

Address by

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

at

GTA Annual Stockholders' Banquet
St. Paul Auditorium Arena -- St. Paul, Minnesota
December 11, 1956

H. H. File

M. W. THATCHER:

First of all, we're glad to see all of you back here again, and strangers, too, wherever you are, and new people. But, so that we ~~all~~ can get acquainted, may I have your time and attention, while I introduce to you ~~for~~ first, the Board of Directors of this organization, the policy-making Board that approves all of these things that happen while we're here at St. Paul: Mr. August Dahme of South Dakota, Director of GTA; (Applause) Mr. Emil Loriks of South Dakota, Director; (Applause) Mr. Ervin Schumacher from North Dakota, Director, (Applause); Mr. Obed Wyum from North Dakota, Director, (Applause); Mr. George Mann, the Director from Minnesota; (Applause) I'm going to skip one of our Directors and call on next, Mr. A. M. Larson, Director from Minnesota; (Applause) Mr. Ole S. Gunderson, a Director from Montana; (Applause) Mr. Arnold Peterson, a director from Montana; (Applause) Mr. Alex Lind, a Director from North Dakota; (Applause) Mr. Walter Blume, a Director from North Dakota; (Applause) I next have the pleasure -- and a great pleasure -- to introduce to you a guest here at the head table tonight. It's important because, first of all, he's a great character and a very fine man, one you're going to get/^{to}know of later on in life. He's just completed a political mission in South Dakota, a 71% Republican state, and as a Democrat, they elected him by a big majority to go to the House of Representatives -- from South Dakota -- Mr. George McGovern. (Applause)

We shall now receive a welcome to the City of St. Paul by one of our great friends -- one of your greatest friends in St. Paul -- a man we've known for over 30 years, and most of that time, he's been an officer in the City of St. Paul -- a very able Commissioner -- and I'm very happy to present at this time, Commissioner Milton Rosen for a statement of welcome. Mr. Commissioner....(Applause)

COMMISSIONER MILTON ROSEN:

Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Patton, Your Excellency, the Governor of the state of Minnesota, you good-looking Hubert Humphrey, the Senator representing the state of Minnesota: I want you to know I feel mighty proud to be in amongst these Democrats -- and when they applaud me as a Republican being introduced, I'm more prouder than they know. (Applause)

To this great organization, I want to repeat -- as I've said yesterday --

St. Paul appreciates the courtesty you have always paid them in making this your convention headquarters. You are welcome to St. Paul, the most hospitable city in our state. And, it is my pleasure to let you know that we know all about your fine organization, and when you come here, there isn't anything you want, that we won't do for you. And, again I say, you're welcome to the Capitol City of the State of Minnesota, St. Paul. Thank You. (Applause)

MR. THATHCER:

Thank you, Mr. Republican, and my good friend, Milton Rosen.

I now have the pleasure to present the President of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association. I think he's completing, as I remember rightly, his 15th year as President of our organization. It's a great pleasure again to present to you, the President of Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, for the response to the welcome, Mr. Ole Olson. (Applause)

OLE L. OLSON:

Mr. Thatcher, Governor Freeman, the representative of the Mayor -- the Commissioner, Senator, Jim Patton, distinguished guests:

We are enjoying the hospitality of St. Paul and truly enjoying it. One thing that we feel about meeting in a big city like this is that we, as farmers, can better express to the metropolitan -- in a metropolitan area like this, the feeling we have toward the consumers, and present our program and our viewpoint to them, because we realize that if we're going to win our just place in this society, then we have to have the understanding of the people in the cities.

I have heard people accuse farmers of becoming weak, as time was run, as compared with our old pioneers, but we have the same basic steel within us, the same pioneer spirit. We understand what the problem is, and we're proud of what we're doing, because we're supplying the basic needs, the abundance that supports the nation, and if we can bring our problem to the people in the cities, and have a fertile minds enough to find a rather simple answer to the problem, we're going to win our battle, and we appreciate very much, Commissioner, your welcome to us in this city. We reciprocate by saying that we're coming again and again and again. (Applause)

M. W. THATCHER:

And how we are. Thank you very much, President Olson. It would hardly be a GTA convention without the distinguished friend that I now have the honor to introduce. Our distinguished Governor of Minnesota, who in a Republican landslide, ~~slid~~ slid in first. (Applause) I wish we had 47 more like him. (Applause) Who knows, you may

M. W. Thatcher (cont.)

wrap it all up in one package some day. Anyway, it's an honor to present to you, His Excellency, the Governor of Minnesota, the Honorable Orville Freeman. (Applause)

GOVERNOR FREEMAN:

Thank you very much, my dear friend, Bill Thatcher, President Jim Patton, President Olson, Commissioner Rosen, Congressman-elect McGovern, Senator Humphrey. I didn't recognize him for a moment, after that remark that was made a minute ago by the Commissioner here. That's you, isn't it, Hubert? Ken Holum down here, and ladies and Gentlemen:

I surely appreciate your very warm and generous reception here, Bill Thatcher, your very kind remarks. I can't tell you how pleased and happy I am to be with you here again as a ~~participate~~ Participant on this program. And, I might say, slide or not, I'm pleased to be here again as the Governor of Minnesota, too. (Applause)

It's my privilege to bring you a very brief greeting here this evening, and I'd kind of like to break that greeting down into three parts: First of all, to say that it's good to see again both visible and written evidence of the continued progress of this great organization, incorporating as it does on the one hand, the sound democratic principles of cooperativism, and on the other hand, good solid sound business practices. These two surely spell progress and success for our people, as well as for this great organization.

Secondly, may I extend an especially warm welcome to the members and their guests here outside of the state of ~~the~~ Minnesota, per se, from Wisconsin, from North and South Dakota, from Montana, from Iowa, and I know from other states as well. We're pleased to have you here in Minnesota. We hope your stay is a very profitable and enjoyable one for you. And, then may I say a special word to the GTA members from my state of Minnesota, when I express to you my most deep and sincere appreciation for your friendship, and for most of you for your encouragement and support during the last campaign. GTA is, of course, a thoroughly nonpartisan organization, but if you look at a map of the election results, you'll notice that Freeman did quite well where the Farmers Union is quite strong. (Applause)

And, I surely appreciate that, and can assure you that your principles, the principles of a sound agriculture program for this nation, principles I've heard outlined by Mr. Thatcher, principles that I've heard again and again, our mutual friend outlined here, Bill Patton, and principles that Senator Humphrey has again and again talked to you about here. There are principles that at time we seem a step or so away from attaining, but with consistent hard-hitting effort, utilizing the democratic channels open to us, I'm sure that they're going to be attained, and I hope to play a small part in that progress.

GOVERNOR FREEMAN (cont.)

Might I say here in our state of Minnesota that our Commissioner of Agriculture is a good Farmers Union member, and for the first time in many, many years, we are seeking to put into effect in our state a positive program which will be beneficial to the progress and expansion of the cooperatives movement. The status of what was formerly merely a section on cooperatives in our Department of Agriculture has been made a Division. Instead of merely auditing on the side, we are building today a positive program, looking to the expanding development of cooperatives in our state. ~~Thank you~~
(Applause)

And, might I say, just to be specific, that recently there has been organized, largely through the sponsorship and coordinating efforts of Commissioner Allen, a Cooperative Credit Association in Minnesota, which will make available for use, credit cards which will be received at the some 380 cooperative oil stations in our state, which will put them in a much better competitive position than they have previously enjoyed. This is but a small thing, but it is indicative of the things we are trying to do and will continue to do, working to accomplish the improvement of the lot of all of our people, and concerning ourselves with agriculture and with the promotion of the family-size farm.

So, may I say to you, congratulations on another year of progress, warmest welcome and greetings, good luck and God-speed, for a wonderful 1957. Thank you very much. (Applause)

M. W. THATCHER:

Thank you very much, Orville Freeman. One grand thing about the Governor is, that after the election is over, he's Governor for everybody in the state. He's that kind of a man. (Applause)

I have a special interest, satisfaction and pleasure in introducing the next gentlemen, who's been president of our National Farmers Union for the past 16 years. One thing everybody will agree he's outstanding for, and that is, a social heart that's as big as the moon. Particularly tonight, we wanted you to hear directly from him as many of ~~you have~~ us have, something about the agricultural problems of Europe, and he's especially well ~~qualified~~ qualified to speak on that because of his many trips over there, as an officer in the international organization, known as I.F.A.P. It's a privilege and an honor to present our National President, the Honorable James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union -- Mr. Patton. (Applause)

MR. JAMES G. PATTON:

Mr. Thatcher, President Olson, Members of the Board of Directors, Senator Humphrey, Governor Freeman, Mr. Commissioner, distinguished guests, and friends:

As vice president of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, I bring you greetings from the farmers of the world. The majority of the farmers -- of the people of the world are farmers. Farmers are in economic and social trouble all over the world. In the less developed countries, farm families have never known anything but poverty, landlessness, disease and famine. In the Russian, and other communist dictatorships, farmers are little more than serfs of the state. They have found that the phony promises of land reform and freedom, were nothing but propaganda to enslave them under another set of ruthless masters who charged them such high rent and taxes that land reform is meaningless and a "shell game."

In the free world, farmers in the commercial area are in trouble in every country. They are in trouble primarily because their governments have not had the imagination, daring and intelligence to cooperate and take food and fiber from where they are not needed, to the millions upon millions of people who are starving and naked, to people who have never had enough to eat, nor enough clothing to cover their bodies. Farmers in the United States and other commercial areas of the world are being penalized for doing what their governments ask them to do in two world wars and in the Korean emergency. Basically, farm problems must be dealt with on a world basis, not only because production and consumption problems cross national boundaries, but also because food problems are a common denominator of peace and war.

A vigorous and expanding economy means well-fed people and prosperous farmers, all contributing to world peace. A shrinking economy with hungry people and insecure farm populations means trouble ahead -- not trouble just in one country, but trouble in many countries. The concept of food and fiber should be used to feed the starving and clothe the nation, was the basis of the Hot Springs Conference convened by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Out of this Conference came the founding of F.A.O. in 1945, and Lord Boyd _____' dream of a world food board, which he proposed in 1945, at Quebec, and again at Copenhagen in 1946. It was in this climate that the National Farmers Union of England called a conference of the world farm organizations. Out of this conference, came the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, which was founded at Church House, Westminster, London, in the spring of 1946, and I might say, that the first real United Nations conference, which was chaired by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, was really held at Church House in London, before the unsealed conference in San Francisco.

I.F.A.P. has not grown to a membership of 25 million members in 38 countries, including Japan, Burma, India, Australia, New Zealand, four countries in Africa, countries in Latin America, western Europe and North America. I.F.A.P. was established so that

farmers could come to know each other and their problems and to provide farmers a world-wide device for cooperating with the United Nations, and particularly with the F.A.O., the Food and Agriculture organization of the United Nations.

In October of this year, Mrs. Patton and I attended the executive committee meeting of the I.F.A.P. in Helsinki, Finland, ~~maxxin~~ and in addition to Finland, we visited Holland, Sweden and England. We had long conferences with Farmers Union cooperative leaders in each of these countries, and I might say that the farm organizations are called "Farmers Union," and they told me they got their inspiration from a Cotton Conference that Charlie Barrett called, Bill, way back before World War I.

I have several observations that apply to all of these countries and some specific ones which apply to only two or three of the countries. My general observations are these: First, it is obvious to anyone that the world is getting so small that there is no possible way that we, or any other nation, can go it alone. One has this fact driven home when you cross the Atlantic from New York to Amsterdam in 12 hours. European countries are counties -- we visited six of them in one day by plane. Second: The governments of western Europe are doing everything they possibly can to insulate their economies from United States economy. The people acting through their governments have, with purpose, adopted public policies to assure full employment, and insure them against unemployment. They have consciously adopted a public policy of compensatory spending. In other words, the government stands ready at all times to employ all employable who are not privately employed. They are put to work ~~xx~~ at going rates of pay on productive public works, such as transportation, dykes, atomic energy, afforestation, reforestation, and housing.

Third, to a very substantial degree, the people -- and hence, their governments -- have developed an immunity to McCarthyism, communism, and fascist propaganda. At least, they recognize it for what it is. Our Madison Avenue hucksters, Governor -- or, Senator Humphrey -- would have a very much more difficult time selling either soap or political candidates in Europe, especially in Holland, the Scandinavian countries and England. Fourth, farmers in western European countries I visited are in an economic squeeze, but not nearly as severe a squeeze as farmers in the United States and Canada. The big reason for this is that they are more effectively organized. For example, in England, over 98% of the farmers are members of the National Farmers Union. Some members pay as much as \$2,000 a year in dues. The dues are based on the income of the member. In Holland and the Scandinavian countries, Farmers Union is very strong, with well over 50% of the farmers members.

The second important phase of farmers' bargaining power is that their cooperatives are all federated into one bargaining unit, which works very closely with Farmers Union. In some instances, as in Holland and Sweden, this Federation also works with organized labor. In spite of the fact that farmers in each of these countries are in the minority,

MR. JAMES G. PATTON (cont.)

they do hold a balance of power and know how to cooperate with others to have tremendous bargaining power. The net result of this is that there are no longer any arguments as to whether farmers shall receive a parity of income. The bargaining comes only as to what the facts are and how the necessary adjustments and payments are to be made.

In Holland, a semigovernmental body, a farmer-labor council, makes recommendations on farm wage rates and upon income levels for farmers and prices for their products. It is composed of 12 members from Farmers Union and 12 members from labor unions, principally from farm workers' union. A recommendation from this body is seldom rejected by the government. If the government rejects a proposal, it is very likely to fall. Direct production payments to producers are in common use to implement the recommendations. The Farmers Union in Holland is very active politically, and works closely with labor and cooperatives. And, I might say, parenthetically, that the Brannan Plan is old stuff in Europe, and they wonder why we haven't adopted it here. The claiming of the land from the sea by the construction of huge dykes, miles out in the North Sea, is the most common form of compensatory public works spending. Holland ~~has a 25-year~~ has a 25-year planning program of dyke building. The battle with the sea ^{it} in taking land away from ~~them~~ is a thrilling story in itself. They plan to take away from the sea about 100 thousand acres per year. ~~Yem~~

You go on into Sweden, and you find compensatory spending in the form of forestation, reforestation, housing and transportation with a very heavy emphasis upon consumption. In ~~Finland~~ Finland, you find the Farmers Union very strong, where it owns the largest hotel in Finland, the second largest commercial newspaper, and is the balance of power. An 11-day strike in Finland this year, ended in the 1956 Agricultural Act, which guarantees the farmers full parity of income with the rest of the economy, and the government makes a compensatory payment for the difference between what the farmers receives in the market place.

In England, representing you wonderful people and hundreds and thousands of Farmers Union people, we helped dedicate the Farmers Union building, a two million dollars structure for a very powerful organization, and Queen Mother Elizabeth opened the building, and we had the privilege of having tea with her.

I came back to this country with a very deep feeling that America might well be a corporate state in an island as an island, in a sea of democracy, socialism and communism. Now, I don't happen to think that that's going to happen. I think that men like Hubert Humphrey, Freeman, and this great organization of Farmers Union and the liberals that we have in this country are going to fight it out, that we're going to build a liberal democracy, that we're going to fight for a United Nations, that we're going to enlarge the power and the force of the United Nations into a world government -- a limited world government, with a police force to maintain peace wherever trouble

MR. JAMES G. PATTON (cont.)

may break out, that one day -- and not too far away -- we will have a world food board, which will make it possible for us to stabilize both production, consumption and world prices, so that the farmers of the world, and particularly the farmers of this great country of ours, may know something about stability of prices and decent parity of income. And, I feel very strongly, however, that the United States, Senator Humphrey is being challenged at this time. People of the world, and particularly, people of Europe are looking for other leadership, because they're wondering about John Foster Dulles, and about our present administration, their foreign policies. ~~I~~ I think it is time that we wake up, that the people of this country wake up to the great challenge. We have a great instrument in the cooperative movement, and we should extend cooperation into the underdeveloped areas of the world.

In closing, may I express to you a faith in the future, a deep conviction that this country will provide the leadership necessary to bring democracy and peace to the world, and to wish you a Merry Christmas, a very Happy New Year, if not a prosperous one. Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. THATCHER:

Thank you very much, Mr. Patton. When you have heard that story and understand it -- what's going on over the world -- you can really understand that what we're asking for of our government in the United States, is fairly weak, and it ought not to be denied us.

We have about a minute and a half to two minutes before radio time begins, and I want to ask Mr. George McGovern to come up here and say a few words to you so that you can take another good look at the man we think has a great future in the Congress of the United States. I don't know which end of the aisle he will end up in, but we think he'll be there for a long time. Come up, Mr. McGovern. (Applause)

MR. MCGOVERN:

Mr. Thatcher, Senator Humphrey, Directors and friends of the GTA: It's certainly a high privilege to have an opportunity to say just a word to you here tonight before our great friend Senator Humphrey takes over. I want to take this opportunity to thank the GTA and the Farmers Union, particularly in my state, for the wonderful job of education that they did in that state. I think that if there's any one obligation that I owe to an organization, it's the deep feeling of the gratitude and obligation that I feel toward the Farmers Union and this great organization through the Midwest. I want to congratulate you on this successful annual meeting, and to express my thanks to Mr. Thatcher and the Board of Directors for the privilege that it is to sit here at the head table and join with you at this fine meeting tonight. Thanks ever so much. (Applause)

MR. THATCHER: Thank you very much, Congressman McGovern. I've been asked to make an announcement. I guess I can remember it --lost my score sheet. But anyway, the Pioneer Press will be available to you tonight. There has been a flash picture made of this large group here tonight, and if you have a nickel -- that's all some of you have, I guess -- from the market prices I'm seeing -- you may procure one for five cents and see the picture that's been made by the photographers.

Now you have a few seconds to get acquainted with your wives.

RADIO ANNOUNCER:

Good evening from GTA. This special broadcast is coming to you from the biggest farm co-op meeting in the United States, the 19th Annual Stockholders' Meeting of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association. Here in the St. Paul Municipal Auditorium, the farmer patrons of the nation's outstanding organization in the fight for an American standard of living on the farm, are planning their campaign for 1957. M. W. Thatcher, General Manager of GTA, and National leader in the campaign for profitable farm operation, is presiding at the Annual Dinner. Mr. Thatcher. (Applause)

MR. THATCHER:

At this huge banquet here tonight for the stockholders and friends of Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, we're counting people here by the thousands. The speaker of the evening is no stranger to Minnesota or any other part of the United States, and part of the world. This is the fourth consecutive annual meeting banquet of GTA that we have asked this distinguished Senator to be the main speaker, and for very good reason: Because he is in the forefront of the fight for American agriculture on the floor of the United States Senate, and what a fight he has made the last two years is something for us to be very thankful for. (Applause)

I have known him for many years, and worked very closely with him for many years, as the rest of my associates have. I want to say in introducing him to you that the great state of Nebraska gave to this nation in the hour of its need a great Senator, George Norris, and I'm proud that my state of Minnesota has given to this nation and the world another such character, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, that I'm so proud to present here to you tonight, and I'm sure in his work now in the United Nations and in the United States Capitol on the floor of the Senate, being the man that he is, he understands the great responsibilities and the need of men like himself, and that in every great undertaking, he first invokes the aid of Deity and knows that his great talents and his character are his by the grace of God. Senator Humphrey. (Applause)

SENATOR HUMPHREY:

Thank you very much, Mr. Thatcher. It's hard for me to say, "Mr. Thatcher;" I've got to say Bill Thatcher, and to you Jim Patton, our good friend that comes to us in Washington so often, and so often needed, and to you Commissioner Rosen, who has again expressed the greetings of this great Capitol City of St. Paul, and my friend George McGovern, and all others that are here. And, I want to pay special reference to George McGovern, our new Congressman, from the east river district in South Dakota. I say our new Congressman, because in Congress, you legislate for everybody, not just your own district. Good or bad, no matter how you vote, it helps or hurts everybody. Now,

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

if it could only be that you were only hurting some folks and helping others, I suppose one might be forgiven for his mistakes, but, George, I think you know what I mean, and we're proud to have you here with us tonight.

May I just say that I'm^{very} proud that Mrs. Humphrey can be here with me tonight, too, (Applause) as Governor Freeman is proud that Mrs. Freeman can be here tonight. We kind of (applause) consider GTA banquets, dinners and conferences and conventions as part of our family affairs, and you're mighty nice to just let us in. And, Bill, I've been trying to figure out why you've permitted me to speak here four times, and I think I've got the answer. He knows that I'm a soft touch. He knows, well now look, if I just tell Hubert he ought to come, there's going to be a big audience, he'll be there. And, of course, I know there's always a big audience. And, what is more important, I know that it is a good one. But, best of all, may I say that I'm honored -- singularly honored, to have been invited by your Board and by your Manager, my friend, Bill Thatcher, to speak here on the fourth occasion. I hope my remarks will be worthy of your attention.

No3, I want to encourage you tonight to really appreciate the importance of your organization. I want you to understand the importance -- if you'll permit me -- of cooperative organization, and what a tremendous thing cooperative organization is to the economic growth of the United States. We've needed your effective voice in this nation of ours and we've needed it in Minnesota, and as has been pointed out, in Minnesota, by our Governor, cooperative action has built for the prosperity of this state. And, cooperative action in America has built for better opportunities for American farm families. We need the voice of GTA. We need it to keep ever alive our continuing struggle for the great fulfillment of America's promise of equality. Perhaps you will pardon me tonight, if I'm inclined to look at some of our pressing domestic problems of agricultural policy, in light of the critical situation which confronts us in the world.

You see, I've just come to you today, after sitting as a delegate in the United Nations, one of your United States' delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations. And, I must return tomorrow morning to that world forum to help, I would hope, contribute to our efforts. When I say our efforts, I mean the free nations of the world -- our efforts to building a just and honorable and an enduring peace. I'm sure that you know with me tonight that this world is shaken. I'm sure that you know that we're mighty close to the brink of disaster. I'm sure that you know that millions of people are rising up throughout the world asking for their place in the sun, asking for liberty, asking to have the shackles of oppression taken off their backs and their arms and their legs, and I would hope that we would understand as Americans tonight that one way that this may be done is to strengthen and encourage and fortify the United Nations and the charter of the United Nations in everything that we do. (Applause)

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

I hope that we appreciate that on the world front, we are faced with the struggle between moral right and military might, and on the domestic front, we are faced with a struggle between human values and economic might, and we can hardly win one while ignoring the other. Neither military might nor economic might are of themselves evil, but they become so when they are used to exploit or abuse humankind and human resources, or to deny people that sense of justice and equality which they deserve as God's children. Properly used, economic might and military might can contribute to the fulfillment of democracy's promise, the promise of opportunity, equality of opportunity, the promise of security -- not alone for us, but for all of the world.

And, I say most soberly to my fellow Americans tonight that our success or failure in controlling these forces of economics and of military power will be measured by our willingness to keep uppermost in our minds the concern about our fellow man at home, here in America, and abroad throughout the world.

You see, there can be no double standard. We must achieve the fulfillment of America's promise at home if we are to effectively offer it to other people abroad. You can't be a liberal at home and a reactionary abroad, or to put it conversely, you cannot act like a reactionary at home and intend and expect people to believe that you're concerned about their human values abroad. (Applause)

Now this same very obvious parallel was drawn, and these same thoughts were much more effectively and dramatically expressed in a significant address some 14 years ago in another period of crisis for our world and our America. And, that address was entitled, appropriately enough, "The American Promise." And, it was an address by one of the all-time great liberal voices in a continuing struggle and crusade for equality of opportunity in rural America -- a powerful voice for the real meaning, the real applied meaning of democracy then, and a powerful voice for the real meaning of democracy today. Now, that address, entitled "The American Promise," was by your own general manager of GTA, my dear and beloved friend, and your friend, none other than Bill Thatcher, who sits with us here tonight. (Applause) And, Bill, prophetically, that address looked beyond winning the war. It looked to winning the peace. It looked and it charted a course for the fulfillment of "The American Promise" of the American dream. Oh, how I hope that that address can be taken out of the archives of GTA and can be re-read, and literally redistributed amongst your membership. We need its message, believe me, today. We need it -- we need to emphasize the continuing nature of mankind's struggle for progress and the necessity of keeping our sights, we Americans, firm and steady on the honorable goals, no matter what problems we may encounter.

I appeal to you tonight, my fellow Americans, to be of good heart and to be of good spirit. I appeal to you to be optimistic in a very realistic sense as to what

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

the future offers for us. We have, may I assure you, the greatest social system that man has ever created. We have the finest political system that was ever designed by the mind of man, and it is our task to use these systems, and to use these resources for human betterment, for enlightenment, for progress, for emancipation of man, emancipation from his fears of hunger, of sickness, of frustration, of unemployment, of disaster, which plagues him in so many areas of the world.

You see our democracy is on trial. We sort of assume that it's an accomplished fact, but I tell you, it's on trial throughout the world, as Jim Patton was telling you a moment ago. What we do right here at home is watched by people all over the world, and it may well determine the fate of your children, and children yet unborn.

Now, if we're to inxpire hope, and I gather that's what we want to do, in areas of the world that are searching and reaching out for hope -- if we are to fulfill the destiny of American political and moral leadership, in a world sadly needing and crying out for that leadership, then we must first keep faith with our own people, and make sure that democracy works at home, and make sure that equality of opportunity is available to every American in this land of ours. (Applause)

Believe me, friends, all the wealth of America, the skyscrapers of Manhattan, the money in the banks on Wall Street, all of our fancy kitchen gadgets, all of our fine automobiles are not enough to convince the world that we are a great people. They know that we're wealthy. Why I talked to the representatives of our neighbors throughout the world every day. I've talked to the ~~xxxx~~ representatives of 79 nations in this past month, and everyone of them knows that America is mighty, powerful and rich, but there's been a lot of people telling them that we're not right, that we're not morally right, that we're not spiritually strong, and our job is to prove it to them, unmistakably by deeds, and not by words. They know America is rich in resources. They are more interested, I tell you, in knowing our attitude about people, about the concern we have for human values. These people in the yet almost unknown lands of the world, at least the underdeveloped lands, are more interested in knowing how our farm families are ~~xxxx~~ doing out in the Midwest, than in knowing how the stock brokers are doing down East on Wall Street.

Now, that's understandable, believe me, because they represent farm families, because most of the people in other parts of the world are farmers, tillers of the soil. These people are interested in knowing how our workers get along in our factories, and how they're doing, rather than in how much profit ~~ax~~ our corporations are making, because over 95% of the people of the underdeveloped areas, have to work from 50 to 60 hours a week, groveling out a subsistence -- not plenty or luxury, but a sheer and a mere subsistence.

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

Therefore, I repeat that whatever we do to agriculture, whatever we do to our children, whatever we do for our working people and for the average American family to make our democracy ~~more~~ more effective at home, strengthens our hand abroad, strengthens our hand in building for a better world and in building the peace that you ladies, you mothers, you parents, cry out for every day of your life. Whatever we do for all of our own people, I summarize, offers to the rest of the world a real testimonial as to the hope that democracy offers to them.

Perhaps we've been a little too smug; perhaps we've been a little too unwilling to even look at our own weaknesses. We may fool ourselves, fellow Americans, but we're not fooling anybody else. It's rather difficult to boast about the great ideals of American democracy to an African. And, let me tell you, if you come to the United Nations, my friends, you'll find that 2/3 of the delegates are colored -- 2/3 of the nations of the world. Oh, what an experience! And, they're brilliant -- they're leaders -- they're educated. They're searching, they're hoping and they're seeking and they're wanting American guidance. But, it's kind of hard to talk about our ideals only to have him read in our newspapers about a white Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, being beaten up for having the courage to escort colored students into an American school. Kind of difficult. It's rather difficult to boast about prosperity under our system of enterprise to a visiting official from Asia, only to have him ask why so many farmers are in such economic distress.

The fact that farm families are not sharing proportionately in the nation's general prosperity is -- and the fact that agriculture's position in general -- the general economic picture is growing worse, instead of being corrected. It is a weak link in democracy's armor, particularly when we're trying to advocate to other countries throughout the world that they ought to strengthen their agriculture, particularly when we are telling over a billion people in the world how to farm and how to redistribute their land and how to get agricultural prosperity, and then they see here in America our inability right here at home to see to it that American farm families share appropriately in the national income.

So you see, for that reason, I sort of welcome the chance to go over a lot of things that we've talked about before. And, I'm not going to bore you tonight with a rehearsal or a redress of all that we did in Congress. All I want to say is that we tried, and may I say that you've helped -- you've helped a great deal. For years, your annual meetings have been constructive forums, giving us advice and counsel. For the past three years, as was indicated -- this ~~year~~¹ is my fourth -- I've had a chance to participate in these forums. As I've said, I don't need to take your time tonight to tell you of my views ~~of~~ on all agricultural matters. Goodness, if you don't know

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

those views now, then it's hopeless for both yourself and myself, because I've burdened you with them before. I do want to say this, however, that the story of what transpired in Congress this past year in January, February and March, is a story that's been related to you in your official publications. It was another show-down effort in agriculture's long fight for equality, and I believe one of the most historic episodes in that fight. We developed, by the way, I predicted, if you will recall, a year ago, Bill. I predicted that Congress would pass a good farm bill. I predicted what we'd do. I predicted the 90% of parity for basic commodities. I predicted an expanded soil conservation program, and may I say that my prediction was true, insofar as Congress was concerned.

We did pass a good farm bill in Congress. It was rejected by the President upon the recommendation of his Secretary of Agriculture. Now, I'm not going to argue the merits and demerits of that particular decision. You know my position. But, I want you to know we didn't even give up after the veto. We went ahead and wrote a compromise bill. We tried to do something, and I think we did do some things that ~~were~~ were worthy in that compromise bill. However, my purpose tonight ~~was~~ is to emphasize your role in that economic struggle.

Oh, may I say that your role was good. Without the forceful mobilization of sentiment by the GTA, Midwest agriculture would have faced an even faster skid down hill. I want you to know that you put the brakes on the economic decline. Now, you didn't stop the decline, but you sure put the snow tires on the skiddy road, and you kept, at least, the economic picture of agriculture still on the highway and out of the ditch. Without your support, we never could have won many of the closely contested votes in Congress. And, from my vantage point, I think I've been a judge -- from my vantage point in Washington, I think I have been able to judge the effectiveness of spokesmen for agriculture, and I want you to know tonight that I'm very proud of your work, Jim Patton, as a spokesman for Farmers Union, and I want everybody in this audience to know how proud you should be of the brilliant, effective, articulate spokesman that you've had in Bill Thatcher, who has been able to come to Washington and has been able to speak effectively, persuasively and dramatically about the problems of American agriculture in the Midwest. We're deeply indebted to you. (Applause)

Now, let me just quickly pay compliment to you for that fact-finding study that you did out here, Bill. I remember when you brought the books down to us in Washington, presented that study of Midwest agriculture, family by family and county by county. I hope you'll do more of it. By the way, let me point out to any businessman that's listening in tonight. You talk about foreign markets for foreign goods, for American goods, and we're all the time looking for foreign markets -- well, I like foreign markets, too. But, I want to say to American industry that the greatest market you'll find in this world -- the greatest potential market if the purchasing power is

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

available in that market is the American farm family market -- billions of dollars! (Applause)

And that study -- the study/^{that}~~as~~ Bill Thatcher brought to Washington as he presented it revealed to us/~~revealed~~ this market in all of its magnitude. Oh, you cleared the air, Bill, of many myths and propaganda, and you laid a foundation right there in the Senate Committee on Agriculture as you testified for good legislative policy in the years to come.

Well, there's so much one could say. I just want to call upon you tonight not to lose heart. I want to call upon you to press forward. I want to call upon you to recognize that we're not just farmers -- that we're citizens, and that a good program must take in more than just agriculture. I want to call upon you tonight to be mindful of what happened in this last election. You've got a man that says he's Republican that is President of the United States -- a popular President, overwhelmingly elected. And, you've got a Democratic Congress. May I say that it's a very unusual set of circumstances with a man winning by over 10 million votes, and yet unable to carry the Congress. You see, the American people exercised their right to vote, and in so doing it, they proved two things. They elected a man they liked as President, and they elected another political party because of its program.

Now, my remarks are not intended to be partisan, but I think it would be tragically wrong, and indeed, dangerous, for either political party ~~to~~ to ignore or misinterpret the mandate of the people to Democrats and Republicans alike. That mandate makes it clear that initiative for the development of a new legislative program for the 85th Congress in Washington must be shared by both the President and the Democratic Party as the majority party in Congress. Both of them got a responsibility, and regardless of the overwhelming proportions of the President's victory, I think it should be noted that the biggest area of defection for the President and his party was out here in the Midwest in the nation's farm area. The shift of the farm vote away from the President, in traditionally Republican areas, like out in George McGovern's district in South Dakota, should at least encourage the executive branch to reappraise its farm policies, and to cooperate with the Congress, to cooperate in finding new answers and better answers to serious economic problems. Perhaps it's too much to hope for a complete reversal of the Administration's policies, particularly if Ezra Benson is retained as Secretary of Agriculture. I still don't like the man -- I want you to know that -- on the basis of his policies. (Applause) I don't dislike him personally. I just think he'd do better someplace else than in the Department of Agriculture. (Applause)

Can I just say this? I think it's fair that farm people should expect this administration -- a Republican President and a Democratic Congress -- to proceed toward agricultural legislative matters with an open mind. I think we farmers have a right to expect both the President and the Congress to get down to brass tacks and come on up with some programs that meet the present-day needs. Take, for example, there's a

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

lot that needs to be done, despite this divided authority. And, we're going to get some of it done. We need to reexamine the soil bank, after its first year of administration. This is a big law. It needs to be looked into to see whether it did its job. Did it cut back production? Was it well administered? Is it worth the money that we're paying? Those answers can only be determined after careful inquiry. We need to see what can be done on -- let me put it this way -- a piece-meal basis, commodity by commodity, to strengthen farm-income protection. If we can't get a total farm program, then we've got to get it product by product, commodity by commodity, topic by topic, until we build, like a mighty edifice or a building, a total farm program, brick by brick.

We shall certainly most want to take a careful new look at the corn program in light of the outcome of today's farm balloting. We can, and we should, further explore bolstering our feed markets, by shifting income protection efforts toward the finished product, such as offering premium incentives for marketing of lighter weight hogs and cattle. We must protect farmers' cooperatives from new attacks that would further undermine agriculture's bargaining power, and deprive farm people of an effective means of working together to help themselves.

Mr. Farmer, your cooperative is to you what a union is to a worker, and what a Chamber of commerce or a trade association is to a businessman. Let's get that straight right now. (Applause) And, if you let anybody weaken your cooperatives -- if you let anyone undermine your bargaining power, then you can expect the worst. You better learn how to stand together as you have in the past, and bargain only for that which you deserve, but bargain then, may I say, with determination and effectiveness, because that's the only way that you're going to get your fair share of the national product.

Now, we need to have tightened safeguards against unrestrained price-depressing market-dumping. And, may I say here tonight that I believe the Commodity Credit Corporation has been so anxious to get rid of its surpluses at times -- surpluses which it has accumulated under mismanagement all too often, that it has depressed the normal market, it has depressed the private market, it has depressed the money market -- that is, the market price, by its dumping.

Now, I suggest that the government be the last to depress markets. I suggest that the Government be as careful in its procedures as it's expecting G.T.A. to be, or the private grain trade itself. And, we must make it perfectly clear, fellow Americans, that any cheap feed philosophy can only lead to lowered-livestock income. Cheap feed makes for cheap cattle, and cheap feed and cheap cattle makes cheap farmers. That's what happens. (Applause) And..... (end of radio broadcast)

RADIO ANNOUNCER: You've just heard Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, speaking at a dinner in the St. Paul Municipal Auditorium, which is being attended by 5,000 or more

RADIO ANNOUNCER: (cont.)

delegates of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association. This has been a presentation of GTA, direct from its 19th Annual Meeting in St. Paul. This is GTA, the Co-op way.

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

.....and I hope that we'll keep that uppermost in our minds.

Now, may I say in passing that there's a lot that we could do with a food-stamp plan right here at home to improve diets, and so much more that we could do with food in underdeveloped areas. Recently, we're sending some 300 million dollars worth of food to India, to help her in her five-year industrial expansion program, and recent international developments bring, I think, a renewed attention to the importance of food being a blessing, rather than some people would have you, a curse; in a world of turmoil, food and fiber is an effective tool of peace, more effective and more powerful than guns, or even dollars. Our abundance offers us tremendous opportunities, if we'll only use those opportunities to prove our deep concern for human life, and for the well-being of people everywhere. Take, for example, what's going on right now. How better could we show the people of the world our concern for liberty-loving people? How better could we do it than showing concern for the freedom-fighters in Hungary, and the refugees from Hungary, than to offer quickly and effectively, food and fiber needed for their sustenance, and to offer it to any country that takes them in as refugees and provides for their care? (Applause) I think this should be done.

What I'm trying to say to you tonight is there are many paths open -- many new vistas, if we will but look and search for ways and means of improving our lot. The challenge that confronts us in agriculture, as I said earlier, confronts us all through our life, in all areas of America. We must prove that our country and its government is capable of meeting these challenges.

Ladies, and gentlemen, communism cannot be stopped by mere indignation against its abuses and outrages. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not enough to be just anti-communist. You also have to be pro-freedom, pro-democracy, pro-people, pro the good life. Too much of just the negativism. (Applause) Speeches against democracy -- speeches against communism will not save democracy. But the good deeds of democratic living, the expression of concern, God-like concern, compassion, compassionate concern for your fellow man, will do much to build our way of life. Communism can only be defeated by effectively proving that a free people, working under democratic institutions can better cope with their social and economic problems. Communism maintains that great social wrongs can be corrected only by revolution and violence. Democracy has proved, and democracy maintains that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

We must, therefore, constantly continue to exemplify that truth before the world. What I'm trying to say to you tonight is to accept the challenge. The totalitarian has

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

laid down the gauntlet, fellow Americans. They've said to you tonight, and they're saying to you every day, "This world is going to be in slavery, and you are going to be part of it."

The communist totalitarian has said to you that a free agriculture shall no longer be -- the communist totalitarian has said to you that no longer shall you worship your God as you choose. And, I say to you, fellow Americans, let's accept that challenge. Let's prove to them that we can win. Let's exemplify the spirit that is ours. Let's understand our democracy. Let's understand the spirit that motivates us, and let's accept the challenge wherever they lay it down before us, and defeat them by good deeds and good acts of good people.

I want to assure you, therefore, tonight, that our task is one now of working together, and this goes for Congress, too. I call tonight upon my friends in Congress, Democrats and Republicans, liberal Democrats and enlightened Republicans, to join together in a great, mighty coalition in this country for good work. The President has said that he is going to modernize his party. I accept him at his word. He has publicly stated that it needs to be improved, and he has called for a brand new -- ~~he~~ he has called for a new brand of modern Republicanism, accepting ~~xxx~~ each other in good faith, as Americans first, and partisans second. I say that we can and must work together, work together to hammer out a constructive, forward-looking program for all America.

Now, we urgently need this liberal coalition, ~~xx~~ in American public life today, with the courage to assert moral leadership for the common good, and the boldness to break with tradition with the past where necessary to achieve our goals. We need not look very far for issues, where the demand for action in the public's interest is foremost. Indeed, if that's all we're looking for, there's one that I can bring to your attention now, my fellow partisans, the plight of agriculture, but as farm families would be concerned, may I say that there are other plights and other difficulties. We must look toward eliminating discrimination of all kinds, whether economic, racial, religious or of national origin. There can be no second-class citizenship in a democracy. We must wipe out the inequities and the injustices of our immigration laws and our ~~fx~~ refugee laws, which, by the way, fellow Americans, hand-cuff us tonight, hand-cuff us as we try to reach out to help people who fight for their freedom.

We must improve our school facilities' program. Isn't it a crime that in America, the richest nation on the face of the earth, we're still without adequate schools for our children. We must prove that democracy has a heart by better programs for our aged and our handicapped. And, we must move ahead on medical research, and in assuring more adequate medical and hospital care and facilities, particularly in our rural areas -- very important to have that. We must see to it that adequate housing is available, in rural America, as well as in our cities, and to clean out these eroding, corroding, rotten

SENATOR HUMPHREY (cont.)

areas of our cities that make for crime and delinquency and disease. We must continuously expand, my friends, our economic horizons, and provide ample opportunity for independent business to keep alive the spirit of real competitive free enterprise. And, then we must protect the great heritage of our natural resources for the benefit of all of our people, conserving them against commercial exploitation that would rob these resources from the people for generations yet to come. And, by all means, and certainly not the least of our goals, ^{for} ~~where~~ America must be the preservation of the family-farm pattern of agriculture, which has been a bulwark of our freedom and of our prosperity in the generations that have preceded us. (Applause)

Certainly we, as a nation, cannot rightly take pride in supposed prosperity that ignores the plight of thousands of farm families.

Now, these are the basic fundamental goals that we must achieve. I have outlined to you tonight not a Democrat program and not a Republican program. I have outlined to you tonight what was the inspiring message of some 14 years ago in the program laid down by your manager, and my friend, Bill Thatcher. I have outlined for you the program of America's future, the promise of America, and what is that promise? That promise is an ever-expanding area of opportunity. It is the promise that little people can become big people. It is the promise that we shall have health, education, happiness and success within the democratic framework of our great social and political institutions. I say that it is an American program, and for these things we must do to make this American promise come true. I compliment the GTA on what you've done to make these promises come true. God bless you in your work, and don't you ~~xxx~~ waiver for one ~~xx~~ minute, even if the going seems to be tough.

What you're doing is building America ^{for} for the great role of leadership which this country must carry for generations yet to come.

I leave you now in the spirit of good will, and good cheer, as this is the Christmas season. You remember that message on the Hills of Galilee: I think you remember it so well. "Peace on earth; good will toward men." Let that ever be our prayer, and let it ever be our promise. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. THATCHER:

Thank you very much, Senator Humphrey. That was an inspiring address, great ideals. Thank you very much.

Before we conclude this part of the program, I should like to present to you the other half of this good team, Mrs. Humphrey. (Applause) And, another lady -- when I meet her, I ~~xx~~ call her the sweetheart of Minnesota, Mrs. Freeman. (Applause) All of us in the Farmers Union and our cooperatives have been working with you, our

Mr. Thatcher (cont.)

national president, Mr. Patton, We'll keep right on going the way we've been going.

(Applause)

I just want to thank you again, Senator Humphrey. (Applause)

If we had a few more like you in the Senate and the House, Senator Humphrey,

We'll now have some entertainment. (Applause)

FULFILLING AMERICA'S PROMISE

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT ANNUAL
MEETING OF FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION,
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, DECEMBER 11, 1956

IT'S ALWAYS GOOD TO BE BACK WITH THE GFA. IT IS
AN IMPRESSIVE HONOR -- TO BE INVITED TO ADDRESS THIS
INSPIRING GATHERING -- FOR THE FOURTH CONSECUTIVE YEAR.

I'M PROUD OF YOUR FRIENDSHIP -- AND TRUST -- FOR
YOU ARE THE FIRMLY IMBEDDED ROOTS -- UPON WHICH
DEMOCRACY DEPENDS TO SURVIVE.

DEMOCRACY NEEDS SUCH FIRM ROOTS TODAY -- TO
WITHSTAND CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME.

PERHAPS YOU UNDERESTIMATE YOUR OWN IMPORTANCE.

ALONE -- YOU MIGHT BE A VOICE CRYING IN THE
WILDERNESS -- IN THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE -- FOR HUMAN
JUSTICE AND EQUALITY.

TOGETHER -- YOUR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS EXEMPLIFY
DEMOCRACY IN ACTION -- AND HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT --
UPON THE ECONOMIC -- AND SOCIOLOGICAL -- TRENDS OF
OUR LIFETIME.

WE URGENTLY NEED YOUR EFFECTIVE VOICE -- YOUR
COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP -- YOUR BOLDNESS OF VISION.

WE NEED IT -- TO KEEP EVER-ALIVE -- OUR CONTINUING
STRUGGLE -- FOR GREATER FULFILLMENT -- OF AMERICA'S
PROMISE OF HUMAN JUSTICE AND EQUALITY.

WE NEED IT -- NOT FOR OUR OWN SAKE ALONE -- BUT
FOR THE SAKE OF ALL MANKIND.

PERHAPS -- YOU WILL PARDON ME -- TONIGHT -- IF
I AM INCLINED -- TO LOOK AT SOME OF OUR PRESSING DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS -- OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY -- IN THE LIGHT OF THE
CRITICAL SITUATION -- WHICH CONFRONTS OUR TROUBLED WORLD.

I HAVE JUST COME TO YOU -- FROM SITTING AS A UNITED STATES DELEGATE -- TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

I MUST RETURN TO THAT WORLD FORUM -- TOMORROW -- TO RENEW OUR EFFORTS -- TO PRESERVE PEACE WITH HONOR -- IN A WORLD SHAKEN BY UNREST -- AND TURMOIL -- AND OPEN REBELLION -- AGAINST OPPRESSION AND TYRANNY.

CRISES -- IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS -- MAY SEEM SOMEWHAT REMOTE -- TO THE IMMEDIATE URGENCY OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS -- CONFRONTING YOU AS FARMERS -- AND QUITE PROPERLY OCCUPYING YOUR ATTENTION -- AT THIS GREAT ANNUAL CONCLAVE.

YET -- THEY ARE NOT SO REMOTE. INDEED -- THEY ARE CLOSELY INTERRELATED.

ON THE WORLD FRONT -- WE ARE FACED WITH A STRUGGLE --
BETWEEN MORAL RIGHT -- AND MILITARY MIGHT.

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT -- WE ARE FACED WITH A
STRUGGLE -- BETWEEN HUMAN VALUES -- AND ECONOMIC MIGHT.

WE CAN HARDLY WIN ONE -- WHILE IGNORING THE OTHER.

NEITHER MILITARY MIGHT -- NOR ECONOMIC MIGHT --
ARE OF THEMSELVES NECESSARILY EVIL.

THEY BECOME SO -- ONLY WHEN USED WITHOUT RESTRAINT
TO EXPLOIT HUMAN RESOURCES -- WITHOUT REGARD FOR BASIC,
INHERENT MORAL RIGHTS -- OF HUMAN JUSTICE AND EQUALITY.

WHEN THAT HAPPENS -- EITHER CAN CREATE OPPRESSION
AND TYRANNY.

YET -- PROPERLY HARNESSSED -- AND USED FOR THE
BENEFIT OF MANKIND -- THESE SAME FORCES -- CAN CREATE
GOOD INSTEAD OF EVIL.

PROPERLY USED -- THEY CAN CONTRIBUTE -- TO
FULFILLMENT OF AMERICA'S PROMISE -- OF OPPORTUNITY --
EQUALITY -- AND SECURITY -- NOT FOR US ALONE -- BUT FOR
THE WORLD ABOUT US.

OUR SUCCESS OR FAILURE -- IN CONTROLLING THESE
FORCES -- WILL BE MEASURED BY -- OUR WILLINGNESS TO KEEP
UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS -- CONCERN ABOUT OUR FELLOW MAN --
AT HOME OR ABROAD.

WE MUST REALLY CARE ABOUT PEOPLE. WE MUST VALUE
HUMAN RESOURCES ABOVE MATERIAL WEALTH. WE MUST -- AT
ALL TIMES -- SEEK JUSTICE -- RATHER THAN SELFISH
ADVANTAGE.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBLE STANDARD. WE MUST ACHIEVE FULFILLMENT OF AMERICA'S PROMISE -- AT HOME -- TO EFFECTIVELY OFFER IT -- AS A SYMBOL OF HOPE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

THIS SAME PARALLEL WAS DRAWN -- AND THESE SAME THOUGHTS WERE EFFECTIVELY -- AND DRAMATICALLY -- EXPRESSED -- IN A SIGNIFICANT ADDRESS -- FOURTEEN YEARS AGO -- IN ANOTHER TIME OF CRISIS -- WHEN OUR COUNTRY WAS FIGHTING A WAR -- TO SAVE FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION -- AS WE KNOW IT.

IT WAS ENTITLED -- APPROPRIATELY ENOUGH -- "THE AMERICAN PROMISE."

IT WAS AN ADDRESS BY ONE OF THE ALL-TIME GREAT VOICES -- IN THE CONTINUING CRUSADE -- FOR HUMAN JUSTICE -- AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY -- IN RURAL AMERICA --

A POWERFUL VOICE FOR THE REAL MEANING OF DEMOCRACY THEN --
AND A POWERFUL VOICE -- FOR THE REAL MEANING OF DEMOCRACY
TODAY.

IT WAS AN ADDRESS -- BY YOUR OWN GENERAL MANAGER
OF GTA -- MY FRIEND AND YOURS -- M. W. -- "BILL" --
THATCHER.

PROPHETICALLY -- THAT ADDRESS -- LOOKED BEYOND
WINNING THE WAR -- TO WINNING THE PEACE THAT MUST COME --
AND CHARTED A COURSE -- FOR FULFILLMENT OF THE AMERICAN
PROMISE -- THAT COULD STILL PROVIDE USEFUL GUIDEPOSTS
TODAY.

I HOPE THAT ADDRESS CAN BE BROUGHT OUT OF THE
ARCHIVES -- BILL -- AND BE REDISTRIBUTED.

WE NEED ITS MESSAGE -- TODAY -- TO EMPHASIZE THE
CONTINUING NATURE -- OF MANKIND'S STRUGGLE FOR PROGRESS --

AND THE NECESSITY -- OF KEEPING OUR SIGHTS FIRM -- ON JUST AND HONORABLE GOALS -- WHATEVER PROBLEMS WE MAY ENCOUNTER.

DEMOCRACY IS STILL ON TRIAL -- IN THE COURT OF WORLD OPINION. ALL MANKIND IS THE JURY.

WHAT WE DO -- TO PROVE ITS EFFECTIVENESS -- MAY DETERMINE OUR FATE -- AND THE FATE OF ALL FREEDOM IN THE WORLD -- FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

WHAT WE FAIL TO DO -- TO PROVE DEMOCRACY IS BEST FOR THE LEAST OF US -- MAY INFLUENCE THE FATE OF ALL OF US.

IF WE ARE TO INSPIRE HOPE -- IN AREAS OF THE WORLD GRASPING FOR HOPE -- IF WE ARE TO FULFILL OUR DESTINY OF MORAL LEADERSHIP -- IN A WORLD SADLY NEEDING SUCH LEADERSHIP -- THEN WE MUST FIRST KEEP FAITH WITH OUR OWN PEOPLE -- AND MAKE SURE DEMOCRACY WORKS FOR ALL.

ALL THE WEALTH OF AMERICA -- ALL OF OUR SKYSCRAPERS
IN WALL STREET -- ALL OF OUR FANCY KITCHEN GADGETS --
AND FINE AUTOMOBILES -- ARE NOT ENOUGH TO CONVINCE THE
AWAKENING PEOPLES -- OF MANY UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS OF THE
WORLD -- THAT DEMOCRACY OFFERS THEM THE SAME HOPE
AND PROMISE.

THEY KNOW WE ARE A WEALTHY LAND; THEY ARE MORE
INTERESTED -- IN KNOWING HOW WE SHARE THAT WEALTH --
AMONG OUR PEOPLE.

THEY KNOW WE -- AS A COUNTRY -- ARE RICH IN
RESOURCES -- MATERIAL POSSESSIONS -- AND "KNOW-HOW."

BUT -- THEY ARE MORE INTERESTED -- IN KNOWING OUR
ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE -- ABOUT THE CONCERN WE HAVE
FOR HUMAN VALUES.

THEY ARE MORE INTERESTED -- IN KNOWING HOW FARM
FAMILIES ARE DOING -- OUT IN THE MIDWEST -- THAN IN
KNOWING HOW STOCKBROKERS ARE DOING -- ON WALL STREET.

THAT'S UNDERSTANDABLE -- BECAUSE MORE OF THEM
ARE FARM FAMILIES.

THEY ARE MORE INTERESTED -- IN KNOWING HOW WORKERS
IN OUR FACTORIES -- AND OUR CITIES -- ARE DOING --
THAN IN KNOWING HOW MUCH PROFIT OUR CORPORATIONS ARE
MAKING.

THAT'S UNDERSTANDABLE -- TOO -- BECAUSE MORE OF
THEM MUST TOIL -- FOR EXISTANCE -- THAN CAN EVER HOPE
TO LIVE OFF THE TOIL OF OTHERS.

WHATEVER WE DO -- TO MAKE DEMOCRACY MORE EFFECTIVE
AT HOME -- STRENGTHENS OUR HAND ABROAD -- IN SEEKING
TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD OF BROTHERHOOD -- AND PEACE.

WHATEVER WE DO -- TO PROVE DEMOCRACY OFFERS
ADEQUATE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY -- FOR ALL OF OUR OWN
PEOPLE -- IS MORE EFFECTIVE IN COMBATTING THE INSIDUOUS
INROADS -- OF COMMUNISM -- THAN ALL THE SHOUTING -- FROM
THE HOUSE-TOPS -- COULD EVER HOPE TO ACHIEVE.

PERHAPS WE HAVE BEEN TOO SMUG -- ABOUT DEMOCRACY'S
ACHIEVEMENTS -- AND TOO UNWILLING TO LOOK AT OUR OWN
WEAKNESSES -- AND SHORTCOMINGS.

WE MIGHT FOOL OURSELVES -- BUT WE'RE NOT FOOLING
OTHERS.

IT'S RATHER DIFFICULT -- TO BOAST ABOUT THE
GREAT IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY -- TO AN AFRICAN -- ONLY TO
HAVE HIM READ -- IN OUR NEWSPAPERS -- ABOUT A WHITE MINISTER
BEING BEATEN UP -- FOR ESCORTING COLORED STUDENTS --
TO AN AMERICAN SCHOOL.

IT'S RATHER DIFFICULT -- TO BOAST ABOUT THE PROSPERITY UNDER OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM -- TO A VISITING OFFICIAL FROM INDIA -- ONLY TO HAVE HIM ASK WHY SO MANY FARMERS ARE GOING BROKE -- OUT HERE IN THE MIDWEST.

WE BETTER START PRACTICING WHAT WE PREACH -- IF WE EXPECT TO ASSERT MORAL LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD.

WE BETTER MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK FOR ALL -- IF WE EXPECT IT TO SURVIVE -- IN A RESTLESS WORLD -- WHERE MANY -- FACING HARDSHIP -- ARE NO LONGER COMPLACENT -- TO WATCH A PRIVILEGED FEW ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF PLENTY.

THAT'S WHY AGRICULTURE'S PROBLEMS ARE NOT YOURS ALONE.

THE FACT THAT FARM FAMILIES ARE NOT SHARING PROPORTIONATELY -- IN THE NATION'S GENERAL PROSPERITY -- THE FACT THAT THE ECONOMIC IMBALANCE -- OF AGRICULTURE -- CONTRASTED TO OTHER SEGMENTS -- OF OUR ECONOMY -- IS CONTINUING TO GROW WORSE -- INSTEAD OF BEING CORRECTED -- IS A WEAK LINK IN DEMOCRACY'S ARMOR -- THAT SHOULD BE EVERYONE'S CONCERN.

FOR THAT REASON -- I WELCOME THIS CHANCE -- TONIGHT-- TO LOOK BACK BRIEFLY -- OVER WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO -- TOWARD WIPING OUT THAT IMBALANCE -- TO APPRAISE OUR SUCCESSES AND FAILURES TOGETHER -- AND PERHAPS TO RE-SET OUR SIGHTS ON THE TASKS STILL AHEAD.

WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGED -- FOR YEARS -- IN A PERIOD OF GREAT NATIONAL DEBATE -- ON FARM POLICY.

THE END IS NOT YET IN SIGHT.

YET -- WE WOULD BE WRONG TODAY -- IN RECKONING
OUR SUCCESS OR FAILURE -- BY THE CURRENT ECONOMIC
SITUATION IN AGRICULTURE -- ALONE -- WITHOUT CONSIDERING
ALSO WHERE WE MIGHT BE -- HAD WE NEVER MADE THE FIGHT.

BY THE VERY INTENSITY OF THAT NATIONAL DEBATE --
WE HAVE EMPHASIZED -- AND UNDERLINED -- THE VITAL
ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE.

WE HAVE NOT RESOLVED ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS -- BUT
WE HAVE INCREASED THE PUBLIC'S AWARENESS -- THAT ALL
HAVE A STAKE IN THEM BEING RESOLVED.

WE HAVE EXERCISED OUR RIGHT -- IN A DEMOCRACY --
TO DISSENT AND DEBATE -- AND HAVE BOLSTERED DEMOCRACY
IN THE PROCESS -- BY MAKING MORE PEOPLE AWARE THAT
EVERY VOICE COUNTED.

FOR YEARS -- YOUR ANNUAL MEETINGS HAVE BEEN
CONSTRUCTIVE FORUMS -- FOR CRYSTALIZING VIEWS OF MIDWEST
AGRICULTURE -- AND MAKING THOSE VIEWS FELT -- IN
POLICY-MAKING FUNCTIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT -- BOTH
EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE.

FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS -- I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED
TO BE A PARTICIPANT -- IN THIS DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF
EXCHANGING VIEWS.

TOGETHER -- WE HAVE SOUGHT A COMMON GROUND -- FOR
MAKING BETTER PROGRESS TOWARD OUR ACCEPTED MUTUAL GOAL --
OF PARITY OF INCOME FOR OUR FARM FAMILIES.

ONCE AGAIN -- THAT IS OUR PURPOSE.

I NEED NOT OCCUPY YOUR TIME -- OR MINE -- RECOUNTING
STATISTICS -- TO EMPHASIZE WHAT YOUR OWN POCKETBOOKS
AND BANK ACCOUNTS TELL YOU BEST.

I DO NOT FEEL IT IS NECESSARY -- TO FURTHER
DOCUMENT TRENDS AND EVENTS -- OF THE PAST THREE YEARS --
TO JUSTIFY WHAT I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH YOU -- IN YEARS
GONE BY.

THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES -- AND IT SERVES NO
CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSE -- TO INDULGE MYSELF IN A FEW
"I TOLD YOU SO'S."

NEITHER DO I FEEL IT NECESSARY -- TO RECOUNT MY
OWN EFFORTS IN YOUR BEHALF -- OVER THAT SPAN OF YEARS.

BY NOW -- I'M QUITE SURE -- MOST OF YOU ARE
FAMILIAR WITH MY CONVICTIONS ABOUT AGRICULTURE -- AND
THE EFFORT I HAVE PUT FORTH -- TO EXEMPLIFY THEM.

I SHALL LEAVE IT TO YOU -- TO JUDGE MY STEWARDSHIP
OF THE TRUST YOU HAVE BESTOWED UPON ME.

YOU KNOW THE STORY OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING
JANUARY -- FEBRUARY -- AND MARCH OF 1956.

IT WAS ANOTHER SHOW-DOWN EFFORT -- IN AGRICULTURE'S
LONG FIGHT FOR EQUALITY -- AND I BELIEVE ONE OF THE
MOST HISTORIC EPISODES -- IN THAT LONG STRUGGLE.

WE DEVELOPED -- AND ENACTED -- A GOOD FARM BILL --
IN THE FACE OF MANY OBSTACLES.

IT WAS REJECTED BY THE PRESIDENT -- UPON THE
RECOMMENDATION OF SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE BENSON.

THAT WAS THEIR RIGHT -- AND IT IS THEIR
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES.

WE DIDN'T GIVE UP. WE DID THE NEXT BEST THING WE
COULD DO -- WE ENACTED A NEW COMPROMISE BILL THEY
WOULD ACCEPT.

WITH ALL ITS WEAKNESSES -- AND OMISSIONS -- IT
WAS BETTER THAN NOTHING FOR YOU.

OUR FIGHT -- YOUR FIGHT -- WASN'T ENTIRELY IN VAIN.
WITHOUT THE EFFORT -- PUT FORTH TO DRAMATIZE THE
SERIOUSNESS OF AGRICULTURE'S PLIGHT -- AND EXPOSE MANY
OF THE PROPAGANDA MYTHS -- SURROUNDING IT -- YOU
WOULD BE EVEN WORSE OFF TODAY.

HOWEVER -- MY PURPOSE TONIGHT -- IS TO EMPHASIZE
YOUR ROLE IN THIS ECONOMIC STRUGGLE -- NOT MY OWN.

THROUGHOUT THE PAST THREE YEARS -- MIDWEST
AGRICULTURE HAS MADE ITS VOICE -- AND INFLUENCE --
EFFECTIVELY HEARD AND FELT -- IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS
OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

AND -- NO FORCE HAS BEEN GREATER IN MOBILIZING --
AND EFFECTIVELY PRESENTING -- THE VOICE OF MIDWEST
AGRICULTURE -- THAN YOUR FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL
ASSOCIATION.

WITHOUT THE PERSISTENCE -- AND ALERTNESS -- OF
YOUR ABLE LEADERSHIP -- FAR LESS HEED WOULD HAVE BEEN
PAID TO YOUR ECONOMIC TROUBLES.

WITHOUT THE FORCEFUL MOBILIZATION OF SENTIMENT
BY THE GTA -- MIDWEST AGRICULTURE WOULD HAVE BEEN FACED
WITH AN EVEN FASTER SKID -- DOWN THE ECONOMIC LADDER.

WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT -- WE COULD NEVER HAVE WON
MANY OF OUR CLOSELY-CONTESTED FARM VOTES IN THE SENATE --
NOR EMERGED WITH THE FEW GAINS -- WE WERE ABLE TO
RETAIN -- AFTER VETOING OF THE FARM BILL -- WE WORKED
FOR TOGETHER.

FROM MY VANTAGE POINT IN WASHINGTON -- I HAVE HAD
AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO JUDGE THE EFFECTIVENESS -- OR
LACK OF EFFECTIVENESS -- OF SPOKESMEN FOR AMERICAN
AGRICULTURE.

AND -- I WANT YOU TO KNOW --TONIGHT -- THAT NO
WITNESS BEFORE US -- HAS EARNED MORE RESPECT -- NOR
CARRIED MORE WEIGHT AND INFLUENCE -- THAN YOUR
BILL THATCHER -- AND NO ORGANIZATION HAS MORE CAPABLY --
AND DRAMATICALLY PRESENTED ITS CASE -- THAN HAS YOUR GTA.

WHETHER THEY AGREE -- OR DISAGREE -- WITH HIS
VIEWS -- NO ONE IN OR OUT OF CONGRESS -- CAN SUCCESSFULLY
CHALLENGE THE SINCERITY -- OF BILL THATCHER'S
CONVICTIONS -- NOR HIS DEDICATION TO HIS PURPOSE -- OF
SERVING YOU AND OTHER FAMILY FARMERS OF AMERICA.

IN MY OPINION -- NO MAN COULD HAVE MORE EFFECTIVELY
CARRIED FORWARD -- THE CONTINUING UPHILL FIGHT -- IN
YOUR BEHALF -- THAN BILL THATCHER HAS DONE -- AND IS
STILL DOING -- WITH AN AMAZING VIGOR THAT BELIES
HIS YEARS.

TOGETHER WITH JIM PATTON -- OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION -- HIS GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL -- HAVE MADE A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION -- TOWARD SOUND LIBERAL PROGRESS FOR OUR DEMOCRACY.

WHILE DOWN THROUGH THE YEARS -- BILL THATCHER AND THE GTA HAVE MADE MANY ABLE -- AND EFFECTIVE -- PRESENTATIONS TO THE CONGRESS -- I'M CONVINCED NONE WAS MORE SUCCESSFUL -- MORE TIMELY -- NOR MORE CONVINCING -- THAN THE GTA FAMILY FARM SURVEY LAID BEFORE CONGRESS THIS YEAR -- JUST AT THE CRITICAL HOUR WE WERE CONFRONTED -- WITH SERIOUS DECISIONS -- CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF EVERY AMERICAN FARMER.

I WANT TO COMMEND ALL OF YOU TONIGHT -- OFFICERS AND MEMBERS ALIKE -- FOR THE VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION -- OF THAT FACT-FINDING STUDY.

IT PROVIDED THE EVIDENCE WE NEEDED -- TO CARRY
FORWARD YOUR OBJECTIVES.

IT'S FINDINGS COULD NOT BE REFUTED.

IT CLEARED THE AIR OF MYTHS -- AND PROPAGANDA --
AND LAID A FIRM FOUNDATION OF FACT -- UPON WHICH WE
COULD BASE OUR APPEAL -- FOR MORE JUST TREATMENT OF FARM
FAMILIES IN OUR ECONOMY.

I COULD NOT PASS THIS OPPORTUNITY -- TONIGHT --
TO PAY THE DESERVED TRIBUTES -- I HAVE VOICED TO YOUR
ORGANIZATION AND ITS LEADERSHIP -- FOR ITS EFFECTIVE
SERVICE TO ALL AGRICULTURE.

YET -- I DO SO -- FOR A MORE SERIOUS PURPOSE THAN
MERE COMPLIMENT -- OR JUST RECOGNITION -- WHERE
RECOGNITION IS DUE.

I HAVE TRIED TO EMPHASIZE -- THE INFLUENCE YOU
WIELD -- BECAUSE I RECOGNIZE IT AS A FORCE FOR GOOD --
A FORCE FOR PROGRESS -- A FORCE FOR MAKING DEMOCRACY
WORK -- AND -- ABOVE ALL -- A FORCE THAT MUST NOT
BE STILLED -- NOR ALLOWED TO WITHER AND DIE.

THIS IS NO TIME FOR RETREAT. NEITHER IS IT A
TIME TO PERMIT OURSELVES -- TO BE DIVERTED INTO ONLY
RE-ARGUING THE PAST.

HOWEVER GREAT THE CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS -- IT IS
A TIME TO KEEP MOVING AHEAD.

WITH OUR EYES HOLDING STEADY -- TO OUR GOALS OF
JUSTICE AND EQUALITY -- FOR FARM FAMILIES -- WE MUST
CONTINUE SEEKING AND EMBRACING MORE WAYS -- OF ACHIEVING
THOSE GOALS.

I CALL UPON YOU -- TONIGHT -- TO PRESS FORWARD --
WITH RENEWED FAITH -- AND RENEWED VIGOR -- TOWARD
THE FULFILLMENT OF AMERICA'S PROMISE -- FOR FARM PEOPLE --
AS WELL AS FOR ALL PEOPLE.

BECAUSE THEY ARE RIGHT AND JUST -- OUR GOALS NEED
NOT BE CHANGED -- NOR OUR SIGHTS LOWERED.

THE UNDERLYING CONCEPT OF PARITY INCOME -- FOR
AMERICA'S FARM FAMILIES -- OF EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY -- OF THE RIGHT TO SHARE FULLY AND FAIRLY IN
OUR NATION'S PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY -- THAT CONCEPT
MUST BECOME AN ACCEPTED FACT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

WE MUST REFUSE TO RETREAT FROM THAT COMMON
OBJECTIVE. WITHOUT IT -- WE FACE AN UNFAIR -- AND UNJUST
DOUBLE STANDARD -- WITHIN OUR DEMOCRACY -- THAT DENIES
THE SAME FULFILLMENT OF AMERICA'S PROMISE TO ALL.

WE CAN -- AND MUST -- MOVE TOGETHER -- TOWARD OUR GOALS BY EVERY MEANS AT OUR COMMAND -- STRENGTHENING AGRICULTURE'S BARGAINING POWER -- UNTIL IT CAN COMPETE WITH FULL EQUALITY -- IN AN EXPANDING ECONOMY.

IF WE FIND SOME PATHS TO OUR GOALS BLOCKED -- OUR CHALLENGE IS TO FIND NEW PATHS -- AND MORE OF THEM -- BRINGING US TO THE SAME END OBJECTIVES.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- HAVE RECENTLY EXERCISED THEIR RIGHT -- UNDER A DEMOCRACY -- TO SELECT THE PEOPLE OF THEIR CHOICE -- TO LEAD THEM FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

BY THE FREE CHOICE OF A DEMOCRACY -- THEY HAVE CHOSEN A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT -- YET GIVEN A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN CONGRESS.

IN RETURNING A POPULAR PRESIDENT TO OFFICE -- THEY HAVE REFUSED -- FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER A HUNDRED YEARS -- TO RETURN HIS UNPOPULAR PARTY TO OFFICE WITH HIM.

PRESUMABLY -- THEY DID SO -- BECAUSE THEY LIKED HIS PERSONALITY -- BUT PREFERRED OUR PROGRAMS.

MY REMARKS ARE NOT INTENDED TO BE PARTISAN. WE SIMPLY MUST LOOK -- REALISTICALLY -- AT WHERE WE STAND TODAY -- AND WHAT THE ELECTION SHOULD MEAN TO US.

IT WOULD BE TRAGICALLY WRONG -- AND DANGEROUS -- FOR EITHER PARTY NOW -- TO IGNORE OR MISINTERPRET -- THE MANDATE OF THE PEOPLE -- TO DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ALIKE.

THAT MANDATE MAKES CLEAR THAT INITIATIVE -- FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW AND EFFECTIVE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM -- FOR THE 85TH CONGRESS -- MUST BE SHARED BETWEEN THE

DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- AND THE PRESIDENT -- AND EACH MUST
ACCEPT THE SOBER RESPONSIBILITY -- OF MEASURING UP SUCH
A PROGRAM -- AGAINST THE CRITERIA -- OF PROVING TO
THE WORLD -- THAT DEMOCRACY WORKS FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE --
FOR FARMER AND CITY MAN ALIKE -- FOR YOUNG AND OLD -- FOR
RICH AND FOR POOR.

REGARDLESS OF THE OVERWHELMING PROPORTIONS -- OF
THE PRESIDENT'S VICTORY -- IT WOULD BE A SAD MISTAKE --
FOR EITHER THE PRESIDENT -- OR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY --
TO ACCEPT THAT VOTE -- AS A SIMULTANEOUS STAMP OF
APPROVAL -- FOR HIS AGRICULTURAL POLICIES -- OF THE PAST
TERM.

MOST OBJECTIVE OBSERVERS -- WITHOUT PARTISAN BIAS --
AGREE THAT THE BIGGEST DEFECTION -- FROM PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER -- WAS IN THE NATION'S FARM AREAS.

THE SHIFT OF FARM VOTE -- AWAY FROM THE PRESIDENT --
IN TRADITIONALLY REPUBLICAN AREAS -- SHOULD AT LEAST
ENCOURAGE -- THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH -- TO REAPPRAISE ITS
FARM POLICIES -- AND TO COOPERATE WITH THE CONGRESS --
TOWARD DEVELOPING NEW AND BETTER ANSWERS -- TO THE
SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS -- THAT CONTINUE TO PLAGUE
FARM FAMILIES.

PERHAPS -- IT IS TOO MUCH TO HOPE -- FOR A COMPLETE
REVERSAL OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES -- PARTICULARLY
IF EZRA TAFT BENSON IS RETAINED -- AS SECRETARY OF
AGRICULTURE.

BUT -- FARM PEOPLE AT LEAST HAVE THE RIGHT TO
EXPECT -- AND TO INSIST UPON -- OPEN MINDS -- AND FAIR
CONSIDERATION -- BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF FURTHER
IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR FARM PROGRAM -- REGARDLESS OF WHETHER
THEY ARE OF DEMOCRATIC -- OR REPUBLICAN -- ORIGIN.

THERE IS MUCH THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE -- AND MUCH THAT CAN BE DONE -- DESPITE THE DIVIDED AUTHORITY -- IN WASHINGTON.

WE NEED TO RE-EXAMINE THE SOIL BANK -- AFTER ITS FIRST YEAR IN OPERATION -- TO SEE WHERE EITHER THE LAW ITSELF -- OR ADMINISTRATION OF IT -- NEEDS TO BE CORRECTED AND STRENGTHENED.

WE NEED TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE PIECE-MEAL -- COMMODITY BY COMMODITY -- TO STRENGTHEN FARM INCOME PROTECTION -- IF WE CANNOT ACHIEVE IT BY OVER-ALL REVISION -- OF OUR BASIC FARM LEGISLATION.

WE SHALL -- MOST CERTAINLY -- TAKE A CAREFUL NEW LOOK -- AT OUR CORN PROGRAM -- IN THE LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME OF TODAY'S FARMER-BALLOTING.

WE CAN -- AND SHOULD -- EXPLORE FURTHER BOLSTERING
OF FEED MARKETS -- BY SHIFTING INCOME PROTECTION EFFORTS --
TOWARD END PRODUCTS -- USING SUCH FEED -- SUCH AS OFFERING
PREMIUM INCENTIVES -- FOR MARKETING OF LIGHTER-WEIGHT
HOGS.

WE MUST -- AT ALL COST -- PROTECT FARMERS'
COOPERATIVES -- FROM NEW ATTACKS -- THAT WOULD FURTHER
UNDERMINE AGRICULTURE'S BARGAINING POWER -- AND DEPRIVE
FARM PEOPLE OF AN EFFECTIVE MEANS -- OF WORKING TOGETHER --
TO HELP THEMSELVES.

WE MAY NEED TIGHTENED SAFEGUARDS -- AGAINST
UNRESTRAINED AND PRICE-DEPRESSING DUMPING -- OF
GOVERNMENT-HELD STOCKS OF FEED GRAINS -- IN THE DOMESTIC
MARKETS -- UNDER THE MISNOMER OF GETTING RID OF THE
SURPLUS.

WE MUST MAKE CLEAR -- THAT ANY CHEAP FEED
PHILOSOPHY -- CAN ONLY LEAD TO LOWERED LIVESTOCK INCOME --
ADDING TO THE VICIOUS DOWNWARD SQUEEZE -- ON ALL FARM
INCOME.

WE MUST SEEK WAYS -- TO INCREASE CONSUMPTION --
INSTEAD OF JUST DISPLACING EXISTING SALES -- BY
GOVERNMENT DOMINATION OF MARKETS.

WE HAVE SUCH OPPORTUNITIES -- AT HOME AND ABROAD --
BOTH THROUGH A DOMESTIC FOOD-STAMP PLAN -- TO IMPROVE
DIETARY STANDARDS -- OF OUR OWN UNDERPRIVILEGED
PEOPLE -- AND THROUGH USE OF FOOD -- TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT -- IN UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS -- OF THE WORLD.

MAY I SAY IN PASSING -- THAT RECENT INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENTS -- SHOULD GIVE CAUSE FOR PAUSE AND
RECONSIDERATION -- AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE DEPLORED OUR

ABUNDANCE AS A CURSE -- INSTEAD OF A BLESSING.

IN A WORLD OF TURMOIL -- FOOD AND FIBER CAN BE A MORE EFFECTIVE WEAPON OF PEACE -- THAN GUNS OR DOLLARS.

OUR ABUNDANCE OFFERS US TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES -- TO PROVE DEMOCRACY'S HUMANITARIAN INTENT -- AND OUR CONCERN -- FOR THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

FOR EXAMPLE -- HOW BETTER COULD WE SHOW OUR DEEP CONCERN -- FOR THE PLIGHT OF COURAGEOUS FREEDOM-FIGHTERS ESCAPING FROM HUNGARY -- THAN TO OFFER QUICKLY -- TO PROVIDE THE FOOD AND FIBER NEEDED FOR THEIR SUSTENANCE -- TO ANY COUNTRY OFFERING THEM SAFE HAVEN?

IT IS NOT MY INTENT -- TONIGHT -- TO TRY AND SPELL OUT ALL THE WAYS WE MIGHT MOVE FORWARD -- TOWARD OUR GOAL OF PARITY FOR FAMILY FARM INCOME.

I ONLY WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THERE ARE STILL
MANY PATHS OPEN -- AND MAKE CLEAR THE URGENCY OF
EXPLORING THEM ALL.

TO YOU -- THAT URGENCY -- ABOVE ALL ELSE -- IS
PROTECTING YOUR OWN LIVELIHOOD -- AND PROVIDING MORE
ADEQUATELY -- FOR THE NEEDS OF YOUR FAMILIES.

BUT -- TO ALL AMERICA -- THAT URGENCY IS
STRENGTHENING OF OUR DEMOCRACY -- AND PROVING IT WORKS
FOR ALL.

IN THAT RESPECT -- THE CHALLENGE THAT CONFRONTS
US -- IN AGRICULTURE -- ALSO CONFRONTS US IN OTHER
ASPECTS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

WE MUST PROVE DEMOCRACY CAN PROVIDE THE ANSWER --
TO ALL SUCH CHALLENGES.

COMMUNISM CANNOT BE WIPED OUT -- BY MERE
INDIGNATION AGAINST ITS ABUSES -- AND OUTRAGES.

IT CAN ONLY BE CRUSHED -- BY EFFECTIVELY PROVING
A FREE PEOPLE -- UNDER A DEMOCRACY -- CAN BETTER COPE
WITH THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS -- AND CAN BETTER
TRANSLATE INTO REALITY -- THE HOPES -- AND ASPIRATIONS --
OF ALL PEOPLE FOR A BETTER LIFE.

COMMUNISM MAINTAINS -- THAT SOCIAL WRONGS CAN BE
CORRECTED -- ONLY BY VIOLENCE.

DEMOCRACY HAS PROVED -- THAT SOCIAL JUSTICE --
CAN BE ACHIEVED -- THROUGH PEACEFUL CHANGE -- AND WE MUST
CONSTANTLY CONTINUE -- TO EXEMPLIFY THAT PROOF BEFORE
THE WORLD.

WE CAN'T DO IT BY TIMIDITY -- OR COMPLACENCY -- OR
SELF-SATISFACTION WITH THE STATUS QUO -- AS ALWAYS
BEING "GOOD ENOUGH."

WE CAN DO IT ONLY BE RECAPTURING THE BOLDNESS --
AND ZEAL -- OF OUR FOREFATHERS -- AND MOVING
AGGRESSIVELY FORWARD -- ON AN ENLIGHTENED -- LIBERAL
PROGRAM -- OF NEW SOCIAL GAINS -- NEW PROGRESS -- NEW
OPPORTUNITY -- NEW GOALS THAT STIR THE IMAGINATIONS AND
HOPES OF ALL PEOPLE -- EVERYWHERE.

THAT'S THE CHALLENGE WE FACE -- AS WE APPROACH A
NEW SESSION OF CONGRESS -- WITH DIVIDED LEADERSHIP
BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE -- AND LEGISLATIVE -- BRANCHES OF
OUR GOVERNMENT.

YET -- THAT DIVISION NEED NOT DISCOURAGE US -- FOR
THAT CHALLENGE EXISTS FOR REPUBLICANS -- AS WELL AS
DEMOCRATS -- AND THE URGENCY FOR BOLD ANSWERS -- MUST
RISE ABOVE ALL PARTISANSHIP -- FOR THE SAKE OF OUR OWN
COUNTRY -- AND THE SAKE OF THE WORLD.

I WANT TO ASSURE YOU TONIGHT -- THAT MANY OF US
IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- AND PROUD TO BE DEMOCRATS --
STAND READY TO WORK -- SHOULDER TO SHOULDER -- WITH
ENLIGHTENED REPUBLICANS -- TO ACHIEVE THE PROGRESS
AMERICA SO URGENTLY NEEDS -- AND TO MAKE THE DREAM OF
DEMOCRACY'S FULFILLMENT -- COME TRUE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

OUR PRESIDENT -- HAS PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED THE NEED
FOR REDIRECTION -- OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- FROM SOME
OF ITS PATHS OF THE PAST.

HE HAS CALLED FOR A NEW BRAND OF "MODERN
REPUBLICANISM."

ACCEPTING EACH OTHER IN GOOD FAITH -- AS AMERICANS
FIRST AND PARTISANS SECOND -- THERE IS NO REASON THERE
CANNOT BE ENOUGH AMONGST US -- WHO SHARE LIBERAL
CONVICTIONS -- DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN -- TO WORK TOGETHER --

TOWARD HAMMERING OUT A CONSTRUCTIVE -- FORWARD-LOOKING
PROGRAM OF PROGRESS -- FOR ALL AMERICA.

WE URGENTLY NEED SUCH A LIBERAL COALITION -- IN
AMERICAN PUBLIC LIFE TODAY -- WITH THE COURAGE TO
ASSERT LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD -- AND THE
BOLDNESS TO BREAK TRADITION -- OR TIES -- WITH THE PAST --
WHERE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE OUR COMMON GOALS.

WE NEED NOT LOOK FAR -- FOR ISSUES -- WHERE THE
DEMAND FOR ACTION -- IN THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST -- IS FAR
MORE URGENT -- THAN MERE PARTISANSHIP OR POLITICAL
ADVANTAGE.

THE PLIGHT OF AGRICULTURE IS BUT ONE OF SUCH
CHALLENGES.

AS FARM FAMILIES -- WITH DEEP CONCERN FOR AMERICA --
YOU ALSO HAVE A VITAL STAKE IN ALL THE REST.

WE MUST -- AT LONG LAST -- MOVE AGGRESSIVELY --
TOWARD ELIMINATING DISCRIMINATION OF ALL KINDS --
WHETHER ECONOMIC -- OR BECAUSE OF RACE -- COLOR -- OR
CREED.

THERE CAN BE NO SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP IN A
DEMOCRACY.

WE MUST WIPE OUT THE INEQUITIES -- AND INJUSTICES --
OF OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS -- THAT BELIE THE HUMANITARIAN
SPIRIT OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

WE MUST IMPROVE OUR REFUGEE RELIEF LEGISLATION --
TO MAKE MEANINGFUL TO THE REST OF THE WORLD -- THE
SYMBOL OF OUR STATUE OF LIBERTY.

BY ALL MEANS -- WE MUST PROVIDE MORE ADEQUATE
SCHOOL FACILITIES FOR OUR CHILDREN AND GENERATIONS YET TO
COME -- KNOWING THE FUTURE FATE OF OUR DEMOCRACY MUST
REST ON AN INFORMED AND UNDERSTANDING CITIZENRY.

WE MUST PROVE DEMOCRACY HAS A HEART -- BY MORE ADEQUATELY PROVIDING FOR THE AGED AND HANDICAPPED IN OUR MIDST.

WE MUST SAFEGUARD OURSELVES -- AND GENERATIONS YET UNBORN -- BY MOVING AHEAD ON MEDICAL RESEARCH -- AND IN ASSURING MORE ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES -- PARTICULARLY IN RURAL AREAS.

WE MUST SEE THAT ADEQUATE HOUSING IS MADE AVAILABLE -- WITHIN THE MEANS OF OUR CITIZENS -- AND MUST STIMULATE AND ENCOURAGE SLUM CLEARANCE -- AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT -- IN THE ROTTING HEARTS OF OUR GREAT CITIES.

WE MUST CONTINUALLY EXPAND OUR HORIZONS OF POSSIBLE ECONOMIC GROWTH -- ASSURE CREATION OF NEW JOBS TO MATCH OUR POPULATION GROWTH -- AND PROVIDE AMPLE OPPORTUNITY FOR INDEPENDENT BUSINESS TO KEEP ALIVE THE REAL SPIRIT OF

COMPETITIVE FREE ENTERPRISE -- AGAINST THE INROADS OF
MONOPOLISTIC CONCENTRATION -- OF INDUSTRIAL WEALTH
AND POWER.

WE MUST PROTECT THE GREAT HERITAGE -- OF OUR
NATURAL RESOURCES -- FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OUR PEOPLE --
CONSERVING THEM AGAINST COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION -- THAT
WOULD ROB FUTURE GENERATIONS OF THEIR BIRTHRIGHT --
AND RISK THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.

AND -- BY ALL MEANS -- CERTAINLY NOT THE LEAST OF
OUR GOALS FOR AMERICA -- MUST BE PRESERVATION OF THE
FAMILY FARM PATTERN OF AGRICULTURE -- WITH EQUALITY
OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY -- THROUGH WHATEVER BARGAINING
POWER NECESSARY -- TO ACHIEVE FULL PARITY OF INCOME.

CERTAINLY -- WE -- AS A NATION -- CANNOT RIGHTLY
TAKE PRIDE IN A SUPPOSED PROSPERITY -- THAT IGNORES
THE ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF AGRICULTURE -- AND RELEGATES OUR
FARM FAMILIES -- TO THE MOST RUTHLESS REGIMENTATION
OF ALL -- THE REGIMENTATION OF POVERTY.

THESE ARE BASIC -- FUNDAMENTAL GOALS WE MUST
ACHIEVE -- REGARDLESS OF WHO IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE --
AND WHO IS IN THE CONGRESS.

IT IS AN AMERICAN PROGRAM -- FOR WHICH ALL
AMERICANS SHOULD CRY OUT FOR LEADERSHIP AND ACTION.

FOR THESE THINGS WE MUST DO -- TO MAKE THE
AMERICAN PROMISE COME TRUE.



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