the government representatives, have created in America a society the likes of which no other nation in all of history has ever known. This has happened in our time.

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But I do not want to now conclude this message merely on the thought of materialism, because there is something really unique about the civilization that we are building for ourselves and our children. It is not our unprecedented level of prosperity. If history is to reserve a place of honor for this generation, it will be for a bolder and a more enduring contribution. And that contribution, my friends, is the spirit of public morality.

Now, I have chosen my words very carefully and advisedly.

The ethical conduct of the highest order in which a President or a Senator can engage, the most fundamentally moral course which an administration or a public official can pursue is to assure the right of every individual to achieve all of which he is capable. In other words, to make the institutions of government work as a partner in the unfolding of the capabilities and the talents of God's finest creation, man himself. And this is what we mean, my fellow Americans, when we talk about human dignity.

Human dignity is just that because it carries with it the spark of infinity.

And the duty of government, the duty of moral man, is to see to it that the capabilities of God's children are permitted to be unfolded, released, emancipated, and realized.

To me, this is what I call public morality, because it means that we are trying to give life and meaning to the most precious form of life, human life. And what should be the duty of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, except to help make life more beautiful, to help it make life richer and fuller and more meaningful—not only for the individual, but for the entire community. And I say on this platform tonight that this has been the goal of our President. It has been the objective of this Republic. It was Lincoln's objective. It was Wilson's objective. It was Roosevelt's objective. It was Mr. Truman's—yea, Mr. Eisenhower's, and President Kennedy's objective.

The protection of and indeed the safeguarding of the element called human dignity.

In the white heat of this demanding standard, everything, everything else melts into insignificance. And by that standard no period in our history has been more nearly captured, has more nearly captured the spirit of public morality than the last 4 years—for that spirit, the hallmark of a civilization in full flower, has been the distinguishing characteristic of every significant achievement of the Kennedy-Johnson administration. Listen to these building blocks of public morality.

We passed a poverty bill, an economic opportunity act to help lift up those unfortunate among us who have been cast aside in the onrush of a changing society and, through this legislation, working with churches and voluntary groups, and working with citizens and local and State communities, we are on the road to seeing these unfortunate victims of a rapidly changing society, placing them back on the road to useful lives.

Isn't that being moral?

We have passed a civil rights bill to help lift from the lives of millions of our fellow Americans the indignity and the humiliations that have been heaped upon them, because they had to suffer second-class citizenship.

I say to this audience, if ever in my public life I have ever done anything about which I can feel some humble pride, it is the fact that I had the privilege of working with your Senator, Frank Moss, and others like him, to see to it that in America there is equality of opportunity, and there is just one kind of citizenship, American citizenship.

Yes, we passed a nuclear test ban treaty to help lift the world from that tense and oppressive climate of a black cloud of fear and radioactive fallout, a cloud which had distorted tomorrow's hopes, just as it had multiplied today's fears. And your Senator, Frank Moss, was in the vanguard of that fight. No greater act could a man perform for mankind than to see to it that by his vote he spared humanity from death and destruction and disease through nuclear testing.

My fellow citizens, we created a Peace Corps, we created a Peace Corps to lift our eyes toward a higher destiny, and a richer life for those that needed our help. And you know that in helping others, primarily through our young people, we have been able to help ourselves.

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So let me say, with President Johnson, we know that the Great Society that he speaks to us about, and that is his dream, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, it is not a resting place, a final objective, or a finished work. It is a challenge, constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our life 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 be. 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 the aspirations of free men will not flourish.

We must labor, my fellow Americans, in the years ahead to improve the quality of our life. We must expect culture to be the portion of every man, a robust enjoyment of the pleasures which education and art and the creative use of learning can bring.

Yes, let me lift my eyes to the horizons, and look ahead rather than to look back into the depths of a distant past.

We must build our cities—yes, in fact we build many of them to provide a place where man's life can unfold amidst an exciting and stimulating environment. The air will be pure. This should be our dream, and the spaces between building will not be the asphalt jungle, but will be green. Our mammoth cities must not be permitted to dwarf the human spirit. They must permit the richness of city life to be lived on a truly humane and human scale.

Every person must have access in the days ahead to the finest education available. And he must be encouraged to develop his abilities to the fullest. In all that we do we must encourage a rich flowering of our individualism.

Listen to what Woodrow Wilson said: "I believe in democracy, because it releases the energy of every human being."

That, my friends, is what we are trying to do. And that is what we have been doing. And that is the commitment of President Johnson and of Hubert Humphrey and of Frank Moss for future generations. That is the ethical, moral path that we must follow. And it is the ethical and moral path that we have followed under the leadership of John Kennedy, and will continue to follow under Lyndon Johnson. It is the path in which a government of the people and by the people and for the people will act like the people. And I say to this audience that it is good and just for people, as individuals, to be humane and compassionate. If it is right and proper for people as individuals to love one another and to believe in human brotherhood, then I ask you why is it not right and proper for a government of the people and by the people and for the people to act exactly as we would expect individual citizens to act in respect to people.

The great society of President Johnson, and the commitment of this party and of this administration that I am privileged to represent here tonight rests upon the spirit which moved a poet of ancient times to write these meaningful words: "Not houses, finely roofed, or the stones of walls well builded, nay, -----, but men, able to use their opportunity."

----- is the country that we have been building—the ----- not of docks, not of canals, not even of roads and businesses. ----- of opportunity, where there is creativeness ----- And I ask this audience tonight, as I leave you, before you and your neighbors make the fateful decision of electing the President of the United States, I ask you to help us build this better and greater society, this better America. The job has been well started, but it is far from completed. And only the children of hope and light can see the way and find the way to do the job.

Join us in building. Join President Johnson. Join your own Senator Frank Moss, ----- and join others who believe in tomorrow, who ----- them, give them your helping hand ----- America for ourselves and our children.

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Salt Lake City, Utah
KUTV Channel 2
November 2, 1964

ANNOUNCER. The following is a paid political program brought to you by the Utah State Democratic Committee.

In our studios tonight are the Democratic Vice President candidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey; Senator Frank Moss; and congressional candidates David S. King and William G. Bruhn. We are also privileged to have Mr. Joseph Rosenblatt, chairman of the Utah Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey Committee.

And now here is Senator Frank E. Moss.

Senator Moss. Good evening, my friends. We in Utah are delighted indeed to have Senator Hubert Humphrey with us tonight making the last appearance, his last appearance in this campaign.

We are honored in Utah that Senator Humphrey, the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket is here with us in Utah. We were honored to have the President with us last week. And we think that we have indeed been favored to have these two outstanding candidates whom I am confident will be elected overwhelmingly tomorrow when the people go to the polls.

Tonight we just wanted to visit a little with Senator Humphrey. He has made a marvelous speech already on his appearance at the airport. And we wanted to talk with him a few minutes here tonight and get from him some feel for this campaign.

He tells me that he has been in about 44 of the States. His wife, Muriel, who is with him, has been in most of those States, they have traveled together and they have campaigned separately as well.

Senator Humphrey, your great experience, I am sure, would be of interest to our people. We know of your unflagging zeal, your hard work, your great eloquence. But I wonder what your opinion now, at the end of the campaign trail, is as to the real big overriding issue that you found on the minds of our people as you went around this great United States of ours.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Senator Moss, first may I say how happy I am to once again be in the beautiful State of Utah, in this very lovely and singularly, I think, fine city of Salt Lake City.

It is good to be with you and with our friends here—Mr. Bruhn and Dave King and Mr. Rosenblatt.

I have just come away from a day and a half of active campaigning in the Los Angeles-southern California area. In fact, last evening I flew to Tucson, Ariz., where we had a very large, enthusiastic audience. And I have a feeling that Arizona is going to support President Johnson—that is the general feeling of even an old hand at politics like the distinguished senior Senator, Carl Hayden.

Senator Moss. Well, that would be a wonderful thing.

Senator HUMPHREY. I think it will—I truly do.

Mrs. Humphrey and I have traveled throughout America in this campaign—and when you said 44, that includes the States that she has taken and the ones that I did not. She was in Alaska and Hawaii.

We have seen a wonderful America. I wonder sometimes if we people really appreciate what a wonderful country we have.

I could not help but feel that there are two distinct views of America that have been projected in this campaign—one, by President Johnson, of an America that is vital and growing and prosperous and yet fully conscious of its social responsibilities, a country that is united. And America is more united than ever. And a country that feels a sense of mission, too—mission for improvement of our institutions here at home, and also for guarding and safeguarding the peace of the world and helping other people abroad help themselves.

Then there is the other view of an America that has been enunciated by so many voices and by our opposition, of an America that is divided, that is corroded and corrupt and unhappy.

I don't think that is true. I don't think America is that way.

Of course, it needs improvement at all times. But it is basically a good country, and our people are good, too, Ted.

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The central issue in this campaign, in light of our position in the world, because America has been blessed with wealth and power, and we are—we have been a chosen people in a sense, we are blessed with great wealth and great luxury and tremendous production, an unbelievably productive field of our agriculture, and we have this heavy responsibility now for world leadership, to lead the free people in the standards of human dignity and honor and decency.

So the real issue in the campaign is which of these two men—and indeed the platforms that they represent—which of these two men is best equipped by knowledge of government, by personal temperament, by experience and background and knowledge of the world in which we live to best guide America during these perilous days, and to give leadership and direction to the free world in this nuclear age.

It boils down to just that difficult, complex issue.

The President of the United States is not just a leader of America any more. When we elect a President tomorrow, we are not merely selecting a President for the United States. We are selecting a leader for the entire free world.

Therefore, the decision that we make must take into consideration the world in which we live, the problems that beset this world, the challenges and the opportunities that are ahead of us, not only here in America, but throughout the world.

So I think the people are going to have to make that decision—which of these two men do you believe is best able to guide our Nation through these difficult days; to whom do you look for leadership; who do you trust; who do you believe can do the better job. I think that is about the way I look at it.

Senator Moss. That is a wonderful summary. And it does bring focus, I am sure, to what is the basic decision that our American people must make.

I am sure these other gentlemen would like to ask you some questions about the campaign, too.

Mr. ROSENBLATT. Senator Humphrey, the business community is aware and fully recognizes that for the first time in a hundred years we have expansion without inflation, and we are aware that our free enterprise system is more secure today than it has ever been.

Would you comment on the position of President Johnson and yourself in understanding the need of maintaining and stimulating a favorable business climate?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, Mr. Rosenblatt. I believe that there has been a very constructive and wholesome development in the relationship between Government and business. Where at one time there may have been suspicion between the two, there is now trust. Where at one time there may have been a kind of built-in hostility, there is now a sense of partnership.

President Johnson is a man that seeks to build in this country understanding and unity. I have never known anybody that is such a healer in the sense—he seeks to bind up the wounds rather than to open them, he seeks to unite our people rather than to divide them.

I have been at the White House, sir, when he will have in members of organized labor and members of the business and financial community, and he does not put the labor people over in one room and the business people over in another. He brings them together. He says, "Look, we need each other."

The policy of this administration relating to business and enterprise is one of great faith in our free enterprise structure, one of encouragement of management and finance and of industry and commerce. It is one of asking our business community to take on this role of leadership at home and abroad in the matters of commerce and business.

We have acted in the spirit, too, may I say, of cooperation, with the tax cut bill which your Senator Frank Ted Moss took such a lead in, and in terms of the better depreciation schedules, the investment tax credit. We have moved in where there have been problems of distress and economic difficulty with public works and area redevelopment and other means—Small Business Administration activities. We have not tried to take over. I don't think the role of Government is to supplant, or to take over; it is to supplement, it is to encourage. It is to inspire, it is to help.

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And this is not only true, of course, at home. It is true abroad, too, in the Foreign Trade Act. We have tried to do that.

So there is a good, wholesome, healthy relationship today, and we want to keep it that way. And with President Johnson I think we can do it.

Mr. ROSENBLATT. In the local picture, there is one great industry that we have in Utah, probably of more importance to use than any other, because it has local ownership, and that is the sugarbeet industry.

Now, we are aware, the business community here, of your very active work in supporting the sugarbeet quota and in helping us very effectively in that.

What we would like to hear now is will you be able, as Vice President, to continue to support and help us get an increased sugarbeet quota.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, let me tell you that we raise some sugarbeets in Minnesota. And I have never been unmindful of the importance of this domestic sugar industry. In fact, I have worked very, very closely with the representatives of the beet industry, as you know—in fact all the sugar industry here at the domestic level—and worked with your Senator, Senator Moss, in the recent sugar legislation.

I am going to maintain that interest.

And might I add that the President once told me, earlier, right after I had been nominated, that he wanted me to sort of keep a watchful eye on agricultural matters for his administration. Now, I suppose he will spell that out in some more detail. But I am sure of one thing—that with Ted Moss down in Washington, and with Ted's friendship—well, we enjoy a friendship—that he will be knocking on my door in case there is any relaxation on my part. And I might add that Dave King and Bill Bruhn being down there, too—it will sort of seem like there is a general raid upon me if I don't do something.

To be serious about it, we are going to protect the domestic sugar industry. When I say protect it, I mean we are going to give the domestic sugar producer an opportunity to produce and have a good living and a good income, and to work with our—of course, it is all related to the refining of sugar, too. And you can rest assured that we will be on guard for adequate acreage, adequate quotas, so that we will not have to make these cutbacks.

We cannot afford to put America ever again into a position where the world market on sugar can exploit us.

I wonder how many people realize that with Cuba being now hostage, so to speak, to the Soviet Union, that Russia controls over 35 percent of the total sugar production. And that means that she can dominate a market, a world market, unless we take care of our domestic industry. And we are going to take care of it—rest assured of it.

Mr. ROSENBLATT. Good, very good.

Mr. KING. Senator Humphrey, there is one objective on which all Utahans can agree—Democrats, Republicans, independents, everybody, and that is the creation and the stimulation of more industry. The problem is particularly acute in Utah because we do have such a large percentage of our population dependent upon missile industry and on the Federal payroll, surprisingly. And where there is a slight phasing out or diminution of a particular program, it does create a hardship.

So would you discuss for a few moments what the Democratic program can do to help Utah stimulate and expand its local domestic industry.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, David, first of all, as you know, the development of what you might call the basic structure in your economy here is terribly important—roads, highways, airports, rail, so that you have transportation. And when you were in the—let's see—

Mr. KING. The 86th and 87th—

Senator HUMPHREY. The 86th and 87th Congress, you remember we passed the road legislation in the 86th. We extended it again in the 87th. I must emphasize that we that live in the West—and you are of course in the Rocky Mountain area and we are in the Midwest—we have always been more or less the victim of transportation problems.

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Now, we are overcoming that with modern air transportation, we are overcoming it with these big superhighways. And we are able to overcome it, of course, with the improvement in all forms of transportation.

Then there is power, the development of your great water resources. And I want to say that this administration, under President Johnson, who comes from an area that knows what it means to need water—that this administration is going to dedicate its energies and talents to the better development of our water resources.

I always call Ted here "Mr. Water," you know, when I get around him. He is always talking about water when he is down there in Washington. I told him "Come and get some of that out of our Minnesota lakes, we have a lot of water up there."

But water here for this great West is the lifeblood of the development of your commerce; in fact, of the development of the area in any way—in agriculture or industry. We are going to see to it that this development is forwarded and that it is given high priority.

The same thing is true of electrical energy—because electrical power is tremendously important to the development of commerce.

And then, of course, finance and credit. And with our present fiscal policies, with the improvement of the tax structure, encouragement of private enterprise and improvement in terms of research and development in our private enterprise, in the tax structure, I think you are going to have other ways and means of bringing in new industry and new commerce into the area.

We are never going to permit the great Rocky Mountain West, this great area of America, to be a second-class economic area.

This area is the future. This is it. When I am here, and when I travel through this area, I fall in love with it, because it represents the vitality of the Nation, and it is the future.

Now, you mentioned these defense-oriented industries. This is a problem—because there are changes in weapons systems.

Needless to say, our country is going to stay strong. Let's make that crystal clear right now, so that any of these doubts that people may have had because of campaign oratory—this America of yours and of mine is going to stay the strongest Nation on the face of the earth until we are sure that peace is genuine and real.

But we may have changes in our weapons structure. So we have to be able to see to it that the Government policy does not act so abruptly as to dislocate a whole community. And one of the things that we are doing under this Commission on Automation is to study the changes that come from arms reduction, or change in the armament pattern, so that we can move quickly with Government programs that coordinate Government activities with private activities to keep employment high, to promote and encourage investment.

I would like to say that the administration of Johnson and Humphrey, President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, will be an administration that will demonstrate by deeds its respect and love for the West. I think we have a record of that as Senators—when you go back over our record. I will say to my good friend, Senator Moss, that while I live in Minnesota, I have never failed to support a single program in the 16 years that I have served in the U.S. Senate that was of benefit to the economic development of these great Western States.

Senator Moss. I can vouch for that. That is certainly true, Hubert.

Mr. KING. I might add that the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Small Business Administration and others have been very helpful in Utah.

Senator HUMPHREY. I know they have. By the way, one of the gentlemen that came to visit me on this trip—he was out doing some work for the Small Business Administration—is the present Administrator, Gene Foley. He is from my home State, from Wabasha, Minn. We are close, intimate friends. And you know that there is new life that has come into the SBA. It is really moving out now, to help the independent manufacturer and businessman.

And that Area Redevelopment can be very effective, particularly for States like this, and my State.

Senator Moss. We have this great Park City complex up here.

Senator HUMPHREY. You told me about that, of course.

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Senator Moss. It is a marvelous thing. It is just growing and it has revitalized the whole town that was dying.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, one of the programs, Ted, that we have up for the 89th Congress is the renewal and extension of Area Redevelopment. And I can tell you this—if we lose this election, there will be no extension of it. That will be another one that will be vetoed.

If we win this election, and we know we will, and we know you are going to the President will recommend to the Congress the extension of Area Redevelopment, and also the improvement of its activities.

Senator Moss. That is good news for us.

Mr. KING. Senator, your mentioning the importance of water—the Upper Colorado River storage project, and more particularly the central Utah project—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mr. KING. And of course they are keystones in the arch of our progress and prosperity here in Utah. And it goes without saying that the Utah delegation in Congress is going to have to push that mighty hard, and I am sure it will get a lot of encouragement from the Democratic administration.

Senator HUMPHREY. Are you trying to tell me you have not been pushing it? I want to say that man for man, pound for pound, I have never seen people that work harder to get things done for their State than you people do, and you surely are entitled to get every consideration. And, David, I really look forward to your return to the Congress. I wonder if the people here realize how much you did for this State and your constituents.

Mr. KING. I appreciate that.

Mr. BRUHN. Senator, just to turn the conversation a little, in my travels throughout the First Congressional District I find that many people have been extremely concerned about the conduct of the campaign. They have characterized it as the most bitter in the 20th century. And I wonder just how you would characterize the moral tone of the campaign as conducted, sir.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, this has caused me more heartache and concern than almost anything.

I have been in politics a long time, Mr. Bruhn. But I don't think I have ever gone through anything like this. I said this to you privately earlier this evening. Sometimes it makes you almost wonder if it is all worth it. And it doesn't need to be this way, because there are issues to discuss, very important issues to discuss.

But one of the real tragedies of American politics this year was that groups and individuals that really are out of the mainstream of American life, who truly do not sense the heritage of this Nation, have become active participants. The Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen, Gerald L. K. Smith, the John Birch Society.

Now, let's just think of what these people mean.

Richard Nixon in 1960, to his everlasting credit, repudiated the support of every one of those, openly repudiated them—Ku Klux, the Gerald L. K. Smithers and all of them; said he would not have anything to do with them.

Wendell Willkie, Republican—I am talking now about Republicans—every responsible Republican that I have ever known that ran for high public office has repudiated this support, as have Democrats. We ought to repudiate the Communists—they have no place in American public life. They are filled up with doctrinaire ideology, bitterness, hate, class consciousness, class conflict, no respect for human dignity.

Then on the extreme right are the others.

And these extreme leftists and these extreme rightists are all alike. They just wear different colored armbands. One has a red one with the hammer and sickle and the other has a black one, with whatever insignia he puts on it. They are the same breed. They are just fighting over who is going to dominate.

But when you have a John Birch Society that will call President Eisenhower the conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy, and make remarks about leading Americans, like the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, comments that are derogatory, that are really character assassination, and these people get on the front porch of American politics—that is when you get what we have had here—violence and bitterness and hatred.

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And I must say that the one thing that disturbed me about Mr. Goldwater's campaign—and I know the Senator—I am not saying that he is one of those that indulges in hate and all of that, because I know him as a loyal, patriotic man. I surely want to make no personal reference to him. But he has permitted these forces to gain frontline attention.

When the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan can sit on the platform with the nominee of a major political party in a campaign, there is something wrong. When Mr. DePugh of the Minutemen, one of the really fascistic-type organizations in America, can say—and they train their people for open guerrilla warfare, arm them—when he can say he is 100 percent for the candidacy of Mr. Goldwater, I say something is wrong.

There is this racial bitterness, this bigotry, this intolerance, this sense of hate and the poison that is poured into the American political bloodstream that is tragic. And we have got to stop it. We simply cannot indulge in this. And I say to you that people that really have a sense of morality and spirituality should not have any part of this.

You cannot be a hater, you cannot hate your brother and really believe in the things that we have been taught in our respective religions. There is no room for hate, it seems to me, in a democracy. There cannot be room for hate in the Judaic-Christian principles.

You just have to reject these people and you have to reject this doctrine. And I sensed it in this campaign to a point where it has been one of the most distracting and disturbing features of the whole thing.

So I hope that this election will do something to put it aside.

Senator Moss. Well, I would hope so, too, Senator Humphrey. It has not only been this on the national level, on the national campaign, but it has broken out into the States. And we hear from our neighbors around, as well as a great deal of it here, that the campaign has been pitched on a personal and derogatory basis rather than discussing the great issues.

Now, you here tonight very briefly have summed up with some eloquence some of the great issues of the campaign that we ought to talk about. And we here in Utah feel very distressed and disturbed that the campaign has descended to the level that you have described on a national level.

Well, let me say again that we are just honored and pleased that you are here.

We would like to have you, if you would, just sum up for us a little bit, Senator Humphrey, on the remainder of the time—my dear friend from my years in the Senate, I admire you so, and you have done such a tremendous job as our nominee for the Vice President, the campaign that you have carried, that our pride knows no bounds.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I am happy to be able to make my summary statement in Salt Lake City, because this is a city of high quality, in a state of high standards, moral standards, political standards.

I will complete my campaign here. This will be the final words of my—of our campaign, as far as I am concerned.

One thing I constantly keep in mind is what Lincoln said about our country. He said that our Government was a government of the people and by the people and for the people. And I think what he was really saying is that our Government should exemplify some of the virtues of the people, because it is representative of the people. And I have always felt that if it was right and moral and proper for an individual to be concerned about his neighbor, when his neighbor is in trouble, to extend a helping hand when someone needs help, to be concerned about the sick and the hungry and the poorly clad, if it is proper for individuals to feel that way, then it is proper for government, because a government must exemplify justice. It must not only be efficient. It must not only be against some things. It must be for things.

Freedom must be positive. Government should open up as best it can opportunities, so that individuals then can make something out of their lives.

I don't expect government to take care of us, I expect government to help us to take care of ourselves.

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Now, the real test of statesmanship, gentlemen, in the days ahead, is whether or not we can pursue the path of peace. John Kennedy said that peace is a process, and he told us that it required great sacrifice and courage, selflessness.

I think the building of peace is almost like building of the great temple here. It took you many years to build the temple. I believe someone said about 40 years. And you had to build it block by block, stone by stone. It had to be put together with skill and craftsmanship and love and care.

Well, this is the way you build peace. You don't get peace by wishing for it. You didn't get the temple overnight. You don't get it because somebody says that there is evil—there are evil forces at work, therefore we must have peace. You have to combat evil, you have to work for peace. And we have been doing that. We have been building for peace through our strength, our military strength, our economic strength, but through the Peace Corps, our young people, through bridges, cultural bridges of the many areas of the food, through food for peace, using food to feed the hungry and clothe the naked and help build economies, through the Alliance for Progress, through the nuclear test ban treaty, we have been building for peace. We have been trying to get to know this world a little more and do a better job of leading the world to the paths of peace. And that is what this election should tell us.

Now, finally, may I just say that the American people have not only the privilege of voting; we have the duty of citizenship. And I ask the American people to join in this great expression of freedom called the vote, to write our own page in history, as I have said, and to help make the decision of electing a President that will be a decision that will affect your lives and your fortunes and your future. No greater privilege does a people have, and no greater responsibility than to be an American and to take on the responsibilities of American citizenship.

I want to thank you. I hope that you people here in Utah will pour out in huge numbers and cast the vote, and whatever the outcome, we shall be satisfied.

Goodnight.



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