



FOR RELEASE  
FRIDAY PM'S  
JULY 25, 1968  
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
RURAL AMERICA DAY  
SALINA, KANSAS  
JULY 26, 1968

I am deeply grateful for the raincheck you issued when I was unable to keep my date in Salina last week. I am glad to be here.

The delay has had one good result: I have had a chance to ponder a very fine piece of editorial writing which appeared in the Journal on July 17, the day before I was to arrive.

It was called "Listen Mr. Humphrey, to our Troubled Hearts," and went on to express the concerns I know all of you, and all Americans, share -- concerns about the agonizingly slow business of finding peace in Vietnam... about inflation...about farm prices...about crime...about racial strife.

The editorial said, "We are troubled because our America seems to have lost its sense of high purpose and direction. We feel the great need of a leader to mobilize our latent strengths and our basic good will..."

I have offered specific programs to deal with many of those issues and will cover them all in the weeks ahead. Today I want to say what I had hoped to say to you last week about the need to provide a better break for the American farmer and his family.

But I want to tell you at the beginning that I have been listening. I have travelled over 650 thousand miles in this country as your Vice President, and talked with hundreds of thousands of Americans in all but one of our states.

And I don't believe we have lost our sense of high

purpose and direction.

Consider what you yourselves have done in Salina since 1964 -- converted your town from a declining appendage of the SAC base, into a vital, growing city firmly based on a civilian economy. That is not the work of people who are afraid...who lack a sense of purpose.

The evidence is overwhelming throughout America that an increasing number of us believe that every child is entitled to a full educational opportunity...that hardcore unemployment is unacceptable...that hunger must be eliminated in this rich nation...that our cities and towns should be safe and clean...that a balance of nuclear terror need not and must not be a permanent feature of modern man's environment.

These fundamental problems aren't new. What is new is our impatience to solve them.

I think they can be solved.

I think the American people have the courage and will and know-how to solve them.

We are not a country that has lost its way. We are a country seeking a better way.

It is in that spirit and in that cause that I seek the Presidency.

\* \* \* \* \*

Building a national economy where farm prosperity is a reality...and building a rural America that offers the best in modern living and opportunity...is some of America's most urgent business.

The business activity of small towns and cities is directly tied to conditions in agriculture. Ask an implement dealer, a lumber yard manager, a banker, or any other businessman in a rural community what happens to business when the farmers and ranchers have a bad year. There is a rule of thumb which says that we lose one Main Street business every time six farm families move out.

Agriculture is America's largest single industry.

It supports more families than any other.

Our farmers are the keystone of America's economic strength and food is a source of enormous potential export earnings in a hungry world.

It is time to bring agriculture into the mainstream of our American economy.

\* \* \*

Low farm prices and inadequate income are the persistent symptoms of agriculture's problems.

But we must go further to tackle the basic issues. We have to do more.

. . . about high interest rates and the farm credit shortage;

. . . about expanding markets for farm commodities here and overseas;

. . . about ever-increasing production costs that take the profit out of farming.

This urgent business belongs high on the agenda of the next Administration. And that Administration must be prepared to provide fundamental answers.

I am ready and willing to take the case for agriculture to the American people -- not as a special interest, but as a national interest.

I mean to ask them for a mandate to assure America's farmers the kind of return their productivity and importance deserves.

I'll need your help. You will be choosing more than a new President this fall. You will also be choosing the Congress that will decide whether or not America makes the new departures our farmers need. The composition of that Congress is up to you.

\* \* \*

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I believe our first step must be to recognize that we do not now have all the answers to agriculture's problems -- and that no Washington bureaucracy has all the answers either.

The answers will have to be developed with the help of the farmers and their leaders. The President must have their advice before he asks Congress to act.

Two weeks ago I issued a major statement on my concept of an Open Presidency. In it I called for a greater public contribution before governmental programs reach Congress, and also for greater popular participation when executive departments administer acts of Congress.

I called for the establishment of Councils of Citizens in the Executive Office of the President, in the Department of Agriculture, and in all other major executive departments. I believe the Open Presidency would provide farmers and rural people with a better opportunity to make their case than they have enjoyed in the past.

In addition, we need people with a specific agricultural background permanently located at critical points throughout the government.

-- in the Tariff Commission, which deals with quotas and imports and other farm trade problems;

-- in the Council of Economic Advisers, which counsels the President on taxes, balance of payments, and other economic policy questions;

-- in the Budget Bureau, where spending guidelines are established.

-- in the Department of Transportation;

-- and in the National Domestic Policy Council, I would establish in the White House to provide the same coordination and staffing for domestic programs which the National Security Council provides on foreign policy and national defense issues.

If I am elected, farm people will be there, making sure that agriculture gets the attention it deserves -- regularly.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile . . . as a starter . . . I shall recommend a sizable increase in Farmers Home Administration lending authority to ease the farm credit situation. I shall also continue to urge passage of legislation to enable young farmers to finance land purchases over periods of up to 40 years.

I shall fight for federal tax reform to remove artificial incentives for the movement of non-farmers into agriculture. These investors now enjoy an unfair tax writeoff break which gives them an advantage over independent farmers. Family farmers are efficient enough to compete with anybody, providing the rules are fair. We have an obligation to see that they are.

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For the foreseeable future American agriculture will need strong public programs to deal with the difficult problems of maintaining reasonable prices and a balance of supply and demand. I want our basic farm programs improved and made permanent. And I want them adequately funded.

No other important sector of our economy has to come back to Congress time after time to get basic legislation renewed. It is time to end this requirement for farmers too.

We need strategic reserves of major farm commodities. I favor a program that keeps these reserves at common-sense, clearly-defined levels . . .one which specifies how and when they can be released so they do not interfere with the market . . .and one which relies on private inventories for normal business operations.

We also need stronger farm cooperatives. Farmers continue to face serious price problems, both in buying production items and in marketing commodities. We should expand credit for all farm cooperatives, including the rural electrics, and insist on a more extensive public effort to build and strengthen them.

We need to build new export markets for our farm commodities. More sales of wheat, corn and soybeans, and their products, abroad mean more acres opened up for production here at home.

I have urged a foreign policy of reconciliation and peaceful engagement with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- and with China when it chooses to rejoin the community of nations.

In the years ahead, I am convinced that such a policy can pay real dividends -- not only in peace for our children, but in important new markets for American farms and industries.

Meanwhile, America has an obligation to escalate the War on Hunger, both in our own country and around the world.

The unparalleled productivity of American agriculture has enabled this nation to wage a War on Hunger abroad. American food has saved millions of children from permanent mental and physical injury. It has saved hundreds and thousands of lives. It has been one of America's proudest contributions to world peace, one we can and must expand in the future.

Here at home -- given our national wealth and prosperity . . .given our agricultural productivity and abundance -- no pretext can justify the fact of hunger, malnutrition, or starvation.

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Food stamp and commodity distribution programs must be put into operation in every county where severe problems of hunger exist. School lunches must be provided on a year-round basis for needy children as rapidly as possible.

The time has come for a simple and direct declaration of national policy: every American must be provided enough to eat. This is not a matter for debate or argument. It is simply a question of basic humanity and concern for our fellow man . . . a national obligation we must now meet.

And let me emphasize an important part of that obligation: our farmers must get a fair price for what is nothing less than a major contribution to peace -- here and in the world.

Even if we can win these improvements for our farmers, the lasting health of American agriculture must depend on what farmers can do for themselves. That means bargaining power.

I am ready to work with you and for you on new concepts in farm bargaining power.

Farmers need bargaining power. They want it. And they should have the right and opportunity to use it.

\* \* \*

Finally, I want to point out that we can make additional strides in increasing the commercial demand for food through a vigorous program to stimulate the American economy. New jobs and new income mean increased consumption of food -- and of better food.

\* \* \*

I have spoken today about bringing agriculture into the American economic mainstream.

But we all know there is more to this subject than dollars and cents. What we are really talking about is the quality of life in rural America -- the opportunities you and your children have to take advantage of the unprecedented standard of living that America offers today.

We are talking about better schools, better hospitals. We are talking about communities that can afford the public services which will attract new industries, new job opportunities and new income.

We are talking about making it possible for rural youngsters to stay on the farm, stay in their home towns and still look forward to a full and rewarding life.

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Today, for every 175 rural youngsters who reach working age there are fewer than 100 jobs. This year about 200 thousand of those young Americans will leave home and go into the city. Their departure will make rural America a poorer place. Their leaving will not only separate them from their families but weaken our rural communities -- weaken them spiritually as well as economically.

I am for giving those youngsters -- and every other American -- a choice about where to live, where to work, where to raise their families.

If they wish to live in the cities, those cities should be clean, wholesome and safe. Today, too often, they are not.

If they want to live in a small town or on the farm, they should be able to do so and enjoy a maximum standard of living in every way. Today, too often, they cannot.

The key to a fully developed rural America -- and one of the most important keys to the dilemma of urban blight which confronts this nation today -- is economic equity for the American farmer. Today, too often, they do not have it.

I have given you the facts as I see them.

This nation has a great debt to the American farmer and it is not being adequately repaid.

It will be repaid only when farm families have the security and opportunities that are the birthright of all American families.

It will be repaid only when America assures its farmers the same economic chance that others in our economy enjoy.

That is my cause.

I think it can be won in the next four years.

I ask your help.

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MEMORIAL HALL SPEECH, SALINA, KANSAS

*July 26, 1968*

1           MAYOR BILL YOST: I wish to welcome each and every  
2 one of you here today and tell you that we're glad  
3 you're here. At this time I have the pleasure of intro-  
4 ducing to you the State Democratic Chairman, Mr. Norbert  
5 F. Dreiling. Mr. Dreiling. (Applause.)

6           MR. DREILING: Fellow Kansans, today the Kansas  
7 Democratic Party presents two of the finest examples of  
8 American citizenship. Our guests possess the quality of  
9 leadership borne of faith in their country and nurtured  
10 by the courage that produced constructive changes under  
11 the Constitution but within the framework of the respon-  
12 sible two party system. Their presence reminds us that  
13 we are a privileged generation. Subjective considerations  
14 may often blur that role but other landmark eras remind  
15 us that numbers mean little, greatness demands temptations  
16 as an ally. A faithful majority preserve Lincoln for  
17 America as he pleaded with a divided country to disenthral  
18 itself. As with Americans of his day, you and I cannot  
19 escape history and our actions will write us down in  
20 either honor or dishonor. We can, as he said, nobly save  
21 or meanly lose the last great hope of freedom on earth.  
22 Shortly, a dynamic Kansas governor will present the Vice-  
23 President of the United States. Constructive and  
24 courageous, Robert Docking represents the finest in  
25 Kansas leadership. In two short years he has given this

1 State dreams, the things that never were, conflicts of  
2 interest legislation, constitutional revision, tax reforms,  
3 the elimination of inequities and accompanied always by  
4 an insistence on personal excellence and a disdain for  
5 mediocrity. A vigilant citizenry will know about and  
6 appreciate this record. Do we evidence support or have  
7 too many of us been silent throughout? Are we too guilty  
8 of the easy crime of silence? Rest, you know, is not a  
9 word of free peoples for there is no easy road to free-  
10 dom, and one's duty supersedes all other considerations,  
11 the duty to recognize greatness in time. Hindsight helps  
12 little once its gone. Robert Docking is our kind of  
13 governor and I ask what kind of citizens are we. We know  
14 his record. Will we remember in November? I give you  
15 (applause) the Governor of the State of Kansas, Robert  
16 Docking (applause).

17 GOVERNOR DOCKING: Thank you very much. Thank you  
18 very much (applause). Thank you very much, Norbert.  
19 Mrs. Humphrey, Mayor Yost, distinguished ladies and  
20 gentlemen. The people of Kansas and particularly those  
21 of our City of Salina appreciate this opportunity to  
22 extend to the Vice-President of the United States of  
23 America the hospitality of our State. A distinguished  
24 guest comes to Kansas to highlight the concern of this  
25 nation for the problems of and the prospects for rural

1 America. He is eminently qualified for this role, a pro-  
2 duct of the Midwest, Hubert Humphrey is knowledgeable  
3 about the challenges of our times. He symbolizes the  
4 finest in that continuing tradition of outstanding leaders  
5 from the heart of our nation. The Vice-President's  
6 appearance here today comes at a most opportune time for  
7 just a few months ago, the economic health of Salina was  
8 in question, but today because of the spirit of its  
9 people, this is the most progressive community in the  
10 center of the most important food-producing area in the  
11 nation. Kansas has been greatly honored today to receive  
12 the attention of the Vice-President of the United States.  
13 He has visited Kansas as a Senator, as a Vice-President,  
14 more than any other man. I know that he has many friends  
15 here and many close associations over the years. Your  
16 reception has demonstrated the affection of Kansans for  
17 him. In his many years in public office, he has shown  
18 a distinct interest and a valued opinion of agriculture  
19 and of rural America, as well as the problems of the  
20 cities and of man's relationships to man in the nation  
21 and in the world. For more than two decades, the name  
22 Hubert H. Humphrey has been synonymous with political  
23 courage; first as Mayor of Minneapolis and later as the  
24 United States Senator from Minnesota, he has challenged  
25 the inequities of the status quo. In 1948 his was the

1 historic leadership at the Democratic National Convention  
2 when he invited this nation to walk in the bright sun-  
3 light of human rights. At a time when the timid remained  
4 silent, Hubert Humphrey pioneered some of the most his-  
5 toric legislation in this our American dream. Today  
6 trials serves to test the national temper. United and  
7 ever mindful of the responsibilities of citizenship, we  
8 can and we will build a tomorrow opening on the road to  
9 glory. Today's gloom backgrounds tomorrow's sunshine  
10 for those who really believe the darkest moments can but  
11 serve as a reminder to a dedicated people. Ladies and  
12 gentlemen, it is my honor to present to you the Vice-  
13 President of the United States of America, Hubert H.  
14 Humphrey (applause).

15 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: (Applause). Thank you  
16 very much, thank you, thank you very much, thank you.  
17 Thank you, thank you, thank you. Thank you. Thank you,  
18 Governor Docking, thank you for your message that surely  
19 sets the spirit of the day, and thank you very much for  
20 your generous and warm welcome. And it is very warm,  
21 and the welcome has been very good. I'm very honored to  
22 be in Salina, Kansas, and this great State of Kansas with  
23 your esteemed and respected, gifted governor and his wife,  
24 Meredith, Mrs. Docking, and I'm highly honored that I was  
25 greeted by the mayor of this community so generously and

1 such a friendly manner as I came into your airport.  
2 Having the privilege of meeting so many young people  
3 there and wives of our servicemen and their children,  
4 men who are serving overseas in a very cruel and difficult  
5 war, and I'm so very pleased to see the State Chairman  
6 here, Mr. Norbert Dreiling of the Democratic Committee,  
7 and others that have gathered for what I consider to be  
8 a community meeting and not nearly so much a partisan  
9 affair. This is a very remarkable season in American  
10 life; not the season of the summer but rather the season  
11 of political discussion, a time when fellow Americans  
12 can talk together, argue, discuss, dissent and ultimately  
13 make their decision as to personalities and programs.  
14 Thank goodness that we live in this kind of a nation and  
15 may we not take it for granted because there are those  
16 who would deny others the right to discuss. There are  
17 those in other parts of the world and even some here who  
18 would hush the voice of those that they do not agree  
19 with. I happen to be one of the Americans that believes  
20 above all else that the refiner's fire on cross-  
21 examination of argument and debate will produce a sound  
22 judgment and that censorship in any form which denies a  
23 person no matter what his views may be the right to be  
24 heard, that that kind of a censorship denies freedom  
25 itself. I care not whether it be the voice of a

1 candidate that espouses causes that are foreign to some  
2 of us, that are objectionable to others. We must be  
3 heard. I care not whether it be those who cry out for  
4 what they believe to be necessary reform even though some  
5 of us may agree or disagree, he has a right to be heard.  
6 And this is the season when Americans must once again  
7 take their stand against any militant, self-righteous,  
8 self-appointed minority that thinks that it has a monopoly  
9 upon truth and seeks to stamp out the views of others or  
10 to push aside the thoughts of others. We must listen to  
11 one another. Last week I was to be here in Salina and how  
12 I wanted to be here, but demon flu struck me down. I  
13 guess maybe I had it coming to me. I hadn't had a good  
14 case of it for twenty years and it ganged up, and I wanted  
15 so much to come here. I called the mayor and I begged  
16 his forgiveness for having to upset the plans, but I said  
17 I will come if you will give me another chance. And how  
18 good it is of you, Mr. Mayor, first to welcome me, to  
19 give me that second chance, to present me as you did at  
20 the airport with an honorary citizenship and the key to  
21 your city, and how good it was that one of your neighbor-  
22 ing communities to send up their Marshal from Dodge City  
23 and make me a Marshal, too, of Dodge City (applause).  
24 I gather this means that in case things don't work out  
25 well politically, I can be on t.v. with Matt Dillon

1 (applause). Well, Festus better look out for his job.

2 Now, ladies and gentlemen, I come here to visit with  
3 you about serious things and since it is a warm day and  
4 since I am rather warm, I'm going to take off my coat  
5 (applause) and talk to you (applause). I mentioned a  
6 moment ago that we had a little over a week's delay, but  
7 I want the editor to know of the Journal that I read his  
8 editorial of July 17th. In fact, I re-read it on the  
9 plane just as I arrived here, and that editorial told me  
10 something that I want to tell you just in case that you're  
11 one of those that didn't read the editorial, because it  
12 was a good one. What it first said was "Listen, Mr.  
13 Humphrey, listen to our troubled hearts", and then it  
14 went on to express the concerns that I know are the con-  
15 cerns of all Americans, the concerns that we share, and  
16 remember that we're all concerned people, concerns about  
17 the agonizing slow business of finding peace in Vietnam,  
18 about inflation, about farm prices, about crime, about  
19 racial strife. And the editorial said, "We are troubled  
20 because our America seems to have lost its sense of high  
21 purpose and direction. We feel the need, the great need  
22 of a leader to mobilize our latent strengths and our  
23 basic good will." End of quote of that editorial. Well,  
24 my fellow Americans, I agree with every line of that  
25 editorial, particularly with those final words, the need

1 to mobilize our latent strengths, the strengths that are  
2 here, and the basic good will of the American people.  
3 I'm not sure if any of us who aspire to this high office  
4 and the gift of the American people are worthy to be  
5 called the great leader that is needed for this mobiliza-  
6 tion, but we must try. I am sure of one thing, having  
7 been in government for some years, I'm sure that there's  
8 never been a man that was elected President or aspired  
9 to the office but what he was the better for it. There  
10 is something about this high office, this majestic office,  
11 this office of the people that brings out the best in  
12 people, because only the best is anywheres good enough  
13 to do the minimum of what needs to be done. But let me  
14 make it crystal clear, America not only needs leadership,  
15 America needs the commitment of its people. This isn't  
16 a one-man job. It can't be done by any President alone  
17 (applause). What needs to be done in this land needs to  
18 be done from a commitment of the two hundred million  
19 people within its boundaries in the spirit of those who  
20 founded this Republic itself, and you should recall their  
21 words as they charted our course to freedom. They  
22 pledged their lives, they pledged their fortunes, and  
23 they pledged their sacred honor to the fulfillment of the  
24 dream of this nation, and may I say that as we approach  
25 the two hundredth anniversary within a few years of that

1 birth of freedom and of independence, that for us to do  
2 anything else than to pledge our lives, to pledge indeed  
3 our fortunes and our sacred honor will mean that we will  
4 lose this last best hope of earth to which Lincoln re-  
5 ferred. And so I've come here today with no monopoly  
6 upon either wisdom or virtue. I come here with no set  
7 formula that can assure that we will find our way and  
8 that we have the answers to every problem. I come here  
9 in the spirit of a free man and an American to discuss  
10 with my fellow Americans some of the thoughts that are in  
11 my heart and on my mind, and then we can dissect them,  
12 discuss them, think about them, and possibly out of this  
13 crossfire of argument and debate that comes in an elec-  
14 tion year, we will come to some conclusions. After all,  
15 the highest purpose of a man in public life is to be an  
16 educator as indeed is the highest purpose of a President.  
17 He is to be educator and leader, student and follower,  
18 to educate and to lead the people, to mobilize the re-  
19 sources, and at the same time to listen to the people,  
20 to be the student of the voice of the people. I am re-  
21 minded of what Theodore Roosevelt once said. He said  
22 that there is no select minority that has as much basic  
23 good judgment as the overwhelming majority of the people.  
24 To put it another way, he put his trust in the judgment  
25 and the wisdom of the majority rather than in the select,

1 select vision and wisdom and judgment of some minority.  
2 Now that's the faith that you need in free government.  
3 That's the faith that you need in majority rule. Majority  
4 rule and minority rights, the twins of freedom. So I  
5 come here, Mr. Editor and Mr. Mayor, and you, sir, Mr.  
6 Governor, Governor Docking, gifted leader that you are,  
7 to speak of our country, to speak of this city, to speak  
8 of this rural America today. Time precludes that we can  
9 talk on every subject. I know that Salina only a short  
10 time ago suffered what it thought would be an economic  
11 depression and loss because a great base, a SAC base was  
12 closed. And might I say that this city alone demonstrated  
13 what I was talking about a while ago, that there is a  
14 vitality here in America and it needs only to be  
15 challenged and tapped. That vitality saw Salina, Kansas,  
16 come to life. It saw new industry, it sees new homes,  
17 new schools, new people, and it didn't require a military  
18 base to keep it and to bring it. It required but the  
19 inventiveness and the imagination and determination of  
20 the people and you, Mr. Mayor, and your community, and  
21 you, Governor, and this State have demonstrated what can  
22 be done when people set themselves to the task. I  
23 happen to believe (applause)-- I am one of those that  
24 believes that we do have a sense of high purpose and  
25 direction. I do not believe that America is sick. I

1 believe that this nation is showing the growing pains of  
2 a mighty people. I know that America is in ferment. I  
3 know the changes are dramatic and sometimes they are  
4 almost overwhelming, but our task is not to argue about  
5 change because it is inevitable. Our task is to direct  
6 it into constructive forces, to find out what we want to  
7 do with these forces of change. And let me make it  
8 crystal clear, there is nothing in America that needs to  
9 be changed by violence and lawlessness and disorder and  
10 looting and crime. That is not change; that's destruc-  
11 tion (applause). This nation has provided the peaceful  
12 processes of change; what we need in America is progress  
13 within the peaceful processes of democracy, progress  
14 with order. What the American people want today from  
15 their leaders more than anything else is a sense of  
16 orderly direction. They want reason rather than passion,  
17 they want restraint upon those who would have their way  
18 through bullying tactics; they want a sense of confidence  
19 and they want an expression of faith on the part of  
20 their leaders in the destiny of this land. I believe  
21 that any man that aspires to high office today in America  
22 owes it to the American people to bare his soul in terms  
23 of the faith and the confidence that he has in this  
24 nation and its people. I am one of the optimists of  
25 America and I'm proud of it, because I've seen America

1 do the impossible (applause). There isn't a thing that  
2 needs to be done in this country that cannot be done  
3 peacefully. Law and order is not a phase, it's a  
4 necessity. Law and order in every community is no longer  
5 just a sign to be put on the street. It is a duty of  
6 every citizen, to observe the law and to teach our young  
7 law and order and to exemplify it in our private and  
8 public lives (applause). The evidence is overwhelming,  
9 the evidence is overwhelming throughout America that an  
10 increasing number of us believe and believe with great  
11 depth of conviction that every child in this land, white  
12 or black, whatever its race or creed, is entitled to a  
13 full, full and meaningful educational opportunity, from  
14 age four up to advanced education in college if he wants  
15 it and wills it (applause), and let no one say that we  
16 cannot afford it. The fact is that the economies and the  
17 areas of the country that are in economic trouble today  
18 are those that have spared the investment in education.  
19 The leading companies of this land today look first to  
20 that community that has the best educational facilities,  
21 and I happen to know that one of these is Salina, Kansas.  
22 It has attracted new industries because of colleges and  
23 universities that you have here and because of your  
24 school systems, public and parochial and private. Ladies  
25 and gentlemen, education is an investment that produces

1 dividends for generations and generations, and let's  
2 commit ourselves to a full educational opportunity for  
3 every child, white or black, whatever their color  
4 (applause).

5 And Americans are concerned today as never before  
6 about deprivation and we should be. At a time when we're  
7 richer as a nation than ever before, some amongst us  
8 suffer the pangs, suffer the frustration, suffer the  
9 humiliation of poverty and hunger, of unemployment, and  
10 of something even more, more terrible, of bigotry and  
11 discrimination. Ladies and gentlemen, there are many  
12 ways that you can take a life. You can take it with the  
13 assassin's bullet, as has been done to the shame of this  
14 land. Or you can take it day by day and year by year by  
15 denying people the meaning of life, denying them hope,  
16 denying them dignity, denying them a chance, denying  
17 them an education, leaving them illiterate, leaving them  
18 in the filth of the slums, leaving them with disease and  
19 hopelessness. What a cruel way to kill a person, what  
20 a cruel way. And, ladies and gentlemen, I vow as one of  
21 the citizens of this land and if I'm President of these  
22 United States, I vow that I will lift from the backs of  
23 the needy and the poor that terrible tragedy that they  
24 now suffer (applause). We know today that the hardcore  
25 unemployed can be employed. We've done it. We know that

1 we can train the so-called untrainable. We've been able  
2 to do it, and we need to get on with it until every per-  
3 son that wants a job and is able to work has that job  
4 and a decent one in private life where it should be,  
5 where the job should be, and we know something else, and  
6 I stand here in this great heartland of America, that  
7 hunger must be eliminated in this rich, abundant, surplus-  
8 producing nation. There is absolutely no excuse for a  
9 child to go hungry while some people diet because they  
10 overeat. There is something wrong in this country  
11 (applause) and while we've made many, many steps forward,  
12 and indeed we have, in feeding the hungry, we can never be  
13 content until every person in America has as one of their  
14 rights of citizenship the right to a decent and wholesome  
15 diet and an adequate amount of food to keep body healthy  
16 and mind healthy. To do less is to be unworthy of being  
17 called an American, and I call upon you to help me get  
18 that job done. We can get it done. (Applause).

19 And I saw a sign here, and I want to just call it  
20 to your attention. Man's fate-- turn it around, Young  
21 man, will you please?-- Man's future requires a world  
22 without war. And that is a fact (applause). The highest  
23 purpose, the highest and noblest purpose of citizenship  
24 and of politics and of life itself is to build a world  
25 or to help build a world in which life is precious, life

1 that was a God-given gift. God Almighty gave us life and  
2 we have no right to destroy it, and therefore we must  
3 direct ourselves towards that goal of humanity which has  
4 been the goal for hundreds, yes, thousands of years, of  
5 building the cathedral of peace in this country and in  
6 this world where war shall be no more, and we can start  
7 and we are starting when we start to curb the mighty,  
8 powerful destructive nuclear weapons, and how good it is  
9 when we see a nuclear test ban treaty, which is but a  
10 beginning, a non-nuclear proliferation treaty, which I  
11 think is a significant step, and now we are ready now to  
12 start negotiations with the Soviet Union to prevent and  
13 to cut back, I should say, and to curb both offensive  
14 and defensive weapons, the intercontinental ballistic  
15 missiles and the anti-ballistic missiles. Ladies and  
16 gentlemen, that is the building to peace, but peace does  
17 not come because you ask for it and peace does not even  
18 come because you carry a sign for it. It does not even  
19 come because you talk for it. The Scriptures say,  
20 "Blessed are the peacemakers", not the talkers, not the  
21 walkers, but the builders (applause). And each in our  
22 own way have that responsibility, to do what we can to  
23 build constructively, sanely, patiently, perserveringly  
24 for a day when war shall be no more. This is not new.  
25 It is as old as man's hope and as life itself.

1           Now let me speak to you a little about this great  
2 rural America. Two days ago I was in Harlem and I saw a  
3 sight there that would break your heart and yet I saw  
4 another sight that would warm your heart. I saw hundreds  
5 of little children, Negro, black, Puerto Rican, white,  
6 all kinds of children. You know, it has been said that a  
7 child is God's testimonial to the future, and I think  
8 that's true, and surely even if we have given up on  
9 helping some adults, which I haven't, we surely ought  
10 never to give up about trying to be of some help to those  
11 who are just getting started in life. And yet I saw  
12 there in that one block-- we closed off the street there  
13 and make it into a playground-- and by the way, Governor  
14 Docking, I asked my political supporters in New York City  
15 to practice what I call the new politics, not the new  
16 politics of a new button or of a new pamphlet or the new  
17 sign, I said to practice the new politics of public ser-  
18 vice, the new politics of helping, the new politics of  
19 extending a hand of fellowship and cooperation, where the  
20 student can teach the child that's backward in his read-  
21 ing, where the boy that is an athlete on the high school  
22 team can go into the neighborhood of the poor and help  
23 run the playground, and where the businessman, instead of  
24 making his contribution to a political candidate only for  
25 the television time or the political information, that you

1 take some of that contribution and put it into a play-  
2 ground or into a park or into a day care center for the  
3 needy, and we did just that. We were able to get the  
4 cooperation of the city and we blocked off a street a  
5 block long and we made it into a playground, and I'm  
6 happy to tell you that my supporters, the businessmen for  
7 Humphrey in that area, raised the money to supervise that  
8 playground the balance of this summer as a gift to needy  
9 children. I want that to be done all across this land.  
10 If you're for Humphrey, be for the kids (applause). The  
11 new politics of social service, the new politics of  
12 commitment, not by word but by deed, the new politics of  
13 concern, not by an utterance but by a sacrifice, and  
14 that's the kind of politics that's going to save this  
15 country, because America needs people that care for the  
16 other man, care for one another. But as I looked at that  
17 area in Harlem, I said to myself, "Look at the number of  
18 people in one block". Ladies and gentlemen, there are  
19 more people in five blocks of Harlem than there are in  
20 this entire city. There were more people in that one  
21 block that I visited last Tuesday morning than in the  
22 county in which I was borne. There were more people in  
23 that one block than in the ward in which I grew up.  
24 Ladies and gentlemen, living space is not at a premium  
25 in America, there's plenty of space, and we have to

1 develop it and I talk now of the great opportunity that's  
2 here. The urban crisis, the urban crisis was not borne  
3 in the city, it was borne in the country. Many of the  
4 people who today are suffering deprivation and alienation  
5 in the city came from rural America. They came because  
6 there was no hope for them there. Many of them came as  
7 sharecroppers from the plantations. Some of them just  
8 came from the Plains. A time ago we called them the  
9 Okies. They walked and they went across this country,  
10 but they're still coming. Every year a quarter of a  
11 million young Americans from the farms of America leave  
12 the farms to go to the big city. The job opportunities  
13 in rural America are frequently all too small. I noted  
14 some figures here the other day, that for every hundred  
15 and seventy-five rural youngsters who reach working age,  
16 there are fewer than one hundred jobs. Now, ladies and  
17 gentlemen, we need to get every American freedom of  
18 choice. We need not have a system where the choice is  
19 forced upon you, and when people find that they cannot  
20 live the good life, even make ends meet, in some areas of  
21 rural America they do proceed elsewhere, not by desire  
22 but out of necessity. When they find, for example, that  
23 even the welfare standards for the poor are so low that  
24 you cannot keep body and soul together; they don't go to  
25 the big city because they want to, they go as the last

1 hope of survival. I tell you one of the ways to control  
2 the flood is not merely to build a bigger dike downstream.  
3 The way that you control the flood is to build a system  
4 of watersheds upstream, and the way that you're going to  
5 help solve the urban crisis of America, and it is a  
6 crisis, is to make this great hinterland of America be-  
7 tween the Alleghenies and the Rockies, in the center of  
8 which is Kansas itself, to make this part of America  
9 indeed the promised land of the future, the hope of  
10 millions and millions of people, to bring to it industry,  
11 to see that every community is as modern as this one,  
12 with colleges and schools and hospitals and doctors and  
13 cultural centers and libraries, with music and theater,  
14 with the state and social services that belong to a  
15 modern community and a modern people. The urban crisis  
16 was borne on the farm and just as we say frequently that  
17 depressions are farm fed and farm led, both are true,  
18 and when I see, for example, in rural America less than  
19 what I call fair play, I am concerned, because the rule  
20 of thumb is that we lose one business on main street  
21 every time six farm families move out or are shoved out.  
22 Let this country know that agriculture is still America's  
23 largest single industry. Let it know that it supports  
24 more families than any other industry, and let urban  
25 America know that the problems of urban America often

1 have their beginnings in rural America. The mayors of  
2 the great cities must have a sense of understanding for  
3 communities of this size and smaller yet and for the  
4 rural farm family itself or there'll be no answer,  
5 there'll be no solution to the metropolitan problems.  
6 Our farmers, and there are many here within the range  
7 of my voice-- not as many as there were some years ago  
8 because so many have left the land-- they're the keystone  
9 of America's economic strength and the margin of strength  
10 for America in this world today is its food and its food-  
11 producing capacity. Were the totalitarian countries to  
12 have this fantastic ability to produce food and fiber  
13 that is ours, America today would be a second-rate power  
14 rather than the greatest power on the face of the earth.  
15 Our strength is in our people (applause)-- Our strength  
16 is in our people and our people, like that Greek god of  
17 mythology, draw their strength from the earth itself.  
18 So I pledge, as I have throughout my public life, borne  
19 in rural America, reared close to the land, from farm  
20 people, and what I do believe with some understanding of  
21 the needs of these people, I pledge that the policies of  
22 this land and this government must be redirected in such  
23 a way that not only do we think in terms of the farm  
24 family but of the rural community, that we try to build  
25 a modern rural America.

1           And there are many issues that concern us, the  
2 high interest rates, the need for expanding markets and  
3 the ever-increasing costs that take profit out of farm-  
4 ing, and I'll just summarize it quickly in these words.  
5 Too little attention is given these days everywhere about  
6 the representation of rural people in the policy areas  
7 of federal, state and local government, and I believe  
8 there's a reason for it. Your nation's capitol is on  
9 the eastern seaboard, the greatest banking institutions  
10 are to be found in the great metropolitan areas, your  
11 economists come from the great universities, and yet,  
12 ladies and gentlemen, the economic policy of a country,  
13 the budget policy of a government, the credit policy of  
14 the banking institutions fundamentally affects what's  
15 going to happen in rural America. And what is needed is  
16 as follows: There must be representation on the counsel  
17 of economic advisers that advises the President and the  
18 Congress as to economic policy for this land and for  
19 this country, those of rural background and of rural  
20 economic understanding, so that the input is there in  
21 the beginning when the policies are being fashioned and  
22 formulated. The Federal Reserve System which sets the  
23 credit policy and the monetary policies of this land is  
24 woefully weak in rural representation and those who are  
25 the keen students of agricultural life and agricultural

1 economics, and I pledge that if it is my privilege to  
2 make those appointments at some future date to the Federal  
3 Reserve System and the council of economic advisers,  
4 there will be those who have specific agricultural back-  
5 ground that will be located at the critical points  
6 throughout this government, and believe me, that will be  
7 a help to rural America (applause), and many in this  
8 audience know about what I am to say now, that the tax  
9 policy of this country has not been of help to the family  
10 farmer. A tax policy which permits those that are  
11 totally unrelated to agriculture to invest their high  
12 profits and earnings into agriculture as a tax loss, in  
13 order to reduce their tax to the government and thereby  
14 to compete with cheap money against the man who has to  
15 earn his living, survive or perish on that family farm,  
16 and I shall fight for a federal tax program to remove  
17 those artificial incentives for the movement of the non-  
18 farmers into agriculture. These investors now enjoy an  
19 unfair tax write-off break which puts them at an advantage  
20 and denies the independent farmer a fighting chance, and  
21 that's not good for Kansas (applause) or anyplace else  
22 (applause). And we must see to it that our land never  
23 is short of food, and this is why some of us, and there  
24 is very little argument amongst responsible candidates  
25 for office on this, that we need a strategic reserve of

1 the major farm commodities, just as the Scriptures said  
2 themselves, to store up in the good years for the lean  
3 years, so this nation that has so many depending upon it,  
4 so many of its own and so many elsewhere, must have  
5 strategic reserves of food and fiber, and I favor a  
6 program that keeps those reserves at commonsense and  
7 clearly defined levels on which specifications have been  
8 laid down so that they cannot be released to interfere  
9 with the normal market.

10 Ladies and gentlemen, these are just some of the  
11 things that need to be done, strengthening our farm  
12 cooperatives, searching out for expanding new markets of  
13 exports, and why not, there is a whole world waiting for  
14 us, and I have urged a policy of reconciliation and  
15 peaceful engagement with the Soviet Union and eastern  
16 Europe that will open those markets to the American farm  
17 producer and indeed to the economic and business life of  
18 this land. Nations do not go to war when they talk to  
19 each other and have commerce with one another. Commerce  
20 is a bond of friendship, as well as a bond of economic  
21 growth, and it's time that America grew up and started  
22 to do business (applause). And the day will come, and I  
23 hope it comes soon and I will help it come, when this  
24 nation will open its eyes to the fact of over eight  
25 hundred million people in China, that some would like to

1 pretend are not there but you and I know they are, and we  
2 must have a program of peaceful bridge building to the  
3 peoples of mainland China, and one of the ways to start  
4 that that will hurt no one and help everyone is to start  
5 it in the commerce of food and fiber, which will save  
6 lives and help people (applause).

7 Now you've been a patient audience, I have outlined  
8 for you what are some of my feelings and my concerns.  
9 We'll be with each other from time to time. I leave you  
10 with this admonition. Winston Churchill is reported to  
11 have once said in debate in the House of Commons that  
12 those who use the present to spend their time only in  
13 judgment of the past lose the future. There isn't a thing  
14 we can do about the past today except to have learned  
15 from it. We cannot relive it. (Applause). There isn't  
16 a (applause)-- The only moment that is meaningful is  
17 this moment, and this moment, a fleeting moment, must be  
18 put to use for now and for tomorrow. This is a nation of  
19 the future and whomever guides the destiny of this nation  
20 in the next four years, the next eight, twelve, sixteen  
21 or whatever number it may be, whomever these men and  
22 women may be must be people that understand that a great  
23 change has taken place. The world of yesterday is no  
24 more. The nations of yesterday have changed. The foreign  
25 policies good for yesterday must be re-examined and

1 adjusted to the new policies and the new needs of today.  
2 There must be new priority at home and abroad. We cannot  
3 rest on our honors of the past as a nation or as people.  
4 I'm always very pleased and proud to be presented to an  
5 audience as one who did this at a certain time and I'm  
6 proud of the fact that for years I stood ahead of my time,  
7 sometimes five years, sometimes ten years in the field  
8 of legislation, and I suffered all of the darts and the  
9 arrows that came with it, being called a far-outer, an  
10 idealist and all that goes with it, all of which makes me  
11 very proud, but, ladies and gentlemen, what's important  
12 is not what we did yesterday; what's important is what  
13 are we going to do for tomorrow. And I call upon the  
14 American people to lift their sights. I don't ask the  
15 American people to move to the left or to move to the  
16 right or even to the middle. I ask you to move up, move  
17 your standards up, move your standards up so that this  
18 America will have not only a higher standard of living  
19 but a higher standard of understanding, that we'll have a  
20 greater tolerance for one another, that we'll be con-  
21 cerned about the least of these, that we will resolve as  
22 a people and a nation that what needs to be done to  
23 assure opportunity for every American, that what needs to  
24 be done to permit every American to have his chance, that  
25 what needs to be done to bring every American into the

1 processes of decision making and into the benefits of  
2 those decisions, that whatever needs to be done, that we  
3 resolve here and now that we will do it and make sure  
4 that it's done (applause).

5 So, friends, let us go forth from this place now  
6 with a new sense of dedication, let's go forth from here  
7 knowing that we are blessed and fortunate to live in this  
8 land. Let no one make himself look big by trying to make  
9 America look small (applause). Let no one tear this  
10 country down in order that he can stand tall (applause),  
11 and I'll ask in particular these young ones that have  
12 honored me by their presence today to remember that that  
13 Pledge of Allegiance that you've been taught is something  
14 that your parents and myself and others should not only  
15 remember but we should practice. It is like a secular  
16 prayer, if one can say it that way. I heard a little  
17 Puerto Rican boy in New York repeat it at age three Tuesday  
18 morning, just a little shaver, a little boy that never  
19 had a chance up 'til now that lived in the slums, and  
20 there he stood before the microphone of a national t.v.  
21 network. He stood-- I should say he was in the arms of  
22 his daddy, and his father said to him, "Manuel, say the  
23 Pledge of Allegiance." And he said, "I pledge allegiance  
24 to the flag of the United States and to the Republic for  
25 which it stands," and he said it so beautifully with his

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little hand over his heart, and then he said what you better remember because this is our challenge, this is our goal, this is our purpose and it embodies everything that anybody can tell you about this country and the promise that it is to be, "one nation under God indivisible, with liberty and justice for all". That, ladies and gentlemen, is the America that must be our dream, that is the America that must be ours. (Applause). Thank you very much. (Applause).



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