

301 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

No other vice presidential candidate can make that claim for his State. [Applause.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And it is performance that separates the great leaders from the second-raters. And performance is the one basis on which Americans in this election can make the correct choice. And make no mistake about it. There is no room for error, no room for mistake in electing the President of the United States because there is no second choice, and there is no opportunity to repair the damage for at least 4 more years and in today's world the next 4 years may determine the course of civilization for a century to come.

That is the seriousness of this election, my fellow Americans. [Applause.]

And I am proud to stand on this platform, to speak for the man that is now our President, a man that has been praised before this election by Republicans and Democrats alike, a man that was praised by one even who left the Democratic Party. I don't think he ever left it. I doubt that he was in it. [Laughter.] But the Senator from South

Carolina, Mr. Thurmond, who called President Johnson the most able and gifted man in the history of our country, and now he says he ought not to be President, who has been praised by the Republicans and the Democrats alike, this man who now is villified and attacked day in and day out by irresponsible radicals, irresponsible radicals in American life. [Applause.]

On the basis of performance, I say, my friends, President Lyndon Johnson is richly and fully qualified to assume the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next 4 years and to insure the national security of the United States and to preserve the peace of the world. That is the President that we need. [Applause.]

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

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

But then we understood the wisdom of John Kennedy's decision on Vice President. He had in Los Angeles selected a man that he believed was capable of assuming the burdens of that Office if some stroke of fate should take the President from us. And there was Lyndon Johnson on the date of November 22, 1963, and he stepped forward, he grieved with us and he wept with us, but he calmed us and he guided us and he strengthened us, and very frankly, friends, he saved us at that moment of crisis in our life. [Applause.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

303 WBZ—LINO

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

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

We want none of it. [Applause.]

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

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

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

I ask my fellow Americans, regardless of their political persuasion, What do you think of a leader and of a faction of a political party that refused to repudiate a society, the John Birch Society, that called President Eisenhower in these words—they called President Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscientious agent of the Communist conspiracy"?

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

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

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

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

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

He went on to say again in the Milwaukee Journal:

These John Birch Society members are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of communism.

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

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

I would think that if I were carrying a Goldwater sign and said I was a Republican, I would hang my head in shame. [Applause.] And before this election is through, that is what they will be doing. [Applause.]

304 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

305 WBZ—LINO

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

And just between us, so am I. [Laughter.]

What we need is to have leadership with qualities to create unity from diversity, consensus from conflict, and a man and a President who pursues his duty as Commander in Chief with responsibility and with restraint, someone that doesn't go around waving nuclear bombs as an answer to world problems. [Applause.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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October 20, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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

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

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, Mike.

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

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

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

Mr. HARRIS. Thank you, Mike.

Senator MONRONEY. As we start this program, I know you are saddened as we are by the loss of a truly great American, a man who devoted his life to public service, a man who cooperated not only with the Democratic Party under the great Woodrow Wilson to help relieve the suffering after World War I, the man who served a very difficult period in our Nation's history, and came back to help us greatly under the Truman administration to reorganize the executive branch of Government. I want Hubert Humphrey to say what is in his heart.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SENATOR MONRONEY. He certainly did, and the world should be tremendously grateful for the survival of millions because of that.

You two, Carl Albert, majority leader, and Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic whip, were in conference only yesterday with the President at the White House. It was a bipartisan conference I know with Minority Leader Dirksen and the policy chairman, Senator Saltonstall, both great Republicans, and with our Democratic leaders.

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

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

I think this was the longest bipartisan meeting on foreign policy that I ever attended, and I have attended every one going back to the Lebanese landing when President Eisenhower was President and called us all in from the Democratic convention. We were there a little over two and a half hours, and then the President asked Senator Humphrey to stay on and to discuss these matters further with him. So Senator Humphrey was at the White House for at least four and a half or probably 5 hours.

307 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

Hubert, what was your reaction after sitting there listening to the President and his top advisers for 4 or 5 hours yesterday?

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

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

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

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

We all like to talk about all these other matters, and they are all important, where we stand on this bill or where we stand on that bill, but the real concern of the American people is can we prevent a nuclear war? How will we manage this fabulous, unbelievable power that is in the world today and of which we have the major portion?

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

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

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

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

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

308 WBZ—LINO

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

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

Now, we know that the Chinese atomic device poses some serious problems. Will we be able to bring China under the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty? And instead of just pretending that the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ought to be scrapped, what we ought to be thinking about is how can we broaden its inclusion to bring in France, to bring in China, because it is very probable, gentlemen, that within the next 5 to 6 years, 10 or 12 more countries could become nuclear powers, and unless we are able to slow down this nuclear arms race, then I think we will have to say to every mother and father that we are living on borrowed time for our children, and it is a terrible thing to contemplate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senator MONROE. You are the author of that bill, incidentally and you have been a proponent of it ever since the program started.

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

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

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

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

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

309 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

I wonder if you could comment on that?

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

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

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

Now, the Alliance for Progress, Mr. Harris, is possibly one of the most, well, one of the most successful programs that we have today. The last report I saw shows that 10 nations in Latin America have already exceeded, have already gone beyond what was the projected gains that they were supposed to make in the first 3 years of the Alliance for Progress.

Remember, we have only been at it 3 years. We have made tremendous progress in housing, in roads, in ports, in schools. We have built more classrooms, we and the Latin Americans, I want to say. We only put in 10 cents out of every dollar. The other 90 cents comes from Latin America. The 10 cents that we put in is public and private capital from the United States. There have been more classrooms built in Latin America in the last 3 years than in the preceding 100. There have been more textbooks printed in Latin America, textbooks that are decent and clean and wholesome, not any Communist indoctrinated type of thing, but good, solid textbooks printed where we and our teachers have had something to do with it; more printed in the last 3 years than the preceding 200.

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

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

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

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

Senator HUMPHREY. Oh, yes, indeed.

310 WBZ—LINO

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

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

Mr. EDMONDSON. I know that you have.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I met with the cattle representatives day after day and time after time, and may I say that we followed their advice and their counsel, and we acted prudently. We acted wisely.

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

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

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

311 WBZ—LINO

Mr. EDMONDSON. Eight times in 5 years.

Senator HUMPHREY. Eight times in 5 years to either weaken it or kill it.

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

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

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

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

Now he says he doesn't really mean that.

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

Mr. ALBERT. I would like to—

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

I wonder if you might comment on that.

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

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

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

One other thing that I noticed here. He voted against a bill introduced here by Senator Monroney that would have permitted old-age-assistance recipients to earn \$50 per month without deductions from monthly benefits. In other words, to give the old-age recipients just a little better break.

Now, that bill was introduced by Senator Monroney and Senator—
Senator MONRONEY. Douglas.

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

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

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

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

312 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

Mr. HARRIS. Right.

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much for listening.

Peoria, Ill.

October 20, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. I surely want to thank my good friend and longtime friend, your Lieutenant Governor, Sam Shapiro, for this wonderful introduction, his generous and warm reception, and I am so pleased to see Mr. Shapiro here, members of the State committee, my old friends, Jim Ronan, and your National Committeewoman, and a dear friend of mine, Dorothy O'Brien, and of course your county committee and these fine representatives of labor, of agriculture, and of business and my student friends. [Applause.] I think the nicest thing, Sam, that happens to me in this campaign is the fact that wherever we go we have these fine, intelligent, active, enthusiastic young people out there. [Applause.]

And I know, Governor Shapiro, that we will get the help of the whole Democratic ticket here in Illinois. I want you to be up in your efforts for our Democratic candidate for Governor, Otto Kerner of this State, and you have got a chance at long last to elect a Democrat in this district with this great overwhelming support from President Johnson, and Edward Holbacher is the man you ought to be backing. [Applause.]

Well, I wish that my old good friend of the Senate, Paul Douglas, could be here. [Applause.]

I was in Congress with Paul Douglas, and when they want finer people, whenever they find one that is more honest, more dedicated to the public interest, more for the people, more for the security of this country, and for the freedom of our people, than Paul Douglas, they will have to go to another world to find him because there is nobody here like that. [Applause.]

Well, you waited patiently. We had a great meeting in Tulsa. Somebody told me that Tulsa might be Republican, but if it is, we changed it today. [Applause.]

The trouble is the Republican Party doesn't have a presidential candidate. [Applause.]

And I say that here, in the heart of Republican territory, for the simple reason that most of the Republicans who are authentic Republicans, and who are truly conservative Republicans, lost their Party out in San Francisco. They truly did.

A group of people that are far out of step with the realities of our world, a handful of people that were militant, that were highly organized, that were dedicated, that were fanatical, moved in and literally like pirates boarded the ship, put the crew in chains, took over the ship and claimed it as their own.

313 WBZ—LINO

But I have news for you. The good substantial solid Republicans that are worthy of respect, they are going to, after this election, after Mr. Goldwater's debacle, after his defeat, they will come back to reclaim their party. In the meantime they are going to help elect Lyndon Johnson as President. [Applause.]

I come to this State of Illinois to ask the people of this State, the State of Abraham Lincoln, I come here to ask the people who believe in the Great Emancipator, who believe in the party of Lincoln, who believe that Abraham Lincoln was right when he said the duty of government was to serve the people, when he said this was a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, I come to Illinois to ask the Republicans, yes, I repeat, Governor Shapiro, I ask the Republicans to redeem their party and to redeem their country by defeating the people who captured the Republican leadership. Throw them out. Defeat them. [Applause.]

And I think they will.

What do you think Mr. Nixon is running around the country for? To elect Goldwater? [Cries of "No."] Oh, no. He is not that generous. He is around like one of these Federal Aviation experts after a crash. [Applause.] He is around examining the pieces. [Laughter.] He wants to put it back together.

What do you think Mr. Scranton, the Governor of Pennsylvania, is running around the country for? To elect Mr. Goldwater? Why, he said more nasty things about Mr. Goldwater than I would ever say from a public platform. [Applause.]

What's more, I have never written Mr. Goldwater a letter like Scranton did. [Applause.]

Why do you think they are doing this? Why do you think Mr. Romney up in Michigan, Mr. Romney who says I am willing to introduce him but not endorse him, why do you think that he is speaking? Because they all know, and I must say that they are right, they all know that the present temporary spokesman of a fraction of a fraction of reaction—and that is what he is—that this temporary spokesman is not a Republican. He is sure not a Democrat. [Laughter.] He is really not an independent.

I will tell you what he is. He is America's No. 1 radical. [Applause.]

He is the darling of the John Birch Society, and he is [applause]—he is the candidate of the Minutemen, and there he is. He has the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and the Ku Klux Klan, and he ought to be ashamed of himself for running around with such people. [Applause.]

Well, let me make it clear. President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey don't want any of them, we don't want any of the Commies, we don't want any of the radical rightwingers. All we want is some people, the good old decent American people. [Applause.]

So I come here to the Midwest to say that a candidate on the Republican ticket that can vote against a civil rights bill that is the fulfillment of the promise of Abraham Lincoln, is unworthy of the support of a decent Republican and a good Democrat. [Applause.]

I come here to the Midwest to say that a candidate that represents himself as a friend of free enterprise and would vote against a tax cut to help business and to help America and to help the consumers is unworthy of the support of any businessman in America. [Applause.]

And I come here to the Midwest to say that a man that can vote against minimum wages, a man who is the declared enemy of the union movement, is unworthy of the support of a single worker, organized labor. [Applause.]

I come here in the center of an agricultural area to say that a man that has no more respect for farming than to vote against every farm measure that has ever been before Congress is unworthy of the farmer's vote.

I want to say something about my friends out here, my young friends. [Applause.] Every one of you is deeply interested in the education, your education and the education of others, and every schoolteacher, every president of a college, whether it is Illinois or Minnesota, whether it is Bradley University or any other [applause]—or whether it may be, any college president, any college

314 WBZ—LINO

student knows and any legislator, Governor Shapiro knows that in the next 30 to 40 years we are going to have to double our classroom space. We are going to have to double the college facilities of America. And we passed a law, not unusual, we passed a law for higher education assistance.

This isn't out of the tradition of America. As a matter of fact, your own great university is a land-grant college, and it was established under the Morrill Act of 1862. That ought to be up to date enough for Goldwater. [Applause and laughter.]

I guess it was a little too far advanced. 1862. The Land Grant College Act that established 68 land-grant colleges in America. In 1963 and 1964 we passed aid to higher education, aid to medical education, and who voted against it? Well, every Republican with few exceptions and every Democrat with few exceptions voted for it, but not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

This is the man that lectures you on school dropouts. Here is a man that says that our youth has gone astray.

Oh, my, what a moral prophet he is! And yet here is a man that has never voted for a program for young Americans.

He voted against the National Defense Education Act. He voted against vocational training for our young people. He voted against manpower retraining for our workers that are victims of automation. He voted against medical education for our doctors. He voted against nurses' training for our girls. He voted against higher education for our college students. He has voted against today. He has voted against the future, and he doesn't even recall the past. [Applause.]

So I say the time is at hand to tell the truth on this candidate. This candidate is a radical that votes against the future of America, that distorts the past and doesn't understand the present. And I think we ought to be rid of him.

As they used to say up in Iowa, "get shed of him." He is unworthy of your vote and of your confidence. [Applause.]

Now, friends, since you can't have him, who should you have? [Laughter.] Because we need a President. I must say that even if I couldn't give a good testimonial for a President, I could ask you to vote for President Johnson simply because of his opposition. But I can ask you to vote for President Johnson because of what he is, not because of what his opponent is not. [Applause.]

President Johnson has had 30 years of public service, 12 years in the House of Representatives, 12 years in the U.S. Senate, 4 years as Vice President and President, and 2 years as a national youth administrator, a teacher.

A teacher, an administrator, a majority leader, a man that has earned the respect and the confidence of Republicans and Democrats alike. I say to any editor, to any publisher, to any student of government, you go and examine the Congressional Record. You see what the Republicans said about Lyndon Johnson before this campaign started. They said he was great. They said he would unite America. They said he was the greatest majority leader that Congress had ever had. They complimented him. Friend and foe alike. They reached out and said, "Mr. President, you are doing marvelously."

This man who, serving as the leader of our country, taking up after that awful day in November in Dallas under the most unbelievable of circumstances, standing tall and strong, this man put through the Congress with his leadership, and I helped him as the majority whip in the U.S. Senate, we put through the Congress the greatest program of legislation that America has known since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. [Applause.]

And all at once he becomes a bad man. All at once the opposition shouts—oh, they have got all kinds of cute little nasty slogans.

They have no program. Their candidate never voted yes for anything. He wouldn't vote yes for Mother's Day. [Applause.]

He has voted no, no, no, no, no. He voted against medical aid for the elderly. He voted against old-age assistance for the elderly. He voted against education. He voted against health programs. He has voted against the farmer. He has voted against the worker. He has voted against business. The only one he has ever voted for was two little projects out in Arizona. [Laughter.]

315 WBZ—LINO

I know he loves Arizona. And I think he ought to have a chance to go home. [Applause and laughter.]

So, my suggestion to you is be kind to him. Back to the store in 1964, Barry. [Applause and laughter.]

What you need is a President that knows about this Government, that is in a sense a professional in the arts and sciences of government. We don't need any amateurs. Ham operators or not. [Applause and laughter.]

We need somebody that knows what is going on, and we need somebody that understands the world in which we are living. We need somebody that understands that you don't settle problems by dropping bombs. You dissolve humanity that way. [Applause.]

We need somebody that understands that diplomacy requires intelligence, not ultimatums. We need somebody that understands that the processes of peace are long and enduring and require courage and require steadfastness and require patience and wisdom.

Any fool can get this country into a war. But it takes a wise and a good man to sustain the peace. [Applause.] And you have got one. [Applause.]

Believe me, with what has happened in Russia, what just happened in China, and with the change of government in Great Britain, I suggest that you not turn this Government over to some amateur, somebody that has gadgets and gimmicks and slogans. I suggest that you maintain the control of this Government in the hands of a man that has had years of public service, served under four Presidents, commanded the respect of even one who departed today, the late President Hoover, commanded the respect of Harry Truman, commanded the respect of Franklin Roosevelt, commanded the respect of Dwight Eisenhower, had the affection and the trust of John Kennedy. I say to you that kind of a man is a good man, and he is our President. [Applause.]

Go out now and go to work. We have got enough people right here to carry southern Illinois if you will just go to work. If you will just buckle down to the job. Let me tell you, my dear mothers and fathers, you had better buckle down. I can't imagine what would happen to this country if it should fall into the hands of an impetuous, irresponsible, erratic, rash administration. We don't need that to happen. We have got enough trouble without buying it, looking for it. [Applause.]

So on behalf of my young friends and those who are yet younger than these college students, I ask every person here that is a mother and a father, I ask every person here that is of voting age, to make up your mind now that this election is different than any other, and indeed it is.

When some of the great newspapers of America that have been traditionally Republican can leave the Republican candidate because he is not a Republican, and help us in this election and elect Lyndon Johnson, you ought to pause and think.

I have never been engaged in a campaign in which there were meaner words said, in which there has been more reaching down into the barrel of dead fish, than this one. But let me serve notice on the opposition right now. You are not going to intimidate the American people. You are not going to peddle your fear and your confusion and your doubt and your distrust. You are not going to divide us. We are going to stand together, Republicans and Democrats alike, and we are going to administer these spokesmen of fear and bitterness and hate and doubt and distrust, we are going to administer them the licking of their life, and we are going to do it on November 3d.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

We have to run along. The next stop is at Decatur. We are going up there and tell them the truth, too.

Decatur, Ill.
Central Park Rally
October 20, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Kerner—Governor Shapiro for Governor Kerner,

316 WBZ—LINO

I should say. My good friend, Sam Shapiro, introduced me so rapidly that I felt like I was being launched and put in orbit. [Laughter.] But I want you to know, Sam, that your introductions are just as efficient and just as precise and just as interesting as your wonderful public service, and I know the people of Illinois appreciate your good work as Lieutenant Governor of this State. [Applause.]

Well, this is good football weather. I believe if I am correct that this was the original home of the Chicago Bears. [Laughter.] And the Democrats are pretty much like the Chicago Bears. There are times that people wonder if we are going to win, but when the chips are down, we are national champions, you know? [Applause.]

I simply had a wonderful experience coming into your community of Decatur, Ill. I was met at the airport by a large group of your fellow citizens, and as we came out of the airport, there were a number of people there with their farm equipment, their tractors, their combines. There were those good hands of the farmers of Illinois, and they extended that hand of friendship and of cooperation to a Democratic candidate for Vice President and they asked me to remember to bring the greetings of the farmers of Illinois to the farmer from Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson. [Applause.]

And I want you to know that I shall do just that.

I also was privileged at the airport to see a big sign that told me that the people who were working in these great industrial plants of Decatur, this fine industrialized growing urban center, that the workers in those plants were out there to greet the Democratic candidate, and why? Because the Democratic Party is a friend of the worker and of the farmer, and they know it. [Applause.]

And then a fine man who was one of your businessmen was there to greet me, and he extended his hand, and he said, "Senator, I used to be a Republican, but I am voting in this election for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic ticket." [Applause.]

And why? Well, the answer, my friends, is quite obvious. The reason is because the Democratic Party and the Kennedy-Johnson administration has done more for American free enterprise, for American business in 4 years than the Republicans have done throughout all of their long tradition. So that the businessmen of America—[Applause]—so that the businessmen of America are supporting today the Democratic Party. [Applause.]

Now, let me take just a moment—by the way, you notice that this stand is a little wobbly. This is the first time I have stood on a Republican platform in this campaign. [Laughter—Applause.]

But I think we ought to make this thing bipartisan. You have a sturdy speaker and a weak Republican platform. [Applause—Laughter.]

Let me just pay my respects to the Governor of this State who cannot be with us today. I know him as a personal friend, and I know him as a gifted and hard working public official. And I do hope that the people of Illinois who are going to elect by their electoral votes President Johnson for 4 years in the White House will also give him a partner in the State House of Illinois, Otto Kerner for Governor. [Applause.]

And that goes for the whole Democratic ticket. You have got a very popular candidate for Secretary of State who is respected and loved throughout this State, Paul Powell, and you have got my good friend, that one and only Mike Howlett as your State auditor, and you have got Bill Clark as your attorney general, and you have got Bob McCarthy back here as your State senator. [Applause.]

Mr. McCARTHY. Thank you, Senator. I just want to say hello to you.

Senator HUMPHREY. You know, you have got Bob McCarthy and we have got Gene McCarthy. Those McCarthy boys are going places, I will tell you. [Applause.]

And today we are very sorry that Jack Desmond can't be with us. Jack's mother, I understand, has passed away. But he is our candidate here, your candidate, for Congress, and the President of the

317 WBZ—LINO

United States, no matter how good he is, no matter how able, cannot provide the programs and the policies that are needed for an America that wants to move ahead, for an America to be strong, unless we have in the Congress of the United States, Representatives that will work with that President, that will help that President, and that will vote for the programs and the policies that strengthen America and enrich the life of our Nation. And I know that in Mr. Desmond, Jack Desmond, you have that kind of a man. [Applause]. Your State chairman, Jim Ronan, and your national committeewoman, Dorothy O'Brien, have traveled with us these last few miles.

I like to come to Illinois. I like to come to this land of Lincoln, this land of democracy, this land of progress, of industry, and agriculture, and I want to talk to you today about our country and about the importance of this election.

Every once in awhile when I come to a meeting like this, I find a few souls that have come here with their badges of political mischief and political misguidance. [Laughter.] There they come. They are ready to repent right now. [Applause—laughter.]

And then, you know, when I look out over the audience I see so many happy faces, so many happy faces. [Laughter.] And I know then there is a majority, an overwhelming majority of Democrats and of Republicans that are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson for President. [Applause.]

And every once in awhile when I see somebody hold one of those Goldwater banners and I see a smile on their face—this one is a little young down here, she is about nine—deary, I hope your are getting a dollar and a quarter an hour because most of them don't. [Laughter—Applause.]

These are nice young people, but I don't like these Goldwater representatives exploiting child labor. They are entitled—[applause—laughter]—may I say that whenever you see on that is 21 years of age or older with one of those signs and there is a smile on their face, you know that deep down in their heart they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause—laughter.]

So, my friends, let's gather around and do a little talking now about the election that is before us. This community represents the kind of an America that stands for strength and for progress and justice. Decatur, Ill., Decatur, Ill., is as much American as they say apple pie or the Statue of Liberty. Here are the mixtures of the races and of the peoples and of the religions. Here are people from every walk of life, every ethnic group, and here are people that understand that America has always been the land of hope and of promise, not the land of despair and of backwardness.

And people such as I see before me believe that a government that is worthy of the respect of the American people should be a government that serves the people, acts as a partner with the people, a government that is a partner with the people.

This was the message of Abraham Lincoln. This is the message of Thomas Jefferson. This is the promise of the Constitution. "We the people of these United States do ordain and establish," says that Constitution, establish this great Republic, and for what purpose? To provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

This great Constitution of ours lays down the proposition that a government worthy of the respect of the governed is one that will constantly be on guard for the interest of the people.

Lincoln called it a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And he even went further. He said that a government should do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or what they cannot do so well for themselves.

I imagine that Abraham Lincoln would be called a Socialist by the present pretender to the Presidency on the Republican ticket. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, one of the real tragedies of this campaign is the fact that the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction in the Republican Party [laughter] that temporary spokesman has failed to learn the lessons of American Government. He has failed to learn of the responsibility of the Presidency and the tremendous responsibility that is vested in that office for leadership.

318 WBZ—LINO

He has failed to understand the necessity for coordination between Federal, State, and local government. He would have us believe that there are—there is a natural animosity between the people and their Government. He is the man that says that Washington, D.C., your Government in Washington, is a greater enemy than the government in Moscow. And anybody that says that has disqualified himself for the high office of the Presidency. [Applause.]

He preaches to the American people disrespect for the orders of the court. He preaches to the American people disunity between the Federal and State and local governments. And he preaches to the American people sectionalism. He preaches to the American people that a great act of Congress that was designed to heal the wounds, that was designed to promote justice, that was designed to unite our country, an act that was designed to carry out Lincoln's promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, he tells us that act breeds violence and hatred and bitterness.

I say to you that a man that seeks to be President of the United States should seek to lead us, not to drive us backward. He should seek to unite us, not to divide us. He should seek to inspire us, not to discourage us. And above all, he should seek to make America the land of the beautiful, American the beautiful, not merely in its scenery, but beautiful in its spirit, beautiful in its citizenship, and beautiful in its respect for the rights of individuals and for the rights of human dignity regardless of race or color or creed or national origin. [Applause.]

I come here to Decatur to recite to you the record of accomplishment of the 87th and the 88th Congresses, the Kennedy-Johnson administration. I come here as a Democrat with no apologies for this administration.

The late and beloved President John Kennedy standing on the steps of the Capitol on January 20, 1961, said to the American people, "Let us begin." It was a call to action. He said, "I accept responsibility." He reminded us that those of this generation who were living in America have a privilege and have a challenge such as no other peoples. And he said for us not to ask what our country could do for us but rather what we could do for our country.

He preached the doctrine of service. He preached the doctrine of patriotism. He asked that this country individually and by government extend the warm hand of fellowship and friendship to the world. He asked that we in government and in private life be of good spirit, be charitable, be compassionate, and be just.

For 1,000 days this noble, courageous young leader gave this Nation the most dramatic leadership that it has ever experienced, and then he was struck down. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, I think every American now realizes that those 1,000 days were days of inspiration, that they were days of hope and days of fulfillment, and then the assassin's bullet, and the whole world wondered what next.

Then we realized as never before how much we all depended upon the President, how much the whole world depended upon America.

Then we realized, my friends, that we have penetrated behind the Iron Curtain because behind the Iron Curtain people wept for our President just as they wept in Decatur or as they wept in Washington.

We proved to ourselves through tragedy that America was the hope of the world. And yet America stood stunned, and all at once we realized that the decision that John Kennedy had made in Los Angeles in 1960, a decision, if you please, to have the man from Texas as his Vice President, that that decision was the greatest decision of his life because—[applause]—a tall, strong, gifted, able man rose to the occasion. He took the oath of office, and the American constitutional system once again proved its strength and America moved forward.

But I remind this audience that this happened under the most unbelievable of circumstances, and it took a big man, it took a great man, and it took a competent man, and it took an experienced man, and it took a man of faith to fulfill that role of leadership in an hour of grief, in a moment of tragedy.

And I recall when the President, Lyndon Johnson, spoke to us in Congress assembled, and I remember when he said to us, "Let us continue, let there be no hesitation, there are unfinished tasks to be completed, there is work to be done. Let us march forward and complete the job that we have outlined to accomplish."

319 WBZ—LINO

And, ladies and gentlemen, I stand before any audience in America to say to this audience as I have to others that there have never been two Congresses that have produced greater results for the public good than the 87th and the 88th Congresses under the leadership of President John Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

I remind this audience that in these Congresses the test votes were made. The Senator from Arizona says, "Judge us by our votes, not by our words." Yes, Senator, that we shall do. And how a workingman could ever be for the Senator from Arizona if he wants to be judged by his votes is beyond me.

VOICE. Amen.

Senator HUMPHREY. He voted against—I like that Methodist spirit. [Laughter.]

Let me just say right now that a man that can vote against a dollar and a quarter an hour minimum wage, a man that could deny a worker that kind of protection and coverage, is one that is no friend of any worker, organized or unorganized. [Applause.]

One who could vote against manpower training for workers that were displaced by automation so that they could be retrained for new jobs, one that could vote against that is surely no friend of a working man.

And may I add that anyone in business that can look at the record of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party and find comfort is one indeed that is too partisan for reason.

And why do I say it? Because this man who today says he is the friend of business has proven to be not the friend but has proven to be the adversary.

Why? American business said give us a chance. Give us the opportunity to invest. Permit us to use the dynamism of American free enterprise to provide jobs. President Kennedy and President Johnson and Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey and a few others said "Yes." And we passed the largest tax cut in the Nation's history. We gave to a corporate business two tax bills, investment tax credit and the major tax revision bill of \$11.5 billion in tax reduction, over \$2 billion to corporations, \$9 billion to individuals.

To do what? To provide free capital for consumption, for the purchaser, for the investor, for the industrialist, for the manager, to give American free enterprise the chance to go to work. Most Republicans and most Democrats voted for that measure, but not Senator Goldwater! [Applause.]

No, no. Here is a man that says that he is interested in the moral fiber of America, and yet, my dear friends, he would permit our elderly to live in the attics just as once we permitted those that were mentally retarded to be shunted aside. When there was a program for housing for the elderly, he voted no. When there was old-age assistance for the elderly, he voted no. When there was the Kerr-Mills bill that would provide a little medical care for the elderly, he voted no. When there was social security, medicare, he voted no.

No, no, no. That is his answer to everything. [Applause.]

And for our young people. Every person in America knows that opportunity in the future is based on education. Education is the new wealth of the Nation. Education is the best investment that we can make. And everybody knows, the dean of every school, the president of every university, the board of trustees or regents of every college, knows that in the next 35 to 40 years we must double the university space of America. We know we can't do that by just local revenues. We know we are going to need help from our Federal Government which is our Government.

We know, my friends, that America is as rich and as strong as its brainpower, as the enlightenment of its people.

And may I say that when the test vote came in Congress for the beginning of an aid to education program, and by the way, the first Federal aid to education program for higher education was passed in Lincoln's administration, 1862, the Land Grant College Act—in 1964 or 1963 we passed another aid to higher education, and may I say that the Senator from Arizona saw fit to vote no, no, no, no.

No for higher education, no for national defense education, no for vocational education.

320 WBZ—LINO

He is the man that said that it would be better if some children didn't have any education. That kind of a man should not be President of the United States. [Applause.]

And ladies and gentlemen, I stand now in the center of one of the great agricultural producing areas of the world. This is the soybean capital of the world. This is indeed one of the richest agricultural areas of the world, and the Senator from Arizona who sees fit to vote for a billion dollars for Arizona for the Colorado River development, the Arizona project, doesn't see fit to vote one nickel for Illinois or Oklahoma or Texas or Minnesota.

He has voted against every agricultural act that has ever been brought into Congress. He has voted against even, mind you, REA. Apparently they have got some kerosene lamps left to sell in Goldwater's department store. [Applause and laughter.]

Well, let me just pause for a moment to tell you that the story of the soybean, the soybean which is the miracle product and crop of our time, represents a partnership story between Government and people, between the Government and the farmer. The soybean is providing one of the greatest markets in the world. It has become one of the leading cash crops, and in 10 years it will be the leading cash crop in America.

The soybean provides meal, it provides edible oils and fats, it is indeed the crop of the future, and in many ways it has been the farmer's salvation in the present.

Through food research aided by Government and through marketing aided by Government, we have developed a tremendous soybean crop in agriculture.

I noticed the other day that this past year under the food-for-peace program which is our program to help feed the hungry abroad, which is the program that is endorsed by every religious faith, which is the program endorsed by most farm organizations, which is a program that you could literally say was taken from the Scriptures—"Feed ye the hungry, heal ye the sick, and lead ye the blind"—food for peace, a divine providence that has blessed America with unlimited food production, at a time when God's children are hungry.

Your Government—and I am happy to stand on this platform and say that it was my privilege to be one of the sponsors of the food-for-peace program, and I want to say that this is not just a Democratic program. It was started under a Republican President. It was expanded under a Democratic President. It is endorsed by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. It is carried out throughout the world by the great voluntary religious organizations. Eight billion pounds of soybeans and fats and oils have been exported under this program. This is equivalent to the whole 1964 crop.

This has been good for the farmer in Illinois. It has been good for the peasant in Peru. It has been good for the hungry person in India. It has been good for American strength in Turkey. It has been good for the world. It has been good at home, and it has been good abroad.

It is good Judaic-Christianity; it is good economics, it is good morals, but the Senator from Arizona voted no, no, no. [Applause.]

And if I sound slightly outraged, I am. May I say that a man that can vote against education, a man that can vote against civil rights, a man that can vote against the Peace Corps and call the volunteers of the Peace Corps nothing but beatniks, and that is what he called them. He said the Peace Corps is a haven for beatniks; a man that can say that education is not the responsibility of government and that some children would be better off if they weren't educated, a man that can say that he has his own medicare program, he has a son-in-law that is an intern, that kind of a man is unfit to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

It is about time, it seems to me, that there was a sense of righteous indignation. Yes, indeed.

And why don't they talk about these things? Because they have nothing to talk about except their miserable record of negativism, their record of backwardness, their record of retreat, and we have a good deal to talk about, and what we are talking about is saving lives, building a better America, educating our young, helping our afflicted, caring for our elderly, promoting enterprise, being considerate of labor. I think that is a good program for America. [Applause.]

321 WBZ—LINO

My dear friends, let me just conclude this message in a very, very serious tone and note. We live in the most perilous of times, and everybody knows that. And yet, my friends, I find the opposition chanting empty slogans, painting crude and cruel signs, unwilling to understand the world in which we live and incapable of understanding what to do about it.

I say there is a world yet to be saved. There is work to be done on this earth.

In recent days, in 1 week a government has changed in the Soviet Union. The Chinese have detonated an atomic device. A government has changed in Great Britain.

In times like these you don't need amateurs running your government, not even ham radio operators. [Applause—Laughter.]

You need, my friends, you need men of tested performance. The issue in this campaign is only one. The issue is which candidate for President is better prepared to assume the fearful responsibility for the destiny of America and mankind itself. And this one issue overshadows all other considerations because this is the issue that relates to the survival of these little ones before us and that may very well relate to the survival of mankind.

Man has developed the weapons to destroy himself. The question is: Has he developed the discipline and the moral strength to preserve himself?

I happen to believe that the office of the Presidency is so important that it must constantly be in the hands of a man who by experience and by nature and by temperament and by background and by talent is a man of restraint, a man of confidence, a man of tested performance, and very frankly we have such a man, and I see no reason that we shouldn't keep him, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Now, make no mistake about it. Performance separates the great leaders from the second-raters. There is no room in 1964 for a mistake in electing a President. There isn't any second chance. Once you have elected him, he is there, and what he does for the next 4 years may very well determine what is going to happen to this world for the next decade, the next generation, or the balance of this century.

And I say to this fine audience tonight that on the basis of performance, 30 years of effective honorable public service, that President Lyndon Johnson is richly and fully qualified to assume the fearful burden of the Presidency for the next 4 years and to insure the national security of the United States and to preserve the peace of the world. [Applause.]

So as we leave this wonderful meeting tonight, may I ask you to soberly reflect not upon the lesser issues, even though all are important, but everything that we have is in the balance. It isn't just a matter of wages or profits, and it isn't just a matter of prosperity or poverty. It isn't just a matter of education or no education.

It is, my dear friends, a matter of life or death. We are building the prosperity of America, and it has had 44 consecutive months of uninterrupted prosperity. But we are not building our prosperity just to enjoy riches and luxury. We are not building the strength of America militarily for conquest. And yet we are the strongest Nation on the face of the earth without comparison.

Our riches, our wealth, our power, and our military, is for but one purpose, to preserve the peace, to work for the salvation of mankind from annihilation, to save us from our destruction, to save us from our own folly.

I know that you have heard much about this, but let me say to you that when John Kennedy in June of 1963 said to the world that peace is a process, and that there is no instant peace, and that peace requires sacrifice, it does not come easy, and when he said that it takes courage to seek peace, as much courage as on the battlefield, he spoke eternal truths to the American people.

And that speech, ladies and gentlemen, was the first single advance or should I say the most important advance in the cause of peace since World War II.

He broke through the Iron Curtain. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was the product of it and other developments.

322 WBZ—LINO

The Senator from Arizona couldn't see fit to vote for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty even though both Senators from Illinois, Senator Dirksen and Senator Douglas, Republican and Democrat alike, voted for it and spoke for it. Senator Dirksen said he could not have it on his conscience that he refused to take this one step, feeble though it may be, this one step in the paths of peace.

I honor him for his decision. I honor him for his decision on civil rights.

These are not partisan matters. These are matters of conscience. These are matters of ethics. These are matters of morals. These are matters of judgment.

And in all of those areas the Senator from Arizona was wrong. He didn't vote to give equal rights. He didn't vote to clean the atmosphere from radioactive debris. No. He voted fear. He voted doubt. He voted no faith, no trust.

You need a President, ladies and gentlemen, that has your trust, and you need a President that trusts you. And you need a President above all that understands that the only thing instant in this day and age is instant annihilation. And you need a President who is big enough, strong enough, and courageous enough to work ceaselessly, to pursue honorably, peace with honor, peace with dignity, peace with freedom.

You don't need a President who brandishes nuclear bombs, who has a policy, a foreign policy of ultimatums. You need a President who speaks sense, who says "Come, let us reason together," a President who says on the one hand that we keep our guard up, but on the other hand we extend the hand of cooperation, of friendship and fellowship to anyone that wishes to live in peace and to live in decency and dignity.

And that President I speak for tonight. I am proud to speak for him. I speak for him because he is giving his life to this Nation. I speak for the man that will be President of the United States with your help for the next 4 years, President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

Paducah, Ky.
Airport
October 20, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. First of all I want to ask your pardon for having to address you in this manner. This isn't exactly what I would call the most, well, the most desirable way of speaking to a wonderful audience like this, but it will have to suffice.

I want to thank the Governor of this great State of Kentucky, Governor Breathitt, for meeting us here once again, and I want to thank all of the officers of your State government, Mayor Wilson, and the congressmen, and I want to surely thank that wonderful band down there for playing such splendid music, particularly that "Minnesota Rouser." You did a great job. [Applause.]

I see a number of our young friends here from the colleges in the nearby area, right here from Paducah, and I want to thank them in particular for coming out here tonight to talk to us and to be with us.

Well, we have had a big day over in the neighboring State of Illinois. In fact, this morning we started out in Oklahoma, Tulsa, Okla., and every place I have been I have found happy people. I have found happy people, and when I ask a happy person how they are going to vote, they say we are going to vote for the Democratic ticket, for President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. [Applause.]

I notice here in Paducah that you must think I am going to give a red-hot speech because you have got the fire department out here. I am glad they are here because we are going to burn the feathers right off the Republicans. [Applause.]

Now, wait a minute. We are not going to burn it off all Republicans because a lot of them are supporting Lyndon Johnson for President. [Applause.]

323 WBZ—LINO

We are just going to burn it off a little bit on some of those Gold-water Republicans, that is all.

Now, tonight we have a fine Democratic rally. I hope that many of you that do not attend will tune in on the radio stations so that you can hear what we have to say.

I am here in Paducah, Ky., the home of one of my dearest, dearest friends, a gentleman that helped me in my early days in politics, a gentleman that has been a source of inspiration to me through all of my public life, a gentleman that was a friend of my father, and a man that I had the privilege of working with in the U.S. Senate, the privilege of voting for Vice President in 1948, and the opportunity to be the seatmate of him when he came back to the U.S. Senate.

I would love Paducah, Ky., for many reasons, but I love it particularly because here in this fine city is the home of the late and beloved Veep, Alben Barkley, of Kentucky. [Applause.]

I came to this community when this dearly beloved man passed away. I was here as one of the senatorial group on the occasion of his funeral. He is buried here. He is loved here, and he is loved in Minnesota, and he is loved throughout America.

If I can live as good a life as this man, and I can inspire as many young people as he inspired, if I can serve my country with as much honor and integrity and ability as the late Veep—and he is the only one that ever ought to be called Veep because it belongs to him—if I can do that I will say that my life has been well spent and that I have been worthy of the friendship and the trust of the people that have helped me so much during my life.

Now we have got a big job to do. We want to carry on the programs that this good man helped to start. We want to continue the programs of John Kennedy and of Lyndon Johnson. We want to make this country of ours go ahead. [Applause.] And I am asking in particular our young people to help us. I ask you to take up the banner of the Democratic Party. I ask you to help keep our party idealistic. I ask you to help keep our party progressive. I ask you to help keep our party a constant servant of the public good. I ask you to take an interest in public affairs. I ask the young people to be concerned about their government. I tell this young audience that unless you are concerned about it, there may be no free government because free government doesn't come by accident. It comes by sacrifice. And it comes because people want it and because they are worthy of it and because they are willing to guard it and to defend it and because they are willing to understand it.

And in the days that lie ahead, uncertain days in the world, and troublesome days even at home, I suggest that we have an extra duty as never before, to be ever vigilant about our country and about our great system of representative government.

Now, be of good cheer. Be of good faith. We have got the most wonderful country in the world, and we have got the best government in the world, and frankly we have got a man in the White House today that knows how to conduct this government. He is experienced. He is responsible. He has had a record of performance. He is a man that has given 30 years of his life to government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

I don't think this is any time to turn the government over to an amateur. I don't think this is any time to turn this government over to somebody that wants to go backward. I think this is the time to keep this government in safe, trusted, competent hands and to keep it in the hands of somebody that understands the world in which we live and wants to make America, wants to make the world a better world, and wants to keep the peace so we can have a world.

I thank you very, very much. [Applause.]

Paducah, Ky.
October 20, 1964

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

We meet in Paducah today to honor Alben Barkley—one of the greatest American political leaders of the 20th century.

324 WBZ—LINO

His stature in our history might suggest that we make this a solemn occasion, but if Alben Barkley were with us, he would not permit it.

One of the marks of his greatness was his ability to find something to laugh about even in the darkest hour—or to prevent others from becoming too self-indulgent or too stuffy. Humor, for him, was the great solvent of antagonisms among men, just as he found the humorous parable a means to transmit his wisdom and knowledge to others.

I'd like nothing more than to stand here tonight telling Barkley stories for 2 or 3 hours—which, by the way, is how Alben Barkley got his reputation, occasionally talking too long.

I sympathize fully with our beloved Veep. I understand his feelings when a Kentucky gentleman once interrupted the Vice President by saying, "Barkley, if your watch has stopped, there's a calendar on the wall behind you."

What a career. He served Kentucky and his Nation in Washington for 39 years—first in the House of Representatives—then in the Senate, where he became Democratic majority leader—and finally as Vice President. And, then, the good people of Kentucky returned him once again to the Senate.

There are two things about Alben Barkley which the legend may obscure. Beneath the wit and good humor, he bore the courage and wisdom of a great legislative leader. He gave firm direction to his fellow Democrats. He mobilized the energies of those who agreed. And he was equally skilled in fashioning agreement among those who differed.

Alben Barkley was the first vice presidential nominee chosen because he had every qualification to be President. Until his time, the Vice Presidential office had usually been a subject for humor or contempt—or worse.

Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President under President Woodrow Wilson, noted that "The Vice President is like a man in a cataleptic state—he cannot speak—he cannot move—he suffers no pain—and yet he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on around him."

President Truman's selection of Alben Barkley ended all that. The Veep not only was eminently qualified to assume the awesome duties of the Presidency, but also he was an active Vice President who served as the traveling eyes and ears of the Truman administration.

There are many striking parallels between the careers of Alben Barkley and Lyndon Johnson.

Both were tested in the legislative battles of Congress. Both were elected by their fellow Democrats to the position of highest political leadership in the Senate. Both received a mandate from the American people to serve as vigorous and creative Vice Presidents.

And when, under tragic and dreadful circumstances, Lyndon Johnson was elevated to the White House. He brought to the high office of President many of the qualities which were so prominent in the character of Alben Barkley.

He brought wisdom and responsibility gained from vast political experience. He brought a deep sense of compassion for people, and he brought a sensitivity to the rich diversity of America.

Alben Barkley was a child of the Woodrow Wilson era, while Lyndon Johnson was a child of the great depression. The common experience which shaped their political philosophies was service during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Alben Barkley was proud of the record of the New Deal. In the twilight of his life he said that he did not think any administration of any party would try to undo these fundamental gains for the people.

I wish that were true.

Until 1964, the Republican Party—although it once resisted the programs of which Alben Barkley was proud—came to adopt and help extend the vision of the New Deal.

This year, however, a few men, under Senator Goldwater's direction, have captured that party. They have as much right to its proud name as the wolf had to masquerade as the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood. But regardless of right, these irresponsible men have seized control and declared war on the achievements of 30 years.

325 WBZ—LINO

They would weaken social security—if not destroy it entirely. They would halt farm price support programs. They would sell TVA. They would wreck rural electrification. They would oppose attacks on poverty. They would ignore the needs of education.

Alben Barkley understood that Government has the express purpose of helping the people of America help themselves—"To promote the general welfare," as it says in the Constitution.

This fundamental tenet of American Government has totally eluded the Goldwaterites.

Instead of compassion, Senator Goldwater preaches a kind of selfish irresponsibility in domestic and foreign affairs. Uninformed by history, uncontrolled by reason, untempered by charity, this selfish, irresponsibility is the central impulse to Senator Goldwater's brand of radicalism.

And it is this selfish irresponsibility which appeals so directly to various extremist groups in America. 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 and catastrophe.

The minority report on extremist to the 1964 Republican National Convention cited the John Birch Society and others as "Groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American democratic tradition."

It accused them of using "secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassination * * * of dealing in unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, and falsehoods to trigger public hysteria * * * of exploiting antiminority group sentiment to inflame human passion.

But Senator Goldwater has said, "I am impressed by the type of people in the John Birch Society. They are the kind we need in politics."

If Senator Goldwater is unaware of the nature of much of his support, he must be incredibly naive.

If he accepts extremist support for the purpose of votes, he is dangerously cynical.

If Senator Goldwater is captivated by their direction, philosophy, and method, he is a grave danger to American democracy.

Senator Goldwater and his extremist followers are outside the mainstream of American life and thought. And the people of Kentucky know that performance—not promises—is the true test of a man.

How about Senator Goldwater's performance? Consider these facts.

Last year we enacted a \$11.5 billion tax cut to stimulate prosperity and accelerate our economic growth.

We passed an Ohio Valley flood control project to help protect Kentucky and other States.

We approved the wilderness bill to conserve our remaining wilderness lands—including forests in Kentucky.

We enacted the Economic Opportunity Act to fight pockets of poverty in this land of prosperity.

We approved the Cotton Act of 1964 which is vital to cotton farmers and the textile industry.

Your two Republican Senators or a majority of your delegation in Congress voted for all these constructive and progressive programs. But not Senator Goldwater. As in most things, his response was always "No, no, a thousand times no."

The people of Kentucky know that performance—not promises—is the true test of a man.

We are a dynamic and growing country with many problems to solve. We know the country's productive power can supply all people with jobs and raise every man above the level of poverty. We do not have to redistribute the wealth to do this. We can create enough new wealth to do it. And we are confident we can keep the peace, if America is as responsible as it is strong.

Alben Barkley would have welcomed the opportunity to solve these problems. He had confidence that a free, democratic people could govern themselves. He had profound faith in the free institutions of the American political system.

326 WBZ—LINO

Lyndon Johnson is the same kind of man, cradled in the same tradition, cut from the same mold, and guided by the same visions.

Forgive us Democrats for our enthusiasm—enthusiasm for what America has been—enthusiasm for what America can yet be—enthusiasm for our faith in the American people—all of them.

Forgive us our enthusiasm as we enlist with Lyndon Johnson on November 3—not for the last great war—but for the first Great Society.

Paducah, Ky.
Civic Center
October 20, 1964

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Frank Paxton. I want to tell these good folks from Paducah in this First Congressional District it is mighty nice to have the Paxtons on your side. [Applause.]

Governor Breathitt, thank you for your timely and inspiring message and your words of flattery, and may I say also inspiration. And to Tom Walter, who has been your master of ceremonies tonight, one of the dear friends of the late and beloved Veep, the Congressman here that has this good fortune of just being assured of election—what a pleasant feeling that is [applause] I wish my Muriel could be as sure of the future as Earl Odessa. [Laughter.]

And to each and every one of you that have gathered here tonight to pay honor to this wonderful friend of ours that I hope to say just a few words about, may I say what a joy it is to be in Paducah, what fun, and what a privilege.

There are so many here that I should like to pay my respects to—and I am going to do it because I remember when Alben Barkley came to Minnesota, and I can remember how I waited to hear his words about Hubert Humphrey, and I always feel that when one is out on the campaign hustings that he sometimes may forget that the way you build a political party and the way that you build a great government, is to remember not just the ones that are at the top of the ticket but to remember those, if you please, that are the base, the foundation of the ticket, those that are at the county level, those that are at the city level, those that are at the legislative level, and let me tell you, you have some mighty good ones around here.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Julian Carroll who has been such a help, your State representative, and to Fred Morgan and Tom Geary. These are people in your legislature, and Hubert Humphrey isn't the kind of a man in public life that just dropped into it by accident. I came up through the hard way, working, doing my best to be a precinct worker, county chairman, an organization man, a mayor of a city, a U.S. Senator, and just loved politics every hour of the day. [Applause.]

So I want to say to Frank Stubblefield and Governor Breathitt, to all the distinguished officers of your State government, those that are at what we call the higher levels, whatever that may mean, I want to say that we all had to work our way up, and I want to salute the people of the organization.

Alben Barkley always talked about his district, and I don't think you even ought to call it the First District. I think you just ought to call it Barkley's District and leave it at that. I mean that is a great name for it. [Applause.]

He called it what Governor Breathitt reminded us tonight, the Gibraltar of Democracy. I guess what he meant was that when every other fortress of democracy had lowered its flag, the good old First in Kentucky, the Gibraltar of Democracy, would be there just like the Star-Spangled Banner on that big night when the British were storming Fort McHenry, the flag, the Stars and Stripes, were flying and so was the flag of democracy, on the Gibraltar District of Democracy, the First of Kentucky. [Applause.]

You have many distinguished and honored people here tonight. I am looking forward to having a chance to really see you individually. I have a little trouble once in awhile, you know, with my staff. They say I want to shake hands with everybody, and I do. That is the truth. As a matter of fact, I would like to visit with everyone. That

327 WBZ—LINO

is what politics is really all about, getting to know people, not to know them in the abstract, not to know them by public opinion polls, not to know them by measurement, but to know them as individuals.

That is the kind of politics that we love.

And I see in this room a Governor that knows that, and I see here in this great assembly political leaders that understand that.

I know there is a former senator here, one of the former state senators, one of your truly stalwart Democrats, Strother Melton, and believe me, when you know people who have carried the weight that long and carried the flag for the Democratic Party, you can't help but just stand up and want to salute them. [Applause.]

By the way, there are some young folks here tonight, too. And I was looking over the paper and—that is right, I want to tell you. It is sure nice to have a paper on your side [laughter] and I do indeed want to thank Fred Paxton. It makes a man feel good. You would be surprised how starved I have been over many years for something like that. But it is better this year.

I am happy to say in Minnesota there isn't a single daily paper in the State of Minnesota that is worth reading that isn't for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. [Applause.]

Nice to have the TV on your side, too. And I want to thank Fred for that.

But there are some young folks here and there is one little lady that I see here that I want to select out. We have been sort of corresponding until Mrs. Humphrey caught up with it. She wanted to know how old you were, Elaine.

I have a special friend to whom I have sent a letter or two and she has written to me, and it is kind of choice and priceless correspondence. She is an A student, an honor student, and comes from a family that seems to have honor students, and Elaine Elms of Ballard Memorial School, it is wonderful to see you, Elaine. Stand up. [Applause.]

I want you to know, this girl was for me for Vice President before I was. [Applause.]

I never released those letters, Elaine. Otherwise the press would have said that I was campaigning for the job. They had some suspicions, but they didn't have much proof. But on January 3 Elaine announced that she was for L.B.J. and H.H.H.

Oh, I wish that you could vote about 2,000 times. [Laughter.]

Well, it is nice to see you, and just a moment ago I had the privilege of greeting, saying hello to David Barkley, and, David, I heard your message as I was waiting here in the back of the auditorium. I wish that I could have been here, sitting right here, while you were delivering your eulogy, and while the whole proceedings for the memorial was underway.

And I am pleased, too, to meet Alben, Junior.

You know, the Barkleys, well, I have got to get a little sentimental with you. The Barkleys have meant a great deal to the Humphreys. When I had little or no chance of being elected to the U.S. Senate—that is what they said, at least—that was 1948—I made a special plea to the Democratic National Committee to have the nominee for Vice President on the Democratic ticket come to Minnesota because I was a candidate against a rather strong and influential Republican Senator. And I will never forget the speech that was delivered at Rochester, Minn., in the Mayo Memorial Auditorium.

The man that came to make that speech was Alben Barkley. Of course, that was just one of several speeches that we got him to make that day. What a worker. How unselfish. How magnanimous. Always willing to walk an extra mile. Always willing to give an extra speech. Always willing to do a little extra work; always willing to help the other fellow.

And did I need help. I was more or less like a drowning man on a turbulent sea with somebody hitting me over the head with an oar, and along came this lifesaver, and he made a speech in Rochester, Minn., that they have never forgotten because the man that I was running against had at one time been a rather liberal U.S. Senator. He had almost had Democratic inclinations. He was close to political salvation, but he slipped before he got there. [Applause and laughter.]

328 WBZ—LINO

And I have never forgotten the story that Alben Barkley told. He told about this man that I was opposing in a manner that explained it so perfectly to our people because the man had a very good reputation up to a point, and then he supported Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, and then he decided that he had gone too far, and he became very conservative, and some people thought reactionary. And Alben Barkley came there, and he told the story about this good old Scandinavian family that decided to have a picture made, a portrait of the father of the family who had passed away, and the good gentleman that had passed away had never had a photograph, never even a snapshot.

So they called in all the family, and they got an artist from New York, and they asked this artist—the artist asked them, now, you tell me about your father. And each one of the children told about the father, and the mother told about the father, and he took down all the notes, and he got an oral, verbal description of what the old man might have looked like.

So the artist went back to New York and he came back about 3 months later, and he had a portrait. So they gathered together, this fine Scandinavian family—it may have been some other kind of a family in some other State, but in Minnesota it was Scandinavian—they gathered together, this fine Scandinavian family, and they had the unveiling of the portrait.

Now, mind you, there had never been a photograph of the old man, and they all stood there and they looked stoically, kind of sternly at this portrait, shaking their heads, and one of them got down under the table and looked up, and another one got on the other side of the table and looked this way, and another one climbed up in a chair and looked down, and nobody said a single word.

And finally the artist said, "Well, what about it? Are you going to take my portrait"—because there was a rather handsome fee involved—and they finally called on Oly, and said, "Oly, you are the oldest son. You must make the decision." And Oly got around, and he squinted to the left and he squinted to the right, and he looked up and looked down and he looked at it, and, "Yes," he says, "that is the old man all right but, oh, how he has changed." [Applause and laughter.]

Well, I must say that is about what has happened to the Republican Party. It is the Republican Party all right now, but, oh, boy, how it has changed with Barry Goldwater at the head of it. [Applause.]

Alben Barkley—he made more good sense through good humor than any man I have ever known, and what a friend he was of the people. You honor him tonight. We honor him every day.

He has been frankly an inspiration to me, a friend of my father and my mother. His picture is in our home signed to my dad, "To Hubert H. Humphery, my friend, Alben Barkley." It is right there. I am so proud of it.

I asked to come to Paducah. I don't know whether you know it or not. [Applause.]

I don't think we ought to have a Democratic vice presidential candidate at any time on any ticket that doesn't come to Paducah. [Applause.]

Alben Barkley, always filled with good humor, wholesome good humor, happy. I call my airplane that we fly in, mine—leased, that is. The Democratic National Committee leased it, I hope. [Laughter.] We call it the Happy Warrior, and was there ever a happier one than Alben Barkley?

Oh, he fought the good fight, and when I see people out around America, and I see them happy and joy on their countenances, I say to myself many times, these are good people. These are friendly people. These are people that are going to vote for the party of progress. They are going to vote for President Lyndon Johnson. And they always remind me of Alben Barkley of Paducah. [Applause.]

I guess that is why I think we ought to have a good time here tonight. Alben Barkley wouldn't have liked it if we sat around here and just started moaning and groaning, not for a moment.

329 WBZ—LINO

I listened to those immortal words, the final words of that good man. You would be interested to know on the very day, on that day he left to make that speech, I had a visit with him in the U.S. Senate, sitting in the back row, and he talked to me, believe it or not, on that day on the issue of human rights.

He told me, "Hubert, the time has arrived for the American people and this Government to make it manifestly clear that everybody in this country is to have equal opportunity, that everyone is to have his place in the sun. There is only one kind of citizenship, first-class citizenship."

Those were his words to me. I have them written down. I remember. And he left that day to make a speech. And the words that he said symbolized his whole life because he could have, had he been ruthless, had he been power crazed, had he been willing to trade off his friends, he possibly could have sat in the seat of the mightiest of the mighty. But as he said, "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than to sit in the seat of the mighty."

The truth is that by being a servant in the house of the Lord and the house of the people, he did occupy seats of the mighty. He occupied a mighty place in the hearts of the American people, and he occupied a mighty place in our Government as I shall speak of tonight.

Imagine coming to the Congress of the United States in the first term of Woodrow Wilson and serving into the 1950's. Imagine that. Look at the panorama of history, and never did I ever meet anybody that was so young at heart. Oh, what an inspiration. I have seen young folks 18 years of age that were twice as old as Alben Barkley.

Alben Barkley was a young man all of his life, creative, imaginative, vigorous, vital, outgoing, sacrificing.

He symbolized the very spirit of this country, and when he passed away, he did it just like he would have wanted to.

Any man in public life would say what a way to die, to be working and fighting for what you believe in, and the words that came from his lips symbolized the highest ideals of American public life.

So tonight let's have a good time. Let's talk about the opposition, and let's talk about ourselves as Alben Barkley used to do it without rancor, without bitterness.

Why, he could skin the Republicans so nice that they thought they were just being massaged. [Laughter and applause.]

Yes, he loved life. And if you don't love life, you ought to get out of politics, I will tell you that.

One of the marks of his greatness was his ability in the most critical hours to find something to smile about or laugh about, and by the way, one of the marks of America that people talk of all over the world is that in America people can laugh at themselves.

They have some kind of inner confidence, some kind of inner faith that permits them to make their countenance, which is God's looking glass, to be a smile and to have a sense of joy.

So we talk of a man who loved life, who loved his country, who loved his party, who never looked back except to report history accurately. And always looked ahead. All of his life, looking ahead.

I said out here at the airport that I hope and pray that I can do as well. Well, that is a pretty high standard, but it is something at least to point to, to do as well. Why, to be vice presidential candidate, to follow in the footsteps of Alben Barkley, is an honor second to none, and am I proud to be here tonight and find my picture alongside of the Veep's. What a joy. What a thrill. [Applause.]

I saw a number of young people when I came in tonight. Well, Alben Barkley loved young people. He inspired them. They loved to have him come speak to the colleges, and he was a riot. He would tell them stories; he would have them rolling in the aisle, and they learned more about American government in one of his stories about Paducah, Ky., than they learned out of a full year's course in American law or American government.

I have been there—teaching through parables, teaching through humor, teaching through examples, teaching through living. Those are the best teachers in the world.

And a man in public life that is worthy of being called great or even good is essentially a teacher or he is nothing. If all he can do is to recite what others have done, if all he can do is to be just there

330 WBZ—LINO

to vote yes or no, he is not really great; but if he can inspire, if he can teach, if he can elevate, if he can get people to do more than they were capable of doing, then they really are entitled to the mantle of leader and of greatness.

Well, I could stand here tonight and sure tell you a lot of Barkley stories, and I am always tempted to do so. You know, Alben Barkley and Hubert Humphrey had something in common. They tell me once in a while Alben would get warmed up on these stories, and he would make his speeches a little longer than he planned them. Look at who is talking. I tell you, I never know whether the audience likes my speeches, but I sure do. [Laughter.]

I remember Alben Barkley telling that story about the old fellow that came on into town, and he always timed every one of his political speeches to about 15 minutes, and this time the fellow was running a little bit behind time, and he forgot to take out his watch, which is a habit of mine, and he didn't put his watch down there, and as he was telling that story, he wondered, "What time did I start?" Finally he got his watch out, and he had been talking then about an hour, and he was trying to remember what hour was it when I started, and he got going and going and going and finally a fellow at the end of the room said, "Never mind your watch, take a look at the calendar hanging behind you." [Laughter.]

That is a Barkley story.

Now, there is one that my wife tells on me, that is almost as good. Your speeches don't have to be eternal to be immortal.

But I am happy to tell you I pay no attention to her at all—on that item. [Laughter.] Other than that, I toe the mark pretty well.

Well, this man had a career. His life in public life, or his service in public life, wasn't just an avocation. It wasn't just an interlude. It was a full life, a full career. He served Kentucky and his Nation in Washington for 39 years. You know it. First in the House, then in the Senate, became the majority leader of the U.S. Senate which is a position of great power and responsibility, and finally as Vice President. Oh, no. And then you good people in Kentucky returned him to the U.S. Senate.

I believe this man, more than any other, gave the Democratic Party the symbol or the philosophy that it was a party with a heart, and that it was a party that gave a government that cared. Alben Barkley was unashamedly compassionate. He loved people. He couldn't stand suffering if he could help it.

And he talked of the Democratic Party not just as an instrument of government but as an instrument for the benefit of humanity. He spoke of our party in terms of human qualities, and like that great friend of his, Sam Rayburn, Alben Barkley was a Democrat without prefix or suffix and without apology.

Alben Barkley, Sam Rayburn, and Carl Hayden, they all came to Congress in the same year. Two of them are gone from this earthly life, but let me put it on the record right here. They will never be gone from the history and the tradition and the life of America, because greatness is immortal, and immortality is not theology. It is a fact.

And I am proud to be here in the home of that man of immortal life.

Now, there are two things behind this life of Alben Barkley which legend may obscure. Beneath that wit and good humor which I have talked about, which was such a joy, he had the courage and the wisdom of a great legislative leader. He never once indulged in personalities or half truths. He was a clean man, a good man, and he was a responsible man. He always put his country above his party even though he loved the party that he gave so much to.

He gave firm direction to his fellow Democrats. He could humble himself if needed. He could stand like a giant against a majority if he believed he was right.

He could even turn down the request of a great President.

This is a man of principle. But yet he was a man of accommodation. He wasn't brittle. He wasn't inflexible. He was a human being. And he saw the necessity of working carefully, patiently, perseveringly, kindly, with his colleagues.

He mobilized the energies of those that agreed with him, and he was equally skilled, I might say, in fashioning agreement among those with whom he differed. He didn't read them out of the party. He didn't charge the opposition with improper motives.

331 WBZ—LINO

He tried to bring people together, and he won them over time after time after time.

He was the first vice presidential nominee in recent history chosen because he had every qualification to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Too often, over the decades, the Vice-Presidency has been merely a subject for humor. Take Thomas R. Marshall, who by the way was a good man, Vice President under Woodrow Wilson. He noted that the Vice President is like a man in a cataleptic state. Here is what he said about the Vice President. "He cannot speak, he cannot move, he suffers no pain, and yet he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on around him." Wow. I hope that no one wants to apply that to me.

But President Truman's selection of and the Democratic Party's selection of Alben Barkley in the Philadelphia Convention of 1948 stressed the new concept of the Vice-Presidency. The Veep not only was eminently qualified to assume the awesome duties of the Presidency, but he was an active Vice President who served as the traveling eyes and ears of the Truman administration.

I wonder how many of you remember his trip to Berlin with Bob Hope, with others, when he went to Berlin at the time of international crisis to represent our Government and to bring cheer and confidence to our little garrison inside Berlin that was being besieged by the Communists. Alben Barkley went into that center of crisis, and he was like a legion of new troops by his words and by his commitments and his sense of humor.

There are many striking parallels between Alben Barkley and Lyndon Johnson. Both were tested in the legislative battles of Congress. Alben Barkley, 39 years in public life, and Lyndon Johnson, 30 years in public life.

Both were elected by their fellow Democrats to the highest office in the U.S. Senate, majority leader, and both of them recognized as outstanding, gifted majority leaders. And both of them had received a mandate from the American people to be Vice President.

And when, under tragic and dreadful circumstances, Lyndon Johnson was elevated to the White House, he brought to that high office of President many of the qualities which were so prominent in the character of Alben Barkley.

Let me list them.

He brought wisdom that comes only from experience and from the contact with the life of a nation and a government. And he brought responsibility, which was gained from that vast experience. And he brought a deep sense of compassion for people. And he brought a sensitivity to the rich diversity of America.

These men had much in common. Alben Barkley was a child of Woodrow Wilson, of the Woodrow Wilson era, and Lyndon Johnson was a child of the great depression and the Franklin Roosevelt era.

The common experiences which shaped their political philosophy, however, were service under Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Oh, how I wish I could have it written in my political history that I had something to do with the shaping of the New Deal. All I had to do with it was that I cast my first vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. [Applause.]

Alben Barkley was proud of the record of the New Deal. He fought for it like a tiger. And he along with Franklin Roosevelt were really the architects of the New Deal, and you could include with it Sam Rayburn in the House of Representatives. And it just seems incredible to me that anyone would ever want to detract from that great record.

In the twilight of his life he said that he did not think any administration—and I remember his speech, at the armory in Washington, D.C., honoring Woodrow Wilson the last year of his life, the last year of Alben Barkley's life. My wife and I sat there, and we were deeply moved by the way that Alben Barkley poured his heart into that speech that night, not a young man in terms of chronological age, and what an orator. What a magnificent orator. And he was telling us of Woodrow Wilson, and he was telling us of Franklin Roosevelt, and he was telling us of the New Deal, and that night he said it was inconceivable that any administration or any party would try to undo the fundamental gains that had been made these past years since the 1930's for the American people. [Applause.]

332 WBZ—LINO

I have mixed emotions. I sometimes wish that Alben were here now to see the challenge that is before us. And yet I think he worked hard enough, and it is our turn now.

I wish that this thought that he expressed, that no political party or any administration would seek to undo the great gains that we have made, I wish that that were true. Until 1964 it was true. The Republican Party also, although it once fought these programs and resisted them, programs which Alben Barkley helped fashion and of which he was so proud, the Republican Party came to adopt and help extend the vision of the New Deal.

Why, Senator Goldwater called Dwight Eisenhower's program a dimestore New Deal. No responsible officer of government, Republican or Democrat alike, ever threatened or openly proposed to repeal the New Deal until now where a man gets up and says that he considers his objective not to pass laws but to repeal them.

I consider this a declaration of political war, and I ask that spokesman what laws? What Barkley measures do you want to repeal, Mr. Goldwater? What New Deal, Fair Deal, Eisenhower measures do you wish to repeal? I think the American people are entitled to something more than glib and dangerous generalities.

This year a few radical men, and that is what they are—these are not confused people, they are radicals—a few radical men under Senator Goldwater's banner have captured the Republican Party. They are like pirates that have boarded the ship and locked up the crew. And they are now sailing the sea preying upon anything that they can see.

They have as much right to the proud name of the Republican Party as the wolf had to masquerade as the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood. [Applause.]

GOP—it used to stand for "Grand Old Party." Now it means "Goldwater, our problem." [Laughter and applause.]

GOP—fathered by Abraham Lincoln, and today its spokesman repudiates the Emancipation Proclamation. GOP—the party of Lincoln, the Lincoln who said government of the people, by the people, and for the people, a Lincoln who said the duty of government is to serve the people, a Lincoln who said that government shall do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves, or as well for themselves.

Today that party has been kidnaped, pirated by a group of radical brigands who have repudiated the father of the party and repudiated all it ever stood for.

I charge them with being not Republicans, not Democrats, not Independents. I charge them with being America's new breed of radicals. [Applause.]

Yes, they have declared war upon 30 years of American progress. They have declared war on their own party. These radicals, and that is what they are, my friends, they would weaken social security, if not destroy it. Why, there hasn't been a responsible spokesman of either political party that has challenged social security since Alf Landon carried Maine and Vermont. [Applause.]

And I will let you know something. Mr. Goldwater is not going to carry either one of them in 1964. [Applause.]

They would halt the farm price support programs. Oh, Mr. Goldwater says: "Oh, no, you Democrats accuse me falsely. You say that I want to immediately stop price supports."

He said, "I didn't say that." What he said was he wanted a prompt termination. [Laughter.]

Now, my dear Friends, I used to teach school, and when I told one of my students "immediately," it meant promptly, and when I said "promptly," it meant immediately, and if Mr. Goldwater gets confused over words like immediate and prompt, he is not fit to be President. [Applause.]

But, make no mistake about it. Mr. Goldwater who has the conscience he says of a conservative, which is another play on words, because he is not a conservative; he doesn't conserve the past. He seeks to repudiate it.

Mr. Goldwater is opposed to the farm price support program, and I want to warn every Kentucky tobacco grower that if he has his way, your tobacco won't be worth 10 cents a pound, and don't forget it. [Applause.]

333 WBZ—LINO

Your cotton, you have got a couple of counties in Kentucky nearby here that grow some cotton. Well, cotton is a part of the American agricultural economy. The Senator from Arizona is as opposed to cotton as he is to progress. [Laughter.] He voted against every single farm measure that has ever been put before the Congress of the United States.

I can tell you one thing, he is consistent. He is consistently negative, consistently wrong. [Applause.]

These Goldwater radicals, they even want to sell TVA. Oh, yes; they mean it. They want to sell TVA.

I said to a group the other day just what I am saying now, and some fellow said, "Oh, no, don't let that happen." He said, "Well, it would be bad enough to sell it, but my goodness, imagine if they started to manage it." Good grief. [Laughter.]

Yes, to sell TVA. Mind you, here is a man that is fighting against TVA. TVA that has meant strength to America in wartime. We couldn't have had our bomber fleet in World War II without TVA that produced the electricity that produced the aluminum from the bauxite, and the bauxite produced the aluminum oxide, and the aluminum oxide produced the aluminum plate which was used to make bombers which made World War II a victory. TVA, that harnessed the waters of the rivers, that prevented floods, that creates the power, that helps free enterprise grow and grow and grow, that helps farmers that produces recreational areas, and yet this man, this temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction [laughter]—this man has the unmitigated gall and nerve to recommend selling it.

Well, I want to tell you something. He is never going to get the chance. [Applause.]

These Goldwater radicals, they even oppose our war on poverty. The only war they want is those that have got little nuclear weapons involved.

No war on poverty. They would ignore the needs of education, and the statements I make are documented by their votes, not just by their speeches. They would ignore the needs of our elderly. They would ignore the needs of our young. And the Senator from Arizona and his followers look upon compassion as weakness and concern for the afflicted as socialism.

I will tell you how we look upon it, as good solid decent Americanism. [Applause.]

Alben Barkley understood that Government has as its primary purpose the helping of the people of America to help themselves. The whole purpose of this great America of ours is to emancipate humankind from sickness, from ignorance, from illiteracy, from poverty, from fear, from frustration, permitting people to lift themselves, to be better people, and Government is a partner in this great effort, this Government of the people.

Apparently the Senator from Arizona never read that portion of the Constitution which calls upon the Government and the people to promote the general welfare. This fundamental principle of American Government has eluded the Goldwater radicals, and that is why I call them radicals. They not only seek to tear down the progress we have made. They not only repudiate bipartisan foreign policy that we fashioned. They not only drive from their own party anybody that doesn't agree with them. They not only attack the Supreme Court and the whole judicial system. They attack the Constitution of the United States of America. And I say that anybody that does that is a radical, and I care not whether they are radicals of the left or of the right, they are not worthy of trust and respect in America. [Applause.]

Instead of compassion, which is a good Judaic-Christian virtue, the Goldwaterites preach the kind of selfish irresponsibility in both domestic and foreign affairs, uninformed by history, if ever they read it, uncontrolled by reason, untempered by charity, this selfish irresponsibility is the central impulse to the Goldwaterite brand of radicalism, and this is why I am motivated as never before in this campaign.

This isn't an ordinary election. This is an election over what values America is to have. [Applause.]

334 WBZ—LINO

And you can generally tell of the intellectual bankruptcy of a political leader or party by how many half truths, innuendoes, smears, and slogans they indulge in.

I have yet to find out what the program is of the opposition except that Americans are sick and tired. Believe me, everything they speak of, we are sick and tired of this and sick and tired of that. You can't say sick and tired without sneering. The only people that I know that are really sick and tired are the ones that are talking about it. [Applause.]

And it is this kind of radicalism that leads the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party to charge that we in the Democratic Party are the party of socialism, calling Lyndon Johnson a Socialist. This is like calling a churchman an atheist.

Lyndon Johnson, if ever there was a man who was dedicated to the institutions of private property and free enterprise, it is the President of the United States. Why, the other day this man of the opposition even charged our President with being soft on communism. Of course, he had just met Nixon. [Laughter.]

Nixon imparted to him some new information, the same information that defeated Mr. Nixon for the Presidency and for Governor of California. [Applause.]

May I say to Mr. Goldwater, with friends like that we don't need any enemies. [Laughter.]

Now, the irresponsibility of charging the Democratic Party and its candidate with socialism is nowhere better illustrated than in Goldwater's statement on TVA. Here is what he said, that "TVA was conceived in socialism, nurtured and expanded in deceit."

I wonder who wrote those lines for him. What nonsense.

And then he said that "TVA should be turned over to free enterprise if the Government could only get a dollar for it."

I gather he plans on selling it to the department store out there in Phoenix. [Laughter and applause.]

I don't need to tell you about it. This is the same TVA that has brought you the benefits of the Kentucky Dam and is bringing you the Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area. And it is the same TVA within just a little distance of where Barkley Lake can be found.

Then couple that statement, my friends, with this one. I thought that REA was just about sure to remain with us as Mother's Day. I didn't know anybody that was really against REA.

I really mean this. I have searched through this land like Diogenes, and I have gone from precinct to precinct and State to State, and so help me, I never yet found a single person who openly said he is against REA, and all at once out of the backwoods, way back, comes this man with no lantern, believe me, only with a kerosene lamp—[laughter]—and here is what he said: "The time has come to dissolve the REA."

Why? Because it works? [Laughter.]

Oh, my friends, any man that says that TVA was conceived in deceit and that we ought to dissolve the REA is a radical, is irresponsible, and does not have the equipment to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Now, lest any of you think that I am being a little too partisan, may I say that what I say looks like an affidavit of character reference and praise compared to what Governor Scranton said. I haven't even written Mr. Goldwater a letter; [laughter] to what Governor Rockefeller said, and a half dozen others; to what Mr. Nixon said.

You know, Mr. Goldwater goes around, and he says he wants to debate the President. Of course, in February he said no President should ever debate a national election. That was in February.

Goldwater is very interesting. You have always got some new interpretation of what he meant. It is sort of like going to a skeet shoot and trying to hit a moving target. He said he wanted to debate, and I let him know not long ago from a public platform I thought that was a good idea, that there were a couple of invitations still outstanding. He didn't get his spring training. The first debate he ought to have is with Rockefeller. Wouldn't that be a dandy? [Applause.] [Laughter.]

335 WBZ—LINO

And then after they got through working each other over, I think it would be good to match him with Scranton of Pennsylvania. What a show that would be. [Applause.] Then he could take on, just for kicks, Romney of Michigan, and then just to have a real old dirty slugging match, Nixon. And after he got through with those, I would be willing to go on in an exhibition bout just to raise funds for the casualties of the Republican Party. [Applause.] And I think he would just about be in trim for the champ.

Well, friends, that San Francisco convention was something to behold, wasn't it? Don't forget it. Don't forget it. They want you to forget it because the outcome of that convention, the Goldwater convention, was a flat refusal by the leadership of the present Republican Party, the leadership to repudiate radicalism or extremism. They refused to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics. And by so doing this Goldwater party has encouraged into its ranks and under respectable American platforms individuals and organizations whose stock in trade in the politics of hate, bitterness, and catastrophe.

Don't take my word for it. The minority report of the Republican Party in convention assembled at San Francisco cited the John Birch Society and others in these words: "Groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American democratic tradition." That report signed by some of the most distinguished Republicans in America, accused the Goldwater faction, and of these groups—I should say accused the John Birch Society and their cohorts of "using secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassinations, of dealing in unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, falsehoods to trigger public hysteria, of exploiting antiminority group sentiment to inflame human passion."

Ladies and gentlemen, never has an indictment of a group been written in such flaming, unmistakable language. But what did the Senator from Arizona say about these groups? These un-American groups? This Birch Society that accuses President Eisenhower of being a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. Imagine that. Accusing the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of being a member of the Communist Party.

What do they say? What did Mr. Goldwater say? He said, "I am impressed by the type of people in the John Birch Society. They are the kind we need in politics."

End of quote.

Well, Mr. Goldwater, they may be the kind we need in politics but not in America. Not in this country. [Applause.]

If Senator Goldwater is unaware of the nature of his radical support, then he is incredible naive, too naive to run this country. If he accepts this radical support for the purpose of votes, he is dangerously cynical. If the Senator is captivated by their direction, their philosophy, and methods, he is a grave danger to American democracy.

I think the American people have a right to know whether Mr. Goldwater thinks that these are still what he says, people by which he is impressed, and that they are the kind that we need in politics.

I will tell you, they are the kind we don't need. We repudiate these rascals. We repudiate them with the same kind of determination that we repudiate the Communists or the Fascists. The Birchites and the radicals of the right are of the same ilk as the Communists and the Marxists of the left, and we repudiate them. We want none of them in America. [Applause.]

Is it any wonder that Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania said that Senator Goldwater and his radical followers are outside the mainstream of American life and thought. These are things that they would like us to forget. They would like to have you remember their little shouting chants. They would like to have you think of only the little things that they can holler at our President.

But I don't intend to let you forget them. They attack and they attack and they attack in the hopes that you will forget and forget and forget. They use the technique of the big lie. But we are going to expose them. They are not going to get by with it.

The people of Kentucky are too intelligent. So are the people of the other States of America.

336 WBZ—LINO

If you want performance, and we have the candidate that gives it to you. And the opposition hasn't performed.

Last year we enacted a tax cut of \$11.5 billion to stimulate prosperity. We passed the Ohio Valley flood control project to protect Kentucky and other States from floods. We approved a wilderness bill to preserve the remaining wilderness lands including the forests in Kentucky. We enacted the Economic Opportunities Act to help in your battle in some areas against economic distress. We have passed accelerated public works, area redevelopment, aid to higher education, nurses training. One bill after another.

And what was the performance rating of the Republican standard bearer? And may I say that your two Senators from this State and a majority of your delegation in Congress voted for all of these constructive and progressive programs. Republicans—many of them voted for them. But not Senator Goldwater. [Applause.]

Now, dear friends, the hour is late. Let me say that when we are all through talking about these great issues, economic, political, I think it is fair to say that what we want in the White House is someone who has a record of performance.

Alben Barkley would have welcomed the opportunity to work on these problems. He had a lot of confidence in our ability to be able to govern ourselves, and I think that Lyndon Johnson is the same kind of a man, trained in the same tradition, cut from the same mold and guided by the same visions. President Johnson, like Alben Barkley, has enthusiasm for what America has been and enthusiasm for what America can be and enthusiasm and faith in the American people, all of them.

President Johnson knows and you know that the big and central issue of our time is peace and security. And, ladies and gentlemen, you cannot afford to have in the Office of the Presidency an amateur. You cannot afford to have as President of this United States anyone that is impulsive, irresponsible, rash, or impetuous. You cannot afford to have someone that argues about the yesterdays and even distorts their meaning. You cannot afford to have someone as President of the United States that is apparently incapable of sensing what is going on in this world and has little or no vision about the tomorrows.

Only in this last week three great changes, in Russia, in China with the atomic device, and in Great Britain with the new government, and possibly many more changes to come. We do not answer these problems by ultimatums. You don't answer the problems of the Soviet Union by saying what Mr. Goldwater said, "Let's lob a bomb in the Kremlin." That is not any way, my friends.

John Kennedy and others have told us that peace requires persevering patience, peace is a process to be pursued. Peace requires unselfish devotion to the cause of peace. It requires patient building. It requires a Peace Corps. It requires food for peace. It requires health. It requires economic assistance. It requires military power. And above all it requires the use of power with wisdom and restraint.

When we boil it all down, everything I have said today, TVA, REA, all things that I have said which are true about this opposition, it all fades away into relative insignificance because, ladies and gentlemen, we are living in perilous days, and we will be living in those days for years to come.

And the man that serves in the White House the next 4 years is going to be making decisions that will affect the lives of everyone of us for years to come. You can't afford to have a man in the White House that on one day is opposed to the U.N. and the next day thinks, "Well, maybe we ought to tolerate it."

You cannot afford to have a man in the White House that votes against one feeble step to end or at least to curb the arms race, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. You cannot afford to have a man in the White House who feels that all you need to do is serve an ultimatum upon the Communists and say either drop dead or else. And that is literally what has been said.

What you need are men in the stature of a Roosevelt, of a Truman, of an Eisenhower, of a Kennedy, and of a Johnson who understand that we, the free people of America, have the terrible burden of world leadership and that world leadership does not permit you the luxury or the extravagance of acting irresponsibly.

337 WBZ—LINO

We have in our hands tonight, my fellow Americans, the life of this planet. We built the great power that we have at great expense not for conquest, and we have unlimited power. Let no one deny that and let no one fool you, such power as the world has never known. And we need a man at the helm of this Government who has self-discipline, who understands that power and the wealth of America is not for conquest or luxury, but that this power and this wealth has but one purpose, to achieve a decent and an enduring peace.

We built this massive power to deter war, not to start it.

We built this massive country of ours with its wealth to help people help themselves, not to destroy them.

And I come before any audience without any apology and without, let me say, any shame whatsoever when I say to you that the peacemaker is the strongest man in the world and that the President of the United States must always represent the religious spiritual convictions of the American people which is "Blessed are the Peacemakers."

We long for the day that we can beat our swords into plowshares. We long for the day that we can stop this arms race. We long for the day that we can pour our resources into better living, and we long for the day, my friends, that man shall make war no more.

Oh, yes, those of the opposition say they want victory now. But we want victory, too. But the victory we want, my dear friends, is a victory over war, a victory over disease, a victory over poverty, a victory over intolerance, a victory over oppression, and for these goals we mobilize America.

We do not mobilize the power of this Nation to frighten anyone. We mobilize the power of America to inspire everyone.

And I am on the campaign hustings day in and day out because I honestly believe in my heart that the candidate of opposition does not sense these great imperatives. And I do believe that Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, has dedicated his life to the cause of human justice, to the cause of this Republic, one Nation indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all, and that he has dedicated his life to the pursuit of a just and an enduring peace, and that is my kind of an American, and I am proud to be his running mate, and I long for the day that we can count the votes so we can see whether or not America wants to be the children of the light or the children of darkness.

And I think I know what we are going to be. We are going to light this candle of hope in the world, and we are not going to just spend our time cursing the darkness.

Let's get busy. Let's win this election on November 3 for our country and for humanity, and we can do it by helping our candidate, Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States. [Applause.]

Article
Look Magazine
October 20, 1964

(Editorial Note: Originally published in the May 1962, issue of Look, the following article was republished on this date with the introductory comment.)

Comment: "Some businessmen and others have regarded Senator Hubert Humphrey warily as an extreme liberal. He discussed his attitude toward big business in an article that appeared in Look in May 1962. His views today are unchanged. Look reprints this revealing article in which Senator Humphrey discusses the contribution our larger corporations make to our economy."

BIG BUSINESS—Is It Too Big?

By Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

For too long, Americans have persisted in seeing the Communist threat as one principally of brute military power. We have failed to understand the nature of the Communist economic challenge and what we can do to meet that challenge.

338 WBZ—LINO

Today, in our struggle with the Communist world, we are engaged in a kind of economic warfare we have never fought before. To win the battle, Government and business must join hands to move boldly on three fronts:

1. Congress must grant President Kennedy the new and broader authority he has requested to lower traffic barriers and cooperate with the highly successful European Common Market.

2. We must expand our markets, not only in prosperous Europe, but around the globe.

3. American business must invest its know-how and its dollars in building industry in the underdeveloped nations.

All three of these steps will require a growing partnership between the U.S. Government and business management, based on mutual respect and understanding. As simply as this may sound, it is an enormous task, and I firmly believe we can't get on with the job until we clear away a clutter of old shibboleths and frayed prejudices.

There is, for instance, the notion that my party, the majority party in this country, is somehow "antibusiness." As a liberal Democrat, I can say that nowhere among policymakers of the Kennedy administration do I find an "antibusiness" attitude. Rather, we are "pro-competition." We believe in competition, and we seek to join hands with businessmen, farmers, and workers in making the American competitive system work.

On the other hand, there is the belief held by some Americans that big business is necessarily bad. I don't believe this. This country has grown spectacularly since the trustbusting days of Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, and Woodrow Wilson, and business has grown along with other institutions.

For the most part, big corporations are a source of strength and economic vitality. The fact is that big business is here to stay. It is "bad" only when it tends to stifle competition and block expansion. It is "good" when it helps lift us to ever-rising standards of living.

Let me tell you what impelled me to write this article. Last fall, in a search throughout Europe for answers to the dilemma of the Berlin crisis, I found that Europe suddenly had come of economic age. With gusto and enthusiasm, the Europeans were proving theories that we have taken for granted so long here in the United States that they have lost some of their vitality.

Europe's throbbing burst of economic power, I saw, was one of the underlying causes of the Berlin crisis. The Soviet leadership desperately was seeking was to divide, weaken, and confuse this massive politico-economic complex on the very frontiers of the Soviet satellites.

Europe's Common Market—in which age-old tariff barriers are dissolving—is a frontal challenge to Moscow. To the Russians, the Common Market teaches an unmistakable lesson: Responsible representative government and private enterprise cooperating in an open, competitive environment can outproduce any centrally directed society. To the satellites of Eastern Europe and to the neutralist nations as well, Europe's historic achievement demonstrates vividly that freedom does not have to be sacrificed for economic growth, that higher living standards do not have to be gained at the expense of human rights.

To Americans, Europe can serve as a vast mirror. Europe's economic takeoff was achieved not only because of huge economic post-war assistance from the United States, but also because of inspired adaptation of classical American economic techniques. Europe is growing into an economic power by discarding artificial impediments to growth. There must be a realization in America of the central role of that economic power in the world. Now that Europe's Common Market has administered a therapeutic shock treatment to us, we may understand that time is wasting. Others have been moving fast. If we are not to be eclipsed by our friends in Europe and overtaken by the hostile power of communism, we, too, must move hard and fast.

Let's drop the false idea that the Democratic administration is hostile to business, and get on with a new Government business partnership. In World War II, Government and business gladly pooled resources and energies for the common good, despite the fact that such measures as tight controls, rationing, and priorities were alien to businessmen accustomed to the free play of the market. Now, Government and business must again pool resources to release the full capacity of America.

339 WBZ—LINO

However hopefully we look to greater diplomatic, political, and military cooperation among the nations of the Atlantic community, no real unity of the West can be achieved without intimate cooperation to insure the free flow of goods and services throughout that community.

And however well we talk about American ideals and liberties to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, the growth of stable democratic institutions in those countries can be achieved only if living standards are significantly raised. In this task, neither our Government's "foreign-aid" projects nor the determination of the leaders of these emerging nations can do the whole job. If democracy is to find a seedbed in better living conditions in these areas, American free enterprise must play a far greater role than has been anticipated.

American investors can play a significant part in the strengthening and stabilization of the economies of Latin America and other developing areas. By increased capital investments in such areas, by more aggressive promotion of capital equipment, American business can create durable economic ties. Investors would do well, incidentally, to "naturalize" such capital investments, by permitting substantial local ownership and management participation.

We are coming to recognize the urgency of providing greater assistance to American firms selling overseas, principally through Government guarantees of medium-term credit—an area in which Europe has been outstripping us for several years. Before Congress are programs to encourage the efficiency of our industrial plants—tax incentives to encourage new investment—as well as more effective governmental assistance to firms negotiating for sales overseas.

Our huge productive capacity cannot be kept at high operating levels—and jobs cannot be increased—unless we greatly increase our export markets. Huge potential markets exist throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Our largest existing foreign market is, of course, the vast consuming population of 300 million West Europeans, headed by the nations of the successful Common Market. With an avowed goal of tripling living standards of its people over the next few years, Europe is already at full employment and operating at full capacity. With its rapidly integrating economy, Europe will negotiate trade agreements as a unit—not country by country as in the past.

Primarily to meet this opportunity, to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements that will maintain our access to this tremendous European market. President Kennedy has requested new authority to lower our own trade barriers. We must give the President the chips to play this game. And I am pleased to note the overwhelming support throughout the business community for this new program. I predict that Congress will give the President the power he needs and that the result will be a vast expansion of our exports and imports in the coming decade.

In strengthening our ties with Europe, Japan, and other free areas, we are creating a power network that cannot be matched by the Communist world. In the global struggle of free societies against totalitarianism, every new tie that binds free nations together is a signal victory.

But as the administration moves to strengthen our industrial plant and open new markets abroad, questions do remain about the structure of American business. Does big business by its very size tend to smother competition, make production less efficient and accumulate undue political power? Does big business actually profit through more efficiently produced goods at lower prices, or because industrial giants can hold prices artificially higher than true competition would permit?

The answers to these questions are not easy. First of all, the pluralistic economy of the 1960's bears little resemblance to the economy of the turn of the century that brought forth the first great trust-busting wave.

Everything about our economy is on a vaster scale today. The gross national product (after allowing for depreciation of the dollar) is more than six times as large as at the opening of the century. A "big business" in Wilson's time was a corporation owning a half billion

340 WBZ—LINO

dollars in assets. Today, one corporation alone owns \$24.6 billion; and there are a number whose assets top \$5 billion; 2,200 American companies own more than \$50 million in assets.

Yet big business does not in fact dominate our economy. The 100 largest industrial companies account for only 10 percent of the sales of all industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises. And, surprisingly, the total share of "big business" in our economy does not appear to be increasing over the long haul.

There are almost 5 million American business firms with paid employees. Counting farms, we have about 9 million sole proprietors and over 2 million partners. Such figures demonstrate how radically mistaken is the Communist concept of an economy marching to the tune of a handful of capitalists.

Ownership of American corporations is far more widely spread than at the turn of the century. Today, one or two individuals only infrequently "own" a great corporation. American Telephone & Telegraph acquired its 2,000,000th stockholder in 1961, and the largest "owner" has only a fraction of 1 percent. Corporate stock ownership is distributed among almost 15 million Americans.

Large firms play a major role in our economy in many respects. They conduct the great bulk of the privately financed research. Basic research facilities of two of our largest companies—General Electric and A.T. & T.'s Bell Laboratories—rank among the world's top scientific institutions. Several corporations have moved to close the gap of our knowledge about outer space with large-scale research facilities, such as Republic Aviation's new \$13 million research-and-development center. GE has built a \$30 million space technology center near Valley Forge, Pa., for research, development and testing of "longlife" satellites and space probes." Lockheed has expanded its research facilities by building a \$3 million "space chamber" to duplicate conditions 200 miles above the earth's surface. Budgets for research of some of our giants are very large: Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing spent more than \$25 million in research in 1961. Du Pont's budget for pioneering research alone was \$59 million that same year.

Management teams of some of these great industrial conglomerations are capable of fantastic achievements. In World War II, General Motors produced one-fourth of all our airplane engines, tanks and armored cars, almost half of all our machine guns and carbines, two-thirds of all heavy trucks, and three-fourths of all the Navy's diesel-engine horsepower. Ford's application of assembly line mass production to aircraft at Willow Run produced 8,600 Liberator bombers. Ford also produced 57,000 aircraft engines, 27,000 tank engines, 278,000 jeeps, 13,000 amphibious jeeps, and 92,000 trucks, plus numbers of gliders, tanks, and AA directors. GE, through its management team, its diversified facilities and network of supplier relationships, produced a tremendous volume of World War II materiel, from major propulsion and auxiliary engines for the Navy to the turbo-superchargers that gave U.S. planes higher ceilings.

When Du Pont was asked by the Government to take on mass production of plutonium—to beat the Nazis to the atomic bomb—management responded magnificently. Equipment never before imagined had to be designed and built, thousands of workers recruited and trained. There were no guideposts. There was no experience. But Du Pont did it, and the United States made the first atomic bomb within 3 years. And Du Pont did it once again when the Government asked it to produce the necessary ingredients for the H-bomb.

Khrushchev obviously would give a great deal to obtain the management team of a Du Pont or a General Motors, a Ford or a General Electric, an A.T. & T. or a General Mills, a General Foods, or a Westinghouse or a Kaiser Industries, or the management of any one of hundreds of other large American corporations.

On our side, unquestionably, alert, experienced, industrial management teams must be considered one of the most critical assets of our Nation in event of mobilization for hot war.

In our quite proper concern that monopoly shall not stifle operation of our competitive society, there has been a tendency to attack "bigness" as such. Much of this can be traced to the big businesses of bygone generations, which did, indeed act in a pattern of savage repression of competition.

341 WBZ—LINO

Recent revelation of price-fixing and other price-holding practices do not help to ease a strong historical suspicion of the motives of great corporations among Government leaders and small businessmen.

Yet I believe that bigness is here to stay in this expanding economy. Depending on the levels of research and technology, the optimum size for a corporation in a given industry may range from small to middle-sized to very large. The Antitrust Division of the Justice Department raises its eyebrows when mergers and acquisitions begin building into a size and structure which go beyond efficiency and thrust into the area of probable restraint of competition.

I would prefer to add a subtitle to the Antitrust Division—"pro-competitive." Our goal is an environment within which all types of business rivalry can flourish. We do not want to limit the growth of large firms that can offer better and cheaper products to consumers.

The chief internal economic role of Government must be the smoothing of the way for new men and new ideas. Where lack of credit stifles growth, Government should see that it is provided. When patent rights are being used to foster monopoly, rather than reward inventive skill, Government should insist on other companies being allowed to use patents on reasonable terms. When the power of large corporations is misused to restrain competition, the Antitrust Division must act swiftly and decisively.

The most successful method of preventing monopoly has been and continues to be growth of markets. Our growing U.S. market, with the vigorous pressure of new ideas arising from research technology, and a steady encouragement to smaller businesses over the past several decades, has given us the benefits of very large business enterprises, without a fatal development of monopolistic behavior.

I foresee a growing partnership of Government and business management, dedicated to the task of maintaining free societies.

Neither antibusiness nor antigovernment prejudices have any place in the national leadership, which must guide us through what may well be a generation of political and economic struggles with the Communist world.

We are in for a long fight. We can and we will win, if we can forge a stronger sense of national unity that harnesses the best of our brains and initiative behind a common purpose.

Paducah, Ky.
October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Participants: Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Frank Paxton, Holmes Ellis, mayor of Murray, Ky., and W. F. Foster.

Mr. PAXTON. Senator Humphrey, we have many issues that are important to Kentucky, but I think perhaps the most important issue right now is that of war and peace, the fear of war, the promise of peace.

Can you tell us something about your and President Johnson's feeling about this and what the opponent reaction to it is?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Paxton, the recent developments, of course, on the world scene have sharpened the focus upon this whole subject of our foreign policy, of the preparedness program that we have, of our efforts to sustain or to obtain a peaceful world.

The change in government in the Soviet Union surely is reason for apprehension and concern. The explosion of an atomic device in China, Communist China, and then, of course, the change in government in Great Britain, even though I should say that that development is not one of great concern for us because both of the parties in Great Britain, the Conservative Party and the Labor Party, are committed to NATO, they are committed to the basic principles of our foreign policy. Our relationship with our British allies is excellent. It is now only a matter of becoming a little better acquainted with the new Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, and with the other officers of the Cabinet of the new British Government.

But when you talk about China and you talk about the Soviet Union, then you are getting down to the trouble spots of the world.

342 WBZ—LINO

Just a word about the Chinese situation. I was one of those in Congress that said some time ago, having been a student of this whole matter of nuclear testing, conducting hearings on it for several years, that we could expect almost any time the Chinese Communists to make a successful nuclear explosion because the technology of atomic energy is now quite well known in the world. It is all a matter of whether you have the willingness to sacrifice the resources that are necessary for that type of an experiment.

The Chinese have many physicists and they have many experts in the field of atomic development. The Soviet Union up until about 1960 was helping them. After 1960 they cut off all aid, all of the economic and technical assistance, because of the break between the Soviet Union and Communist China.

But the Chinese Communists made the decision to sacrifice the welfare of their own people, which is generally the decision of a police state, and went ahead with this nuclear development.

Now, I sat in on the conference with President Johnson just last Monday. We were for over 2 hours, two and a half hours, in fact, in the Cabinet room with the leaders of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party—Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, Mr. John McCone, the head of the CIA, the special advisers on Soviet affairs and Chinese matters to the President—and we discussed all of this in intimate detail.

We know that the Chinese Communists are some period away as yet from a real bomb but they are on the threshold of becoming a nuclear power, and when that happens, this world is just that much less sure, less peaceful.

Our task now is to see whether we can bring world opinion and world pressure upon the Chinese Communists to get them to join in the nuclear test ban treaty and to prevent other countries from becoming nuclear powers because, gentlemen, this could happen, and when 10 or 12 countries become nuclear powers instead of 4 or 5, it just doubles the danger and the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, a nuclear war.

Now, let me make it crystal clear that we have unbelievable power. I am not at liberty to tell you gentlemen the number of nuclear warheads we have but we have so many that the rest of the world put together doesn't amount to very much in terms of nuclear power.

We have more power at sea right now in our Polaris submarines than all the power ever used in the entire history of the world in terms of explosive power.

We have the power now to literally demolish, to annihilate, if need be, huge sections of the earth.

We don't want to do that. That is not the purpose of our power. It is not the purpose of our military might.

The purpose of our power is to prevent war—victory over war, not victory in war. That is what we are really talking about.

Now, in the Soviet Union we will have to wait and see. I happen to believe that this present Government may be an interim Government, just temporary, but so far the policy of the Soviet Government adheres to the one that was displaced, the policy of Khrushchev. The Soviet Ambassador visited President Johnson, Mr. Dobrynin, and President Johnson said to the Soviet Ambassador, look, our guard is up. We are strong but our hand is out. If you want to work for peace, we are prepared to walk the extra mile. But if you threaten us or if you engage in aggression, we are prepared to take whatever steps are necessary.

Now, that is the kind of a man that you need. This is a man of caution, of prudence, of responsibility, of understanding. And I happen to believe that the people of the world, the great leaders of the world, whether we like those leaders or not individually, they respect the power that is ours in America and the restraint in the use of that power.

We have built up this massive nuclear force that we have, not for aggression. We have built it as a deterrent to war, to prevent others from using nuclear power, because we have in our Minutemen, that is, our Minutemen missiles, in our Polaris submarines, literally untouchable weaponry, and even if an attack were made upon us, we can now let the whole world know and we can let the Soviet Union know that they would literally be wiped off the face of the earth.

343 WBZ—LINO

We can destroy in just a few minutes 75 percent of their total productive capacity. The number of persons that could be killed is so bad that one doesn't even want to talk about it.

But I want to make it clear, the task of statesmanship today is not to cite the figures of death. The task of statesmanship is to show the world that we can use this nuclear power for peace, to desalinate water, to bring the fresh water to the deserts, to use it for electrical power, energy, to use it to heal, to cure cancer, to use it for commerce and transportation.

We want to lead in the paths of peace, and I must say that being in the community, in the home of the late and beloved Alben Barkley, a man of deep religious conviction, as well as a man of great human qualities, the search for peace was his whole life, peace at home and peace abroad. And peace is the search of all wise men and good men. And President Johnson is unashamedly searching for the path of peace because this is the mark of greatness and the mark of strength and courage, gentlemen.

That is a long answer but it is a difficult problem to deal with.

One of the dangers that I see in this campaign, Mr. Paxton, is that the opposition wants to give simple answers to these problems. They say give us 10 seconds and we will get you instant peace or instant victory.

There isn't any instant victory. There isn't any instant answer. The only thing that is instant is annihilation.

We have the means now to instantly destroy all of God's creation. And I don't think that is the desire of the American people. I think the American people want to do as the Scriptures teach us, to walk kindly, to seek peace, and to work with men of good will, and to beat our swords into plowshares if we can do so in security and in freedom.

Well, don't ask me a question like that again, Frank, or you will get those long answers.

Mr. PAXTON. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. ELLIS. Senator Humphrey, your comment about the last 25 years reminded me that during this period we have developed a very successful tobacco program. Last year Kentucky farmers, producers of Burley and Dark tobacco, received \$326 million for their tobacco under this price-support program that we are enjoying.

How do you feel about this program, the continuation of it, and how does your opponent feel about the tobacco program?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mayor Ellis, I should have mentioned in reference to Frank Paxton's question that in this search for peace, through strength, and through moderation, through—that the development of a strong economy in the United States is a very significant part of the total process of the pursuit of peace because you can't seek peace without having the kind of security and the kind of strength at home that permits you to be strong, and our economy is a part of this total effort that we can make in the world today for a better world.

If we were involved in a depression back in the United States, we would not have the means to lead the world in the paths of peace and sanity. We would have to be tending just to the problems here of our farmers, our workers, our bankers, and our businessmen.

So what we have tried to do is to have a domestic economic program that could act as the strong fortress, so to speak, for our effort to seek peace and justice and sanity in this world.

Now, the farm program is involved in this. My gracious, it used to be said that depressions are farm led and farm bred. I mean, most depressions in American life started right on the farm.

Mr. ELLIS. It could happen again, sir.

Senator HUMPHREY. It surely could. And one of the reasons why I think we haven't had a depression is because we have had a sustained level of reasonably good farm income, not as good as I would like, but it is much better than it would have been had we been pursuing policies that some people have been advocating, the policies of Mr. Goldwater or the policies of his running mate.

Let's take the tobacco industry. You mentioned that. That is key here, very important. You raise Dark tobacco, I believe you call it—

Mr. ELLIS. That is right.

344 WBZ—LINO

Senator HUMPHREY (continuing). In this area. And, of course, you have Burley also in other parts. The price-support program for Dark tobacco isn't something that has been forced upon your farmers. You people voted that.

Mr. ELLIS. About 98 percent.

Senator HUMPHREY. That is right. You made the freedom of choice, didn't you, for that program.

Mr. ELLIS. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. You were given an alternative and 90, better than 95, 98 percent of your farmers said we want to have a particular type of tobacco-control program, managed supply, and allotments, acreage, and so forth, and in the process of obtaining that or voting that, you get a price support of about 40 cents a pound on Dark and about 57, 58 on Burley.

Now, what would happen if the price-support program came off, which is exactly what is recommended by the opposition?

Mr. ELLIS. Well, sir, I would guess that tobacco would be about half the price the farmers enjoyed last year without such a program.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, you are very generous. May I say that I think it would be less than that, but our land-grant colleges, which are not politically inspired—they don't engage in Democratic politics or Republican politics or Goldwater politics and they are all different—they took a look at what would happen to this farm economy if Mr. Goldwater's prompt and final termination of farm price supports, which is his answer to the farm problem—he says prompt and final termination of these price-support programs—if that were to happen, the land-grant colleges say that our present net income for agriculture of \$12½ billion would drop to \$6½ billion, about a 50-percent cut, just like that.

Now, in tobacco it would even be worse but we are not going to let that happen. But I think the people are here, they have been told that they want—that they are going to have a choice. Mr. Goldwater says the American people need a choice and in this I think we ought to respect him. That is right. They do need a choice.

Now, the tobacco farmer has a choice. He has a choice of whether he wants a program that he has voted for, 98 percent of his fellow farmers voting for that tobacco support program, or whether he does not want one, and if he wants one, he gets a pretty good price for his crop. He is able to market his crop orderly. He is able to have freedom, real freedom, freedom that means something to him, and if he doesn't have a price-support program, he has got another kind of freedom, the freedom to be broke, the freedom of economic disaster, and that would be bad enough for our tobacco farmers, Mr. Ellis, or Mayor Ellis, but let me tell you this, that if your tobacco farmers go down to having, let us say, dark tobacco at 20 cents a pound and maybe less, or 25 cents, every merchant on every street in every town and village and right in Murray, Ky., will go to the wall because you cannot have prosperity on Main Street if you have depression in the farmer markets out in the country. It is just impossible.

You see, I grew up in the retail business. My father was a retail druggist. I was born above a drugstore, raised inside of one, and my daddy taught me something when I was a very young fellow. He said, we are just as rich and just as prosperous, son, as the customer who walks in the door.

Mr. ELLIS. Thank you, sir.

Senator HUMPHREY. So we are in this boat together, tobacco farmers, retailers, processors, and manufacturers, all tied together.

When the price of a crop drops, other people start having trouble. I hope that helps, that answers your question somewhat.

Mr. ELLIS. Thank you.

Mr. FOSTER. Senator Humphrey, the people here in the western part of Kentucky, even, in fact, the entire Tennessee Valley here, they are very much interested in this TVA bill. They are very appreciative of our TVA power. We would like to know what your thinking is about the TVA and what do you think about your opponent's recommendation to sell the TVA?

Senator HUMPHREY. Can I answer that part of your—the latter part of your question first?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

345 WBZ—LINO

Senator HUMPHREY. We are never going to let him get in the position to do so, with your help. I thought at first Senator Goldwater might be just, you know, telling a practical joke when he said we ought to sell TVA, but—and we gave him quite a little time to see whether or not he really meant it, and I will be—well, he went on down to Knoxville, Tenn., I believe it was, and he repeated it—

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY (continuing). That he did intend to sell TVA, that he thought that if he got elected as President, TVA ought to be disposed of, that the Government ought to get out of this, that the TVA ought to be sold off and sold away to free enterprise, and he put it, and of course, this would mean chopping it up into bits because you have reclamation under TVA, you have flood control under TVA, you have recreation programs under TVA, you have electrical power under TVA, you have navigation under TVA.

TVA isn't just electrical power. I doubt that Mr. Goldwater really understands what TVA really means. TVA is a multi-purpose program, a regional valley development, the Tennessee and the Cumberland and others all tied into this great river system, where we harness the waters of the river, tame the waters of the river for public good, public purposes.

Why, TVA has saved more money in terms of the saving of property from loss in floods than the total cost of TVA. TVA has resulted in the investment of hundreds of millions, billions of dollars in industrial plant, port facilities, and processing, retailing, transportation.

TVA has produced electrical energy for your part of America that is the envy of the rest of the Nation.

I think I said to one of your neighbors here, Mr. Foster, the only thing that I had against TVA was I wish we had one up in Minnesota because, my, what it has meant for this part of America.

I wonder if your people know that this part of America has had a more rapid economic growth than any other single part of the Nation. Now, you were way down. You had to come up fast.

Mr. FOSTER. Way down.

Senator HUMPHREY. But you have come up and I would predict that in another 10 years that your per capita income of this part of America will be as high or higher than almost any other part of the United States. And why? Not because TVA socialized anything.

You know, Mr. Goldwater loves to talk about that socialism. I begin to think he is beginning to believe in it, he talks about it so much, but it didn't socialize anything.

The only thing it did was to tame the rivers, humanize that, and what it did was to provide a foundation for the greatest investment of private capital that any section of the United States has ever known in the last 50 years.

It is fantastic what you have done. And here—let me see. I voted on a number of projects for TVA. I think I can honestly say that President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey have never once cast a vote against TVA and I used to get a little criticism from some narrow-minded people who would say, what are you voting for TVA for? Don't you know that takes away from industry?

Mr. FOSTER. You went along with Alben Barkley 100 percent.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Barkley, the late beloved Vice President, the Veep and Senator, he taught more people in Congress the value of the TVA than any professor who ever taught a lesson in a college or university. He was the living articulation of the whole meaning of TVA. His whole countenance radiated what TVA meant. It meant the good life. It meant better things.

Now, you have got, what is it, Kentucky Dam on the Tennessee that is being completed and then Barkley Dam on the Cumberland River, and you are building here one of the truly great recreational areas.

Mr. FOSTER. In the world.

Senator HUMPHREY. And it will be—the potentialities here are unlimited. As the workweek is shortened, and it will be in due time, as people gain more leisure time they are going to have a place to use it. They can't use it out on the asphalt and the concrete. They want to get into the mountains, they want to get to the rivers and the lakes. And we have got to keep our lakes and our streams clean, no pollution. We have to have—the boat industry, the fishing tackle industry, the

346 WBZ—LINO

recreation industry that has been created as a result of TVA, is one of the truly great economic developments in the United States.

So let me assure you, lest you have any doubt about it, with your help I want to say, because, Mr. Foster, we are going to need a lot of help here to make sure that TVA's sale isn't a reality, with your help we are going to save this.

Mr. FOSTER. We are inclined to think about TVA more in electric power and cheap rates we get. I am glad to hear you talk about the other things that—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER (continuing). That TVA has done for us here.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, surely you are right. TVA does mean so much to you in terms of electrical power.

I remember we voted at one time in the Congress for the steamplant to firm up the power—

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY (continuing). Because when the rivers are running a little low you have to firm up the secondary power.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. Oh, we had a big fight about that in Congress but it was a good decision and the cheap electrical power that you get is the key to industry. If you can have good roads—and the Federal Government helps you with that, the Interstate System is 90-percent Federal funds—good airports—and you have—and some river navigation which you get, and cheap electrical power, and a line of credit in your banking industry, you are in business.

This is what it takes with management and skilled labor to make more business, and I have noticed as I have traveled through your part of the country all these new plants. I noticed that you had a plant from a company that has its headquarters up my way.

Mr. FOSTER. They are moving in here from all over the country.

Senator HUMPHREY. They are indeed, and this means jobs and this isn't only good for Kentucky or for your neighboring States, it is good for the whole Nation.

The way we really defeat poverty, gentlemen, is by building the economic base of this country, building it through private investment.

Mr. FOSTER. The things that you spoke about, TVA, conservation of other assets here, we—

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I guess maybe I come from a State where we are very proud of our lakes and our forests and our recreational facilities and tourism in my State of Minnesota is one of the big businesses. It is third only to mining and agriculture. And I predict that tourism, recreation, will be one of the major economic developments here in your State of Kentucky and this great western part.

Mr. FOSTER. And Tennessee also.

Senator HUMPHREY. And Tennessee. Oh, you have such beautiful mountains and hills and lakes and streams, and this is going to mean, well, for the petroleum industry, for the boating industry, for your automobile industry, for everything that relates to the movement of people to these recreational areas, it is going to mean unbelievable blessings.

Mr. FOSTER. The trouble with the REA, it means so much to our rural section down here.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. Foster, can you imagine a man seeking to be President of the United States that wants to sell TVA, No. 1, and secondly, says that REA ought to be dissolved? I really—I tell you, that it is just—it really makes it seem almost incredible.

REA has done more to lift the burden of agriculture, to make agriculture a pleasant way of life, than almost any single thing that has developed in the last 25 to 30 years, and yet here is a man, Mr. Goldwater, who seeks to be President, that says most States don't need it and we ought to dissolve the Rural Electrification Administration.

I think that just disqualifies him, frankly.

Mr. FOSTER. You can't imagine living in an area—and this is a broad area that is affected by TVA here. It is not just Kentucky. It is a broad area. We can't imagine living in an area now without TVA.

Senator HUMPHREY. I couldn't either, and as a matter of fact, I hope as I travel around the country, sir, I can tell more people about the blessings of your TVA.

347 WBZ—LINO

Be of good cheer. The Democratic administration is going to see to it that TVA not only remains. It is a great economic asset. It is a great social asset. It is one of the wonders of the world. People come from all over the world to see what has been done here.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Senator HUMPHREY. And it has been praised by friend and foe alike as they got to know it.

Don't worry. We are going to see that it is being taken care of.

Mr. PAXTON. Senator, we have a few minutes left, 4 or five minutes. I wonder if you would like to sum up this discussion we are having, perhaps talk about the qualifications of the men who are running. What would you say about this?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Frank, the most serious issue that we have in this campaign is the one that you opened on, the question of our security, the peace of the world, and that of course gets right down to the office of the President.

I wonder if people realize how tremendously important this office of the President is. It is really the most powerful office in the world and it is an office in which the power of the office is restrained by the man as well as by the Constitution.

The qualifications for President in this day of the nuclear age become ever more important. We can't just settle for mediocrity. We can't even settle for, oh, just someone that knows how to get along.

We need in the office of the President today above all an educator, a teacher, to lead the American people, and not only to lead the American people, but remember, the President of the United States is the leader of the free world by the very fact of our wealth, of our power, of our position since World War II.

Whoever is President of the United States stands there as a symbol of the free world.

Now, this world is either going to have leadership from the United States or it is going to have leadership from the Soviet Union or from China. We can't afford to have anybody, therefore, in that Presidential office that lacks any of the qualities that makes for strong leadership and responsible leadership and leadership of sense and of reason and prudent leadership. The words sometimes do not adequately describe what you really need. The President of the United States, President Lyndon Johnson, came to power under the most awesome and the most terrible of circumstances, following the assassination of our beloved President Kennedy. I think it is fair to say that many people wondered would America survive the shock? Would the free world?

For a moment we faltered. Then President Johnson took that oath of office and he told us not to hesitate, he had unfinished tasks. He said, let us continue. And the whole Nation was mobilized once again and united.

And what President Johnson has done for us is to preach this lesson of unity. Come, let us reason together, he says, as he quotes the Prophet Isaiah. He has brought into the White House business and labor, capital and management, agriculture and teachers. The White House has really become the people's house. He doesn't have a room over here where he says, now you labor fellows get over here and you capitalists get over there. That isn't the way he works at all. He brings them together.

He doesn't believe in an America divided by race or color or religion or creed. He believes in an America that is one America, one people, united. He doesn't believe in the north or the south or the east or the west. That is, dividing it up by sections. We are We the People of these United States of America.

And he has had 30 years of public service, 12 years in the Senate, 12 years in the House. He was majority leader of the Senate, one of the great majority leaders like Alben Barkley, in the same tradition. He was nurtured under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He served under four Presidents. He was as loyal to President Eisenhower as he was to President Truman and President Roosevelt.

He never opposed for the sake of opposition. He always was constructive. He was a loyal, faithful lieutenant of John Kennedy.

348 WBZ—LINO

I say that President Johnson is in a sense a professional in the arts and sciences of government. He knows the world in which we live. He recognizes that America must always do better. He offers inspiration and hope to the young, promise of equality of opportunity, and he offers comfort through government for the people that may be afflicted or in need.

And above all, I think he possesses the stability, the sense of wisdom and judgment that is necessary for the Commander in Chief of the United States of America. The free world and the whole world feels safe in President Lyndon Johnson. They know that they can trust him and in this age, gentleman, trust is very, very important.

That is the way I see President Johnson and this administration. Thank you.

Carbondale, Ill.
October 21, 1964

PREPARED TEXT OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

The everyday world of politics during a campaign can be a pretty isolated world. It also can be a world where there is too much concentration on the trivial and the petty.

It can be a world where the slightest incident is easily blown up into a full-scale crisis.

Nearly every day our opponents are coming forth with excited claims of a new "bombshell"—a new and shocking "revelation." And each dud encourages more loud shouting.

These amateur theatrics are a disservice to the American people. The American people know this. The American people see through this child's play and this petty posturing by a cynical gang of political adventurers.

The events of recent days have put this campaign into focus and have urgently reminded us that we live in a fast-changing and often dangerous world.

Within 24 hours, Nikita Khrushchev was removed as the leader of Soviet Russia.

During that same 24-hour period, we received word that the Chinese Communists had exploded a nuclear device—in other words, were on the threshold of becoming a nuclear power.

And during that same period, a new government was voted into power in Great Britain.

All of these momentous events have a direct bearing on the United States and the lives of the American people.

And the impact of these events gives us dramatic evidence of how important the Presidency of the United States is.

The President of the United States is the most powerful leader in the world. He holds in his hand the power to maintain the peace of the world or annihilate virtually all life on this planet.

This is why I say that the American people are seeing through the theatrics of our opponents. They know that there is really only one central issue in this campaign. And it's very simple:

Which man is best equipped—intellectually, by experience and by training to lead the free world during a time of constant danger?

This Nation and the free world need a leader who is patient and prudent—a leader who is experienced and responsible—a leader who can be trusted.

We have that leader in President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The choice clearly is President Johnson because of his long experience and his proven leadership in foreign affairs. And the choice clearly is President Johnson for another basic reason—because his opponent is Barry Goldwater.

Barry Goldwater has radical ideas about the conduct of our foreign policy—ideas so radical that he has lost the support, indeed he seems to have purposely rejected the support, of countless Republican leaders and many of the most influential Republican newspapers in the country.

349 WBZ—LINO

Up to now, American foreign policy, in both Republican and Democratic administrations, has been bipartisan—supported and executed by both parties. The radical from Arizona has rejected this national policy and his far-out ideas on foreign policy have driven authentic Republicans and true conservatives to support President Johnson.

In no area is the difference between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater greater than in the field of foreign policy and the question of responsibility in international affairs. In no area are Mr. Goldwater's views more dangerous to the safety of all Americans—indeed, the safety and welfare of all mankind. The difference here is much more than the usual party difference—it is the difference between life and death.

This Republican pretender to the Presidency opposes every step made by responsible, wise statesmen to secure world peace. This by itself has made millions of Americans uneasy and apprehensive about placing his nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. The radical from Arizona goes further—he says he wants quick and total victory and he would gain it by a policy of ultimatum.

Listen to some of Mr. Goldwater's statements on foreign policy from his misnamed book, "The Conscience of a Conservative." I quote directly:

A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our only objective.

Here is another considered observation by the Reserve general from Arizona:

We must—ourselves—be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes.

These are the words of a man who is frantically impatient with the world as it is. These are the words of a man who is in hot pursuit of the mirage of total victory. These are the words of a man who cannot or will not accept the reality of the nuclear age that we live in. The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party would like to force the Soviet Union into a corner where its only alternatives would be surrender or nuclear war. Again I quote his words—"to invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union or accept local defeat."

What this amateur strategist does not yet realize is that such juvenile games of "nuclear chicken" could eventually result in the incineration of all mankind. He does not realize that in this the 2d half of the 20th century there is no such thing as instant victory. There is only instant annihilation.

Is it any wonder that the New York Herald-Tribune, a responsible newspaper that has long been considered one of the leading Republican newspapers in this country, had this to say about the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party:

Senator Goldwater has shown himself, in sum, a poor risk for the most personal and awesome of a President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may, in crisis, depend on his judgment—and his judgment alone.

Fortunately, the American people have a choice in this election. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who has displayed the highest order of responsibility. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who understands mankind's universal yearning for peace, a man who understands we must remain strong to preserve the peace—but also a man who understands that this strength—the greatest that any nation on earth has ever had—must be employed with restraint and responsibility.

We have an opportunity in this election to give an overwhelming mandate to a man of prudence and compassion, to a leader we can trust to use this Nation's awesome power with reason and restraint.

That man is President Lyndon B. Johnson.

350 WBZ—LINO

Carbondale, Ill.
University of Southern Illinois
October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, my good friends, for that wonderful introduction and this enthusiastic response. I almost feel I am a student once again myself. [Laughter.]

I was going to say it makes me feel like starting to teach again, and there are several people that would like to encourage that.

I notice that on every program with static, most of it comes from the far right. [Applause.]

They keep chanting that they want some kind of Barry. I don't know whether it is "straw barry" or "rasp barry". [Laughter and applause.]

I know why they are here. They are here to repent. [Applause and laughter.]

As a matter of fact, I notice several of them have a smile on their face and when you see that, you know that deep down in their hearts they are going to vote for Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

I am just delighted to be here in this auditorium and I am very singularly honored that I have been welcomed here and then permitted to speak on this campus. It is a high privilege for a man in political life to be in a university, a college community. And I am particularly pleased that I can be here with my friends, Ken Gray of the House of Representatives, a very able and a very hard-working Congressman, and above all, to be here and be presented by a fellow Senator, but more importantly, a close and dear friend, a gentleman that has commanded the respect and earned the respect of friend and foe alike, a courageous man in every minute of his great and full life, a man of superior intellect, of uncontested courage, of complete integrity, moral and political integrity, and honesty that is the standard for every American to rise to, my friend and your Senator, Paul Douglas. [Applause.]

And dear friends, I notice that the county chairman has the same first name as I have, and when he was introduced they said Hubert, go forth, and I almost got right up here and started to speak. But he lacks one quality. I want to say that I am the only candidate for Vice President in the United States of America or any other country in our time that has the name of Horatio. [Applause and laughter.]

And while I found very little that I could praise in the Goldwater campaign, I want to say that I am eternally grateful to my friend from Arizona for having popularized this name which until now I thought was a liability but now I realize that it is a great political asset because I can rally round all the votes of folks in America who have middle names that were foisted upon them and they had no choice. [Applause and laughter.]

You have heard of the backlash and you have heard of the frontlash but believe me, we are going to win with the big lash. [Applause.]

Now, my friend over here says let's talk a little bit about the issues and that is such a refreshing comment from a Goldwater supporter. [Applause and laughter.] I have a feeling that fellow is going to defect. I don't think he has had the word because the Goldwater campaign up until now has refused to discuss the issues if they knew what they were. [Applause.]

But I think it is just delightful at long last, in this, the twilight of the campaign, that one of the younger members of the Goldwater faction has decided it would be a good time to discuss them. So let's start right now, the issues.

One of the issues in this campaign is whether or not you want an administration that has some understanding of the problems of today and some grasp of the needs of tomorrow or whether you want an administration that distorts the history of America and has no comprehension of where we are or what we ought to do.

That is one central issue right now and that issue can be resolved quickly.

351 WBZ—LINO

The Senator from Arizona is the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party. He does not represent the majority of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

He does not represent the majority of his party. He has temporarily been able to kidnap its leadership. The Grand Old Party will one day be rescued.

Here I am in the State of Lincoln who was the founder of the Republican Party, but the spokesman of the Republican Party has repudiated the Great Emancipator. He has no time for such things as civil rights and equal rights under the Constitution. [Applause.]

It was Abraham Lincoln who said it is the duty of government to represent and serve the people. He said—and I am not paraphrasing—the government shall do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves or do nearly so well for themselves. He is the author of that immortal phrase, "A government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Somehow or another the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party failed to understand those words or possibly has a more legitimate excuse because this gentleman from Arizona is a man who has a calendar without any months, a watch without any hands and glasses without any lenses. [Applause and laughter.]

What's more, I suppose that it is entirely possible that he could read the Constitution and fail to comprehend that the first mandate of the Constitution is to promote the general welfare.

I suppose he could read the Gettysburg Address and fail to see that it was a government of the people, by the people and for the people. I suppose he could read and not comprehend the Second Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln when he said with firmness and right as God gives us to see and do the right, that America is the last best hope on earth.

Yes, I imagine he could fail to see all of that.

But my dear friends, who can live in this, the 20th century, and fail to see the needs of the American people in a troubled world? Who is it that could deny that in these past 30 years great gains have been made and that there is a duty for a President and a government to work in behalf of the people?

Government must be a partner in the development of a Great Society. Government, not just Federal Government, Federal, State and local government, working together with the people, not doing everything for the people but doing things to help the people do things for themselves. [Applause.]

I speak in an area which just a few years ago was distressed and depressed. I speak in an area of Illinois that has gone through what we might call the technological revolution, changes in fuel supply and energy sources, changes in industry, changes in agriculture, changes in population, and an administration came to power in 1961 after a hard-fought honorable election and John Kennedy became our President and that President standing before the American people asked this great Nation to get moving again.

His ringing words, simple yet profound, let us begin. [Applause.] Those words were like a command, and in America people did begin. Government, people working together. We passed laws.

The man that now seeks to be President on the Republican ticket says that his objective is not to pass laws but to repeal them.

We might ask which laws? Frankly he has never contributed many. [Applause.]

He voted against area redevelopment. The first single loan made by ARA was in this county, Jackson County, Ill. For accelerated public works, yes. For construction, yes. For community betterment. And all over America communities have been improved. Civic centers, streets, sanitary facilities, one thing after another to help America become a better and a more livable and a better country.

ARA, public works, housing, hospital construction, aid to our elderly, hope and housing for our elderly.

On every single program that I have mentioned, and the list is far too long, on every one the Senator from Arizona voted "No." "No." "No." He has said without equivocation that the Government of the United States should get out of programs in agriculture, in welfare, in housing, in education, in health.

352 WBZ—LINO

I will say that he is very consistent. He is consistent in that he has never voted "Yes" to any of these things. Aid to universities, to this great university—the student body would be living in wooden barracks were it not for the college dormitory housing program. [Applause.]

I want you to know that Mr. Goldwater wouldn't have even voted to put a pound of sand into it, much less steel and concrete. He voted "No." He voted "No" for housing for the elderly. He voted "No" for old-age assistance for the elderly. He voted against the minimum wage law. He voted against the Housing Act. He voted against urban renewal which is taking place right here in Carbondale. He has voted "No," "No," a thousand times "No."

He has a record of negativism that is unexcelled by any public figure in American life. [Applause.]

Now, may I make it quite clear, a man should be entitled to his point of view and I want to repeat that Mr. Goldwater has been consistent on these matters. He said on REA, it ought to be dissolved. He said on TVA, we ought to sell it. [Laughter.] He has said to the students of America, and these are his words, "The Government has no responsibility to education. Some people would be better off if they had none."

This is a man who says he wants to be President. These are his words at Jacksonville, Fla., a man that can vote against the nuclear test ban treaty, a man that could vote against the first and feeble step to curtail and limit the arms race, a man that can vote against the Civil Rights Act supported by both of your Senators, Senators Douglas and Dirksen, a man that can vote against aid to higher education, aid to medical education, aid to the elderly, aid to the young, aid to the blind, that kind of a man ought not to be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Now, let's not be misunderstood. The Senator from Arizona is entitled to his point of view. I do not protest his patriotism. He is a patriot. He believes what he says. He lives in a country where he has a right to say what he thinks. I think he is a gentle, friendly man. I know him as a Senator. I think he would make a wonderful neighbor but I don't think he would make a good President. [Applause.]

Now, dear friends—these people here are engaging in some kind of histrionics. They are the greatest amateur vaudeville dramatic producers that we have had since the high school plays at Doland where I went to school. [Laughter.] Yes, they are always coming forth with some new bombshell, a new shocking revelation, and each dud encourages much more loud shouting.

These amateur theatrics are a disservice to the American people, and what is more, the American people know it.

The American people have a capacity to see through this child's play and this petty posturing by a gang of amateur political adventurers.

Now, the events of recent days I think should sober us to a very serious consideration of the responsibilities of the Presidency. And the ultimate of this campaign back on the track of talking about economics—housing, education, social security, health, community development, the growth of our cities—have you yet heard the opposition talk to you about America's great cities and what needs to be done to make them livable as we know that within the next 15 or 20 years this Nation will be 90 percent urban and 10 percent rural?

No. Oh, no. They want to talk to us about some far-gone never-never land, leading us back there with the sense of nostalgic remembrance to a place where no one ever lived and where nothing ever happened. [Laughter.]

No, my dear friends, the events of these days tell us that there is more to talk about than that nonsense. We ought to be talking about what we are going to do with our colleges and our universities. How are we going to double the classroom space in the next 40 years? How are we going to afford it? How are we going to work? How are you going to pay for it? How is it going to be done? How are we going to find the faculty for our education? How are we going to cope with the changed conditions in this world?

353 WBZ—LINO

Eleanor Roosevelt in her final writings has a book entitled, and it was published after her death, "Tomorrow Is Now." I think in that sentence we sum up that things are moving so rapidly. The world picture changes so quickly. Science and technology changes industry, changes weapons systems, changes whole communities. "Tomorrow Is Now." And if you have a man that thinks that today is yesterday, you have already lost the ball game. [Applause.]

Within 24 hours we have witnessed a change in the Government in the Soviet Union, a change in the Government of Great Britain, the Chinese Communists detonating a nuclear device.

Now, let no one say that these do not represent significant changes and these changes require thoughtful consideration of our process, of our steps, of our policy. And the impact of these dramatic events I think gives us again some reminder of the importance of the Presidency of the United States.

The President, whoever he is, by the nature of his office, by the fact of America's power, by the fact of World War II, by the fact of the polarization of power in this world, the President of the United States is the most powerful leader in the world. And he holds in his hands the power to either maintain the peace or to annihilate virtually all life on this planet.

Two days ago I sat with the congressional leaders in the Cabinet room of the White House. Two were there from this State, two Republicans, Senator Dirksen and Congressman Arends; also Senator Kuchel of California, Senator Aiken of Vermont, Senator Mansfield, Senator Fulbright, Senator Hickenlooper, Senator Hayden, Hubert Humphrey, President Johnson, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the head of the CIA, the top military officers of our Government, the specialists on China and the Soviet Union, and for 2½ hours we discussed the future of this land, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

When I tell you that we have the power, unbelievable power, to literally annihilate life on this planet, I am not exaggerating. And what we need in the Presidency today is a man who knows of that power and who knows how to use that power with restraint, who knows how to use it with reason, who knows that power in the hands of our Government is not for conquest, is not for the purpose of issuing ultimatums.

Power in the hands of a great free people and the representatives of those free people is there for one purpose, to maintain justice in this world, to help other people help themselves, and to save this world from war.

Yes, the opposition talks about that they want a win policy. Well, we want one, too. What we want to win is the win over war itself. We don't think you win much, my dear friends, in a war. Not a nuclear war. We think that the purpose of our deterrent, we think the purpose of our power is to see if we can win man's old war against war, to win that struggle. [Applause.]

And I am talking to the very people here that have the greatest interest in this matter.

What is, then, the central issue in this campaign? It is direct and it is simple. Which man is best equipped intellectually, by experience, by training, by temperament, to lead the free world during a time of constant and continuing danger? This Nation—

VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. Goldwater.

VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. Boo.

Senator HUMPHREY. May I say most respectfully this is exactly why millions of Republicans have left the banner of that party, just that kind of talk. [Applause.]

All I hope is they keep doing it because it helps and helps and helps and helps and helps. [Laughter and applause.]

This Nation and the entire free world needs leadership that is patient and that is prudent and a leader who is experienced and responsible, and a leader above all who can be trusted under all circumstances, and we have that leader and he follows in the pattern and in the footsteps of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman, of Dwight Eisenhower, of John Kennedy, and his name is President Lyndon Johnson. [Applause.]

354 WBZ—LINO

I happen to think that the choice is quite clear based on experience alone. But the choice is clearly President Johnson for another basic reason. Not only experience, not only prudence, not only knowledge of government, but the choice is clear because his opponent is Barry Goldwater. And let's take note of that. [Applause.]

Mr. Goldwater is not a conservative because a conservative seeks to conserve. A conservative seeks to follow in the traditions of his party, of his country. He surely—he is not a Democrat. [Laughter.] And may I say in view of the Republican platform of 1960—where there were 25 specific commitments made in that platform, a responsible authentic Republican platform, that on those 25 issues where the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirksen, voted 18 times yes; where the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Saltonstall, Republican, voted 20 times yes; where the Senator from Iowa, Senator Hickenlooper, Republican leader, voted 17 times yes; and where the Senate minority whip, from California, voted 25 times yes on the Republican platform in 25 tested votes, the Senator from Arizona voted 25 times no. [Applause.]

Now, the Senator from Arizona has said, and I repeat, "We shall be known by our votes." [Laughter.] Well, Senator, if that is the case, your own platform that required you on 25 issues to stand up and be counted, at least the majority of the time yes, where the leaders of the Senate, the elected leaders of your party, voted each and every one of them three-fourths of the time or all the time yes, the Senator from Arizona who says he is a Republican voted 25 times no.

I will leave it up to you who is a Republican. I have a better Republican voting record than that. [Laughter.]

There is only one word that can be applied to this record. It is a radical record. And Barry Goldwater has radical ideas about the conduct of our foreign policy, ideas so radical that he has lost the support, indeed he seems to be purposely rejecting the support, of countless Republican leaders and many of the most influential Republican newspapers in the Nation.

Up to now American foreign policy has always been bipartisan, created during the administrations of Democratic Presidents and backed by men like Arthur Vandenberg, great Republican leader, Herbert Hoover, who today has departed from us. These men, Republican leaders—Wendell Wilkie, Thomas Dewey, Herbert Hoover, Alfred Landon, Arthur Vandenberg—every last one of them has backed a bipartisan foreign policy until now when a radical moved into the control of the Republican Party and repudiates the work of 30 years of constructive efforts by people who loved their country more than their party and who were more patriotic than they were partisan.

So is it any wonder that there are vast areas of Republicanism going over to President Johnson?

Now, may I point out that this Republican pretender to the Presidency has regrettably opposed every step made by responsible, wise statesmen to secure world peace. He says he is opposed to the United Nations and that we should get out. Oh, now he says he maybe didn't mean it. [Laughter.] He said that the Peace Corps which is training students in this body was a haven for a beatnik. That is his description of it as he voted against it.

He voted against the arms control, the Disarmament Agency, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Alliance for Progress, the food-for-peace program, every single constructive step that our Government, Republicans and Democrats alike, have sought to make, for the process of peace, patiently stepping forward in that great pursuit of an honorable peace in every step that I have mentioned—foreign aid, Peace Corps, arms control, Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, food for peace. You name it and the Senator from Arizona has voted no. [Applause.]

Now, let me finally document my case for you. You have been a patient audience. In the "Conscience of a Conservative," a book that has sold well and apparently has had very little influence, but I think that at least it ought to be quoted, the spokesman of the opposition says as follows, and I quote him explicitly, fully and directly:

A shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people, including our own, but we cannot for that reason make the avoidance of the shooting war our only objective.

355 WBZ—LINO

And there is another one of his casual peaceful observations [laughter]:

We must ourselves be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes.

Or yet another, and I quote his words:

To invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union or to accept total defeat.

Now, add to that his interview in *Der Spiegel* in which he commended imperial and Nazi Germany upon having pursued with such success, as he put it, the diplomacy of brinkmanship, brinkmanship. Imperial Germany and Nazi Germany that twice in one century have bathed this world in blood and have gone down in utter defeat.

The Senator from Arizona says we would do well to emulate their policy of brinkmanship.

Is it any wonder, my dear friends, that thoughtful people are concerned.

I have quoted the words of a man who is frantically impatient with the world as it is. These are the words of a man who cannot or will not accept the reality of the nuclear age.

What this amateur strategist does not yet realize is that such juvenile games of nuclear chicken could eventually result not in instant victory but in the incineration of all mankind.

He doesn't seem to realize, my fellow Americans, that in this, the second half of the 20th century, there is no such thing as instant victory. The only thing there is is instant annihilation. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Life Magazine*, *Curtis Publishing Co.*, newspaper after newspaper, the *Scripps-Howard*, the *Hearst newspapers*, newspapers that are traditionally conservative and Republican, have endorsed Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States and repudiated Barry Goldwater. [Applause.]

I ask those who yet have time to change their minds, I ask thoughtful Americans to listen to these words of the leading editorial of the leading Republican paper of America, the *New York Herald Tribune*. This newspaper has yet to endorse a Democrat until this year.

What was the editorial on the front page? I quote it word for word:

Senator Goldwater has shown himself, in sum, a poor risk for the most personal and awesome of the President's responsibilities, the conduct of foreign relations in an age when survival may, in crisis, depend on his judgment and his judgment alone.

My fellow Americans, without any cheering or jeering, but just because you are concerned about life itself and about the future of this Republic, this world and this planet, I suggest that it might be well if we thoughtfully study these comments, not only of one newspaper but of hundreds and the words of both candidates. President Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater do give the American people a choice, and a clear one. We have the opportunity to vote for a man who through 30 years of his public life has displayed the highest order of responsibility. I think we have an opportunity to vote for a man who understands mankind's constant yearning for peace, a man who understands that we must remain strong to preserve the peace, but who also understands that this strength, the greatest that any nation on earth has ever had, must be employed with restraint and responsibility.

I am proud to stand on this platform before an intelligent, gifted audience and say to you that this country of ours needs a President who unites us and doesn't divide us, a President, if you please, that is willing with the Prophet Isaiah to say to Americans, "Come, let us reason together."

I am proud to stand on this platform and support a man for the office of President for the next 4 years who knows that the wealth of America is not merely for its luxury but is to be used for the attainment of social justice. And I am proud to stand on this platform and speak for a man that understands that the leadership of this world

356 WBZ—LINO

will either be in our hands, we the people of the free world, under the general inspiration and direction of the President of the United States, or it will be in the hands of a Communist, of a fanatic, of a totalitarian.

And I am proud to stand on this platform to say that President Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey repudiate the politics of radicalism of the extreme left or the extreme right. We want nothing of the commies or the Birchites. We want only the thoughtful consideration and support of the American people who believe that this is one Nation. [Applause.]

Yes, we want the support of Americans regardless of party or section or creed or ethnic origin or race, who believe just this one basic fundamental truth about the promise of this Republic and its purpose, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and with justice for all, for everyone, and may I say that that is our creed. [Applause.]

May I say this is our creed. This is our philosophy. And we are going to continue to maintain that belief, that the American people will respond to reason, that the American people will respond to compassion, that the American people will respond to prudent and responsible leadership, and if you believe that is the kind of an America that you want, and the kind of leadership that you want, I ask you between now and November 3 to help us, to help us withstand the onslaught, the onslaught that is hitting us day in and day out, where there are the peddlers of fear and hate and bitterness and distrust and suspicion, of smear and half truths and innuendo.

I ask you to stand with us. I ask you to do what John Kennedy said, give us your hands, give us your hearts. Give us your help and we will give you all that we have in faithful public service for these, the United States of America, and the Republic for which this Nation stands.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Carbondale, Ill.

TV Taping at Station WSRU-TV, University of Southern Illinois
October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Participants: Karan Davis, Will Meyer, Lynn Leonard, Bob Oexeman, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

The Announcer. "Students Query Humphrey." From the campus of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Ill., college students take this opportunity to question Senator Hubert Humphrey, vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Here to ask the first question is Karan Davis, a senior.

Miss DAVIS. Mr. Humphrey, assuming that you win the nomination and once the excitement of the campaign is over, what is the best settlement that we can realistically hope for in Vietnam?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I don't think, Miss Davis, that we are going to get any immediate settlement in Vietnam.

One of the unfortunate developments in this campaign is the impression that the Goldwater faction has attempted to make that these grave international problems and crises are subject to sudden or prompt solution. I don't think they are.

It appears to me that the policy that we are pursuing in Vietnam is the proper one or the right one. It hasn't been as successful as we would have liked, primarily because of the political instability of the South Vietnamese Government, and presently we are doing a great deal with the responsible leaders in South Vietnam to bolster that Government, to improve its stability, and within a few days a new constitution for South Vietnam will be promulgated and an entirely new governmental structure will be initiated.

What we seek to do is to restore law and order, peace and order, I should say, in South Vietnam, and then once you have been able to do that, then you are at the point where you can go to the conference table and try to get a negotiated settlement that is honorable and that does not prejudice the sovereignty or the freedom or the rights of the South Vietnamese people.

357 WBZ—LINO

Until then we would be in the position of having the gun at our head, so to speak, not be in a position of strength. I don't think we ought to negotiate under those circumstances. Negotiation should be our objective. A true neutralization of the area should be our objective. But a neutralization under terms that at least are honorable and reasonably favorable.

South Vietnam was to be a neutral country in the very beginning, in 1954. The accords of 1954 said that. That neutrality was violated by the Vietcong and Vietminh to the north and by the help of the Chinese Communists.

Once we can restore the balance, then we will try to accomplish the objective of a peaceful nonaligned neutral South Vietnam.

Mr. MEYER. Senator Humphrey, we all know that President Johnson has declared a war on poverty. Mr. Michael Harrington has suggested that an all-out economic war on poverty, using many of our vast resources, would provide a cure for poverty except for a few chronic cases.

I would like to ask you, is an all-out economic war on poverty politically feasible and what would you propose to do with those chronic cases?

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Harrington is a very respected writer in this field, I would say an authority. I attempted to write a book myself entitled "The War on Poverty." I don't consider it to be too profound a work but it does review in some depth the problems, the economic and social problems, that face our country, and these problems are related, of course, to poverty.

Might I just take a moment of your time to discuss this word "poverty," this meaning of it.

Poverty is not merely economic. Much of the poverty that we face in America today, of course, has an economic base but it is also the poverty of illiteracy. It is the poverty of despondency, of hopelessness, people that have been left behind, so to speak, in the rapid changes of our economy, changes many times due to science and technology, change in crops, for example, in certain agricultural areas, change in industry in certain communities, and people have just been left behind. They are sort of a backwash of a great tidal wave of progress taking place in our Nation.

These people are not going to be readily and quickly restored or rehabilitated to self-sustaining productive citizens.

First of all, there has to be a major effort made in the educational field, very major. And this will require a specialized training, vocational training, manpower training. It will require intensive training in the elementary subjects.

Many of these people are tenant farmers, former tenant farmers, sharecroppers. Many of them are colored with no education, being literally given no help at all during their formative years. They have come to the large urban areas. They are there. They don't know how to live in the city. They have had no experience in manufacturing, the work discipline. Even reporting to work on time, believe it or not, is a matter that requires some training.

So we have to launch an attack on poverty on many fronts, and what President Johnson really did in his antipoverty program, better known as the Economic Opportunity Act, was to coordinate the many activities of Government that we now have at the Federal level and then to phase those activities in with State and local government efforts, trying to get Governors and mayors to formulate their community plans in legislatures, and then to work with the voluntary agencies.

So this all-out war, that phrase "all-out" really means all encompassing. It means getting the voluntary groups, the community chest organizations, your religious groups, working with local, State and Federal Government, and then penetrating these poverty areas with economic aid, public works, yes, grants for industries.

It doesn't do much good, you know, just to hand out money to people. That is no way to combat poverty. Actually you may actually lend—encourage poverty that way.

What we seek to do is broaden the economic base to encourage industry to come into the area. That means improving transportation, frequently. It may mean improving a river, dredging a harbor, or deepening a channel of a stream.

358 WBZ—LINO

We encouraged industry with tax concessions, with loans, cooperative loans between government and private banks. We train workers, young people, old people. We try to help in the housing program. And then we move in on community action programs where you can actually have intensified education to get people back into the main stream, you might say, of American life.

Now, this is, like the question on Vietnam, Miss Davis, a long-term project. I wish that I could say on this broadcast that within the next 2 or 3 years we will be able to defeat poverty, so to speak. But we can't. We really can't do it that quickly. But we have made the beginning, and as somebody said, poverty is not new. It is as old as history. But what is new is that we for the first time have the means to do something about it. We have the means in science and technology and finance, in management, in grants and loans and education, in health.

My goodness, much of the problem of poverty is poor health, just people plain sick. They are just at about 50 percent of capacity.

We have problems of public health involved here. But we have the resources, and what Mr. Shriver is going to do as the head of this whole organization in Washington is not to direct every program but what he is basically going to do is act as a catalyst, sort of a source of encouragement, inspiration and cooperation, to get Jackson County, to get Carbondale, or to get Minneapolis, Minn., or Minnesota and Illinois and the community chest and local and State governments, all focusing at one time upon a particular problem, you see, working right at it.

If you find that there is a growing rate of illiteracy as we find in our large cities, illiteracy that results from the influx of people from outside, rural people that had no education, attack it. Set up special schools, get the teachers, get the teachers, get the people to do the job. And once you have educated people, get industry, get people at work, let them get some work experience, you see.

Miss LEONARD. Senator, assuming that there is a Democratic victory, by what specific means will the U.S. Government insure that all American citizens will have the right to vote in the 1968 election?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, first of all, we took a step in the Democratic Convention, as you recall, which I think was rather significant and maybe historical, that all participants at that convention in 1968, they must first of all come on the basis that there has been no discrimination in the party activities or the party functions on the basis of race, creed or color.

We won't have the problem that we had, for example, with Mississippi and Alabama this year because the rules of the convention, the call for the convention in 1968 states that you cannot come as a delegation and be accepted with credentials if you have practiced discrimination at the precinct or the county or the State level.

In the next few years, Miss Leonard, I am sure that we will have such wide compliance with the Civil Rights Act that it will be the truly good news of the 1960's.

Actually the amount of compliance since the passage of the Civil Rights Act in June, and signed in July, has been nothing short of amazing. In community after community the public facilities for the first time in 100 years have been opened to people regardless of race, color or creed.

Now, on the voting rights, we will make every step through the Department of Justice and through the Community Relations Service of the Department of Commerce to see it that every American is entitled—is given, not given only but has his right to vote protected and assured. This may mean the appointment of Federal registrars. It may mean a good deal more activity on the part of the Department of Justice. But we have made so much progress on this already.

I noticed the other day it was said that there were about 7 million of the American Negroes registered to vote in this election. This is amazing. And this election within itself has seen one of the greatest registration drives that we have ever known.

359 WBZ—LINO

Now, there are only a few States in the Union, two or three, where there is any discrimination on the basis of race in voting. I think by 1968, through activity, Federal, State and local, we will—well, we will have broken the back of that and we are committed to that program.

The least that we can do in America, the constitutional guarantee is to see to it that the precious right to vote is protected, and President Johnson and his Vice President and the Democratic Congress will see that that is done, and I think we will have a lot of help from the Republicans.

I want to say that on the civil rights issue I don't want to claim that this is only something for the Democratic Party. I think that would be unfair. We never could have passed the civil rights bill without the help and cooperation of the Republican leadership and the Republican members. And in that great victory there was plenty of room for everybody to share in the glory.

Mr. OEXEMAN. Senator Humphrey, in a speech you made in Tulsa on Tuesday you stated that the responsible Republican leaders had temporarily lost control of their party to the apostles of hatred, despair and extremism.

By temporarily, do you mean to indicate that a Democratic victory this fall will return the power or control of the Republican Party back to responsible leaders?

Senator HUMPHREY. I think that if there is a Democratic victory, which we hope for and expect, which we are working hard to obtain, that it must be a very large victory so that the present leadership of the Republican Party is thoroughly discredited.

It is difficult to speak of this because it appears that as a Democrat, I really have no interest in the other party. But that is not true. I think that our country needs a good two-party structure. I know of no better way to keep American politics honorable than having good clean-cut competition. But I do also believe that the parties must be in responsible hands.

For example, if the Democratic Party were taken over by leftists, Communists, I think it would be a national tragedy. And in my own State of Minnesota, I want you to know Bob, that I have at times actually helped elect a Republican Congressman because at one time in my State there was some political infiltration by extreme left-wingers, and at least if not Communists, close to it, to take over sections of our party.

I fought against that. I helped clean that mess up. And I actually went out and endorsed as a United States Senator, and first as a mayor of Minneapolis, a couple of Republican Congressmen because I said I thought it was more important to have a responsible man that was not an extremist or a radical in power than it was to have somebody that said he was a Democrat to win.

So I can come with clean hands in this matter.

I think that the present leadership of the Republican Party is not the responsible leadership. I think it has repudiated the principles of Lincoln. I don't think it at all is within the path of a Wendell Wilkie or of a Thomas Dewey or the kind of men that have been responsible Republican leaders. And once that the defeat takes place, there will be a scramble in the Republican Party for control. And men like Governor Rockefeller, Governor Scranton, Governor Romney, Henry Cabot Lodge, Thomas Dewey, men of that quality I hope will be able to succeed in reclaiming their party.

It will make it tougher for us, I will be frank with you. I think the Democrats will have a real rough time of it. But I don't think you ought to have a major political party become a respectable platform for the wildest eyed elements of the American public life and what has happened with Mr. Goldwater's nomination is that the Birchites and men like the so-called Minutemen and the Gerald L. K. Smithites, and the Ku-Kluxers, they at long last have a respectable platform. They can go out and preach their doctrines of bigotry, hatred and fear and distrust, and say that they are doing it for a candidate.

Now, I don't say that Mr. Goldwater is that kind of a man. I want to be frank with you. I don't think he is. But I wish he would take a more active role in repudiating this kind of support.

360 WBZ—LINO

The John Birch Society has called General Eisenhower a "conscious agent of a Communist conspiracy," and what is more, they have never taken it back. They have condemned the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in exactly the same manner. They have attacked Republicans and Democrats alike with unbelievable viciousness.

And now Mr. Goldwater says that he finds that the John Birch Society is made up of people that he is impressed with, the kind of people that ought to be in politics. I must say that that kind of an invitation to this group is very saddening and very dangerous.

So I want to see the Republican Party get back into the hands of responsible Republicans, and I want to predict that if it does, it will be hard on the Democrats but it is better for America.

We cannot afford to have these wild-eyed extreme radical groups be given respectable platforms from whence to utter their messages of hate and division and bitterness.

That is why I have said what I am quoted as saying in Tulsa.

Miss DAVIS. Going on with this capture of the Republican Party by a very small minority, taking this example, the occurrence of President Kennedy being assassinated in November in Dallas, the subsequent murder of Lee Oswald, these things would indicate a sort of restlessness in the United States that perhaps hasn't existed or hasn't been so obvious before.

What exactly, as a result of these sorts of things, is the status of American prestige abroad?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, Karan—Miss Davis—I think you have to understand that our Nation has been under a terrible strain for a long time. When I first cast my—when I cast my first vote which was a long time ago, I cast it for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. I was 21 years of age that year. And we had gone through then the period of the stockmarket crash, and ever since 1929 I think it is fair to say we have lived under almost traumatic conditions.

We have had depressions, stockmarket crash, World War II, post-world war, Communist threat, Berlin, Vietnam, Cuba, one thing after another, unbelievable problems, because this world has changed. In my lifetime it has turned upside down, so to speak.

America has come from an isolationist country to the greatest international power in the world. The Soviet Union has become a living fact of military and economic power. China is in new and dangerous hands. Asia has gained its independence. Africa has had a dozen or more, more than that, nations come into national independence.

All of these things have a tendency to frustrate so many people. They say, why can't it be like it used to be when it was quieter and calmer? And we have a number of Americans that just simply can't take it. Really, they are psychologically—and they are not only Americans, this is true all over the world—they just sort of despair. They sort of give up and they say, let's get it all over with.

Of course, that is exactly what the Communists would like to have us do. They would like to have us just give up, get it over with, you know, just say it is too much.

We have people all the time who say, oh, let's just quit all this monkey business. Let's get it all—let's just tell them what we think and that is it.

Of course, you can't do that. That is when you start to lose the fight. That is when you start to lose out.

Mr. Oswald and others, I think, are mentally deranged people—this Mr. Oswald, the kind of thing that happened there in the assassination of our beloved President. He obviously was a psychopathic case. He also was a subversive. He was mentally deranged—if not, at least, disturbed, I should say—and we have these kinds of people.

You would be surprised at the mail. I can tell it from my mail. Maybe I get—let's say I get a thousand letters a day. That is about an average of what we got before the campaign. We get many more now. But out of that thousand there maybe will be 20 or 25 that are so unbelievably obscene, angry, that I wonder.

We are threatened every day, you know. Every day of your life you are threatened by somebody, by an anonymous call that they are going to shoot you or your family or do something to you.

361 WBZ—LINO

Well, this is just a part of the pressure that is exerted upon a great people and a great Nation and our job, it seems to me, is one of mental health. We need mental health.

By the way, I was speaking before the Mental Health Association in Washington on the night of November 21, 1963. And in that speech I talked about our national mental health and I said, "You know, it is even possible in a Nation like this where there are such problems of mental health that some deranged or disturbed person could actually possibly take the life of one of our great leaders." Senator Danny Inouye of Hawaii the next morning came up to me, the next day, after President Kennedy's assassination, and said, "I can hardly believe it." He said it seemed prophetic.

Well, I said it was strictly accidental because the pressure is on, the pressure is on the people all the time. And this is why our mental hospitals are filled. There are individual problems today. So what we need to do, I think, is to get a sense of confidence and to get a sense of forbearance and also a sense of reality.

We are truly, Miss Davis, winning the cold war. We are winning it but it is just—it inches along. It doesn't gallop along. We are winning it in the sense that, first of all, there hasn't been any major war since 19—since the end of World War II.

That is quite a win when you think of the kind of world we have lived in.

There is a higher standard of living for more people in the world today than ever before, much better. More people can read and write, more people are sleeping well. More people are eating well. More people have good work, constructive work.

The Soviet Union has far greater instability by far than we have, or any of the Western European countries. The Eastern European states show a desire for independence and autonomy. The Soviet leaders can't boss them like they used to. Mr. Khrushchev said they were getting too big to spank.

So, you see, if you can keep at it, if we can just not give up, if we just don't become exasperated, if we just keep doing what we are doing, maintain a sense of balance, maintain power, continue with prosperity—because you must have a prosperous country to undertake these heavy responsibilities—we will win.

Mr. MEYER. Senator Humphrey, the idea of deficit spending has been around for a number of years. Why has the United States, or at least certain factions or portions of the United States, refused to acknowledge the benefits and to recognize the concept in itself of deficit spending while, at the same time, a number of even the most conservative Europeans have been recognizing it for the past 20 years?

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I have asked myself that question many times, Mr. Meyer. You surely do know how to pick the good questions. I want to make it quite clear to this TV audience that I never had a chance to see any of these questions. I think someone may figure this is a patsy program, but you are really tossing the rough ones to me.

I always warn my staff they shouldn't put me on with students. They are entirely too well informed and it makes a man wonder if he is capable of answering any question.

Mr. Meyer, we have engaged in deficit spending, I think, with less plans for it than accident. The Keynesian theory of economics, of course, is now being readily accepted, even being accepted by Mr. Goldwater.

I think it should be noted that Mr. Goldwater recently accepted the doctrine of deficit spending when he talked about his new tax program. Of course, all of us have the objective, in deficit spending, of being able to stimulate the economy sufficiently so that in a reasonable period of time you will be able to get your expenditures and your revenues in balance.

What we really ought to be talking about is not whether deficit spending is a good doctrine but how you manage the fiscal and monetary policy of a country so that when you need something to accelerate the economy, that you have the will to do it and that you don't go around feeling that you are being sinful and being guilty.

The fact of the matter is that there are times that you ought to have deficit spending simply because it is good for business, good for the people, good for the economy.

362 WBZ—LINO

There are other times that deficit spending ought not to be indulged in, that you ought to tighten up and you ought to try to bring revenues into balance with expenditures.

In other words, we ought to feel free to look upon fiscal policy and monetary policy not as ends in themselves, not as virtues or liabilities, but rather as tools to be used by a government for the purpose of energizing a society or meeting your obligations.

It may be that you need deficit spending simply because of security. Obviously I think you have to have some deficit spending when you are spending vast amounts for new weapons in a major arms race.

It may be that you need deficit spending because you have a type of deflation in your economy and you need to get it in balance and you need to inspire that economy, to encourage it to move ahead. Then you may very well want to tighten up on spending when you have inflation in your economy.

So could I put it this way: That what we need to do is grow up. We need to recognize that there are times that the fiscal and monetary policies can be used as a mechanism or mechanisms for the good of the economy. We ought not to talk about balanced budgets as just being good. Sometimes they are not good. And we surely ought not to talk about deficit spending as being good. Sometimes it is not good.

What we ought to talk about is that a budget that is balanced, even where you have more revenues than where you have expenditures, is needed and desired. Another time it may not be. In other words, to have the courage to be scientific rather than to be prejudiced.

Now, I think we have just a little time left here and what about—who is next? Miss Leonard?

Miss LEONARD. Well, the Federal protection of the civil rights workers in the South is of special interest to students here—

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Miss LEONARD (continuing). Because we have seven students actively working now in the State of Mississippi, and I would like to know what the Federal Government is doing to prevent another Neshoba County tragedy.

Senator HUMPHREY. The Federal Government has alerted every one of its Federal offices to be on guard for the protection of the citizens of the United States. This means the Justice Department, of course. We have called upon the Governors and the local enforcement officers to make sure that these people are given all the protections, the protections of the citizenship of the United States, because these students, or whoever they are, are not just citizens of Illinois or of Minnesota or New York. They are citizens of the United States.

And after the tragic developments that took place that you referred to, I think there has been a new awareness of the importance of the protection of that citizenship and the word and the orders have been made, that all people are to receive full protection insofar as you are able to get it.

May I say that when I travel through the States, I can't always be protected either. There are occasionally times when people say we ought to go get rid of him, but they try to do as good a job as they can.

Mr. Oexeman?

Mr. OEXEMAN. What steps are we going to be able to see in the next 4 or 8 years for the Great Society that President Johnson has promised us?

Senator HUMPHREY. I think we are going to take many steps but the most important I think are the steps we take toward peace, maintaining the economic and military strength of our country, not for the purpose of luxury or conquest but for the purpose of being able to do our job as a world leader, to help others help themselves, and to deter war, and as I said to your university audience, to win the war against war itself.

ANNOUNCER. This has been a videotape production featuring Senator Hubert Humphrey and students from the Southern Illinois University, at Carbondale, Ill.

363 WBZ—LINO

Chicago Airport
October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you. Just a minute. I just want to say that to come to Chicago, Ill., and to be greeted by the outstanding mayor of this great city [applause] and to know that I am in the land of democracy, where the Democrats are going to roll up a majority that will look like a tidal wave, I surely want each and every one of you to know that we have had a remarkable trip. We have had a great campaign. We are looking forward to being back in Chicago on Monday next, and in the meantime [applause] we are going to go over to Gary, Ind., tonight, where Mayor Katz has a little gathering over there.

We are going to tell the truth on the Republicans and that will be the end of them. [Applause and laughter.]

And that truth is that the present spokesman of the Republican Party, who is the temporary spokesman of a faction of a faction of reaction of the Republican Party [laughter] that spokesman has no interest in a better Chicago, no interest in a better America, no real understanding of the problems of our world, and that man is going to have a chance of a lifetime. Back to the store in '64 for Barry. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Mayor, I want to thank you very much for bringing out such a wonderful crowd for us. I am delighted to see here my friends from the universities [applause], my friends from all these many wards in Chicago.

I remember not long ago we were at the 11th ward party and we had a great time.

I am delighted to see here good Democrats, good Democrats from every section of Cook County, and believe me, friends, Cook County is going to do in 1964 what it has done year after year. It is going to do for Lyndon Johnson what it did for John Kennedy, and that means the election of President Johnson for 4 years.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Marion, Ill.
Williamson County Airport,
Wednesday, October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Mr. Powell; may I say that every place I have been I always hear of how popular this distinguished gentleman that is on your State ticket and will soon be your secretary of state, Paul Powell, is in the State of Illinois. [Applause.]

And I am singularly pleased and happy to be here under the kind and may I say effective auspices of your State representative, Clyde Choate, who is really a remarkable man and has done a great job for each and every one of you. [Applause.]

And when I got off this airplane this morning at this airport, this lovely beautiful day, was I ever pleased to see one of the grandest men of all time, one of the finest Members of the U.S. Senate, a man of complete integrity, of courageous honesty, of unbelievable intellectual capacity, the most fearless and yet the most just man I have ever known, your U.S. Senator, Paul Douglas. [Applause.]

Every time I see my friend Paul he tells me that when he has an hour off, or a day off, he says, "I am going back to Illinois," and I say, "What are you going to do back there, Paul?" "Oh," he says, "I have 10 or 12 speeches to make this weekend."

I will bet you have never had anybody in the history of this State that has worked so hard to help build progressive democracy and maintain a strong effective political party and a better understanding of the programs of government than your own U.S. Senator, Paul Douglas. I am sure I am right in that. [Applause.]

Now, I want you to let him take it a little easier, for a while. You do the work at home and let him do the work in Washington.

364 WBZ—LINO

And I am delighted to be here with this truly gifted and effective Congressman, Ken Gray. [Applause.] I will tell you one thing about Ken Gray. Whenever there is a problem in his district he will bowl over the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument and the White House to get some help for you. Nothing will stop him. [Applause.]

I think everybody in his district that ever had a problem including how poor the glue is on the postage stamps—it tastes still bad even under a Democratic administration [laughter]—and how unbelievably bad those pens are that you use in the post office, any of those problems, Ken Gray, plus getting jobs in industry and watching out for the economic well-being of his district, Ken Gray, your Congressman, is on the job 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. [Applause.]

Well, we have had a nice time on our tour. I met your Lieutenant Governor, Sam Shapiro, over in Peoria and we were together in Peoria and Decatur, and last night at Paducah, Ky.

Dorothy O'Brien was with us, and Jim Ronan, your national committeewoman and your State chairman. We have been traveling together and having a little time to visit even though that plane is a pretty busy shop when we are going from stop to stop and place to place.

But I am telling you that you have got a great ticket in this State and I wouldn't be much of a candidate for the Democratic Party if I didn't urge every single good voter in the State of Illinois to back up this ticket, to help from top to bottom, to help Otto Kerner be reelected as your Governor [applause], to see to it that Bill Clark becomes your attorney general, and to see to it that my friend Mike Howlett is returned there as State auditor and Paul Powell [applause] as your secretary of State, [applause] and you have already met your legislators and Bill Grindle, State senator. [Applause.]

I am sure that you know that government is not all in Washington. I am sure you realize the importance of cooperation between Federal, State, and local governments.

Now, friends, I just can't tell you how pleased I am to see the makeup of this gathering. I see all these happy, smiling faces here before me in Marion County. I should say Williamson County at Marion, and Herrin, too, I don't want to forget that. [Applause.] I know where they've got a lot of Democratic votes [laughter] and we are going to get a lot of them out of Marion, too, because a lot of folks that ordinarily voted Republican are going to put their country above their party this time and vote for President Johnson. [Applause.]

I see the makeup of this wonderful audience and I see these happy faces, and yesterday when I was in Paducah somebody gave me a little—gave me one of these little streamers that says "I'm happy with Humphrey." Well, if you can be happy with me, see how happy you can be with Johnson and Humphrey. [Applause.]

And then you can be a whole lot happier if you know it is a Democratic victory all the way from the White House down to the courthouse and the statehouse.

But when I see these happy faces and it is a fact that all across America one can't help but note that there is a sense of joy, there is a sense of exhilaration, there is a feeling that we are doing things, that we are going places, that America is on the move.

The only time that I see anything that indicates to the contrary is when you see way back there, and you notice way back there, every once in a while way back just across the 20th-century line, way back you will see some poor soul that comes here to repent. [Laughter.]

Folks, they bring with them their badges of political sin. [Laughter and applause.]

And I want you to be magnanimous and generous about this. Remember that it isn't the 90 and 9 that are in the fold. It is the lost sheep, the one, and I want every good person here to open up your arms in welcome, in fellowship, and bring these dear people who need to enjoy the zest of life, who need to feel as we feel, happy and gay and strong and confident and optimistic, let them enjoy this, too. Is that all right? [Applause.]

365 WBZ—LINO

Somebody just told me my time was up, but I don't even know where we are going, so I don't mind. I don't know why I should be in any hurry. I just want to take a couple of more minutes. We will get along all right. They are looking at this printed schedule which has no relationship to fact at all. That was just somebody's idea back in Washington. They haven't even been able to find out how far it is from Paducah to Marion. They had me listed coming here in 45 minutes. That is the way Goldwater would have made it in a covered wagon. [Applause and laughter.]

Why, the simple truth is that it only really took us 12 minutes by Democratic airplane. [Applause.]

Well, I do want to say a few words to you very seriously. May I say that this area is one of the areas of America that typifies the meaning of the Democratic Party and the Democratic administration. We were in Paducah, Ky., last night, the home of the late beloved Alben Barkley, and I said there and I want to say here that he taught us that the Democratic Party should be a party with a heart, that it should be a party of compassion, that it should be a party of social justice, that it should be a party that was concerned about people, and from the day of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to this very hour, Democratic Presidents and Democratic leaders have always looked upon the duty of government to serve the people, to be responsible to the people, not to do everything for the people but to help people do things for themselves. [Applause.]

The Democratic Party and the Democratic leadership has believed that its duty was to remove the boulders of obstruction from the pathway of social progress and then to help people help themselves by training, by education, by opportunity, to work and to move ahead down that great pathway of social progress. And we have made a lot of progress.

We started making that progress in the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt and we made progress under the Fair Deal of Harry Truman and we made progress under the 1,000 dramatic days of leadership of the New Frontier of John Kennedy. [Applause.]

And our President Johnson has but one aim for America, as he said, and that is a better deal, a better deal for America, all Americans everywhere regardless of their race, their color, their creed or their section of the country, a better deal for the American people. [Applause.]

The Democratic administration in 1961 promised that we would get this country moving again. The Democratic President and the team of Kennedy and Johnson and a Democratic Congress said we are not going to tolerate unemployment. We are not going to accept it as something that we need to endure.

We are not going to tolerate these pockets of poverty. We are not going to see our resources wasted, our human resources and our material resources.

We are going to get on with the job of making America more productive, making America more just, making America a better country in every way, not only in material things but better in terms of its attitudes, better in terms of its commitments, of its education, of its health, and we started and we have been doing things. This country has been moving and you know it. [Applause.]

And right here in Williamson County, in your neighboring counties of Jackson County, Franklin County, of other counties, you know what I am talking about.

There was unemployment. There were serious problems. The coal industry was shattered. Agriculture was suffering. Jobs were gone. And then came Ken Gray and Paul Douglas and then came John Kennedy [applause] and then came a Democratic Congress. And I remember when Paul Douglas in the Senate led the fight for area redevelopment time after time and I remember when Republicans tried to kill it and did so.

And I remember that when John Kennedy became President, one of the first items of business was ARA—Area Redevelopment Administration—and if I am not mistaken, the neighboring county of Jackson got the first loan under that ARA program. [Applause.]

366 WBZ--LINO

And I remember when we fought for accelerated public works to put in sanitation plants and sewers, to put in streets and to put in municipal buildings to provide jobs and to provide opportunities for skilled workmen, for contractors, for manufacturers, for everybody to help build a better America, and I remember that many a Republican said no, and one of them was that man from Arizona who said no to everything we ever tried to do. [Applause.]

He said no to ARA. He said no to public works. He said no to the development of our rivers. He said no to education, my young friends. He said no to old-age assistance. When Paul Douglas in the U.S. Senate tried to help get a little more money for a person that was on old-age assistance to permit them to earn up to \$50 a month without having it deducted from an old-age pension, the man from Arizona said let them eat cake, so to speak. No help whatsoever.

We don't forget these things and we are not going to let the American people forget them. What we are faced with, my dear friends, is not an ordinary campaign. We are faced with a spokesman for the opposition party that is but a representative, may I say, a temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction in the Republican Party. That is what he is. [Applause.]

And this man is a voice of retreat. He is a voice of negativism. He is a voice of the past. He has no faith in the future of this country. He distorts history and he doesn't understand the promises of tomorrow.

He is incapable in my mind of being able to handle the grave problems of international relations. He brandishes nuclear weapons as if he were playing a game of Russian roulette. I think that is too dangerous. We don't need any nuclear "chicken" games.

We need a President that is prudent and responsible. We need one that understands that our power is not for conquest but rather for peace, that our wealth is not for luxury but rather for justice, and to help people live a better life here and everywhere else in this world. [Applause.]

And now, my friends, I listen to the words of my managers. I will cease and desist but under duress, I want you to know. I would love nothing better than to walk out in this crowd and shake hands with every one of you.

I want you to remember the only way we can lose this election is if we let it come out of our hands, if we fail to work between now and Tuesday, November 3. I implore every boy and girl in this audience under voting age to make it your business to see that your mother and father are at the election box on election day. Make them help you once. [Applause.]

I ask every adult, I ask every adult here to see to it that every person that is in a hospital or the old soldiers' home or a veterans' home, see that they have a chance to cast their ballot and see that they have the information about the candidates and the programs.

Let's make this election day the greatest ratification of progress and hope and peace in this century. We can do it. We are going to win this election. We are going to win it if you want to win it. [Applause.]

So more power to you. We have got a lot of campaigning to do and I want to tell you that I am liking it more every day, every day. Go on. Get the job done and on November 3 when the votes are counted in Illinois, I want to be able to say I remember when I was in Williamson County, when I was between Marion and Herrin. [Applause.] I want to be able to look at that voting sheet and see the tally of the votes in these counties and I want to say, you know, those folks told me they were going to win and darned if they didn't keep their word.

Thank you very much.

Gary, Ind.
October 21, 1964

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

Two weeks from now, America must decide whether a small faction of political extremists will hold the destiny of the United States in their inexperienced and fumbling hands or whether we will continue under the proven leadership of Lyndon Johnson.

367 WBZ—LINO

The choice is a simple one—the choice is between recklessness and responsibility.

I come here tonight to warn you—loyal and enthusiastic Democrats, thoughtful Independents, and Republicans, whose party has abandoned them—that America and the world cannot afford to gamble with government by amateurs, nor with government by extremists.

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

American leadership in the world must confront the momentous changes taking place within the Communist movement. Do you want a group of impetuous adventurers playing nuclear “chicken” in such perilous times?

Can we afford to trust a man whose idea of foreign policy is “to lob a missile into the men’s room of the Kremlin and make sure it hit it.”

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—to insure the national security of the United States.

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

And make no mistake about it—there is no room for error in electing the President of the United States. There is no second chance. There is no opportunity to repair the damage for at least 4 more years—and in today’s world, 4 years may be too late.

You Hoosiers, by inclination and geographical location, are in the mainstream of American life.

You accept the ideas, principles, and traditions of the American people.

Most Americans—whether Democrats or Republicans, Liberals, or Conservatives, northerners or southerners—agree generally about these ideas.

We have differences of opinion about which problems are most urgent, which techniques should be used to solve them, and what the proper tempo of change should be.

But most of us agree there is a need for constant social and economic progress for all Americans. Most of us agree government has an important role to play in achieving this progress. Most of us agree government should work in partnership with labor, business and the farmers, churches, and other groups and organizations.

As a Democrat, I believe our party has always been in the forefront of this fight for social and economic progress—that we have been the pacesetters of America—that we have been concerned with the needs of all the people.

The finest tribute to the Democratic Party has come from the Republican Party when they have accepted our achievements. We enacted the social security program. We set the fair minimum wage for workers. We established programs to put the unemployed back to work. We made plans to turn the cities into better places in which to live. And most Republicans accepted those achievements as good for America.

Suddenly Senator Goldwater appears and he wants to repeal the past and veto the future. He wants to curb the unions. He wants to end farm programs. He wants to reduce opportunities for education. And he wants to destroy the social security system by making it voluntary.

He wants a weaker Presidency. He wants to pack the Supreme Court. He wants to revise the American Constitution.

These are the plans of a man bent upon the destruction of the policies and institutions which comprise America as we know it.

These are the plans of a radical—not a conservative.

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

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

368 WBZ—LINO

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

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

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

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.

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.

Gary, Ind.
Armory
October 21, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

My good friends of Lake County and all the many communities that are so well represented here tonight, I am simply delighted that at long last I have been given the privilege of coming to this great Democratic stronghold because we need you. When we think of a Democratic victory in 1964, the first city that we think of in Indiana to give us that victory is Gary. [Applause.] And when we think of the counties, the counties in America that are going to give us the victory, we think of two right offhand. First we think of Cook County and then of Lake County. [Applause.]

Well, you are a patient audience and you are seeing a candidate for Vice President that has been doing a good deal of talking today and a lot every day since that day in Atlantic City when the President of the United States went before that convention and saw to it that I had a good reference and a good recommendation. In fact, I think I have the unique privilege of being the first vice-presidential candidate that was openly nominated by the President of the United States. [Applause.]

I understand my good friend, Ray Madden, the best Congressman that anybody could ever hope to have representing him [applause] I understand that Ray has been holding forth here telling you the truth about the Republicans and telling you a little about the Democrats and reminding you that this is a mighty important election, and, Ray, while you were here holding forth, I had the mayor over in the neigh-

369 WBZ—LINO

boring village just on the other side of the road, that place called Chicago, Mayor Katz and myself were saying to each other, "Well, Congressman Madden is having the time of his life tonight." [Applause—Laughter.]

We decided that you as a Member of the House of Representatives where they have a limitation on speeches of 5 minutes, that you were entitled at least to 1 hour back home with the folks. [Applause.]

So may I just say that to come once again to your district to see this good friend of mine, this man who has many blessings—first of all he was blessed by being born in Minnesota. Secondly, he is blessed by being able to live here in Lake County and in this wonderful district, and thirdly, he is blessed by being a Democrat, and that is enough for anybody. [Applause.]

Before I forget it, may I just express a very personal note of thanks to the county committee, to all of those who have worked so hard to make this great dinner a success, and I want our friends in the ranks of organized labor to know tonight that this candidate for Vice President is proud to know that we have the support, the active support and help of the men and women of the ranks of organized labor, and we thank you, thank you again and again. [Applause.]

Permit me just to thank Orville Kincaid and Les Norton and Joe Giaimo and the others. I know what you have done.

By the way, I don't want to forget that we have got an election here in Indiana for Governor, and it is about time that the folks of Indiana buckled down to make sure that the Democratic candidate for Governor receives an overwhelming majority, and I am here tonight to say that you have got a good candidate in Roger Branigin. [Applause.]

And there isn't any doubt, is there, that you are going to reelect that fighting Senator that works for you day in and day out, Vance Hartke. [Applause.]

And Milt Volcks, are you running, too?

Mr. VOLCKS. No.

Senator HUMPHREY. Well, I want to say that I surely hope that we will all work together on this ticket.

Ladies and gentlemen, I come here tonight in the spirit of the former and late Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, who for so many years presided over that great body of the people's representatives.

It was Sam Rayburn who said "I am a Democrat, without prefix or suffix and without apology," and that is the kind of a citizen and Democrat that Hubert Humphrey is, proud to be a Democrat, proud to work for our ticket, proud to stand up here tonight and proclaim that we have a man in the White House that deserves on the record to be elected for the next 4 years. [Applause.]

I think it is about time that we took inventory. I think we ought to see whether or not the Democratic Party has kept its faith or kept faith with the promises. I think we ought to examine the record of both of these political parties on the basis of performance. And let me start right off tonight by saying that 4 years ago this month Gary, Ind., wasn't as prosperous as it is tonight, not by a long shot. [Applause.]

Four years ago this month of October, in 1960, you wouldn't have read a headline in your Post Tribune that said "Area Unemployment at Record Low." There is the evidence. [Applause.] And when I hear our Republican friends, these Goldwaterites, talk about what has happened to America, I wish they would tell you one other thing that has happened, that America is more prosperous tonight, more people are employed tonight at better wages tonight than any other time in the history of the world. [Applause.]

Oh, Mr. Goldwater [laughter] oh, Mr. Goldwater, he says that—

VOICE. Boo!

Senator HUMPHREY. Oh, don't you do that. We leave that up to the Goldwaterites. We Democrats, we Democrats, we just cheer. We let the Republicans boo. [Laughter—Applause.]

I want to know you to know that 4 years years ago tonight, 4 years ago this very month, a man that was leading our party promised that if he were elected President of the United States, he would get this country moving again. That man was young; he was intelligent; he

370 WBZ—LINO

was dedicated to public service; he was a Democrat; and above all, he was a great American, and he went on to become our President, and he went on to keep every promise he ever made, and I am proud that it was my privilege to know and to work with him, to be one of his legislative lieutenants, and you know of whom I speak, one that America will always remember and be proud of, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends. Yes, my friends, we went to the people in 1960 and said trust us. We will keep our word.

On January 20, 1961, President Kennedy standing before the Nation delivering that memorable inaugural address said to this country, "Let us begin. Let's get this country moving again." He said, "I welcome the responsibility," and ladies and gentlemen, I think if you will just let your minds reflect for a moment, you knew that a new day had come. You felt like a command had been given. You were inspired and all at once America awakened. All at once America started to go to work and for 1,000 dramatic days of the leadership of John Kennedy, America worked day and night to make this a better America, a stronger America, a more prosperous America, a more just America, and we did it, we succeeded. [Applause.]

I remind you of these things, my fellow citizens, because in all the hubbub of these weeks of campaigning, sometimes we forget. Sometimes people become so accustomed to progress and prosperity that they forget that once they didn't have it.

And I believe that if we would have the responsibility for political leadership, from a precinct worker to the President of the United States, we owe it to ourselves and we owe it to our community, we owe it to our fellow Americans to remember it wasn't always this good, and to remind others that there are forces in America that would take it away. Would they ever! They would take it away either by direct action or by mismanagement.

Prosperity—ladies and gentlemen, we have increased the gross national product of this country in less than 4 years by \$125 billion. That is \$35 billion more than the best year of Republican prosperity back in the 1920's.

We have 73 million Americans working tonight. Per capita income is the highest it has ever been. Corporate profits are the best they have ever been. Dividends are the highest they have ever been. Is it any wonder that the captains of industry today support President Lyndon Johnson?

I will tell you why they support him. For two reasons. First of all, they are frightened to death when they hear the spokesman, the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party. They can't possibly comprehend the possibility of his election. They feel that he would be so uncertain in policy that the prosperity of this land would be jeopardized.

Secondly, they have found in President Johnson and in the Democratic Party a leader and a party and a program that is good for business, good for the worker, good for the consumer, good for the farmer, good for the Nation. No wonder they support President Johnson. [Applause.]

I was looking at a little sheet of paper that I had here in my pocket before I got up to speak, and I have here a list of bills that long [indicating] that I thought I might recite, but it takes too much time.

These are just a few of the measures passed by the 87th and the 88th Congresses, two of the greatest Congresses in the history of this Republic, and your own Congressmen right here on this platform and Senator Vance Hartke had a great deal to do with making this Congress a great success, and in every one of those measures from the antipoverty bill down to the Alliance for Progress, from the anti-poverty bill to aid to disabled workers, the Senator from Arizona, he voted no, no, no, no, no.

I want to say that boy must have been born saying no. [Applause.] No on what? No on the tax cut. No on public works. No on area redevelopment. No on education. No on health for the aged. No on housing. No on hospitals. Just no, no, no.

Now, Ladies and gentlemen, the Senator from Arizona says he wants you to have a choice, and believe me you have got one. [Applause and laughter.]

371 WBZ—LINO

And I want to be very frank with you. The Senator, the temporary spokesman, the temporary spokesman of a fraction of a faction of reaction in the Republican Party—[laughter]—that temporary spokesman, he means what he says. I am not here to dispute his motives or contest them. I do not say that he speaks to you falsely. I say to you that he is telling you what he believes, and for this I respect him.

Frankly, I have said a number of times that I think the Senator from Arizona is a sociable, likable, patriotic gentleman. I think he would make a good neighbor, but I think he would make a terrible President. [Applause.]

I just want you to tell your neighbors that this man is not speaking falsely to you. He is not saying things that he doesn't believe. He means every word of it. [Laughter.]

Indeed, he does. When he says that he believes that unions ought to be curbed, when he says that he is opposed to giving unions all of the seniority protection they have, he means it. [Applause.]

And any worker that votes for him ought to know what he is doing.

May I just say here that he also means what he says when he says that education is not the responsibility of Government, that it is the responsibility only of the parents, and he said further that some children would be better off if they didn't have education.

He means that, too. And he has demonstrated it by his votes, voting against the National Defense Education Act, voting against the Vocational Training Act, voting against the Manpower Training Act which has helped workers right here in this county, voting against aid to higher education, and every mother and father in this room tonight is hoping that somehow or another her boy or girl may be able to go on to college or to some technical school because you know and I know that the only way that we are going to have opportunities in this land, the pathway to opportunity, in the next generation for that boy that is 10, 12, or 16 years of age, for your daughter, that pathway to opportunity is through education, and yet the Senator from Arizona says "No, No." [Applause.]

A man who says that he speaks for the Republican Party, one party, the party that was the party of Abraham Lincoln, a man who gave to the world the Emancipation Proclamation, and yet this is the man who today leads that party, the Senator from Arizona, who says that he doesn't believe in equal opportunity under the Constitution. He doesn't want the Constitution applied fairly and equitably to every person in America regardless of section or race or color or creed. That kind of a man is unworthy of Abraham Lincoln's party, unworthy of the trust. [Applause.]

VOICE. Pour it on, Hubert.

Senator HUMPHREY. I will try to do that. [Laughter.]

No, my friends, there have been times when I could honestly say—and I shall speak of it tonight—that our opposition has disagreed with us only in degree and not on fundamentals, but tonight we are talking about a different campaign. We are talking about a different election. We are talking about a candidate of the opposition who has repudiated by his words, his deeds, and his votes, the achievements of 30 years of American public life since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

This is the man, if you please, who asks to lead your country, and they tell me that he has strength and daring. I doubt it. I hope I am right. [Applause.]

This is the man, if you please, who refused to vote one time to help our elderly have a better place in which to live, and, ladies and gentlemen, a larger portion of our population every year is older. A larger proportion of our population every year is younger.

This man has voted against the youth of America in education. He has voted against the elderly of America on housing. He voted against the Kerr-Mills bill that would have provided even medical relief, just plain ordinary help to people who were sick and couldn't pay their bills. He voted no. He said he had his own medicare program. [Laughter.]

Yes, he did. He said his son-in-law was an intern. [Applause.]

Yes. It would be funny if it wasn't so tragic.

372 WBZ—LINO

This is the man that voted against social security medicare. This is the man that voted against aid to the disabled under social security, and this man says "President Johnson misrepresents my views on social security." He says, "President Johnson says that I, Barry Goldwater, am opposed to social security."

Well, Senator, I don't know how you would interpret it any other way. You voted against social security to include the disabled. You voted against the expansion of social security. You said social security should be voluntary. I think you want to tamper with it, and I don't trust you, Senator. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, you know, I would have thought that an Air Force pilot would have at least been for airports. [Laughter.] I did indeed. Mind you, ladies and gentlemen, and may the record for the first time be made clear, the gentleman that represents the opposition has even voted against Federal aid for airports. [Laughter.]

How in the name of commonsense does he expect to land, or doesn't he? [Laughter and applause.]

And why does he do these things? Why does he do these things? I will tell you. Because he has said that he believes that the Federal Government should get out of a number of activities such as education, agriculture, social welfare, health, community development.

I want to remind the Senator from Arizona that the Constitution says that the first duty of this Government is to promote the general welfare. I want to remind him that ever since the beginning of this Republic our governments, Federal, State, and local, have represented a partnership.

What we need above all in the Presidency of the United States, my fellow Americans, is a President that understands the great theme of American Government, the fact that American Government is what Lincoln said it was, a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And also that Government must serve the people.

And yet this is the man who said publicly—and weigh these words carefully—that your Government in Washington is a greater threat to freedom than the Government in Moscow. Anybody that can say that should never be President of the United States. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, Republicans and Democrats have long had differences of opinion on which problems are most important or urgent. We may differ as to how we should solve these problems and we may even differ on the time schedule, the pace, of solving the problems. But the truth is that most of us have agreed that there is a need for constant social and economic progress for all Americans. And most of us agree that this is an obligation of the Government, an obligation to work with the private sectors, with our voluntary groups, with our State and local government to promote this social and economic progress.

Most of us agree that Government should work in partnership with labor, respecting labor and its right to organize and bargain with business, and encourage the free enterprise system of this Government and with farmers, to see that they can share in the prosperity of this Nation, and with our churches and with our great voluntary groups and organizations.

This has been the tradition of America, and it has been a good one.

We enacted social security programs. I never thought that Hubert Humphrey would live to see the day that a man standing for the office of the Presidency of the United States would ever doubt or cast doubt upon social security. But I was wrong. In 1964 we had such a man. We have set fair minimum wages and fair working standards for workers, and yet we have a candidate for President on the Republican ticket who voted against the minimum wage law. We have established programs to put our unemployed back to work, and you have a candidate on the Republican ticket that has voted against every single program that was designed to put an unemployed worker back on the job. Every one of them. Tax cut, unemployment compensation, public works, area redevelopment, manpower training, every single program that was designed to give an unemployed man an opportunity for a job—this Senator from Arizona voted no.

373 WBZ—LINO

How in the name of commonsense anybody can stand for that is beyond me. We have made plans to turn our cities into better places in which to live, and every mother and father, every boy and girl in this room knows that our cities need remodeling, rebuilding. We have grown out of them. The streets are inadequate. Many of the homes are too old. The business districts need rebuilding. And yet the Senator from Arizona has yet to discuss a single message, to give us a single message on the problems of our cities, and he has voted against every single program in the Congress of the United States in the 12 years that he has been there for cities.

How anybody living in a city can cast a vote in his behalf is a wonder to me.

And may I add that most Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, most of them have supported the programs that I just mentioned. Most Republicans have voted for these programs and most of the Democrats have voted for them. But not Senator Goldwater. Oh, no. Suddenly Senator Goldwater takes command of a party, and may I say that we ought to talk to our Republican friends. Why is it that so many Republicans this year are voting for President Johnson? Is it because they are not Republicans? Not at all. They are the Republicans. And they are voting for President Johnson because the present leadership of the Republican Party kidnapped that party. It doesn't represent the Republican Party. It represents a group of radicals that are like pirates that have boarded the ship and locked up the crew in chains and have taken over the ship for a short voyage, and it is a voyage that will end in disaster. [Applause.]

I repeat from this platform what I have said across this land, that the present temporary leader of the Republican Party is not a Republican. He is surely not a Democrat. He surely is not an independent. He can qualify only for one descriptive word, a radical. One, if you please—yes, a radical; one who would destroy the past and the achievements of it and one that has an uncertain plan for the future. That is the definition of a radical.

Listen. He does want to repeal the past, and he said so. He said, and I quote him, "I don't want to pass laws, I want to repeal them."

He wants to veto the future. He wants to curb the unions. He wants to end the farm programs. He wants to dissolve REA. He is opposed to aid to education. He wants to reduce opportunities for education. And he casts doubt on social security.

I submit that that kind of a leader can only qualify for one descriptive word, "radical." "Radical," my friends, and let's brand them for what they are because America doesn't like radicals, the radicals of the left or the radicals of the right. We don't like them; we don't want them, and we don't need them. [Applause.]

Yes, my friends, he wants a weaker Presidency, and for this I think he would qualify. [Laughter.]

He wants to pack the Supreme Court. He wants to revise the American Constitution. And I submit that these are the plans of a man bent on changing the very fabric of American life. These are the plans of one who can qualify only as a radical in American politics.

Now, 2 weeks from now, my fellow Americans, 2 weeks from now you are going to make a decision and your neighbors are going to make that decision. Two weeks from now we must decide whether a small fraction of political radicals will hold the security of the United States in their inexperienced and reckless hands. Two weeks from tonight you must decide whether we shall continue under the proven leadership of President Lyndon Johnson. And you have that choice. The choice is between recklessness and responsibility, between retreat and progress.

And I come here tonight to warn you, enthusiastic Democrats that you are, and fellow citizens, independents, thoughtful Republicans whose party has been taken from them, that America and this free world cannot afford to gamble with a government in Washington by amateurs, nor with a government that is taken over by radicals.

I come to warn you tonight that these radicals intend to get out the last radical, fanatical vote, and if the responsible, thoughtful people of America do not exercise their right to vote, this election can be lost.

374 WBZ—LINO

Mark my words, it can be lost, and this country can fall into the hands of people that are irresponsible and have no faith in the future of the American dream. Pray God we don't let that happen. [Applause.]

So, my friends, we dare not make a mistake. We cannot possibly take anything for granted. Once you have elected a President for 4 years, there is no turning back. There is no second choice or second chance. When you elect this next President, you will be determining the future of your country, not for 4 years, but that President and that Congress will be establishing policies for America that will last for many years.

We are living in a world of perilous times. Everybody knows it. Just this past week changes in government in Russia, atomic explosion in China, another election in Great Britain with another government.

Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot afford to have in the White House someone that doesn't understand the world in which we live, and someone, if you please, that plays war games with nuclear weapons and has a foreign policy of ultimatums, telling people either to do this or suffer the consequences.

That is too dangerous, mother and father. That is too dangerous for your son and your daughter, and it is too dangerous for your country.

We need in the White House someone that understands not only the promise of America, the hopes of our people, but that is dedicated, my dear friends and neighbors, to the cause of a just and an enduring peace.

I have watched this opposition in this campaign. I have watched them play to our prejudices. I have watched them spread distrust and confusion and fear. I have watched them try to arouse our passions. I have watched them pit section against section. I have heard the spokesmen of the Republican Party go to the South and whistle "Dixie," and then come to the North and sing "Yankee Doodle."

Yes, I have heard them. I have heard them pit the East against the West, and I have heard them, as you have, try to put people against people, white against colored, the different groups of our country, ladies and gentlemen.

This kind of an exercise is dangerous, and it can lead to only disaster if we let it succeed.

What we need today is not a spokesman that divides us. We don't need that. What we need today is a leader that unites us. [Applause.]

I don't want a man in the White House that has no respect for the ethnic groups of our country, the minorities, who says from the public platform that the minorities rule America. Let me say to this wonderful audience that most of us are the sons and daughters of minorities, and if the immigration laws of America were the kind that Mr. Goldwater wants, his grandfather would have never gotten in. [Applause.]

It was right here in this city, it was right here in this city where the spokesman of the opposition spoke of the floodgates of immigration being opened to frightened workers who thought they might lose their jobs.

Let me say to you that the only law that has ever been proposed by John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson on immigration is one that would have permitted your mother or your father or your sister or your brother to come and join your family if you could provide for them, if they were skilled workers, if they were needed in the American economy, and I say shame, shame upon a political spokesman that would arouse the prejudices and the fears of the American people about immigrants and immigration. We were all immigrants, every one of us, at some time in our lives. [Applause.]

It is this kind of wickedness that I deplore. It is this kind of political evil that is being cast about this country. It is this politics of smear and attack upon our President. It is this politics of smear and attack upon the minorities. It is this politics of doubt and mistrust upon our government that I say is unworthy of the leadership of a great political party.

Oh, I would hope and pray that in these final days of this campaign that the opposition would be willing to discuss the issues with us and not to arouse our passions but to encourage our thoughts and our minds. I say in all reverence tonight that we Democrats have an obligation to

375 WBZ—LINO

conduct this campaign on the basis of issues, on the basis of honor, on the basis of integrity, win, lose, or draw, and why? Because we are conducting a campaign to see whether or not the American people will ratify the policies and the programs and the achievements and the promises and the commitments of a President that was taken from us and of a President who continues to fight for you and for me, and I think we are going to do it. [Applause.]

I want a President that heals our wounds and doesn't oppose them. I want a President who can look at any American and see only an American, not a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Jew, not white or colored, but a member of the great American society.

I want a President that will welcome anyone into the great American family if he is a decent, good citizen, regardless of the country that he may come from.

I want a President that can look to labor with respect and friendship, can look to business with encouragement and friendship, and I want a President that loves children, that encourages them to education.

I want a President that has compassion for the elderly and the needy, and let me tell you, I want a President that has concern for the afflicted and the sick, and I don't happen to think that compassion is weakness, and I don't think concern for the afflicted is socialism. I think it is good, decent Americanism. [Applause.]

So, my fellow Americans, go forth from this hall tonight with a commitment in your heart. Go forth from this hall to make this election a victory for decency, a victory for justice, a victory for progress, a victory for peace, a victory against war itself, a victory against poverty, and a victory for a better America. We have it within our power to do all of this. We the people, we can do it by our votes, and this time let us make it crystal clear to those who are the peddlers of hate, to those who are the purveyors of half-truths, let us make it clear that bigotry and prejudice have no place in America and that those who peddle it will be rebuked for it.

I ask this audience to march with me to elect Lyndon Johnson President of the United States. [Applause.]

Rochester, N.Y.

Home of Mrs. Harper Sibley

October 22, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, Mrs. Sibley.

Well, I suppose there is one thing I really don't need, and that is to make another speech.

I just wanted to take one or two moments, first of all, to thank Mrs. Sibley for her generous and gracious hospitality in permitting us to come into her home and also to thank her son and her family.

I want you to know that these occasions are the pleasant moments in a very busy life. We were talking just a moment ago about where we might have a little gathering in Rochester, and my very efficient staff was a little bit concerned lest we didn't have it at some sort of a big hotel. But how wonderful it is to come to a home and one as gracious and as lovely as this. I sort of long for it. I don't see a home very often anymore, but I expect to a little bit later except I can't help but remember what President Johnson said at the end of the Democratic convention.

You may recall that I used a line, "But not Senator Goldwater" [laughter] and when we got to a meeting there were all the workers and the party faithful gathered. He said "I want you all to take a little rest now because we have a good deal of work to do. I want everybody here to take a vacation, and I want you to prepare yourselves now for a real long campaign. I want everybody, but not Senator Humphrey." [Laughter.]

He really meant it. I haven't had half a day off since.

But I have enjoyed in many ways the privilege of traveling around our beautiful country and seeing people. We have had a wonderful reception. There are times and moments that are a little distressing and trying, but basically and fundamentally the whole experience is a rewarding one.

376 WBZ—LINO

I see thousands, hundreds of thousands of people, and one of the most encouraging aspects of all of our travels is the appearance of the young people. We have thousands of them.

Yesterday I spoke at Southern Illinois University. We had about 12,000 or more students in a splendid reception, enthusiastic. Every place we go young people seem to be taking a renewed interest in American public life. Sometime maybe we will get a good story about our young people, that they are really interested, and they are. They are just energized, that is all, and some of us that are a little older have a tough time keeping up with them. But I get inspired by their enthusiasm and by their sense of idealism.

I want to say one other word to you about this campaign. I know that there are many of you here that are maybe for the first time supporting a candidate on the Democratic ticket. American politics is different than other countries. We don't have sharp ideological lines. We have choices that we make, but generally they are within the framework of accepted standards.

I truly believe what I said today from the platform. I try to say what I believe every time. Once in awhile we have to be a little overdramatic in order to get our point across, but I believe that this election is very different, and so do you believe that or many of you wouldn't be here.

I think this is why many of the great publications that are traditionally Republican and very seldom support a Democratic candidate, which indeed is their privilege, this time are supporting President Johnson.

They are not only supporting President Johnson for what he is and for the policies and the principles that he stands for and that he speaks for, but they are supporting him because they are also concerned about the nature of the opposition. And this opposition, I don't mean it only in the person of the standard bearer, Mr. Goldwater, because I want to say a word about him. I know him personally. But the opposition that I speak of are the forces that are at work in American life.

We have a very difficult road ahead of uniting our people, of trying to make this one good society.

John Adams talked about the pursuit of happiness. And this should really be the goal of American life because we are such a blessed land.

You ought to see it. I have been practically every place in this country, and it is beautiful, and the people look healthy. Basically they are prosperous. There are new institutions of education in every community, new recreational facilities. Farms are lovely. New business houses. Wonderful office buildings. There isn't any place in the world like this. And truly we are in an era that you might call of happiness and the pursuit of happiness, and yet within all of this, the blessed happiness and the opportunity for happiness, there are sinister forces, and I must say that all of my life and my father's life before me, I have been—I have rebelled against these forces. I repudiate them.

I have been in the South. I have watched the KKK, Ku Kluxers at work. I have met up with the most radical extreme forms of political participation, the Birchites, as we call them. I have seen the so-called Minutemen who train their people for open guerrilla warfare in the United States. And I have watched them preach their doctrines of bitterness and hatred to divide people on religion, to divide them on race, divide them on section.

And the thing that bothers me about this campaign was that for the first time a great political party had been captured, had literally been captured; not the party, the leadership.

There are millions of people in America who are of Republican persuasion that are discouraged, and they are very upset because the party was captured and for the first time this party has been captured has offered a respectable platform for people that are not respectable.

We don't need these haters, and we should rebuke them. We have always had some, but they never before have had a chance to get on national television. They never before had an opportunity to be able to say, "Look, I can openly endorse somebody."

377 WBZ—LINO

And as I said today, regrettably, regrettably, and I say it with sadness, Senator Goldwater has opened up the avenue for people to come into a political party that have no right to be in there.

I expect 4 years from now that this will be different. I truly do. I hope and pray that we may get back to a good, legitimate, honest two-party system. I hope that both political parties will rebuke the haters.

We have had some in our party. Thank goodness one or two are leaving. I hope more of them might do so. [Laughter.]

We don't need any haters in the major political parties. We have enough things to talk about without that.

And therefore I think I know why people who have for a generation or more openly supported the Republican Party at this time have put their country above their party, have put their patriotism above partisanship, and that is why President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey are attempting in a very real sense to conduct a campaign of national unity, not just to make it a Democratic victory but to make it an American victory, to make it a victory for progress and for peace, and we are sincere in our dedication to the pursuit of peace.

I want to remind you what John Kennedy said at American University, June 10, 1963. I think it was his greatest message, his greatest speech. I have thought of it and spoken of it many times. I talked to him about it before he made it. We became close friends.

He said, "Peace is a process," and he reminded us there wasn't any such thing as instant peace, and he reminded us that peace was not merely the absence of war. It was also the harmony of life. And he reminded us that the peacemaker had to be more courageous even than the warrior and that it required discipline, responsibility, sacrifice, the willingness to give of one's self.

And unless we keep that in mind, there will be no peace. And frankly if we don't have any peace, it is all gone anyway.

Therefore, the task of statesmanship in the world today is how do you avoid the nuclear conflict without the sacrifice of your principles? How do you gain the real victory, not the victory that some people are talking about, the victory over war itself, the victory over injustice, the victory over bigotry, over prejudice, and those are the victories that we are talking about.

Now, we don't do a good job of it in a campaign because you have got to shout so much, you know, to get to be heard. There is so much noise in elections. But once we get this over with, we can talk more quietly, and then we can reason with one another rather than trying to arouse just the forces that will help us to win the election, so to speak.

But I think people are thinking very soberly. I think there is a lot of soul searching in America today, and out of that soul searching even in these next 10 days I think there will be a better country come from it.

So, Mrs. Sibley, thank you for letting me use this beautiful room for these words, and thank you for your home, and thank you for you, for what you have done.

Mrs. SIBLEY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Rochester, N.Y.
October 22, 1964

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

If there is one issue dominating all others in this campaign, it 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.

The choice is a simple one. Between the radicalism of Senator Goldwater and the responsibility of President Lyndon Johnson.

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.

378 W B Z—LINO

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

He repudiates 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.

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

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

Former Vice President Nixon said: “* * * It would be a tragedy for the Republican Party if every Goldwater view as previously stated were not challenged, not repudiated.”—Des Moines Register, June 10, 1964.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller described Goldwater as the candidate of “An extremism outside the main currents of American political life.”—Kansas City Star, April 28, 1964.

Governor William Scranton termed Goldwater’s view, “A weird parody of Republicanism * * * the echo of fear and reaction, the echo from the never-never land that puts our Nation backward to a lesser place in the world of free men * * * the fast draw and the quick solution.”—As quoted by Arthur Krock, New York Times, July 10, 1964.

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 announced that “One Eisenhower in a generation is enough.” Time 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 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.

Our English word “radical” is derived from the Latin word “radix,” meaning root. And Senator Goldwater waits to pull things out by their roots—whereas a true conservative wants to conserve the best of the past.

Senator Goldwater seeks to weaken social security—if not destroy it entirely—by making it voluntary.

He seeks “prompt and final termination” of farm price support programs.

He seeks to sell TVA “even if they could only get \$1 for it.”

On three great issues of conscience to come before the U.S. Senate in the past decade—the censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the nuclear test ban treaty, and the civil rights bill—Senator Goldwater voted “no” on each occasion.

He preaches the doctrine of selfish irresponsibility—a doctrine uninformed by history, uncontrolled by reason, and untempered by charity.

It is this doctrine of selfish irresponsibility which appeals so directly to various extremist groups in America.

The Goldwater convention in San Francisco refused flatly to repudiate extremism. And 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 and catastrophe.

The minority report on extremism to the 1964 Republican National Convention cited the John Birch Society and other “groups whose tactics are wholly alien to the American democratic tradition.”

The report accused them of using “secrecy, vigilante tactics, violence, smears, and character assassination * * * of dealing in unfounded rumors, gross exaggerations, and falsehoods to trigger public hysteria * * *.”

And Senator Goldwater said of the John Birch Society. “I am impressed by the type of people in it * * *. They are the kind we need in politics.”—Christian Science Monitor, November 8, 1964.

379 WBZ—LINO

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 radicalism—whether of the right or of the left. They agree with President 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.

I believe profoundly that America will repudiate Goldwater radicalism at the polls on November 3.

The American people know that performance—not promises—is the true test of a man. The American people know that the challenges of the 1960's call for responsible, moderate, progressive, and enlightened leadership.

In Lyndon Johnson, we have a man who can provide this kind of leadership. He has been 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.

To every post he has held, President Johnson has dedicated all his great talents and all his abundant energy. He has given every waking hour—and including many when most of us would have been asleep—to the job in hand, whether as a young Congressman from Texas or as President of the United States.

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.

Rochester, N.Y.
War Memorial Auditorium
October 22, 1964

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you, thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Mr. O'Brien, member of the Monroe County Democratic Committee, the esteemed, respected mayor of this great city of Rochester, Frank Lamb.

By the way, Mr. Mayor, I just can't help but make note of the fact of how much better Rochester looks since you got a Democratic administration. [Applause.]

All we need to do is make sure we keep it, and Rochester, a great city of New York, will become without a doubt one of the most beautiful, enterprising, progressive cities in the United States under the Democratic administration.

I am very happy to be here in Monroe County in this fine, progressive city. I am very pleased even though I know that you have about as many political speakers here as we have surplus bushels of wheat out in the Midwest. But, you know, we put those surplus bushels of wheat to good use. We help the people with our food, and you must put this surplus of Democratic speakers to good use. You get the voters to elect a Democratic President, Lyndon Johnson, and a Democratic government. [Applause.]

I am delighted to share this platform today with two gentleman that undoubtedly will be in Washington very shortly. I hope they have made all the appropriate preparations so that they can serve com-

380 WBZ—LINO

fortably full time, actively, in the House of Representatives, and I have the great privilege of saying that President Lyndon Johnson and his Vice-Presidential running mate would be most happy, in fact, we ask the people of the 36th district, to see to it that John C. Williams is sent to Washington to help us keep this country moving forward in the paths of economic and social progress. [Applause.]

And we need a partner there, too. We need to have a man from the 37th district. After all, if you are going to have someone from the 36th, he will get lonesome unless there is someone from the 37th, someone that works with him, cooperates with him, and someone that will help us with our program for the future, and Neil F. Vockler is just the right man to serve from the 37th. [Applause.]

Now, I recognize that I am in the home city of one of our colleagues in the Senate, and I want to be very frank with you, that in the Senate of the United States we have a sort of a warm fellowship. We have an aisle that divides us, the Democrats and the Republicans, and I must tell you that the Republican side of the aisle is beginning to look like a cutover forest. There isn't much left there.

But there is still room on the Democratic side of the aisle, and there is a great deal of room for a U.S. Senator that will be a cooperator with the Democratic administration, a great deal of room for a U.S. Senator that will work and speak and fight and vote in the traditions of Bob Wagner and Herbert Lehman and great Democrats from this Empire State of New York. [Applause.]

And you know who we need. We need Robert Kennedy elected to the U.S. Senate. [Applause.]

I have looked over this happy audience. It is a brisk day, but it is just made for somebody from New York and Minnesota. We really enjoy this kind of climate.

Somebody said to me, "Aren't you going to wear a coat?" and I said, "You mean in the middle of summer?" [Laughter.]

I spent a good deal of my time at Duluth, Minn., at the head of the lakes. After all, we are lake ports, Rochester and Duluth, Minn. We often say in Duluth that we have just two seasons. We have the Fourth of July and winter. [Laughter.] And it is now winter there.

But Duluth, Minn., like Rochester, N.Y., has learned some good habits. It, too, once was a citadel of Republican strength, and then they started to read, and then they started to think, and then they started to look ahead, just as they have done in Rochester, N.Y., and Duluth now has a Democratic mayor and votes Democratic, and Rochester has a Democratic mayor and votes Democratic. Ah, the wonders of education. [Applause and laughter.]

Is it any wonder that the Republican standard bearer says that he thinks some people would be better off if they didn't have any education. It is a sure way to get a vote for the party of retreat, for the party of negativism, but we of the party of hope, the party of progress, the party of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy, this party believes in education. [Applause.]

We are coming down to the line, as they say, in this campaign. I think most everybody has made up their mind how they are going to vote, but I must forewarn my friends from the Democratic Party, and I must also forewarn those valiant, courageous, honest souls that have joined us even though they have been traditionally Republicans. The opposition has yet to discuss the issues in this campaign.

Somebody said to me as I came into your airport that this campaign has been described as both dull and vicious. I hope that that is not the description of it. But if it has lacked the color or the sparkle that some might have wished, may I say it is primarily because in order to have a debate that brings out the best in people, that challenges your intellect, that makes you think through the issues, you have to have someone that is willing to debate the issues, the issues that affect the American people, and we have not had that kind of discussion from our opponents.

They have yet to discuss with you how we make our cities a better place to live. They have yet to discuss how we improve transportation and communications and expand our commerce. They have yet to discuss how we can better improve our school system, our higher education, our technical and vocational education. They have yet to discuss what we can do to make the twilight years of life, years for our elderly, more pleasant, more dignified, and better.



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