

## news release

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR P.H.'S RELEASE SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
NATIONAL PLOWING CONTEST
FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA
SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 19

Let me congratulate you on the miracle of American agriculture.

The entire Nation should know--and this great occasion is a good place to tell it--that rather than being a "problem," agriculture actually is America's number-one success story.

Since before the dawn of history, food has been a matter of life-and death importance in man's daily struggle to survive.

You have conquered that challenge. You have created a revolution of abundance within the past generation.

The American Farmer is the world's most efficient producer. The output of the average agricultural worker in the last decade has increased almost three times as much as the industrial worker's.

Farmers represent less than 8 per cent of the population, yet they produce enough food and fiber to feed the Nation better and cheaper than any place in the world. These same farmers produce enough so that we can provide over three quarters of a billion dollars in food each year to our own needs, distribute \$2 billion of food around the world under our Food for Peace Program, sell nearly \$\frac{1}{2}\$ and one-half billion worth for dollars abroad to increase our Nation's export earning--and still have adequate reserves for the Nation's safety and potential to produce even more. This is an amazing record.

The world has never seen anything like this. It truly is an American miracle. We should be proud of that achievement—and I am proud of you who have made it possible.

Unfortunately, we have come to take this American miracle of agriculture for granted. The American people must come to understand the great contribution that American agriculture has made to this Nation, and to the rest of the world as well.

We need to know how we can improve the economic position of a numerically and proportionally shrinking group in our population.

We need to remember who takes the risks of drought and flood, hail and early frost, insects and markets, and all the uncertainties of the market-place. You know and I know, and if Senator Goldwater doesn't know, I'm sure he will before this day is over.

Consider what this miracle of agricultural abundance means to the Nation -- other than just farmers.

For consumers--and that is all of us --it is "consumer insurance" of market basket bargains. For workers--millions of them--it is "job insurance." For the Nation as a whole it is "balance of payment insurance." And perhaps most significant of all, it is car insurance of peace, plenty, and freedom.

And let us remember that peace and freedom is everybody's concern, not just the farmer's. Food is power in today's world. Food is a vital force for peace and freedom, giving us needed diplomatic strength in the world as well as enabling us to exemplify the true humanitarian spirit of the American people.

Fcod for Peace may yet prove the real path to peace.

We have scored our greatest victory over Communism in the world by the evidence of the success of our free enterprise system of American family farmers.

With the miracle of agricultural abundance meaning so much to this Nation, the Nation's conscience requires greater economic justice for the farm people.

Unfortunately, the blessings that this miracle of abundance have brought to our Nation are not fully shared by all our farm people.

Despite the increased efficiency of the American farmer, he does not fully share in benefits of this greater productivity. Even with farm income increased during the past four years, the farmer's average income is only 63 per cent of that of the non-farm worker.

That's hardly the way to reward the most efficient segment of our economy.

We need to do better-a whole lot better. And we're going to.

We have heard and we will hear more about "freedom" in this campaign.

All of us are for freedom--real freedom. And that must include freedom from poverty, the greatest force for regimentation of them all.

Opportunity--equal opportunity--is the promise of America. It must be the promise to rural America.

But let's remember that social and economic justice for farm peopleas necessary as it is to the Nation's conscience--is only one part of the argument for greater concern about agriculture.

What we do--or fail to do--about protecting and improving farm income is not for farmers alone. It is necessary to protect our national interest.

It is necessary to assure continued "consumer insurance" market baskets bargains resulting from abundance. It is necessary to assure continued "job insurance" for millions of workers. It is necessary to awsure continued balance of payment earnings through continually expanding farm exports. It is necessary to maintain our Nation's power for peace and freedom.

And, most of all, it is necessary to protect our great agricultural producing plant and to conserve the God-given resource of the soil.

With the uncertainties of climate and disease, the Nation can only be assured of always having enough food and fiber if farmers are willing to produce more than enough. Yet that "more than enough" needed for the Nation's security is what brings down the farmer's prices in the market place.

If there is a cost involved in maintaining our power of abundance, it truly is a national cost, not a cost that should be absorbed by farmers alone.

None of us knows all the answers to the complex problems of American agriculture and what we can do to make better use of our tremendous productive potential, while providing greater quality of opportunity for our farm families.

Changing technology, changing American commitments in the world, changing requirements of international trade, changing marketing structure, changing eating habits of American people--all of these have a direct bearing upon American agriculture and American Agricultural policy.

We need to know what is good in our programs and what needs change.

I see no reason to seek changes in the present and effective tobacco, peanut, and rice programs--unless the producers themselves find improvements they desire. The same thing is true for the wool program.

Our sugar program is designed to benefit the Nation's beet and cane farmers, assure American consumers adequate supplies at reasonable prices, and provide many foreign countries with a market for their sugar. This program apparently is working well. Any adjustments in it should be designed merely to meet current conditions without changing its basic objectives.

However, we still need improvements in our wheat program, our feed grains program, our dairy program, and our cotton program. Working and planning together we can get needed improvements, but they will not be brought about if the Chief Executive of this Nation is a man who is unsympathetic to the needs of American agriculture.

You know where President Johnson stands. He is a rancher and a cattleman. He is your friend.

You had better know where Senator Goldwater stands. He has said he doesn't know anything about farming and I believe him. He also has said he wants to get rid of our price support programs--and a good many of you. I believe he means that, too.

The wheat program, the cotton program, and the wool program all expire next year. Any new legislation must go to the White House for approval or veto.

You had better make sure you have a friend in the White House. You had better make sure that Lyndon Johnson remains as President of the United States.

We need to re-study our wheat and feed grains programs. Compulsory production restructions to gain price objectives do not seem to be a satisfactory answer for wheat and feed grains. Voluntary production adjustments programs properly administered are better, but will not alone achieve our income objectives. Cropland retirement to expand conservation acreage should be further explored. However, we must be concerned with the future of rural communities.

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There are various ways of supplementing farm income without distorting market prices and normal channels of trade--at a time when international trade in farm commodities is becoming of increasing significance. Actually, vigorous efforts to expand outlets for farm products both at home and abroad. seem to offer the brightest hope of all. This particularly is true of cattle, where the ranchers themselves have asked for nothing more than the opportunity to further develop and preserve and expanding free market.

Our farm cooperatives and indeed other segments of our free enterprise system, can and probably should perform many of the marketing functions now being performed by federal agencies. The Government's role should be to supplement, not supplant, private enterprise--including cooperatives.

What we may need is a combination of several alternatives—depending upon which best fits a specific commodity. At least the door never should be shut in the search for new ways to achieve our national objectives.

For milk and other dairy products we need to find better ways of meet's ing the real needs of our low income groups and fulfilling our humanitarian objectives abroad.

We certainly must expand and provide adequate funds for our farm credit programs, the great Rural Electrification program, the soil conservation programs, the special milk program, the school lunch program, and the food stamp program. All of these have made and continue to make great contribution to rural America and the rest of the Nation.

A rapidly changing agriculture in a changing world requires continuing review and reappraisal of farm programs and policies. This is why I have proposed the creation of a bi-partisan blue ribbon commission on agricultural policy.

There is one approach, however, that I flatly reject. the Goldwater alternative of wiping out all of our farm programs and deliberately seeking to force farmers off the land.

Senator Goldwater has laid bare his innermost convictions about many matters of public concern in his book called "Conscience of a Conservative".

Here is what he says about farm programs, and I quote "There can be no equivocation here---prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program."

This is the death sentence to agriculture. I regret it. It would impoverish farm people--wipe out billions in rural land values--ruin business on rural America's main streets--and solve absolutely nothing.

But it shouldn't surprise farm people that the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party shows little concern for their well-being. For ten years he has been voting against the farmer in the Congress.

Look at his record.

Senator Goldwater voted against the feed grain programs in 1961, 1962 and 1963.

Senator Goldwater voted against the Agricultural Act of 1962, which authorized programs for wheat and feed grains and expanded authority for Food.

for Peace and the Farmers Home Administration.

Senator Goldwater has voted consistently against efforts to support and strengthen REA loan funds.

Senator Goldwater voted against the bill to authorize funds for public works, TVA and Power Marketing agencies of the Department of Interior in 1959.

Senator Goldwater voted against the Niagara River project to produce low cost power with preference for cooperative and other consumer electric systems in 1956.

With a record like that, is Senator Goldwater the man you want to trust with the destiny of American agriculture?

I don't think so.

Let me assure you of one thing: a Johnson-Humphrey administration never will abandon American agriculture. It never will reject constructive change as long as the change can be for better.

Our criteria for judging proposed changes in American farm policy will include these 9 points.

- 1. Will it assure an abundant supply to meet the needs of consumers at reasonable prices?
- 2. Will it add to the strength of the Nation in its quest for world peace, increasing prosperity, and national security?
- 3. Will it help the individual farmer to preserve his economic independence?

- 4. Will it permit our system of free markets to operate efficiently, fairly, and without needless handicaps?
- 5. Will it facilitate the expansion of our foreign trade and maintenance of a fair share of world markets for American farm products?
- 6. Will it pencourage the full utilization of land, water, and human resources that are not needed for the agricultural production for alternative purposes more beneficial to the public interest?
- 7. Will it encourage conservation of our soil and water resources for future generations?
- 8. Will it assure us of a desirable level of reserves for our national security?
- 9. Will its cost to the taxpayers be comensurate with its benefits to the consumers, the national economy, and the Nation's strength in world affairs?

With these tests as our guide, I am confident that we can and will build a better future for rural America--and for all America.

## TRANSCRIPT

NATIONAL PLOWING CONTEST ADDRESS Plowville, North Dakota Saturday, September 19, 1964

## SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

And Thank you very much, Senator Burdick. My sincere thanks to Senator Burdick for his gracious, kind and generous introduction and my warm regards -- and I say warm -- to Homer Ludwig, chairman of this great event, and our thanks to the Fraases for permitting us to come to this magnificent American family farm, and have the opportunity to see modern American agriculture in action.

I want to say that I salute this family.

(Applause.)

I gather that there may be a little politics talked around here today, and I gather that you folks are going to be very considerate and tolerant to all or us who express our point of view.

How wonderful it is that we have this privilege to talk to the American people, to visit with one another, and I come here for that express purpose, but first, may I say, that I come to the state of North Dakota that is privileged to have as its chief executive and as its Governor one of the outstanding public servants of the 50 states of this Union.

And I salute Governor and Mrs. Bill Guy --

(Applause.)

-- and I have had the privilege of serving in the Congress with the distinguished Senator that just introduced me, a fine son of a great father, both of whom have represented this state with honor and with distinction and with progressive government.

(Applause.)

Might I just say this word in case some of you in North

Dakota may have forgotten? There are a few men up here that would like very much to see you later on; for example, Rolland Redlin out in the West District tells me that he is ready to go to Washington as your Congressman.

(Applause.)

And George Sinner, from the East District -- a fine state Senator, too -- tells me that he's just anxious to go to Washington.

(Applause.)

And lest I forget, just across the river on the other side of Fargo, there's a fine, fellow citizen from Minnesota that has been studying the road maps, has been looking at the airplane schedules, and he tells me that he and his wife and eleven children are all ready to go to Washington as the Congressman from Minnesota's 7th District, Ben Wichterman.

(Applause.)

And I wouldn't want to forget my colleague in the United States Senate, one of the finest men that ever came to Washington, the Honorable Eugene McCarthy of the State of Minnesota.

(Applause.)

Now, I come here today, not to talk about our troubles as much as I seek to talk about the achievements of the American people and particularly of American agriculture. I come here today to congratulate you, the tillers of the soil, the family farmers of America and their families, for the miracle of American agriculture.

The entire nation owes you a debt of gratitude, and I say, as one member of this government, that never have so few done so much for so many, and been given so little credit for what they have done.

(Applause.)

Farmers represent less than 8 per cent of our population but yet, they produce enough food and fiber to feed and overfeed us. They produce enough food and fiber for the great humanitarian programs of our country. They produce enough food and fiber for the greatest humanitarian effort that 1s ever been undertaken overseas in the Food for Peace program,

and they produce enough food and fiber for our commercial exports and our strategic reserves.

No group of producers in all of the world has as fine a record of production efficiency and capability of producing for the great multitudes of people as the American family farmer and, indeed, his family that tills the soil.

(Applause.)

Now, let me just say we ought to consider for a moment this miracle of agricultural abundance for what it means to our nation, other than just farmers.

Let me talk to the consumers because we are all consumers and that's all of us.

The abundance of our farms is consumer insurance of market-basket bargains. No place in the world does the consumer get as much food for as little cost as in the United States of America, and that is due primarily to our farm producers and our great system of distribution.

(Applause.)

For the workers in our factories and our shops, this farm abundance means job insurance; for the nation as a whole, it is balance of payment insurance, and perhaps the most significant fact of all is that this food and fiber abundance is the insurance of peace and of plenty and of freedom.

Farmers are in the front line of the fight for a just and an enduring peace, and for the advance of freedom throughout this world.

Let us remember that peace and freedom are everybody's business, not just the farmers. Food is power in the world today. Food is a vital force for peace and security. Food for Peace may yet prove to be the real path to peace.

We have scored our greatest victory in the cold war. We have scored our greatest victory over Communism by the evidence of the success of our free enterprise system of American farmer families, and this should be heralded throughout this land.

(Applause.)

But this miracle of agricultural abundance, meaning so much to this nation, I think that the nation's conscience -- yes, the nation's conscience requires greater economic justice for our farmers.

Opportunity, equal opportunity, is the promise of America. That's what this country stands for and it must be the promise to rural America, but let's remember that social, economic justice for farm people, as necessary as it may be for the nation's conscience, is only a part of the argument for our concern about agriculture.

What we do or what we fail to do, my fellow Americans, about protecting and improving farm income is not for farmers alone. It is necessary to protect our national interests, just as necessary as the defense weapons that we produce for the security of this nation.

It is necessary to assure continued consumer insurance of market-basket bargains resulting from this abundance, and it is necessary to assure continued job insurance for every worker, and that means millions of workers.

And it is necessary to assure our balance of payments and expanding world markets, and this abundance is necessary to maintain our nation's power for peace and freedom in the world.

And may I add also that protecting this farmer's income is necessary also in order to protect our great agricultural producing plant and to conserve the God-given resource of the soil which the farmer protects and conserves, not only for himself, but for generations yet to come, and for, indeed, the security and the safety and the strength of America.

And let every American citizen know that that job of conservation needs to be rewarded by the American people to those who are the stewards and the custodians of the land. That's what our agricultural program is about.

(Applause.)

With the uncertainties of weather -- we even have it in the Plowing Contest day -- and the possibilities of plant diseases, the nation cannot always be assured of having enough food and fiber unless farmers are willing to produce more than enough, and when you produce more than enough, in order to protect those of us that don't produce food, that's when you have trouble in the marketplace, and that's when farmers' prices drop. So, if there is a cost involved in maintaining our power of abundance, if there is a cost in producing just more than enough so that we can be sure of the adequacy of our supplies, I say that it is not a cost that ought to be leveled upon the back of the farmer, or upon the Department of Agriculture, as such.

It is a national cost and a cost that should be absorbed gratefully and thankfully by the entire American citizenry.

(Applause.)

If there is one fact of our time that's evident, it is the fact of change. Everything changes, more rapidly than we even dreamed, and change has been the fact of farming. The impact of science and technology has been unbelievable.

There are changing markets, changing eating habits. All of these have a direct bearing upon American agriculture, and our policy toward it.

Therefore, we constantly need to re-examine what we are doing. We need to know what is good in our programs and we need to know what needs to be changed.

I see no reason, for example, nor to seek changes in the present effective programs of tobacco, peanuts and rice. These are programs far away from North Dakota, but they are a part of American agriculture.

I see no need for change unless the producers themselves find and agree upon improvements, and the same thing, it seems to me, is relatively true of our wool program. It works well.

Our sugar program is designed to benefit the nation's beet and sugar cane farmers, as well as to protect the consumer. And it assures the consumer of adequate supply at reasonable prices, and it may provide many foreign countries with a market for their sugar.

This program is apparently working well, and any adjustments in it should be designed merely to meet current conditions without changing its basic objectives.

However, we still need improvements in our wheat program, our feed grains program, our dairy programs, and our cotton programs, and working and climbing together, people and their government, we can get these needed improvements, but you can't get them by saying no. You can't get them by closing your eyes.

You can't get them by pretending that no problem exists. You get them only by thoughtful analysis and by a willingness to do something to meet a proglem and do it in cooperation with the people that need the help.

(Applause.)

I speak today for a man that is a farmer. I think you know where President Johnson stands. He is a rancher; he is a cattleman. He has worked for and supported programs to aid American agriculture since he was a boy. He helped organize the first REA cooperative in his District. He is a friend and he is a proved friend that has a understanding and sympathetic heart for America's agriculture.

(Applause.)

I think we need to know where these men stand and you'd better know where Senator Goldwater stands. He has said, and I quote him, he doesn't know anything about farming -- and I believe him.

(Applause.)

He has said -- he has said, and it was in your morning newspaper, that he wants to get rid of price support programs -- and I believe he means that, too.

(Applause.)

Now, my friends, compulsory reduction restrictions to gain price objectives do not seem to be the satisfactory answer for our wheat and feed grains. Voluntary production programs, properly administered, are better and would -- but I remind you -- would not alone achieve our income objectives.

Crop land retiremend to expand conservation acreage should be further explored. However, we must be concerned, not so much about retirement, as we are use of that land. Farmers like to use the God-given heritage of their land and not leave it to stand idle with no income or no proper use for humanity.

(Applause.)

And we must be concerned about our rural communities. There are various ways of supplementing farm income without distorting market prices in the normal channels of trade. This has the advantage, also, of improving our world trade position.

Actually, vigorous efforts to expand outlets for farm products, both at home and abroad, offer one of the brightest hopes of all. This has proven to be particularly true of cattle, where the ranchers themselves, much to their credit, have asked for nothing more than the opportunity to further develop and to preserve an expanding free market for their produce. And they have our commitment, from a rancher who is in the White House who understands cattle because he raises them. He has our commitment that they will receive the helping hand of an understanding and friendly government.

(Applause.)

Now a word about our great farm cooperatives because they have meant so much to America, and indeed, the other segments of our free enterprise system. All of these can, and probably should, perform many of the marketing functions now being performed by Federal agencies.

The government's role should be to supplement and not to supplant. And may I say that the government of the United States has now as its policy the encouragement of the private sector of our economy and the encouragement of our farm producers cooperatives, so that farmers may better protect themselves in the marketplace through their own efforts with a sympathetic, understanding government policy.

So, when we add it up, what we need is a combination of several alternatives, depending upon which fits a specific commodity the best. For our milk and dairy products, we need to find more and better ways of meeting the real needs of our low income groups, fulfilling our humanitarian objectives abroad. We certainly must expand and provide adequate funds for our farm credit programs, and we could use a little help from the Congress on that.

We certainly need to expand the great rural electrification program, and yet the man that will speak to you this afternoon has advocated that we liquidate the Rural Electricication Administration. No greater blow could come to American agriculture than that.

(Applause.)

We need to expand our soil conservation programs with the growing population demanding more of our soil. We need to expand our school lunch program and our food stamp program.

All of these have made, and continue to make, a great

contribution to rural America.

Now, a rapidly changing agriculture requires constant reexamination. For this reason, I have proposed the establishment of a national Agriculture Food Policy Commission to examine into every possible alternative.

Now, let me talk for just a moment about the record of our respective parties.

I speak today for the Democratic party. I do not claim that it is without blemish nor do I claim that its every program and policy has been totally effective, but we have the choice of alternatives.

I claim that its heart is right; I claim that its programs have been designed for the purpose of aiding farm income and of seeing to it that this great agriculture plant of America remains solvent, remains modern, and remains as a great force of security for the American people.

Senator Goldwater has laid bare his innermost convictions about many matters of public concern. For this, we should be grateful. He has done this in his book called "The Conscience of a Conservative." And here is what he says; I quote him verbatim about farm programs.

"There can be no equivocation here -- prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program."

Now, my friends -- that's a Republican committeeman up there -- I think that's one of Barry's boys.

(Referring to plane flying overhead.)

(Applause.)

We need one of those fellows to come down to earth.

(Applause.)

We need to understand just what this statement means, that I have read, "Prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program."

This morning I read in the paper that it wasn't going to be so prompt, slow death not immediate. But may I say, whether you die slowly or die quickly, when you're dead, you're

dead.

(Applause.)

(Plane again flying overhead.)

That's always the danger if you nominate a pilot.

(Applause.)

This statement of the Senator from Arizona that I have read is a death sentence to agriculture, and I regret it.

I would impoverish farm people, wipe out billions in rural assets. It would ruin business and ruin America's Main Street. And very frankly, it would do exactly as was done once before. It would trigger a major recession and depression in America, which this country cannot possible endure.

(Applause.)

(Plane again flying overhead.)

Ladies and gentlemen, it's hard to compete against one of those whirlybirds.

I speak now of the record of the Republican candidate -- or should I say of the candidate of a section of the Republican party?

(Applause.)

Because, only a few weeks ago, both Republican parties met at Hershey, Pennsylvania -- the Eisenhower party and the Goldwater party. Out of there came a little more sense to the Republican program, but only for a short time.

Let's look at this record of Senator Goldwater. He voted against the feed grains programs in 1961 and 1962 and 1963. These programs, my friends, meant millions and millions of dollars in your income for the farm people in this area.

Senator Goldwater voted against the Agriculture Acts of 1962, which authorized programs for wheat and feed grains, and expanded authority for Food for Peace and the Farmers Home Administration.

Senator Goldwater has voted consistently against efforts to support and strengthen REA loan funds. On 35 key votes in 10 years, the Senator voted wrong 33 times, according to the National Rural Electrical Cooperative Association. Two times

he voted right, and those two times were for projects in Arizona. For this, we can be grateful.

Senator Goldwater voted against the bill to authorize funds for Public Works, that helped North Dakota and every other state, Area Redevelopment, TVA. He says he wants to sell it for \$1.00.

He voted against power marketing agencies that affect this great area of the Missouri River, and he voted against, if you please, even the Niagara Power Project, from whence his own running mate comes, a project to produce low cost power with preference for cooperative and other consumer electric systems.

Now, with a record like that, I ask you is the Senator from Arizona the man you want to trust with the destiny of American agriculture? I don't think so.

(Applause.)

Let me assure you one thing, a Johnson-Humphrey Administration never will abandon American agriculture. It never will reject constructive change, as long as that change is for the better. A Johnson-Humphrey Administration will be dedicated to the improvement of our programs, not to their death — to the improvement of the programs!

(Applause.)

And we shall judge all those changes on American agricultural policy on the following points:

Will that change provide a fair return to the farmer consistent with the goal of full parity of income for our farm people?

Will it assure an abundant supply to meet the needs of consumers at reasonable prices?

Will it add to the strength of our nation in the quest for world peace, increasing prosperity and national security?

Will it help the individual farmer to preserve his economic independence and to develop his talents to their fullest potential?

Will any change permit our system of free markets to operate more efficiently, fairly, and without needless handicaps?

Will it facilitate the expansion of foreign trade and the maintenance of a fair share of world markets for American farm products?

Will it encourage the full utilization -- and I underscore the word -- utilization of land, of water and of human resources that are not now needed for agricultural production, for alternative purposes more beneficial to the public interest?

Will it conserve or encourage conservation of our soil and water resources for future generations?

Will it assure us of a desirable level of food and fiber reserves for national security?

Finally, will its cost to the taxpayers be commensurate with its benefits to the consumers, the national economy, and the nation's strength in world affairs?

These are the ten guidelines that will direct our thinking, and I can say to you that, in cooperation with the leaders of American agriculture and with our farm families, sitting down together with your representatives in the Congress, that if we but look ahead to the day when our population is bigger, the requirements of our people larger, that we can find not only better answers that we have now, but we can find that happy day when the American farm family will enjoy every benefit of life that he sees in the city, and even more, and that the concept of parity of income will no longer be a stump speech but will be a bank account for the American farmer and a part of the great American economy.

(Applause.)

Now, let me leave you with this thought. I addressed you today primarily as farm people but I know more than that that you are citizens in the fullest sense of the word, and America today needs as never before men and women who understand our responsibilities in the world in which we live.

If there is to be peace, it will be because we have that great power of mind and spirit and economy and body that brings that peace.

If there is to be a better world, it will be because out of the midst of the American people comes the leadership that provides for a better world.

We are in a mighty contest today, ladies and gentlemen.

It's a contest against powerful forces, and in that contest, we need an America that is united. We need an America that offers opportunity, that sets a wonderful example for the whole world.

And I want to make this pledge to every person here, regardless of one's political point of view, that my every word, my every deed, as a private citizen and as a public official — and I know that I now speak for the President of the United States in this — that every word, and every deed, will be to unite our nation, to make us more of a brotherhood, to bring us closer together for common purposes and common goals.

I must say "Shame upon those that pit one group against another, race against race, city against farm, city government against state government, rich against poor." This is no way to build these United States of America.

(Applause.)

May I thank you for being so patient and so understanding in this rather inclement weather and may I also thank you for, by your wishes and your thoughts, seeing to it that the air was at least cleansed of the slight interruption.

All I want you to do is to reward us on November 3rd by voting for Lyndon B. Johnson for President and Hubert H. Humphrey for Vice President.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

(End.)



NATIONAL PLOWING CONTEST FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA SEPT. 19, 1964.

Let me congratulate you on the miracle of American agriculture.

The entire nation should know-- and this great occasion is a good strated to tell it-- that rather than being a "problem," agriculture actually is America's Number One success story.

a matter of life-and-death importance in man's daily struggle to survive.

You have conquered that challenge. You have created a revolution of abundance within the past generation.

The American farmer is the most efficient on the

face of this earth. The output of the average agricultural

worker in the last decade has increased almost three times as much as the accesse industrial worker food and fiber to feed

quarters of a billion dollars which food each year to our own needy, distribute some \$2 billion with around the world under our Food for Peace program, sell nearly 4 and one-half billion worth for dollars abroad

to increase our nation's export earnings-- and still
have adequate reserves for the nation's safety and a

potential to produce even more, Theo 30 an amaging

The world has never seen anything like this. It truly an American miracle. We should be proud of that achievement— proud of you who have made it possible.

Unfortunately, we have come to take this American miracle of Agriculture for granted, and we often consider it commonplies. It is long past time that all the American people, in Agriculture agriculture has made to this Nation, and to the rest of the world as well.

Not

For the nation as a whole it is "balance of

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payment insurance." Arrabadant agriculture is making

possible the greatest export sales earnings in our

history -- a substantial contribution to improving

our balance of payments situation. Exports already

account for the output of 1 out of 4 acres of farm

land -- and they are the source of 15 per cent of the

income of farmers. Without farm exports, we'd be in

serious trouble in the world trade picture.

But perhaps most significant of all, it is our

insurance of peace and freedom.

Col a

And perhaps most significant of all, it is our insurance of peace, plenty, and freedom.

and let use remember that Peace and freedom is everybody's concern, not just the farmers'. Food is power in today's world. Food is a vital force for peace and freedom, giving us needed diplomatic in the world as well as enabling us to exemplify the true humanitarian spirit of the American Reople. If leighbor in finerica can share the feed from thext tables, then this government car share the rood from its warehouse with friendly what we are dong in our great rood for Peace Program, an eliort unequated in all history an elfort that To an and the house of the control o Food Peace may yet prove the real Path to Peace.

We have scored our greatest victory over Communism

in the world by the evidence of the success of our

ree enterprise system of American family farmers.

I can tell you from personal observation that the

Soviet system has nothing to compare in its production

capabilities with the American family farm. | Collectivism

denies individual liberty, and the individual dignity

we hold dear. This pation of ours must never follow

any course that leads to form collectivism. We must

follow only one course -- the one that leads to

individualism - with respect, and justice, for each

individual.

orld personal therefore, in our responsibilities as a world leader an not just the farmers needs programs that the breakthough in agricultural technology wittes this presents. With the miracle of agricultural abundance meaning so much to the nation a the nation's conscience

Unfortunately, the blessings that this miracle of abundance have brought to our nation are not fully shared by all our farm people.

requires greater economic justice for the farm people

Despite the increased efficiency of the American

farmer, he does not fully share in benefits of this

greater productivity. Even with farm income increased

during the past four years, the farmer's average income

is only 63 per cent of that of the non-farm worker.

That's hardly the way to reward the most efficient

segment of our economy. We need to do better -- a whole

lot better. And we're going to.

When labor and management discuss heir rewards for

a man's kills and work it is generally expeed that

the worker should ware in the benefits of increased

productivity.

Keep

Somehow, our society lets it work the other way around for the farmer. All too often higher production leads to lower prices and income. America's conscience can not let this go on. The nation's conscience supported getting rid exploitation of child labor and other mistreatment of America's work force -- and America's standard of living hasn't suffered from the higher costs involved. To the contrary, our economy has prospered and our living standards advanced in/direct relationship to/our willingness to share the benefits of increased productivity as widely as possible in our society. The time has long passed for our society to be concerned about how to improve the position of farm people.

We have heard and will hear more about "freedom" in this campaign. All of us are for freedom -- real freedom. And that must include freedom from poverty

The need equality of opportunity in rural America,

so the family can have a free choice about whether

it was a rige its of Niren in a wholesome tural

atmoshphere, instead of being forced by sconomic

compulsion to move into sit es ill prepared to absorb

But let's remember that social and economic justice for farm people -- as necessary as it is to the nation's conscience -- is only one part of the argument for greater condern about agriculture, What we do -- or fail to do -- about protecting and improving farm income is not for farmers alone. It is necessary to protect our national interest. It is necessary to assure continued "consumer insurance" of market basket bargains regulting from abundance. It is necessary to assure continued "job insurance" for millions of workers. It is necessary to assure continued balance of payment earnings through continually expanding farm exports. It is necessary to maintain

our nation's power for peace and freedom in the world.

And, most of all, it is necessary to protect our great agricultural producing plant instead of having to ruthles ly mine it to eke entis delice. in our farmers to conserve the land for future generations and posterity. or this they should be adequately compensated. of climate and disease, the nation can only be assured of always having enough food and fiber if farmers are willing to produce more than enough. Yet that "more than enough" needed for the nation's security is what brings down the farmers' prices in the market place.

If there is a cost involved in maintaining our power of abundance, it truly is a national cost, not a cost that should be absorbed by farmers alone. This a cost that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without that grite ightly should be borne by a grateful without the snares in the benefits of abundance.

of American agriculture in this great age of technological change. No of seasons the lag iterator all wisdom.

None of the bar poly on virtue. The important thing is that some of us who really care keep on seeking to find better answers.

It is time for a complete new look at where we are going in American agriculture and what we can do to make better use of our tremendous productive potential while providing greater equality of economic opportunity for our farm families.

Changing technology, changing American commitments in the world is blick. The, changing requirements of international trade, changing marketing structure, changing eating habits of American people — all of these have a direct bearing upon American agriculture and the structure of the future. That is why I have suggested creation of a bipartisan blue

After 1st paragraph on next page)

ribbon commission as one road to seeking better approaches

Insert A 3

It Our sugar program is designed to benefit the nation's keet and cane farmers, assure A nerican Consumero adequate supplie at reasonable prices, and provide many foreign Countries with a market for their sugar. This program apparently is working well, Any adjustments in it should be, designed merely to meet current conditions wishout changing its basic objectives,

We need to take a good hard look at where we have been, where we are now, and where we are going. We need to know what is good in our programs and what needs thange.

I see no reason to seek changes in the present and effective tobacco, peanut, and rice programs -- unless the producers themselves find improvements they desire.

The same thing is true for the wool program. However, we still need improvements in our wheat program, our feed grains program, our dairy program, and our cotton

improvements. But these improvements will not be brought about if the chief executive of this nation is a man who is unsympathetic to the needs of American agriculture. You know where President Johnson stands.

He is a rancher and a cattleman. He is your friend.

He has said he doesn't know anything about farming and

I believe him. He has said he wants to get rid of the pince of the programs -- and a good many of you. I believe that, to means that, too

The feed grains program, the wheat program, the cotton program, and the wool program all expire next year. Any new legislation must go to the White House for approval or veto. It takes a two thirds vote in each house to everyide

You had better make sure you have a friend in the

White House. Y for the lance will be

taking with the form. You had better make

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the United States

will continue programs and your them.

is who we need to look the grant was and make

sure we're aboosing the best.

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programs. Compulsory production restrictions to gain

price objectives do not seem to be a satisfactory

answer for wheat and feed grains. Voluntary production

adjustment programs properly administered are better,

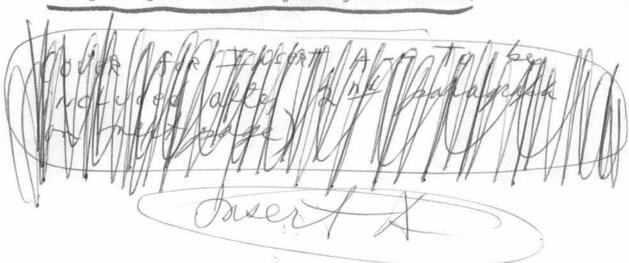
but would not alone achieve our income objectives.

Cropland retirement to expand conservation acreage

should be further explored. However, we must be concerned

with the future of rural communities.

There are various ways of supplementing farm income without distorting market prices and normal channels of trade. This has the advantage of improving our position in world trade -- at a time when international trade in farm commodities is becoming of increasing significance. Actually, vigorous efforts to expand outlets for farm products both at home and abroad seem to offer the brightest hope of all. This particularly is true of cattle, where the ranchers themselves have asked for nothing more than the opportunity to further develop and preserve an expanding free market.



What we may need is a combination of several alternatives -- depending upon which best fits a specific commodity. At least the door never should be shut in the search for new ways to achieve our national objectives.

For milk and other dairy products we need to find better ways of meeting the real needs of our low income groups and fulfilling our humanitarian objectives abroad.

We certainly must be dedicated

expand and provide adequate funds for our farm credit

programs, the great rural electrification program, the

soil conservation programs, the Special Milk Program,

the School Lunch Program, and the Food Stamp Program.

All of these have made and continue to make a great

contribution to rural America and the rest of the nation.

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a napelly Changing agricultur requires to the form Cortaining review and reappraise of Farm programme and Palicies, His is why I have proposed the creation 70 Bi-Partisan Blue Rebban Commission on Agusultural policy to The word and the second Early attendance en

- 25 flatly reject -- the

Goldwater alternative of wiping out all of our farm

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"Pring something about to mean of there

of the farm subsidy program," unquite,

Thes is the death Amteur & Agreetter,

I clash riect the Goldware intermed to become

I would impoverish farm people -- wipe out billions

in rural land values -- ruin business on rural America's main streets -- and solve absolutely nothing.

The a partisan policital opionion Competent

independent studies hear this out.

In the past five years there have been many proposals for dliminating or reducing farm price supports and production adjustment programs. These proposals led to studies by university and government economists to estimate the effects of wiping out such programs. Out of these studies by Iowa State University, dornell University, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and a study done for the Senate Agriculture Committee has come a general agreement that net farm income would fall very sharply and remain low for a long period. The most recent study was done for the National Planning Association by Iowa State And Oklahoma State University economists.

The Goldwater approach is followed,

net farm income would fall from present levels of

\$12.5 billion per year to between \$6.7.5 billion -- a

decline of 40.50 fee cent.

farm prices for crops would fall 25/30% Divestock prices would fall by 10/20% for Cent.

f the Goldwater approach is followed farm production expenses would continue to rise, further squeezing net farm income.

income per farm which has risen sharply since 1960 would decline about one-third from current levels.

- 30 -

Here are the average of the four projections of what prices would be for the main major farm commodities under the Goldwater approach:

Wheat - \$.90 - \$1.00;

Corn - .70 - .80;

Soybeans1.85 - 12,00;

Cotton - .20 - | .24

Tobacco -

Hogs - 11.00 - 13.00;

Cattle 17.00 /- 18.00.

Do you want those kind of prices for your products?

That's what you can expect with Senator Goldwater:

.42:

Is this your idea of an effective farm program for

America?

Most farmers and most fair minded Americans would agree that such prices would be ruinous to American

agriculture.

But it shouldn't surprise farm people that the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party shows

little concern for their well-being. For ten years he has been voting against the farmer the Congress.

Look at his record:

Senator Goldwater voted against the feed grain program in 1961, 1962 and 1963.

Act of 1962, authorizing programs for wheat and feed grains and expanded authority for Food for Peace and the Farmers Home Administration.

Senator Goldwater has voted consistently against efforts to support and strengthen REA loan funds.

Senator Goldwater voted <u>against</u> the bill to authorize funds for public works, TVA and power marketing agencies of the Department of Interior in 1959.

Senator Goldwater voted against the Niagara River

project to produce low-cost power with preference for

cooperative and other non-present electric systems in 1956.

With a record like that, is Senator Goldwater the man you want to trust with the destiny of American Agriculture?

I don't think so.

Let me assure you of one thing: A JohnsonHumphrey Administration never will abandon American
agriculture. It will never reject constructive change
as long as the change can be for the better.

American farm policy will include these tests 10 points,

- 1) Will it provide a fair return to the farmer consistent with the goal of full parity of income for farm people?
- 2) Will it assure an abundant supply to meet the needs of consumers at reasonable prices?
- 3) Will it add to the strength of the Nation in its quest for world peace, increasing prosperity, and National security?

- 4) Will it help the individual farmer to preserve his economic independence and to develop his talents to their fullest potential?
- 5) Will it permit our system of free markets to operate efficiently, fairly, and without needless handicaps?
- 6) Will it facilitate the expansion of our foreign trade and maintenance of a fair share of world markets for American farm products?
- 7) Will it encourage the full utilization of land, water, and human resources that are not needed for agricultural production, for alternative purposes more beneficial to the public interest?

- 8) Will it encourage consewation of our soil and water resources for future generations?
- 9) Will it assure us of a desirable level of reserves for our national security? And
- 10) Will its cost to the taxpayers be commensurate with its benefits to the consumers, the national economy, and the Nation's strength in world affairs?

With these tests in proposed stricultural policy

Can and will build a better souther for the rural America 
Instead of a man whose conscience to be him he should

and for alf America of an another for the America of your

Morlan of suther lave men at the helm of your

Morlan of we make Senator Goldwater wrestly with

Nation who apply such tests to proposed agriculture

his conscience?

policy instead of a man whose conscience tells fine

he should do nothing for the American farmer?

Why should we make Senator Goldwater

wrestle with his conscience?

and rancher armers of America can't afford a President whose conscience would beother him if he had to sign legislation enacted by the Congress to support and credit, to god for Peace, TVA, rural electrification and agricultural conservation. You can help keep Senator Goldwater's conscience from Nothering him -- and from bothering you. You can do it by rejecting him in November -- and electing a real friend of American agriculture, Preside Lyndon Baines Johnson. Thank you

NATIONAL PLOWING CONTEST FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA September 19, 1964

Sp: Farge, M. Dak. Sept. 19, 1964

Let me congratulate you on the miracle of American agriculture.

The entire nation should know -- and this great occasion is a good place to tell it -- that rather than being a "problem", agriculture actually is America's number one success story.

Long before the dawn of history, food has been a matter of life-and-death importance in man's daily struggle to survive.

You have conquered that challenge. You have created a revolution of abundance within the past generation.

The American farmer is the world's most efficient producer. The output of the average agricultural worker IN the LAST DecAde has INCREASED ALMOST Three Times As Much As the INDUSTRIAL WORKER,

Farmers represent less than 8 per cent of the population, yet they produce enough food and fiber to feed the nation better and cheaper than any place in the world. These same farmers produce enough so that we can provide over three quarters of a billion dollars in food each year to our own needy, distribute \$2 billion of food around the world under our Food for Peace program, sell nearly four and one-half billion worth for dollars abroad to increase our nation's export earnings -- and still have adequate reserves for the nation's safety and a potential to produce even more. This is an amazing record.

The world has never seen anything like this.

It truly is an American miracle. We should be proud

of that achievement -- and I am proud of you who have

made it possible.

Unforturately, we have come to take this

American miracle of agriculture for granted. The

American people must come to understand the great

contribution that American agriculture has made

to this Nation, and to the rest of the world as well.

We need to know how we can improve the economic position of a numerically and proportionately shrinking group in our population.

We need to remember who takes the risks of drought and flood, hail and early frost, insects and markets, and all the uncertainties of the marketplace. You know and I know, and if Senator Goldwater doesn't know, I'm sure he will before this day is over.

Consider what this miracle of agricultural abundance means to the nation -- other than just farmers.

For consumers -- and that is all of us -
it is "consumer insurance" of market basket bargains.

For workers -- millions of them -- it is "job

insurance." For the nation as a whole it is "balance

of payment insurance." And perhaps most significant

of all, it is our insurance of peace, plenty, and

freedom.

And let us remember that peace and freedom is everybody's concern, not just the farmers'. Food is power in today's world. Food is/vital force for peace and freedom, giving us needed diplomatic strength in the world as well as enabling us to exemplify the true humanitarian spirit of the American people.

Food for Peace may yet prove the <u>real</u> Path to Peace.

We have scored our greatest victory over Communism in the world by the evidence of the success of our free enterprise system of American family farmers.

With the miracle of agricultural abundance meaning so much to this nation, the nation's conscience requires greater economic justice for the farm people.

Unfortunately, the blessings that this miracle of abundance have brought to our nation are not fully shared by all our farm people.

Despite the increased efficiency of the

American farmer, he does not fully share in

benefits of this greater productivity. Even

with farm income increased during the past four

years, the farmer's average income is only

63 per cent of that of the non-farm worker.

That's hardly the way to reward the most efficient segment of our economy. We need to do better -- a whole lot better. And we're going to.

We have heard and we will hear more about "freedom" in this campaign. All of us are for freedom -- real freedom. And that must include freedom from poverty, the greatest force for egimentation of them all.

Opportunity -- equal opportunity is the promise of America. It must be the promise to rural America.

But let's remember that social and economic justice for farm people -- as necessary as it is to the nation's conscience -- is only one part of the argument for greater concern about agriculture.

What we do -- or fail to do -- about protecting and improving farm income is not for farmers alone. It is necessary to protect our national interest. It is necessary to assure continued "consumer insurance" of market basket bargains resulting from abundance. It is necessary to assure continued "job insurance" for millions of workers. It is necessary to assure continued balance of payment THE RESIDENCE OF THE PROPERTY earnings through continually expanding farm exports. A STATE OF THE STA It is necessary to maintain our nation's power for peace and freedom in the world. And, most of all, it is necessary to protect our great agricultural producing plant and to conserve the God-given resource of the soil.

the nation can only be assured of always having enough food and fiber if farmers are willing to produce more than enough. Yet that "more than enough" needed for the nation's security is what brings down the farmers' prices in the market place.

If there is a cost involved in maintaining our power of abundance, it truly is a national cost, not a cost that should be absorbed by farmers alone.

None of us know all the answers to the complex problems of American agriculture in this great age of technological change. The important thing is that some of us who really care keep on seeking to find better answers.

It is time for a complete new look at where
we are going in American agriculture and what we
can do to make better use of our tremendous productive
potential while providing greater equality of
economic opportunity for our farm families.

Changing technology, changing American commitments in the world, changing requirements of international trade, changing marketing structure, changing eating habits of American people -- all of these have a direct bearing upon American agriculture and American agricultural policy.

we need to know what is good in our programs and what needs change.

I see no reason to seek changes in the present and effective tobacco, peanut, and

rice programs -- unless the producers themselves
find improvements they desire. The same thing is
true for the wool program.

Our sugar program is designed to benefit the nation's beet and cane farmers, assure American consumers adequate supplies at reasonable prices, and provide many foreign countries with a market for their sugar. This program apparently is working well. Any adjustments in it should be designed merely to meet current conditions without changing its basic objectives.

However, we still need improvements in our wheat program, our feed grains program, our dairy program, and our cotton program.

Working and planning together we can get needed improvements. But these improvements will not be brought about if the chief executive of this nation is a man who is unsympathetic to the needs of American agriculture.

You know where President Johnson stands.

He is a rancher and a cattleman. He is your friend.

You had better know where Senator Goldwater stands. He has said he doesn't know anything about farming and I believe him. He also has said he wants to get rid of our price support programs -- and go in I believe he means that, too.

The feed grains program, the wheat program, the cotton program, and the wool program all expire next year. Any new legislation must go to the White House for approval or veto.

You had better make sure you have a friend in the White House. You had better make sure that Lyndon Johnson remains as President of the United States.

programs. Compulsory production restrictions to
gain price objectives do not seem to be a satisfactory
answer for wheat and feed grains. Voluntary
production adjustment programs properly administered
are better, but would not alone achieve our income
objectives. Cropland retirement to expand conservation
acreage should be further explored. However, we must
be concerned with the future of rural communities.

There are various ways of supplementing farm income without distorting market prices and normal channels of trade. This has the advantage of improving our position in world trade -- at a time when international trade in farm commodities is becoming of increasing significance. Actually, vigorous efforts учений учений применяющим применающим прим to expand outlets for farm products both at home and abroad seem to offer the brightest hope of all. AND THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY This particularly is true of cattle, where the The second secon ranchers themselves have asked for nothing more than the opportunity to further develop and preserve an

Cathe

Our farm cooperatives, and indeed other segments
of our free enterprise system, can and probably should
perform many of the marketing functions now being
performed by federal agencies. The government's role
should be to supplement, not supplant, private enterpise,
including cooperatives.

expanding free market.

What we may need is a combination of several alternatives -- depending upon which best fits a specific commodity. At least the door never should be shut in the search for new ways to achieve our national objectives.

For milk and other dairy products we need to find better ways of meeting the real needs of our low income groups and fulfilling our humanitarian objectives abroad.

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A rapidly changing agriculture in a changing world requires continuing review and reappraisal of farm programs and policies. This is why I have proposed the creation of a Bi-Partisan Blue Ribbon Commission on Agricultural Policy.

There is one approach, however, that I flatly reject -- the Goldwater alternative of wiping out all of our farm programs and deliberately seeking to force farmers off the land.

Senator Goldwater has laid bare his innermost convictions about many matters of public concern in his book called Conscience of a Conservative. Here is what he says about farm programs, and I quote:

"there can be no equivocation here -- prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program," "

This is the death sentence to agriculture.

I regret it. It would impoverish farm people -wipe out billions in rural land values -- ruin
business on rural America's main streets -- and
solve absolutely nothing.

But it shouldn't surprise farm people that the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party shows little concern for their well-being. For ten years he has been voting against the farmer in the Congress.

Look at his record:

Senator Goldwater voted against the feed grain programs in 1961, 1962 and 1963.

Senator Goldwater voted against the Agricultural

Act of 1962, which authorized programs for wheat

and feed grains and expanded authority for Food for

Peace and the Farmers Home Administration.

Senator Goldwater voted against the bill to authorize funds for public works, TVA and power marketing agencies of the Department of Interior in 1959.

Senator Goldwater voted <u>against</u> the NiagaraRiver project to produce low-cost power with preference for cooperative and other consumer electric systems in 1956.

With a record like that, is Senator Goldwater the man you want to trust with the destiny of

American agriculture?

STATE OF STA

I don't think so.

Let me assure you of one thing: A Johnson-

American agriculture. It never will reject constructive change as long as the change can be for the better.

Our criteria for judging proposed changes in American farm policy will include these 10 points:

- 1) Will it provide a fair return to the farmer consistent with the goal of full parity of income for farm people?
- 2) Will it assure an abundant supply to meet the needs of consumers at reasonable prices?
- 3) Will it add to the strength of the Nation in its quest for world peace, increasing prosperity, and national security?
- 4) Will it help the individual farmer to preserve his economic independence and to develop his talents to their fullest potential?
- 5) Will it permit our system of free markets to operate efficiently, fairly, and without needless handicaps?

Kelly

- 6) Will it facilitate the expansion of our foreign trade and maintenance of a fair share of world markets for American farm products?
- 7) Will it encourage the full utilization of land, water, and human resources that are not needed for agricultural production, for alternative purposes more beneficial to the public interest?
- 8) Will it encourage conservation of our soil and water resources for future generations?
- 9) Will it assure us of a desirable level of reserves for our national security? And
- 10) Will its cost to the taxpayers be commensurate with its benefits to the consumers, the national economy, and the Nation's strength in world affairs?

With these tests as our guide, I am confident that we can and will build a better future for rural America -- and for all America.

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