

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
November 16, 1967

My friend, Bill Thatcher, member of the Farmers' Union G.T.A., ladies and gentlemen:

It has been my privilege to take part in the annual conventions of this great and respected American farm organization for the last 18 years — but I am especially pleased and relieved to be here this year. The farm belt polls being what they are, I was not sure my invitation was still good.

I was beginning to feel like the industrialist who suddenly became ill and went to the hospital. He lay there for weeks. No visitors came. No messages were delivered. And then one day he got a card — from the labor union that represented his employees.

The card read: The Central Executive Committee of Local 246 wishes you a speedy recovery....by a vote of 8 to 7.

Well, I'm not here to poll your convention. When I do, I'll do it "outside the gate" in the time-honored tradition of the Farmers' Union.

Nor am I here to ask for your support on the historic issues of our times — although that support has never been lacking.

I  $\underline{am}$  here today to talk about the problem of greatest personal concern to you and your organization — the future of the American farmer.

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American agriculture ranks among mankind's proudest achievements -- and most Americans don't know it.

If you look at America from abroad, as I have recently, you see one thing above all others in your mind's eye — not only tall cities, not only broad highways, not just shiny appliances, not rockets, not laboratories... but broad, fertile fields, pouring forth their production through modern American agriculture.

You see farms which produce plenty in a world where most people do not have enough to eat.

You see space-age agriculture in a world where many cultivators still rely on the wooden plow.

You see an America that depends on agricultural exports for half of its favorable balance of trade.

You know that America, because of its agriculture, can foster world peace and relieve human suffering by providing sustenance to hundreds of millions of people around the world, while it exports the know-how that poorer nations need in order to better feed themselves.

Then you return home. The picture is different.

You hear that the average American farmer's income still lags behind the American norm.

You see Americans leaving our farms and rural areas at the rate of half-a-million or more a year — not because they want to live in crowded and congested cities, but because they think they have to, in order to find economic opportunities that will provide a future for themselves and their children.

True, there has recently been some progress for the American farmer.

The mammoth surpluses of the fifties, which glutted the market and threatened to scuttle support for any constructive farm program, have been eliminated.

Gross farm income and net income per farm have risen to unprecedented heights. Net per farm income was 70 per cent higher in 1966 than in 1960 and total net income last year was second only to 1947.

And we have today some basic tools — the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and the Food for Freedom Act of 1966 — that protect the farmer and enable us to meet our objectives at home and abroad. Those programs prevent the painful market fluctuations that have hurt so much this summer and fall from becoming an unmanageable cycle of boom and bust.

But that is not enough for me; and I know it is not enough for you.

The American farmer is still too often a second-class citizen amidst the abundance he has helped create. He is first-class in output, too often second-class in income; first-class in service to the nation and the world, too often second-class in the benefits modern America provides for its citizens.

The American farmer deserves equity.

May I suggest at least four ways in which we can help assure the American farmer first—class citizenship in every area of life? They add up to an Honest Deal for Rural America.

First, we must continue to escalate the War on Hunger.

Food is a powerful instrument for constructive foreign policy in this hungry world — and it is an instrument that is almost exclusively American.

Moreover, we no longer have to depend only on what is left over in the historic struggle to feed this world's exploding population. The Food for Freedom Act gives us a virtually open—ended authority to assist nations that are willing to help themselves.

We are now sending American food to more than a hundred nations under Food for Freedom. I am happy to say that food shipments to Indonesia, a brave and growing nation which I have just visited, will now receive a new, higher priority.

But the opportunities and the challenge of the War on Hunger are going to grow steadily in the foreseeable future, and this nation must be ready.

We are ready to make full use of our abundance and we must be ready to pay the American farmers — the soldiers of the soil Bill Thatcher refers to — a fair price for their contribution to world peace and stability.

This country has an effective Food for Freedom program and it can afford a bigger one in the future.

Food for Freedom is good politics. "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, not is bent by prayers" says an ancient text.

There can be no peace, no stability, no safety in this nuclear age until the ancient enemy of hunger has been banished from the earth.

Food for Freedom is good economics. It means substantially more income for the American farmer. It means that the American tax-payers will stop paying to keep valuable agricultural resources idle. It can mean prosperous nations abroad that will be an expanding market for American food and factory production in the future.

And Food for Freedom is good morals. When a child starves because the world's elders cannot figure out how to feed him, each of us bears the burden of guilt.

Here is point two in my Honest Deal for Rural America.

It is true — and as a small town boy I hate to say it — that rural America is still behind.

More than twice as many farm families as city families live below the poverty level.

Less than half of our farm families have a decent house, a good car, hot and cold running water, and a telephone; in the city, three out of four have these advantages.

These deficiencies are especially important to rural youngsters who are about to choose a career and a place to live.

For every 175 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are fewer than 100 jobs.

About 200 thousand of the young Americans living in rural areas today will leave and go into the city this year.

Their departure will make rural America a poorer place. Their leaving will not only separate them from their families but weaken our rural communities — weaken them culturally as well as economically.

And for what?....What is waiting for them? Some will find fame and fortune. Many more of them will find themselves confined to slums....doomed to low-paying jobs....isolated, lonesome and hopeless.

America is caught in the Urbanization Trap in the last third of the twentieth century.

Seventy per cent of us already live on one per cent of the land.

We are going to have another 100 million Americans by the end of this century, and  $\underline{\text{all}}$  of them will live in the cities if present trends continue.

Our cities are starved for space, fresh air, recreation; our rural areas are starved for jobs and opportunity.

This society is rich enough and creative enough to achieve a balance of growth and opportunity between rural and urban areas.

In the 1930's, modernization meant rural electrification and movie theatres in every town.

In the 1940's it meant many well-paved roads.

Now, it means airports capable of handling short-hop jets, community colleges, modern hospitals and good doctors. The very best in elementary and secondary education. It means golf courses and ballparks. It means drama groups and art classes in addition to church socials.

And it means economic viability — new investment, new job opportunities, a growing tax base. It means modern America in your town — your country.

That kind of modernization is occurring in many parts of rural  $\mbox{\it America}$  today.

Where it happens, it is the result of aggressive local initiative, cooperation from private industries, and better use of federal programs that are already available.

It happens because rural people and city people alike are discovering that the good life can be found in the countryside.

I saw a poll taken right here in Minnesota just the other day. Eighty-eight per cent of those questioned favored special measures to encourage farm families to stay on the farm. Eighty-four per cent supported programs to encourage industry to move out to the small towns.

A majority said they would prefer to live on a farm rather than in the city.

I say, let's all do our part to give them a choice!

But the countryside cannot grow without prosperous farms.

So point three is this: Protect and improve our existing commodity program. It is the best we have ever had.

As we gain experience in the sophisticated supplymanagement techniques required by elimination of surpluses, the program will prove its value over and over again.

Government payments are already providing the thin margin between profit and loss for many producers.

This year the program is paying the producer an additional 48 cents a bushel on wheat, 12 cents a bushel on corn, and 15 cents for each pound of cotton.

Until we develop a weather-proof acreage allotment system we are going to experience crops that exceed our expectations and we are going to need protection. I think we have it.

It is true that prices are down this year. After steady progress since 1960, we are in a "lag" year, largely because of phenomenal growing weather that brought unprecedented harvests in almost every nation. Here in the United States grain harvests were 34 percent higher this year than the average for the past five years.

I know that some interpret this as proof of a fatal flaw in the system.

Let me only say this to you: Progress is seldom smooth. It usually comes in a series of forward thrusts followed by temporary lapses. Today, while the farmer  $\underline{is}$  being short-changed, he still has something to protect.

And protect he must. For the programs that have given us progress in the past and promise more in the future are under attack. No fewer than 21 bills have been introduced in Congress which would, for all practical purposes, terminate existing farm programs.

Don't think those calls for retreat will be stilled by the time this program we all fought so hard for back in 1965 runs out in 1969.

We got a taste of what can happen two weeks ago when legislation to extablish a strategic grain reserve was killed in sub-committee.

That bill would have let us withdraw overabundant grain stocks from the commercial market when prices were low. It would have protected the consumer in times of scarcity. It would have helped the producer by substantially increasing wheat, corn and soybean prices.

I can tell you that it was not killed by people who had the farmers' interest at heart.

This country <u>needs</u> reserves of key agricultrual commodities. It <u>needs</u> a program that will keep those reserves at common—sense, clearly defined levels....that specifies how and when they can be released so that they do not interfere with the normal market.

It  $\underline{\text{needs}}$  a program that will depend on private sector inventories for normal business operations, but at the same time protect both consumer and producer.

The harsh truth is, my friends, that there are people in this country today who want the kind of totally unrestrained production that could destroy the farm economy. The experts tell us that without our present programs, prices would fall by a third.

I don't have to spell out the likely consequences — not only for individual farm families, but for the prospects of rural America and for America's agricultrual leadership in the world.

It would be tempting to say that extension and better management of our existing programs will solve all the farmer's problems. But it won't.

That brings me to point four -- bargaining power.

Even the general poulic understands that farmers are not now in a position to decide the prices they get for their products.

Look at the language of commerce: We say the hardware store charges 39 cents for a pound of nails, General Motors charges 3 thousand for a car.

But the farmer, who also produces and sells things, gets five dollars and sixty-one cents, blend, for his milk, or gets 29 dollars for his fat cattle.

The farmer deserves the right to charge for his products instead of getting what the buyer decides he should have.

Moreover, most economic power in America is organized. Labor is organized, business is organized, and farmers pay more because industry's bargaining power is organized.

Industrial workers deserve the gains that they have won with concentrated economic power — but the farmer deserves parallel gains. He deserves more. He deserves to catch up.

The farmer is tired of being whipsawed by the organized elements in the rest of the economy.

The plain facts are that farmers need bargaining power. They have the desire -- and they should have the right -- to get firm control of their own economic destiny.

Competition is a great American tradition — but so is equity. If American farmers are going to get equity, they are going to have to bargain.

President Johnson, Secretary Freeman and I are going to do our best to see that you have the <u>right</u> to bargain. President Johnson has asked Bill Thatcher to come to Washington to discuss his bargaining proposals with him in detail, including a National Agricultural Relations Act.

It will not be easy for thousands of independent producers to bargain effectively, but organized labor had its own catalogue of so-called impossibilities, most of which have been realized.

And you will have one important asset working for you — the experience and accomplishments of the great American cooperative movement. The Farmers' Union, G. T. A., the Central Exchange, and the other farm cooperatives of this country have long been a powerful force for economic justice in America — justice for the farmer, justice for the country.

Your achievements have been an example to cooperative movements in the developing countries of Asia and Latin America which are now bringing political freedom and economic justice to millions for the first time.

I am confident that successful bargaining will be your next great victory.

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Today I have given you the plain facts as I see them.

--Our debt to the American farmer is great -- and it has not been repaid.

-Our progress in recent years has been substantial - but much remains to be done.

—Our government and its programs now provide the farmer with an essential margin of protection — although it does not guarantee him prosperity.

-The farmer is entitled to the bargaining power enjoyed by others in our economy no more and no less.

-The problems of our cities and those of rural America are in reality a single national problem that demands the attention of us all.

-- Food power used in the War on Hunger is America's special weapon in the quest for peace.

Let's raise the banner here and now: AN HONEST DEAL FOR RURAL AMERICA.

Let's close the Prosperity Gap once and for all.

Let this be one America, under God, with liberty, justice, and a fair share for all.

Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Those who labor in the earth are chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people."

If ever there were a chosen farmer, it is the American farmer. May this nation honor him accordingly.

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CE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATIO MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 3rd Senson, to NOVEMBER 16, 1967 My friend, Bill Thatcher, member of the Farmers' Union G.T.A., ladies and gentlemen: It has been my privilege to take part in the annual conventions of this great and respected American 🕱 18 years -- but I am especially pleased and relieved to be here this year The farm belt polls being what they are, I was not sure my invitation was still good. riends in lean fears & Good years

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

November 4, 1967

Dear Mr. Thatcher:

I have intended for some time to thank you for so many services to our nation -- each of which the Vice President has reported to me in admiring detail.

Your leadership and patriotism are qualities that inspire our country no less than they sustain and strengthen me.

I would welcome an opportunity to express my gratitude, and hear your views, in person. Perhaps we could visit when the Vice President returns from Asia. If you could suggest a convenient date, I would be happy to arrange a meeting.

Sincerely,

Mr. William Thatcher
Manager and Executive Director
Farmers Union Grain
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St. Paul, Minnesota

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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TO

FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION

St. Paul, Minnesota November 16, 1967

By JOHN R. BRENNAN
CHRISTOPHER L. COLUMBUS & ASSOCIATES
COURT REPORTERS
720 COMMERCE BUILDING
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101
224-5415

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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION

St. Paul, Minnesota November 16, 1967

Thank you, thank you very much; not only my friend but the friend of everyone in this great Auditorium tonight and of the hundreds of thousands of people of America, the General Manager, and that real soldier of the soil, Bill Thatcher, God bless you. It is wonderful to be here (applause.)

Governor LeVander and Lieutenant Governor Getts;
two very great and distinguished Senators from the State
of Minnesota, Senator McCarthy and Senator Mondale, and
those two great and distinguished Senators from North
Dakota, Senator Young and Senator Burdick, and I can think
of the other Senators of the states represented here
tonight, members of Congress, that I wish could be with
us because let me say that they work for you sincerely,
honestly, with great dedication, and you have all had the

privilege tonight to hear from four of them.

I have had the rare privilege of being their friend. I served for many years on the Committee on Agriculture with my friend, Senator Young. There were times when people said our politics was different, it was rather difficult to find out, but I can tell you that when it came to agriculture, we voted alike 100 per cent. (Applause)

It goes without saying, and yet it needs to be said, that there have been no more faithful friends, and not only faithful but affectionate friends to the Midwest, to rural America, to this Nation, in every aspect, than the four Senators who are here tonight, and I am particularly proud to be with the Senators Burdick and Mondale and McCarthy, Young, on this occasion.

Mayor Byrne, you welcome us once again to this great Capitol City, and I know that one of the blessings that St. Paul really enjoys is the annual GTA Convention. When I was the Mayor of that sister city across the river, we used to sort of declare a day of mourning every time that they had GTA in St. Paul. Now, of course, I must take a much more worldly point of view on these things and I do not choose up sides, and I notice the Mayor of Minneapolis didn't dare come over tonight (laughter).

Well, first of all, Bill, may I say, I haven't had

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such a good offer for years (applause), and I want to thank you, and in light of what I sometimes hear and all too often read, you may see me (laughter).

I am sort of like the farmer, you know, my future is uncertain. I know not what the political weather will be or how the harvest will come in, but like the farmer, hope springs eternally in my breast (applause).

And I want my friend, Gene, to know that I, too, miss Ezra (laughter). Those were happy days, days of rhetoric and little responsibility. My, how I miss those (laughter and applause).

Bill Thatcher is like good wine, he's better with age. I want to tell you that if Geritol wants to get a man of distinction to put in their ad, they should take one of Bill (applause).

I am so pleased to see our great National President of the Marmers Union, Tony Deschant, here tonight; welcome him once again. He is a great help to all of us. My life -- literally life-long friend, at least, the life-long friend of our family, Emil Loriks, and when I see Emil and know what he has done, well, my heart wells up with great emotion; a friend of my fathers, my family, my friend.

I want to talk to you tonight about a letter that I received from Bill Thatcher (applause and laughter).

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Darn, if he didn't drop it off someplace. Oh, we are going to have a little fun this evening.

You know I have had the privilege to take part in a lot of these annual conventions of GTA, this great and respected American Agricultural Cooperative Association, and Bill said 17 years. I was counting it up and I think it was 18 years, but 17 or 18 I have been here, but I am especially pleased and relieved to be here this year because I have been reading those farm belt polls, those public opinion polls of what farmers think about some of us, and I wasn't sure that my invitation was still in good standing, but I should have known that Bill Thatcher and Emil Loriks, and Tony Deschant, and the GTA Board, are good friends in lean years and in good years, and I won't know just exactly which it is until next year.

I was beginning to feel like that industrialist who suddenly became ill and went to the hospital, Bill, he lay there for weeks. No visitors came. No messages were delivered. And then one day he got a card, from the labor union that represented his employees, and the card read, "The Executive Committee of Local 246 wishes you a speedy recovery, by a vote of 8 to 7." (Laughter)

Well, I just took advantage of the odds tonight, but I am not here to poll your convention, and when I do, I will get outside the gate in the time-honored tradition

of the Farmers Union; nor am I here to ask your support on the historic issues of our times, although that support has never been lacking from the great and patriotic people that are in this assembly hall this evening (applause).

I am here to talk about the problem that has already been outlined and discussed with great clarity, the problem of greatest personal concern to you and your organization, and of great personal concern to me with quite a long period of public service, with concern for agriculture, and I am here to talk about the future of the American farmer, not the past, and what that future means to America.

Now, it has been said, but it needs to be repeated, that American agriculture ranks among the broadest achievements of mankind and, yet, too many of our fellow Americans don't know it.

If you look around, or if you look at America, at this great Nation, from abroad, as I have recently, you see one thing above all others in your mind's eye. You see not only these tall buildings of our cities, not only these broad highways, not just shiny appliances, nor great rockets or laboratories, but you see broad and fertile fields pouring forth their production through the amazing miracle of a modern American agriculture. This is what you

think about as you go through the parched lands as I did just a little over a week and a half ago tonight in central Java, Indonesia, an area that has been afflicted by exploitation and drought. I thought of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, this great Midwest, Montana, Wyoming, Wisconsin.

You see farms which produce plenty in America, in a world in which most people do not have enough to eat.

You see space-age agriculture in a world where many cultivators still rely on the wooden plow.

I saw 20,000 young men in Indonesia cleaning out irrigation ditches with shovels and hoes, the most primitive of instruments, and yet my mind's eyes couldn't help but think of the great land and earth-moving equipment in America and the broad fields and fertile plains, and in your mind's eye you see an America that depends on agriculture exports for half of its stable balance of trade, a thought and a fact that goes all too often unnoticed.

Now, you know that America, because of its agriculture, can foster world peace and relieve human suffering by providing food and fiber, as has been described here tonight, to hundreds of millions of people all around the world, and we have; while at the same time it exports its technology, its know-how, to the poor

nations so that they, in turn, might be able to provide for themselves.

That is what you think about when you are a long ways away and you see the misery of others, but then you return home and the picture is different. You see, as I have, Americans by the thousands leaving our farms and our rural areas; yes, at the rate of half a million or more a year, not because they want to, not because they want to live in a crowded and congested city.

I left New York City this afternoon after 3:00 and battled that traffic trying to get to the airport, gasping for one breath of fresh air, but you see Americans leaving these farms of ours because they think they have to in order to provide an economic opportunity that will afford a future for themselves and their children.

Even so, with all of this, my friends, as has been said tonight, we have made substantial progress in these past years, in these past seven years.

The mammoth surpluses of the 1950s that were talked about that hung over the markets like a sword, which influenced that market and threatened to scuttle support for any constructive farm program, have been diminished and in some areas eliminated.

I remember how we wrestled with that problem.

Net farm income, not nearly what it ought to be,

and yet it is up 70 per cent in the seven years since 1960, and today we have some basic tools that you helped design, that this congressman and these senators helped make possible, the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965, which didn't come easily, which came after three attempts to get it, and the Food for Peace and the Food for Freedom Act of 1966, these helped the farmer and enabled us to better meet our objectives at home and abroad.

Now, those programs reduced the painful market fluctuations that have hurt us so much this summer and fall from becoming an unmanageable cycle of boom and bust, and I see people in this audience that remember that cycle of boom and bust, but now this isn't enough for me and I know it isn't enough for you.

To say that it is a little better or little worse doesn't settle anything. The American farmer, frankly, deserves better, the Nation owes it to him. He deserves equity, and I thought tonight I would try to suggest at least four ways in which we can assure him that equity, and they add up, to me, for an honest deal for rural America and that is all the American farmer is asking for; not a fast shuffle of the deck, not a special privilege, not a stacked deck, but an honest deal.

First, we must continue to escalate the war on hunger. That is one war that we can afford to escalate

without any controversy (applause).

Food is now recognized as a most powerful and constructive tool in foreign policy in this hungry world and it is an instrument that is almost exclusively American. Moreover, we no longer have to depend on just what is left over in this historic struggle to feed this

world's exploding population.

The Food for Freedom Act of 1966 changed that concept, not merely to take what was left over, but, indeed, to even plan your needs. The Food for Freedom Act gives us the authority to produce food to help feed nations that are willing to help themselves, and we are now sending food to more than a hundred nations under the Food for Freedom program, and last year was the biggest operation in Food for Peace that we have ever known in the history of this country. Hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat sent far away to feed millions of hungry people, thousands of bales of cotton and millions of of pounds of oil, and I am happy to say that food shipments are on the way right now to needy countries.

They are on the way now tonight to a country that I just left, to Indonesia; rice, vegetable oil, bull durham wheat, and that country that I saw literally in shambles after years of exploitations, self-indulgence by a self-styled leader, and communist ideology, that nation

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tonight hangs on with the thin thread of life because
American food makes possible a freedom to live (applause).

And I want to make it clear tonight that the President of the United States has authorized and directed those who are responsible for the Food for Freedom and Food for Peace program to step up our shipments to help this hungry world and thereby to help ourselves; but the opportunities and the challenge of war on hunger are going to steadily grow in the foreseeable future, and this nation must be ready.

We are ready to make full use of our abundance and we must be ready to pay the American farmer, the soldiers of the soil that Bill Thatcher refers to, pay him a fair price for their contribution to world peace and stability.

Food for Freedom is good politics. "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, nor is bent by prayers," says an ancient text.

There can be no peace, no stability. There can be no safety in this nuclear age until that ancient enemy of mankind called hunger has been banished from the earth.

The late and beloved Pope John XXIII said that where there is constant want, there is no peace, and possibly those who are so dedicated to the cause of peace,

as we all should be, will remember that the Scripture says, "Blessed are the peace makers." Not the talkers or ever the walkers, but the peace makers, and food help maketh the peace that man longs for.

Food for Freedom is good economics. It means more income for the American farmer, and if it is properly used, it means a better price, it means, also, that the American taxpayers will not have to pay to keep valuable agriculture resources idle, and it can mean prosperous nations abroad that will provide an expanding market for American food and factory production in the future and that is what we have to look for, that is the purpose of our foreign aid program, that is what we are seeking to do; not merely to relieve human suffering, worldly as that is, but to help build a world economy that can absorb the production of an educated and productive people.

Finally, Food for Freedom is good morals. When a child starves because the nations' elders cannot figure out how to feed him, how to feed that child, each of us bears a burden of the guilt.

So we have good politics, good economics and good morals in one program, and I am here to say that this great agricultural audience, and an audience of fellow Americans, that your Nation is not shirking in its duty on this front, on the contrary.

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Within the past few weeks, vast shipments have been authorized for Asia, for Africa, for Latin America, to help people and to help American agriculture.

Now, here is point number two in my program of equity and an honest deal for rural America. I know that it is true that rural America is still behind much of the rest of the Nation.

More than twice as many farm families, as compared to city families, live below the poverty line. You hear a lot about poverty these days, the War on Poverty.

The greatest area of poverty is in rural America, not in our cities. In the cities, it is concentrated but in the vast expanse of the Nation, it has to be found in greater amount in rural America. Less than half of our farm families have a decent house, a good car, hot or cold running water and a telephone. In the city, three out of four families have these advantages.

Now, these deficiencies that I refer to are especially important to our rural young people who are about to choose a career and a place to live, and the great threat to American agriculture today is the fact that the young people are leaving.

For every 175 rural young people who are reaching the working age, they find an opportunity only for 100 jobs. 175 looking, 100 openings available.

About 200 thousand of our young people living in rural America will leave this year and go to the city. Their departure will make rural America a poorer place. Their leaving will not only separate them from their families but will weaken our rural communities, weaken them culturally as well as economically, and for what? What is waiting for them?

Well, some will find fame and fortune, to be sure, but I can tell you what most of them will find, they will find themselves confined to a city that is already over-crowded, some of them to slums, some doomed to low-paying jobs, some of them isolated and lonesome and hopeless.

You see, America is caught in a trap of urbanization today. 70 per cent of the people live on 1 per cent of the land -- 70 per cent of the people live on 1 per cent of the land, and we are going to have another 100 million Americans in the next 33 years -- another 100 million.

Where are they going to live? Our cities are already starved for space, fresh air, recreation. Our rural areas are starved for jobs and opportunity and income.

This society, my fellow Americans, is rich enough, and I think it is creative enough, to achieve a proper balance between urban growth and opportunity, or growth and opportunity between rural and urban areas.

I will put it another way. Any nation that has

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the know-how and the resources to be able to put a man on the moon ought to be able to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. (Applause) That ought to be done.

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Now, in the 1930's, modernication meant REA. In the 1940's, modernization in rural America meant hard-surface roads.

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In the 1960's and 1970's, well, it means much more than that. It means all of that. It means airports and community colleges and modern hospitals, good doctors, businesses and factories. Yes, it even means cultural

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activities, and it means, also, socials, church socials.

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It means economic vitality, new investments and new job

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opportunities, a growing tax base. It means modern

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America in your town and in your country.

Now, that kind of modernization is occurring in

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some parts of our land in rural America, and when it does,

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it comes because of aggressive local leadership, people

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working together, government and cooperatives, government

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and farmers and workers and city people pulling together.

Now, I saw a poll taken here in Minnesota just a

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short time ago. 88 per cent of those questioned favored

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special measures to encourage farm families to stay on the

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farms. 84 per cent of those polled in that poll supported the programs to encourage industry to move out to the

smaller communities.

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I think the American people expect a wholesome change in this country. They expect to see America develop everyplace, not just some places. A majority of people said they preferred to live in the country rather than the city. So I say, let's do our part to give these people a real choice, but the countryside cannot grow just by memories of fresh air and flowers and sunlight, the countryside cannot grow without prosperous farms.

So point number three in my program for equity and an honest deal, protect and improve our existing farm programs. They are not all they should be, but let me tell you, we fought hard to get them, they are the best we have ever had.

I looked at credit loans, for example, today, just an hour before I came over here. In 1960 the Farmers' Home Administration loaned or guaranteed loans in the sum of 307 million dollars.

In 1967, fiscal year 1967, the Farmers' Home
Administration guaranteed loans to rural America in the
sum of one billion, three hundred ninety million dollars.
No, it isn't all it should be, but let me tell you, it is
pointed in the right direction.

Government payments that have been talked about here are just really providing the thin margin between

profit and loss for many farmers and all too often not profit. This year our programs are paying producers an additional 48 cents a bushel on wheat, those that are under the program, 12 cents on corn.

Now, until we can develop a weatherproof acreage allotment system, we are going to experience crops that exceed our expectations and we are going to need a lot of protection. It is true that market prices are down this year. You don't need to be told, you know.

After steady progress for several years we got a lag here on our hands and, why? Because of the phenomenal growing weather throughout the world, two bumper crops worldwide.

This year in grains alone, 34 per cent increase in our crops as compared to the average of the last five years. Now, we didn't plan it that way. That is one thing I forgot to take into consideration when I talked to you last year.

The best information that we had available didn't assure us that this would be the case. As a result, this year, farm programs were under attack. The programs that have given us some progress in the past and promise more in the future are being condemned.

More than 21 bills are now in Congress that would, for all practical purposes, destroy existing farm programs.

We got a taste of what will happen just two weeks ago when one bill in the House of Representatives subcommittee, a bill to design a strategic grain reserve, was killed, a bill that this organization supported.

That bill could have let us withdraw surplus grain stocks from the commercial market when prices were low. It would have protected the consumer in times of scarcity. It would have helped the producer by substantially increasing wheat, corn and soy bean prices.

I can't tell you -- yes, I can tell you, that it was killed by the people who do not have the farmers' interests at heart. It was killed by the same old gang that we have seen operating all too often.

Now, this country needs reserves of key agricultural commodities. With our responsibilities at home and abroad, it is folly, it is dangerous, not to have those reserves. It needs a program that will keep these reserves in a common sense, clearly defined level that specifies how and when they can be released so that they do not interfere with the normal market, so that there is no dumping.

In other words, the reserves, as Bill Thatcher puts it, must be insulated from the market and made real reserves under careful control.

This nation needs a program that will depend upon the private sector, and this means GTA, depend upon the

inventories for normal business operations, but at the same time protect both the producer and the consumer.

The harsh truth is, my friends, there are people in this country and in this Congress who want unrestrained production and that would destroy the farm economy. The facts are that without our present programs, prices would fall at least a third, and I don't have to spell out the consequences of that.

Now, I know that it would be tempting to tell you tonight that the extension and the management of our existing programs, just to improve them a little would solve the farmers' problems, but it won't, and we just might as well face it. These programs are not that farreaching.

That brings me to point four. It brings me to Dr. Thatcher's proposal that -- and that is what I call it, Dr. William Thatcher's prescription for agricultural equity and economic justice -- bargaining power.

The farmers are not now in a position to decide prices they get for their product, farm program or no farm program. Look at the language in business in Congress today. Just look at this. We say the hardware store charges 39 cents for a pound of nails. General Motors charges \$3,000 for a car, but the farmer, who also produces and sells things, the language says, he gets \$5.61 blend,

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or whatever it is, or \$4.60 for his milk, he gets \$26 or \$27 or \$25 for his cattle.

The farmer deserves the right to charge, charge just like General Motors, for his products instead of getting like a supplicant or a begger, getting what the buyer decides that he should have, and that is what bargaining is all about, whether you can charge for your services and your products or whether you have to stand back and beg for a fair price, and it is up to you.

Most economic power in America is organized. Now, there is no use in saying you don't like it because it is there, it won't change it a bit because you said you don't like it. Farmers pay more for their equipment because industry bargaining power is organized, labor is organized. I think about everything is organized except the people I am talking to, and do the industrial workers deserve the gains that they have won through their economic power, but the farmer deserves parallel gains, and if he doesn't the economy is out of balance.

He deserves more and he deserves to catch up, and the longer you wait, the longer it is going to take to catch up.

Now, the plain facts are that farmers need bargaining power. They have a desire. They should have the right to get firm control of their own economic

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destiny. That is what you mean when you talk about free enterprise, that is the whole definition.

Now, if the American farmers are going to get equity, they are going to have to bargain. President Johnson, Secretary Freeman, the Vice President of the United States, members of the Congress here, are determined to do our best to see that you get that right to bargain.

The President has already directed a Special Task Force in the Department of Agriculture to examine into the whole concept of bargaining, and President Johnson has asked Bill Thatcher to come down to Washington to discuss his bargaining proposals with him in detail, and when I came in here tonight, I called him ahead of time and I said, "I want you to bring me that letter that I know you got from the President because, you know, I have found out that you got a letter," and I got Bill Thatcher's secretary to make sure that letter was over here, and I took it right out of his pocket, so help me, when I came in the door, and it says, "Dear Mr. Thatcher dated November 4 -- "I have intended for some time to thank you for so many services to our Nation." Each of which the Vice President has reported to me in admiring detail, I will gladly put that in the letter -- (laughter) "Your leadership and patronage are qualities that inspire our country no less than they sustain and strengthen me.

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I would welcome an opportunity to express my gratitude and hear your views in person. Perhaps we could visit when the Vice President returns from Asia -- Well, I am home, Bill -- "and if you can suggest a convenient date, I would be happy to arrange a meeting.

"Sincerely yours, Lyndon B. Johnson."

So we are going to have a talk. (Applause)

Might I add that we have got a good start in this bargaining. We have got Senator Mondale, who has promised here tonight that he will take and introduce the first measure, and we have got the backing of the GTA and the Central Exchange and many other cooperatives in this country that have already increased the economic power of American Agriculture, and I am confident that successful bargaining will be our next great victory.

It won't come easy, it isn't going to happen overnight. I can't tell you that it will be here next year, but I can tell you this, you will never win a fight until you start one and you will never gain your objective unless you point to it, and I suggest tonight that you start to mobilize your resources now to get what you deserve and to get what you better have for yourselves. Don't depend on others, depend on yourselves plus a friendly government, and if you do that, you will have bargaining just exactly as industry does, just as Walter Reuther does, just

as Bill Thatcher wants it, and then you will start to have some balance in the American economy (applause.)

My friends of GTA, my fellow Americans, this administration joins you in this effort. I am here to tell you that.

Now, I have given you the plain facts as I see them. It hasn't been a rosy picture. I didn't come to tell you that you never had it so good. I came to tell you what was in my heart.

Our debt to the American farmers is great and it has not been fully repaid. Our progress in recent years has been substantial but much more remains to be done.

Our government and its programs now provide the farmer with an essential margin of protection but it does not guarantee prosperity. The farmer is entitled to bargaining power enjoyed by others in our economy; no more, no less.

The problems of our cities and those of rural America are, in reality, a single national problem that demands the attention of all of us. Food power used in the war on hunger is America's special weapon for the search for peace and social justice. This is what I told you tonight. Every bit of this is within our grasp. Some of it we are already doing, the rest we can do.

So I come to this great audience in my home state

to say, let's raise a banner here now, let's have our own demonstration, here and now. Let's have equity for agriculture. Let's have an honest deal for rural America. Let's close the prosperity gap once and for all. Let this America be one America, under God, with liberty and justice and a fair share for all. That is a mighty good pledge.

Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people." I speak to the chosen people. If there ever were a chosen farmer, it is the American farmer, and I pray that this Nationmay honor him accordingly -not honor him with a badge or a ceremony, not honor him with words or oratory, but to honor him with what he deserves, a fair chance, an honest deal, economic justice. To do that is to do right. To do less is to do wrong, and I join the battle, Mr. Thatcher, and GTA, I join it willfully and hopefully because I know that working together there isn't any force in this country that can stop us or defeat us if we resolve to win this fight, and let's start it tonight, from this great Auditorium here in this great State of Minnesota with some of the finest people that this Nation has ever known.

The fight for what? For a better day for rural America, for young Americans in rural America, for people

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that live in every one of our towns and villages and farms; start it now and in the years to come, and it won't be long, you will look back on this night and say, it was then that farmers in America resolved that they, too, would share equitably in the American abundance and the American prosperity.

Thank you very much. (Standing ovation.)

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