If your schools are n't adequate the Federal Government is going to provide it . If you do n't have the right kind of health care , the Federal Government will set up a program that will do it . And you do n't have to worry about it .

We believe this is the American way to handle this problem . Now , some people might say , But , Mr. Nixon , wo n't it be easier to have it the other way ? Wo n't it be easier just to have the Federal Government take this thing over rather than to have a Federal - State program ? Wo n't it be easier not to bother with private health insurance programs ? Yes ; it would be easier , a lot simpler , but , my friends , you would destroy the standard of medical care because , remember , we have the best medical care in the world today . We do n't want to destroy it , and speaking here in Rochester , Minn .

First of all , can anyone in this square tell me one piece of progressive legislation sponsored by Mr. Nixon or the Republican Party ? [Response from the audience .] That is the party which voted 90 percent against social security in the midthirties , voted 90 percent against medical care for the aged in 1960 . Mr. Nixon represents a party which voted 95 percent against tlie 25-cent minimum wage in the thirties .

I made no reference to his vote on teachers ' salaries . He did not vote on medical care for the aged . I do n't intend to make any reference to it .

The question was , Am I for the Forand bill ? I introduced a companion bill to the Forand bill in the U.S. Senate . The Forand bill , of course , puts medical care for the aged under the social security system . We tried to pass a bill comparable to that during the last session of the Congress .

We 're going to have to have more in the field of education . We 're going to have to have a better program in the field of medical care , but my friends , the reason why my programs are better for America than those of my opponent is this . That his would turn all of these problems over to the Federal Government , they would cost an amount equal - get this - each year to almost the entire gold reserve of America that 's in Fort Knox , and do you know what that means to you ? It means higher prices , higher taxes for the American people .

The fact of the matter is , as Congressman Flood knows , that the party that voted 90 percent against the $ 1.25 minimum wage voted 90 percent in the midthirties against 25 cents . The party that voted against medical care for the aged , 90 percent in 1960 , voted 90 percent against the social security in the midthirties . You have to make your judgment .

From now until November 8 we are taking our ease to the forum in which it belongs , where there is no threat of veto , where there is no parliamentary obstruction , and where we will be successful - and that is the forum of the American people . Until a Democrat is in the White house , the Republicans can block action on an adequate minimum wage , they can water down medical care for the aged , they can play politics with civil rights , they can block action on a decent housing bill and a good school bill . But they can not block the American people on November 8. The theme of this campaign is going to be action - action at home to keep pace with our growing needs , to help the unfortunate , to build a still greater nation - and action abroad , to match the rise in Communist power , to meet the turbulent revolutions reshaping our globe .

The Republican leadership of the Senate knows full well that under the parliamentary situation of these final crowded weeks - and in the political atmosphere of rancor that developed - no significant civil rights measure could have passed . This same political atmosphere has also prevented action on a farm bill and on adequate minimum wage , housing , health care for the aged , and education bills . But progressive legislation has not been the aim of the Republican leadership .

[Applause .] I do n't believe that the American people are going to give their endorsement to the leadership which believes that medical care for our older citizens , financed under social security , is extreme , and I quote Mr. Nixon accurately - which he does not always do me . [Applause .

Schools will he built . We have a program in the field of medical care . We have a program in the field of housing .

I believe that the most effective method is through a program which will provide a choice whereby people who want to have the protection for catastrophic illnesses or , for that matter , for noncatastrophic illnesses , if they so desire , can have it , but where they are not forced to have it if they do not desire , and where they can choose getting that protection through government or through private plans , which they might choose , with some government assistance . And I would agree with Senator Kennedy , incidentally , to this extent : he indicated that this would be an issue in the campaign , I think it will be an issue in the campaign , and the question will not be one of ends , because both of us believe that there should he protection for our older citizens for medical care . The question will be one of means .

It amounts , for a family of four people , to $ 6.50 for a family of four , which amounts to a grand total of 5 cents per person per day , in the richest country on earth . If you feel that a minimum wage of $ 1.25 is extreme , if you believe that medical care for the aged tied to social security is worse than a medical aid bill which requires that an old person must take an oath that he is medically indigent , a pauper 's oath , before he gets public assistance , if you feel it is proper to veto two depressed area bills , if you are pleased by the fact that we built this year in September 30 percent less homes than a year ago , and that this administration has vetoed two housing bills in the last 12 months , if you think that is good , Mr. Nixon is your man . [Response from the audience .

I say to cut back on hospitals is downgrading America . They tell us we 're well off ; then they tell us we ca n't afford to provide our older citizens with a decent program of protection against the heavy cost of medical care . The Republican administration forced upon us a program which refuses medical care to any retired person or his wife , unless they sign away their home , their car , and take a pauper 's oath .

I refer , of course , to the Social Security Act of 1935 . It is particularly appropriate that we mark that anniversary by the extension of the system to include medical care insurance for our older citizens . A quarter of a century ago , the people of the United States turned their back on the dole and the means test , and chose instead to rely on self-financed insurance , paid through the social security system , to protect themselves against the hazards of old age .

(Response from the audience .) Mr. Nixon considers medical care for the aged tied to social security to be , and I quote him accurately , too extreme . There are 17 million Americans and there is not anyone here who does not have a part of his family or he , himself or she , herself , will be some day in the same position .

And finally , in 1959 , we passed a bill to provide housing for the elderly , and the administration vetoed it . Lastly , in 1960 , and this is the end of a sad , sad story , when Senator Anderson and I introduced an amendment to provide medical care for the aged tied to social security , do you know how many Republican votes we got ? One ; 44 Democrats and 1 Republican . And do you know when the vote was announced , a great national magazine said , Mr .

We only need a few more . A shift of only four votes would have given us a decent bill to provide medical care for the aged under the social security system . And next January we will have those votes .

And I do n't blame Mr. Nixon for trying to forget the record of a party which has opposed virtually every single Democratic measure designed to improve human welfare in this century , a party which has not initiated a single piece of forward looking social legislation since the time of William Howard Taft . Mr. Nixon did not ignore party affiliations between elections , when he led the Republican opposition to increased minimum wages , medical care for the aged , aid to education , help for distressed areas , and all the rest and the American people are not going to ignore Mr. Nixon 's party affiliation next week . The third Nixon theme is an attack on the policies of the Democratic Party .

We can take action to provide aid to education . We can take action to provide medical care for our older citizens . We can take action to try to stimulate the American economy .

The fact of the matter is that older people in this country , and I am vice chairman of the Senate Committee on Aged , are hard hit by the problem of finding decent housing and paying for their medical bills . Under the bill which the Congress passed , anybody before 65 who needs medical care who has $ 800 or $ 1,000 saved up must first spend that money , exhaust their savings , take an oath that they are needy , and then they will get some assistance . I believe the other way , and that is the way the Democratic Party favors it .

They do n't care , and I 'll prove it . We have a bill which does it the American way , not one that would have compulsory health insurance that would reduce the standard of medical care , that would compel millions of people who do n't want it and did n't need it to have it , but , one , a bill in which every American over 65 who wanted health insurance can get it , either private or Government , but in which no one in this country is compelled to have it against his will . That 's the American way of handling this problem .

And this is all going to come at a time when automation and machinery is taking the place of men and women . I believe that we have to educate our children , that we have to provide jobs for those who want to work , that we have to provide security for those who have retired , particularly for medical care , that we must build in this country a strong and vital society which serves as an inspiration and an example to all those who look to us with confidence and hope . I come to this community in the closing days of a long campaign .

We have 16 million people in our country who are over 65 . Now , they have a special problem with regard to health care . I think we will all recognize it .

They would risk the very recession that Senator Kennedy has so loosely and in a very demagogic way predicted . So I say to you that there is a way to progress , a way in which we can have better education without having Federal control of our education ; in which we can have better housing ; in which we can have improved medical care and medical care and insurance for our older people without socializing the medical institutions in this country , without compelling people to have health insurance unless they want it and giving them a choice , which is the American way of doing it ; a program in which we can have progress in civil rights , which will move forward from the area in which we are presently finding ourselves . All these things we can have , my friends , and , in addition , we can have progress which will create more jobs for more Americans in this great period of the sixties which we are now entering .

Another Kennedy hobgoblin - his picture of the Republicans as people who do n't care - is the oldest hobgoblin of them all , but , like all the others , it too can not stand up to the truth . The Republican program for medical care for the aged would preserve freedom , avoid socialized medicine , and reach millions more senior citizens than would Mr. Kennedy 's own proposal . The Republican program in education , unlike Mr. Kennedy 's would provide funds for school construction which would enable State and local districts to use their money for raising teachers salaries , without involving the Government in the direct payment of teachers salaries which would lead toward dictation from Washington as to what is taught in our schools to our children .

Physicians and scientists in fields closely allied to medicine have told me how they are already probing below the level of the body 's cells and have begun to explore the molecules in the cells - the fundamental area where both normality and disease are controlled . We are , therefore , now in a position to further this mounting scientific attack upon disease and health problems by broad general programs directed toward the support of research , training of medical , dental , and other health manpower , and expansion of health care facilities . This will not be simple or easy .

Whenever there is any job to be done they say , We 've got to go to Washington and then work down to the people . We say the answer to progress in America is not to turn to Washington every time you have a problem first , but to start with the people first and work up to Washington , D.C. We say the way to get the jobs and the housing and the medical care and the schools , all the progress that America wants , is to stimulate the creative energies of 180 million free Americans . We say the way to progress is not to weaken the States , but to strengthen the States and the local governments .

Our program (the Kennedy program) was an amendment to the Kerr bill and the Kerr bill provided assistance to all those who were on social security . Now what was the Kerr bill ? It provided for an increased medical care program for those on public assistance . And so , Senator Kennedy would deny these 3 million senior citizens the opportunity of protecting themselves in advance against the risks of heavy medical bills .

Only one Republican voted for that bill , as only one Republican had voted in 1935 for the original Social Security Act . A national news magazine reported that when the Senate roll-call came killing medical care and when it was announced , the Vice President smiled , but the older people of this country who must take a pauper 's oath to receive medical care as aged citizens are not smiling , and I do not believe Mr. Nixon will smile on November 9. [Applause .] All this is wrapped up in the poem by T. S. Eliot , The Rock , and in that poem he says , And the wind shall say : ' These were decent people .

I have confidence in our ability to close the missile gap , to modernize our conventional forces and to give this country the kind of defensive strength that Stuart Symington has been warning for years we will need if we are going to remain free at the end of the next years . I have confidence in this Nation 's ability to look out for its older citizens , to see that they have a decent pension and a decent home and decent medical care . The people who oppose this program for medical care under social security are the very same people who fought President Roosevelt in 1935 , the very same people who supported Alf Landon in his campaign in 1936 , running on the single platform of repealing social security .

They saved enough that they were able to , but I realize and you realize that for many of our older people , when they get beyond 65 particularly , it 's a very difficult problem they are confronted with when a major illness strikes . Now , the question is : What can we do about it ? My opponent says when he was here , Oh , Mr. Nixon is against helping the older people who need medical care . Now , that is just a complete falsehood .

We provide , under the program that we are offering and have worked for in the Congress , medical care for the aged tied to social security . Mr. Nixon leads a party in this campaign that voted 90 percent in the mid-thirties against social security itself ; and in the month of August 1960 , voted 95 percent against medical care for the aged tied to social security . I believe in an America where every family can live in a decent home in a decent neighborhood ; where children can play safely ; where no home is unsafe or unsanitary , and today there are 15 million American homes which are substandard , and yet , even though our population is increasing , we 're building this year 30 percent less homes in the month of September than we did a year ago - partly , because this administration in the last 15 months has vetoed two housing bills - and we were unable to pass one in this session of the Congress .

But in the next breath he tells us that we ca n't afford to do those things in America that everybody knows we need to do . He says we ca n't afford to do what this great country should be doing in education , in programs for the aging , in medical care , in housing , in development of our natural resources . I say we can .

I stand for programs , in addition , which will build the schools that America needs . We stand for programs which will provide for increased and better medical care for our citizens , and particularly for those who need it , who are in the older age brackets - and I will discuss that more a little later . We stand for progress in all of these fields , and certainly , as I stand here before you , I am proud to be a part of that platform and of that program .

Those forced to rely on surplus food packages should receive a more balanced , nourishing diet . And to meet the pressing problem confronting men past working age , and their families , we must put through an effective program of medical care for the aged under the social security system . The present medical care program will not send one penny to needy persons without further action by the Congress and the State legislatures .

I would just add this last point : I do not agree with those people who say that what we should do when we have problems is just to leave them to the States and to the individuals . Now , if the States and the individuals will handle the problems of schools , if they will provide the medical care , if they will do the things that the people want done and that should be done , that is certainly the proper thing to do . But it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to step in where individual or local government can not or will not do the job .

We want to give to our people . Certainly we want them to have the opportunity to have this protection but we do n't want to reduce the standard of medical care . So how do wo do it ? We set up a State - Federal program .

[Cheers .] But you k now what could be more important than our job ? What could be more important than our education for our young people ? What could be more important than health care for our older citizens and for ourselves ? And the answer is being around to enjoy all these good things . So I say to you today that the most important decision you will make on November 8 is this : Which of the candidates for the Presidency , for the Vice Presidency , can best furnish the leadership that will keep the peace for America without surrender and extend freedom throughout the world ? [Applause .

This is the only method of meeting that test . Opponents of medical care have pretended that it would lead to socialized medicine . Let me make it perfectly clear that I have always opposed socialized medicine and that what the Republicans really oppose is adequate medical care .

Medical care under our old-age assistance program needs to be improved . The Congress in its last session took an important step in the direction of providing more medical care for the neediest . But we can not assume that the problem is solved .

No nation has made greater progress in meeting the human needs of all its citizens than has the United States in the past 25 years . Our standards of health care , of welfare services , and of economic security are equal to or higher than those of any other nation - anywhere , anytime . In this development , we have consistently followed two traditional principles : the first , arising out of the heart of the Judaeo - Christian heritage , is that each of us is morally responsible for the welfare of his fellow men .

Government has tremendous responsibilities , and you , of course , know that whoever is President of this country is going to make decisions that will affect not only the Federal budget , but the family budget , that will affect also the basic issue of all time , and that is whether we 're going to have peace , and have it without surrender , in the years ahead . Now , in talking to those points , I want to first say that certainly there is no issue that is more important than the one that I mentioned last , because we can have the best jobs and the best education ; we can have the best medical care that we can possibly imagine , and it is n't going to make any difference if we are not around to enjoy it . Now , I simply think it 's time for us to lay it on the line with regard to what the record is insofar as keeping the peace is concerned , because sometimes our memories are pretty short .

It will meet it honestly . It will do a better job , and I resent the attacks of our opponents when they say we are against health care for the aged and they 're for it because , as I will tell you , we are for the only program that will do the job , and theirs wo n't do the job , and it 's time that they be called on it . Look at the problem , and this is an indication of how we approach these problems .

They are different from the ones he advocates . The fact that they are different , however , does n't give him the right to say , as he did when he was in Minnesota , that I and my party are against medical care for the aged , that we are against better schools , that we are against better housing , that we are against better conditions of employment for our people . All that I can say is that when he says that he is simply talking in terms of the promises he makes , and if he had produced anything in his promises , he might have a right to talk , but he has n't done a thing yet and he has nothing to recommend him to elect him President of the United States on the basis of the special session .

We have 16 million Americans over the age of 65 who live on an average social security check of less than $ 78 a month . How are they going to get by and find homes , shelter , and medical care ? These are the problems that the United States must face . I am delighted to discuss any problems that anyone wants to raise in this campaign , but I want to turn Mr. Nixon 's attention not only to the coast of China but to the United States and New Jersey and the problems it faces and our people face .

But our goals are not the same . I want a $ 1.25 an hour minimum wage , medical care for the aged through social security , Federal aid to help raise teachers salaries as well as schools , an adequate program of slum clearance and low-rent housing , and a program of aid to areas of chronic unemployment which would include northern Minnesota . These are my goals .

[Applause .] This is a long struggle ; the struggle to tie medical care for the aged to social security began in the administration of Harry Truman . He was defeated .

Two weeks ago he issued a statement for social security advancement . Do you know that Mr. Nixon leads a party which in the midthirties voted 90 percent against social security and voted 98 percent this summer against the medical care for the aged tied to social security . And now he calls all of these programs as progress .

Therefore , I call to you as fellow members of a great organization , as fellow veterans of the past wars , for us to associate together in a rededication to the welfare of our country and that our motto shall be not only Always Ready but Always First . Senator John F. Kennedy announced today the appointment of a 23-member Board of Senior Citizens for Kennedy to help emphasize to the American people the importance of medical care for older citizens based on the social security principle . We are going to need effective legislation in this field , Senator Kennedy declared , and we are going to need effective leadership in the White House to achieve our goal .

The Lincoln tradition is not found in a man who considers $ 1.25 minimum wage to be , and I quote him extreme . The Lincoln tradition of courage [applause] is not found in a man who considers Federal aid for education and teachers salaries to be extreme , and I quote him accurately , and who calls helping our older citizens through the medium of social security to provide medical care for their aged life - who considers that to be extreme . I do not regard these measures which help our people , including the measure for rebuilding our surplus labor areas , I do not regard them as extreme .

Here are the facts . I have fought for and will continue to fight for a voluntary Federal - State plan of medical care for the aged - a plan under which all persons 65 and over of moderate means could receive more help than they would receive under Mr. Kennedy 's plan . In addition , under his plan for a compulsory Federal health insurance program many of the wealthy would receive help and 3 million senior citizens with incomes of $ 2,000 or less would receive no help .

What are the folks going to do ? What are the voters going to do ? Here 's what you do : First , you look at our record and on the record I say you compare the record of the Eisenhower administration with the record of the administration which preceded it . Both have been in for 7 Â½ years , and you can take any test you want - schools , housing , medical care , jobs , wages , controlling inflation - and you will find that in this administration we have moved forward ; we have had far greater progress than in the Truman administration . And , so , your choice is : If you want to go back to what we left , you have an easy choice because that 's what our opponents offer .

And to meet the pressing problem confronting men past working age , and their families , we must put through an effective program of medical care for the aged under the social security system . The present medical care program will not send one penny to needy persons without further action by the Congress and the State legislatures . It imposes an ugly needs test-a pauper 's oath - for eligibility .

[Applause .] And I could not leave here today , this great source of national strength here in Warm Springs , without reminding all of us that there is still unfinished business before us in the health field , that there are still over 18 million Americans over the age of 65 who live out their lives without assistance , without a recognition of the great problems that they face in the field of health , and I believe it incumbent upon the next Congress and the next administration to permit them to participate in the development of a trust fund which will provide protection in their old age without their having to take , as they now take , a pauper 's oath before they can receive medical assistance and medical care . [Applause .

Some of you may raise a question here when I say this is the most important issue , but I am sure when you consider it you will agree with me . Other issues are important - whether or not we have a good job , the kind of social security that we have for our old age , the kind of medical care that we get , the development of the right kind of school system and all the other things in which all Americans are interested , but you know , we can have the best social security , the best housing , the best jobs that we could possibly imagine , and it is n't going to make any difference if we 're not around to enjoy them . So , this is the issue of our time .

Now , people disagree with that . Senator Kennedy and Senator Johnson believe that the social security route , which would compel all people - whether they wanted health insurance or not - to , in effect , have it through subscribing to social security , is the best one to provide medical care or people over 65 . I believe that the most effective method is through a program which will provide a choice whereby people who want to have the protection for catastrophic illnesses or , for that matter , for noncatastrophic illnesses , if they so desire , can have it , but where they are not forced to have it if they do not desire , and where they can choose getting that protection through government or through private plans , which they might choose , with some government assistance .

We 're not going to because the American people recognize that good times are with us today and that they can be better tomorrow . So , if we 're not going to have a recession , how about our programs for progress for the future ? Well , here , as you might expect , the voter again is confronted with a real problem , because I say that I have programs that will produce progress , better schools and better housing for all Americans , a program of medical care for the aged , a program that will expand job opportunities for all of our people ; a program in the field of civil rights that sees that all Americans move forward together , leaving none behind . My opponent , of course , has programs in these same fields , and , so , here again you have the predicament .

[Laughter .] If we are educating our children by giving them the best education we can , and it is a sober fact that 10 years ago we were turning out twice as many scientists and engineers as the Soviet Union , and now one-half as many - if we are going to educate our children , providing full use of the capacity of our plants and men and potential of our industries in the United States , providing medical care for the aged tied to social security , some kind of security to our older citizens , if we are providing opportunity for all citizens to advance their potential , then we are building a strong and vital society here at home , and then we speak with purpose around the world . The strongest force of the United States throughout the world rests with a strong and growing and vital society here in the United States .

In no area is progress more vitally needed than the area of health . The cost of medical care has skyrocketed beyond the reach of many citizens , particularly our older citizens - and yet the present administration requires them to take a pauper 's oath before they can receive assistance . There are too few doctors , too few nurses , and too few hospitals .

They say the way to progress in every instance is to turn the problem over to the Federal Government . If you 've got a problem , whether it 's schools or housing or medical care , they say set up a huge Government program ; spend a great deal of money , billions of dollars ; weaken the States ' responsibility ; take away the responsibility of individuals ; it 's too complicated ; have all the Federal bureaucrats run the program . That is their platform up and down the line .

He promises to impose a mandatory medical care plan for the aged on every one of the millions of citizens covered by social security , no matter what their personal desires , and leave 3 million Americans with no medical care program at all . My plan would not be compulsory and would provide medical care programs for all those who needed and wanted them . My opponent promises to begin using Federal funds for the payment of teachers ' salaries , opening a door that would surely lead to Federal control of what is taught in our schools .

All we have to do is develop them . We have programs , programs that I have enunciated during this campaign that will build the schools , that will improve our medical care , particularly for our older people , that will move us ahead in science , for the new breakthroughs of this scientific revolution that will build a better life for all Americans than we 've had before . And that is as it should be , because I remember one thing my father always used to say when we were growing up .

Thirty-eight of the forty-four Republicans voted against the disability provisions . Fact : Until this year during the closing months of Congress , the Republican administration opposed any action upon health care . During public hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee in 1959 , and during the executive sessions of that committee in 1960 , the only Republican recommendation called for further study through a national conference on the aging in 1961 .

What have they done since President Taft ? What have they done on social secunty and minimum wages and housing and resource development , on which they run and issue papers today ? Where do they stand when those measures were proposed ? Where do they stand in 1960 when we tried to move the minimum wage from $ 1 an hour to $ 1.25 ? Mr. Nixon says it is too extreme . When we try to provide medical care for the aged on social security , instead they pass a bill by which you have to take a pauper 's oath before you are entitled to medical care . What do they do on resource development ? Their policy was officially called No new starts .

Can you tell me what , in the last 25 years , what program the Republican leadership ever suggested that served the people ? [Response from the audience .] Housing legislation and social security ? Minimum wage ? All of the programs that serve our people , that advance our country , that provide this country with vigor and vitality , education , security for our aged citizens under medical care under social security , all these programs have been initiated by the party which we lead in this campaign . And as you look at the sixties and recognize the need for new resolutions to new problems , I ca n't believe that this country will entrust the leadership to a candidate and a party that have opposed progress in the last 25 years .

I am not satisfied when - Three out of five persons over 65 are trying to get by on cash incomes of less than $ 1,000 a year ; Retired couples on social security are receiving an average of $ 120 a month , and widows an average of $ 56 a month in 1960 when the cost of living is at an all-time high . Eight out of 10 people over 65 suffer from some chronic disease , more than half have no private health insurance at all , and the cost of medical care has skyrocketed . Thousands of our older citizens who are able and willing to work can not find work because employers tell them that 65 is too old to work - or for that matter , in some instances , 50 or even 45 .

What is extreme is the fact of 9 million Americans over the age of 65 trying to survive on incomes of less than $ 20 a week - the 3 million more living on $ 40 a week . What is extreme is the fact of millions of older Americans who are unable to afford the medical care - the doctors and drugs and hospital rooms - which they so desperately need . And what is extreme is the opposition of the Republican Party to every effort to bring help to our older citizens .

I believe in an America where every child is educated , not according to his means or his race , but according to his capacity - where there are no literacy tests for voting that mean anything because there are no illiterate citizens - where children go to school for a full schoolday , in a well-lit , well-heated , well-equipped classroom , with enough best paid , best trained teachers to give every child 's individual needs some individual attention - where there are enough college classrooms , dormitories , loans , and scholarships to enable every bright student to pursue his education , instead of wasting in lesser positions almost half of our abler students who are unable to go on to college today . I believe in an America where one 's later years in life are the best years - years of dignity and security and recognition - where medical care in retirement is provided for in advance by a few cents laid aside each day of work , under the social security system - where older people can find housing and recreation suitable to their needs - where doors are not automatically shut in their faces by any employer , including the Federal Government - for in these crucial years , we shall need their wisdom and counsel . I believe in an America where every family can live in a decent home in a decent neighborhood - where children can play in parks and playgrounds , not the streets of slums - where no home is unsafe or unsanitary , on the farm or in the city - where a good doctor and a good hospital are neither too far away nor too expensive , and new research is daily reducing suffering - where modern cities , with modern transportation , enjoy clean , new business districts , downtown as well as in suburbia - and where the water is clean and the air is pure and the streets are safe at night .

In 1937 and 1938 , 90 percent of the Republicans voted against the 25-cent minimum wage . This summer , when we tried to improve the standards of social security by providing medical care for the aged tied to social security , again the great majority of the Republicans , over 90 percent , voted against medical care for the aged tied to social security . Eighty percent of the members of the House of Representatives who are Republicans voted against the $ 1.25 minimum wage , $ 50 a week for a 40-hour week for an industry , a business , that makes more than a million dollars a year .

This program later became law . The Republican administration recommended and supported a new medical care program for dependents of members of the armed services . Under a Republican administration , a sound health program for American Indians was initiated .

He promises a farm program that would force drastic cutbacks in production and marketing , force 2 million people out of work , trigger off inflation , sharply raise food prices , create food scarcity , and regiment all agriculture by setting up all sorts of new regulations and creating new battalions of Government overseers to watch over and tell every farmer what he could or could not do . He promises to impose a mandatory medical care plan for the aged on every one of the millions of citizens covered by social security , no matter what their personal desires , and leave 3 million Americans with no medical care program at all . My plan would not be compulsory and would provide medical care programs for all those who needed and wanted them .

Now , I want to turn from these domestic issues to what is an issue that I have found is even more important . I suppose some of you may wonder : How can Mr. Nixon possibly say that anything is more important than a good job , security for our old age , medical care and the like ? And , of course , the answer is : Being alive is more important . I have traveled to 55 countries since I 've been Vice President .

The purpose of our program is to provide equal opportunity for every American to better himself , to free life more and more from the stunting effect of economic need , and we seek to make it possible for every individual in this Nation to be somebody , to have something . Now , going along with this faith in the individual as an abiding concern , a concern for his problems as a human being - the possible loss of a job and livelihood through no fault of his own when the economy changes ; the fear that the end of his working years may mean poverty , that the loss of a breadwinner may mean destitution for the widow and children ; the cost of medical care in old age : These are some of the searing human concerns that our program aims to minimize through effective private and public measures . Such efforts toward personal security , first , are right - not only from the humanitarian viewpoint , which all of us will understand ; they are mandatory if our complex modern society is to work at its best , at its fullest .

Hospitals ? We have built more hospitals in this 7 years than in the preceding 7 years . Health ? We find generally the standards of health care have been improved more in this 7 years than in the preceding 7 years . Highways ? You know the record there .

We should have just as much concern about these nursing homes as we do about hospitals , and the Federal Government can take the lead in correcting this serious national deficiency . Medical care under our old-age assistance program needs to be improved . The Congress in its last session took an important step in the direction of providing more medical care for the neediest .

This year again only a single Republican in the Senate voted for medical care for the aged . This year again Mr. Nixon , as the spokesman for his party , speaking to 73 million people in our television debate , said that our efforts to provide medical care through social security were extreme . But I do n't believe it is extreme to help our older citizens get the medical attention they need .

And what is extreme is the opposition of the Republican Party to every effort to bring help to our older citizens . When the Republican Party nominated Mr. Nixon , they not only selected a leader - they selected a man whose record had proven him to be a true heir and representative of this historic Republican tradition - a man who led the opposition to medical care for the aged . And a man who was ready to carry on that opposition .

Now , what does this mean ? This means that we do want progress in this country , and want it to increase , but , my friends , the way to get it is to recognize that the engine of progress in the United States is not the Federal Government , but 180 million free individual Americans inspired by Government . Our opponents say they want progress and they 'll produce it , but you know how they say they 're going to get it ? They 're going to set up a huge new Government program in everything , whether its medical care or schools or housing or anything else , turn it over to the Federal Government , and they say this proves they care more for progress , that they will produce more . But , my friends , the record shows they 're wrong , because those are the same policies we found under Mr. Truman .

As this campaign enters its final week , the Republicans are stepping up their efforts to convince the voters to forget party labels , party records , and party differences . The American voter , however , will have no trouble in making a clear choice if he keeps in mind at least six basic areas of disagreement between Mr. Nixon and myself : (1) Medical care for the aged : The Republican plan permits only a handfuT of retired workers to receive public assistance for medical care if they are willing to surrender their dignity by taking a pauper 's oath . The Democratic plan would permit this cost to be covered under our social security system , so that all workers may set aside a few cents every day during their working years to help pay their medical bills when their earning power is gone .

That kind of irresponsible government has n't been good for Michigan . You 're not going to continue it in Michigan , and I say we 're not going to have that kind of government for all the 50 States of the United States by sending it to Washington , D.C. When you think that programs of our opponents would each year cost approximately the whole gold reserve of this country , you can get an example of what this spending can mean - and I say to you that I am going to fight for all those programs that we need - in education , in medical care , in all the rest - that will spell progress ; but , my friends , I am going to oppose every program that will raise taxes or raise prices for the American people , because I know that 's what you need and what you want . And I say to you today that , as we make that fight for you , we are making it because we realize that the money we spend , the promises we make ; are not paid by our money , and not by Jack 's money , either , but by yours .

Minimum wage - Mr. Nixon 's Republican Party voted 90 percent against a 25-cent minimum wage in the midthirties , and they voted 90 percent against the $ 1.25 in 1960 . They voted 90 percent against social security in the midthirties , and they voted 90 percent against the medical care for the aged tied to social security in 1960 . This is the party which has stood still , and I do n't believe in 1960 any American can stand still .

[Applause .] If you agree with a policy of no new starts , a policy which does not develop the resources of the Wabash or the Ohio Rivers , if you agree that $ 1.25 minimum wage in a company making more than a million dollars a year is excessive , and , to use Mr. Nixon 's words , extreme ; if you believe that medical care for the aged tied to social security is too extreme , if you believe that these programs which I believe are essential to the maintenance of full employment , if you believe that they are too extreme , then you should vote for Mr. Nixon . If you believe that the area redevelopment bill , which has been vetoed twice , which would mean so much to this community and other communities , which are hard hit by chronic unemployment , and you want it vetoed a third time , you should vote for Mr. Nixon .

But the record is written in the Congress , day in and day out . On medical care for the aged tied to social security , which would cost 3 cents a day per person , an average of $ 12 a year it would insure any person retiring that they would receive medical care , nursing care , the cost of their medicine . Now , under the bill which the President signed , if you get sick and you are retired , and you have saved up $ 500 or $ 800 , you have to first exhaust all of that for medical bills , then you take a pauper 's oath that you are medically indigent .

Every administration and every 3 or 4 years , this country has to recognize that we must move ahead . So there is one set of opportunities which will be open to the next President and the next Congress , minimum wage of $ 1.25 an hour , medical care for the aged tied to social security , aid to education , stimulation of housing , urban renewal . These are all programs which have been part of our life for a great many years , really since Franklin Roosevelt 's first administration .

, or Boston , Mass . This campaign is a fight for all those programs which Franklin Roosevelt fought for in his time , medical care for the aged tied to social security . Mr. Nixon says that is extreme .

Vocational training and other educational programs are prime cases in point , where we can buy invaluable lead-time against the problems of the aged by starting with persons of middle age . One of the most important preventives of all would be to accelerate the use of private medical care insurance programs which would enable people of working age to take adequate action to safeguard their health . I think we should give immediate consideration to allowing tax deductions for the cost of health insurance , designed to protect them against catastrophic illnesses that place crippling burdens on our families .

To meet this distress , the Democrats proposed that the medical expenses of retired Americans be financed through the social security system . But Mr. Nixon and the Republicans opposed medical care for the aged and they managed to defeat it in the Congress . A national magazine reported that when the Senate rollcall killing medical care for older citizens was announced , the Vice President smiled .

And now , if I could spell it out in two or three directions . First , let 's take this problem of medical care for the aged . It 's one that is very close to my heart .

We say that in the field of education we are proud that we stand for a program that will build more schools , that will raise the levels of our teachers ' salaries , but which rejects the program that they have that would endanger the right of the States to control education and that would , in effect , give to the Federal government the power not only to pay teachers , but to tell them what to teach - and that must never happen in the United States of America . We say that the answer to the problem of health care for our old people is our way and not theirs . Why ? Because ours is a program which leaves to the individual the choice , the choice of what he wants in the way of protection .

We want to move forward as this district has moved forward . We want better schools , better housing , better medical care , everything that has made America the greatest country in the world , that will make her even greater , because let 's understand one thing here today above everything else : America has n't been standing still . She 's been moving .

I consider that waste , too . There are many kinds of waste , and I think it is the function of government to use our resources to the fullest , to use our natural and material and human resources to the fullest , to educate our children , to build a stronger economy , to provide medical care for our aged under social security , to use to the fullest those areas of the United States where unemployment has been chronic for a great many years , to use our brains and our energy to build a stronger and better society here in the United States . I think the future is ging to be a difficult one for us , but I have the greatest confidence in this country .

We need development of our natural resources . We need to provide education for our children , jobs for our people , medical care for our aged tied to social security . We need to do all these things in a country and in a society that is on the move .

Now , a lot of people , I know , could well raise the question as to whether there are other things that are more important as far as this election campaign is concerned than programs that will keep the peace and extend freedom and keep freedom in this country . And I certainly would reply by saying that other things also are very important : We want better schools in America ; we want better health care in America available to all of our citizens ; we want better jobs for our people ; we also want to see the income of our farm families participate in the tremendously increasing prosperity which Americans are enjoying . But , above all , my friends , we want to see these young people , these schoolchildren who by the thousands we have seen along the streets of these Iowa towns and cities today , and who are here by the thousands , we want to see that they grow up to enjoy all these other good things - that they do have a life of peace for themselves and for the world .

[Response from the audience .] I want someone to tell me a single piece of domestic legislation that Mr. Nixon ever proposed that stood for progress for the people , from minimum wage , social security - this summer we tried to pass a bill for medical care for the older citizens . Under the bill , which the President signed , before you or your mother and father , who may be retired , who may have a heart attack or cancer or sick for several months - before they can get any assistance under that program , they first have to sign a petition that they are medically indigent .

Here it is On these matters my opponent is all talk and no performance . Last August he was unable to lead even a 2-to-1 congressional majority to do a single thing he wanted done in the area of medical care for the aged , or any other field where he took a prominent role . Moreover , what he really stands for is a deep cut in the buying power of your social security benefits because his platform and promises will bring on another round of ruinous inflation .

I know that as my mother and father reached their seventies they had some difficult times because of illness , and I know that there 's nothing that touches the hearts of children more than to think of their parents and the problems that they have then . That 's one of the reasons why we have a program in the field of medical care for the older citizens - not one like our opponents ' that would n't take care of 3 million of the people who do n't happen to be on social security , but one that will give an opportunity for every older person in this country who wants health insurance coverage to have it . , but which will require nobody to have it against his will .

My opponent says the thing to do is to have the Federal Government take over and to force everybody , except for 3 million who need it the most , into a system of compulsory health insurance whether they want it or not over 65 . You know what my program is ? I say that every person over 65 who ought to have health insurance , who wants it , should be able to get it and the Federal Government should set up a program so they should be able to afford it ; second , that everybody who ought to have it should be encouraged to get it , but I also say that no one who does not want health insurance should be forced to have it against his will , so that we can maintain the private system in this country which is essential for medical care . So much for these two examples .

[Applause .] Any party which opposed , when it began , social security , 90 percent , who voted 95 percent against the 25-cent minimum wage of the midthirties , who voted 90 percent in the House of Representatives against $ l.25 an hour in 1960 , any party which has opposed housing legislation , medical care for our aged tied to social security , any party which goes to the people in 1960 , saying we never had it so good , that our prestige has never been higher - I do n't believe that they are the party or the candidates to lead this country in the dangerous sixties . [Applause .

[Cheers and applause .] And that is why we have a program for medical care for the aged , a program which will provide that all of our citizens over 55 who want health insurance will be able to get it , will have a choice , but that no one who does not want it will be forced to have it against his will . That is the American way to do this .

But because the magnitude of this problem is increasing , it has reached a point where Government help is needed - and needed badly . In the last session of Congress we Democrats tried to enact a bill to provide for decent medical care for our older citizens under social security . It was a moderate bill .

In other words , we have here , you see , a program which covers all of our older citizens , including the 3 million not covered by our opponent 's , which forces nobody into the program who does n't want it , and yet which provides more benefits , and a greater choice of benefits than does our opponent . And I 'm getting tired of having him go around the country and say that we , my party and I , and my running mate , are against medical care for the aged , when it is he who has an inadequate program . We 're for it , and he 's against it , if we really want to lay it on the line .

Now , if they get sick , if the husband gets sick or the wife gets sick , maybe sick for 3 or 4 months , they run up doctors ' bills and medical bills in the hundreds of dollars , they have to rely on their savings or they have to rely on their children , and sometimes their children are already hard pressed to maintain their own families . What we suggest is that medical care for the aged be tied to social security , every working American contribute , and it 's little less than 3 cents a day during their working years . Then when they 're retired , they can draw on this fund and they can sustain themselves and meet their responsibilities .

You can not possibly tell me that we are going to win this competition with Mr. Khrushchev in the future when 20 or 25 percent of our capacity is unused , when 4 Â½ million Americans are out of work , when 35 percent of our brightest boys and girls graduating from high school never see the inside of a college , and 16 million Americans live on an average social security check of less than $ 72 a month . And this administration says , when we try to provide aid to education , when we try to provide medical care for the aged , it is too extreme . When we try to pass $ 1.25 minimum wage , per hour , $ 50 a week [applause] $ 50 a week , Mr. Nixon says it is extreme

[Applause .] And this job will not be finished until we provide medical care for the aged under social security . Finally , let me say that I am glad to be here with a young and progressive figure from the State of Michigan , who I believe will succeed Mennen Williams as a great Governor , who will lead Michigan forward - John Swainson .

So , on this particular issue I say that the very fact that I stand against this wasting of the people 's money , that I stand against programs that will not produce progress , but would only produce more spending , indicates an interest in and a concern for your problems - and I pledge to you that I will always have that concern in the years ahead . Now , if I could turn to one other issue , an issue of tremendous importance , an issue of overriding importance , I should say , in this campaign and for the whole world , what could be more important than a job ? What could be more important than adequate security and adequate pension ? What could be more important than good medical care , all of these things which I stand for and for which I have programs that I believe are far superior to my opponent 's : Well , being around to enjoy our good life in this country is more important than that . I have traveled a great deal , as you know perhaps , in the last 7 Â½ years .

We are going to have to provide better schools for our children because we need the best educated children in the world . We are going to have to provide medical care for the aged tied to social security , because all the people are entitled to live out their lives in some kind of dignity , and we are going to have to provide equality of opportunity for all Americans . Now , you have to decide which party and which candidate based on their history , based on their statements in this campaign , based on their look into the future , can lead this country into the dangerous years of the 1960 's , which party and which candidate and which viewpoint can build in this country a strong society which will serve as an inspiration to the people around the world .