

Mr. Arns - Fellow Americans

Every political campaign should make a constructive contribution to American democracy. A candidate not ~~only should talk, but he should listen.~~ we should learn ~~He should hear~~ and learn the words of the people -- their opinions, their hopes, their needs. ~~I have talked + listened~~

I have learned that you in West Virginia want a government which never rests in the vital effort to build a secure and enduring peace. I have learned that you want a government that <sup>acts</sup> cares for the people --- understands the needs of all of the people. You want a government which is not blinded by "budget-balancing slogans" but rather is dedicated to a balanced nation in which pockets of depression, unemployment, poverty are erased.

West Virginia ~~is~~ much the same as those of other states and indeed, the world itself. These same problems are growing and spreading everywhere like a dangerous cancer.

There is one thing that is crystal clear.

America needs a Democratic victory. I pledge my whole-hearted and active support to any forward-looking Democrat who may win the nomination. <sup>yes, you Jack</sup> Richard Nixon must not be the next President of the U.S.

We have had too many years of <sup>U.</sup> caretaker <sup>4</sup> government that ignores problems and avoids opportunities. ~~These~~ <sup>yes, too many</sup> ~~have been~~ years of shameful neglect of America's needs at home, of waste and loss of America's prestige and influence abroad. We have been the victims of a "No-go, Go-slow, Not-now, Veto" Administration.

Popularity has been substituted for leadership -- mediocrity for principle. Slogans have been offered in place of programs, and public relations instead of public service.

America -- yes, West Virginia -- deserves a better deal.

We have one basic problem -- a conservative Republican government in Washington that is content with standing still in a changing America and a

changing world.

000760

Talk has been substituted for deeds -- <sup>little or</sup> nothing has  
 been done about the problems of depressed industries,  
~~such as your coal mines~~, <sup>Automation</sup> or the distressed areas which  
 exist not only in West Virginia but in two hundred areas  
 throughout the nation ---- nothing about growing  
needs of education. <sup>or care for our elderly.</sup> The Republican Administration has  
 put the brakes on the American economy, ~~slowing it~~  
~~down when it should be taking giant strides ahead.~~

It has complained about the growing surpluses  
of food and fiber while children in West Virginia and  
other states suffer from inadequate diet and clothing.

It shouts fear of inflation as it adds to the cost of  
 living, hiking interest rates and tightening credit.

We pay a terrible price for this indifference ~~to this~~  
~~do nothing attitude.~~

~~I have sensed your healthy scepticism about the~~  
~~bold words and the weak deeds of a Republican Administra-~~  
~~tion. It promised everything -- it has done nothing.~~  
~~It knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.~~

2 Still, these problems in West Virginia and in other states are not the worst America faces. Time has caught up with America. For the past seven years, the Soviet Union has been eating up the lead America inherited from past Democratic Administrations. It is a pitiful inheritance our next President will receive from this Administration when he sits across the table from Dictator Khrushchev.

2 The next ten years may well decide whether the United States will be a first class power or become a second class nation. More than a year ago, I sat across the table from Khrushchev for better than eight hours. He is determined to surpass the United States. He is determined that Communism will rule the world. I am determined that it will not.

2 The next President must arouse this nation to heroic deeds. He must courageously search for a lasting peace with justice and freedom. He must understand the complexities of disarmament negotiations, the workings of the United Nations, and the skillful use of diplomacy.

000762

He must develop a force for peace -- using our food to feed the hungry, our medical knowledge to heal the sick, our education to teach the illiterate. I have tried to prepare myself for this responsibility.

*As Mayor, As Senator,  
As Repres in U.M.*

The West Virginia primary is more than a popularity contest. There are differences between the candidates --- differences of background, public record, experience, and temperament. I learned my economics in the Dust Bowl of South Dakota during the harsh days of the Depression. I did not need to learn first hand in the coal fields of West Virginia about human suffering. I have seen it before in the Depression years, and recently around the iron mines of Minnesota. I have not learned my economics from a textbook. But the basic difference has been very accurately assessed by the journalists as one of temperament -- of attitude, and approach. How

How you should vote depends on your sober assessment of the needs of West Virginia, of America and of the world. If you are satisfied with things as they are, with the old wine under a new label, you will

000763

probably vote in November for the Crown Prince of the  
Republican Party -- Mr. Nixon. If you think only some  
little change -- a "moderate" amount of change -- is  
required, you may probably vote for my friend and  
opponent. But if you believe that vigorous, hard-hitting,  
constructive action is required --- you should know  
from my record that I am the man for you.

# # # # # #

① Jerry West - of Cabin Creek Area  
Everybody's All-American Basketball  
West Virginia

Sent to  
Vi

BECKLEY, WEST VIRGINIA

April 8, 1960

① Raleigh County  
Oke Milk

000785

Beckley, West Virginia  
April 8, 1960

It's good to be here, fresh from a vigorous campaign in  
Wisconsin. It's good to be breathing your fresh mountain air -  
it's like breathing in vitamins. *— vitamins*

↳ We had a lively and enjoyable contest in Wisconsin, and I have  
only one regret - that I didn't get into high gear as soon as I  
should. Believe me, it's a mistake I won't repeat here. ✓

↳ I've started running hard this weekend, and I'm going to  
keep up the pace right down to May 10. Between now and then, I  
hope to see a lot of rugged West Virginia scenery - and meet a lot  
of fine <sup>rugged</sup> West Virginia people.

↳ One of the best jobs ~~of work~~ <sup>we did</sup> my good friend Jack Kennedy and  
I did in Wisconsin was to smoke Vice President Nixon out of hiding.

Until this week, he'd hoped to sit out the campaign until July,

then drop in at the Republican convention to accept the nomination

on a silver platter. - or gold platter

He changed his mind sometime in the wee small hours of

Wednesday morning. Or, if he didn't, his Republican friends

changed it for him. He can't risk turning up low man on that

totem pole again. - Ran wobbly 3rd

↳ That's good news for us Democrats - and it will be a good thing

for the American people, too. The more they <sup>hear</sup> ~~see~~ of Nixon, the

more they'll have sober second thoughts about voting for him.

!!  
Nixon sports  
Pages

I can fully understand why, up to now, he's been spending

*Nixon*

his time at sporting events rather than debating the issues and

defending the Administration's record.

↳ Of course, I will say this for him - his interest in sport is

genuine. After all, he spent four years warming the bench for his

college football team long before his seven years warming the bench

in Washington.

I sometimes think he's been working out his frustrations  
ever since.

He's put to use in politics all the broken-field running,  
all the dodging and weaving, all the razzle-dazzle and the hidden-  
ball plays that ~~he never~~ *he learned in college* had a chance to perform for his alma mater.

*+ sense.*

He's even improved on the split-T formation - he favors the  
split-personality for maximum yardage.

In fact, I've called him the <sup>it</sup> galloping ghost of politics. If  
we're to have any chance of nailing him, we'll have to be fast on  
our feet and ready to tackle him hard.

I say "hard" but I also say, in the tradition of our Democratic  
Party, fair as well.

We'll tackle him on the basis of his record - and, my friends, that's  
a tempting target.

Let's talk a bit about the record of the Eisenhower-  
 Nixon Administration - on things of deep and intimate concern  
 to all of you here.

*W. Virg - Sat Eve Post  
 (Dying state)  
 no*

*(X)*

Two years ago we Democrats put through Congress an Area  
 Redevelopment Bill.

*but a  
 sleeping giant*

This Bill was based squarely on the Christian principle of  
 helping people to help themselves.

It sought to do at home what, for over ten years, we've  
 been doing for people abroad - through the Marshall Plan and  
 President Truman's "Point Four" program of economic and  
 technical aid.

*Foreign  
 Aid*

Now, I've supported these programs - but I've never  
 stopped insisting that we should help our own people as well.

Just as we needed a Marshall Plan to deal with the wreckage of war in Europe, so we need a Marshall Plan at home to meet the ~~impact~~<sup>effects</sup> of automation.

Just as we need to give technical and economic aid to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, so we should help create new jobs at home and train or re-train our unemployed workers to fill them.

It makes good sense, doesn't it? But this Eisenhower-Nixon Administration is so intent on balancing the fiscal budget that it ignores the moral budget.

So, our bill was vetoed. Evidently the Administration feels that we can't afford to help Americans who are out of work through no fault of their own.

*need Govt with a heart!!*

Well, last year, we tried another approach - this one aimed directly at West Virginia's number one problem.

000790

(X) Develop Parks  
(X) Y.C.C.  
(X) Stream Pollution

I was happy to join with your fine Senators, Jennings  
Randolph and Robert Byrd, in sponsoring a bill to establish a  
Coal Research and Development Commission.

Coal Research  
& Develop

Our object - and a reasonable and constructive one -  
was to seek new uses and new markets for your basic natural  
resource.

Again, we Democrats put it through both houses of  
Congress - and again the Administration strangled it. - veto

Not content with common or garden-variety vetoes, this  
Administration has come up with a new brand. I call this one  
the "lying-down veto", and that's what happened to the Humphrey  
Food Stamp Plan.

Food  
Stamp

This is a plan to put the food that our fine ~~Midwest~~ farms  
produce in such abundance into the mouths and stomachs of  
hungry people.

Here's how it works. Families certified by your local welfare authorities would be given food stamps to exchange for various foods at their ~~nearest grocers.~~ *grocery store or Super market.*

These merchants would be reimbursed by your local banks, who would in turn be paid off by the Government.

This program would supplement regular cash welfare grants relief, as well as the direct distribution of agricultural surpluses.

It would provide improved and balanced diets. For the children, it would supplement the expanded school lunch <sup>school milk</sup> program which I successfully sponsored in Congress last year.

Now, sometimes people think I'm a bit unfriendly to Ezra Taft Benson. But this time I offered him a chance to be a hero.

My legislation authorizing a Food Stamp Program was enacted

last year. Ezra Taft Benson and his Department of Agriculture had the opportunity of a lifetime.

Who knows, maybe the stamps might have been nicknamed "Benson Bit Specials." Privately, I might have been a bit unhappy about that (I might have preferred some other name) - but there wouldn't have been people going hungry while our food rots and storage costs mount to staggering sums.

But this Eisenhower-Nixon-Benson Administration never raises opportunities. It just lies down on them and falls asleep. To this day, Ezra Taft Benson has done nothing.

So, this year, I'm taking no chances on another lying-down veto. I have introduced legislation directing the establishment of a Food Stamp Plan, and taking it right out of the dead hands of the Department of Agriculture.

My 1960 Bill has three main provisions:

1. It makes mandatory the establishment of a Food Stamp Program in industrial areas of chronic unemployment and in rural areas of low farm income.

2. It puts the administration of the whole surplus commodity distribution program in the hands of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, where it belongs.

3. It authorizes Federal assistance to state and local governments to meet the costs of distribution.

In view of the <sup>ly</sup> veto, go-slow, no-go <sup>ly</sup> record of this Administration, I sometimes wonder whether we can ever get action out of them.

They remind me of the mule that a dealer sold a farmer.

"You tell him to get going, and he will," he said.

000794

The dealer picked up a two-by-four, and, as he said "Giddap!", he whacked the mule with it.

"That's the trick," the dealer said, as the mule lit out like a jack-rabbit. "You've just got to attract his attention first."

Maybe a whacking big Democratic vote in May will attract the attention of this balky Administration to West Virginia's pressing problems - and to the opportunities which your wealth in natural resources and in people offer for the future.

*Business  
Administ  
written  
year  
#*

But the real answer is to get a two-way new deal in November - a new deal in Washington and in Charleston.

I know your able gubernatorial candidates, and I am confident that one of them will be on hand, sitting in the governor's chair in January.

And - with your help - I hope to be sitting in the White  
House, ready and willing to work with him in putting West  
Virginia on the high road forward.

\*\*\*

Roy Lee Harmon (Boone + Raleigh County)

Stand-by Public Wks

YCC

Develop Tourism

✓ Humphrey  
card -  
(Recipe)

Stories only a judge could tell

Boone  
County

2 Brothers for Prosecutor  
6 Candidates for Sheriff -  
(5 of them - no law violation)

MADISON, WEST VIRGINIA SPEECH

April 9, 1960

Bob Byrd - Jennings Randolph

✓ Judge Hall

✓ Ken Hecker (4th)

✓ John Slack (6th)

State of  
Mathew Neely  
✓ Harley Kilgore

① Violet Snediger (Nat Comm. woman)

② my sister Frances

[ Independent Merchant - Against a  
Chain Store System ]

000797

Madison, West Virginia  
April 9, 1960

I want to talk tonight about a basic right of every  
human being - the right to a job.

Right to a  
Job!

It's only in this century that governments have come to  
recognize the right to a job as an obligation to their people -  
at least explicitly.

Actually, I've always thought that it was implicit in  
the very words of the Declaration of Independence, which lists  
"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as the "unalienable  
rights" of citizens.

Now, I can certify, out of my own experience during the  
depression, that a man without a job leads a very meager life, that  
his liberty isn't great, and that his chances of successfully  
pursuing happiness are even less.

I know that some people - particularly those Old Guard  
 Republicans who kick and scream when they wake up and realize  
 they're living in the 20th century - deny that this is a moral  
 obligation of government.

They are right, but not in the way they mean it. It is  
 a legal obligation of our government, ever since the Full  
 Employment Act was passed in 1946.

1946

During the past seven years, this law has been flouted  
 and ignored. It's not only immoral, it is in violation of  
the law of the land that we have four million jobless workers  
 today.

2 And the law is being flagrantly violated here in West  
 Virginia, where the average rate of unemployment is 13% and  
 where it ranges up to 40% in some of the mining counties.

Full Employment

Full employment and full and expanding production go together. In the words of the popular song, they're like "horse and carriage" or like "love and marriage" and you can't have one without the other."

We know the tragic human cost of unemployment, but I doubt whether we realize its full cost in dollars.

The facts about this waste - sheer, inexcusable waste, are staggering.

From 1953 to the end of 1959, this off-and-on again, start-and-stop, foot-dragging economy has cost us more than 15 million man-years of job opportunities.

The average American family has suffered to the tune of almost \$3400 in potential real buying power.

Net farm income has been about \$36 billion dollars less than

Cost of Unemployment

Waste

Cost 15 million man years of Unemploy!

\$ Loss 3400 Buying Power

Loss in Farm Income \$36 Billion

Farm Income

000800

it ought to have been.

Wage and salary incomes have been almost \$130 billion dollars  
too low. *(#130 Billion)*

Private business investment has been approximately \$52  
billion dollars too low. The excessive idleness of plant and  
manpower from 1953 through 1959 caused us to lose almost  
\$200 billion dollars in national output.

*\$ Loss  
200  
Billions  
in National  
Output.*

These are cold, hard facts, my friends - how cold and  
how hard you know from your own first-hand experience.

And, they are, I repeat, in violation of the law of the  
land.

The great William Jennings Bryan warned us not to crucify  
mankind on a cross of gold. If he were living today, he would  
raise his mighty voice against sacrificing America's welfare

Sacrificing America's welfare  
to Golden Calf of Tight  
Money & Hi-Interest!

to the golden calf of tight money and high interest rates.

#

①

h

We need to lift this heavy burden of tight money and

① Program

high interest off our backs. America's economy must surge forward at the healthy Democratic rate of 5% a year, instead of the Eisenhower-Nixon creep-and-crawl of 2%.

Lift tight  
money  
Hi-Interest  
Rates

②

We need action, such as the Area Redevelopment Act which

Area  
Redevelop

I co-sponsored two years ago, to help the people of West Virginia to help themselves. We Democrats pushed that one through Congress, but the President vetoed it.

③

We need a Coal Research and Development Commission, to

Coal  
Research

seek out new uses and new markets for your basic natural resource.

The President vetoed that one too.

④

Stand By - Public Works

Rds, Schools  
Hospitals

⑤

We need Federal standards for unemployment compensation.

Fed  
Standards  
unemp  
Comp

I recommend extension of coverage and a healthy increase in the

amount and duration of benefits.

y.c.c

We need a \$1.25 Federal minimum wage, with coverage

extended to include the many millions of eligible workers not now protected.

min wage

We need, as I said yesterday at Beckley, the Humphrey Food Stamp Plan to put the abundance of our Minnesota and Wisconsin farms to work feeding hungry people here.

FOOD STAMP

We need a tax system with a head and a heart. We need to

gear it for expansion, and especially for the encouragement of new industry.

Tax System

At the same time, we should increase the \$600 exemption for each dependent to \$800, and provide, as I proposed in Congress last year, tax credits to encourage industry to employ older workers.

We can do all this and more if we close the tax loopholes through which billions of dollars escape each year.

These tax loopholes are just one of many examples of free-loading by the favored few at the expense of the unprivileged many. We pay our way - and we pay theirs, too.

Yes, for most of us nothing is so certain as death and taxes. The government enforces the Internal Revenue Act of 1954, and citizens are held rigidly accountable if they try to evade it.

↳ The Full Employment Act is the law of the land - just as much as the Internal Revenue Act.

↳ I maintain that this Republican Administration should be held accountable for its failure to obey this law.

↳ I maintain that it should be indicted as a law-breaker,

for failing to adopt policies for economic growth, and for  
sacrificing the general welfare to the dogma of the fiscal  
budget.

I maintain that it can be charged with cruel negligence -  
in plain words, neglect. It has permitted millions of our best  
citizens, and whole areas of our country, to sink into economic  
quicksands without raising a finger to help.

Unfortunately, there's no way by which citizens can indict  
their own government. But they can enforce the law on it by  
other means - they can turn this veto, no-go, go-slow Administration  
out of office in November, and replace it by one which will base  
its economic policies four-square on the Full Employment Act of  
1946.

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