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Dom. Platform

408-24

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169-3

JOHN STEINBECK • Box 1017, Sag Harbor, Long Island, New York

August 12, 1964

Dear Jack:

This is the best I can do. I have not submitted the copy to excruciating polish because I know this will go through committee and committee of committee. The time for final polishing will come when very competent minds have added everything they have to add. You may or may not want me to do this. Perhaps someone else could do it better.

I have changed and rewritten the beginning and the ending because these are the two places where emotion can be added. These are also the two parts which are listened to by delegates assembled on the first reading.

When the document gets down to exactnesses I have made few changes and the ones I have made have only been for the purposes of clarification, simplification or greater ease in reading aloud.

This is a good platform. I can find nothing to change in the Defense part and little in the foreign policy part, except that I think it should be brought up to date in the matter of the air strike in north Vietnam and any subsequent action and involvement. It should also be brought to the present in the anti poverty matter, which I have touched on.

When the platform has dealt with figures and exactness I have not touched it. Such things should be left clear, concise and spare, which they are.

I shall get this off in this afternoon's mail and protect it with everything the post office has. I shall be glad and relieved to know that you receive it.

I repeat-- it is the best I can do at the present time.

The page following this letter is a codification of the matter we spoke of. I dare you to slip it in among the lists of proposed legislation and see the reaction. It would surely raise the blood pressure of certain people, but you do know that something like it is going to be necessary and that in the near future. If it is not, Federal authority will suffer and become inoperable not only in these things but in every direction. I am convinced that such a law, if it could be put through, would stop local violence and blood shed just as the national law against kidnapping.

Anyway there it is. It may not look like it, but I have put one hell of a lot of concentration and work in on it. Sometimes the changing of a pronoun makes a great deal of difference.

So long for now, but do please let me know that you have received this.

yours



SERVICE SET

Any felonious crime against life, limb or property committed in the process of, or in conjunction with, or as a result of a crime against a Federal law or statute should be held to be a Federal crime and should be tried in the Federal Courts and the penalty assessed by a Federal Judge.

Such Federal crimes as treason, counterfeiting, kidnapping, smuggling, gun running, white slavery or invasion of Civil Rights as defined by Act of Congress, should invoke this rule.

PREAMBLE

We, the members of the Democratic Party, in order to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do here rededicate ourselves and our Party to defend and preserve the Constitution of the United States and to carry out its clear and present intentions.

America is and must be one nation and one people. Our welfare our improvement, our safety and even our survival reside in the common good---the sharing of responsibilities as well as benefits by all our people.

In every generation of our history the principles and the purpose of America have had to survive the attacks of ambitious and unprincipled men and groups of men who, despising both the idea and the process of democracy, have by secret, black and midnight violence, sought to destroy them and with them the American conception of government.

Thus far, those who traffic in fear and falsehood, hate and cynicism have failed to undermine the deep love of truth and the quiet faith which are the strength and stability of the majority of our people.

The tactics of threat, violence, economic blackmail, and even murder, are not new, nor will they disappear forever when their present emergence subsides, but they must be kept from power and eventually eliminated by the eternal vigilance and the sound good sense of the American people sufficiently with the enforced laws of the land.

The Democratic Party and the Administration believe that world problems, domestic requirements and constructive effort toward a good future demand all proper attention and work.

This Party and this Administration will neither initiate nor answer the current snide and poisonous charges and inuendos which are used when no true political issues exist.


Accordingly we repudiate diversion and division and make our platform a

And it should be reassuring to many troubled Americans that under this covenant the best and the most competent and experienced members of both parties are happy under this Administration to serve the United States and the American people

We report the stewardship of the Administration in the time just past as well as our estimate of the needs of the future and the creative plans for meeting them.

The complications and dangers in our restless and constantly changing present day world require of us consummate understanding and experience. In the face of the work to be done, of the penalties for failure and the inestimable rewards to all our people for success, narrow partisanship has no place and we shall not indulge in it. For indeed it appears to be either a blind and irresponsible stupidity if not overt and outright treason against our people and against their future.

The Constitution we so strongly trust and reaffirm promises peace and freedom to the individual. In our dark and explosive time, Peace is the simple right to stay alive. It is a paradox perhaps that at this time when the black shadow of threatened war lies on the world, that there should be areas of growing and increasing enlightenment. It is not enough to permit a man his liberty. We must also encourage and help him to make full use of his individual ability and the talent God gave him to the enrichment of our whole nation.

Accordingly we repudiate diversion and division and make our platform a covenant of unity. 

We hold that the National purpose is human purpose, that the lives of all our people should and shall be open and unafraid, secure in their lives in their families and in their property.

We hold that every American with help, not hindrance, should and shall become all that his capability permits.

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PEACE

Peace to the individual is permission to remain alive.

Peace to the nation is the basic requirement for existence.

To the world, Peace is all that saves our dear green earth from becoming a dead and riven rock, a used up satellite rolling in lonely orbit around the sun.

The choice between life and death, which is the same as peace and war seems simple enough, but it is not. We must maintain our military defenses alert enough and overwhelmingly strong enough so that no nation or combination of powers could dare to attack us with the slightest hope of their own survival. But this is the dark side of Peace, enforced Peace. There is another and a brighter side. Where once war was considered to be an extension of diplomacy and is no longer, , today we conceive of Peace as an extension of defense.

Our Foreign Policy must and does recognize the rights of men and women everywhere to fulfill their status as human beings. The day of the Jingo is over. War as an honorable sport for officers and gentlemen is inconceivable. Big nations claiming superiority from a God-given destiny can no longer gobble little nations and strip their bones for purposes of power or profit.

In spite the danger inherent in the cataclysmic nature of the modern weaponry, the world is closer knit and more interrelated than it ever has been in its whole history. A discovery or a success in one part of world sends a widening ring of success around the globe while a local

agony sends out a wave of pain in all directions and brings a response also. When before in history could an earthquake in one spot stimulate kindness and help from everywhere? When in all history could tiny feuding neighbors on a little map-spot of an island, draw the concern, advice and eventually policing from everywhere?

The Democratic Party and this Administration recognize both the danger and the challenge of emerging and expanding relationships. We acknowledge that more experienced and richer nations such as ours must help struggling and emerging peoples with advice, with goods and with leadership. We know that this too is a form of national defense, perhaps the only dependable one.

The Art of War is gone. We study the even more complex art of Peace. At the same time we must and will keep our guard up and our arsenal well-stocked because today's weapons in the hands of fanatics, extremists or dictators ~~anywhere~~ high in ambition and low in responsibility and intelligence, wherever they may emerge, are a clear and present danger to the whole world. The brink of war is for suicides--- or candidates--- not for presidents.

This page substituted for your page 1

1964 Democratic Party Platform.

Foreign Policy plank.

Peace should be the first concern of all governments as it is the prayer of all homes and the hunger of all people. Everybody talks about peace but very few do anything about it. Peace and Freedom have been the business of America under the Johnson-Kennedy Administrations and the world is closer to peace than it has been for many years because of the Administration's constant, persistent patient pursuit of peace.

Under our leadership and after long negotiation by our State Department, one hundred nations signed a limited Test Ban Treaty. We have furthermore succeeded in persuading the nuclear powers to slow measurably the frantic arms race. We have achieved an agreement to ban nuclear explosions in outer space and to limit testing of fissionable materials to strictly controlled or underground operations. These achievements have been accomplished through negotiation activated by a foreign policy of which the ends were peace and Freedom. These treaties and agreements are not scraps of paper filed and forgotten. Because of them the air we all breathe is freer of poisonous contamination, the milk our children drink is unmixed with toxic fallout. We have opened the door to man's age-old goal, peace under law. But the opening of the door and the pride in our accomplishment goes hand in hand with determination to continue with every effort toward the final goal of removing the fear and anxiety which are not only toxic but catching, must be removed as a block to peace and a barrier between peoples.

~~To this end we are determined:~~

①

1964 Democratic Party Platform
Foreign Policy Plank

Peace and freedom are America's business. Peace affects every home; freedom every conscience.

The Johnson-Kennedy years have been good years for peace and freedom.

PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE

The world is closer to peace today, because of the Administration's patient pursuit of peace.

The air we breathe is freer of nuclear contamination and all of us are more secure because of the 100-nation limited Test Ban Treaty.

The nuclear arms race has been slowed measurably. Nuclear material production has been reduced on both sides. Nuclear weapons have been barred from outer space.

But pride in accomplishment is accompanied by the resolve to make further progress towards peace under law -- man's age-old goal and present necessity.

~~SECRET~~

Therefore, we are determined:

-- to continue all-out efforts to halt and reverse the arms race through fully-enforceable, arms control measures.

-- to support fully the United Nations; to develop and employ its peace-keeping capabilities; to strengthen its finances; and in every way to enable it to fulfill its noble objectives which we share with all mankind.

-- to work for an increasingly effective Atlantic partnership between the United States and a uniting Europe in the firm conviction that by combining our energies and resources, the industrial powers of the free world can best fulfill the heavy responsibilities of wealth and power.

-- to help people in underdeveloped areas help themselves to maintain their freedom, build stable societies and achieve a better life.

-- to improve our effective, mutual assistance programs, placing great emphasis upon private enterprise and upon development loans.

-- to support the partnership of free American Republics in the Alliance for Progress.

-- to expand the Peace Corps, which has already brought the selfless services of 10,000 Americans to 45 countries.

-- to seek increased prosperity for our people from expanded world trade, using the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act to ease problems of adjustment.

PROGRESS FOR FREEDOM

The United States has kept its commitments from Berlin to South Vietnam.

Resolute American policy brought about withdrawal of Soviet offensive missiles from Cuba without war.

Under American leadership, the Free States of the Western Hemisphere and their Allies have taken steps which have discredited and isolated the Castro regime.

Under this Administration, the United States has proven its readiness to help our friends everywhere to defend their freedom against aggression.

In the last four years we have made great progress for freedom. Communism has sustained severe setbacks for a period when many new nations have been born.

Communism has failed to add to its roll of states. The deepening Chinese-Russian rift has split the Communist world.

Communist China has been kept out of the United Nations.

Through enlightened exchanges of peoples and ideas and through trade in peaceful goods, we have built bridges to the captive peoples living under Communism. We welcome signs of their growing freedom, and look forward to the day when they will enjoy the full right of self-determination.

We have strengthened our alliances with more than 40 other nations and built greater unity through constant consultations to achieve concerted policies in our common dedication to freedom.

We pledge renewed efforts to end discrimination in our immigration laws.

THE FUTURE

At the end of the second decade of the nuclear age, the world remains an infinitely dangerous place. Trigger-happy, reckless policies risk holocaust. To save himself, man must summon his highest intelligence, his clearest vision, his uncompromising recognition of reality. He must curb his primitive passions and thoughtless reactions.

America and the Free World need the responsible, experienced leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson in the years ahead.

Our friends ~~have~~ find confidence in his firm support
Those who would be our adversaries know his calm determination to ^{back} ~~support~~ ^{everywhere} freedom -- in South Vietnam, in Cuba and elsewhere.

And ^{the} whole ^{and believe} world knows his resolve to "... use every resource at the command of the Government ... and the people ... to find the road to peace."

facts:

9 can't improve on
this now.

J.S.

W. L. Namara
DRAFT/July 23, 1964

1964 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

I

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Democratic Administration has created and will continue to maintain a balanced, versatile defense establishment, capable of countering aggression with controlled and flexible force across the entire spectrum of conflict, from nuclear confrontation to guerrilla subversion.

When the Administration took office in 1961, it found the Nation's defense in a condition bordering on chaos. The Nation was alarmingly weak in combat-ready ground and air forces to meet challenges of less than all-out war, our strategic forces were excessively vulnerable, and there was little prospect of improvement. Despite the fact that defense expenditures annually consumed nearly 10% of the Gross National Product, strategy had become the helpless offspring of an arbitrary budget. In keeping our promise to the American people, this Administration has recast our military capability and strategy to meet the needs of our national security without regard to arbitrary budget ceilings.

In 1960, we pledged --

"The new Democratic Administration will recast our military capacity in order to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance, and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggression."

We have kept that pledge. Since January 1961, we have achieved:

- A 150% increase in the number of nuclear weapons available in the Strategic Alert Forces.

- A 50% increase in our strategic bombers on alert.
- A 60% increase in the Tactical Nuclear Force in Western Europe.
- A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready divisions.
- A 15,000-man increase in the strength of the Marine Corps.
- A 75% increase in airlift capability.
- A 100% increase in funds for general ship construction and conversion to modernize our fleet.
- A 175% increase in the procurement of airlift aircraft.
- A 100% increase in the procurement of tactical aircraft.
- A 44% increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.
- An 800% increase in the Department of Defense Special Forces trained to deal with counterinsurgency threats.

In 1960, we pledged to create --

"Deterrent military power such that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction."

Since 1961, we have increased the intercontinental ballistic missiles and Polaris missiles in our arsenal from fewer than 100 to more than 1,000. We have increased the number of Polaris submarines in commission from 3 to 22. Today, the intercontinental ballistic missile force of the United States is more than four times that of the Soviet Union. We have restored the confidence of our countrymen, the respect of our allies, and the awe of our adversaries.

In 1960, we pledged --

"Continuous modernization of our forces through intensified research and development, including essential programs slowed down, terminated, suspended, or neglected for lack of budgetary support."

Since 1961, we have --

- Increased, by 50%, funds for research and development over that prevailing during the last four years of the previous Administration.
- Added 208 major new research and development projects. These include 77 weapons programs with costs exceeding \$10 million each, including such major ones as the LANCE tactical ballistic missile, the F-111 fighter-bomber and a new main battle tank.
- Increased, by more than 100%, the funds for the development of counterinsurgency weapons and equipment, from less than \$10 million to over \$103 million.
- Increased, by 54%, our Anti-Submarine Warfare research and development program.

Our Research and Development program has assured our continued strategic superiority in an era of changing technology and, for the first time, actively applied that technology to our needs for lower levels of conflict, so that they can be deterred or won.

The Democratic Administration will continue to marshal the Nation's defenses at the lowest possible cost, insisting on a dollar's worth of value for every dollar spent.

When we took office in 1961, we discovered a defense establishment which was not only unprepared to protect America's interests or security, but wastefully inefficient as well. The Republicans effort to control expenditures by arbitrary budget ceilings -- without regard to the needs of our national security and ignoring the advice of distinguished professional military leaders -- led to a wasteful and damaging struggle among the services for a maximum share of the defense dollar.

In reconstructing the Nation's defense establishment, the Democratic Administration insisted that the services be guided by these three precepts:

- Buy only what we need.
- Buy at the lowest sound price.
- Reduce operating costs through standardization, consolidation, and termination of unnecessary operations.

As a result, our expanded and reconstituted defense force has cost billions of dollars less than it would have cost under the inefficient and unbusinesslike methods of procurement and operation which we inherited. These savings amounted to more than \$1 billion in the fiscal year 1963, and to \$2.5 billion in the fiscal year just completed. Furthermore, under the cost reduction program we have established, we will be saving \$4.6 billion each year, every year, by fiscal 1968.

We have met the challenges of Berlin and Cuba, decreased the prospect of further such challenges, and brightened the outlook for peace. This Administration pledges to continue its policy of unyielding resistance to Communist aggression while seeking, from a position of strength, honorable settlements of international issues.

Specifically, we pledge ourselves to continue to --

1. Maintain our superior strategic nuclear capability.
2. Strengthen the balanced, flexible, mobile forces needed to counter acts of political and military aggression which are less than all-out war.
3. Maintain our progressive Cost Reduction Program, setting increasingly higher targets, so that we may regularly assure the Nation that

it is receiving a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar spent.

4. Minimize the disruptive effects of economy measures and changes in defense spending.

5. Maintain full support for a research and development program which will provide us the opportunity to make the best choices from a wide range of new weapons systems and equipment.

6. Expand the Nation-wide Civil Defense program centered around fallout shelters.

7. Pursue our examination of the draft to make certain that we meet our military manpower needs without social or economic injustice.

8. Attract to the military services the highest calibre of career personnel by annually reviewing rates of military compensation and quarters allowances to keep them in balance with increases in wages and salaries in the civilian economy, and by a vigorous military housing program.

9. Intensify present, and initiate new, programs for career development and management, for both military and civilian personnel to insure that maximum use is made of the skills and talents present in the defense establishment.

~~As the mind must be made strong, so must the body.~~

Medical care in America is the best in the world. It is also the most expensive, and not everyone gets it who needs it.

We must continue to expand our health facilities (and health manpower resources.) ? *Either explain or eliminate*

We must improve the social security program to include health care for the aged and increased benefits.

the
Research in ~~major~~ causes of diseases and accidents must go forward.

The Economy

The American free enterprise system is one of the great achievements of the human mind and spirit. The continued development and use of new ideas and new technology, through a combination of bold private initiative and wise public policy have made our business system the productive marvel of mankind.

In spite of this
~~was~~ in January, 1961, America was in the depths of the fourth postwar recession. The economic growth rate had ~~averaged~~ *dropped to* 2 per cent ~~over~~ *during* the preceding eight years. More people were unemployed than at any time since the Great Depression.

Since that time, we have had the longest and strongest peacetime prosperity in modern history: 41 months of uninterrupted expansion.

-- Our growth rate has gone up to 5-1/3 per cent a year.

-- Four million jobs have been added to the economy, ~~and~~

-- Unemployment has been reduced from almost 7 per cent to just above 5 per cent.

-- Workers earnings and corporate profits are ^{have reached} ~~at the~~ highest levels in history.

-- Our balance of payments and the gold, which had ^{depletion?} ~~reached~~ crisis proportions in 1960, have dramatically improved.

-- Interest rates on home mortgages have gone down.

-- Prices have been more stable than in any other industrial nation in the free world.

This did not just happen; it came about because we know much more today about how our economy works, and because we used that knowledge wisely and prudently:

-- Taxes were cut, taking the brakes off the economy.

One Nation, Oned People

On November 22, 1963, black tragedy fell on America. The President was murdered, shot down in our own land by one of our own countrymen. This blind and evil act, the product of extremist hatred fermenting in a feeble mind, lay heavily on our hearts. We felt a personal guilt that such nightmare anger is loose in our land and that we had failed to protect our beloved President.

But even in that time of degradation and anguish, America felt the surge of a great wave of national unity and responsibility.

Now ---our sorrow is not less, but we do know that we honor the memory of President Kennedy best and as he would wish, not by mourning his death, but in ourselves and in our nation by being better and larger because he lived .



-- Monetary policy was adjusted.

-- Incentives were added to the economy.

upper case
It is important that this was accomplished without increasing
the Government's role in the economy. *In fact:*

-- The position of national output accounted for by Government spending has dropped steadily.

-- The ratio of national debt to gross national product has *decreased*
~~dropped~~ steadily.

-- Federal spending has been cut.

We know that
We have proved what can be done, and that the rest of the job is within our competence.

~~But~~ there is still much to be done. For too many Americans are being left out of the general state of economic well being.

The nation is ready now to reassert and to deliver on the proposition that every American who is prepared to work ~~is entitled to~~
has a
~~a matter of~~ right to a job and to a fair wage for doing it.

We will give Special attention ~~must be given~~ to increased job opportunities, and ~~legal protection for migratory workers and agricultural workers.~~

Agricultural and migratory workers will be given legal protection and economic encouragement.

-- The ^{scope} ~~coverage~~ of the minimum wage laws must be extended and the minimum wage level increased.

-- Overtime payment ~~regulations~~ ^{adjusted} must be ~~changed~~ to assure maximum employment consistent with operating efficiency.

-- Unemployment insurance must be basically revised to meet the new conditions of ~~unemployment~~ ^{unforeseen when the law was written}

Unemployment is a ~~result~~ ^{product} of our successes as much as of our failures. Advancing technology ~~is a boon~~ ^{as a boon} to the economy and requires active encouragement. ~~It is a boon~~ ^{we must} at the same time, ~~we~~

^{provide} ~~vision~~ that workers whose jobs are ~~eliminated~~ shall have other ^{occurences} ~~employment~~. We must prepare ^{people} ~~that~~ young ^{with} ~~people~~ entering the work force have the education and training ~~which~~ modern jobs demand.

~~Those~~ programs which have already proved successful must be continued and stepped up.

We must ^{reduce} Taxes ~~must be reduced~~ still further. Next year, the second stage of the income tax cut will take effect. ⁹ We ^{should} ~~must also~~ consider reducing excise taxes, which now cost consumers \$13 billion a year.

Every penny of Federal spending ^{will} ~~must~~ be accounted for ^{and} ~~in terms of~~ the strictest economy, efficiency, and integrity. ^{Continued} ~~only~~ a frugal government is ^{a trust worthy government.} ~~faithful to its trust.~~ Prudence ^{must march} and progress ^{go} together.

We will continue the flexible monetary and debt management policies ~~that are~~ ^{an} essential to ~~an~~ expanding economy.

We have initiated an all-out war on poverty, and we propose to fight this war to its complete conclusion. ^{Our} ~~The~~ anti poverty bill is ^{the beginning,} ~~the~~ watchword is New. Our object is Total Victory.

~~It will be essential to the fully effective working of the~~

^{In order that ~~our~~ economy ^{may} ~~that it~~ be strong in all its parts,}

Free, private collective bargaining will be strengthened:

- By continued rejection of proposals for compulsory arbitration;
- By repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which gives Federal support to prohibitions on collectively bargained union security provisions;

- By eliminating restrictions on the right to strike
^{To}
and picket peacefully.

^{As} ^{we are all} ^{full}
~~We are all consumers and are entitled to~~ information ..

~~which will make us most effective in this capacity:~~

So that we may make

- ~~To the advice necessary to permit making informed~~

concernedly
choices, ~~getting~~ reliable products, and credit on

fair terms;

So that we may receive full benefit from
~~the progress of~~ modern research and technological

development;

So that

~~To a nationwide drug information system that will~~

force ~~bring~~ new developments into rapid use, *and economical*

Expansion of our foreign trade is essential ~~if we are to~~
To our increasing
~~put to full use our~~ productive capacity and our manpower
resources.

Continued commodity programs to strengthen farm
required for our growing
incomes are ~~essential to the increased~~ economic vigor we demand
~~our~~

The Nation

The American cities began as havens of fulfillment.
Today, ~~the demand upon us is that~~ their vitality ^{must} be restored,
areas
lest they become ~~places~~ of confinement for those who cannot
escape.

The Federal government, because of its financial
resources, and because of the enormous impact on urban areas
of Federal programs, has a responsibility to help restore the
vitality of ~~the~~ American cities.

As a first step we should establish a Department of
Urban Affairs and give priority to the problems of urban housing,
transportation, and community development.

In the field of housing, our immediate goal should be
2.5 million units a year.

We should establish an urban extension service, operated by universities across the country to provide ~~qualified~~ specialists in public health, city planning and community development. Working with local governments and citizen groups, they ~~will~~ ^{can} do for our cities what the great Agricultural Extension Service has done for rural America.

America will remain beautiful only ~~if~~ ^{if} we keep it so.

We have a ~~profound moral obligation to strengthen our ability~~ to control pollution and preserve the natural beauty ^{of the} open spaces of our land, thereby ~~leaving~~ ^{passing on to} Americans ~~to the future~~ a land as beautiful as that we received from the past.

Water conservation, the protection and ~~enhancement~~ ^{conservation} of fish and wildlife, a nationwide program for the acquisition of wilderness land and sea shores for recreation, and the vigorous development of water desalting procedures are matters of national urgency.

The Democracy of Opportunity

Civil rights is the principal moral challenge facing the American people. The past four years have seen more progress

than at any other period in our history. We must ~~continue~~^{increase}
human and material ~~resources~~^{effort on} at all levels - Federal, State,
local and private ~~resources~~^{These} and ~~encouraged~~^{and encouraged} must be used to the fullest extent to
eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, or
national origin wherever it appears. The immense variety of
the American people ~~will continue to be~~^{is the} an unequalled source of
our strength and ~~creativity~~^{all} ~~but it~~^I must cease once and for all
to be the vehicle of disunity and discord.

The President of the United States must lead the nation
in the just, fair, and effective observance and enforcement of
the historic principles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

- 2 -

III ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE

On November 22, 1963, America was struck by tragedy so awful it is still unreal. A beloved President was murdered in his own land, and at the hand of one of his own people. All that is menacing and evil in the human heart was manifest in that blind act of destruction.

But even in that moment of degradation and anguish those qualities which are truest and strongest in the American people surged forward in a massive response of national unity.

As we mourn our President, so shall we honor his memory. We are the cause for his death, but our action is larger because he lived.

We have seen a renewed national commitment to the central working principle of ~~that~~ democracy -- that the end ^{never} ~~does not~~ justify the means, especially when that means is violence.

There are those among us who do not understand this. Our course is not to hate or to reject them, but to try to understand them, ^{in order} and to help them out of the darkness of fear and anxiety, ^{their} ~~in which they live~~.

Yet as we offer understanding and good will, let *no one*
confuse tolerance with weakness.

~~in a minute~~: America will not tolerate violence

whatever the cause. It will not tolerate conspiracy, whether

of the left or the right. We have been hurt too much, and

our patience ~~has~~ *is run out*

As we are united in the face of menace from without,

so must we unite to overcome those forces within that preach

hate, suspicion and division.

We have a new understanding of how important it is

that we work together with the object of liberty and justice

for all. *Armed with this great truth*
~~This is the great truth with which we face the future.~~

EXECUTIVE
ME1-3/5*

December 23, 1968

Dear Elaine:

When I spoke to you on the telephone, I could only tell you a part of what was in my heart.

To Lady Bird and me, the loss of John Steinbeck means that we must do without a dear friend.

To America, it means that a people he loved must now learn to draw strength from the memory of a wise and compassionate counselor and artist.

Our prayers are with you now, as our hearts and love have always been.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Elaine Steinbeck
190 East 72nd
New York, New York 10021

LBJ:HM:ms

EXECUTIVE

MA 2-10

August 2, 1965
11:45 a.m. Monday

MR. PRESIDENT:

About Presidential Medal of Freedom Awards

I am aware of your desires in this matter. But I must take one one more opportunity to point up some reasons why this enterprise should be continued.

In the last paragraph of John Steinbeck's letter to me of July 22 (which you read), let me quote:

"Jack, could you without disloyalty, tell me why the Medal of Freedom has been discontinued? (Note: he read this in NEWS-WEEK). There is a lot of undercover speculation. I believe the President should explain his reasons or offer his substitutions. Otherwise those medals already granted will lose their value."

This is one reason why I am hopeful your decision will be re-evaluabed. Those 64 men and women already granted these medals put a high price on them. They have a measureless value.

The Medal of Freedom is the nearest American tradition to the French Academy, or the British Honors List.

There is such great potential for it.

Jack Valenti

JV:ny

RECEIVED
AUG 3 1965
CENTRAL FILES

SERVICE SET

Filed by
SOCIAL FILES
MAR 21 1964

~~GTET~~
"S"

March 18, 1964

Dear Mr. Steinbeck:

How very thoughtful of you to send me a copy of "The Winter of Our Discontent". It is a valued addition to my library, and your most generous autograph makes the novel even more treasured.

I loved the hour I spent talking with you and Elaine - listening about your cultural exchange trip to Russia and reminiscing with Elaine about the University. Your books have been a part of my life for a long time.

~~Book~~
"S"

Thank you so very much and my special good wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

(Elaine Steinbeck)

Mr. John Steinbeck
190 East 72nd Street
New York 21, New York

BA:bk

~~"The Winter of Our Discontent"~~

SERVICE SET

JOHN STEINBECK
190 East Seventy-second Street, New York 21, N. Y.

February 28, 1964

Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Carpenter:

Will you be so kind as to give this book to
Mrs. Johnson? I promised to send it and am
late in getting it done.

It was very good seeing you and I hope we may
again before too long.

Elaine sends her best and that's very good.

Yours very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John Steinbeck". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the typed name "John Steinbeck".