

H on the wall

Types on Agric

000606

Farmers for Humphrey

I'm pleased with the huge "H" which you have over here on the wall --- with the states on one side which are in the Farmers for Humphrey group --- and on the other side which lists some of the farm bills of which I have been the chief author.

These bills which I have introduced don't ~~just~~ ^{only} represent the thinking of Hubert Humphrey, they represent the best thinking of many, many working farmers and many farm group and commodity leaders.

I've had the privilege on working with some great friends of the farmer in the Senate and in the House.

My colleague Senator McCarthy of Minnesota and the great Congressman George McGovern of South Dakota are sponsors with me of the "Family Farm Program Development Act."

I was joined in sponsoring S. 1821, the Dairy Marketing Act, by the great dairy leader and Congressman from the Ninth district in Wisconsin, Lester Johnson. (Sanitation Standards)

On the bill for hog marketing incentive payments, the co-sponsor on the House side was Congressman Hogan of Indiana.

Rep. Miller joined me in sponsoring the egg and poultry stabilization act, S. 2516.

On The International Food for Peace Act, I've had help from a number of colleagues, Senator Carroll of Colorado, Senator McGee of Wyoming, Senator Monroney of Oklahoma, Senator Hart of Michigan, Senator Church of Idaho.

Again on the school milk appropriation bills I've worked shoulder to shoulder with many from the dairy states. (Special Milk)

You remember my REA bill, S. 114 to restore the REA loan-making authority to the REA administrator. This bill was passed by the Congress and vetoed by the President. This bill was called the Humphrey-Price bill, the House sponsor being Congressman Price of Illinois. On that bill I had 24 co-sponsors in the Senate.

symington of Mass.

Senator Murray of Montana was associated with me on my bill to restore the authority of the farmer-elected committees.

It's a long list. I've worked with every individual in the Congress who was sincerely trying to accomplish something worthwhile for farmers.

On the sugar act extension bill in the Senate, there are 44 sponsors in addition to myself --- almost a majority right there. After all, there's nothing so different about the sugar program. We'd just like to get a comparable program going on some of the other commodities.

Producers of each commodity could make the decisions themselves under the Humphrey Family Farm Program Development Act.

Family Farm Development Act

Food for Peace Milk REA

Dairy Hog Mkt

Food for Peace

Family Committee

000607
Sin no fence straddle - Strait talk

Fence Straddling - Hazy talk - sign
7 old Age

Rep-Admmt is old in Spirit

Every Flynn - Gow Nelson }
Prof. Miss Philo Nash }

~~Miss~~

First time out together
Can last 5 yrs

Philo ~~Handful~~
Jack ~~Handful~~

Munn Nabedam -
Philo ~~Handful~~ ~~Handful~~
Hickam

old time Religion
Joe Hays (My Frank Smith)

ca
Fred Kutzbelt
~~center~~

Racine Park
St. Catharines Hi School Union
washed
N. Cath. Snotturner

Friday, March 18, 1960
Young Democratic Clubs of Wisc.
Racine, Wisconsin
000608

A YOUTHFUL SPIRIT FOR AMERICA

Minny notre Dame weather

Conroy Flynn

Bill Drew
State Pres Y-D's
working for you

It is good to be with you tonight, because I feel at

home.

(sorry can't be with you for dinner)

I feel at home not just because I am a Midwesterner and one of your neighbors, but because I identify with the spirit and mood of Young Democrats.

Nelson
Prof
St. Coonach
Conroy Flynn

You young Democrats don't like fence-straddlers. Neither do I. You don't like academic monologues which avoid the issues. Neither do I.

Young Democrats ^{set} ~~are~~ to the core of a problem or issue, and they want to hear a man who talks bluntly and honestly.

Well, I'm that kind of man. I don't believe in phrasing my beliefs to pick up some votes from Republicans or States Righters.

had Republican Flu - wabably Half Paralyzed
not back marks for some other

000609

I say what I think, no matter what the organized experts advise.

Double talk

Fence-straddling and hazy talk is a sign of old age, and we see too many such signs in Government today.

There's a very simple reason for it. The Republican Administration in Washington is made up of old men.

In fact, some of us have been thinking of re-christening the Cabinet "The Ten Old Men."

Now when I say old, I don't mean ^{just} old in years. I mean old in spirit. All of us know men who are old at thirty -- and we also know many men who are still young at seventy-five.

Holmes
Brandes

Our Government has lost the spirit of youth which built this country and which is needed more than every now.

The Republican Administration is old in spirit. The results are weakness and fear.

Weakness - waste - neglect + fear
000610

↳ It is weakness when the Administration sees obstacles looming larger than the challenge to overcome them.

↳ It is weakness when the Administration can think only of reasons for not doing things, instead of discovering ways to do them.

Can't DO

↳ It is weakness when the Administration defends inaction, instead of acting to meet the critical needs of our age.

Inaction

↳ I am saddened when I hear America -- the richest Nation in the world -- making excuses that she can't afford to help other nations build their economies.

Excuses

↳ I am ashamed when I think of millions of people throughout the world in the grip of hunger, while America complains of the burden and cost of storing huge surpluses of food.

Food
+
Hunger

I am embarrassed when I think that America, a nation that led the technological revolution, that produced the atomic bomb in a brief five years, has been surpassed not just once but many times by a nation that forty years ago had little more than oxen and hoes.

Tech
Revolution

What has happened to America? What has happened to our muscle? What has happened to our will to achieve, to create, to progress?

What has happened, I ask, to the America of the 1930's -- an America which met the challenge of an entire national economy out of balance, the challenge of 13 million people without jobs, the challenge of dust bowls and bread lines.

Those years cried out for leadership -- and the leadership was there in the person of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

FDR

all we have to Fear is Fear itself

Those years cried out for new ideas -- answers to new problems. And the answers were found.

And why? Because there was a spirit of youth and a will to sweep aside obstacles and move on to get things done.

Today, again we are challenged, but the ^{enthusiasm} ~~enthusiasm~~ of our response is gone. Instead of vigor, we have fear. We do not move, because an aged Administration is paralyzed by its own fear.

Admitted Fear

It is afraid of inflation, and afraid of deflation.

It is afraid of full employment, and afraid of unemployment.

It is afraid of abundance, and afraid of shortage.

The Administration does not see opportunities. Oh, no.

The fear is too broad and too deep. The Administration sees everything as a problem.

It sees an increasing population as a problem, not as an opportunity to develop a rich and expanding economy.

It sees abundant food as a problem, not as an opportunity to ease the hunger of others and lay the solid foundations for peace.

It even sees the eager faces of children as a problem, not as an opportunity to improve our educational system for a more skilled people. — + better educated

The Democratic Administration of the thirties did not see the youth of the Nation as a problem and merely cluck its tongue over the evils of juvenile delinquency. Roosevelt built the CCC, and thousands of young men went into our forests and parks to work for conservation of our great natural resources.

Well, America needs another CCC, and that's one of the things I'm working for. But what does the Administration say to that?

YCC

It says a Youth Conservation Corps would cost too much. This Administration doesn't mind giving billions of bankers by raising interest rates. But it can't afford to spend a few million dollars to build human and natural resources through a YCC.

#

The Republican Party has always been known as the party of the Grand Old Fogeys.

old

The Madison Avenue crowd tells us that this is the era of Modern Republicanism, that the Old Guard is on the wane and that the Young Turks are in the saddle.

(Young Turk Rodefall was thrown)

But all they are trying to say is that the Old Fogeys have been replaced by Young Fogeys.

My friends, we are not going to send rockets to the moon as long as we are led by a bunch of Fogeys - Old or Young.

We are not going to close the science gap or the space gap or the missile gap with the Russians as long as we are led by Fogeys - Old or Young.

We are not going to meet the economic threat of the Russians to "bury" us as long as we are led by Fogeys - Old or Young.

Make no mistake. Whatever else he may be, Mr. Khrushchev is young in spirit. I have met him face to face, and I know that no challenge is too great for him - whether it be the challenge of the Free World or the challenge of his colleagues in the Kremlin for supremacy in the Soviet Union.

I shudder at the ruthlessness of the methods Khrushchev uses to meet those challenges, and I do not for a moment propose that we imitate them.

I merely ask that we recognize we are up against an adversary who is determined to meet challenges, surmount

obstacles and solve problems.

L We can't meet Khrushchev's youthful spirit with an aged and worn spirit of fear.

L America had better begin thinking less about how we can't do this and can't afford that, and begin thinking more about how we can use our full powers and energies in the cause of freedom and progress.

L America had better regain the spirit of youthfulness exemplified by such great Midwestern progressives as Bob La Follette and George Norris.

L The Midwest is the heart of progressivism. You understand it here. You know that the spirit of progressivism is the spirit of youth. You know that those who have lost their zest for progress have lost their youth.

of Progressives

Unless we restore this spirit to Government, we will fail to meet the challenges of our age and sink to a second class power. We cannot sit quietly in the sun as the shadow of an alien power passes over us.

We have a real fight on our hands, my friends, because it is hard to budge something which hasn't moved for eight years.

Our party must have a spirit of youth to do the job. But sometimes I wonder if our party has lost some of the scrap and youthfulness that once characterized it.

I am not one to pick a fight solely for partisan advantage. No one gains from such a fight. The country suffers; our party suffers.

Issues

But I deeply believe that the Democratic Party has not only a right but a duty to draw the issues and to stand clearly on one side or the other.

Our job is to fight bad public policy wherever we see it,
 no matter how popular the man behind the policy. Our job is
 to fight for good public policy -- for the people if you will --
 whenever we have a chance to do so. Our job is to write a record,
 a Democratic record, that every voter in the country can recognize
 clearly and judge reasonably.

Our target is elusive. We know his name -- Nixon. He is
 the master fence-straddler. One day he is a loyal horse in the
 tired old team pulling a sagging Administration. The next day he
 is the wild stallion galloping off by himself.

I've watched him when he had to come down off the fence.
 Oh, it's a sad sight. Just last month he was forced to break a
 tie vote in the Senate on legislation to increase aid to education.
 He winced. He squirmed. He gulped. And then he cast a vote
 against the school-aid forces.

Against Teachers & Children!

L This is what we must do in the coming campaign. We must
pin down this elusive target named Nixon and force him to reveal
what he is and what he stands for.

L To do this, the Democratic Party can not straddle the fence.
Our program and goals must be as distinct and pointed as a spear.
Our record must be as solid and strong as a shield.

L When the battle is on, we cannot have a candidate whose
record and shield is ready-made and paper-thin, no matter how
 colorful and expensively-adorned it may be.

L Particularly in the Midwest, we must have a candidate whose
record and shield is solid, strong and well-tested over the
years.

L One of the things you must look at when you are judging a
 candidate, whether in this Wisconsin primary or in the Fall
 election, is his constance - his faithfulness to principle

year in and year out.

When you find a man changing his stand on issues during an election year, beware of that man, for his beliefs may not spring from deep conviction.

Election Religion

You must ask yourself: Was this man always on the side of the farmer? Or is this just an election-year affair?

Was he always for flood control and public power? Or did he vote against such programs before this election year?

My record is my shield. It is constant, because my beliefs and convictions are deep and enduring.

I count myself as a liberal, and I am proud of it. I count myself as a friend of the farmer, and I have never deserted him.

I count myself a friend of labor, and I have never run out on the working man. I am a friend of education - yes, Federal aid

Kepj

to education. I am concerned about the health of our people --
yes, our elderly people.

I have voted to help the farmer, the working man, the student
and the elderly not just this year -- but last year, and the year
before that, and in every year since I entered public life.

I have voted every year for civil rights, and I will
not compromise now to win support from those who would deny
equal justice to all citizens.

Take a good, hard look at Humphrey's record, my friends.
Because it shows my deep and constant convictions of what
America must do to meet the challenges of our age.

Take a good, hard look at it, and remember that I will not
change tomorrow or next week or next Fall just to woo voters on
the top of the fence or the other side of the fence.

Take a good, hard look at it, and remember my basic conviction that only with a ~~spirit of youth and zest~~ *deep conviction, idealism, & enthusiasm* can the Democratic Party win in November, and only with a spirit of youth and progress can America reach its full potential for freedom, security and prosperity.

Spirit of FDR

Courage of Truman

000623

~~Under West~~
~~Gov. Sullivan~~
~~Midwestern States~~
Karl Ralston

Char Stickney

Bert March
Wis. Farmer
S.D.P.

FAMILY FARMING -- AMERICA'S RAY OF HOPE

by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
LaCrosse, Wisconsin
March 19, 1960

Ray Klagen
(Senator)

Gooperman / Mrs. H.

For too long, our national farm policy

Amy Butler
Raepk

has been engulfed in deep-seated controversy

that shows little sign of ~~abating~~ letting up!

Skip!

The continuous debate waged over the
past decade has, unfortunately, engendered
more heat than light.

Mr. Stickney

Regrettably, it has been marred by
distortions of fact, by recriminations, by
misinformation, by a belittling of agriculture's
basic role in our economy, and by attempts to
turn city people against farm people.

Mr. Stickney

I'll introduce Mott

Lozer
(My brother)

LaCrosse

000624

Controversy is neither wrong nor harmful,
 if it is aimed at constructive purpose. Spirited
 debate is helpful in a democracy, and necessary
 to the formulation of public opinion. But out
 of it should always come decision -- and progress.

~~Unfortunately, the great national debate
 on farm policy has bogged down. We are too
 deadlocked in fixed positions. Sometimes it
 seems more concern is held over who can prove
 he is right, than in what really happens to
 American agriculture.~~

*Debate on
 Farm Policy
 Bogged
 Down!*

It is going to take agricultural states-
 manship to get us back on the road to progress,
 and it's going to take it from the White House.

The fundamental issues involved are too vital
 to the entire nation to be considered in a

vacuum; they must be regarded as an essential *Part of Total*
public policy!

- WISCONSIN
- MINNESOTA
- IOWA
- ILLINOIS
- INDIANA
- NORTH DAKOTA
- SOUTH DAKOTA
- KANSAS
- MONTANA
- COLORADO

Humphrey in '60

- FAMILY FARMS
- DAIRY PRICES
- HOG PAYMENTS
- EGGS & POULTRY
- FOOD FOR PEACE
- SCHOOL MILK
- REA LOANS
- FARM COMMITTEES
- FOOD STAMPS
- TURKEY MARKETING

Family Farm Develop Act

Dairy Marketing Act

Premium Payment

Stabilization Act

000626

~~part of total public policy.~~

This is an election year. Farm policy is and

should be a major issue in the approaching

Presidential election. I disagree strongly with

some who say farm policy should be kept "out of

politics."

Politics and political activity is the

lifeblood of democracy. It is the means of

translating the views of our citizens into

public policy, through the ballot box.

~~Anyone who would try to deny the right of political debate on such a vital issue is really expressing lack of faith in democracy, and our democratic processes.~~

*Benson
says
only
Pol/Hos!*

*You
should
help select
candidate.*

But to some of us, making farm policy a major political issue means far more than just having rival candidates bid for farm support with hollow election-year promises which have become a mockery of deception in the past.

*No Johnson
Cannibals
He at Kassen*

What is needed, instead, is a searching appraisal of what has happened to agriculture, how we got into the trouble we now face, what can and should be done about it -- and which of the potential national leaders has the depth of understanding to really care about farm people, and the vigor and determination to fight effectively for their welfare.

Perhaps I am wrong. Yet from years of experience working closely with farm people of

our nation, I am convinced they are concerned

with ~~at long last~~ finding a national leader with

real depth to his convictions about the human ^{social}

values of rural life, they are looking for ~~real~~ ^{has}

depth ^{of} ~~his~~ determination to find better ways

of bringing equality of opportunity to

agriculture. They no longer are willing to

grasp blindly at any election-year straw of

campaign promises about farm panaceas or cure

alls.

They want a family doctor who really cares

about them ; not a "medicine show" pitch-man with

a newly-concocted quack remedy.

Myron
Steele

Farmers #

Family
Doctor
not

They want someone concerned about the basic
trends in the farming pattern of our country.

They want someone who has taken the time to
study and really understand the fundamental role of
food in our economy, and the firm foundation ~~of~~

widely dispersed farm ownership provides for our
free enterprise democratic way of life.

They want someone who shares their own
concern over the future ~~of our~~ of our young people
in agriculture, and someone who can help
convince the non-farm population of our nation
their stake in a strong agricultural economy.

They want someone with the imagination and
courage to create and try new approaches ~~to better~~
~~achieve our common objectives~~ -- and with a
determination to find solutions, instead of

000630

throw his hands up in bewilderment.

Make no mistake about it: Better solutions
can be found, and must be found, to the complex
economic and social problems confronting rural
America and its currently depressed economy.

Solutions can be found that are far more in the
national interest, and far less costly to
taxpayers.

The present mess is inexcusable. A
government that cannot find better ways to provide
economic justice for its own agricultural producers
appears ridiculous in trying to assume world
leadership, and telling other nations how to
conduct their affairs.

For example, a nation that cannot figure out what to do with undistributed abundance in a world of the hungry, hardly seems qualified to be competing in a race into outer space.

~~It is about time we gave more attention to the inner man.~~

~~There need be no mystery about it. All that it takes is a will to act.~~

Enough constructive legislation is pending before the Congress right now to turn the tide of American agriculture upward -- but it can never become law over a Presidential veto. Enough legislative authority is actually already on the books to bolster the farm economy, if we had *and an Administrator* a Secretary of Agriculture willing to use his power effectively.

L But the truth is that nothing really effective
 can be accomplished for you and the nation until
 the highest office in the land is occupied by
 someone with the will to see it done.

L It is time the power of the Presidency was
 used ~~used~~ to protect American agriculture, instead
 of preventing, by veto, farm people from sharing
 equitably in economic growth and progress of our
 nation

L It can be done. And, eventually, it will
 be done. But it will take a Democratic President
 to do it.

~~This is a campaign occasion.~~ and I am a candidate
 for President of the United States. — I speak up for farmers!

L This great throng of farm friends is a tribute
 that deeply touches me. It gives me the courage
 I need to fight on in your behalf.

000633

I know we think alike. We have worked
shoulder-to-shoulder together too long to be
otherwise.

As much as your support is helpful to me,
it is not my fight alone that we are concerned
with here today. It is your fight too. I am
merely your symbol, and your spokesman. If I
succeed, ^{then} you succeed in doing something
constructive for yourself and your fellow
farmers. If I fail, you have suffered another
setback.

Together, we can win -- for you and for the
nation.

Because you are such a friendly audience,
I want to be quite candid with you. I have no

doubt but that I could whip this throng
 into an enthusiastic frenzy by lambasting Ezra
 Taft Benson, and deploring what he and his fellow
 Republicans have done to you.

Perhaps it would attract more attention in
 the national press, and perhaps it would even help
 win me the votes I need in Wisconsin.

Yet what purpose would it really serve?

Account books

Your ~~poor books~~ and your deflated bank

~~accounts~~, your higher mortgage indebtedness
 and high interest rate burden, tell you more

dramatically than any political speaker ~~could~~

~~tell you how seriously hurt our farm economy~~
the damage to family farmers

~~has been hurt~~ in these last seven lean years.

The farm auction list in ~~any~~ ^{the} rural ~~area~~
 newspaper tells you ~~as~~ ^{of} dramatically ~~as I could~~
~~tell you about~~ our dwindling farm population

000635

and how it is

being squeezed off the land by economic hardship.

You know better than most how strongly I
 feel on key farm issues. You know the long,
 consistent fight I have carried on in your
 behalf. You know it has been a constructive
 fight, not just a negative fight -- you know that
 I have continually been in the forefront of
 offering new legislation ~~of my own~~, and mobilizing
 support behind it, rather than just criticize
 the failures of others.

So it is in that spirit I want to concentrate
 today. I want to make more use of this occasion
 that a mere ^{*Blame or condemn*} ~~hate~~ "Benson" rally.

000636

Ezra Benson will no longer be Secretary of
Agriculture after January, 1961 -- whatever the
outcome of this election. *this is for sure* But that alone will
not solve ~~our~~ ^{our} problems.

Future farm policy is being decided in this
election. It will be decided in part in the
Wisconsin primary. It will be decided further
at the Democratic National Committee's platform
sessions in Los Angeles in July. It will be
further determined at the election of a new
President in November.

Record

~~For that reason, I want this rally to make
a more useful contribution than just advance my
personal cause. I want it to be a constructive
contribution to new thinking on agricultural
policy, so as to influence the momentous decisions~~

to be made in the next year concerning you and your future.

One of the reasons I am in this race is to achieve a national sounding board to tell the

American people things I feel they need to

hear. Perhaps echoes from this meeting can

help get across to the rest of the nation a

story that ~~the rest of the nation needs to be~~ ^{needs to be}

heard and said.

That story is this:

What is this farm policy fight really all about?

We have many representatives of national press and periodical syndicates here with us.

They are the moulders of public opinion. Perhaps

these remarks can give them something to think

about -- and others too, ~~if they will carry our~~

[Handwritten signature]
message fairly to their readers.

Supposedly, the great national debate on farm policy has all been over differences of opinion about best methods to achieve the same objectives.

[Handwritten mark] The nation's press, in trying to over-simplify a complex issue, has led the country to believe that it is merely a fight between advocates of higher price supports and lower price supports, or no price supports at all.

[Handwritten mark] Actually, far more is involved.

I can no longer accept as true the premise that this struggle is merely over differences as to how we can best achieve the same objectives for farm people.

[Handwritten mark] If we really were in accord on the purpose and objectives of farm policy in this country,

reasonable men of good will long ago would

~~have resolved such differences~~ out of the

~~experience of trial and error we have had in~~

~~the last two decades.~~

~~The fact that it has been impossible~~

~~to do so brings us face to face with the~~

~~inescapable conclusion that much more is~~

involved than the best methods to achieve

common objectives.

~~The truth is that~~ **B** behind all the

~~smokescreen camouflage we are getting from~~

high places, fundamental differences do exist

over the objectives themselves -- over the pattern

of agriculture we should have in America.

and we must

~~and will we~~ flush those differences out in

the open, ~~and~~ discuss them frankly, ~~we will remain~~

~~hogged in our economic progress.~~

The real issue is the right to economic survival
 of America's traditional family farm pattern of
agriculture -- the most efficient the world has
 ever known and a solid bulwark of our free enter-
 prise democracy.

America's independently operated free
enterprise agriculture -- the owner-operated
family farm, where managerial skills, capital
investment, and actual labor are all combined,
where ownership carries with it an inherent pride
 in the care and conservation of our productive
 resources, where ^{*Spiritual*} human and social values of rural
community life are not subjected to mere material
values of a soul-less corporation -- that is what

is at stake.

000641

L We are being led down a path that threatens this fundamental, basic American pattern with extinction.

~~It is being done overtly, not directly~~
~~and certainly with no sanction from the Congress~~
~~of the United States.~~

L We hear ~~less and less~~ concern about perpetuating our family farming pattern, and more and more about giving way to the pressures of mass operations. We hear more emphasis on mere bigness and so-called efficiency, and less on human values and social problems of rural living.

This trend is deeply disturbing to me.

L So-called bigness is not necessarily goodness. *and*

So-called efficiency is not always decency and fair play.

I am against collectivization of our ⁰⁰⁰⁶⁴²

agriculture -- either by the Soviet pattern,
or the corporate pattern of absentee-ownership.

I seriously challenge the current school

of thought that "bigness" may be the answer.

Currently the efficiency factor of mass corporate

farming activities is essentially cheap labor --

just as it once was in the sweat shops of our

industries.

I cannot conceive of a permanent,

peasant-class "cheap labor" force as the source

of our nation's food supply, and the custodian

of our productive resources. It would be a

dangerous backward step in America's social progress,

inviting the seeds of social unrest and revolt --

at the very minimum, it would create the necessity

Insert

000643

of farm workers organizing to bargain collectively
[redacted]
for decent pay, eventually wiping out the supposed
[redacted]
efficiency factor of cheap labor and at the same time
[redacted]
endangering the assured flow of food abundance we
[redacted]
Americans now take for granted.
[redacted]

↳ No one can convince me for example, that the
nation's consumers can ever be as well protected
by having productive resources concentrated in the
[redacted]
hands of a few giant corporations as they are
[redacted]
today with the widely dispersed ownership of the
[redacted]
source of our food and fiber supplies.
[redacted]

↳ No one can convince me, either, that we are
[redacted]
really more efficient if we separate capital,
[redacted]
managerial skills, and labor into three classes in
[redacted]
agriculture -- instead of having them all combined in
[redacted]
the family farm unit.
[redacted]

000644

None of us wants to perpetuate inefficiency,
or tie farmers to units too small to be economically
practical. Yet, there is a distinct line between
improving the efficiency of family farmers and in-
creasing their opportunities to make family farming
profitable, ~~on the one hand~~, and ~~abandoning the family~~
~~operated farm concept to be replaced by large-scale~~
~~industrialized farming operations with absentee-~~
~~ownership and hired labor~~ ~~on the other~~.

Serious questions of public policy are involved,
if we are to cross that line.

 ~~It is not a change of direction toward which we~~
~~should be allowed to drift or be pushed, without~~
~~knowing fully the consequences.~~

000645

It isn't just the farmer who should be concerned. ~~it is every consumer in America. It is every believer~~ in real competitive free enterprise. It is every American wanting to see democracy succeed in the world.

For my part, my faith is still strong in the pattern of agriculture which has made America strong, and my faith remains unchanged in the objectives under which American agriculture has contributed so much to our economy.

The entire nation needs to realize that farm policies must be geared to desirable social objectives as well as desirable economic objectives.

And foremost among such social objectives, ~~in~~ *must be* my opinion, should always remain the encouragement and preservation of our traditional rural pattern of the family-farm type of agriculture that has long been

000646

an
~~accepted as~~ essential to a strong democracy.

and It is easy to understand why.

A large number of prospering farm families
on family farms is a strong balancing force within
the nation, against the political and social extremes
of economic class warfare.

On the family farm, the economic functions
of capital ownership, of arranging for financial
needs, of managing the productive enterprises,
and of farm labor are all performed by the farm
operator and his family, thus eliminating controversy
and tension along economic lines.

Our family farm pattern of agriculture has
been the basis of all our agricultural progress and
good community life. It builds in farm family
members attitudes of self-reliance, social responsibility,

000647

individual initiative, tolerance, and self-government --
 the attitudes that make for a sound and progressive
 democracy.

The family farm builds strong families, and the
 family farm builds strong social communities, with
 good schools and active churches.

and, There is no need for either corporatizing
 agriculture, or collectivizing it. Family farmers
 themselves, in true democratic tradition of learning
 to work together, have developed their own extension
 of the free enterprise system in farmer-owned, farmer-
 controlled cooperative marketing and supply enterprises
 -- as a legitimate and desirable means of preserving in-
 dividuality and yet finding a way to compete in an
 economy of bigness.

COOPS

Farm cooperatives are the free world's answer to

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collective agriculture of the Soviet Union -- and
 a far more successful answer. They are a powerful
 example to the world of how free men, working together,
 can develop democratic institutions that far surpass
 government-dominated collectivization for efficiency.

Farm co-ops must be recognized as a vital part of our
 free enterprise system, and must be zealously guarded
 and protected along with the family system which they
 serve so effectively.

My convictions about the family farm system
 and farm co-operatives are deeply held, born out of
 first-hand observation and experience as well as
 theoretical study.

~~Farm co-ops represent~~
 Farm co-ops is the right pattern for our democracy. It
 is right for the farmers, and to the best interest
 of the rest of our country.

our
 coop
 committees
 REA
 GTA
 Central Exh

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But even more, it offers a ray of hope to much of the rest of the world.

As seriously concerned as we all are with our domestic problems in agriculture, the gravest problem of our time is war or peace in the world.

War
or
Peace

Everything we as a nation do, or fail to do, has an influence on the world's destiny for generations to come -- perhaps even on our own survival.

Too little attention is given by our foreign policy experts to the real role of agriculture in creating a just and lasting peace.

Agric
+
Peace

At long last, we are making some progress in winning recognition of how powerful a force for peace and freedom our undistributed abundance of food and fiber can be, when converted into

FOOD
FOR
PEACE

000650

economic development and elimination of hunger,
disease, and misery in vast areas of the world.

Feed the Hungry
Heal the Sick
Clothe the Naked!

000651

Yet an even more significant contribution
is being ignored.

What America's foreign policy needs is a
dramatic symbol -- a symbol of hope to newly
created nations, a symbol of democracy's
effective answer to Soviet propaganda.

What more dramatic symbol, what more effective
ray of hope, can we offer the uncommitted
nation's of the world than the example of America's
free enterprise family farming system, where farmers
own their own land -- and have a decent opportunity
to share equitably in returns from the produce of
their soil and their labor?

That is the story the world needs to hear.

Tell the Story - Voice of
America!

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↳ The dream and desire of free men everywhere is to own land. Unrest in many parts of the world today results from insecure and inequitable farm land tenure, creating hopelessness among those who work the soil, and making them an easy prey for communism's glittering false lures and promises.

↳ The restless peasants of the world can find the ray of hope they seek in America's pattern of family farming and family farm ownership that enables the nation's farmers to farm efficiently, conserve soil and water resources, provide adequately for their family needs, and participate fully in civic, community, and public interests.

↳ Can we risk destroying that ray of hope ourselves?

Can we risk destroying the very symbol that proves democracy's superiority over communism?

!!

000653

Soviet
+ Ague

✓

With all of its trips into outer space, the Soviet Union cannot equal our achievements in agriculture -- and it can offer no fulfillment to the dream of peasants elsewhere in the world to eventually owning a farm of their own.

How we take care of our own farmers, and our own system of farming, can have a profound effect on the struggle now under way in the world.

✓

Perhaps there would be no Castro in Cuba today, if we had encouraged family farm ownership, and farm cooperatives -- instead of backing a status quo of corporated bigness in farming operations that exploited the Cuban workers and land.

Achilles
Heel

000654

Other areas of the world are revolting against
exploitation by bigness, and insisting upon
opportunity for individual independence and
dignity.

We have in our grasp the opportunity to lead
them by our example, to prove democracy's
effectiveness in offering equal opportunity
for all.

Lead them

000655

Let me just conclude on this note:

Perhaps some will say that I have offered too little, today, in way of specific suggestions to correct our farm plight.

But to you and me, the specifics are the easiest part of it -- if we can create a real understanding in the nation as to the fundamental objectives we seek to achieve -- and must achieve.

Thos objectives are fourfold:

1. To assure the American people continued abundance of food and fiber;

2. To offer America's farmers an opportunity of achieving equality with other segments of our citizens;

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3. To preserve and protect America's traditional pattern of family-owned, family operated farms as the type of agriculture best adapted to our democratic way of life, and encourage farm-cooperatives as a democratic extension of the free enterprise system to serve farm families.

4. To make greater use of America's undistributed abundance as a force for peace and freedom in a world of the hungry, and hold forth the American pattern of family-owned and family-operated farms as a ray of hope to the millions of struggling peasants in underdeveloped areas of the world.

Repeatedly, the Congress of the United States has restated its intent to uphold the first three of these objectives, in one way or another,

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ever since the days of the Homestead law.

↳ In more recent years, the fourth objective

is rapidly becoming accepted as a vital

necessity in our troubled world -- yet it is an

objective that needs still greater emphasis.

If my message today can help ^{clarify} ~~reaffirm~~ the

nation's thinking and mobilize reaffirmation to

these fundamental objectives, it will have

served a useful purpose.

↳ For once we make clear that these are the

objectives national farm policy must be shaped

to serve, the way is clear for once again giving

America the kind of farm programs that are needed.

↳ Underlying all our considerations in shaping
national farm policy must be continued recognition
of the human elements involved -- the human and
social values that are far more important than
material values.

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Remember, America is not just efficiency and
bigness. America is people--people with needs
and wants. People with hopes and aspirations.
American agriculture, too, is more than just
efficient production. It is family living. It
is church on Sunday. It is the family picnic,
the rural school.

The moral level of American social and political
institutions is due in no small part to the
wholesome atmosphere created by men and women
and their families who live on our family farms.

That contribution to America's strength must
never be ignored, nor its preservation neglected.
For the strength of America is in its people--
its people at work in gainful employment, its
farmers ^{Producing} producing at fair prices, its merchants

000659

selling their goods and services in
sufficient volume to maintain a profit.

The strength of America is to be found
in the children in good schools, its old
people cared for in dignity in the twi-
light years of their lives.

The strength of America is found in the
fulfillment and practices of the great
spiritual and moral principles that have
guided us throughout our history. Yes, the
strength of America is found in a faith in God,
and a trust in people.

It is this kind of America that I believe in,
and it is to this kind of an America that I
dedicate my life and whatever talents God may
have given me.

And it is for this kind of American that I believe it is essential we maintain a strong and prospering agriculture, solidly based upon family farms.

000661

Madison
Blair Ham, Miss
March 21, 1960
Humphrey Supper at
Page 1 Park Hotel

Excerpts from Speech:

DEMOCRATS MUST CARRY ELECTION FIGHT ON ISSUES,
NOT PERSONALITIES.

If the Democratic Party -- and potential Democratic standard bearers -- want to deserve the confidence of the American voters, all of us must be willing to stand up and be counted as to what we are going to do about the real needs of the people.

The country is tired and sick of generalities and lip service to lofty objectives. It wants specific answers to specific needs -- and our Party had better get busy recognizing the needs, and finding the answers.

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I have been waging my Wisconsin campaign on the issues that concern Wisconsin voters, but all too often the local and national press are more interested in personalities than in where candidates stand on issues.

It is not enough to seek popularity by trying to avoid offending anyone. If all you want is wishy-washy fence-straddling to avoid choosing sides, you might as well vote Republican--for they are the experts at that kind of popularity. But if you are willing to take a stand for what you believe is right and just, then fight for it -- we can win in November, and we deserve to win.

That has always been my position in public life,
and it is my position today. I am not an appeaser--
at home or abroad. If our election process is to
mean anything, people must be given a real choice
between differing viewpoints and political
philosophies -- not just engage in a national
beauty contest.

For my part, there is no greater role I feel I can
perform for my party--and my county -- in the months
preceding our Democratic National Convention than in
seeking to compel our party to take stock of the
Country's needs, and take a firm, aggressive, and
sanely liberal position toward meeting those needs.

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If I can help sharpen the issues so that everyone concerned has to stand up and be counted, one way or another, so much the better.

Let's not be fooled by the era of trying to avoid anything that may step on anybody's toes. There are differences of viewpoint on every issue, and there should be in a democracy. But it is the responsibility of leadership to have some convictions and stand by them, taking a stand and seeking to mobilize support behind it, rather than drifting with the supposed popular tide at any given time.

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Remember, the Democratic Party was victorious under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman because both the leaders and the party met face-to-face the problems of the day. They did not hedge or back away. They answered problems with legislation and action -- not with well-turned, hazy phrases and polished platitudes.

At this mid-point in the 20th Century, mankind is again moving into an untraveled world with new problems, new dangers, and new uncertainties to confront us. But we must learn from doing, and we can better learn to cope with the new problems if we solve some of the old ones yet with us.

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Perhaps it is no longer fashionable to speak of the
problem of slum clearance and public housing;
or to turn attention to how adequate medical care
can be brought within the means of everyone;
or to point out that the fantastic growth of the
problem of the aged makes necessary the development
of federally assisted housing for the elderly;
or to say that federal multi-purpose dams and harbor
improvement and flood control and the construction
of jetties on federal waterways must be undertaken
by the federal government -- and now.

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Perhaps, as some say, these issues, 'rock the boat'.
But they are issues that must be faced-- and it is
more important to be effective, than fashionable.
There is just as much need for new courage to face
old problems as there is for bright new ideas and
appealing new programs. We should certainly spend
as much time cleaning up our own back alleys as
we spend talking about the new highways for the World.
Neither Roosevelt nor Truman was ever misunderstood.--
either at home or abroad. And because of this the
Republicans hated them, the bankers scorned them, the
press ridiculed them -- and the people loved, elected,
and re-elected them.

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If we are to win in 1960, we must have that type
of liberal, clear-cut, straight forward leadership.

We can not outglamour Rockefeller nor Nixon; we

can win only with a program.

SPEECH EXCERPTS: PROGRAM FOR AGED

More adequate income, decent housing, better health care, and a dignified place in society for nearly 16 million citizens over 65, 20 million over 60, are among the most important problems currently facing the nation.

The next President of the United States must be determined to meet this challenge -- and he will if the country elects a Democrat who really care about people.

From the standpoint of decency, compassion, and economic utilization of our human resources, we simply cannot relegate some 10 percent of our population to mere existence at sub-standard levels.

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If we continue to relegate old people to the sidelines -- financially, medically, and socially -- the financial burden to this country just in terms of institutions for the aging will be too fantastic to contemplate.

We need to be more aware of what is happening to our population. In 1900 there were only 3 million Americans over the age of 65. Today there are nearly 16 million, and in 10 years there will be an estimated 20 million.

If this dramatic trend continues, today's problems of the aging will seem like minor ripples as compared with the floods of tidal

COPY

proportions to come.

This population boom amounts to a national crisis because of the role we tend to assign to 'older men and women'

We have made it possible for more people to live into the so-called 'golden years', but without adequate incomes, health care, housing, and without a recognized role in the community life of the nation.

Estimates of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reveal that it costs at least \$2,300 a year for a couple to live by themselves in an urban center in modest fashion.

Yet over half of the couples who live in this country have less than this amount of income.

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The average couple on social security receives about \$1,440 a year if they are both retired.

On an individual basis, 60 percent of those over 65 have less than \$1,000 a year in money income.

Even more desperate is the income situation of the 1.3 million aging widows now receiving an average social security benefit of \$56 per month, because their benefits are fixed at 75 percent of the amount which had been paid to the husband, now deceased.

The income of a large proportion of these nearly 16 million Americans over 65 ranges from mere subsistence to desperation and despair. While man does not live by bread alone, a decent and responsible economic base is essential for a creative American life.

COPY

The aim of any 'realistic' program for our older citizens must be to permit them to live in dignity, security, and with a sense of usefulness.

What we need is a many-sided program which insures their productiveness, their independence and self-reliance, and prevents physical and moral decay.

Let me suggest six steps as a start in this direction. They include:

1. Increase social security benefits "to keep pace with living costs."
2. Increase from \$1200 to \$1800 the amount which social security beneficiaries may earn without losing benefits.
3. Extend the social security system to cover the cost of hospital and nursing home care for older citizens.

COPY

4. Establish improved minimum federal standards which states must meet on old-age assistance programs.
5. Allow a tax credit incentive to encourage the hiring of older workers.
6. Provide effective federal assistance for specialized housing programs for the aged.

I am sponsoring legislation for such purposes in the Senate.

Even this is only a start. There are many other things which the Congress can and should do. We need to provide more funds for medical research to study diseases which affect older people in particular, and we need to build more and better hospitals to provide adequate facilities for treatment of the expanding aged population.

C O P Y



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