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AN ANALYSIS OF THE  
1964 IDAHO SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

A Thesis Presented to the  
Department of Political Science  
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

By  
Dean Maurice Hansen  
August 1967

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I can only hope that this vast commitment of time, effort and faith has yielded some deeper understanding of a real-life political episode. I alone must accept responsibility for any inaccuracies, errors and conclusions.

DKH

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## INTRODUCTION

### The Problem

The 1964 national election pattern saw the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates swept into office along with a two-thirds majority of Democrats in both houses of Congress. The Idaho election pattern saw the state vote Democratic on the presidential level and in the First Congressional District. However, in the Second Congressional District, the voters replaced a two-term Democrat, Ralph Harding, with a Republican, George Hansen. Harding was the only incumbent congressman outside of the "Deep South" to be defeated. The object of this thesis is to analyze the Harding-Hansen contest and attempt to identify the factors which produced the Hansen victory.

In 1960, Harding won the Second District congressional seat by unseating a five-term Republican, Hamer Fudge. At the same time the District voted for the Republican presidential candidate. Harding was re-elected in 1962. In 1964, however, the District not only unseated Harding, but also voted against the national Democratic landslide by again favoring the Republican presidential candidate.

### Research Approach

The choice of the thesis and its setting was made on the grounds of their implications for social action, theoretical interest and opportunities for research, with the hope that some contribution might be made to an understanding of political behavior patterns, particularly



in the Idaho Second Congressional District.

The research approach to this thesis was made by several avenues of effort. A listing of them would be,

1. Library research on information relevant to the thesis problem.
2. An intensive analysis of newspaper columns, 1960-1966, regarding the 1964 Harding-Hansen congressional race.
3. Correspondence with candidates, their campaign managers, and other pertinent individuals and groups.
4. Questionnaire approach
  - a. by mail to a selected population sample: Mormon bishops and stake presidents in the Second Congressional District,
  - b. by personal contact with a random population sample: voters at the "grass-roots" level throughout the District.
5. Interviews with six Mormon stake presidents in the District.

### Definitions

In this thesis, references to Republican and Democrat refer to organized political parties in the American political structure. Other parties of lesser national prominence are also briefly considered in clear context with the two parties already mentioned. An Independent voter would be one who had not identified himself with an established political party.

The terms Liberal, Moderate, Conservative, as used in this thesis, relate to the opinions and political philosophies in the American society regarding the role of government in that society, with this role increasing in force and size in this order: Conservative, Moderate, Liberal.

Specific word definitions are as follows:

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints--An official church body, with headquarters at Salt Lake City, Utah, and popularly known as the Mormon Church.

Mormons---.A term referring to members of the Mormon Church.

Stake---. A specific geographical area designated by the Mormon Church for the purpose of administering its ecclesiastical affairs among Mormons in that area.

Stake President---.The ecclesiastical leader of a stake.

Ward---.A geographical division of a stake for the purpose of administering more closely the ecclesiastical concerns of the Mormon Church among Mormons in that division.

Bishop---.The ecclesiastical leader of a ward.

CHAPTER I  
POLITICAL HISTORY OF IDAHO'S  
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

On July 3, 1890, Idaho became the forty-third state in the Union<sup>1</sup> with a population of 88,543, which increased by 1960 to 667,991.<sup>2</sup> Idaho was allotted one United States Representative at statehood, and a second representative in 1912. Both representatives ran at-large until 1920, when congressional district boundaries were designated.<sup>3</sup>

Of Idaho's forty-four counties, twenty-five of them were in the Second Congressional District in 1964, including the most and least populous counties, Ada with 93,460 and Clark with 915 people.<sup>4</sup> As shown by the map on page 5, the First District embraced the northern counties and the Second District was comprised of the southern counties.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Council of State Governments, The Book of the States, 1966-1967 (Chicago, Illinois), XVI, p. 528.

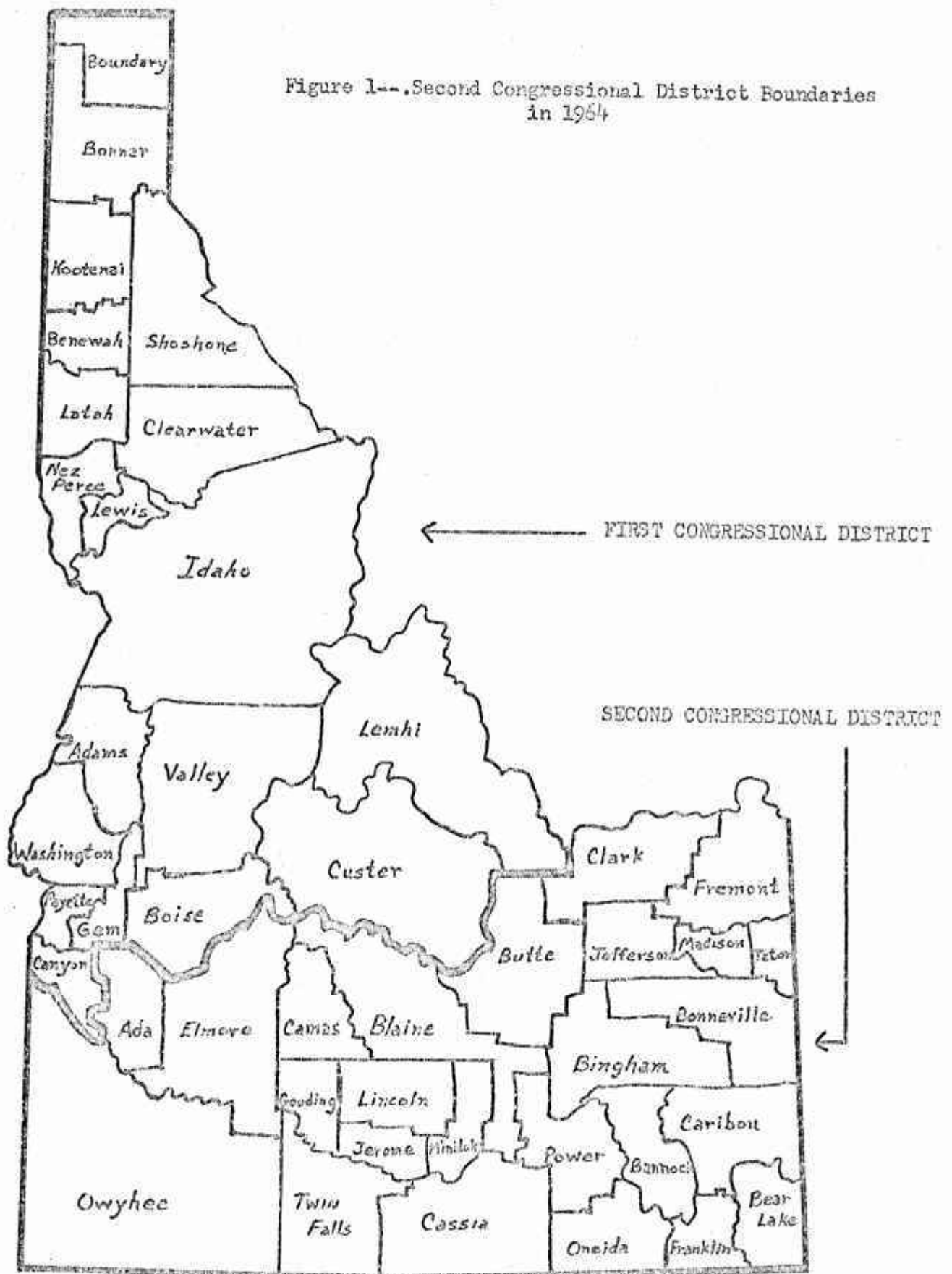
<sup>2</sup>U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States. Census of Population: 1960. Characteristics of the Population, I, 14, Idaho (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>State of Idaho, The 36th Biennial Report of the Secretary of State 1961-1962, published by Arnold Williams, Secretary of State (Boise, Idaho, 1963), pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup>National Republican Congressional Committee, Organizational Analysis and Vote History, Idaho Second Congressional District (Washington, D.C., 1960).

<sup>5</sup>In 1965, the Idaho State Legislature re-aligned congressional district boundaries to accord with population balance in the state. The re-alignment is presently more of an east-west division than north-south. There are twenty-four counties in the Second District since the 1965 adjustment.

Figure 1--Second Congressional District Boundaries  
in 1964



Idaho grew up in her pre-statehood period under the tutelage of the Republican party. Twenty-five of the twenty-six territorial governors from 1863 to 1890 were Republicans.<sup>6</sup> From statehood to 1964, Idaho continued to lean Republican. She has had twenty-three governors, fourteen of whom were Republicans and nine Democrats, with fifty of the seventy-four years spanned by the Republican governors. Of the twenty-one U.S. Senators, eleven have been Republicans. In only three of the seventy-four years of statehood were two Democratic Senators in office simultaneously, during 1901-1903 and 1945-1946.<sup>7</sup>

Despite this Republican parentage and tendency, Idaho has retained a political independence that asserts itself in split-ticket voting and political reversal. For example, outside of the governor's office most of the state government positions in recent years have been held by Democrats, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1--Political Party Listings of State Offices

Office	1950	1958	1962
Governor	R	R	R
Lt. Governor	R	D	D
Sec'y of State	D	D	D
Auditor	R	D	D
Treasurer	R	D	D
Atty. General	R	D	R
Supt. of Public Instruction	R	D	D
Inspec. of Mines	R	D	R

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1966, by Arnold Williams (Boise, Idaho).

<sup>6</sup>Fred W. Blase, Political History of Idaho Territory, 1863-1890 (Berkeley, California: University of California, M.A. Thesis, 1926), pp. 1-81.

<sup>7</sup>The 36th Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1961-1962, pp. 12-13, 16. See Appendix I.

In 1950, the Second District voted a Republican majority for all eight state offices. In 1958, it cast a majority vote for six of the seven Democratic candidates, and in 1962, it voted a plurality for all five of the successful Democratic candidates.<sup>8</sup>

In presidential elections Idaho has favored the successful presidential candidates in fourteen consecutive presidential elections, from 1904 to 1960, thus indicating Idaho's tendency to follow national voting patterns. However, as indicated by Table 2, Idahoans voted heavily for James B. Weaver's People's Party in 1892, Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party in 1912, Robert M. LaFollette's Progressive Party in 1924, and chose Richard Nixon in 1960, thus indicating an independent tendency.

Deviating from the state pattern, the Second District has given a majority vote to every Republican presidential candidate since 1948, when it nearly balanced its votes for Thomas E. Dewey (R) and Harry S. Truman (D). The 1944 presidential election was also very close: 60,513 (D) to 58,627 (R).<sup>9</sup> However, Table 3 shows a definite trend since 1952 toward declining Republican voting and increased Democratic voting on the presidential level by Second District voters. The trend is not so definite on the senate and congressional levels. Republican and Democratic senate votes both show a gradual increase in numbers with increasing population. However, the number of Democratic congressional votes is consistently above the number of Democratic presidential votes with the exception of 1964, while the number of Republican congressional votes is lower than the number of presidential votes in each election from 1952 to 1964.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Idaho, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections 1944-1948.

TABLE 2--.Presidential Elections in Idaho

Year	Winner	Total Vote	Republican Vote	Democratic Vote	Other Vote
1964	Johnson (D)	293,000	143,557	148,920	
1960 <sup>a</sup>	Kennedy (D)	300,000	162,000	139,000	
1956	Eisenhower (R)	273,000	167,000	106,000	
1952	Eisenhower (R)	276,000	181,000	94,000	
1948	Truman (D)	215,000	102,000	107,000	
1944	Roosevelt (D)	208,000	100,000	107,000	
1940	Roosevelt (D)	235,000	107,000	128,000	
1936	Roosevelt (D)	200,000	66,000	126,000	
1932	Roosevelt (D)	187,000	71,000	109,000	
1928	Hoover (R)	154,000	100,000	53,000	
1924	Coolidge (R)	148,000	70,000	24,000	54,000 <sup>d</sup>
1920	Harding (R)	136,000	89,000	47,000	
1916	Wilson (D)	135,000	55,000	70,000	
1912	Wilson (D)	106,000	33,000	34,000	26,000 <sup>e</sup>
1908	Taft (R)	98,000	53,000	36,000	
1904	Roosevelt (R)	73,000	48,000	18,000	
1900 <sup>b</sup>	McKinley (R)	58,000	27,000	29,000	
1896 <sup>c</sup>	McKinley (R)	30,000	6,000	23,000	
1892	Cleveland (D)	19,000	9,000		11,000 <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Idaho favored Nixon over Kennedy in 1960.

<sup>b</sup>Idaho favored Bryan over McKinley in 1900

<sup>c</sup>Idaho favored Bryan over McKinley in 1896

<sup>d</sup>Robert M. LaFollette, Progressive Party

<sup>e</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, Bull Moose Party

<sup>f</sup>James B. Weaver, People's Party

SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, p. 693; Historical Statistics, Continuation to 1962 and Revisions 1965, p. 94; Idaho, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election, November 3, 1964 (Boise, Idaho).



TABLE 3--Recent Second District Voting Patterns

Year	Republican Vote			Democratic Vote			Non-Voters (Congress)
	President	Senate	Congress	President	Senate	Congress	
1966 <sup>a</sup>		65,093	79,024		49,849	33,348	
1964	94,684		91,838	84,788		84,022	abt. 49,000
1962		88,409	74,203		68,979	83,152	abt. 65,000
		74,164			84,849		
1960	102,705	98,026	86,100	79,350	79,871	90,161	45,993
1958			78,553			64,214	79,444
1956	103,688	62,716	90,738	57,787	84,332	60,552	63,290
1954		87,656	81,824		48,366	52,681	90,075
1952	111,760		103,047	51,092		52,692	51,057
1950		77,877	66,966		40,452	50,255	
		62,603			56,873		
1948	60,308	62,222	61,690	61,082	60,737	59,006	
1946		64,876	63,692		41,246	41,231	
1944	58,627	61,173	61,751	60,513	58,758	56,249	

<sup>a</sup>Second District was reduced over 100,000 in population number due to reapportionment of 1965. If applied to 1964 congressional results, there would have been 65,103 Republican votes and 65,048 Democratic votes, less than .08 per cent difference.

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1944-1966 by Arnold Williams (Boise, Idaho: 1967); National Republican Congressional Committee, Organizational Analysis and Vote History, 2nd Congressional District, Idaho, (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 1.



These statistics indicate a considerable amount of split ticket voting and show the Republican presidential candidates have been more popular than congressional candidates, with the reverse being true of the Democrats.

#### Second Congressional District

Moving from the national and state-wide voting implications, the voting statistics for congressmen from the Second District show that Republicans have been selected with a consistency of 77.3 per cent of the time from 1920 to 1964. Table 4 shows that the Second Congressional District has elected Democratic congressmen for only two brief periods since 1920. The first was 1932-1938 during the height of the Democratic New Deal and the second was from 1960-1964 when Ralph Harding was victorious. The congressional pattern from 1920 to 1962 has given 54.3 per cent of the votes to the Republican candidate and 42.2 per cent to the Democratic candidate.

The Second District also has a history of political conservatism among both Republican and Democratic congressional candidates. Republicans Henry Dworshak (1938-1946), John Sanborn (1946-1950) and Hamer Budge (1950-1960) were known and recognized as political conservatives who represented a conservative district.<sup>10</sup> Regarding the Democrats one author wrote that,

Idaho made a sensation in 1938 by retiring James Pope (D), one of the few dependable New Deal Senators from the Far West at the time, in favor of Representative D. Worth Clark (D), a conservative.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Interview with John Sanborn, Hagerman, Idaho, October 2, 1964; Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," November 15, 1964, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Earl Pomeroy, The Pacific Slope, A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah and Nevada, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 251.

Table 4--Second District Congressional Votes

Year	Republican	Democratic	Progressive
1966 <sup>a</sup>	70.3	29.7	
1964	52.2	47.8	
1962	47.2	52.8	
1960	48.8	51.2	
1958	55.0	45.0	
1956	60.0	40.0	
1954	60.8	39.2	
1952	66.2	33.8	
1950	57.1	42.9	
1948	51.1	48.9	
1946	60.7	39.3	
1944	52.3	47.3	
1942	54.8	45.2	
1940	53.1	46.9	
1938	53.6	46.4	
1936	39.5	60.5	
1934	39.3	60.7	
1932	44.3	55.7	
1930	61.6	38.4	
1928	64.4	35.6	
1926	60.4	16.8	22.8
1924	54.6	16.6	28.8
1922	47.8	28.5	23.7
1920	63.0	37.0	
Average	54.3	42.2	(25.1)

<sup>a</sup>Second District was reapportioned in 1965. An interpolation of the 1965 realignment of votes applied to the 1964 election would have given the Republican candidate 50.4 per cent instead of 52.2 per cent.

SOURCE: Statistics of the Congressional Elections 1920-1966, compiled by the Clerk of the House of Representatives. (See Appendix I.)

Clark had been the Second District Congressman from 1934-1938, before he ran successfully for the senate.<sup>12</sup>

The election of Ralph Harding as Second District Congressman in 1960 brought a Democrat into office without the conservative views of his predecessors.<sup>13</sup>

#### Summary

Since its inception in 1920, the Idaho Second Congressional District has retained a basic Republican voting pattern, although recent elections have seen a decline in Republican voting strength. Political conservatives of both parties shared the congressional office, until the election of Ralph Harding in 1960.

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<sup>12</sup>See Appendix I.

<sup>13</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose?" November 5, 1964, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER II  
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS  
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

The distribution of Idaho's population corresponds to the productivity of the land, in farming, lumbering, grazing and mining. The state is essentially a rural commonwealth, with 61.4 per cent of the population residing in the southern Second Congressional District in 1960 (409,949 of 667,991).<sup>1</sup>

Urban Areas

In 1960, Idaho had only four cities with populations over 25,000, all four being located in the Second District. They contain 34.3 per cent of the District population and 35.3 per cent of the eligible District voters. These cities and their potential voting populations are given in Table 5.

The location of these larger cities in the southern district contributes to the shift in rural percentage of population from 52.5 per cent state-wide to 48.6 per cent in the Second District. These major urban areas are the marketing and distribution centers for their surrounding rural areas. The mountainous central region and the lack of transportation facilities (there is no connecting railway link and only one highway between north and south) have encouraged the cities in southern Idaho to develop closer economic

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<sup>1</sup>The Eighteenth Decennial Census, p. 16.

Table 5---.1960 Population and Potential Voting Population of Urban Areas of 10,000 or More in Second Congressional District

City	Population	No. Over 21 Years
Boise	34,481	21,588
Whitney (Suburb)	<u>13,603</u>	<u>7,082</u>
	48,084	28,670
Pocatello	28,534	15,682
Alameda (Suburb)	<u>10,660</u>	<u>5,301</u>
	39,194	20,983
Idaho Falls	33,161	17,659
Twin Falls	<u>20,126</u>	<u>11,760</u>
TOTAL	140,565	79,072
Second District Total	409,949	222,254

SOURCE: The Eighteenth Decennial Census, p. 14-37.

and cultural ties with Utah, especially Salt Lake City as the center of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Ogden as the center of the intermountain railroad and shipping complex.<sup>2</sup>

Boise City and suburbs, (48,084) in Ada County in southwest Idaho is the state capital and a commercial and manufacturing center. Founded in 1863 after the discovery of gold in the vicinity, it serves as the trade, processing and shipping center for the surrounding irrigated agricultural, dairy and livestock area. Nearby Mountain Home Air Force Base contributes significantly to the area economy as does Boise College.

Pocatello and suburb of Alameda, (39,194) in Bannock County is a railroad routing point and a transportation and shipping center for southeastern Idaho. Laid out as a railroad town at the turn of the century, it has seen an Army Air Force Base and a Naval Ordnance Plant come and go with World War II.

<sup>2</sup>Sketches of Idaho History 1847-1909 (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Tribune Press, 1909), pp. 8-9, 22-27, 40, 283-297, 307. See also Cornelius J. Bosnan, History of the State of Idaho, 4th ed. rev. (New York, 1948), pp. 47-121.

Large phosphate and chemical factories are processing and producing increasing amounts of marketable products that contribute to the economy. It is also the home of Idaho State University.

Idaho Falls (33,161) in Bonneville County is the hub of the upper Snake River Valley in eastern Idaho, and is a center for potato, wheat, sugar beet and livestock growing, food processing, metal working and lumbering. It is the only large urban area without a college or university, but is served by Ricks College at Rexburg, 25 miles northeast. The Atomic Energy Commission has its headquarters offices here for multi-million dollar research projects being conducted at the Atomic Site on the desert west of the city. First settled in the 1860's as Eagle Rock and chartered under its present name in 1890-1891, it has one of the largest municipally owned hydroelectric plants in the United States.

Twin Falls (20,126), the largest city in south-central Idaho, was laid out in 1903 as a trading point for a large private irrigation project, incorporated as a city in 1907, and is today a processing and shipping center for the surrounding Magic Valley and Hagerman Valley areas in dairying, agriculture and stock-raising. Southern Idaho Junior College is an important new development to this area. "Rock-ribbed" Republicans from Kansas and Nebraska helped settle the area.<sup>3</sup>

Of the 4,200 tons daily processing capacity of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company in 1909, 2,600 tons were handled in the Idaho Falls, Sugar City, Blackfoot and Nampa sugar factories. Zion's Merchantile Cooperative Institution (ZCMI) had branches in Idaho Falls and Boise. The Salt Lake Tribune and Telegram, Salt Lake Herald and the Deseret News serviced the area in news and distribution. The Harriman Rail Roads and the Rio Grand railroads joined other cross-country rail lines at Pocatello.<sup>4</sup>

#### Rural Areas

The rural characteristics of the Second Congressional District revolve around the exploitation of the abundant water, grasses,

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<sup>3</sup>Information received from the Chambers of Commerce in Boise, Pocatello, Idaho Falls and Twin Falls.

<sup>4</sup>Sketches of Idaho History 1847-1909.

forests, minerals and rich soil of the mountain valleys and the fertile decomposing lava and volcanic ash of southern Idaho. Light rainfall is supplemented by extensive irrigation to produce heavy yields in diversified farming. Some of the major irrigation systems are the Northside Irrigation Project (located on the north side of the Snake River in the Jerome area) which comprises 700,000 acres; the Twin Falls Project which totals nearly 1,000,000 acres; and the Boise Valley Project which involves nearly 500,000 acres. Smaller systems are found in various eastern Idaho areas.<sup>5</sup>

The principal sources of farm income are from wheat, cattle, and potatoes. Fruit production in the Boise Valley is extensive and profitable. Other principal field crops are sugar beets, field peas, hay and various grains.

The leading animal industries are those associated with the raising of cattle, sheep and swine. Cattle is second only to wheat as a major source of farm income in the District and state.

Primarily an exporter of raw materials, in exchange for imported manufactured goods, much of the District's soft winter wheat is shipped abroad, particularly to the Orient; potatoes, cattle, sheep and swine are shipped to the cities of the eastern United States; California gets spring lambs, and dairy products; and Anaconda in Montana processes large volumes of the vast phosphate rock deposits in southern Idaho.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Vardis Fisher, The Idaho Encyclopedia (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1938), pp. 354-423; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of The Columbia; a History of the Pacific Northwest (New York: Shaw and McDonald, 1957), pp. 77-95; Sketches of Idaho History 1847-1909, pp. 283-293.

<sup>6</sup>Information received from the Idaho Farm Bureau, Pocatello, Idaho.



The history of the rural areas of the Second District through two world wars and almost twenty years of agricultural depressions between them is typical of other western rural areas. The demands of World War I brought prosperity through the high prices paid for agricultural, mineral and forest products. The decade of the 1920's, prosperous for everyone but farmers, brought a dreary depression to the rural population, and the great depression of the 1930's was added misery. The years of World War II and the Korean War caused an upturn in prosperity for a period, but took many of the younger generation off the farms to serve overseas or to work in war plants, never to return.<sup>7</sup>

#### Population Patterns and Sources

Idaho has been inoculated, washed over and settled by many incoming and outgoing population patterns, particularly the southern district. The frontier Gold Rush from 1850-1870 attracted thousands of prospectors, speculators, and attendant boom-town followers. Some remained as permanent residents, but the remote "instant gold towns" petered out with the dwindling availability of the precious ores and the "cross-roads" became the accepted sites for cities such as Boise.<sup>8</sup>

Idaho was part of the Washington Territory formed in 1859 from the Oregon Territory, but the thousands of fortune seekers brought agitation for separation. The need for law and order impelled the creation of the Idaho Territory on March 3, 1863. Originally larger than Texas, the eastern-most sector was withdrawn in 1864 to form Montana Territory, and in 1868 another segment was given to

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<sup>7</sup>Fisher, pp. 213-319, and Johansen and Gates, pp. 98-338.

<sup>8</sup>Fisher, p. 354.



Wyoming.<sup>9</sup> A constitutional convention was held in 1889, and Idaho became a state in 1890.

In the Second District immigrants from the mid-west came to tame the Magic and Hagerman Valleys.<sup>10</sup> Mormon immigrants from abroad and from Utah were sent to settle the fertile valleys of the Snake River and its tributaries. Some of their settlements such as the limhi expedition in 1855 failed and were relocated, but most of them flourished in their chosen location.<sup>11</sup> Railroad towns such as Pocatello and Glenns' Ferry have drawn in people of considerable variety. Military bases such as Mountain Home Air Force Base and Phillips Army Air Force Field at Pocatello (phased out in late 1940's), have brought fresh blood and ideas. In industry phosphate plants, lumber and wood processing mills, food processing plants, Atomic Energy Commission contractors and tourism have spawned new economic, political and population developments.<sup>12</sup>

#### The Mormon Influence

One of the most controversial and puzzling aspects of Idaho's political history, and perhaps an enigma in itself involves the membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)

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<sup>9</sup>Hubert H. Bancroft, A History of the Pacific States of North America, XXVI (San Francisco: History Company, 1890), pp. 321-325. See also Frank C. Robertson, Fort Hall: Gateway to the Oregon Country (New York: Hastings House, 1963), pp. 103-168.

<sup>10</sup>Johansen and Gates, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup>Merrill D. Beal, A History of Southeastern Idaho (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1942), pp. 136-153. See also J. B. Rawlins, Exploring Idaho's Past (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1963), pp. 75-78, 105-126, 127-150.

<sup>12</sup>Johansen and Gates, pp. 79-83.

residing in the state. Their entry into Idaho was begun under the direction of President Brigham Young before the territory was incorporated.<sup>13</sup> Early civil government among them was similar to that of the central body in Utah.<sup>14</sup>

As the Mormon pioneers entered Utah in 1847, they brought to a close the first, or foundation, period of Utah politics during which the Mormons had developed a pattern of voting as a bloc, usually for the Democratic ticket. The second period extends from 1847 to 1870 and is characterized by a close union between Church and state and the absence of opposing political parties. Nominations were frequently made through Church groups and candidates then were unanimously elected. However, as the non-Mormon population increased in Utah, dissatisfaction with the Mormon monopoly of politics also increased and in 1870 the Liberal Party was organized by non-Mormons. The Mormons promptly responded with the organization of the People's Party and two-party politics arrived in Utah. However, it was two-party politics based on the religious Mormon-non-Mormon split and used local rather than national names and issues.<sup>15</sup>

The incorporation of Idaho into the Washington Territory in 1859 and eventual establishment of the Territory of Idaho in 1863 brought attendant pressures and influences upon the Mormon communities and their pattern of civil and Church interrelationships.<sup>16</sup> The growing hostility in Congress toward polygamy found expression in several laws designed to eliminate the practice which were enforced by federal and territorial officials. Idaho Mormons adopted the political party precedent of the Utah members and endeavored to defend their religious position in the territory and before Congress.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Beal, pp. 93-153, 168-227.

<sup>14</sup>Norman E. Ricks, Mormon Settlement of Snake River Fork Country, 1833-1893 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, M.S. Thesis, 1950), 190 pp. See also Beal, p. 297-319.

<sup>15</sup>Stewart L. Grow, "The Development of Political Parties in Utah," The Western Political Quarterly, XVI (September, 1963), p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>Idaho Territory, Revised Statutes (1887) Sections 1-6.

<sup>17</sup>"The Rights of Citizenship," a brief in re H. R. bills Nos. 1478, 6153, and the petition of the Bear Lake County, Idaho Terr., n.d., n.n.

The progressive Constitution of Idaho adopted in 1889 contained a controversial section disenfranchising Mormons because of polygamy<sup>18</sup> and at that time nearly every Mormon was suspect. This clause, with its test oath, has since been neglected, and the Idaho Legislature withdrew restrictions on Mormons after 1893; but problems with voting rights of Mormons persisted for many years.<sup>19</sup>

The actual Idaho Mormon population in 1890 was not known and the First Presidency of the Church was endeavoring to determine it by personally commissioning A. Milton Musser, a prominent Mormon leader, to gather the statistics.<sup>20</sup> In 1892, there were six stakes (geographical subdivisions of the Church) in southern Idaho:<sup>21</sup>

- Bannock Stake: Embracing all members from the Pocatello-Bannock County area north to the Montana border.
- Bear Lake Stake: Including Mormons in the Bear Lake Valley on the Utah side as well as on the Idaho side.
- Cache Stake: Principally located in Logan, Utah, some members in the Cache Valley on the Idaho border were included.
- Cassia Stake: Included members of south central Idaho and across the border in Utah.
- Malad Stake: Included both Idaho and Utah members in the Malad Valley.
- Oneida Stake: Included members in the Preston area and north to the Bannock Stake.

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<sup>18</sup>U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Territories, Anti-Mormon Test Oath, Arguments of Honorable J. M. Nelson, Honorable A. B. Carlton, and Bishop William Eudge, in Opposition to the Constitution to the Proposed State of Idaho, Adopted at Boise City, August 6, 1889, Made Before the Committee on the Territories of the House of Representatives, January 21 and February 8, 1890, 50th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1890). See also James R. Clark, Messages of the First Presidency (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1966), III, p. 153.

<sup>19</sup>Merrill C. Hansen, The Role of Rhetoric in the Mormon Suffrage Debate in Idaho 1880-1906 (Stanford, California: Stanford University, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1958), pp. 317-358, See also Beal, p. 317.

<sup>20</sup>Clark, pp. 200-201. An approximation of 25,000, which is about 28 per cent of the 1890 census population of 88,548, was made by Beal, p. 316.

<sup>21</sup>Clark, pp. 236-238.

By 1964, the Mormon Church membership in the Second Congressional District had grown to approximately 150,000 and was divided among 39 stakes averaging 3,850 members each.<sup>22</sup> This amounted to approximately 37 per cent of the total Second District population (409,949 in 1960).<sup>23</sup>

Idaho Mormons have never completely overcome the misunderstanding and mistrust shown them by non-Mormons, and lingering suspicions have caused many difficulties between them.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Dean Hansen, Questionnaire to Stake Presidents and Bishops in the Second Congressional District, compiled in December, 1965, and January, 1966, Provo, Utah.

<sup>23</sup>The Eighteenth Decennial Census, p. 14-16.

<sup>24</sup>Of interest is an interview between a representative of the Salt Lake Times, a non-Mormon Republican paper, and Presidents Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, upon the attitude of the Church with regard to politics, June 23, 1891, as found in James R. Clark, Messages of the First Presidency, pp. 211-217.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE 1964 CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

##### Ralph Harding, Democrat<sup>1</sup>

Ralph Ray Harding was born September 9, 1929, in Malad City, Idaho, the oldest of seven children of Ralph W. Harding, a farmer and high school athletic coach and who is presently a member of the Malad Mormon Stake High Council. His grandfather, Ralph J. Harding, was an early resident of Malad Valley and served several terms as the State Senator from Oneida County prior to and during the 1920's. He was also a Democratic National Committeeman in 1928 and ran unsuccessfully for Congress in that year (See Appendix I).

Harding spent his boyhood days on the family farm and attended school at Malad and at St. Anthony where his father moved to teach. He has a bachelor's degree in political science from Brigham Young University, and has taken graduate work in accounting. He filled an L.D.S. (Mormon) mission in the central states and served as an officer in the Army during the Korean War.

In 1954, Harding was elected as State Representative from Oneida County for 1955-1956 while still attending college, and commuted from Provo, Utah, to Malad on weekends to campaign. He served in the Idaho House of Representatives as a member of the Reclamation and Irrigation, Public Health, Fish and Game, and Judiciary Committees.

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<sup>1</sup>Twin Falls Times-News, "Your Candidates for United States Representative," General Election Supplement, November 1, 1964, p. 9; Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Vows Not to Avoid Controversy in Election Bid," April 23, 1964, p. 16.

Harding is married to Willa Conrad, a former school teacher from Iona. They are the parents of four children: Ralph David, Cherie, Charlene and John Kennedy. Harding and his family are active members of the Mormon Church.

He worked as a staff auditor with the national C.P.A. firm of Touche, Niven, Bailey and Smart for about a year. Immediately prior to his 1960 election to Congress, he was employed at the American Potato Company in Blackfoot as comptroller. Harding is a member of the American Legion, Reserve Officers Association, Air Force Association and past member of the Blackfoot Chamber of Commerce and Lions Club.

Receiving 51.2 per cent of the votes, Harding's election to Congress in 1960 over incumbent Republican Hauer Budge made him the youngest member of the 87th Congress at 31 years of age. He was re-elected by a 52.8 per cent majority in 1962. Harding was the first Democrat elected from the Second District since 1936. Upon his election to Congress in 1960, Harding was named to the House Agriculture Committee, and its subcommittees on Wheat, Forests, Domestic Marketing, and Foreign Agriculture. He was later named to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

After his defeat in the 1964 election, Harding was named special assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force, serving in that capacity until March 18, 1966. When he resigned to enter the Idaho Senate race in 1966, he was given the highest award the Air Force can bestow upon a civilian.<sup>2</sup> His bid for the Senate against incumbent Republican Senator Len B. Jordan was unsuccessful. Harding is presently working

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<sup>2</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Jordan, Harding Unopposed in Primary," July 29, 1966, Primary Election Supplement, p. 5.



in an executive position with the headquarters office of the American Potato Company in California.

George Hansen, Republican<sup>3</sup>

George Vernon Hansen was born September 14, 1930, in Teton, Idaho, the oldest of three children of Dean E. Hansen, a grain buyer and elevator manager for Farmer's Grain Cooperative (headquartered in Ogden, Utah). His father also operated a service station, cafe, and seven-unit apartment-motel complex and was a village trustee and served as a Democratic precinct committeeman during several years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's tenure. His paternal grandfather was a pioneer and Republican County Commissioner in Teton County and Bishop of Clawson L.D.S. Ward there for twenty-three years. His maternal grandfather was a Republican precinct committeeman in St. Charles, Bear Lake County, during the late 1930's and early 1940's.

Hansen grew up in Teton, working in the family enterprises, on farms and as a section-hand for the Union Pacific Railroad during teenage summers. He was graduated from Teton High School in Driggs, and received a bachelor's degree from Ricks College in 1955, with honors, in history and Russian. He has done graduate work in education at Idaho State University in Pocatello and is a graduate of business college in accounting and management. He served three and one-half years in the Air Force, graduated from an Army language school in Russian, and is currently a U.S. Naval Reserve officer.

Hansen is married to Constance Sue Camp of Paragould, Arkansas, whom he met while in aviation cadet training school at nearby Malden

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<sup>3</sup>Twin-Falls Times-News, "Your Candidates for United States Representative," November 1, 1964, General Election Supplement, p. 9; and personal knowledge of author.

Air Force Base in Malden, Missouri, in 1952. Connie is a former Mrs. Pocatello (1958) and is active in civic and community affairs. They are the parents of five children: Steven George, James Vernon, Patricia Sue, William Dean and JoAnn. Hansen and his family are active members of the Mormon Church.

Hansen was a former grain buyer and elevator manager in Tetonia and Soda Springs for Farmer's Grain Cooperative, a former science and mathematics teacher in Pocatello and has had considerable experience in sales, clerical and construction work. Prior to his election to Congress in 1964, he was employed as an insurance underwriter with the New York Life Insurance Company in Pocatello.

He is a member of Kiwanis, 20-30 Club, American Legion, Chamber of Commerce in Pocatello, Life Insurance Underwriters Association, Farm Bureau and has been a P.T.A. president, Bannock County Heart Fund Chairman and active in United Fund drives. In Bannock County, he was Young Republican chairman, County Publicity Chairman, a precinct committeeman and on the County Central Committee.

Hansen was elected mayor of Alameda on April 25, 1961,<sup>4</sup> and helped govern the successful merging of Pocatello and Alameda; subsequently being elected in 1962 and serving as vice-chairman of the Pocatello City Commission in a normally heavily Democratic city. He served two terms as a member of the Board of Directors of the Idaho Municipal League, helping to reorganize and relocate it in Boise. He had a program accepted on "Understanding Communism" by the Idaho State Board of Education and gave lectures on it throughout the state.

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<sup>4</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Elected Mayor of Alameda," April 26, 1961, p. 1.



In 1962, Hansen made an unsuccessful late-starting bid for the Republican nomination to the Senate against Jack Hawley of Boise, winning "all of eastern Idaho outside of Bonneville County with a one-man, shoe-string campaign."<sup>5</sup>

Shortly after the June primary election, Republican Senator Henry Dworshak died (July 23, 1962) and Hansen again sought the interim appointment and nomination to this second Senate seat, but was passed over in favor of former Republican Governor Len B. Jordan.<sup>6</sup> The primary against Hawley netted Hansen enough local write-in votes to run in the general election for Bannock County State Representative, but here again he was defeated.<sup>7</sup> The following year, October 8, 1963, Hansen was re-elected for the second time to the Pocatello City Commission and was the third highest vote getter on the seven-man commission.<sup>8</sup>

Upon his election to Congress in 1964 with 52.2 per cent of the votes cast, Hansen was named to the following committees:

Interior and Insular Affairs  
 Subcommittees: Public Lands  
                   Indian Affairs  
                   Irrigation and Reclamation  
 Agriculture  
 Subcommittees: Forests  
                   Wheat  
                   Family Farms  
                   Rural Development

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<sup>5</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), "Politicos Huddle; Who's Got the Ball," June 11, 1962, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratch-pad," July 25, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Bannock County, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election November 6, 1962 (Pocatello, Idaho: Issued by Sarah Devaney, Bannock County Auditor, 1963).

<sup>8</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "How the City Voted," October 9, 1963, pp. 1-2.

Republican Committee on Committees  
Republican Congressional Campaign Committee  
GOP Agriculture Task Force

In 1966, Hansen was re-elected to Congress with 71 per cent of the  
Second District vote.

CHAPTER IV  
THE PRIMARY NOMINATION

On May 7, 1964, Democrat Ralph Harding and Republican George Hansen filed their petitions, over 1,000 signatures each, to enter the Second District Congressional election race.<sup>1</sup> Also filing nominating petitions were Republicans Keith Schofield, former assistant Attorney General for Idaho, and Dick Smith, State Senator and wheat farmer from Madison County.<sup>2</sup>

Harding cited the issues he would emphasize in the coming campaign to be,

1. Economic development of the state
2. Protection and development of state water resources
3. Extension of Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) and its marketing area into southern Idaho.<sup>3</sup>

Reclamation, BPA and economic factors were thus accentuated as his central theme.

Hansen laid his emphasis on a different basis, and pledged,

1. "The most progressive and hard-fighting campaign seen in Idaho for many years,
2. "based on the most powerful principle in the free enterprise system, positive conservatism."<sup>4</sup>

Hansen planned to use an intense campaign to sell himself and his dynamic approach to conservatism.

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<sup>1</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Sees Water, BPA as Top Issues, and Hansen Enters GOP Race for Congress Seat," May 7, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Schofield considered himself a conservative and based his approach on his "nine years of practical experience" with the United States Department of State, which enabled him to understand the "world Communist Menace" and the "encroachments of the Federal Government on our state, local and individual spheres."<sup>5</sup>

Smith identified himself as a moderate conservative and called for "less government control and regulation of our basic industries" and criticized Harding's over-concern "with matters totally unrelated to his congressional duties."<sup>6</sup>

All four candidates were active members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon). Schofield and Smith "said the question of religion would not be a public issue in the campaign, unless raised by Harding," and that he had misused his office by "mixing politics and religion" in the controversy over his criticism of Ezra Taft Benson, an Apostle of the Mormon Church.<sup>7</sup> However, both made comments touching on the Benson incident, especially Schofield.<sup>8</sup> Harding made frequent defense of his Benson-Birch criticism.<sup>9</sup> Hanson felt that it was "a significant though undercurrent issue."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Schofield Campaign Committee of Rupert, "Keith for Congress," literature. (Mrs. Glen O. McBride, Secretary)

<sup>6</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Madison Man Enters Race for U.S. House," April 12, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Republicans Reach Agreement on One Item, Harding Must Go," June 24, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Personal knowledge of author.

<sup>9</sup>Preston Citizen, "Politicos Open 1964 Campaign," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Coeur D'Alene Press, "Defeat of Harding Idaho's Sole Upset," November 6, 1964, p. 2.

The three types of conservatism represented by the Republican candidates might be summarized as follows:

Smith: Moderate (and relaxed) conservative<sup>11</sup>

Schofield: Negative or obstructive conservative ("We must stop the federal government from increasing its power over us, and oppose bureaucratic intervention in our affairs.")<sup>12</sup>

Hansen: Positive conservatism ("I'm not going to spend you to death with irresponsible liberalism or starve you to death with do-nothing conservatism. I like to get things done...to do it the right and lasting way, not the expedient way. Positive conservatism is where a free people can rise to individual challenges to perform to excellence, with government doing only for its citizens what they aren't able to do for themselves.")<sup>13</sup>

Harding regarded himself and was understood to be of a different political temperament. He was designated as a "liberal."<sup>14</sup>

#### Party Nominating Conventions

On June 12-13, five weeks after the filing of petitions to run, both parties held their nomination conventions, the Democrats in Boise and the Republicans in Idaho Falls. Candidates who had filed for offices were to be considered and voted upon by the convention to determine who was to be placed on the party's primary ballot.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup>"Gem Assemblies Meet This Week," p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>"Keith for Congress" campaign literature; see also Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Schofield Says Democrats Hope to 'Shape Society,'" April 8, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Started Behind--And He's Running to Catch up," July 11, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), SHD, "Ralph Harding: He Didn't Know When to Duck," November 19, 1964, p. 1; The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose," November 5, 1964, pp. 1-2; Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Candidates in Congress Race Gird," Sept. 7, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), "Politics Huddle: Who's Got the Ball?" June 11, 1964, p. 2.

Harding was nominated for the Congressional slot in the August 4, primary by acclamation by the Democrats without opposition.<sup>16</sup>

On the Republican side, a spirited contest had developed. Smith, as a State Senator, had much of the party "regulars" pledged to vote for him at the convention. Schofield had spent several months lining up enough delegates to place him on the ballot. Hansen, who had announced for the congressional race just a week before the filing dead-line, was hard pressed to muster the necessary 20 per cent delegate vote to get on the ballot. During the few weeks between the filing and the convention vote, he visited and wrote nearly every delegate in twenty-five counties (325) in an effort to secure the necessary support (See Appendix VIII). All three candidates were finally endorsed by the convention, Hansen by 22 per cent (44 votes) to enter the Primary Election in August.<sup>17</sup>

#### Primary Campaign

The campaign leading up to the Primary Election on August 4, was in many respects a dull one. Smith spent his time "working with the party pros and attending Republican meetings at which Republicans spent their time talking to each other," expecting the necessary help at the party level to put him across in the primary.<sup>18</sup> Schofield confined his campaign for the most part to the heavily populated Republican counties of Minidoka (his birth place), Jerome,

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<sup>16</sup>Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), "Democrats Nominate Harding, White," June 14, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Idaho Sunday Journal (Pocatello), "Gem Assemblies Meet This Week," June 7, 1964, pp. 1-2; John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), August 6, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>Corlett, p. 4.

Cassia, Twin Falls and Ada (place of residence), and used the "home town boy" approach in his literature and advertisements.<sup>19</sup> Schofield and Smith hassled with each other and about Harding more than promoting their own candidacies.

One week before the election, in an attempt to cut Hansen's popular support in Pocatello, Smith criticized Hansen for his pre-campaign remarks castigating Idaho State University (ISU) officials for their lack of concern and apathy in dealing with the alleged misconduct of several faculty members. Hansen in turn criticized Smith, as a State Senator on the Senate Education Committee, of taking already inadequate funds meant for ISU for the establishment of another four-year college in north Idaho, only thirty miles away from the University of Idaho. Hansen secured the center stage in the area from this exchange.<sup>20</sup>

Republican State Senator Perry Swisher (Bannock), a supporter of Smith for the Second District congressional office and editor of the weekly newspaper, The Intermountain, accused Hansen of associations with the John Birch Society. He said he heard Hansen and John Russelot, western states district governor for the Birch Society and a former congressman from California, discussing a congressional race and finances. Hansen denied the charge and said he was with Swisher at a press conference held for Russelot when he visited Pocatello, April 3, to speak at the Pocatello Lions Club. At that conference, Russelot explained why he took the Birch Society job, instead of running for Congress again. Hansen accused Swisher of twisting the facts to promote Smith's campaign.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Schofield Campaign literature and personal knowledge of author.

<sup>20</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "GOP Foes Drag ISU into Fray," July 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., "Birch Leader Speaks to Lions," April 3, 1964, p. 1. Interview with George V. Hansen, July 6, 1967 and personal knowledge.



Hansen traveled across the District in a broad pattern, building and solidifying his appeal in the counties around Pocatello. He selected his campaign manager from the Preston-Soda Springs area who organized and directed the campaign in southeastern Idaho. Much of Hansen's time was spent in the heavily Republican Boise Valley area where he sought to swing enough votes to make up for those he might lose to Schofield in the Magic Valley area and to Smith in the Upper Snake River Valley. Reviving and developing the residual organization and contacts of his unsuccessful Senate bid in 1962, Hansen got his name, face and comments before the voters. Coffee and social hours, service club speaking engagements, radio interviews and television appearances, bumper stickers, more than eight thousand letters of personal endorsement by prominent community and Republican leaders to registered Republican voters, and an unsolicited one thousand letters to Mormons on the Boise Bench supplemented his intense person-to-person campaign.<sup>22</sup> Hansen and his supporters gave out over seventy-five thousand pieces of campaign literature up to the primary election.<sup>23</sup>

In the Magic Valley, former Congressman John Sanborn publicly endorsed Hansen and several thousand copies of this endorsement were mailed by Hansen's supporters in that area. A similar endorsement was given by A. W. "Tony" Naegle of Idaho Falls, recent president pro tem. of the state Senate which was distributed by the Hansen campaign organization in that area (See Appendix VIII).

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<sup>22</sup>Interview with Craig Marcus, Ada County Co-ordinator for Hansen, September 17, 1964.

<sup>23</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Views Rep. Harding as Tough, Able Campaigner," August 1, 1964, p. 13.



Harding did not campaign much during the weeks leading to the Primary Election, making only occasional appearances from Washington, D.C. to speak at various functions. However, a newspaper analysis shows he had almost a daily press release printed in Idaho papers. He filed his campaign expenses with the Secretary of State at Boise as \$224.00, the fee for filing his nominating petition on May 7.<sup>24</sup>

One political columnist reported his views of the approaching primary election contest between Smith, Schofield and Hansen as being decidedly in Hansen's favor.

Pocatello City Commissioner George Hansen could pull the major upset of the 1964 primary election Aug. 4. He isn't supposed to have much of a chance in his race for the Republican congressional nomination, but he has been so busy campaigning no one has had the opportunity to tell him that.

Hansen is plunging ahead with the never-say-die confidence that has become his trademark. He is in fact out-campaigning his opponents, and may out-poll them come election day.

Hansen's campaign is catching fire, and there are signs the campaigns of his opponents are not. Smith...is conducting a campaign that is less than inspiring. Keith Schofield...is somewhat hampered by a lack of organization and campaign funds... and will not be able to gain the momentum to put him over the top.

Hansen, on the other hand has a signboard that does everything but wave the flag. His campaign literature...is an eye-catcher and an asset. But those are details. The main reason Hansen stands a chance where there is supposed to be none is his gift for person-to-person campaigning. He's the hardest working of the three candidates. Since the convention, he's been on the road, plunging into every section of the district, pumping every hand in sight.

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<sup>24</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise) "Harding Reports Primary Costs," August 27, 1964, p. 3. The Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), August 31, "Smith Spends \$1,974 in Bid," p. 2: Expenses are reported for the three Republican candidates during their primary campaigns as:

Smith	\$1,974.00
Schofield	3,891.24
Hansen	2,218.00

Strangely enough, Hansen's style as a campaigner is quite similar to that of...Harding. Both men shake hands like a hungry preacher...No candidate in Idaho is putting out more of a personal effort than Hansen. It could win him the primary election.<sup>25</sup>

### Primary Election

On August 4, Hansen won the nomination as shown in Table 6 and the right to run against Democratic incumbent Harding in the General Election in November. On the Republican ticket, Hansen

Table 6--Primary Election Totals, 1964

Candidate	Democratic	Republican
Harding (D)	26,684	
Hansen (R)		16,270
Schofield (R)		13,252
Smith (R)		<u>12,594</u>
TOTALS	26,684	42,116

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast for Candidates at the Nominating Election August 4, 1964.

carried fifteen of the twenty-five counties and ranked second in all the others. In eight of the fifteen, he received more than the combined totals of Schofield and Smith. In Ada County, Hansen received 33.5 per cent of the Republican votes (4,589), which gave him his victory margin of 3,018. In the Magic Valley area, he got 31.8 per cent. By holding his own in these two areas and carrying all of southeastern Idaho, Hansen was able to cripple Schofield's drawing power and

<sup>25</sup>Idaho Sunday Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," July 26, 1964, p. 4.

restrict Smith's winning area to the four Upper Snake River Valley counties of Madison, Jefferson, Fremont and Clark, plus the thinly populated county of Camas in the center of the state.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast for Candidates at the Nominating Election, August 4, 1964.

## CHAPTER V

### THE POLITICAL SETTING FOR THE 1964 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

The election of 1964 was a climax of various sorts. There were issues and themes that had carried over from two prior elections in 1960 and 1962 in which Harding was victorious. Another current washing into the campaign dealt with Harding's encounter with Ezra Taft Benson and the John Birch Society. Farmers were facing problems of immediate and long standing nature. The campaign itself generated several situations that kept voters' attention focused on the two candidates.

#### The Congressional Election of 1960

The 1960 congressional election between five-term Republican incumbent Hamer Eudge and Harding as the Democratic challenger centered around the issues of religion and reclamation; and in reclamation the item was Burns Creek Dam.<sup>1</sup>

Religion---. In 1960, in Drew Pearson's nationally syndicated column, "Washington Eye-line," it was reported that Eudge had turned the Mormon ward-teachers from his door.<sup>2</sup> Raised in the Mormon

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<sup>1</sup>Boyd A. Martin, "The 1960 Election in Idaho," The Western Political Quarterly, XIV, No. 1, Part 2 (March, 1961), 341-342.

<sup>2</sup>Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose?" The Intermountain (Focatello), November 5, 1964, p. 1; and "Mormon Mulligan," September 29, 1963, p. 1.

Church, Budge had married a non-Mormon and they had one child.

Thousands of reprints of this article, bordered with a heavy black edge and later referred to as the "Black-edged Letter," were distributed by Harding's supporters among the Mormon population in the Second District just prior to the election. This article lent impact to the letters previously sent to bishops and stake presidents in the district asking their assistance in promoting Harding's candidacy among Mormon voters in their areas.<sup>3</sup>

One political columnist assessed the impact this religious issue brought into Harding's campaign this way,

He won his first term in Congress by using within the Church the accusation that then Rep. Hamer H. Budge was in effect not a "good Mormon."<sup>4</sup>

Reclamation--.This issue centered around the proposed Burns Creek Dam near Idaho Falls. The dam was to be built just below Palisades Dam which had been completed in 1958, on the Snake River near the Wyoming border. Budge authored a Burns Creek authorization bill and introduced it in each of the Congresses in which he served since 1955. An appropriation of \$500,000 contingent on authorization was secured by Budge in the 1959-1960 session of Congress, but no authorization.<sup>5</sup>

Harding made Burns Creek a political issue and succeeded in defeating Budge. In his campaign, Harding accused Budge of "negativism," and said that Budge could not get the Burns Creek bill out of committee

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<sup>3</sup>Interview with Bishop George Carlsen, Pocatello, August 17, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," November 8, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1962.

because he, "voted against everyone else's project and they voted against him."<sup>6</sup> Harding staked his political future and,

Made practically his entire campaign for election on the claim that his opponent, former Congressman Hamer Budge, Republican, was so unpopular with the Democrats in Congress that the Burns Creek bill was damned then because they figured he was in favor of it.<sup>7</sup>

Harding's campaign theme was that "you can't have Burns Creek and have Budge, too."<sup>8</sup> Budge could not represent the district effectively, and therefore must go. The necessity of vote trading in Congress was emphasized by Harding.

Harding chose an issue that appealed to the people of Idaho, and chose the battlefields. Budge was advised to ignore him, which he did, and Harding took every political advantage possible from it. When Budge didn't show up for a television debate, Harding used the empty chair to point out to the viewing electorate that Budge was unable to meet the challenges required in political life.<sup>9</sup>

With his strong strategy and tactics, Harding waged without doubt the best campaign ever seen in Idaho.<sup>10</sup> He conducted a very effective personal contact type campaign into every area of the district, and was well received.<sup>11</sup> He received considerable financial

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), Editorial, "Hoist With His Own Petard," February 16, 1962, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., "Politically Speaking," p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Personal knowledge of author.

<sup>10</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), SHD, "Just One Little Hurdle Left," August 13, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Views Rep. Harding as Tough, Able Campaigner," August 1, 1964, p. 13.

support from labor through COPE in his effort to defeat Budge (See Appendix IX).

In November, Harding carried sixteen counties to defeat Budge by 4,061 votes (90,161 to 86,100), while at the same time on the presidential level, Republican Richard Nixon was winning over Democrat John F. Kennedy (102,705 to 79,350).<sup>12</sup> Harding won every county with over 33 per cent Mormon population, except Franklin and Cassia<sup>13</sup> where Budge's 1958-1960 margins went from 621 to 688 and 1,471 to 695 respectively. In 1958, Budge had carried every county with over 22 per cent Mormon population, except Bannock and Butte, and his deficit in these two counties went from 3,428 to 6,581 and 391 to 467, respectively. Harding carried every county in eastern Idaho (the Burns Creek area), except sparsely populated, non-Mormon (5.5 per cent) Clark County and Franklin County on the Utah border.<sup>14</sup>

#### The Congressional Election of 1962

The 1962 congressional election between Democrat incumbent Harding and Republican challenger Orval Hansen of Idaho Falls also centered around religion and reclamation, with the emphasis on the Bonneville Power Administration (BPA).

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<sup>12</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, O. N. Malmquist, "President McKay Interviews Nixon," October 11, 1960, p. 6: Nixon was "endorsed" in a visit to President David O. McKay of the Mormon Church, who said, "I hope you win."

<sup>13</sup>Hansen Questionnaire related to 1960 vote.

<sup>14</sup>Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election November 8, 1960, (Boise), issued by Arnold Williams, 1961.



Religion--.In Utah, the 1962 campaign saw Raed Benson, son of Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, campaign unsuccessfully for the Republican congressional nomination. In the process, he spoke in many Mormon Churches.<sup>15</sup> In October, he was appointed Utah coordinator for the John Birch Society and initially made frequent use of Church meetings and functions to promote the Society.<sup>16</sup> In Idaho, supporters of Harding also wrote letters to bishops and stake presidents requesting that he be utilized in Church meetings as a speaker.<sup>17</sup>

Upon being advised of this, the First Presidency of the Mormon Church issued a letter to all bishops and stake presidents instructing them not to permit the use of Church meetings or facilities for political purposes of any type, and any party or any candidate.

We deplore the presumption of some politicians, especially officers, coordinators and members of the John Birch Society, who undertake to align the Church or its leadership with their partisan views.

We again urge our bishops, stake presidents, and other officers of the Church to refuse all applications for the use of our chapels, cultural halls, or other meeting places for political meetings, money-raising propaganda, or to promote any person's political ambitions.<sup>18</sup>

This response, however, served to focus interest on Harding's relationship to and activity in the Church as compared to that of his opponent, Orval Hansen, who was a Mormon but had a non-Mormon wife and children.

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<sup>15</sup>The Washington Post (Washington, D.C.), Julius Duschka, "Benson's Son Claims He Has Tripled Utah Birch Membership," May 20, 1963, pp. A1-A2.

<sup>16</sup>U. S. Congressional Record, 88th Congress, 1st ses., 1963, CIX, No. 153, 17209. See also Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Interview with Willis R. Ward, Stake President, Pocatello, December 26, 1965.

<sup>18</sup>Deseret News, Church Section (Salt Lake City), Jan. 3, 1963, p. 2. See Also Appendix IV.



An interesting side-feature about "morality" involved former President Harry Truman who came to Idaho to campaign for Harding. The Democratic candidate for Governor, Vernon K. Smith, was running on a progambling platform. Truman said at a rally in Pocatello that gambling,

Is the worst thing in the world. I don't believe in it. Too many people have jumped out the window because of Nevada... If you want a Nevada, you can have it, so go ahead and do what you damn well please.<sup>19</sup>

The Democratic gubernatorial candidate was not elected that fall. Harding was.

Reclamation---By February 15, 1962, Harding had to admit that the Burns Creek bill had "met its death" and the \$50 million re-regulating and power project could not be gotten out of the Interior Committee. The \$500,000 contingent appropriation had also been rescinded.<sup>20</sup>

As first conceived, the re-regulating dam would have cost about \$6 million. Its lone function would have been to regulate the river below Palisades Dam so that project's generators could operate at full efficiency without disturbing the flow of the river downstream. As more power, and thus more cost, was added to Burns Creek, it became less feasible. As last proposed, the dam was not a reclamation structure, but was 98 per cent power.<sup>21</sup>

The Interior Committee was composed of thirteen Democratic and nine Republican congressmen. Recognizing that "there have always been a few Democrats who are opposed" to the bill, the Secretary of the Interior

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<sup>19</sup>"The 1962 Election in Idaho," The Western Political Quarterly, XVI, No. 2 (June, 1963), p. 425.

<sup>20</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports from Washington," February 15, 1962.

<sup>21</sup>Corlett, p. 4.

advised that the key to passage of the bill was "to take out the political overtone and treat it as we do all other reclamation areas."<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, Harding made a bitter personal attack on the integrity of those who refused to report the bill out of committee, eight Republicans and four Democrats,<sup>23</sup> and later wrote that,

It met its death as a result of the filibustering techniques of Congressman John Saylor, the Power company stooge from Pennsylvania...The (4) Democrats were southern members who rarely support legislation of this type and who had been highly lobbied by the power companies.<sup>24</sup>

Exceptions to Harding's remarks were taken, and one congressman replied,

Congress in its wisdom has put the seventeen Western reclamation states in a very favored position at great cost to the other taxpayers of the United States....If you abuse that, my young friend...Congress will clamp down...(the present Burns Creek proposal is) not justified under the irrigation and reclamation laws of this Nation."<sup>25</sup>

To charge Harding with failure of Burns Creek would be an over simplification and perhaps unfair. Fudge was also plagued with lack of success. When Harding introduced another bill for a dam on the Teton River (Teton-Fremont or Lower-Teton Dam), he attempted to tie the Burns Creek "development" in with it and was criticized by one political columnist for endangering an uncontroversial and feasible project:

We regard Mr. Harding's record on these major river projects to be one of immaturity and bad judgment. His career may well end where it began, on the issue of personal effectiveness.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Corlett, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>U. S., Congressional Record, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., 1961, CVII, No. 56, pp. 5051-5053.

<sup>24</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports From Washington," February, 15, 1962.

<sup>25</sup>Congressional Record, Op. Cit., p. 5052.

<sup>26</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "Harding, An Appraisal," February 17, 1962, p. 2.

Bonneville Power Association--.In the 1962 campaign, Harding shifted from the dam campaign to its cousin, BPA, and called for Idaho to be made part of BPA's marketing area. He said that would "let Idaho have its rightful share of the low-cost (public) power generated by water originating in Idaho."<sup>27</sup> Harding had become a public power advocate in the Burns Creek dam fight, and with the support of the Bureau of Reclamation he was hoping to add Burns Creek to the southern Idaho federal system.<sup>28</sup>

Southern Idaho voters, since the Columbia Valley Authority issue rose in 1948, have consistently opposed the public power philosophy,<sup>29</sup> and virtually every weekly and daily newspaper in southern Idaho opposed the extension of BPA into the area. One columnist explained,

What the BPA does not understand is that the southern Idaho economy has been geared to an irrigation agriculture under which the people have never asked for a subsidy from the government and are willing to pay their way. Water users have spent their own hard earned cash to build their own irrigation projects, be it by gravity or pump, and to maintain them. Water users have been content to repay their share of federal dams and reservoirs. Furthermore, the water users and the people generally are well aware that the so-called tax free low-cost federal power goes only to "preferred customers," who make up less than 20 per cent of the southern Idaho population. More important, it is beginning to soak in that if there is to be any competition between public and private power, it has to be on a fair basis.<sup>30</sup>

Harding criticized the Idaho Public Utilities Commission ("a propaganda machine of the Idaho Power Company"<sup>31</sup>) and the private

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<sup>27</sup>Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), "Harding Gives Reasoning for BPA Power in Idaho," May 13, 1962, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Corlett, Op. Cit., May 6, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Corlett, Op. Cit., November 17, 1963, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says State PUC Now Propaganda Machine for Idaho Power Company, December 16, 1962, p. 4.

power companies, calling the Idaho Power Company and Utah Power and Light Company (which services southeastern Idaho) "government licensed monopoly" and "also a government protected monopoly." He said the extension of BPA into southern Idaho would not mean the end of these two companies, but would mean attractive rates for industrial relocation and expansion.<sup>32</sup>

Again, Harding found an issue with appeal: cheaper power. Many people did not understand the intricacies of BPA, but the R.E.A. cooperatives and municipal power companies lined up with Harding against the private power companies, and controversy raged again throughout the district.

The Campaign---Harding moved out to the people in his folksy campaign style and continued to consolidate his strength, while his Republican opponent, Orval Hansen, (running on his straight-A record obtained at the University of Idaho) hesitated or refused to "get out and beat the bushes" for votes.<sup>33</sup>

On election day, November 6, 1962, Harding won twenty of the twenty-five counties in the district, with a larger margin than 1960: 8,949 (83,152 to 74,203). He carried every county with over 33 per cent Mormon population, except Bonneville, which was Orval Hansen's home county. However, it was a close vote in Bonneville: 8,553 to 8,863, with 49.1 per cent for Harding.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "PUC Blast Continued by Harding," December 19, 1962, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), SHD, "Just One Little Hurdle Left," August 13, 1964, p. 1.; Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Views Rep. Harding as Tough, Able Campaigner," August 1, 1964, p. 13.; also personal knowledge of author.

<sup>34</sup>Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election, November 6, 1962 (Boise), by Arnold Williams, 1963.

Background for the 1964 Congressional Campaign

Religious-Political Setting

The 1964 congressional campaign found religion already a factor before the first campaign speech was uttered between candidates. This time it began without reference to opposition candidates, and involved the John Birch Society, Ezra Taft Benson and his son Reed Benson. It is not clear as to the beginning of the controversy, but some facts are known.

Harding said he was ordained a Mormon missionary in September, 1949, by Ezra Taft Benson.<sup>35</sup> Because of the number of ordinations he participates in, Benson said he didn't recall it, but it may very well be true.<sup>36</sup> Harding said he was initially very proud of Benson as one of the general authorities of the Church, but began to have differences of opinion on farm policy while Benson was Secretary of Agriculture under President Dwight D. Eisenhower from 1958-1960.<sup>37</sup>

At the conclusion of his term of office (1960) as Secretary of Agriculture, Harding said Benson,

Began to change. His speeches to general and other conferences of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in many instances contained as many references to politics as they did to the gospel of the Savior. It was only a short time later that he became a spokesman for the radical right of this Nation, assuming high office in at least one of them. Then began a series of public statements which in the absence of clarification could cause the organizations of the Church great damage among the thinking people of America.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, CJX, No. 153, 17208.

<sup>36</sup>Interview with Ezra Taft Benson, Salt Lake City, June 17, 1966.

<sup>37</sup>Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., Op. Cit; Also letter from Gary Higgenson, Blackfoot, Idaho, May 24, 1967.

<sup>38</sup>Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 1st sess., Op. Cit.

Harding was elected to Congress in 1960 with the assistance of the religious issue regarding the then incumbent Republican Hamer Budge, and has been an active member of the Mormon Church all his life.<sup>39</sup> By April 15, 1961, Harding had clashed with the Idaho Farm Bureau and accused it of being permeated by the John Birch Society (See Appendix V). After inquiring as to the stand of the Mormon Church on federal aid to education, Harding received a letter from President David O. McKay dated June 15, 1961, advising that legislation of this nature was unnecessary and unwise (See Appendix IV). However, Harding made his decision to vote for the legislation.<sup>40</sup>

The 1962 congressional election had its religious overtone, in Idaho between Harding and Orval Hansen, and in Utah where Reed Benson went from an unsuccessful primary election bid for Congress to the appointment in October as Utah Coordinator for the John Birch Society.

The John Birch Society<sup>41</sup>---. The Birch Society was founded in Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 9, 1958, and states that it is in no sense a political organization, but rather an educational "action" organization. Members of the organization are encouraged to support candidates. The purposes of the Society are:

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Stephen L. Smith, Stake President at Malad, Idaho, December 27, 1965.

<sup>40</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Lions Hear Harding Give Talk," September 10, 1964, p. 1; See also Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Pleased with Extension of Education Act," October 2, 1964, p. 1; Idaho Education News (Boise), "Primary Candidates Analyze Issues," May, 1962, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> American Opinion, "What is the John Birch Society?" (Belmont, Massachusetts), a handout sheet.



1. To combat more effectively the evil forces which now threaten our freedom, our lives, our country, and our civilization.
2. To prevail upon our fellow citizens to start pulling out of the deepening morass of collectivism, and then climb up the mountain to higher levels of individual freedom and responsibility than man has ever achieved before;
3. To restore, with brighter lustre and deeper conviction, the faith-inspired morality, the spiritual sense of values, and the ennobling aspiration, on which our Western civilization has been built. The long-range objective of the Society has been summarized as "less government, more responsibility, and a better world."

The Society claims these purposes bring them immediately into conflict with the Communists on two levels: (1) the ideological plane, where the Communists seek always and every where to bring about more government, less individual responsibility, and an amoral world, and (2) the plane of action, where, until the Communists can be stopped from completing their subjugation of the whole world, there will be no opportunity for us to move forward at all towards our permanent goals.

According to the Birch Society, it has undertaken, therefore, to play a leading role in slowing down, stopping, and eventually routing the Communist conspiracy through "exposure" of the facts.

The Mormon Church, Communism, and the Birch Society---The membership of the Church has always been strongly opposed to socialism and Communism. Comments by President David O McKay set the tenor of the conflict:

The conflict between Communism and freedom is the problem of our times. It overshadows all other problems. This conflict mirrors our age, its toils, its tensions, its troubles, and its tasks. On the outcome of this conflict depends the future of mankind.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Conference Reports, David O. McKay (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company), October, 1959, p. 5.

The position of this Church on the subject of Communism has never changed. We consider it the greatest satanical threat to peace, prosperity, and the spread of God's work among men that exists on the face of the earth.<sup>43</sup>

During the first half of the twentieth century we have traveled far into the soul-destroying land of socialism.<sup>44</sup>

In January of 1963, under the pen of Hugh B. Brown, counselor to President McKay, the First Presidency denounced the efforts of the Birch Society officers to align the Church or its leadership with their partisan views as quoted on Page 41.<sup>45</sup> (See Appendix IV) On February 15, President McKay clarified the statement by saying,

The Church is not opposing the John Birch Society or any other organization of like nature; however, it is definitely opposed to anyone's using the Church for the purpose of increasing membership for private organizations sponsoring these various ideologies.<sup>46</sup> (See Appendix IV)

In March, 1963, Ezra Taft Benson spoke to a Community Forum in Sacramento on the theme "Threats to Our Freedom," and endorsed the John Birch Society as "the most effective non-Church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and godless Communism."<sup>47</sup>

On June 13, 1963, a California State Senate fact-finding committee issued its report saying the Birch Society was only a "right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization," with a "militant program of study and action through which the frustrations of these

<sup>43</sup>David O. McKay, "Communism and the Church," Improvement Era, LXIX, No. 6, (June, 1966), p. 477, 580.

<sup>44</sup>David O. McKay, "The New Barbarism," Deseret News, Church Section (Salt Lake City), October 18, 1952, pp. 2, 4.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with Ezra Taft Benson, Salt Lake City, June 17, 1966.

<sup>46</sup>Deseret News, Church Section (Salt Lake City), "Clarifying Statement," March 16, 1963, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Deseret News, Church Section (Salt Lake City), "Elder Benson Makes Statement," March 16, 1963, p. 2.



people can be released."<sup>48</sup>

The Birch Society had grown in Utah, tripled since Reed Benson took over in October, 1962, to May 20, 1963.<sup>49</sup> But in Idaho's Second District there were few, if any, Birch groups. In the spring of 1963, one political columnist said, "The Birch cell in this town (Pocatello) consists of about two people and half a dozen students out of 40,000 residents."<sup>50</sup> In October of 1963, Reed Benson's area was enlarged to include southern Idaho (See Appendix IV).

Harding's Speech in Congress---.In this setting, Ezra Taft Benson went to Los Angeles, California, to address a testimonial dinner for Robert Welch, the founder of the Birch Society, on September 23, 1963, and the Kiwanis International Convention on September 24. Benson called Welch "one of the greatest patriots in American history," and he said he had differences with Eisenhower in matters outside of agriculture, thus lending indirect support to Welch's contention that Eisenhower had helped the cause of Communism.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Los Angeles Times, Gene Blake, "State Senate Probe Clears Birch Society," June 13, 1963, p. 1

<sup>49</sup>The Washington Post, Julius Duscha, "Benson's Son Claims He Has Tripled Utah Birch Membership," May 20, 1963, pp. A1-A2.

<sup>50</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," April 8, 1963, p. 4; See also Twin Falls Times-News, "R. Benson Says Harding Argues with L.D.S. Leader," November 19, 1963, pp. 1-2.

<sup>51</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Benson Gives Endorsement to Founder of Birch Society," September 24, 1963, p. 8. Benson said later, "I think General Eisenhower is a fine American. He has supported me and I have supported him. If anyone wants to know my feelings regarding Eisenhower, all they have to do is turn to my book, Crossfire. I have not always agreed with the policies advocated by President Eisenhower. We were, I believe, in full agreement on agricultural policy." Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Elder Benson Denies 'Exile' in European Mission Duties," October 30, 1963, p. 7.

On September 25, Harding rose on the floor of the House of Representatives and assailed Benson for his activities in behalf of the John Birch Society. The speech was, unfortunately, cast in religious tones, as Harding began by bearing testimony of his belief in the Mormon Church, pointing out that Benson was an Apostle in that Church who went to speak at the Birch meeting after the Presidency of the Church had disapproved of the Society, reading a brief prepared "by a member of the same Seventies Quorum that I am attending" which detailed extremist statements by Welch, saying that Mormons and non-Mormons wanted Benson to unquestionably defend Eisenhower, deploring that Benson could go nowhere without being referred to as an Apostle of the Mormon Church, asserting that Ezra Taft Benson and Reed Benson were giving a disastrous impression of the Church by participating in a Society discredited by the Church Presidency and calling on Mormons,

Everywhere...to let the first presidency and the general authorities of the church know that they...object to Ezra Taft Benson utilizing his high church office, in what he may assume a subtle manner, for the promotion of an extremist ideology which casts aspersions on our elected officials and other fellow citizens and actually hinders the battle against Communism.<sup>52</sup>

Ezra Taft Benson refused to comment on Harding's speech, but both praise and condemnation were poured out on both.<sup>53</sup> Harding and Reed Benson engaged in a newspaper battle for a while over whether President McKay knew the contents of Ezra Taft Benson's

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<sup>52</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, CIX, No. 153, 17208.

<sup>53</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Utah Officials Hit Harding for House Talk on Benson," September 27, 1963, p. 3; Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says L.D.S. Praised on Birch Action," January 25, 1963, p. 9.

speech before he approved the trip to California, with Reed Benson asserting that Harding's disagreement was actually with President McKay.<sup>54</sup> Harding said if Reed Benson did not refrain from implicating the Mormon Church and its leaders with the Birch Society that,

I will be forced to make public the letters I have received from many church leaders showing their dissatisfaction with Benson and their contempt for the John Birch Society.<sup>55</sup>

When it was announced in late October that Ezra Taft Benson was to go to Europe for two years as the European Mission President for the Mormon Church, Harding applauded the Church's decision, saying, "The leadership of the Church was inspired in this calling. I think he'll make a wonderful mission president if he can get away from the Birch Society."<sup>56</sup> He also said, "Some of the leaders in the Church are not happy with Benson's association with the John Birch Society...the call he received speaks for itself."<sup>57</sup>

In explaining the intent of his speech, Harding said,

I criticized Mr. Benson not as a church leader, but for his endorsement of the John Birch Society...I didn't discuss my talk (on the floor of the House) with political leaders. It was not political, but I knew it would do more political harm than good.<sup>58</sup>

Feeling that he had a duty to speak for the Church, Harding said,

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<sup>54</sup>Twin-Falls Times-News, "R. Benson Says Harding Argues with L.D.S. Leaders," November 19, 1963, pp. 1-2.

<sup>55</sup>Twin Falls Times News "R. Benson Says Harding Argues with L.D.S. Leaders," November 19, 1963, pp. 1-2.

<sup>56</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says Benson Move 'Wise,'" November 1, 1963, P. 20.

<sup>57</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Harding Sees Guffey Plan Delayed by Other Works; Touches on Benson Attack," Nov. 4, 1963, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

I wanted to make it plain to the whole nation that the leadership of the Church...did not support the Birch Society.<sup>59</sup>

Within a matter of weeks, Reed Benson's area was enlarged to include southern Idaho (See Appendix IV), Harding claimed to have correspondence from Church leaders supporting his stand,<sup>60</sup> and Ezra Taft Benson was called as European Mission President for two years amid charges of "being exiled," which were denied by President McKay.<sup>61</sup>

Most Idaho Mormons were confused at the hubbub caused by Harding's speech.

(Many) Mormons resented his bringing to the floor of Congress an issue they thought should have been best settled within the councils of the Church.<sup>62</sup>

Mormon pride at Mr. Benson's prestige as Ike's Secretary was offended. Mormons' sense of propriety vis a vis the Apostles of the Church was affronted.<sup>63</sup>

Many Idaho newspapers reprinted Benson's speech (or excerpts) and could find little wrong with his conservative statements.<sup>64</sup>

When no Church reprimand or rebuke came against either Harding or Ezra Taft Benson, the issue slowly became sublimated to more current happenings. Harding continued to score the Birch Society as "rotten to the core," and said he had no regrets about speaking his conscience.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.; Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says Benson Move 'Wise,'" November 1, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>60</sup>Idaho State Journal (Twin Falls), "R. Benson Denies McKay Knew Speech Contents; Harding Scores Birchers," November 20, 1963, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Idaho State Journal (Twin Falls), "Benson Called by Inspiration, Woman Told," February 21, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>62</sup>Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), John Corelitt, "Politically Speaking," November 3, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose?" November 5, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>64</sup>Weiser American, "Mr. Harding, Where Do You Stand?" September 30, 1963, p. 3. See Idaho Daily Statesman, Sept. 28, 1963, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>Twin Falls Times-News, "R. Benson Denies McKay Knew Speech Contents; Harding Scores Birchers," November 20, 1963, p. 1.

Harding's Correspondence—The incident may well have blown over, with Ezra Taft Benson in Europe, and have been chalked up as another "occasional" political hassle, had it not been for some letters that brought it to the public's attention.<sup>66</sup>

After his speech in Congress, Harding immediately sent copies of his talk to many elected officials, Church officials and others soliciting their response.

In defense of his cause and "in an effort to counteract John Birch Society use of the Church to recruit new members," Harding circulated widely throughout southern Idaho packets of 23 of these responses in a franked, postage-free public document envelope to Church officials and members. A letter accompanied the packet, asking that the packet not be handed "to the press or unknown sources," but that "they could be shown to friends."<sup>67</sup>

The letters inevitably came into the hands of the press. Three of the letters (written by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower; President Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Council of Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church; Robert R. McKay, son of President David O. McKay) were published which indicated support of Harding's cause against Ezra Taft Benson.<sup>68</sup> The publishing of the letters turned out to be an ordeal for the writers and for Harding. All claimed they had been betrayed in their confidences, and President Smith and Robert McKay felt their letters were used out of context, and they apologized to Ezra Taft Benson and declared their support of him, although expressing their desires for his political-tainted ties to be severed.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Ken Robison, "Letters Point to Importance of L.D.S. in Second District," Feb. 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Editorial," Feb. 23, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Ike, L.D.S. Leaders Thank Harding for Anti-Birch, Benson Speech," Feb. 20, 1964, p. 1; and Salt Lake Tribune, "Ike Praises Idaho Solon for Benson Criticism," Feb. 21, 1964, p. A-4; Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," p. 4.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., and interview with Ezra Taft Benson, Salt Lake City, June 17, 1966.



Harding was shocked and outraged, and expressed his "extreme embarrassment" over the release of the letters.<sup>70</sup> He was very bitter toward the press for publishing them and criticizing the mailing of them under his congressional postal frank. In his anger and distress he publicly insulted the leading political writer of the state who attended a Democratic rally in Pocatello the week of the letter release.<sup>71</sup>

He decided to re-assess his decision as to whether or not he would run for re-election in the fall. Several Democratic county organizations quickly pledged their support for his third term,<sup>72</sup> and one columnist said "the whole incident should simply be a lesson in discretion."<sup>73</sup>

Although Harding was accused of using the letters to strengthen his political position, one political columnist described the general reaction of embarrassment which the general Mormon population felt:

Many Mormons of my acquaintance are deeply disturbed that the dispute has been made public. They have no use for the John Birch Society, but they think an attack on a Church authority should have been made within the Church and not outside.<sup>74</sup>

At least three of Harding's close supporters declared the action to be a "Birchist attempt" to destroy him.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding 'Embarrassed' By Release of Letters," February 21, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup>Lewiston Morning Tribune, "The Sad 'Benson Letters' Affair," March 4, 1964, p. 4; Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," March 2, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Three Counties Back Harding," February 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "No Cause for Quitting," Feb. 23, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Idaho Writers Say Letters Were Widely Circulated," February 23, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose?" November 5, 1964, pp. 1-2.

Within a few weeks, Harding announced his decision to seek re-election, saying, "any person in public life has the obligation to face issues squarely and not retreat from them even when it may appear to be politically expedient to do so."<sup>76</sup> He felt this negative experience with the Church and press could be overcome as the Burns Creek problem had been.

The topic of "Birchism" and extremism seldom left his speeches throughout the election campaign, and he made it an issue with which at least he was concerned.<sup>77</sup>

The great issue of this campaign is extremism. The men in Congress are devoted and faithful. It is the John Birch Society and other extremists who are undermining our faith in our freedom.<sup>78</sup>

(Harding) hit at the John Birch Society and defended his stand against L.D.S. Apostle Ezra Taft Benson...hundreds of young L.D.S. members joined the John Birch Society because Elder Benson was saying the Birch Society was great, its founder Robert Welch was great. Because of his statements against Elder Benson for this, "no longer do young L.D.S. join the Birch Society."<sup>79</sup>

During the campaign, Harding was almost pre-occupied with the Birch Society, and it influenced his decisions. In naming Kelly Pearce as his Bannock County Campaign Coordinator, whom he had met just shortly before, Harding said that he,

First met Pearce while hitching a ride from Washington to Idaho by military aircraft. I usually sleep on such flights, but we spent all night talking about politics and the responsibilities of citizenship and the threat of the John Birch Society.

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<sup>76</sup>Idaho State Journal, (Pocatello) "Harding Tells Plans to Run for Re-Election," April 23, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding to Dems" Don't Take Birchers Lightly," March 1, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>78</sup>Rexburg Journal, "Young Democrats at Ricks Hear Church, Harding Outline Issues," October 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup>Preston Citizen, "Politicos Open 1964 Campaign," Sept. 3, 1964, p. 1.

Kelly's background in military intelligence has given him great insight into extremism. He is just as concerned as I about the John Birch Society.<sup>80</sup>

Interestingly, the cycle had come into full swing. An item in a Drew Pearson column in January, 1965, said Harding had lost in 1964 because the "Birchers" made it appear that he was not a good Mormon:

(Harding's) speech provoked young Benson to start a campaign of vengeance. He raised money, sent Birchers to picket Harding's speeches, even injected his own church (many of its members unwittingly) into politics to defeat the congressman who had criticized his father. During the early part of the campaign, several carloads of Birchites invaded Idaho to work against Harding, but they had little impact. Harding has been a conscientious congressman, worked hard for his district. So Reed Benson took a new track. He made it appear that Harding, though a Mormon, had been critical of his own church. Actually he had been critical not of Benson's religion but of his politics.

"Latter-day Saints (Mormons) are taught from childhood that criticism of church authorities is a very grievous sin," Congressman Harding wrote... "Therefore, throughout the campaign Reed Benson and members of the Birch Society based their campaign among the Latter-day Saint people on the fact that (I) was guilty of a great sin when (I) criticized an apostle of the Lord...the John Birch Society circularized all members of the church with a full-page newspaper ad containing a speech by Ezra Taft Benson criticizing me and praising the Birch Society."

That was how Reed Benson managed to defeat one of the best Democratic Congressmen from the Rocky Mountain States... thanks to the Benson father-and-son team and their use of their own church members... they scored one victory--in Idaho.<sup>81</sup>

Reed Benson told his side of the story in this way:

Because of certain false impressions, I want to point out that during 1963 and 1964: (1) I did not contribute or raise money for any political candidate in Idaho; (2) I did not make any political speeches or political trips into Idaho; (3) I did not send others into Idaho to campaign for or against any

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<sup>80</sup> Bannock County News (McCammon), "Kelly Pearce Named Harding County Aide," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Blackfoot News, Jack Anderston for Drew Pearson, "Birch Society Influence Defeated Ralph Harding," January 15, 1965, p. 4.



candidate or to picket any candidate's speeches; and (4) I did not set up any organization, or meet with the church leaders in Idaho, in order to help elect or defeat any candidate.

Some individual members of the Birch Society, I feel certain, were active in the Idaho political campaign of 1964--but solely as individuals and not as representatives of the John Birch Society...I'm afraid some people are too anxious to extend me credit or blame for a part I did not play.<sup>82</sup>

The comment was made in several national news columns that Harding lost 70 per cent of the Mormon vote in his district.<sup>83</sup> Whether or not religion played the crucial role in the Harding-Hansen campaign will be examined later in this paper.

#### The Idaho Second Congressional District Farm Situation

Another issue that contributed to the setting of the 1964 congressional election was precipitated by the reaction of Second District farmers and farm groups to the agricultural programs of the federal administration. This reaction was both specific and general: specific with relation to the Idaho Farm Bureau, and general with regard to the farming population's assessment of farm problems and programs.

The Farm Bureau Federation---.<sup>84</sup> In 1964, the American Farm Bureau Federation had a membership of 1,628, 295 farm families in forty-nine states (except Alaska), making it the largest general farm organization

<sup>82</sup>See Appendix IV.

<sup>83</sup>People's World (San Francisco), Steve Murdock, "In the Rockies-- A Right-Wing Thrust," August 27, 1966, p. 10; See also New York Journal American, Marianne Means, "Birch Society in Idaho's Elections," December 5, 1965, p. 5.

<sup>84</sup>Moody's Municipal Government Manual, (New York: Moody's Investors Service, Inc., 1967), p. 622; Information received from Idaho Farm Bureau, Pocatello, Idaho: The number of farms in Idaho fell from 38,740 in 1954 to 33,670 in 1959, with most of the decrease occurring in southern Idaho. The same decline rate would have reduced Idaho farms in 1964 to approximately 29,000.

in the United States. In Idaho, by April 23, 1964, the membership had already passed the 1963 membership figure of 10,998 and stood at 11,012, with an all-time high being reached in Bear Lake, Caribou, Franklin, Oneida, Bannock and Power counties. By December, 1964, there were 11,008 Second District families in the organization. Nyal Rydalch, President of Idaho Farm Bureau, declared,

This continuous growth in membership, with a constant decline in the total number of farms and ranches, indicates the feeling that more and more farm families are in agreement with the general policies of the Farm Bureau organization. All policies that are enacted by Farm Bureau are started, perfected and passed on by the membership. It is the desire of our organization to have all members participate in the policy development so that a complete cross-section of thinking of farmers and ranchers in the state and nation will dictate the over-all programming of Farm Bureau.<sup>85</sup>

Twenty of the twenty-five Second District counties had Farm Bureau organizations in 1964, which embraced 25.6 per cent of their rural households (10,910 of 42,648) as shown in Table 7.

Table 7---Farm Bureau Membership, Percentage of Rural Households (Towns and Places Under 1,000)

County	Percentage	County	Percentage
Ada	7.0	Fremont	58.6
Bannock	30.7	Gooding	8.0
Bear Lake	46.4	Jefferson	34.5
Bingham	41.5	Jerome	17.1
Elaine	7.0	Lincoln	13.3
Bonneville	36.0	Madison	42.0
Butte	28.6	Minidoka	23.7
Camas*		Oneida	46.0
Caribou	53.6	Coyhee*	
Cassia	32.8	Power	81.8
Clark*		Teton	21.5
Elmore*		Twin Falls	11.8
Franklin	52.7	2ND DISTRICT AVERAGE	25.6

\*County Farm Bureau not organized

SOURCE: Information from Idaho Farm Bureau, Pocatello, Idaho.

<sup>85</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Farm Bureau Membership Reported Up," April 27, 1964, p. 9.

Significantly, of the six counties reaching all-time highs in early 1964 Idaho Farm Bureau membership, Hansen received a much higher vote than his Republican predecessor in 1962 as shown in Table 8. Harding lost ground in four of the six counties, and his percentage of increase was smaller than Hansen's in the other two counties.

Table 8---.Comparison of 1962 and 1964 Vote in Counties With All Time Highs in Farm Bureau Membership

County	Democratic			Republican		
	Harding 1962	1964	Gain or Loss	O. Hansen 1962	G. Hansen 1964	Gain or Loss
Bannock	11,586	13,189	+1,612	6,116	7,923	+1,807
Bear Lake	1,925	1,608	- 317	1,076	1,623	+ 547
Caribou	1,449	1,412	- 37	1,008	1,240	+ 232
Franklin	1,802	1,642	- 160	1,702	2,235	+ 533
Oneida	1,225	1,142	- 83	505	717	+ 212
Power	1,096	1,119	+ 23	850	970	+ 120

SOURCE: Idaho, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election Nov. 6, 1962, and Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election Nov. 3, 1964.

It could here be postulated that the new addition in Farm Bureau membership was influenced toward voting for Hansen or voting against Harding.

Harding's Associations with the Farm Bureau---Harding was praised by the Farm Bureau for various efforts on behalf of Idaho farmers. Lloyd D. Browning, Executive Secretary of the Idaho Farm Bureau wrote,

We congratulate you on your excellent work and vote in getting Potato Bill HR 3928 sent back to sub-committee. Are pleased to hear of your outstanding leadership in this activity.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Taken from campaign literature, Keep Ralph Harding Working for You (Washington, D.C.; printed for Harding for Congress Committee, Lynn Broadhead, Chairman, 1964), p. 14.

Harding's adverse relations with the Farm Bureau in Idaho stemmed from several factors, most notably their differing opinions of "who was representing who." Farm Bureau officials felt that their organization represented the farmers, and Harding held that, as Congressman and as the first congressman from Idaho's Second District ever to serve on the Agriculture Committee, he was the representative of the Second District farmer. At a Jerome County Democratic rally,

Harding told the audience that he was raised on a small farm and is sensitive to farm problems. Pointing out that he is a member of the House Agricultural Committee, he said that one of the major jobs today is raising farm income. "I'm glad to represent the family farms of America," he noted. "We must accomplish three things. We must raise income, cut surplus and reduce costs," Harding emphasized. "I know in my own mind that legislation can be introduced which can accomplish these three things," he said. Harding explained that he has seniority representing family size farms on the House committee.<sup>87</sup>

In Shoshone, Harding accused the Farm Bureau of other interests than farmers in several speeches in the district. "The Farm Bureau is more interested in helping big business and big manufacturing than in helping farmers."<sup>88</sup> Although Farm Bureau membership increased in Harding's home county, Oneida, in 1964, some residents also felt that it was "a creation of big money interests in Wall Street to offset the Grange, Farmers Union and other farm organizations."<sup>89</sup>

Harding attacked the Farm Bureau for "failing to line up with other farm organizations on the wheat referendum matter."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>North-Side News (Jerome), "Harding Hits Hansen at Democratic Rally," October 22, 1964; Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), Political Advertisement, October, 1964, XVII, No. 1, p. 10.

<sup>88</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Goldwater and Farm Bureau Attacked by Ralph Harding and Senator Church," October 15, 1964.

<sup>89</sup>Interview with Guy Gleed, Guy Gleed Motor and Equipment Company, Malad, Idaho, June 6, 1967.

<sup>90</sup>North-Side News (Jerome), "Farm Bureau Lashed, Harding Calls Group 'Confused...Stubborn,'" October 22, 1964, p. 1, 8.

He said, "Farmers defeated it overwhelmingly at the urging of the Farm Bureau's line of baloney, and how we are suffering for it."<sup>91</sup>

He called on the Farm Bureau to

Work cooperatively with the National Grange, the National Farmers Union and the National Association of Wheat Growers in evaluating carefully farm programs rather than offering blind opposition.<sup>92</sup>

At the Democratic Platform Committee hearings, August 18, 1964, Harding embarrassed the vice-president of the American Farm Bureau Federation and accused the Federation of siding with private power companies and against R.E.A. (See Appendix V). Upon reading an editorial on "Liberalism" (See Appendix V) in the monthly Idaho Farm Bureau News, in 1961, Harding declared that "the John Birch Society has permeated the Idaho Farm Bureau." He became embroiled in verbal arguments with farmers, cattlemen and Farm Bureau members in Bear Lake, Blackfoot, Teton and Twin Falls counties.<sup>93</sup>

The most devastating encounter with the Farm Bureau was when Harding and Hansen addressed a "Meet Your Candidates" bi-partisan meeting, sponsored by the Jerome County Farm Bureau at which,

He labeled the Farm Bureau as the organization which has consistently put a crimp in federal sponsored programs and called Farm Bureau members "misdirected, confused, and stubborn."<sup>94</sup>

Harding stated that he voted "about 85 per cent with plans sponsored

<sup>91</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Goldwater and Farm Bureau Attacked by Ralph Harding and Senator Church," October 15, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>92</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "New Attack Directed at Harding," October 21, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup>Interviews with Kay Allred, October 27, 1964, Bear Lake; Don Penfold, October 19, 1964, Teton; and Richard Hendricks, August 12, 1966, Campaign Manager for Hansen, 1964.

<sup>94</sup>North-Side News (Jerome), "Farm Bureau Lashed, Harding Calls Group 'Confused...Stubborn,'" October 22, 1964, p. 1, 8.



by the Kennedy-Johnson administration," and stressed the role of the federal government.<sup>95</sup> He said that he and President Johnson want to help but that farmers will not go along with government programs.<sup>96</sup>

Reaction to Harding's remarks was immediate, as the Idaho Farm Bureau put out a special election edition of its monthly paper carrying his speech to all members (See Appendix V). Election day was just a week away, and members were encouraged to evaluate the issues, the candidates, and Farm Bureau policy and then to make their decision in the voting booth.<sup>97</sup>

Farm Problems and Programs---Several reasons were listed by Idaho farmers for their dissatisfaction and opposition to national farm programs in 1964.

1. Most farm programs were geared to the demands of the Mid-western States and seemed to penalize the Northwest farmer.
2. Domestic consumption of wheat was down, 500 million bushels for 75,994,575 population in 1900 and 600 million bushels in 1960 for 179,323,175. The average yield then of 25 bushels per acre has doubled, so that more wheat can be grown on less acres.
3. National wheat allotment was set at 55 million acres, and a farmer had to sign into the allotment program to receive any guarantee of a price. Thirty-five per cent of the wheat growers held 75 per cent of the acreage allotments. The other sixty-five per cent are relatively small wheat producers and were reluctant to sign because it interfered with efficient management and normal production practices of their farms. Idaho had mostly small wheat producers. Wheat production fell from 42.8 million bushels in 1959 to 38.5 million bushels in 1963.
4. The Commodity Credit Corporation with 854 million bushels of storage wheat (July 1, 1964), under the Secretary of Agriculture, dumped millions of bushels of wheat on the market at the same time as the marketing season began, (136 million

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Goldwater and Farm Bureau Attacked by Ralph Harding and Senator Church," October 15, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup>Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), "Special Edition," October, 1964, XVII, No. 1A, p. 1.

- bushels by October 2, 1964 as compared with 91 million bushels in October 1963) and depressed the market price. Idaho white wheat in 1964 was \$0.21 under world prices.
5. Northwest farmers had developed an oriental wheat market through Portland. The CCC is a Chicago based storage center, and recent government programs directed that equal Midwest wheat must accompany Northwest wheat to the Orient. The CCC thus had almost complete control over exports.
  6. The giant subsidies paid by the Department of Agriculture went for programs like peanuts, cotton, tobacco, and wheat. The Idaho crops, beans, potatoes, hay, peas, corn, etc., were not in surplus production.<sup>98</sup>

In Malad, there was such a reaction to a new grain grading standard imposed by the Department of Agriculture that three hundred farmers petitioned Harding in August in protest to the new system.<sup>99</sup>

The federal government was trying to reduce the number of American farms and farmers as a means of controlling surplus production, and encouraging larger acreage of the remaining farms. Small farmers felt they were being squeezed out in the process of elimination.

Cattle, sheep and other meat producers were experiencing quite a state of market depression for their domestic meat because of high foreign meat imports. The new Beef Export Bill established quotas on the basis of average imports of beef during the years of 1959 through 1963, thus not banning foreign meat, but discouraging "deliberate dumping" by foreign stockmen on American markets.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), "Strange Bedfellows," and "U.S. Producers Get Less Than World Price for Their 1964 Crop Wheat," October, 1964, XVII, No. 1A, pp. 2-3; Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Gale Chambers, "Idaho Farmers Have Reasons for Opposing Farm Programs," May 12, 1965, p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Idaho State Journal, (Pocatello), "USDA Official Hears Wheat Grade Protests," August 29, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> Idaho Free Press (Nampa), "Idaho Cattle Feeders Hail Beef Import Bill," August 22, 1964, p. 1.

However, the beef import poundage went from 18 million in 1958 to 517 million in 1963 for Australia alone, so the relief was slight.<sup>101</sup>

The American and Idaho beef producer had three problems in 1964: (1) an increase in the domestic production of beef cattle; (2) an increase in beef and beef products imported from abroad and (3) an ever-widening gap between what the livestock producer is receiving for his livestock and the price the consumer pays for meat in the grocery store. While beef prices have declined to the point where the economic livelihood of the Western (and Idaho) beef industry is threatened, the price of cuts of meat in local grocery stores continues to increase. Large chain stores have threatened retaliation against livestock packers and producers who testify on this discrepancy.<sup>102</sup>

On the sugar beet scene, production had jumped in Idaho from 1960 to 1964, due to the shortage of sugar caused when Castro cut off cane sugar supplies from Cuba in 1962. However, in 1964, the government was moving towards controlling and reducing sugar beet production in favor of new cane sugar supplies.<sup>103</sup>

Harding's Approach to Second District Farm Problems--- During his four years in Congress prior to the 1964 election, Harding had won many friends and impressed many Idahoans with his energetic

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<sup>101</sup>Kimberly Advertiser, "Open Letter to Mr. Harding," October 22, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports from Washington," April 2, 1964.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid. The intricacies of competition between cane sugar and sugar beet producers are not always understood by farmers or legislators alike. There is very little sugar cane production in the United States, but much is grown on land owned by U. S. businessmen in other countries and brought in raw form to the refineries on the seaboards. Beet sugar production is more costly than cane sugar, so a processing tax on all sugar subsidizes the sugar beet production to compete with the cane sugar market. Congressmen from districts with cansugar refineries oppose increases in sugar beet production. Idaho sugar beet producers tend to view the situation as a domestic industry against a foreign industry.



approach to the national legislative process (See Appendix II). He was assigned to the Committee on Agriculture and sub-committees on Wheat, Forests, Domestic Marketing, and Foreign Agriculture. He listed many of the major results and accomplishments of his efforts for the Second District farmers in 1964 as follows:<sup>104</sup>

Wheat Program	1961
Rural Housing	1961
Food for Peace	1961
Wool Act	1961
Idaho Basque Immigration Act <sup>105</sup>	1961
Agriculture Act	1962
Sugar Act	1962
Ririe Project, \$7-million, First water project in Idaho since 1948, authorization and appropriation	1964
Teton-Fremont (Lower Teton) Project, \$52-million authorization	1964
Beef, Mutton Import Quota Act	1964
Small reclamation and watershed projects, \$10-million in fiscal 1964	

Harding received some applause for helping to enact the stock import quota law in 1964 establishing import quotas on beef and mutton. He pledged that he would work hard for re-election "because Idaho needs a member of the Agriculture Committee to protect her important forest service grazing rights which are under attack from eastern cattlemen."<sup>106</sup>

As previously noted, Harding generally favored administration agricultural programs, and emphasized the role of the federal

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<sup>104</sup>Taken from campaign literature of the Harding for Congress Committee, 1964, Lynn Broadhead, Chairman.

<sup>105</sup>There are about six thousand persons of Basque extraction living in Idaho, many of whom are sheep farmers. About one-fourth of them are in Boise, which is one of the chief centers of the Basques in North America.

<sup>106</sup>Hailey Times, "Representative Harding Praised for Stock Import Quota Law," September 17, 1964, p. 1.

government in regulating and assisting the farm economy, but stressed that he objected to the administration programs when he felt they were wrong.<sup>107</sup>

Bill Hall, an Idaho Political news analyst said on August 12,

During the press conference and in a brief speech later in the evening, Harding talked a lot about agriculture. It might have been a coincidence, but it was probably a sign of things to come. Not only are there many farmers in the Second Congressional District, but there are many city dwellers (especially in small towns) who understand that farming is their bread and butter, too.

The man who talks the farmer's language and tells him what he wants to hear might be the man who wins. Harding does seem to talk their language, and time will tell whether he can tell them what they want to hear. There is some doubt that his Republican opponent, George Hansen, talks the farmers' language, and it may be that Harding is trying to point that out.<sup>108</sup>

Hansen's Approach to Second District Farm Problems--Contending

that Harding was out of tune with southern Idaho farmers because they were unhappy with federal farm control programs, Hansen predicted in Gooding on August 31, 1964, that unrest among the farmers would give him victory in November. He claimed farmers were tired of government by dictation rather than representation.<sup>109</sup> In Franklin County, Hansen "renewed his pledge of assistance to farmers and the farm economy without restrictive government controls."<sup>110</sup>

After his organizational tour through the District following the primary election, Hansen said that he found,

<sup>107</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Farm Bureau Lashed, Harding Calls Group 'Confused...Stubborn,'" October 22, 1964, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>108</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," August 12, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>109</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Idahoans Come to Grips on Control Plans" September 19, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup>Preston Citizen, "Politicos Open 1964 Campaign," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

General discontent among Idaho farmers, some over beef and lamb imports, some because they don't like the wheat program, others unhappy over domestic spending and failure of the administration to do more in such spots as South Viet Nam and Cuba.<sup>111</sup>

Hansen differed sharply with Harding on points of federal control and intervention, stating that "I am flatly opposed to a paternalistic form of government."<sup>112</sup> He advocated a step-by-step de-control program in agriculture that would give the farmer back his freedom to manage his own investment<sup>113</sup> and promised to work,

- ...to end price-depressing, wheat dumping practice
- ...to repeal wheat-cotton bill
- ...against potato controls
- ...to gain permanent sugar beet acreage program to end cliff-hanging of temporary measures now used
- ...to return favorable marketing conditions to stock rancher
- ...for fair and adequate grazing rights
- ...for improved conditions for dairy farmer.<sup>114</sup>

Hansen based his rural assault on Harding's "misrepresentation" of Second District farmers. On September 26, Hansen said Idaho farmers had to "exert extreme pressure" to get Harding to work on their behalf.

He said that Harding, at the Democratic National Convention "severely berated strong Idaho farm interests without provocation," referring to the Idaho Farm Bureau Federation and "then proceeded to endorse opposing groups having little or no direct concern for the welfare of Idahoans," referring to the National Farmers Union and the National Grange, which take stands different from the Farm Bureau

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<sup>111</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), Ken Robison, "Hansen Starts Active Campaign for House," September 9, 1964, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Farm Bureau Lashed, Harding Calls Group 'Confused...Stubborn,'" October 22, 1964, p. 1, 8.

<sup>113</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Crowd Hears Candidates at Aberdeen," September 29, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup>Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), Political Advertisement, October, 1964, XVII, No. 1, p. 8.

on most farm questions.

Hansen said Harding had voted against the wheat-cotton bill "by his own admission only after Idaho's farmers showed such strong determination that he didn't dare rubber stamp the administration as he had felt inclined to do. (Harding wrote in his April 23, newsletter that he "cast a reluctant 'no' against the administration's wheat-cotton bill."<sup>115</sup>) He has since returned to Idaho and told farmers that they deserve what they got for voting against the wheat referendum. I deplore this as government by intimidation and coercion. And all too often when the farmer complains he is told that he doesn't know what is good for him--that there are experts who do."<sup>116</sup>

Hansen criticized his opponent's vote on a 187-186 vote passage of a bill that permitted a subsidy of food to Communist nations. He said Russia bought wheat for \$18 million less than American citizens could have bought it for and claimed that on these "wrong" votes, he would have voted "right."<sup>117</sup>

Hansen disputed Harding's share to credit on the foreign meat import quota bills, by saying they amounted to almost no help at all.

Ranchers of Idaho are being dealt a shameful sham by the current tariff revision bill on meat imports. After allowing a several hundred per cent increase in beef imports the past few years, the rancher is now being presented a 15 per cent cut in imports, which actually does not give any relief in the current situation. This appears to be nothing more than an election year smoke screen and an obvious move to buy favor without correcting any part of the problem.

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<sup>115</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports From Washington, April 23, 1964.

<sup>116</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Population Growth Rate, Local Problem Solutions Figure in Idaho Campaign," September 25, 1964, p. 10.

<sup>117</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Miller's Appearance Draws Cheering Drowd, September 23, 1964, p. 1.

The present congressman has continually emphasized the strength of his position on the House Agricultural Committee. If the position is strong, then the man must be wrong who occupies it for the farm problem continues to worsen. It is vitally necessary to elect a new congressman who can be effective in carrying out Idaho's best interests.<sup>118</sup>

Hansen accused the administration of "buying" foreign acceptance to the detriment of stockmen and sheepmen by importing such vast amounts of foreign meats that it put domestic meat producers in a state of severe market depression, and called for a 75 to 85 per cent cutback on meat imports to give American stockgrowers the relief they need.<sup>119</sup>

Hansen challenged Harding's claim to credit for the sugar beet acreage increase after Castro's take-over in Cuba cut off a large part of the cane sugar supply. Hansen claimed that the decision was made instead by the administration, to request sugar beet farmers to increase their production and fill the shortage, because of a recognition that sugar beet production can be almost immediately increased, whereas cane fields take time to develop.<sup>120</sup>

When Irving Hoff, the executive director for the United States (cane sugar) Refiners Association, was appointed as western states coordinator for the Democratic presidential campaign, Hansen criticized Harding for not denouncing it. Hansen pointed out that Harding must not be on the sugar beet farmer's side, because Hoff had spearheaded the effort to prevent an increase in the beet sugar marketing quota

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<sup>118</sup>Times-News (Twin Falls), "GOP Aspirant Hits Harding Farm Stand," September 2, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>119</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Hansen Attacks Democrat Incumbent for 'Ineffective Representation,'" September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>120</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports from Washington," April 23, 1964.

through amendment of the Sugar Beet Act, saying that sugar beet producers were "greedy."<sup>121</sup>

The campaign was under way....

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<sup>121</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Harding Slapped in Appointment of Coordinator," September 15, 1964, p. 1.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS ISSUES

Issues are not issues unless there are at least two sides involved. A campaign without issues may, however, still have two sides.

After having interviewed Harding and Hansen several times, one news correspondent described the two in this way in early September:

Ralph Harding and George V. Hansen are so aggressively alike that Idaho may expect the political invasion of the decade when these two begin their hand-pumping in earnest Tuesday.

Still tirelessly young, these two politicians have built a reputation on the number of hands they can grab, pump and stuff full of campaign literature. They hold records in any Idaho political campaign for miles traveled, wordage, and the hours without food and sleep.

The more important similarities between Harding and Hansen are their youth and unflinching determination.

Hansen wears a crewcut that adds even more youth to his looks. Probably because of his occupation as a salesman, he is a voracious hustler of people. He stands out in a group because of his six-six and slightly stooped height...

Harding's attitudes are more rural than the collegiate Hansen's. Harding can stroll unannounced into an office and before you look up, he's carried you in and out of conversation and is on his way out the door--a friend one once know and for a day can't place.

Harding projects earnestness; the young man in the small town business office, in contrast to Hansen's big-time sales image. You would expect Harding to be a professional man in any small town from what always sounds like just recently acquired citified manners.

Both men are members of the Mormon Church. Harding is a Democratic liberal. Hansen is a Republican conservative. The John Birch Society will be an issue, and if it is the Church will likely be brought into the campaign because of Harding's denunciation last fall of Church leader Ezra Taft Benson, whom Harding accused of using the Church for the cause of the society.



Hansen will be expected again to deny he has taken contributions from the society and has assisted members of the right-wing group when they came to Pocatello for speech making. He told UPI during the primary:

"I'm not a member of the society. I have never contributed to them and I have never taken contributions from them."

Regardless of issues and rumors, youth has a way of blowing up duststorms and the winds of the second congressional district are expected to be heavy and hot before the general election.<sup>1</sup>

### Reapportionment

Just after the Primary Election on August 4, the Idaho State Legislature was called into special session to deal with the recent decision of the Supreme Court ordering both houses of the legislature to be apportioned on the "one-man-one vote" basis. They adopted almost unanimously a memorial to Congress opposing the decision, and indicated their wish that the Constitution be amended to prevent the judiciary from ordering the reapportionment of a state law-making body.<sup>2</sup>

On August 20, Harding voted against the Tuck Bill, which would bar the federal courts from intervening, and favored an approach that would give the states a period of time to reapportion and then let the courts step in if that failed (See Appendix X)<sup>3</sup>

On August 27, Hansen said that the two hottest issues in the campaign were reapportionment and Upper Snake River Valley water storage.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), Norman Martin, "Candidates in Congress Race Gird," September 7, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," August 23, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Demo Backs Districting Bill Changes," August 20, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Rexburg Journal, "Candidate meets with GOP Workers," August 27, 1964, p. 1.

He criticized Harding for voting against the bill and claimed that the reapportionment decision would eliminate checks and balances deemed necessary for our protection by the drafters of our national constitution.<sup>5</sup> He said it could cause Idaho to eventually lose its "life-blood"--its water resources--if the trend continued on into the Congress of making both houses amenable to population factors, because Idaho would have little or no power in voting.<sup>6</sup> (See Appendix X)

To many Idahoans, the decision on reapportionment carried overtones of losing their voice in state and national government. One political columnist, after making a tour through the counties said that in four very rural counties (Bear Lake, Caribou, Franklin and Oneida) reapportionment was a major issue<sup>7</sup> but it was no issue in the Upper Snake River Valley, or Clark, Teton and Butte.<sup>8</sup>

#### Labor Unions

On Labor Day, September 6, Hansen predicted that Harding would ask for organized labor's support in the campaign, despite Harding's failure to fill the vacant Thiokol plant at Pocatello, his support of EPA being furnished to electrically-furnaced phosphate companies which would put men out of work in Pocatello's chemically-operated phosphate companies, and his failure to rescue Idaho farmers and stockmen from crippling controls and tariffs. Hansen said,

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<sup>5</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Hansen Attacks Democrat Incumbent for 'Ineffective Representation,'" September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>6</sup>Blackfoot News, "EPA, Reapportionment, Medicare, R. Harding Are Targets of Hansen," September 18, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," October 8, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., October 12, 1964.

"If he gets it (endorsement), I can only conclude that the officials of labor do not have the real welfare of the working man at heart."<sup>9</sup>

Hansen was trying to drive a wedge between the labor leadership which controlled the funds and decisions of the union groups, and the workmen to whom he might be able to get his appeal and try for their vote. He said the working men of Idaho "desperately need a new man to represent them in Washington, D.C."<sup>10</sup>

On September 9, Robert Lenaghan, executive officer of the Central Labor Union in Pocatello, said,

The Labor Day Manifesto issued by congressional candidate George Hansen is typical of the John Birch-oriented Goldwaterite. As long as he subscribes to the John Birch philosophy, and as long as they are financing his campaign, he should have the integrity to hold his head up and admit it.<sup>11</sup>

Lenaghan claimed Hansen's previous record in Pocatello city affairs couldn't stand up under the careful inspection of labor, and that Hansen was missing more than half of his City Commission meetings, besides filing inaccurate primary election expenses.<sup>12</sup>

Hansen retorted that Lenaghan was Harding's "hatchet man," saying,

Lenaghan's attack on me is a typical character assassination tactic of many of those who back my political opponent. Honesty and integrity and fair representation seem to mean nothing to them--they want to control everything.

My opposition is now apparently so sure of losing that they are gambling on an all-out vicious smear attempt to change the tide.

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<sup>9</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Rips into Harding in Labor Day Campaign Blast," September 6, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Labor Leader Rips Hansen," September 9, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

These attacks have gone on in small scale for months, and I have known of this major effort for some time. They only delayed to find a suitable hatchet man.<sup>13</sup>

He challenged Lenaghan and Harding to a public hearing in Pocatello before all the citizens. Their meeting, however, was at the coming labor endorsement convention.

On September 27, Harding and Hansen went before the endorsement convention of the Idaho Committee on Political Education (COPE). Congressman Mike Kirwan (D-Ohio), chairman of the subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations, accompanied Harding, along with others, and was introduced as a man who had voted for more dams than any other man. Kirwan urged delegates to return Harding to Congress.

Harding was given a warm reception by the solidly Democratic audience, and the approximately 100 persons present broke into applause several times during his short speech. The Congressman then asked for questions, but not one was asked. He then left with Kirwan on an inspection trip to the site of the Lower Teton Project.

Hansen had a harder time. Applause when he was introduced was more polite than enthusiastic, and several persons in the audience got up and left during his presentation. In contrast to Harding, Hansen was grilled for about 40 minutes by the labor leaders.<sup>14</sup>

Robert Lenaghan charged, "In my opinion, you are getting money from the John Birch Society,"<sup>15</sup>

Hansen just as flatly denied the charge. He asked Lenaghan to name the Birchers who are giving him money, but Lenaghan declined to do so.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Idaho State Journal, (Pocatello), "Hansen Flings Charge Back at Lenaghan," September 10, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>Idaho State Journal, "Harding Wins Labor Backing," September 27, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

Hansen, referring to the speeches of Kirwan and John A. Carver, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Interior, said Harding "brought along his big friends today--that proves he's scared. But I stand alone. I want to keep away from all entanglements, and just run for what I stand for." He said the Democratic speakers had fed the delegates "propaganda and a lot of generalizations."<sup>17</sup>

Harding received the endorsement on September 27, and union political funds of \$9,692.00, compared with \$21,256.00 in 1964. Interestingly, Harding had already received by September 23, over \$1,500 from union funds. In 1960, he had received over \$14,000 prior to the Endorsement Convention (See Appendix IX).

Hansen later accused the labor leaders of rigging the labor endorsement meeting to their own liking, and said it "was decked out like a Democratic campaign headquarters" with pictures of Johnson, Humphrey and other candidates on every wall. "My opponent was asked no questions. His endorsement was cut and dried. It was a revelation to see the lack of concern shown for the problems of the working man by COPPE."<sup>18</sup>

The Pocatello Central Labor Council registered union members and distributed literature to over 14,000 union members in favor of endorsed candidates and against "hate factions," local and national.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen Says Labor Meet was 'Rigged,'" September 29, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Central Labor News (Pocatello), "Harding Forges Ahead in Race," and "Hate Factions," October, 1964, pp. 1, 3, and information received from Pocatello Labor Temple, July, 1967.

Hansen lost Pocatello and Bannock County, 13,198 to 7,923.<sup>20</sup>

### Teton-Fremont Dam

On September 6, with Idaho Senator Frank Church and Congressman Harding at his side,

President Lyndon B. Johnson...signed the bill authorizing the \$52 million Lower Teton Project in southeastern Idaho. "This should make the people of Idaho happy," he said. "It surely will, Mr. President, and I am confident they will show it in November," said Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho.<sup>21</sup>

This comment by Senator Church stirred some comment in the District among those who saw "a blatant obvious vote-buying attempt" on the part of President Johnson, Senator Church and Harding.<sup>22</sup>

However, Harding joined with Madison County Democratic party officials in planning a float down the Teton River to the project site and an Appreciation Banquet for all who had worked on the Teton Project's development and passage in Congress.<sup>23</sup>

On September 23, Governor Robert Smylie warned them not to make the proposed Lower Teton River Project a partisan football. He said,

I understand that the Democrats are making political capital of the Teton Dam Project. I hope they don't endanger the bi-partisan support.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election Nov. 3, 1964, (Boise: Issued by Arnold Williams).

<sup>21</sup>Idaho State Journal, (Pocatello), "Johnson Signs Lower Teton Power Project," September 8, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Reader Sees Vote 'Buying' in Report," September 17, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>The Post-Register, "Valley Awaits Visit by Udall," September 25, 1964, p. 14. See also Deseret News (Salt Lake City), "Is Lower Teton Dam a 'Political Football?'" September 26, 1964, p. B1.

<sup>24</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Keep Dam Bi-partisan, Idaho Governor Warns," September 23, 1964, p. 1.



Referring to the plans for Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall's tour of the river and the rally and banquet that next Saturday evening, the Governor added, "No leading Republicans were invited to this rally." He pointed out that Burns Creek Dam was made a political football and failed to draw the support of Republicans under the original proposal, finally being defeated in the House.<sup>25</sup>

Harding labeled Governor Smylie's charges "ridiculous" and said

Smylie doesn't understand the bi-partisan spirit of eastern Idaho elected officials and water leaders...Republicans have attended eastern Idaho Democratic dinners in the past and will be included in Saturday's tour.<sup>26</sup>

He said Udall and Kirwan would address the Saturday night Democratic dinner.

On September 24, the Rexburg Journal announced the Teton Project Appreciation Banquet, after the float down the Teton River, to pay tribute to all persons who helped gain passage of the Lower Teton Dam bill in Congress. Listed to be in attendance were:

Congressman Ralph Harding (D-Idaho)  
 Congressman Mike Kirwan (D-Ohio)  
 Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall  
 Assistant Interior Secretary John Carver  
 Irrigation Leaders of Eastern Idaho  
 Representatives of the press, radio and television

Tickets to the banquet were obtainable from "any member of the Democratic Central Committee."<sup>27</sup>

The chairman of the banquet immediately told the Post-Register that the event was not a Democratic event as invitations

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Times-News (Twin Falls), "Harding Labels Smylie's Charge on Lower Teton Project Ridiculous," September 24, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>Rexburg Journal, "Tribute to Be Given All Who Helped Promote Bill," September 24, 1964, p. 1.



had been mailed to leaders of both parties, citing Governor Smylie, Senator Jordan and Republican state legislators from Teton, Fremont and Madison Counties.<sup>28</sup>

Governor Smylie said the invitation arrived a day after he complained that no leading Republicans had been invited to participate and said it came from Gary Arnold, Chairman of the Madison County Democratic Central Committee. He said, "Seriously, I hope that the congressman doesn't get the Fremont Project tangled in politics, as he did with the Burns Creek Project."<sup>29</sup>

Governor Smylie labeled the Teton tour "a political enterprise" and refused to take part. He sent a telegram to the Madison County Democratic Chairman, and said that,

After consultation with board members of the irrigation district, it seems clear that this is purely a political enterprise and that the secretary comes more to praise Rep. Harding than to inspect the Lower Teton Dam site. For that reason it is likely that your invitation was not well intentioned at any event. Meanwhile, let me express the hope that nothing will be done or said at your political meeting which will impede or delay successful prosecution of the project. After all, it is the completion of the project, not the transient personalities that must be the important and controlling consideration for all of us.<sup>30</sup>

The Governor said the invitation was "belated" in that two days notice was insufficient time to arrange his schedule to permit him to join the tour.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Udall, Water Leaders Set Teton River Trip," September 24, 1964, pp. 1, 19.

<sup>29</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Gov. Smylie Turns Down Invitation," September 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Udall, Kirwan Plan Visit Here Saturday," September 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

Harding took issue with Governor Smylie, and said,

You would think that after the time Gov. Smylie has served in public office he would realize administration and public officials are entitled to credit as well as to blame.

Governor Smylie has never been bashful about blaming the Democrats...Fair play demands that he be equally as ready to give credit...for the authorization of the Lower Teton project.

Every citizen of Idaho knows that he would be blaming the Democrats had this project not been authorized.<sup>32</sup>

Arnold said he realized the invitation was "late" "but we still hoped the governor would be able to attend." He said Smylie's reply "was unwarranted and is apparently an effort to turn the Lower Teton into a political football."<sup>33</sup> Arnold said, "This float trip is strictly non-political. The dinner is sponsored by the Madison County Democrats and in that sense you might say the dinner is political."<sup>34</sup>

Harding was very happy to have both Secretary Udall and Congressman Kirwan respond favorably to his invitation to the Teton Project events. He said,

Kirwan is credited with appropriating more money for the development of the West than any other member of Congress, except possibly for Sen. Carl Hayden, (D-Arizona).

Kirwan is chairman of the (sub) committee which appropriates funds for all water projects in the nation. He was the one who turned down the \$1 million appropriation for proposed extension of the BPA line from the Pacific Northwest to East Idaho.

It will be Kirwan who will determine to a large extent when and how fast funds will be appropriated for the Lower Teton Project.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Gov. Smylie Turns Down Invitation," September 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman, (Boise), "Demo Slaps Idaho Chief for Absence," September 25, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup>Deseret News, (Salt Lake City), "Is Lower Teton Dam a 'Political Football?'" September 26, 1964, p. B-1.

<sup>35</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Party Inspects Teton Dam Site," September 27, 1964, pp. 1, 17.

In Boise, on September 10, Harding let his hair down on the vote trading done in Congress, and said,

A congressman learns rather fast that in some instances he "must go along to get along."...on some issues a congressman cannot always afford to vote his convictions if he is to gain benefits for his home state.<sup>36</sup>

The account in the Idaho Daily Statesman continued,

He cited the instance of voting for a bill appropriating funds for an aquarium, commonly called the "fish bowl," to be situated in Washington, D.C., in order to not oppose a veteran Midwest congressman "who had life and death control over public works appropriations and I was interested in Burns Creek for Idaho. This was a case where I could not afford the enmity of this congressman. This was a small issue, however, and of course, there are the big issues on which you simply cannot compromise and must stick with principles."<sup>37</sup>

The House of Representatives voted \$20-million for the aquarium, but the Senate cut the figure to \$10-million.

Hansen described the tour by Secretary Udall, his assistant John Carver, and Harding and Congressman Kirwan as politically inspired, declaring that, "This trip was a continuation of Harding's political farce with Interior Secretary Udall under the guise of an impartial inspection of the Teton project using the opportunity to praise Harding."<sup>38</sup>

The junket to the Teton Project had already become involved in a political controversy and feelings were ripe on both sides of the political fence.

Harding met Congressman Kirwan and Assistant Secretary Carver at the Pocatello Airport and, after a short stop-off at the COPE

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<sup>36</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Lions Hear Harding Give Talk," September 10, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen Repudiates Harding on Basis of Capital Record," September 27, 1964, p. 3.

Endorsement Convention there, they joined Secretary Udall at the Teton River for the boat trip past the Teton-Fremont Dam site.<sup>39</sup>

Harding gave a press release on his talk to be given at the banquet to the press, which called on Idaho residents to "forget partisan considerations" and work cooperatively and unitedly to build worthy multi-purpose reclamation projects and at the same time protect our water from the Southwest and California."<sup>40</sup>

At the Banquet, Congressman Mike Kirwan and Secretary Udall praised Harding for his long and diligent work for Idaho, not only for reclamation but for all interests of the Gem State. Secretary Udall said he hoped construction on the \$52 million dam could start the following July 1, 1965, and spoke in behalf of the proposed Lynn Crandall Dam (renamed from Burns Creek). Predicting its eventual construction also, Secretary Udall called on the Idaho Power Company to cooperate with the Bonneville Power Administration.<sup>41</sup> He expressed regret that Governor Smylie did not come, but the Governor's telegram drew considerable laughter when it was read.<sup>42</sup>

However, at the six o'clock press conference before the eight o'clock banquet that evening, Congressman Kirwan dropped a political bomb, and said that if Harding were not re-elected in November, Idahoans would have to wait for years for appropriations to build the Teton-Fremont Dam on the Teton River.

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<sup>39</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Wins Labor Backing," September 27, 1964, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>40</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Udall Sights Early Start on Idaho Dam," September 28, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Udall Ends Tour of Idaho Sounding Hope for Start of Lower Teton Dam Job," September 28, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Udall Commends Teton Dam Project," September 28, 1964, pp. 1, 15.

Regarding the Dam and Harding, Congressman Kirwan said,

I've been in Congress 28 years and I play the rules. Some worthwhile projects, after being authorized, have waited 35 years for appropriations. I would take care of some other projects that have been waiting 35 years if a Republican is elected. Keep Harding in Congress so he can ask me for the appropriations for Fremont Dam.<sup>43</sup>

Later at the banquet, Congressman Kirwan repeated his views about Harding as a congressman:

You've got a good one, and people of Idaho had better think twice when they vote. I made this trip to Idaho to try to let them know they have one who is always representing their interests.<sup>44</sup>

He repeated that if Idaho people "don't vote right" in re-electing Harding that he would dust off many reclamation projects approved during the past 30 years but never given appropriations. He said, "They won't be from Idaho." He said that as long as Harding is in Congress, Teton Dam would have high priority. He pointed out that he had at the urging of Harding pushed the Teton Dam and also had appropriated \$62,000 for a study of Crandall Dam, and appropriated funds for the Ririe Dam east of Idaho Falls, the Blackfoot Dam and other water projects in East Idaho.<sup>45</sup>

Leaping into the fray the next day, Hansen said,

Never has the integrity of Idaho's citizens been so insulted. Mr. Kirwan's statement was a most shocking display of blackmail, dictatorship and rigged politics.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Ohio Demo Cautions Gem Voters," September 27, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Udall Commends Teton Project," September 28, 1964, pp. 1, 15.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "'Blackmail' by Ohioan Draws Rap," September 28, 1964, p. 1.



Hansen described Congressman Kirwan's visit to Idaho as "more repulsive than the carpetbagging of Pierre Salinger and Bobby Kennedy." He said,

Nothing is so high handed as to have a man come into our state and tell us we'd better vote for his man or he will not give Idaho any money. This is the most blatant demonstration of how our tax money can be used against us to buy votes and it shows the selfish measures my opponent will take to stay in office. He must be deeply frightened to try this tactic. But I'm sure Idaho citizens will not submit to such treachery.

I suggest that Rep. Kirwan return to Ohio and take care of the poverty-ridden areas closer to home rather than traveling over the country intimidating voters.<sup>47</sup>

Finding himself in an awkward position of wanting the endorsement, not offending Congressman Kirwan by repudiating it, and having to find a way to help Second District voters accept it, Harding said,

I think what he said was most unfortunate. The statement he made was not what I would advise. Personally, I wish he hadn't been quite so outspoken in his endorsement of me at Rexburg. But when you bring people like Harry S. Truman and Mike Kirwan to the state there is no way of controlling what they say. They are just great Americans who are more frank than some of us might like them to be.

He plays by the rules and you have to know what the rules of the games are. (Referring to the fact of seniority and party affiliation). If I am defeated, and I don't intend to be..as a private citizen I would lobby just as hard for the appropriations for Lower Teton, for Burns Creek,...and for the extension of Bonneville Power Administration transmission lines into Idaho.

Because Mike Kirwan is such a man of his word, I wish he hadn't made that statement, because it would be harder to get the money.<sup>48</sup>

Harding said Hansen had ruined any chance of accomplishing anything for Idaho if he is elected because of his attack on Congressman

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Experiences of Foe Cited by Harding," September 29, 1964, p. 3; Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says Humphrey Considers Idaho Visit," September 29, 1964, p. 1; Blackfoot News, "Harding States Hansen Destroyed Effectiveness with Attack on Kirwan," September 29, 1964, p. 2.

Kirwan, and said Hansen called Representative Kirwan a "carpetbagger and blackmailer." Harding asserted that,

My opponent with his record of having never spent a day in a legislature would have had a difficult time at best in serving in the Congress. However, by his attack on one of the greatest and most powerful committee chairmen, he has completely ruined any small chance that he may have had of accomplishing anything for Idaho if elected.<sup>49</sup>

Because of Hansen's statement, Harding said, "it will be harder for me now to convince him (Kirwan) to put money in the budget (for Lower Teton.)"<sup>50</sup>

Other reactions were also instantaneous. The State Republican Chairman said the Ohio Congressman's statement was an example of using a "political blackjack" on Idaho voters, and called Harding a "political bootlicker," saying he had voted for an expensive aquarium for Washington, D.C., to win favor with a committee chairman. He asserted that,

Idahoans believe that development of their water resources can stand on its own merits and that it is not necessary to enter into any kind of an unholy alliance with a power-hungry Ohio congressman to get funds for their projects.<sup>51</sup>

One political columnist predicted that while Kirwan's

Heart was with Harding...his approach to the Idaho voters was so wrong it will undoubtedly backfire to Hansen's advantage. There is no doubt that Kirwan has the power to make good on that threat, and little doubt that he would. And there is not doubt either that the voters of Idaho would enjoy spitting in his eye, even if they never get another dam or flood project, just to prove they own their own souls.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid. Note: Initial appropriation was made in 1966.

<sup>51</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "McMurray Says Harding Rates as 'Bootlicker,'" September 29, 1964, p. 1. See also Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Harding Says Humphrey Considers Idaho Visit," September 29, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," September 30, 1964, p. 4.



But he added, "There are still five weeks left before the election, and the matter probably will be largely forgotten as the candidates debate more meaty issues."<sup>53</sup>

Several reactions ran through Idaho Second District residents' minds about Congressman Kirwan's remarks. Talk of "outside interference" in Idaho elections was everywhere and the use of "power politics" was resented.

One editor of an influential farm newspaper wrote,

Isn't it strange how Idaho can somehow always manage to get its fine water conservation projects tangleed up in politics? Ralph Harding started it four years ago with Burns Creek. Apparently he started something--with Idaho the loser.<sup>54</sup>

Another Editor said, "We enjoyed Kirwan, but not the club he carried."<sup>55</sup>

The Kirwan incident roused intense and often bitter activity on the part of those who supported Harding in it and those who rebelled against him. Sides were taken with increasing vigor, and this contributed much to the fact that the issue lingered through the election.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Eastern Idaho Farmer (Idaho Falls), Aden Hyde, "Views and News on Subjects Here and There," October 1, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>55</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "Powerful Man," October 1, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Hopeful Backs Rep. Harding," October 5, 1964, p. 3; The Post-Register, (Idaho Falls), "Gen GOP Chief Blasts Harding," October 4, 1964, p. 1; The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), Editorial, "He Said His Piece," October 4, 1964, p. 4; The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Farmer avers Hansen Harms Teton Project," October 8, 1964, p. 3; The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Reader Claims Johnson Too Strong," October 11, 1964, p. 1; The Post-Register, (Idaho Falls), "Rigby Elector Irked at Kirwan," October 13, 1964, p. 4; Rexburg Journal, Earl Hoopes, "Deploras Poor 'Public Relations,'" October 1, 1964, p. 1; Rexburg Standard, R. Willis Walker, "Walker Says 'Forget Differences, Unite, and Get Dam Built,'" September 29, 1964, p. 1; Arco Advertiser, "Peep Sights," October 1, 1964, p. 3.

Governor Smylie said of Congressman Kirwan's remarks,

I doubt if his constituents in Youngstown, Ohio, would want this kind of treatment themselves. We ought to elect Hansen to see if Kirwan has the lack of moral stature to make good his threat.<sup>57</sup>

Hansen "hammered" at the remarks of Congressman Kirwan, and said a strong feeling of protest had been aroused in Idaho by what he termed Harding's "Teton Blackmail Project." Hansen described the Kirwan statement "as the most distasteful thing we have faced in years, having our own tax money used against us. There is no doubt that the \$52 million price tag on our present congressman is grossly inflated."<sup>58</sup>

Hansen shifted his emphasis on the Teton Dam-Kirwan incident to questioning the effectiveness of Harding's terms in office. Since it was fresh on everyone's minds and brought back elements of Harding's prior campaigns, Hansen would briefly assail Harding about "going from dam to dam to dam for three elections without really accomplishing anything," and then continue on to other issues as added evidence of Harding's misuse and misrepresentation of Idaho's interests. He asserted,

Idaho must have a congressman to fairly represent the best interests of our state and her people, and to work diligently to protect their rightful voice in government. Yet, our present congressman has openly favored Senatorial re-apportionment and is willing to grant Idaho's legislature no more than an extension of time to get it done. His voting record and statements before the House and Senate have clearly shown this. His voting record, his interests

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<sup>57</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Smylie Urges Gem Debates on Apportionment," October 5, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Irrigator Asks Keep Dam Out of Politics," September 30, 1964, p. 1.

and the large percentage of his campaign funds lie with people and organizations outside the borders of Idaho.<sup>59</sup>

In an effort to separate the building of the Teton Dam from the authorization to build which Harding had received in the Teton bill, Hansen emphasized that the project actually was the work of several people and that it could stand on its merits.<sup>60</sup>

He also tied Harding in with the national debt, and said,

The credit for the proposed \$52 million dam on the Teton River is not all Harding's. If Harding is going to attempt to grab credit then he should also be given part of the credit for the "fantastic" federal debt, which is a national disgrace.<sup>61</sup>

Harding's votes have helped push us \$30 billion deeper in debt. Interest alone on this debt amounts to ten cents on each tax dollar collected--over \$10 billion each year. Now is the time to stop this wild spending. Now is the time to return to good sense.<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps the most piercing criticism came from the editor of a wide-spread farmer weekly newspaper. In an editorial, titled "The Harding Blight," he said,

Ralph Harding, probably with the best intentions, seems to have developed the unfortunate proclivity of wrecking every commendable reclamation project advanced in eastern Idaho. He did it first with Burns Creek--and a whale of a job he did on that one, too. He was going to get Burns Creek authorization or he wouldn't even be a repeat candidate. Instead, he killed it.

Currently, it's the Fremont Dam on the Teton which is feeling the Harding curse. That one was all set, with no opposition--a fine project, one certain to add materially to Idaho's water

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<sup>59</sup>Idaho Enterprise (Malad), "Republican Candidate for Congress Gives Views on Proposed Reapportionment," October 1, 1964, p. 2. (See Appendix X for the reapportionment views of Harding and Hansen, as published in the Idaho Farm Bureau News.)

<sup>60</sup>Fremont County Chronicle-News (St. Anthony), "Hansen Attacks Harding for 'Fantastic' Debt," October 1, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Harding Public Spender No. 1, Hansen Tells Jerome Audience," October 1, 1964, pp. 1, 8.

conservation and utilization future...We're not saying that Ralph Harding is wilfully and wantonly destroying Idaho's irrigation projects. What we are saying is that he certainly has developed a penchant for doing just that...We like Governor Smylie's approach... elect George Hansen to the House and defy Kirwan to carry out that threat.<sup>63</sup>

### The Kircher Episode

On March 12, a bill was defeated in Congress (222-184) which would have boosted congressional salaries from \$22,500 to \$32,500 and would have made \$5,000 of that salary deductible for tax purposes to offset living expenses. Shortly after, a new bill was introduced to raise the salaries from \$22,500 to \$30,000 and this bill passed.<sup>64</sup>

Harding voted for both of these Government Employees Salary Reform Acts and was widely assailed for it.<sup>65</sup> He said he had opposed it and voted for it only after it had been attached as a rider to the federal employees' pay increase bill. He said he preferred a "legitimate expense account" to pay for trips between Washington, D.C., and Idaho, whereas they were presently coming out of his own pocket.<sup>66</sup>

One Idaho editor asserted,

Ralph Harding votes himself a \$7,500 a year pay raise, then tells the natives he's campaigning in a house trailer because it's cheaper. He votes for every big spending measure, then campaigns in a house trailer because it's cheaper. Irony.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Eastern Idaho Farmer (Idaho Falls), Editorial, "The Harding Blight," October 15, 1964, p. 2. Note: In 1966, an appropriation to begin the Teton Dam was secured from Congress.

<sup>64</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Senator Jordan Clarifies," September 4, 1964, p. 10.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Eastern Idaho Farmer (Idaho Falls), Adon Hydo, "Who Said That?" September 10, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>67</sup>Arco Advertiser, Editorial "Peep Sights," September 24, 1964, p. 3.

Hansen deplored the fact that Harding,

Voted himself a \$10,000 a year pay raise, which Congress failed to pass, and again voted for \$7,500 a year raise, which was passed. It is not sound principles for public officials to vote themselves raises at a time when the nation is billions of dollars in debt. How many farmers and businessmen are there who would vote themselves a pay raise if they were heavily in debt?<sup>68</sup>

Hansen said that Harding should be known as "Generous Ralph" because he had been so good to himself in 1964. Hansen said that Harding evidently,

Subscribes to the administration's theory that a 3-per cent pay raise is sufficiently non inflationary for his constituents, But he voted himself a 30 per cent raise, another \$4,500 in staff allowances and now wants to tell you what he has done for the district.<sup>69</sup>

Harding replied that he assumed that if Hansen were elected, he would turn down the pay increase.<sup>70</sup>

Then, on October 18, the Idaho Sunday Statesman ran an editorial, entitled, "Have You Written Your Congressman Lately? If So, He May Send You a Reply: 'You're a Nut!'" (See Appendix VII.) This article, reprinted in virtually every paper in the state, was based on some correspondence between Harding and a Dr. James R. Kircher in Burley, who apparently took vigorous exception to much of what Harding did as a congressman, especially the pay raise. Harding replied in a somewhat undignified and antagonistic letter to Dr. Kircher:

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<sup>68</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Hansen Attacks Democrat Incumbent for 'Ineffective Representation,'" September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>69</sup>Wendell Irrigationist, "Hansen Criticizes Opponent for Vote on Self Pay Raise," September 3, 1964, p. 1. Note: The pay increase bill provided for a 3 per cent salary raise for government employees.

<sup>70</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.



I just thought you would like to know that I have been receiving some very ignorant, slanderous, and stupid letters from someone in Burley who is using your name and stationery. I wanted you to be fully aware of this, and maybe you can prevent this person from writing to me. I am sure that the type of letters he is writing reflect no credit upon anyone (See Appendix VII).

Dr. Kircher wrote back that the stationery, letters and signature were his own, and reminded Harding of his right as a constituent of writing to his congressman. (See Appendix VII) The correspondence was subsequently brought to the attention of the Statesman editor who penned the above editorial.

Harding reacted with a letter of rebuttal, challenging the editorial, and yet defending the letter written to Dr. Kircher. (See Appendix VII)

Other editors joined the Statesman in decrying the immaturity shown in the situation (See Appendix VII), and the incident was the subject of countless "letters to the editor" columns, particularly in the Magic Valley and Boise Valley areas. The Republican State Chairman received wide coverage for his verabl reprimand, which said that Harding had demonstrated,

Again that he just can't measure up to the responsibilities and dignity of a congressman. Harding's answer to the doctor verges on the point of a grade school prankster, not that of a congressman...he should at least have the capacity and dignity to accept criticism from those who do differ from him.<sup>71</sup>

Birch-Henson, Seniority, Campaign Finances  
and Council for a Livable World

Going into the campaign, Harding felt he would lose some votes for his attack of Ezra Taft Henson, but would gain others.<sup>72</sup> The

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<sup>71</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "GOP Head Sparks Demo Over Letter," October 20, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," October 18, 1964, p. 3.

issue was seldom discussed before the public, with one notable exception being the statewide television debate in September.<sup>73</sup> Harding was asked if he would make his speech against Benson again, if he had it to do over again, and he replied affirmatively. In rebuttal, Hansen closed the show off with the comment that the floor of Congress was "no place to wash religious linen."<sup>74</sup>

When Harding indicated his intentions to make the Birch Society an issue in the campaign, Hansen labeled it "an irrelevant issue," and said,

I think Mr. Harding would like to make the Birch Society a smoke screen issue to keep from being exposed on the real problems, the things he hasn't done and should have done as a congressman.<sup>75</sup>

Harding said he considered the Birch Society members "a bunch of creeps and nuts," and said he did not want their votes, support or financial assistance. Hansen said he did not accept,

All that its founder, Robert Welch, had to say and that he did not agree with all of Welch's tactics. But, he said, he would "accept the support of any person who is acting the best he can to be a good American citizen...I do not encourage the support of the John Birch Society; I encourage the support of individuals... Many people feel frustrated at the conduct of our government toward the Communist menace. If something would get done, these organizations would dissolve."<sup>76</sup>

In their first Pocatello debate, when accused of Birch Society support, Hansen denounced talk of extremism, and said he did not

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<sup>73</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, "Hansen Wins Debate as Victory Key," November 5, 1964, p. 6.

<sup>74</sup>Personal knowledge.

<sup>75</sup>Preston Citizen, Richard Charnock, "Political Echoes," August 13, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding: Wish Dem Had Been Less Outspoken," October 4, 1964, pp. 1-2.



accept support from the John Birch Society.<sup>77</sup> In a later debate in Pocatello, Harding claimed that Hansen was taking money from Birch Society members, and Hansen said if members had contributed to his campaign, he did not know it. If Hansen would name his contributors, Harding said he would point out the Birchers.

At that point, with the candidates only a few feet apart and speaking with their voices raised, the moderator...stepped between the two and stopped the discussion.<sup>78</sup>

Declaring that "The John Birch Society as such may not be large in Idaho," the State Democratic Chairman said it had, however, taken over the Republican party in the state. He said Hansen, "was arranging meeting places<sup>79</sup> and so forth for Reed Benson in southern Idaho."<sup>80</sup>

In the later debate at Pocatello, Hansen accused Harding of accepting,

Contributions to his campaign from an organization known as the "Council for a Livable World." Hansen said this group advocated unilateral disarmament and appeasement of Communist nations.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>78</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Clash on Campaign Funds," October 9, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup>Author's note: One day in early March, 1964, Hansen was servicing insurance customers and was approached by an employee of one firm with the information that Reed Benson was scheduled to come and speak in Pocatello. Hansen was asked if, as a City Commissioner, he could suggest an appropriate hall to engage for the event. Hansen said that in view of the controversy about the Birch Society, a large place like the high school auditorium would no doubt be best, and said if there was any problem, to call him. Hansen and several other city officials attended the Benson meeting, but none were seen buying the literature on the tables.

<sup>80</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), Richard Charnock, "Birch Society Playing Key Role in Forthcoming Idaho Election," September 23, 1964, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Clash on Campaign Funds," October 9, 1964, pp. 1-2.

Harding said the council was composed of persons who do not want to see "the world blown up by a nuclear bomb." He said he had taken money for his campaign from some "doctors and scientists" who belong to the council.<sup>82</sup>

Both sides began to get more emotional about the campaign fund accusations. Hansen said, in another encounter,

Harding's vote for the U.S. wheat deal with Russia showed he misunderstands the danger of Communism. He has an unrealistic outlook on foreign policy.<sup>83</sup>

Harding countered by saying he "would never impugn any other American by saying he was aiding Communism. I have never aided Communism." He said Hansen had been charging him with being a "red rubber stamp." Hansen corrected him, saying that he had charged Harding with being a "red ink rubber stamp" on government spending proposals.<sup>84</sup>

Hansen declared thereafter that Harding was anxious to pin the Birch Society label on his opposition to divert attention from left-wing extremist support going to his campaign,<sup>85</sup> and that Harding was voting more for their interests than those of Idaho, and demanded he tell people why the group was supporting him.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Rep. Harding, George Hansen Clash Over U.S. Policy Toward Communism," October 15, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Caldwell News-Tribune, "Hansen Attacks Demo Opponent," October 15, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>86</sup>Twin Falls Times-News, "Harding Hit for Support by Leftists," October 15, 1964, p. 1. Note: "Post Election Statement of 1964" campaign by Ralph Harding, filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., lists more than 257 out-of-state contributors, with some being from Canada, India, and England.

Senator Millard Simpson (R-Wyoming) added fuel to the fire when he spoke in Burley at a Republican rally, accusing the Council for a Livable World of seeking "total disarmament" by "buying off the Congress." He said that because of their "advise and consent" power which can cripple the United States through treaties, the Council generally supported only senators, and that "an exception is being made in the case of Ralph Harding." He said Harding ranked second in Washington as a spender, and that this, too, was dangerous to America.<sup>87</sup> (See Appendix XI)

Hansen accused the Council of being a "ban the bomb group who want a livable world with Communism," and pressed Harding for an explanation of his affiliation.<sup>88</sup>

The executive director of the Council in Washington, D.C., denied charges that it advocated unilateral disarmament, but said,

It advocates disarmament on a quid pro quo basis with adequate inspection safeguards.<sup>89</sup>

This statement was absolutely unclear to Idahoans.<sup>90</sup>

Harding claimed that the whole thing was a Birch-type smear,

<sup>87</sup>Twin Falls Times-News, "Wyoming Aide Jabs at Harding, Demos," October 16, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>88</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Sum Given to Harding Draws Blast," October 16, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>89</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Unilateral Disarming Stand Denied," October 17, 1964, p. 9.

<sup>90</sup>Taken from Action Program of the Council for a Livable World, "A Livable World Free From War," Washington, D.C.; "Unilateral initiatives in arms control and in partial disarmament measures can help to create a more favorable atmosphere for fruitful disarmament negotiations--as, for example, if the United States were to adopt a strategic policy of using its nuclear weapons only for retaliation in kind, or if we were to dismantle vulnerable missile bases in Europe."

and "a tactical maneuver by the John Birch Society in their efforts to defeat me."<sup>91</sup>

Hansen retorted that Harding "had been caught at his own finger pointing game,"<sup>92</sup> and said that Harding's claims as to the value of his growing seniority were of no value, because the Council was only backing Harding on the grounds that he run for the U.S. Senate in the next election against Republican Senator Jordan, who had voted against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (See Appendix XI).

Harding said, however, his seniority in Congress would guarantee continuance of public works in the Second District.<sup>93</sup>

The general feeling of a mud-bath on both sides was expressed by observers and newsmen.

#### BPA and Burns Creek Dam

In 1963, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall declared southern Idaho to be part of the marketing areas of the (Northwest) Bonneville Power Administration (BPA).<sup>94</sup> This meant that electric power, produced at government-owned dams and installations, was to be made available to consumers and customers in the Second District. It would thus introduce an element of low-cost electric power from a non-profit-seeking government agency in direct competition with the rates of profit-seeking private power companies. However, to the consternation of many involved Idahoans, the final feasibility report

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<sup>91</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen, Harding Spar Over Campaign Funds," October 17, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "GOP Hopeful Accused of False Statements, October 18, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>93</sup>Arco Advertiser, "Harding Says EPA Would Be Asset in Southern Idaho," October 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup>Minidoka County News (Rupert), "Political Property," August 31, 1964, p. 2.

by which the Secretary had decided to include southern Idaho in the BPA marketing area was never made public. He said that "revised data" was used to justify the economic feasibility of bringing BPA's public-power into the southern area to serve electric power needs.<sup>95</sup>

The Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) was originally created in 1937 in the Department of Interior as a marketing agency for electric power produced at Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River. Tensions were high in the 1964 campaign because BPA had approached public cooperatives, municipal power systems and particularly Monsanto Chemical Company, an electrically-furnaced phosphate processor in Soda Springs, with an offer of extremely low-cost electric power contingent on congressional approval of a \$73 million transmission line into the area.<sup>96</sup>

Idaho Power Company, Utah Power and Light Company and the J. R. Simplot Company with its chemical-processing plant claimed that such preferential treatment on power rates would be discriminatory and threaten their continued business existence by disrupting the present competitive market.<sup>97</sup>

The eventual result was that construction of the transmission line was rejected by Congress, BPA and Idaho Power were directed to negotiate a power-wheeling agreement for servicing nearly twenty

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<sup>95</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," May 23, 1963, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup>Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), Editorial, October 4, 1964, p. 4A.

<sup>97</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Harding Hits Hansen at Democratic Rally," October 22, 1964, pp. 1, 8; Power County Press (American Falls), "Demos Kick Campaign Open with Banquet Friday," September 3, 1964, p. 1. Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," October 8, 1964, p. 3A; Blackfoot News, "Throw Out B.P.A.," October 9, 1964, p. 1.

preferential customers, such as public cooperatives and municipal power systems, and Monsanto entered into a contract with Utah Power and light to provide kilowatt power for its electric furnaces. However, this end result was preceded by much vituperation on both sides.<sup>98</sup>

On September 9, Hansen said that BPA, though much talked about as an issue in the campaign, wouldn't have much effect on the race. He said there were people with definite opinions on both sides, and many who were confused by it.

Hansen opposed the construction of a proposed transmission line to carry Bonneville electricity from the Columbia River system into southern Idaho. In this regard,

Hansen said he has no quarrel with the BPA marketing power in southern Idaho from Bureau of Reclamation dams to cooperatives and municipalities, but doesn't believe it should "go into competition with the private companies with subsidized power for industry."

He maintains that more jobs would be lost if the wet process phosphate producer in Pocatello was forced by competition to cut back than if electrical furnace method companies expand.<sup>99</sup>

Hansen warmed to the attack on federal controls, using the BPA and the Secretary of the Interior as one example. "One Man's signature extended the BPA across three states," he declared, and warned that the closest representatives of the people were the congressmen and senators, but that congress was giving away her powers.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid. See also Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "Politically Speaking," October 8, 1964, p. 3A; Blackfoot News, "Throw Out BPA" October 9, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>99</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), Ken Robison, "Hansen Starts Active Campaign for House," September 9, 1964, p. 11.

<sup>100</sup>Blackfoot News, "BPA, Reapportionment, Medicare, R. Harding are Target of Hansen," September 18, 1964, p. 1.



Harding listed the Bonneville Power Administration lines into Idaho as a great thing for the state and said that it had been called "Socialism" to bring BPA power into Idaho, but it was okeh to take it into California. BPA would help build Idaho, he maintained, and there were companies who want to come to Idaho, expand in Idaho, if lower power rates were available.

I am not opposed to Idaho Power Company, I am pro-Idaho. We have in Southern Idaho the greatest deposits of phosphate in America. We want companies to come in and develop it. It would mean thousands of jobs. But the companies say they cannot operate successfully on the power rates charged by Idaho Power and Utah Power Company. BPA will help build Idaho and there are companies who want to come to Idaho, expand in Idaho, if lower power rates are available.<sup>101</sup>

Disputing Hansen, Harding said BPA had been extended into southern Idaho at the request of three members of the Idaho Congressional delegation. He contended that development of Idaho's phosphate industry was "tied in with BPA" and said that with BPA power, Idaho phosphate products could be made competitive with those from the East.

Harding said his opponent "has made it clear that he would go back and join with Congressmen from Tennessee, Florida and North Carolina to keep BPA out of Idaho." Harding said he would continue to fight for BPA and Burns Creek Dam "whether the power companies like it or not,"<sup>102</sup> holding that it was in the "best interests of Idaho and the Idaho Power Company."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Preston Citizen, "Politicos Open 1964 Campaign," September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>102</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split in Meet on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>103</sup>Lewiston Morning Tribune, "Harding Will Press for BPA Line to South," September 11, 1964, p. 1.

The most active and vocal R.E.A. power organization in the District was in Minidoka County, which went all out for BPA to enter southern Idaho in 1964. Candidates for the state legislature advocated it.<sup>104</sup> The R.E.A. unit itself got a little carried away with Harding's espousal of BPA, and enclosed his campaign literature in their billing envelopes.<sup>105</sup> Some adverse criticism resulted, but Harding carried the county, although by a smaller margin than in 1962: 2,689 to 2,190 in 1962 and 2,906 to 2,829 in 1964.<sup>106</sup>

A side aspect on BPA was the vocal activity of Grant Kilbourne, the General Manager of J.R. Simplot Phosphate Plant in Pocatello, who addressed several service clubs in different towns warning against the extension of BPA into southern Idaho. According to news reports, Kilbourne spoke at the following places during the campaign:

Gooding	Oct. 1	Twin Falls	Oct. 14
Mountain Home	Oct. 6	Preston	Oct. 15
Blackfoot	Oct. 9	American Falls	Oct. 15

His main point was that unfair advantage was being given to some firms over others in producing phosphate. He said BPA was offering the electrically-operated phosphate companies in southern Idaho, whose rates were presently competitive with the "wet" or chemical-processing phosphate plants, a lower tax-subsidized cost for power which would enable the electrically-operated plants to unfairly compete with lower prices. BPA offered electric power at 2.2 mills, when the

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<sup>104</sup>Minidoka County News (Rupert), "Arnstein Begins Campaign," August 31, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup>Interview with Richard Hendricks, August 12, 1966. Many letters of complaint, protesting the mailing of Harding's campaign literature to REA customers, were received at Hanson's campaign office.

<sup>106</sup>Idaho, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election November 3, 1964; and Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election on November 6, 1962.

private power companies had to pay more than that in taxes alone, and such an unfair tax-subsidized competition would thus also injure the private power companies who would lose business. He also criticized the \$132 million transmission line proposed by BPA to come to southern Idaho from Bonneville Dam in Washington as being an incredible expense which could never be paid back, because the cost of wheeling the power alone was 2 mills, and this was the approximate selling prices.<sup>107</sup>

When Simplot cancelled its expansion plans because of the BPA threat, Harding became so upset that he challenged Kilbourne to a debate, which did not materialize because of time, even though Kilbourne agreed to the debate.<sup>108</sup> Kilbourne distributed a letter to each Pocatello employee of Simplot's urging them to defeat Harding on November 3. (See Appendix VI).

In referring to Harding's past record of BPA and Burns Creek Dam, Hansen said early in the campaign that Burns Creek "is dormant at this time and not an issue except to demonstrate the irresponsible promises used to gain office and the complete inability to back them up."<sup>109</sup>

However, Burns Creek did come back into the news, as Interior Secretary Udall announced that if ever approved by the Congress, the Burns Creek damsite below Palisades Dam would be renamed the Lynn Crandall Dam in honor of the former Snake River watermaster, and that feasibility studies indicate a large dam than originally planned

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<sup>107</sup>Twin Falls Times-News, "Exchange Club Hears Simplot Aide Tell 'BPA Threat to Southern Idaho,'" October 14, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>108</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Challenges Kilbourne to BPA Debate," October 30, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>109</sup>Idaho State Journal, "Hansen Rips into Harding in Labor Day Campaign Blast," September 6, 1964, p. 2.

might be possible, impounding 1,400,000 acre-feet of water instead of 234,000 acre-feet.<sup>110</sup>

In a statement about the now revived Burns Creek prospects, Harding said he anticipated its passage in 1965<sup>111</sup> and stressed that,

The original Burns Creek project was a good one, and the expanded project is even better. But we must have united and energetic support of everyone to forward it.<sup>112</sup>

However, it was pointed out by the Idaho Daily Statesman that, following the series of rejections by the House, it was Senator Len Jordan to whom credit was due, since it was he who had launched his own study to make the Burns Creek development more acceptable. It was praised as a calculated effort to remove Burns Creek as a political issue, and place it back on its merits.<sup>113</sup>

Throughout the campaign, however, Harding took occasion to criticize Senator Len Jordan for his proposal to divert water from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Southwest.

I am amazed that an Idaho Senator should suddenly be the champion of taking water originating in Idaho and other Northwestern states away from potential users in our areas.<sup>114</sup>

#### Farm Issues

As pointed out in an earlier chapter, the basic dialogue on the

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<sup>110</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Larger Pond Asked for Dam in East Idaho," September 9, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>111</sup>Deseret News (Salt Lake City), "Harding Optimistic on Burns Project," September 16, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>112</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Support Urged for Area Dam" September 10, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>113</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), Editorial, "Sharing the Praise," September 10, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>114</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, "Gem Solon Opposes Water Transfer," September 19, 1964, p. B-1.

farm issue during the campaign was generally this: (1) Harding claimed his position on the House Agriculture Committee placed him in a position to help Second District farmers; (2) Hansen replied that Harding was ineffective and/or misrepresenting the farmers by his work on the committee and in Congress; (3) Harding replied that he had accomplished such and such for wheat, sugar beet, bean, cattle, etc., growers; (4) Hansen asserted that Harding's accomplishments were foreign to the farmers' needs and desires; and (5) there was a continuing rumble of dissatisfaction among farmers.

Farmer dissatisfaction found frequent expression in letters to the editors of newspapers in the District. One example was this "Open Letter to Mr. Harding:"

In this election year, it was good of Mr. Harding to come home to tell us about the many benefits that Idaho reaped from the 88th Congress. Mr. Harding tells us that the import on beef went from 18 million pounds in 1958 to 517 millions in 1963 for just Australia. I wonder who our congressman represents, the Idaho farmer or the ranchers from down under. Only an idiot could fail to see the plight of the beef grower in Idaho.

If Mr. Harding is such a buddy of the President as we have been led to believe, why couldn't he have got this quota lowered in the four years he has been in Congress. After all, the Democrats have been in control for a good many years....<sup>115</sup>

In the face of this, Harding was endeavoring to sell his past efforts on behalf of the farms to District farmers. He pointed out the work that he had done in the House of Representatives for the livestock industry, declaring that he,

Was one of the sponsors of the "Wool Act" and also the "Meat Import Quota Bill" and he pledged his continued support of legislation that was in the best interests of the livestock and agricultural interest of Idaho.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Kimberly Advertiser, "Open Letter to Mr. Harding," October 22, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>116</sup>Market Lake Citizen(Roberts), "Church, Harding Visit Dubois," October 22, 1964, p. 1.



While Senator Church (D-Idaho) was calling for Harding's re-election so they could work together as a team in Congress, Senator Jordan (R-Idaho, and a past popular governor of Idaho) endorsed Hansen while attacking the administration's policy on foreign affairs, deficit spending, and fumbling the farm program. These were the same points of emphasis as Hansen's. Senator Jordan said,

Farm parity prices are at 74 per cent, the lowest in 25 years, and said the commodities in which the government has interfered are the commodities in distress.

Because world-wide consumption of wheat exactly equalled production in 1963--8.7 billion bushels--the senator predicted a time soon when there will be no surplus. "But in the meantime, we must have a better program" He said that when wheat prices this year started rising the federal government dumped wheat on the international market and depressed prices overnight.

"Elect a new administration (and Hansen)," he continued, "and you can be sure of one thing. It will sit down with the farmers and talk to them about their farm problems." "The only control the people have," he said, "is in Congress--and that control is being whittled away."<sup>117</sup>

The State Democratic Party Chairman stated on August 27, early in the campaign, that President Lyndon Johnson faced the task of establishing in the minds of Idaho voters, "that he has an interest in-- and a knowledge of--farm problems and reclamation."<sup>118</sup>

Hansen's strong campaign criticism of Administration farm programs and its approach to farm problems stemmed from his conservatism philosophy of resistance to growing government control over every sphere of American life. Among the farm population he found willing listeners. In a speech to a group of over 60 people in the small town of Wendell, Hansen declared,

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<sup>117</sup>Power County Press (American Falls), "End Trend to Centralized Government--Senator Jordan," October 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup>Twin Falls Times-News (Twin Falls), "Walker Says Idaho Republicans Fight Among Selves, Sees Democratic Win," August 28, 1964, p. 1.



The most important reason for (my) being a candidate for Congress is the urgent need for honesty, integrity and common sense in Government. Government should be a means of creating an environment in which man can grow...man has a mind and a spirit as well as a stomach.

I cannot ask...my friends in Idaho to barter away one after another of their liberties in exchange for what the politicians are wont to call "security." Yet, we now find ourselves being reduced by a philosophy that is gradually hacking away at our individual freedoms. The practitioners of this philosophy long ago lost faith in the people and in the people's wisdom...and have appointed themselves to determine and plan what the people need and what they must have.

They began by aiding the farmer and now he can no longer raise what he pleases. Indeed, he must even support a Department of Agriculture that sends planes over his property to see what he plants. They began by aiding the laborer and now (he) finds himself being spoken for...by a self-perpetuating clique of labor politicians...They began by aiding businessman and now (he) must prostitute himself for business contracts...They began by aiding the aged and now the retiree finds himself penalized if he earns enough to buy himself a good cigar. They began by aiding the restive downtrodden and now the streets of our cities have become veritable jungles.

The issues in this election are basically the choice between government giveaway and government control versus individual freedom. In contrast to my opponent I feel it is time to begin a definite step by step program to assure our national security and give us back our voice in government and control of our pay check, our lives and our future.<sup>119</sup>

Harding announced in March that the Department of Agriculture had allotted 8,140 additional quota acres of sugar beets to sugar beet producers for the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company at their Idaho Falls plant. This acreage was spread among Bonneville, Jefferson, Madison, Fremont, and Bingham Counties.<sup>120</sup>

In Burley, on September 18, Harding told Magic Valley sugar beet farmers that the apparent abandonment of a sugar factory in Maine

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<sup>119</sup>Wendell Irrigationist, "Hansen Speaker at GOP Luncheon," October 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>120</sup>Newsletter, "Congressman Harding Reports from Washington," April 2, 1964.

provided a good opportunity for additional acreage for the Amalgamated Sugar Company plant in Rupert.<sup>121</sup> However, no quota addition for the Magic Valley area was secured. A cutback by the Administration was also made in the increased beet acreage allotment previously gained through the elimination of Castro's Cuban sugar cane supply.<sup>122</sup> In addition, shortly before the election, the Amalgamated Sugar Company executives sent letters to approximately 5,000 Magic Valley sugar beet growers pressing them to vote for Harding to protest their remaining sugar beet acreages.<sup>123</sup> Hansen and Senator Jordan had time to rebut the letter, and a case of "outside interference" from the Utah-based company was also emphasized. (Harding lost every county in the Magic Valley, except Minidoka.)

Another item of confusion about Harding's stand on farm programs seemed to be his duality on Communism. He gave firm advocacy of the Food for Peace program in February, 1964,

As one of the most popular programs that the U.S. Government has undertaken to aid underdeveloped nations. Not only has this program demonstrated that food is an effective weapon in the cold war in helping uncommitted and uncertain people turn toward free institutions, but it has been an economic boon to the American farmer in aiding him to adjust to a difficult period of abundance.<sup>124</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Harding was assailed by the Republican Congressional Committee, and the theme was picked up by Hansen later in the campaign, for his 187-186 vote to continue the sale of U.S.

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<sup>121</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, "Gem Solon Opposes Water Transfer," September 19, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>122</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Return Prosperity to Idaho," November 1, 1964, p. 6.

<sup>123</sup>The Intermountain (Pocatello), Perry Swisher, "How Could He Lose?", November 5, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>124</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Food Export Called Tool in Cold War," February 27, 1964, p. 3.

wheat to Russia with an export subsidy:

While the Johnson Administration asks Congress for an additional \$125 million to prosecute the war against the Communists in Viet Nam, it also calls on U.S. taxpayers to dig into their pockets to subsidize millions of dollars worth of wheat for the Soviet Union. By this vote, Rep. Harding provided the margin the Administration needed to continue selling U.S. taxpayer-subsidized wheat to the Soviet Union. He voted, in effect, to help subsidize Communism.<sup>125</sup>

The Idaho Second District farmer was vehemently against Communism, and this touched a vital nerve, although Harding held that the sale to Russia showed the supremacy of the American farmer in production.

During the campaign, Harding returned several times to Congress, and issued numerous press releases concerning pending legislation on potato controls, sugar beet quotas, and other farm topics. He endeavored to convince farmers that his big area of disagreement with the Administration was with government farm programs. This amounted to a difficult job, because of the rating scales on "correct voting on key issues of Congress" made public by several major national organizations, which were in turn made available by the Idaho Farm Bureau and District newspapers. "Correct voting" percentage ratings for the 87th Congress (1961-1962) for Harding were as follows:<sup>126</sup>

Americans for Constitutional Action . . . . .	.0%
American Farm Bureau Federation . . . . .	27.0
National Farmers Union . . . . .	100.0
*Americans for Democratic Action . . . . .	87.0
AFL-CIO, Committee on Political Education(COPE)	91.0

\*Rating is for 1st Session of 88th Congress.

On November 10, the State Democratic Party Chairman attributed

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<sup>125</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "GOP Solons Say Harding Helps Reds," May 30, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>126</sup>U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Public Affairs Department, "They Grade the Congress," Political Report (Washington, D.C., January, 1964).

the defeat of Harding "to some extent to a farmer revolt. It was a trend, and we just didn't get it stopped."<sup>127</sup>

### Liberal-Conservative Issues

Hansen scored Harding for his general support of the extreme liberal program, and declared,

The incumbent congressman has done everything he can to remove government from our people and centralize it in Washington.<sup>128</sup>

We have in the U.S. today government by one man--not government by the people as it should be.<sup>129</sup>

We've had too much government by the experts and not enough government by the people.<sup>130</sup>

Hansen said repeatedly he favored local action of local problems and Harding said he also thought problems "should be solved as close to the people as possible. But if they can't be solved by the state and local governments, I think we have a right and responsibility to go to Washington and seek the best solution."<sup>131</sup> For example, Harding said that he favored federal aid to education because he was convinced the state and local units of government were "not able to meet the needs of education."<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Walker Sees Defeat for GOP in 1968," November 10, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>128</sup>Lincoln County Journal (Shoshone), "Hansen Attacks Democrat Incumbent for 'Ineffective Representation,'" September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>129</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Hansen Flays Harding at County GOP Gathering," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split in Meet on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>132</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Lions Hear Harding Give Talk," September 10, 1964, p. 1.

Hansen expressed concern over,

An ever increasing number of liberals serving in government who have little or no faith in the people. They have repudiated the Constitution of the United States. They are leading our nation to a socialistic dictatorship. These liberals have rammed through Congress unconstitutional, impractical, unworkable, and oppressive legislation which invades inalienable, personal and property rights of the individual.<sup>133</sup>

Hansen sounded the call for liberty from federal interference, and to restore power to the local units of government.<sup>134</sup> He quoted Ben Franklin, who said when our type of government was first formed, "You have a republic if you can keep it." Hansen said, "The problem of returning governemtn to the people is not just a trite phrase, it is serious business. We want government by the people, even if they make a few mistakes."<sup>135</sup>

Debt---.In September, Hansen said, "We feel we have strong issues. It is centered on money. It is the problem of public debt."<sup>136</sup> He labeled Harding "public spender number one" because of his support for excessive national expenditures.<sup>137</sup>

Initially, Hansen tied Harding's record closely to the increasingly heavy national debt, more interest payments and a widening circle of government programs and controls. He accused Harding of helping bring upon us and future generations,

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<sup>133</sup>"House Biographies: George Hansen," Congressional Quarterly, December 11, 1964, pp. 2803-2804.

<sup>134</sup>Blackfoot News, "BPA, Reapportionment, Medicare, R. Harding Are Targets of Hansen," September 18, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>135</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Attacks High Court on Reapportionment Decision," September 18, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>136</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Miller's Appearance Draws Cheering Crowd," September 23, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>137</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Polls Don't Show Barry's Strength," September 23, 1964, pp. 1-2.



\$30 billion of new debt in four years, for a total debt of approximately \$320 billions...by supporting costly political boondoggles. This represents \$1,900 for each man, woman, and child in the U.S., or a hidden mortgage on every average family of five persons of \$9,500.<sup>138</sup>

Hansen said the solution was to cut federal spending by at least \$5 billion, end the continuing series of unbalanced budgets and start paying off the \$300 billion national debt.<sup>139</sup>

Hansen described the 88th Congress as a "legislature without a conscience," controlled by a liberal majority that has alternated between filibustering for days and passing costly amendments in minutes.

The 88th Congress has exhibited a blind mare approach to legislation, letting the Administration tell it what to do and our present congressman has been an active participant, a rubber stamp for the red ink pad.<sup>140</sup>

Hansen branded Harding as a "super spender," saying he was one of 186 liberals who voted at least 80 per cent of the time for far-out spending and that "It is time for the taxpayers to make these raiders of the public purse the last of the big time spenders."<sup>141</sup>

Hansen said Harding was "leagued with the 'foolish spenders':

The last four years, Congressman Harding has voted to spend \$30 billion with the rest of the spenders in Washington. This represents \$70 million to Idaho taxpayers. Now, Congressman Harding has been extolling the merits of the \$52 million Lower Teton project, which is a good project, but will hardly make up for the \$70 million the way he is voting.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Wendell Irrigationist, "Hansen Criticizes Opponent for Vote on Self Pay Raise," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>139</sup> The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Harding Draws Spending Fire," September 18, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Candidates in Congress Race Speak," September 21, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen Flays Fund Voting by Harding," September 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>142</sup> The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Miller Predicts Big GOP Gains," September 23, 1964, p. 1.



Harding struck out at Republican assertions that Democrats represent reckless spending policies and fiscal irresponsibility. He said he was "tired of hearing that we belong to the party of spenders, that we are the party of bureaucracy." He said the largest peace-time deficit on record was incurred in 1959 under the Republican Administration, "more than 12 billion dollars." He said President Johnson had reduced the budget deficit \$3,600,000,000 from original estimates and, "I can report to you that I personally have voted in the Congress to cut 32 billion dollars from appropriations bills reported to the House during the last four years."<sup>143</sup>

Foreign Policy---.On foreign aid, Hansen cited Harding's record of support for a bill to give wheat to Communist nations and jet planes to Yugoslavia, and said "We can't stand these give-aways from the standpoint of being able to afford them, or from the security standpoint."<sup>144</sup> Hansen stated in his campaign talks that,

Government foreign policy currently appears to be evolving around the "misguided" opinion that there is a difference between Russian Communism and Red Chinese Communism. I would like to remind you that the Communists believe they will bury us. The Red Chinese want to do it right now, and the Soviets want to do it through internal subversion. It still adds up to the same thing. I am completely opposed to extending long term plans to the enemy.<sup>145</sup>

In charging that government was becoming too centralized and was not responsive to the people and their wishes, Hansen tied Harding in with the "misguided" government approach to the threat of Communism.

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<sup>143</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, "Gem Solon Opposes Water Transfer," September 18, 1964, p. B-1.

<sup>144</sup>Lincoln County Journal(Shoshone), "Hansen Attacks Democrat Incumbent for 'Ineffective Representation,'" September 3, 1964, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>145</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Hansen Flays Harding at County GOP Gathering," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

He said it was wrong for the United States to aid the Communists--by sending nuclear reactors to Rumania, jet planes to Yugoslavia and what to Russia--while we are opposing them, especially in Viet Nam. In explaining the subsidized wheat sale vote of 187-186 Hansen said, "and what's more, the Russians got that wheat for \$18.5 million less than Americans would have to pay for it."<sup>146</sup> He said this means that, "Harding voted for administration bills for millions to contain Communism and also for bills to spend millions to give the Communist's economic aid."<sup>147</sup> Hansen concluded that,

The biggest problem with our foreign policy today is that our friends don't know which side we're on. This nation can never expect to buy peace with foreign aid. Our government should encourage investment by U. S. private enterprise. Placing our country's industries in a more favorable international position will not only help the world's economy but our own as well.<sup>148</sup>

Hansen was criticized by one analyst as having won the Republican Primary nomination with a conservative campaign professing concern over Communism at home and abroad.<sup>149</sup>

Civil Rights--.In the climate of extremism that pervaded much of the 1964 campaign between Johnson and Goldwater and that touched Harding and Hansen, much of the Second District was confused. Civil rights and Negro riots and demonstrations were much discussed, even though Idaho had less than 1,500 Negroes.<sup>150</sup> Harding experienced some

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<sup>146</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split in Meet on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>147</sup>Blackfoot News, Gerald Wujcik, "Must Overcome JFK Emotion, Jordan Tells Republicans," September 14, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Harding Public Spender No. 1, Hansen Tells Jerome Audience," October 1, 1964, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>149</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), "This Expert Needs Another Course," September 17, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>150</sup>The 18th Decennial Census, p. 38.

difficulty explaining his "yea" vote on the Civil Right Bill to Idahoans who felt that property rights were part of the "certain inalienable rights" each man enjoyed:

There is no more misunderstood piece of legislation than the recently adopted Civil Rights Bill. All it will do is give every American (1) the right to vote, (2) the right to an education in public schools and (3) the right to use public accomodations. I will be the first to admit that there is a conflict between property rights and human rights. If you feel property rights are more important, you would probably feel the bill is unconstitutional. We in the Democratic party felt that human rights were more important than property rights.<sup>151</sup>

Hansen indicated that the bill was so constructed as to bestow special privileges rather than equality and felt it should be rewritten.

Medicare---.The early debates spot-lighted issues like the proposed Medicare, with Harding favoring the Social-Security financed approach as an insurance-type plan, and Hansen, as a prior insurance agent, holding it was not insurance and favoring the Kerr-Mills medical program. Hansen said, regarding the Social-Security approach, "You and I pay today and someone else benefits, so it's a tax imposed on all working men and it's insuring a welfare state of things and in my opinion it's a good chunk of socialism."<sup>152</sup>

After encountering stiff opposition from the Idaho Medical Association, Harding later stressed that he was "unalterably opposed" to socialized medicine or any program that would interfere with the right of a person to choose his own doctor.<sup>153</sup>

Regarding the medicare bill then pending in the house, Hansen

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<sup>151</sup>Power County Press (American Falls), "Demos Kick Campaign Open with Banquet Friday," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>152</sup>Coeur D'Alene Press, "Harding and Opponent Divided on Major Issues," September 9, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>153</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, "Rep. Harding Tells Need of Medicare," September 11, 1964, p. B-1.

contended that there were very few people who could not then get medical care presently and said, "I want a good strong Social Security system, but medicare would bankrupt it."<sup>154</sup> He claimed that the proposed medicare bill would not do the job it was intended to do, and that it would cost \$1.1 billion in the first year, as compared with \$202 million under the Kerr-Mills bill. In addition, everyone was not covered under the Social Security system.<sup>155</sup> He described the proposed medical care plan as a "cruel and expensive hoax on the people of the United States."<sup>156</sup>

#### Campaign Development and Organizations

Harding---. In the 1964 campaign, Harding consolidated his approach to Idaho voters, and said he would run on his record and the "valuable seniority" he was building up.<sup>157</sup> In declaring his intention of running on his record, he listed many of the accomplishments of his four years in Congress:

- Wheat Program (1961)
- Social Security Improvements (June 3, 1961)
- Rural Housing (June 30, 1961)
- Food for Peace (August 8, 1961)
- Wool Act (August 8, 1961)
- Idaho Basque Immigration Act (October 4, 1961)
- Helped persuade President Kennedy to authorize low-cost  
Bonneville Power for Southern Idaho (1962)
- Agriculture Act (1962)
- Manpower Training Act (March 15, 1962)
- Peace Corps (April 22, 1962)

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<sup>154</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split in Meet on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid.

<sup>156</sup>Times-News (Twin Falls), "Campaign Topics," September 14, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>157</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Harding Vows Not to Avoid Controversy in Election Bid," April 23, 1964, p. 16.

Sugar Act (July 13, 1962)  
 Interstate and Defense Highways (October 23, 1962)  
 Equal Pay for Women (June 10, 1963)  
 National Defense Education Act (December 18, 1963)  
 Civil Rights Act (February 10, 1964)  
 Library Services Act (February 11, 1964)  
 Tax Reduction Act (February 26, 1964)  
 Authorization and Appropriation for the Ririe Project, \$7-million,  
 first water project in Idaho since 1948 (August 14, 1964)  
 Authorization for Teton-Fremont (Lower Teton) Project, \$52-million,  
 which would provide flood control, 22,000 kilowatts of power,  
 and irrigation for 150,000 acres (August 17, 1964)  
 Beef, Mutton Import Quota Act, to limit heavy livestock imports  
 from foreign nations (August 18, 1964)  
 \$10-million in Fiscal 1964 for small reclamation and watershed  
 projects to be built by the Army Corps of Engineers  
 New Mission, a fighter-reconnaissance wing, obtained for Mountain  
 Home Air Force Base to replace phasing out of B-47's  
 High level of activity maintained at National Reactor Testing  
 Station at Idaho Falls.<sup>158</sup>

This was an imposing array of congressional legislation and accomplishments and furnished Harding with a strong basis to build his campaign on. One editor said,

Ralph Harding, the two-term incumbent, is a hard-hitting and effective campaigner. Since his upset victory over the veteran Hamer Budge in 1960 he has continued to consolidate his strength in the traditionally Republican district. An excellent defense can be made of his four-year record in Congress, and Harding can be relied upon to make it.<sup>159</sup>

However, by running on his record, instead of his aggressive pattern of 1960 and 1962, Harding found himself on the defensive most of the time with other facets of his public terms in office with which Hansen chose to do battle.

Harding insisted during the press conference that he won't attack Hansen, but will run "on my record." There are many who have felt that Hansen is enough of a threat to make it mandatory to

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<sup>158</sup> Taken from campaign literature of the Harding for Congress Committee, 1964, Lynn Broadhead, Chairman; See also The Star (Twin Falls), Political Advertisement, October 29, 1964, III, No. 7, p. 6; and Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> The Idaho Observer (Boise), SHD, "Just One Little Hurdle Left," August 13, 1964, p. 1.



try chopping him down to size, but Harding says no. Whether he can stick to that plan during the rough and tumble of the campaign is another question, however.<sup>160</sup>

On August 30, Harding unveiled plans for a strong grass roots campaign, with his campaign trailerhouse, promising a vigorous but "economical" handshaking and backslapping tour of each of the twenty-five counties in the Second District. The trailer was to be his campaign headquarters during the day and quarters for the Harding family at night.

Harding agreed that his own chances would hinge on the Goldwater-Johnson race, and predicted Johnson would carry the state. He said the Second District would be the pivot in Idaho and that Goldwater would have to carry the southern part of the state by more than 15,000 votes to offset the traditionally north Idaho Democratic vote. Harding said, "But I don't believe he will do it."<sup>161</sup> (Johnson won in Idaho by 5,363 votes; Southern District gave Goldwater a 9,899 vote margin.)

Harding promoted so strongly for Johnson that he managed to prevail upon the President to make an previously unscheduled stop in Boise in his (Harding's) behalf.<sup>162</sup>

Harding selected his campaign manager, Lynn Broadhead, from Blackfoot and they selected "campaign co-ordinators" in several areas of the state, such as Mayor Phil Gridley of Mountain Home for Western Idaho and Kelly Pearce in Bannock County.

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<sup>160</sup> Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," August 12, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Blackfoot News, "Harding Predicts Johnson Will Carry State, County," August 31, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>162</sup> Blackfoot News, "Harding Extolls Johnson Record," October 13, 1964, p. 1.



Harding planned to work at charges that he was a rubber stamp to the Johnson Administration, and he planned to run a campaign aimed largely at the farmers.

Worried about Republican charges that he was a liberal who went along blindly with almost everything Johnson advocated, Harding pointedly referred to himself as a "moderate" on several occasions, and mentioned that he often voted against Johnson, especially on farm programs. Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Calif) joined in attempting to refute GOP charges that Harding wasn't representative of his district and that he was more liberal than his district. Roosevelt told reporters in Pocatello that Harding was a moderate, and that he wished Harding would vote more liberal, "but he represents his district and I represent mine."<sup>163</sup> A political columnist wrote, "If Hubert Humphrey is the Democratic vice-president candidate, he will probably steer clear of Idaho. Ralph Harding is concerned about being painted too liberal."<sup>164</sup>

Harding pointed out that as a member of the party that controlled the Administration and the Congress, he was able to accomplish much more for Idaho than any "freshman Republican congressman" could ever hope to achieve.<sup>165</sup> Referring to the recently approved Lower Teton project as not being possible of approval through a Republican congressman Harding said,

President Johnson, Chairman Wayne Aspinall of the Interior Committee and Speaker John McCormick gave this bill the extra special help and consideration it needed to be passed by the

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<sup>163</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," August 12, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>164</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), Dwight W. Jensen, "Idaho Usually Picks the Winner," August 27, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>165</sup>Hailey Times, "Rep. Harding Praised for Stock Import Quota Law," September 17, 1964, p. 1.

House because I was a Democrat who believed in the same things that these great Americans believe in.<sup>166</sup>

The speed-up was successful. If I had been a Republican, I would not have been successful. That's because the Democrats work as an effective team and are in control of the key positions in government.<sup>167</sup>

Harding stressed that Democratic control would continue and derogated Hansen's bid for Congress, saying,

Nationwide polls show that the people favor President Johnson by an overwhelming majority. Political analysis also note the President's strength. Imagine the folly of sending a Republican to Washington under these circumstances.<sup>168</sup>

Campaigning vigorously for Harding, Senator Church told Second District campaign audiences that,

Legislative teamwork in Washington is indispensable to effective representation for Idaho. The first four years I spent in the Senate, without Ralph Harding as teammate in the House, were years of frustration and disappointment. Every measure for southern Idaho for which I was able to secure Senate approval quickly died in the House. It was only after Ralph Harding was elected to Congress that we were able, by working as a team, to break the stalemate, which has so long stunted the full development of our water resources... as Lower Teton Dam, Ririe Dam... This is just a start toward what can be accomplished with Harding's continued help in Washington.<sup>169</sup>

Harding frequently cited Hansen's inexperience and wrong party affiliation as Hansen's greatest handicaps for filling the job as congressman. He held that, "without legislative experience, the support of the President and congressional leaders, seniority and a good committee assignment, my opponent would indeed be a helpless and confused representative."<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> North Side News (Jerome), "Harding Hits Hansen at Democratic Rally," October 22, 1964, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Rigby Star, "Senator Church Stresses Teamwork in Rigby Speech," October 22, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>170</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, "Experience-That's Key, Harding Tells Voters," September 20, 1964, p. A-15.

Hansen--. In contrast, Hansen's approach to the campaign did not involve transporting his family around to meet the voters, but rather letting his wife make appearances in other areas than his schedule took him. He felt he could cover many more voters in his independent, freelance style up and down the streets, and in and out of businesses, grocery stores and late evening activities such as rodeos, fairs, and bowling allies. He believed strongly that he "beat Dick Smith and Keith Schofield for the Second District nomination because of a strenuous grass roots campaign...and...will use the same technique against Harding."<sup>171</sup>

One editor described Hansen's primary campaign as one where Hansen was,

Constantly moving over the District, endlessly meeting the individual voter, ceaselessly talking about the problems that confront Idaho and the nation, hearing complaints, smiling and shaking hands.

If a man has the strength and the endurance--and the courage-- to put his hopes of winning the election in a campaign along those lines, it is a very good sign that he has faith in his convictions, that he is willing and eager to let the individual voter judge his qualifications and that he is really trying to get the "feel" of the people he wants to represent in the national capitol.<sup>172</sup>

Realizing that he and Harding had similar campaign styles, Hansen felt that the campaign organization which he had built outside of the regular party organization in the primary election campaign would enable him to reach a broader spectrum of Second District voters than could be possible with only the regular party structure, thus giving him double strength.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup>Preston Citizen, Richard Charnock, "Political Echoes," August 13, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>172</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), Ken Robison, "Hansen Starts Active Campaign for House," September 9, 1964, p. 11.

<sup>173</sup>Preston Citizen, Richard Charnock, "Political Echoes," August 13, 1964, p. 3.

We're going to take it to the people. And now we have the party behind us as well as the outside organization I built up in the primary so I'll have double help. Harding doesn't have much to sell but he sells it pretty well. We have a lot to sell and we plan to sell it at least as well or better and that'll make the difference.<sup>174</sup>

Hansen believed that the nation's foreign policy was going to be a key issue in the campaign, and he planned to hit the administration hard, linking Harding to the policy of President Johnson.

Hansen also kept his primary election campaign manager, Richard Hendricks, who traveled extensively in organizing, training and maintaining the campaign organization.<sup>175</sup>

By September 6, Hansen and Hendricks had covered most of the twenty-five counties in the District, selecting a "campaign co-ordinator" in each county and district leaders to supervise larger areas.<sup>176</sup> The county co-ordinators followed the basic precinct organization and lined up a worker in each precinct who would carry Hansen's literature and campaign into every home, and be responsible for getting voters to the polls on election day for Hansen, whether or not the party precinct committeeman made his personal contacts. Correlation of the Hansen organization with the county Republican organization was effected with the co-ordinator.<sup>177</sup>

Finance committees were organized in the larger populated areas

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<sup>174</sup>Preston Citizen, Richard Charnock, "Political Echoes," August 13, 1964, p. 3.

<sup>175</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen Taps Hendricks as Campaign Manager," September 8, 1964, p. 18.

<sup>176</sup>Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Blackfoot Fair Draws House Foes," September 8, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>177</sup>Interview with Richard Hendricks, Pocatello, Idaho, August 12, 1966.

to solicit contributions for campaign funds. These were co-ordinated with a state finance committee under Hendricks' supervision.<sup>178</sup>

By early September, Hansen was averaging three speaking appearances a day in the District, and said he planned to "continue the fast pace of his campaign through November 3."<sup>179</sup> (See Appendix VIII)

On September 20, one political columnist wrote:

Hansen and Harding seem to be setting different paces for their campaigns. Hansen had been campaigning about as hard as he can for a couple of weeks now, and apparently intends to maintain the same aggressive drive through the election. Harding, on the other hand, has been relatively inactive, and not entirely because Congress is slow to adjourn. The congressman's campaign apparently is being held back purposely, and really won't get rolling until about the first of October. Both approaches make sense for the men involved.

Hansen, the challenger, is much less well known than Harding, four years a congressman. The Pocatello City Commissioner must cover as much ground as possible between now and November. That approach not only will make him better known, but it will permit him to use his greatest asset--his ingratiating way with the voters in a person-to-person campaign....

Harding, on the other hand, is about as well known in the Second Congressional District as he ever will be, and doesn't have to get the attention of the voters before trying to win them over. His late-starting campaign probably has something to do with catching voters when they are most interested--in the last few weeks before the balloting.<sup>180</sup>

Hansen said in September that he did not "expect the presidential vot to affect him much one way or the other." He felt that some who would vote for him won't vote for Goldwater, but that most of the Goldwater voters would stay in the Republican column in the congressional race.

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<sup>178</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Hansen Taps Hendricks as Campaign Manager," September 8, 1964, p. 18, and interview with Richard Hendricks, Pocatello, Idaho, August 12, 1966.

<sup>179</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Hansen Rips into Harding in Labor Day Campaign Blast," September 6, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>180</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," September 20, 1964, p. 4.



One political columnist noted that,

Although he espoused generally conservative views, Hansen has not tied himself so closely to Goldwater as did Keith Schofield, the man who ran second in the primary. But Hansen said, "I whole heartedly endorse him."<sup>181</sup>

Hansen classed Harding as a "hard campaigner, but his record makes him very vulnerable,"<sup>182</sup> and built his campaign around the idea that Harding was "not representing the best interests of Idaho in the Congress."<sup>183</sup>

He challenged the "open door" to the President's office, claimed by Harding and Senator Church on the basis of more political power coming to those office holders who are in the majority party. He demanded that they prove a single instance where their "availability" to the President had been of benefit to their constituents back home. Hansen said that Idaho had been "without capable representation in Washington long enough" and asked voters to help him make the change.<sup>184</sup>

Harding claims he has great status because he's on the House agriculture Committee...Farmers turned down the wheat referendum, yet we have the wheat-cotton bill...It doesn't necessarily follow that you have effective representation just because your Congressman belongs to the majority party.<sup>185</sup>

Campaign Developments---Early in the campaign Harding and Hansen appeared in a number of public debates together; in Pocatello, Idaho Falls,

<sup>181</sup>The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), Ken Robison, "Hansen Starts Active Campaign for House," September 9, 1964, p. 11.

<sup>182</sup>North Side News (Jerome), "Hansen Flays Harding at County GOP Meeting," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>183</sup>Wendell Irrigationist, "Hansen Criticizes Opponent for Vote on Self Pay Raise," September 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>184</sup>Barley Herald-Bulletin, "Cassia Republicans Hear Hansen Attack Rep. Harding," August 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>185</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Lee Ester, "Harding, Hansen Split in Meet on Medicare, Other Issues," September 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.



Twin Falls and on a District-wide television program. These encounters served to heighten people's awareness of the differing philosophies the two espoused, but more importantly, it gave Hansen exposure in depth with Harding and a chance to feel Harding's political soft spots.<sup>186</sup>

One political writer described the contests as an attention-getter, and said,

There are many who wonder why Rep. Ralph Harding, an incumbent, is accepting invitations to meet his Republican opponent, George Hansen, in public debate. It is normally the course of an incumbent to avoid such confrontations; thereby ignoring the challenger and denying him the all-important chance for publicity and the chance to appear as a political equal to the incumbent. One of the advantages of the incumbent is that fact that he has the stature of holding the office his opponent is merely trying to attain.

Then why does Harding accept invitations to appear on the same platform with Hansen? The Congressman's supporters say there is no point in ignoring Hansen, that he exists as a formidable opponent. However, they feel that Harding is better informed on government and the issues. They don't take Hansen for any patsy as a debater, but they think he will appear shallow and uninformed next to Harding.

Hansen, who prides himself on doing his homework better than most candidates, obviously thinks otherwise. The results are that both candidates think they have the advantage in such meetings. Consequently, the public is being treated this fall to something that doesn't happen very often--the candidates for a major office are meeting frequently face to face in open debate.<sup>187</sup>

One political columnist who attended an early debate said,

The two candidates for Idaho's Second District seat in Congress showed themselves to be worthy opponents Thursday night. Each spoke with conviction, they debated vigorously and they left their listeners--if any were uncommitted--with a selection between distinct and opposing philosophies of government. Surely, it can be said of the Democratic incumbent Ralph Harding and his Republican challenger George Hansen that they offer "a choice" and not "an echo."<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup>Blackfoot News, "Gerald Wujcik, "Must Overcome JFK Emotion, Jordan Tells Republicans," September 14, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>187</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," September 23, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>188</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Editorial, "A Good Show," September 12, 1964, p. 5.

Harding fared the debates well, but found himself increasingly on the defensive. From the time of their second debate, in Pocatello on September 10, Harding's public comments became almost constantly of an explaining and defending content, instead of the positive promotion of his record which he had anticipated.

On September 23, Harding charged Governor Smylie with having ordered highway employees to tear down his homemade billboards along roads in the District, not only these that happened to be on highway right-of-ways, but to the point of even removing them from adjoining private land, and said it was a "ridiculous time-consuming attempt to hinder my already under-financed campaign."<sup>189</sup> Smylie avoided being drawn into the political hassle and said the alleged order was "news to me," but added that he knew Harding had some billboards on state right-of-ways, and had two years before transgressed the law prohibiting the billboards.<sup>190</sup>

Harding pressed his charge calling it "one of the pettiest things I've ever seen in politics."<sup>191</sup> He said because volunteers were putting up his signs, some might be misplaced on state right-of-ways and asked to be notified if it was noticed. Harding said many more signs were taken down than the five the highway department reported, and said that in the past these signs had largely been ignored.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "State Removes Signs, Rep. Harding Avers," September 24, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>190</sup> Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Billboards, BPA Enter into Drives," September 24, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>191</sup> The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Harding Claims Sign Abuse," September 24, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

Smylie replied that Harding's signs should be taken down, adding, "The highway right-of-way is designed to carry traffic, not to conduct political campaigns. As far as I know he's the only political candidate using the public right-of-way."<sup>193</sup>

On September 26, Harding said the Highway Department had backed down and would give ten days notice, and that he was "shocked" to hear Smylie's charge of 1962 illegalities.<sup>194</sup>

On October 19, Harding's campaign manager, Lynn Broadhead, decried what he called "dirty campaign tactics," and complained that Harding's highway signs were being defaced and torn down. He said personal attacks on Harding and his volunteer campaign workers were beginning, with automobile tires being slashed, paint splashed on cars, bumper stickers ripped off, and a sign planted on his lawn one morning which read, "Here lies Ralph Harding, November 3. May he rest in pieces." Broadhead offered a \$100 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of involved individuals. Broadhead said he wasn't,

laying the blame on the Republican Party but on an extremist group which felt that anything it did was right... (He said he) had not seen any Goldwater or Hansen signs that were touched... and was glad to see this on the part of the Harding supporters because this was not the way to campaign.<sup>195</sup>

Hendricks reported several cases of defacement on Hansen billboards.<sup>196</sup>

During the campaign, Harding had difficulty restricting himself to

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<sup>193</sup>Times-News (Twin Falls), "Harding, Smylie Bicker Over Removal of Campaign Signs Along Highway," September 24, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>194</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Road Board Retreated on Terms, Solon Says," September 26, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>195</sup>Blackfoot News, "Harding Manager Decries Dirty Campaign Tactics," October 20, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>196</sup>Interview with Richard Hendricks, Pocatello, Idaho, August 12, 1966.

his Republican opponent, and was constantly attacking and challenging the following to public encounters or debates, which did not materialize: Senator Len B. Jordan; Governor Robert Smylie; Grant Kilbourne, Vice-president and Manager of J. R. Simplot's Pocatello phosphate plant.

After several exchanges with Governor Smylie, one newspaper ran a front-page special notice to Harding:

Memo to Congressman Harding:

Dear Sir:

The year is 1964. Your opponent is George V. Hansen of Pocatello. This is Idaho, Second Congressional District.

Governor Robert Smylie of Idaho is not on the ballot. We notice that you frequently attack him. These are misdirected shots, especially when the attacks are based on Governor Smylie's water policies. If you shoot at him on this subject, we fear Idaho is going to get caught--and wounded--in the crossfire.

We understand you and Governor Smylie will both compete for the Senate in 1966. Fine and dandy. Have a real knock-down, drag-out if you can each get through your own primary. But this is 1964. This is Idaho, Second District. Your opponent is George V. Hansen.<sup>197</sup>

One political writer pointed out in early September that Harding was falling behind in his campaign because he was being,

Kept in Washington for congressional action while his Republican opponent has been campaigning hard throughout the district. He faces the unpleasant task of remaining at work until only a few weeks before votes are cast.<sup>198</sup>

However, in early October, Harding was criticized on many sides for sending a "Campaign-type" report of his accomplishments during the years 1962-1964 to every postal patron, under his congressional postage-frank.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), Dwight W. Jensen, "Attention: Ralph Harding," October 15, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>198</sup>Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), Ken Robison, "State GOPers Democrats, Ready to 'Shed Gloves' For Idaho Vote Battle," Sept. 7, 1964.

<sup>199</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), "Buzz of the Burg," Oct. 13, 14, 1964, p. 4; Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "McMurray Snaps at Mail Abuse by Rep. Harding," October 8, 1964, p. 7.

The state political party organizations played varying roles in the southern District. The State Republican Chairman, John McMurray of Boise, gave unqualified support to both Goldwater and Hansen, making frequent statements and political barrages at Johnson, Humphrey, and Harding. There was an element of inter-party strife among Republicans about Goldwater, but both sides closed ranks in helping to promote Hansen.<sup>200</sup>

State Democratic Party Chairman, Lloyd Walker of Twin Falls, however, spent most of his ammunition on Goldwater, and a minimum on Hansen. Speculation was that he was eyeing the senate race against Republican Senator Len Jordan in 1966 and felt that Harding was his principal rival.<sup>201</sup>

A minor affair generally, but of considerable interest and conversation in the Idaho Falls area in October, was when Congressman Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy made a tour of the Atomic Energy Commission facilities near Idaho Falls. During the visit Holifield spoke highly of Harding and promised that, "When a vacancy occurs" on his committee, Harding would be in line to fill it.<sup>202</sup> This was interpreted to mean the atomic facilities would prosper better if Harding were re-elected. In this regard, however, Harding was criticized for his approach to fellow congressmen who held positions of power in the committee structure of Congress:

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<sup>200</sup> Idaho State Journal, (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," August 26, 1964, p. 4; Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Republicans," August 16, 1964, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>201</sup> Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Bill Hall, "Political Scratchpad," June 8, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>202</sup> The Post-Register (Idaho Falls), "Nuclear Expansion Seen," October 16, 1964, pp. 1, 13.



Twice in this election campaign, Congressman Ralph Harding has introduced within the state members of the House of Representatives who are committee chairmen, and each time he has appeared to us to be overly enamored of the system of power on Capitol Hill.

When Congressman Michael Kirwan of Ohio told Idaho, in almost so many words, that it must re-elect Harding or face years of delay in the construction of the Lower Teton project, Congressman Harding called Kirwan "a great American." The Congressman did try to disassociate himself from the worst aspects of Kirwan's words by saying he would work for Lower Teton whether re-elected or not, but his praise of the gentleman from Ohio left many in the Gem State wondering if he had not come to equate greatness with mere power.

There is more reason for thinking so now. Last Thursday at Idaho Falls, introducing Representative Chet Holifield to a banquet audience, Congressman Harding said Holifield is one of the most "influential men in Washington," that "the prosperity of the National Reactor Testing Station at Idaho Falls (depends) largely on decisions made by Holifield and his colleagues on the Joint Committee (on Atomic Energy, of which Holifield is chairman)," and that Holifield is a "great man."

If it was Kirwan, not Harding, who told Idaho which side its reclamation bread is buttered on, it was Harding, not Holifield, who told Idaho to see which side its atomic bread is buttered on. The two visits by out-of-state Congressmen run too nearly parallel to give us comfort. We are not proposing that Congressman Harding be defeated, but we think it is proper to call to the attention of the voters, and to the attention of the Congressman, these two examples of undue respect for men because of their power rather than because of their ability or the correctness of their ideas.

Whoever represents Idaho in Congress must understand the power structure of the Congress and must be able to work within that structure when principle allows, but we would like our representatives to be somewhat less reverent of that power structure.

If reclamation or atomic projects are to be decided on their merits, the power structure should not be that important; if it is that important, our Congressman should be opposing, not endorsing it.<sup>203</sup>

On October 19, Governor Smylie told a gathering in Rexburg that Idaho had, in Harding's behalf,

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<sup>203</sup>The Idaho Observer (Boise), Dwight W. Jensen, "Ralph Harding and the Power System," October 22, 1964, p. 1.



See the greatest parade of out-of-state advisers in the history of popular elections in Idaho during this campaign. Ralph must be important to them because they are going so far to send him back. I think he is in deep trouble and I am sure Hubert (Humphrey) will be here to "rescue" him.<sup>204</sup>

The State Republican Chairman also declared Harding was calling up the "shock troops" to help his campaign:

All of the resources of an incumbent administration are being thrown into Idaho to bolster the sagging campaign of Congressman Ralph Harding...and extricate (him) from his troubles. The people of Idaho won't be fooled by these out-of-state speakers. If Congressman Harding had been more responsive over the past four years to the wishes of the people of Idaho's Second District, it would not be necessary for him to call up the shock troops of the Democrat campaign.<sup>125</sup>

By the first week of October, Harding knew he was in deep trouble.

He said,

I kept telephoning the White House at least once a day to get President Johnson into Idaho. I told them that Representative Compton White was safe in the First District but that his (Presidential) race and my race in the Second District would be close. I told the President a visit to Idaho might make the difference whether he gets the four electoral votes and whether I would get elected.<sup>206</sup>

President Johnson rescheduled and made an appearance in Boise to boost the campaigns of Congressmen White and Harding, because "he needs these Democrats in Congress to help him put through his program."<sup>207</sup>

The President spoke out strongly for Harding, and almost in "Kirwanian" tones said that Idaho's role in a more prosperous nation "will

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<sup>204</sup> Idaho Evening Statesman (Boise), "Gem State's campaign Accelerates," October 19, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>205</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "GOP Pelts Harding's Assistance," October 14, 1964, p. 7.

<sup>206</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Solon Sees Hard Fight in Election," October 13, 1964, p. 5; Also Editorial, "President Plugs for Harding," October 14, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>207</sup> Lewiston Morning Tribune (Lewiston), Dwight Jensen, "Johnson's Visit was Aimed at Congressional Assistance," October 13, 1964, p. 3.

be greater and more effective if you send back to Congress, Ralph Harding who sits on this platform."<sup>208</sup>

The visit of the President buoyed Harding's hopes tremendously, and it was believed that his chances of riding in on the President's coattails were very good.<sup>209</sup>

A listing of out-of-state people who came to Idaho to endorse or campaign for Harding would include (See Appendix II):

President Lyndon B. Johnson  
 Lady Bird Johnson  
 Vice-Presidential Candidate Hubert Humphrey  
 Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall  
 Assistant Interior Secretary John A. Carver, Jr.  
 Undersecretary of Department of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.  
 Mrs. Anthony Celebrezze, wife of the Secretary of Health, Education,  
 and Welfare Department  
 Secretary of Labor Lewis Wirts  
 Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.)  
 Senator Alan Bible (D-Nevada)  
 Mrs. Birch Bayh, wife of the Senator from Indiana  
 Congressman Chet Holifield (D-Calif.)  
 Congressman Michael J. Kirwan (D-Ohio)  
 Governor Grant Sawyer (D-Nevada)  
 Governor Pat Brown (D-Calif.)  
 Stan Musial

This amount of people lent support to Hansen's accusation that Harding was not representing Idaho's interests but was so involved with out-of-state-interests that Idahoans came last. Hansen added the campaign fund charge about Harding receiving out-of-state financial backing from the Council for a Livable World.

Although the visits of so many notables were to a certain extent attention-getting, it also took Harding away from his person-to-person

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<sup>208</sup> Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), John Corlett, "25,000 Gem Staters Hear President's Vote Appeal in Stop at Boise Airport," October 13, 1964, pp. 1, 11.

<sup>209</sup> Twin Falls Times-News, "Demos Confident Because of Visit," October 13, 1964, p. 1.

campaign of former elections. He did get out to speak in the counties, but too often the meetings were Democratic party banquets, usually attended by the party-faithful.

Hansen received the endorsements and personal visits of four national figures: Republican Presidential Candidate Barry Goldwater, Vice-presidential Candidate William E. Miller, Senator Millward Simpson (R-Wyoming), and Congressman Gerald Ford (R-Michigan).

Both Harding and Hansen had numerous personal endorsements and letters of recommendation sent to Second District voters. Television, radio, and newspaper advertisements were utilized extensively. Interestingly, Hansen had gained the offensive in newspaper advertising as early as September, making frequent use of small one or two column ads all during the campaign. One weekly editor wrote,

In the campaign for the Second Congressional District seat in the House of Representatives, it looks as if George Hansen (R) of Pocatello may be the pace-setter, at least advertising wise. However, incumbent Ralph Harding (D) is handicapped in that he must remain in Washington until the current session is concluded. It would seem that his campaign workers had best get busy if they want to match the pace of the Hansen organization.<sup>210</sup>

In populous Ada County, Republican party people and Hansen's organization convinced Hansen in the closing weeks that a bigger effort was needed. They raised money to pay for a television program, for big newspaper ads, and for a letter mailed to 30,000 voters.<sup>211</sup> (Appendix VIII).

When the campaign smoke had cleared, the candidates listed their campaign contributions and expenses as shown in Table 9.

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<sup>210</sup>Paris Post, "The Pace Setter," September 10, 1964, p. 2.

<sup>211</sup>Daily Idahonian (Moscow), "Vote Indicates Pendulum May Swing Back to GOP," November 7, 1964, p. 11.

TABLE 9---.Congressional Election Expenses and Contributions

Candidate	Contributions	Expenses
Harding	\$50,851.35	\$52,160.04
Hansen	37,484.10	38,399.07

SOURCE: Post-Election Statements of Ralph R. Harding and George V. Hansen, 1964, filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

The campaign was over. On December 19, newsmen taking part in the Associated Press poll listed the general election victory of Hansen over Harding as Idaho's top news story of 1964.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>212</sup>Idaho State Journal (Pocatello), Earle Jester, "Hansen Victory Rated Idaho's Top News Story of 1964," December 30, 1964, p. 14.

CHAPTER VII  
STATEMENT OF THE DETERMINING ISSUES  
IN THE 1964 CAMPAIGN  
AS SEEN BY CANDIDATES AND MANAGERS

In order to create a basis for analyzing the 1964 congressional race, an examination of statements made by the candidates and their campaign managers follows.

Ralph Harding, Democratic Candidate

Harding cited the following topics as the determining factors in the 1964 campaign (See Appendix III):

1. His speech criticizing Ezra Taft Benson for using his Church position to promote the John Birch Society.
  - a. Some Church leaders in the District used their Church positions to campaign against Harding.
  - b. Some members, often blindly, sponsored radio broadcasts of an Ezra Taft Benson speech criticizing Harding and praising the Birch Society.
2. Reaction of the John Birch Society by:
  - a. Reportedly having Birch Society members contribute heavily to Hansen's campaign.
  - b. Reportedly sending carloads of Utah Society members to Idaho for an anti-Harding campaign.
  - c. Threat of a libel suit against Harding.
  - d. Sending Read Benson to Idaho to direct the Idaho Birch Society efforts against Harding.
  - e. Spreading the idea that Harding committed a sin in criticizing an Apostle of the Church, and was therefore unworthy to serve in Congress.
  - f. Sending all Mormons in the District a copy of the Ezra Taft Benson speech criticizing Harding and praising the Birch Society.
3. "Liberal" label was damaging to Harding.
4. Pressure Groups donated time and money to opposition, i.e.,

Power companies, Farm Bureau, Simplot's, and Idaho Medical Association.

5. Republican trend in District in 1964. Goldwater carried the District, but Harding ran ahead of President Johnson, however not far enough to win.

Harding's statement points out the vital issues to have been: (1) the resentment within the Mormon Church population in the Second District occasioned by his speech criticizing Ezra Taft Benson, (2) efforts of the Birch Society to discredit and defeat him, (3) the label of being a "Democratic Liberal," (4) efforts by pressure groups against him, and (5) Republican trend in the District in 1964.

Lynn Broadhead, Harding's Campaign Manager

As chairman of the Harding for Congress Committee, Broadhead listed the determining factors and issues in the 1964 campaign to be the following (See Appendix III):

1. The John Birch Society and its involvement with the Mormon Church, beginning with Harding's speech in Congress criticizing the Society, and later with Hansen's involvement with the Society. Hansen used right-wingers, Reed Benson's contacts and his own contacts to sway the Mormon constituency heavily to his side.
2. B.P.A. By opposing it, Hansen secured finances and support, such as Simplot's vice-president and manager who spoke widely against Harding. However, Harding lost no votes over this because the people did not oppose B.P.A.
3. Smear charges generated by Hansen, insinuating disloyalty on Harding's part through his association with the Council for a Livable World and favoring the sale of wheat to Russia. The average voter was unaffected, but the extreme right-wingers were zealously aroused.
4. Reclamation, especially Hansen's attack on Congressman Kirwan, which convinced people that Kirwan had threatened Idahoans with extinction of reclamation funds if Harding were not re-elected.
5. Charges of excessive government spending were effective with conservatives, but Harding's success in securing money and projects for Idaho and endorsing federal aid to education retained voters on his side.



6. Restriction of campaign time on Harding's part because of the late congressional session hurt him. Constant harrassment from extremist elements hindered Harding's campaign performances, and discouraged his campaign workers.
7. Personal appeal and brilliant record of Harding helped him maintain a higher percentage of Second District votes than the President received. Harding's restraint against opposition demagogic campaign earned friends for him.

Broadhead thus isolates three key issues which hurt Harding's re-election chances during the campaign, (1) the John Birch Society and extremists, especially those operating within the Mormon Church, (2) the Teton-Fremont Dam incident with Congressman Kirwan, and (3) Harding's restricted campaign time and campaign harrassments.

#### George Hansen, Republican Candidate

Hansen listed his account of the determining factors in the 1964 campaign to be:

1. Extremism atmosphere
  - a. Flavor of Johnson-Goldwater presidential campaign.
  - b. Use of the Birch Society by Harding to create mistaken impression of "right-wing" activity in Idaho politics, and to attach the Birch Society to his opposition.
2. Campaign and campaign organization
  - a. Extensive personal and organizational effort.
  - b. Residual organization from 1962 unsuccessful senate bid.
  - c. Senator Jordan lent political maturity on TV appearances together.
  - d. Critical emphasis on Harding's rubber-stamp voting record on national debt, inflation, massive foreign-aid programs and unrealistic foreign policy regarding international communism.
3. Errors of the opposition
  - a. The condemnation of the Birch Society and Ezra Taft Benson in religious tones on the floor of Congress and continuously throughout the Second District brought the propriety and political maturity of Harding into question. This and other errors strengthened voter desire for a change in Congress. Turning point in the campaign was district-wide TV debate where Harding's use of Congress to attack fellow Church members over personal and political differences was rebutted.
  - b. Congressman Michael Kirwan's threat of losing reclamation funds if Harding were not re-elected.

- c. Harding's breach of otiquette in his letter censoring Dr. Kircher of Burley.
- d. Accepting support from the Council for a Livable World with its far-left overtones, which provided a counter-charge to right-wing extremism and undermined Harding's campaign issue of seniority. The propriety of out-of-state campaign finances and influences became an issue.
- e. Vigorous promotion of certain administration farm programs disliked by the farm population.
- f. Harding's neglect of the strong rural "anti-one-man-one-vote" feeling on reapportionment.
- g. Antagonistic statements and responses which irritated individuals and groups, such as his condemnation of the Farm Bureau in Jerome, which was distributed to its membership in a special edition of its monthly newspaper.

Hansen listed his views on the vital issues to be (1) the atmosphere of national extremism, and the Birch Society controversy in the District, (2) his campaign organization and agressive promotion of conservative views, and (3) errors on the part of the opposition--- specifically, (a) the Birch-Benson speech by Harding, (b) the threat by Congressman Kirwan on the Teton-Fremont Dam (c) the Kircher correspondence, (d) affiliation of Harding with the Council for a Livable World, (e) alienation of farmers, (f) reapportionment, and (g) Harding's antagonistic attitude to District voters and groups. (See Appendix III).

#### Richard Hendricks, Hansen's Campaign Manager

As campaign manager for Hansen, Hendricks defined the important elements and issues of the 1964 campaign as follows:

1. Traditional Republicanism of the Second District and personal appeal of the candidates.
  - a. Five-term Republican incumbent lost in 1960 because of his poor public relations and Harding's strength as a campaigner.
  - b. Hansen's positive campaign and conservative views recaptured the voters' imagination.

- c. Difference in philosophy was the key, as both candidates had personal appeal to the voters. Most people vote on personality basis and don't follow the voting record.
- 2. Hansen's organization was complete and functioning in every county.
- 3. Mistakes by Harding.
  - a. Brusque letters to constituents, such as Dr. Kircher of Burley.
  - b. Becoming embroiled in verbal arguments with farmers and ranchers.
  - c. Liberal voting record and accepting support from the Council for a Livable World.
  - d. Voting against the farmer and rural Idaho on many issues.
- 4. Mistakes by Harding's supporters
  - a. Congressman Michael Kirwan's threat to withhold reclamation funds on the Lower-Teton Dam if Harding were not re-elected.
  - b. Alienation of sugar beet growers in central Idaho by a letter from Amalgamated Sugar Company in Utah instructing them to re-elect Harding.
  - c. In southeastern Idaho, Monsanto Chemical Company's dealings with B.P.A. and Utah Power and Light Company turned voters away from Harding who supported B.P.A.

Hendricks pointed to three main factors as being the determining issues: (1) the traditional conservative Republican base of the Second District, which would favor a candidate of this mold over an equally appealing candidate with a non-Republican and non-conservative philosophy; (2) the effectiveness of Hansen's campaign; and (3) errors on the part of the opposition candidate and his supporters--specifically these were (a) Kircher correspondence, (b) verbal arguments, (c) voting record, (d) farmer alienation, (e) Kirwan's threat, (f) estrangement of sugar beet growers, and (g) B.P.A. (See Appendix III).

A comparison of these four statements, to determine common issues of importance might be accomplished in the following manner on Table 10.

Harding and Hansen agreed on the following issues as being pertinent: (1) Birch Society, (2) Mormon Church involvement, (3) Farm-Farm Bureau, and (4) liberal-conservative issues. Harding also listed the B.P.A.,

TABLE 10---.Comparison of Statements on Issues

Issue	Harding	Broadhead	Hansen	Hendricks	Total
Birch Society, Extremism	x	x	x		3
Campaign		x	x	x	3
Teton Dam		x	x	x	3
Mormon Church	x	x	x		3
B.P.A. vs. Private Power	x	x		x	3
Smear	x	x			2
Farm and Farm Bureau	x		x	x	3
Kircher Letters			x	x	2
Reapportionment			x		1
Liberal-Conservative	x		x	x	3
Council for a Livable World		x	x	x	3
Personal Appeal		x	x	x	3
Republican District	x			x	2

Republican trend in District, and smear factors, while Hansen cited as important the campaign, Teton Dam, Kircher letters, reapportionment, Council for a Livable World, and personal appeal of the candidates.

The Campaign Managers agreed on such issues as (1) the campaign, (2) Teton Dam, (3) B.P.A.-Private power, (4) Council for a Livable World, and (5) personal appeal of the candidates. They differed also, with Broadhead listing the Birch Society, Mormon Church, and Smear, and Hendricks listing Farm-Farm Bureau, Kircher letters, Liberal-Conservative, and the factor of a Republican district.

Significantly, the candidates and their managers did not agree completely on a common issue.

## CHAPTER VIII

### GRASS-ROOTS QUESTIONNAIRE

During the week of June 5 to June 9, 1967, this writer conducted a questionnaire among Second District voters on a random selection basis. The procedure used was to drive into an area and call on one house or business in a block for five blocks, and then drive to another area. In the rural expanses between towns, occasion was taken to stop and speak with farmers in the field, milk truck drivers, cattlemen, housewives, and etc. A broad sampling was thus secured.

The questionnaire itself was composed of two parts: the first part being a one-page "blind recall" questionnaire on the important issues or aspects that were remembered about the 1964 Harding-Hansen congressional campaign. After this was completed, or passed over because of a memory gap regarding the particulars of the campaign, then another one-page questionnaire was substituted. This sheet had several topics relative to the campaign listed on it and was intended to "reactivate" or "cue" the subject's memory, on the assumption that the impact of the campaign might thus be revived and bring out a more reliable and selective personal response than the "blind-recall" page. Upon completion, the questionnaire was folded and dropped into a box with other questionnaires, thus making the response confidential (See Appendix XII).

Only five people refused to participate and when so, their neighbor was visited. The results of the seventy-three questionnaire respondents are shown in Table 11.



TABLE 11---Recall of Issues and Personal Voting Reasons in "Blind-Recall" Grass-Roots Questionnaire, Compared to Recall on "Que-Sheet" Questionnaire, by Number of People.

					Party Preference															
					Candidate Appeal, Acquaintance and Personality															
					Candidate Philosophy															
					Religious Reasons															
					Birch Society															
					Council for a Livable World															
					Outside Interference															
					Cooperation with National Party in Power															
					Teton/Burns Creek															
					Public/Private Power															
					Farm/Farm Bureau															
					Liberal/Conservative															
					Endorsed/Referred															
					Pay Raise															
					Effective Representation															
					Campaign															
					Smear/Dirty Campaign															
					Alameda-Pocatello Consolidation															
					Government Contracts															
					Can't Recall															
Recall of Issues in the 1964 Campaign:																				
		6	1	10	4	3	1	1	16	1	4	9	1	1	5	5	3	28		
Recall of Personal Voting Reasons in 1964:																				
	11	18	6	11	4	2	2	1	10	1	4	6	4	0	9	4	2	2	8	
Recall on "Que-Sheet" Questionnaire:																				
	42	27	25	16	9				28	26	23	14	6			26			7	

The "Blind-Recall" questionnaire high-lighted the issues of (1) Teton Dam and Burns Creek, (2) religion, (3) liberalism vs. conservatism and (4) the personal impact of the candidates. Other issues of significance would be the campaign, the question of effective representation, the farm-Farm Bureau, and the Birch Society.

However, the questionnaire subjects shifted their emphasis when asked for their personal reasons in voting for Harding or Hansen in 1964. They listed as important the factors of (1) personal impact of the candidates, (2) party preference, (3) religious reasons, (4) the Teton Dam and Burns Creek Dam issue, and (5) the question of effective representation.

The "cue-sheet" brought emphasis to (1) the personal touch of the candidates, (2) the Teton Dam and Burns Creek Dam issue with the public-private power controversy, (3) the campaign, (4) religion, and (5) farm-Farm Bureau. Table 12 shows the correlation of these three parts of the questionnaire.

The correlation points out the three main factors in the 1964 campaign to have been (1) the Teton Dam-Burns Creek issue, (2) religion, and (3) the personal impact of the candidates on the voters. Other issues of strength would be the liberal-conservative issue, the farm-Farm Bureau and the campaign.

#### Voter Analysis

The grass-roots questionnaire covered twenty-eight Democrats, thirty-four Republicans and eleven voters who identified themselves with neither party (Independents). The political party vote pattern showed a large fall-out from the Democratic party ranks with four not

TABLE 12--Correlation of Grass-Roots Questionnaire

Issues	Blind-Recall of Issues	Personal Voting Reasons	Recall on "Cue-Sheet"
Personal Impact of Candidates	x	xx	xx
Teton Dam and Burns Creek	xx	xx	xx
Religion	xx	xx	xx
Liberalism vs. Conservatism	xx	x	x
Party Preference		xx	
Effective Representation	x	xx	
Campaign	x	x	xx
Farm-Farm Bureau	x	x	xx
Birch Society	x	x	x
Endorsement	x	x	x
Council for a Livable World	x	x	x
Government Contracts			x

NOTE: xx = Strong Correlation, x = Weak Correlation

voting and three voting for Hansen. The Republican vote stayed generally with Hansen, with Harding adding three Republicans to his column. The independent vote was evenly divided between Harding and Hansen (See Table 13).

Table 13 supports the conclusion that the Second District has a Republican edge over the Democrats. Hansen received 39 questionnaire votes, for 52.1 per cent. He won the election in 1964 by 52.2 per cent, and the average Republican congressional vote since 1920 was

54.3 per cent. Harding received 29 questionnaire votes, for 39.7 per cent. He lost in 1964 with 47.8 per cent, and the average Democratic congressional vote since 1920 has been 42.2 per cent.

Apparently, the large independent bloc can make the difference in a contested election

TABLE 13---Congressional Vote by Party Affiliation

Candidate	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Harding	21	3	5
Hansen	3	30	5
(No Candidate)	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTALS	28	34	11

Party affiliation by religion in the District shows a high correlation of Mormon Republican voters, whereas the Catholic and Protestant religions lean generally Democratic. In the sample, 70 per cent were Mormons, 17.8 per cent were Protestants, 11 per cent listed no religion and 1.2 per cent were Catholic, as shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14---Party Affiliation by Religion

Party	Mormon	Catholic	Protestant	No Religion
Democrat	16	1	7	4
Republican	28	0	3	3
Independent	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTALS	51	1	13	8

By percentage, the political party and religion correlation shows the strong Republican Mormon vote contrasted with the affinity

of non-Mormon groups in the District for the Democratic party, as seen in Table 15.

TABLE 15---.Percentage of Party Affiliation by Religion

Party	Mormon	Catholic	Protestant	No Religion
Democrat	31.4%	100%	53.8%	50.0%
Republican	54.9%		23.1%	37.5%
Independent	13.7%		23.1%	12.5%

Table 16 shows that, in this sample, Hansen received 56.9 per cent of the Mormon vote, Harding received 37.2 per cent, and 5.9 per cent cast no ballot. Thus, the congressional vote generally

TABLE 16---.Congressional Vote by Religion

Candidate	Mormon	Catholic	Protestant	None	Candidate Total
Harding	19	1	6	3	29
Hansen	29	0	5	4	38
No Vote	3	0	2	1	6
TOTALS	51	1	13	8	73

followed the religion-political party correlation, with Harding picking up more "independent" Mormons, and Hansen attracting some of the Protestant Democratic and Independent vote as shown in Table 16.

An occupational breakdown by party affiliation reveals some interesting aspects of the random sample of the Second District population, as shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17--Party Affiliation by Occupation

Occupation	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Businessman	8	8	2
Salaried Employee	12	4	4
Farmer-Rancher	0	3	3
Housewife	2	12	2
Teacher	1	4	0
Retired	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	—
TOTALS	28	34	11

Independent businessmen are evenly split between the Democratic and Republican parties whereas salaried employees are heavily Democratic. The Second District farmer divides between the Republican party and independence from either party, perhaps resulting from a long period of stand-off from Democratic Administration farm policies. Housewives and teachers appear to be heavily Republican and retired voters lean strongly toward the Democratic party. Table 18 shows this breakdown by percentage.

TABLE 18--Percentage of Party Affiliation by Occupation

Occupation	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Total
Businessman	44.4	44.4	11.2	100.0
Salaried Employee	60.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
Farmer-Rancher	0.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Housewife	12.5	75.0	12.5	100.0
Teacher	20.0	80.0	0.0	100.0
Retired	62.5	37.5	0.0	100.0



Party affiliation by sex in the District random sample shows females leaning strongly toward the Republican party, whereas the male population is fairly evenly divided with 18.0 per cent of the male sample disclaiming party affiliation in comparison to 12.0 per cent of the females as shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19---.Party Affiliation by Sex

Sex	Democratic	Republican	Independent
Male	17	15	7
Female	<u>11</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>
TOTALS	28	34	11

In conclusion it must be pointed out that, however broad it may be, this random sample among seventy-three subjects is still a very restricted sample. An application of the results and correlations in this chapter to the total District population is obviously of questionable validity.

## CHAPTER IX

### QUESTIONNAIRE TO STAKE PRESIDENTS AND BISHOPS

In December, 1965, a questionnaire was prepared and sent by mail to Mormon Stake Presidents and Bishops in the Second District. It was designed to provide a method of determining the amount of influence that the Harding-Benson controversy had on Mormon voters in the District in the 1964 congressional election. The questionnaire results are therefore obtained from a selected sample within the Mormon Church, but are not necessarily the lay-member reaction.

The questionnaire called for personal and area analysis of a political nature by these Bishops and Stake Presidents. Their answers regarding intensity of reaction in the respective areas are recognizably value-judgments. The purpose of the questionnaire was basically to determine trends among Mormon voters as reported and correlated from these Mormon Leaders in the Second District.

The questionnaire response is indicated in Table 20.

#### Stake Presidents

Results of 22 Stake President questionnaires are detailed in Table 21.

The average age of the Stake Presidents was 52.7 years, and interestingly the youngest and oldest of them voted for Harding.

According to the responses, 86.4 per cent identified themselves with the Republican party in the Second District, 9.1 percent were

TABLE 20---.Questionnaire Response

	Number in District	Questionnaires		
		Sent*	Returned	Percentage
Stake Presidents	39	32	22	68.8%
Bishops	354	266	159	<u>59.4</u>
Incomplete Forms			6	
Corrected Total			<u>153</u>	57.1

\*Financial considerations restricted the number of questionnaires to the first 32 of the 39 alphabetically listed stakes and their respective wards in the Second District.

Democrats, and 4.5 per cent were Independents. Harding received 3 votes (13.6 per cent) and Hansen received 19 votes (86.4 per cent). Hansen won 84.2 per cent of the votes of the Republican Stake Presidents (16 out of 19), with the Democratic and Independent votes also being cast for him, while Harding received his 3 votes from the Republican side. Harding received his votes from 2 Republican political moderates and 1 conservative, while Hansen received 9 conservative votes, 9 moderate votes, and one liberal vote, including the 2 Democratic moderates and Independent conservative.

Regarding Harding's speech concerning Ezra Taft Benson, 95.5 per cent registered disapproval, and 31.8 per cent said it affected their vote away from Harding, leaving 63.2 per cent who felt it had no bearing on their vote, personally. The comment was volunteered by 72.7 per cent that the speech was "uncalled for, out of place, and in poor judgment." Not one, however, accused Harding of violating any Church principle in criticizing or taking issue with Benson as a Church leader.

The reasons for voting for Harding by the Republican Stake Presidents were all because of personal acquaintance, while one added

TABLE 21--Results of Questionnaires to 22 Stake Presidents

Age	Years as Stake President	Occupation	Party			Party Af-filiation			Political Philos.			Voting Reasons					Voted for		Harding's Speech			
			Democrat	Republican	Independent	Weak	Mod. Strong	Strong	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Farm	Reclamation	Pers. Acq.	Cand. Philos.	Lib.-Conser.	Religion	Harding	Hansen	Approved	Disapproved	Affect Vote?
36	3.0	Businessman	x			x				x							x		x			
38	3.5	Salaried Exec.	x				x				x						x	x			x	
39	1.5	Salaried Exec.	x				x											x			x	
47	1.5	Businessman	x				x											x			x	
48	2.5	Businessman	x					x										x			x	
49	13.0	Businessman	x				x											x			x	
49	13.0	Farmer			x																	
49	9.0	Farmer		x			x															
49	2.0	Businessman	x				x															
50	5.0	Businessman		x																		
50	5.0	Businessman		x																		
(52.7 = Median Age)																						
53	3.0	Businessman		x																		
55	6.0	Businessman		x																		
55	2.0	Farmer			x																	
57	0.0	Farmer		x																		
58	3.0	Farmer																				
60	7.0	Farmer																				
61	5.0	Teacher																				
62	11.0	Farmer																				
65	17.0	Farmer																				
66	3.0	Farmer	x																			
66	20.0	Teacher		x																		
(Ave. 6.5) TOTALS			2	19	1	3	12	6	1	10	11	6	3	9	15	3	10	3	19	2	21	7

the reclamation issue. None of them were farmers. This is in contrast to the reasons for voting for Hansen, which centered foremost around his principles and philosophy, and then because of religious issues. Only 6 of the 19, 31.6 per cent listed personal acquaintance with Hansen as a reason for voting for him, and all 6 listed other issues in addition. This would indicate a preference for a Republican candidate over a Democratic candidate, or an anti-Harding or pro-Hansen vote because of issues. Only one of the two Democrats was acquainted personally with Hansen, and both listed his principles and philosophy as reasons for voting for him. Farm issues and liberal-conservative issues were cited also as reasons for voting for Hansen, but not for Harding. Two listed reclamation reasons in favor of Hansen, and one listed it in favor of Harding.

In analyzing their stake areas, as shown on Table 22, Harding was credited with carrying 6 stake areas, and Hansen was credited with carrying 13. Three of the stakes were not estimated. Reasons for Harding's victories were cited invariably as loyalty to party affiliation, whereas Hansen's victories were seen to rest on (1) religious reasons, (2) campaign, (3) conservative area, and (4) personal acquaintance. This tends to strengthen the conclusion that Hansen's personal-approach-type campaign took full advantage of the dissatisfaction caused by religious issues and conservative pressures.

Harding won in three high tithe-paying (50 per cent and over) stakes and three low ones. Hansen carried 7 low tithe-paying stakes, all with Republican majorities, and 5 high-paying ones, two with Republican majorities and two evenly split between parties. Harding did not carry any stake with a Republican majority, but Hansen did carry the

TABLE 22--Analyses of Stake Areas by Stake Presidents

Stake Area	Percentage of Title-Payers #	Democratic	Republican	Independent	Non-Voting	Harding's Speech			Voted for		Reasons
						Approved Speech	Disapproved Speech	Indifferent to Speech	Harding	Hansen	
Urban	25%	40%	60%	0%	0%	25%	75%	0%	x	x	Religion
Rural	28	50	50	0	0	30	65	5	x	x	Religion, Campaign
Rural	30	30	50	0	20	30	70	0	x	x	Campaign
Even Balance	30	40	50	0	10	40	40	20	x	x	Party Vote
Rural	30	35	30	0	35	15	70	15			
Even Balance	30	35	30	0	35	0	0	0			
Even Balance	35	30	60	10	0	70	20	10	x	x	Party, Labor
Even Balance	35	35	65	0	5	0	80	0	x	x	Religion, Farm, Conservative, Philosophy, Personal Acquaintance
Urban	35	60	40	0	0	10	80	10			
Rural	40	30	70	0	0	5	95		x		
Urban	40	0	0	0	0	10	70	20			
Even Balance	40	40	15	5	40	20	75	5	x	x	Party
Rural	50	75	0	0	0	25	50	25	x	x	Party
Rural	50	50	50	0	0	25	75				
Rural	55	35	45	5	15	25	35	40			
Even Balance	60	60	30	10	0	0	65	0	x	x	Conservative, Personal Acq.
Rural	65	40	40	20	0	60	40		x	x	Party
Rural	65	40	60	0	0	0	65		x	x	Religion, Conservative
Even Balance	70	60	40	0	0	30	50	20	x		Religion, Campaign
Urban	75	55	45	0	0	30	70				
Rural	0	0	90	0	0	0	90		x	x	Party

\*Ten per cent of income donated to Church



highest tithe-paying stake which had a 55 per cent Democratic majority. Hansen carried all three politically balanced stakes, two of them on the religious issue. This would indicate that the religious issue could make the difference in a close contest.

Harding carried 3 evenly-balanced urban-rural stakes, and 2 rural and 1 urban (urban being where a stake was located in cities over 5,000). Hansen also won 3 evenly-balanced areas, plus 2 urban and 8 rural. This, and the fact that no "farmer Stake President" voted for Harding would suggest the conclusion that Harding had a definite weakness in 1964 in the more rural counties.

In relating the Mormon and rural vote patterns, the following procedure was carried out: The 22 Stake Presidents reported an average stake membership of 3,850. By averaging the number of wards in the stakes, the stake figure of 3,850 was easily adjusted when the number of wards in a stake area was more or less than the average. Then, by establishing the approximate ward and stake areas in each county on the basis of the original address list for the questionnaire, an interpolation of the approximate county Mormon populations was arrived at, as shown in Table 43. Converted to percentages, Table 23 was constructed for general information.

Geographically, as shown in Table 23, Harding advanced in 1964 in the middle and upper Snake River Valley, while losing votes since 1962 in the rest of the District.

Harding found his greatest increases in fairly balanced Mormon-non-Mormon counties with high urban or high rural percentages. He lost in counties with high rural percentages when the Mormon population

TABLE 23---.Counties voting an Increase and Decrease for Harding in  
in 1964 over 1962

Counties By Area	Approx. Mormon Percent	Percent* Rural	Vote Change <sup>©</sup>
Middle and Upper Snake River Valley			
Bannock	46.6%	20.6%	+1,612
Bingham	52.1	64.6	+ 638
Bonneville	49.7	29.3	+1,213
Madison	91.7	49.4	+ 44
Minidoka	31.3	71.1	+ 217
Power	51.1	100.0	+ 23
Western Area of District			
Ada	9.4	29.8	- 477
Elmore	7.2	64.2	- 16
Owyhee	18.8	100.0	- 68
Central Area of District			
Blaine	21.7	100.0	- 107
Butte	60.3	100.0	- 5
Camas	13.6	100.0	- 38
Cassia	65.8	53.4	- 426
Gooding	14.7	71.2	- 188
Jerome	17.1	59.3	- 300
Lincoln	32.5	100.0	- 107
Twin Falls	13.6	43.6	- 145
South-East Area of District			
Bear Lake	98.0	56.0	- 317
Caribou	77.0	100.0	- 87
Franklin	98.1	57.0	- 165
Oneida	75.9	100.0	- 83
North-East Area of District			
Clark	5.5	100.0	- 34
Fremont	56.0	68.9	- 46
Jefferson	77.1	100.0	- 64
Teton	87.1	100.0	- 204

\* Farm-rural and towns under 2,500. The Eighteenth Decennial Census,  
p. 14-16.

© State of Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General  
Elections of 1950-1966 (Boise, Idaho, 1967).

percentage was less than 31 per cent and over 53 per cent. In this regard,  
Harding increased his votes in 3 of 5 urban (over 50 per cent) counties,  
and in only 3 of 20 rural (over 50 per cent) counties.

The increases of Harding were thus found in areas, not with high or low Mormon populations, but in those with a balance of Mormons and non-Mormons. In this regard, Harding could have received votes from Mormons "defending" him, from non-Mormons who supported his criticism of Benson and the Birch Society, or other factors such as labor endorsements, reclamation, etc., could have had an impact on both groups of voters. His broad decreased appeal in 17 of the 20 rural counties corresponds with the report of the Stake Presidents of 8 rural stakes voting for Hansen and 2 voting for Harding.

### Bishops

A breakdown of the 153 questionnaires returned from Bishops in the Second District showed a distinct Republican party leaning similar to that of the Stake Presidents, both of which were more predominant than the grass-roots Mormon response in Chapter VIII. The independent voter was, however, more predominant among the Bishops, and lay-members, as seen in Table 24.

TABLE 24---.Comparison of Party Affiliation, By Percentage

Office	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Stake Presidents	9.1%	84.4%	4.5%
Bishops	13.1	73.2	13.7
"Grass-Root" Mormons	31.4	54.9	13.7

Of the 153 Bishop responses, 112 identified themselves with the Republican party, 20 with the Democratic party, and 21 claimed party independence.

An analysis by age of the Bishops indicates that the independent Mormon voter moves into a political party with the passage of time. Young Democrats are apparently not called into the Bishopric in the same ratio that young Republicans are. This no doubt contributes to the heavier Republican percentage in the Stake President group, which is usually taken from the ranks of the Bishops. See Table 25.

TABLE 25---Party Affiliation of Bishops, By Age

Party	Age 27-39	Age 40-49	Age 50-59	Age 60-69
Democrat	4	12	2	2
Republican	33	42	28	9
Independent	10	6	5	

Harding received his largest section of votes from Bishops with a "moderate" political philosophy, whereas Hansen had nearly equal strength among the "conservative" Bishops as the "moderates". See Table 26.

TABLE 26---Votes By Political Philosophy

Candidate	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Harding	(D) 1	(D) 7	(D) 3
		(R) 6	(R) 1
	(I) 1	(I) 2	
Hansen	(D) 1	(D) 5	(D) 3
	(R) 2	(R) 49	(R) 44
		(I) 3	(I) 4

The vote for Hansen and Harding did not follow strict party lines, with both nearly splitting the Democratic vote. Harding received more from the Republican and Independent voters than he retained in the Democratic party, as shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27---Vote For Candidates, By Party Numbers

Candidate	Democratic	Republican	Independent	Total
Harding	11	7	5	23
Hansen	9	100	15	124
Neither		5	1	6

The main reasons for voting for Harding were listed as personal acquaintance, his principles and philosophy and farm policies. Hansen drew his vote largely on the basis of his philosophy and principles and religious reasons, with considerable emphasis also being placed on the liberal-conservative issue, personal acquaintance and farm problems, as seen in Table 28.

TABLE 28---Bishop's Reasons For Voting For Candidates

Issue	Harding			Hansen		
	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
Farm	3	2	2	2	21	4
Reclamation		1			5	2
Personal Acquaintance	8	4	2	2	23	8
General Principles and Philosophy	6	4	3	6	77	12
Liberal vs. Conservative				2	26	2
Religious Issues	2			2	38	5

In assessing their ward voting behavior, Bishops felt Harding's strength was in Mormon Democratic areas who followed the party voting preference. Hansen was seen to find his strength in a reaction to the Harding-Benson incident from Mormons who felt "embarrassed" or "dissatisfied" with Harding's judgment in the matter, as seen in Table 29.

Only one Bishop said his Stake President was actively working against Harding, and the same one said that Birch Society members campaigned for Harding's defeat in his area. Two Bishops said the feeling in their area was that Harding was not a good example of the Mormon Church to be in Congress. Forty-two Bishops said most members of their ward felt the speech was in the wrong place, if necessary at all.

None of the Bishops accused Harding of committing a sin in criticizing Benson, but 77 of the 153 said the speech was in poor taste and showed bad judgment in using his political office to inject a personal religious argument into national prominence.

#### Summary

The Republican party preference of Stake Presidents and Bishops in the Second District, as shown by the responses in the questionnaire, indicates that a Republican conservative is more acceptable to them and the general Mormon membership in the District, than a Democrat of similar or different political philosophy. The strongest assets of Harding among Mormon voters were his personal acquaintance and Democratic party bonds. The conservative vote was almost exclusively Hansen's, with Harding and Hansen both having strength among the politically "moderate" Bishops.

The high correlation of Mormon Church leaders and members in the District with the Republican party and conservative views suggests that



TABLE 29--. Ward Reasons For Voting For Candidates

Issue	Harding	Hansen	Even Vote	Neither Candidate
Campaign	1	5		
Farm	2	11	2	
Party Preference	11	14		
Religion	2	47	3	
Philosophy & Principles	1	16		
Liberal-Conservative	2	14		
Labor	3	2		
Personal Acquaintance	1	8		
Government Contracts (AEC)	1	-		
Reclamation	1	11	1	
Birch Society	1	-		
Dissatisfaction with Harding		8		
No reason given	3	22		29

Harding's political support was on a shaky foundation from the beginning of his term, even though many were willing to "give him a try." When he attacked Mormon Apostle Benson, Harding's unsolidified Republican vote in the Church abandoned him. The defection was seen to be stronger, by the Stake Presidents and Bishops, among "active" Mormon membership (Tithe-payers), and in the smaller rural areas.

Bishops tended to be more influenced in their voting by the Harding-Benson incident than Stake Presidents.

Harding, at no time, was accused of sinning in his attack on Benson, but was criticized for mixing the Church in politics, instead of

handling his personal complaints within the ranks of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The questionnaire indicates that the involvement of the Mormon Church in the 1964 congressional election played a significant role in the defeat of Harding. Political unrest was evident in many areas of the District, and the Church issue could have played the deciding role in finally influencing the decision of Mormon voters in the District to vote for Hansen and/or against Harding.

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<sup>1</sup>Of interest is this statement by a Mormon leader: "There has been no instance in this Church of a person's being in the least curtailed in the privilege of speaking his honest sentiments. It cannot be shown in the history of this people that a man has ever been injured, either in person, property, or character, for openly expressing, in the proper time and place, his objections to any man holding authority in this Church, or for assigning his reasons for such objections." Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, as quoted in John A. Widtsoe, Priesthood and Church Government (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954), p. 198.

## CHAPTER X

### INTERVIEWS WITH STAKE PRESIDENTS

Interviews with six Stake Presidents of the Mormon Church in the Second District were held from December 23, to December 28, 1965.

Those participating in the interviews were:

President Stephen L. Smith, Malad Stake  
President James A. Criddle, Portneuf Stake  
President Homer S. Satterfield, Alameda Stake  
President Willis R. Ward, West Pocatello Stake  
President Ross C. Lee, Gooding Stake  
President Lloyd A. Hamilton, Twin Falls Stake

This writer visited each in his office or home and was impressed with the candor of the men in responding to questions posed to them. Respecting their confidences, no names will be attached to the comments following, but each expressed permission to use any information brought forward in the interview in writing this thesis.

#### Mormon Church Political Involvement

All six Stake Presidents expressed the opinion that Harding's speech in September, 1963, criticizing Ezra Taft Benson damaged Harding's political support among Church members, but only two felt it was the decisive factor in the campaign. All six volunteered the opinion that active members (tithe-payers) were influenced to support Hansen, basically a "defensive reaction," because of a strong tendency among Church members to "bend the other way" when they believed the Church was becoming too involved in someone's campaign--in this case, Harding's campaign.

All six emphasized that Harding was within his rights as a Church member to differ with Benson. They said, however, that using the Floor of Congress to criticize a fellow Church member and Church leader before the nation and world, instead of raising the issue in a Church forum was embarrassing to Church members and caused a general feeling of resentment against Harding for "speaking out of place." None of the six felt Harding's Church membership was in jeopardy for criticizing an Apostle, but rather that he had not been prudent in using a political pulpit to air religious differences.

One Stake President mentioned that, at the October Conference of the Church in 1964, many of the Stake Presidents from the Second District discussed the Harding-Benson incident between meetings. The general consensus was that, while few of them had any positive feelings about the Birch Society, "Harding had no business taking Church complaints to Congress. They belong in the Church." The issue appeared to revolve around the propriety of raising in Congress the questionable connection of the Birch Society with the Mormon Church.

Another Stake President said, "A lot of us here got behind Harding and supported him in his campaigns before, but when I heard him make that speech against Ezra Taft Benson in Congress, I realized the darn kid wasn't mature enough to be there. Most of us took no part in the last campaign."

Two Stake Presidents felt that the speech of Harding's against Benson was made for political expediency or to aid himself politically and as such led to his defeat. Two said it was probably done for honest reasons, but resulted in alienating some Second District Mormons. One had no opinion on the reason for the speech, and one felt Harding

had let someone pressure or push him into it.

#### Farm

Three of the Stake Presidents felt that the farm issue was the important issue, with particularly the many small farmers in their areas not being sympathetic to Administration programs. One added that Harding misgauged Ezra Taft Benson's greater popularity among the farmers, both Mormon and non-Mormon, in comparison to the present Secretary of Agriculture, Orval Freeman. Three felt the farm issue was of little effect in determining the election result of Harding and Hansen.

#### Education

Only one Stake President considered the aspects of education as of interest, saying that the teachers often favored Federal Aid to Education programs, but that the average parent was fearful of it.

#### Liberal-Conservative

Five felt that their areas were generally conservative, but only two said it had an effect on their Stake membership and area residents. These two felt that the small businessman and farmer were becoming swamped by growing government interference and control, and were concerned over the trend toward socialism in the country.

#### Debt

Three Stake Presidents considered the issue of national debt and government spending as having no effect on the vote of Mormons and residents in their areas, and one more offered the opinion that most people were confused over the ramifications of the federal debt. Two were, however, strongly of the feeling that the reaction of most businessmen

and farmers in their areas, both Mormon and non-Mormon, was of concern about the debt, and not being able to understand why the government had to operate more and more in the "red." The "working man" on salary was felt to be apathetic toward debt and spending.

### Labor

Two Stake Presidents mentioned that the labor unions had worked very hard for Harding in their areas, but one added that they were so outspoken that some benefit accrued to Hansen.

### Teton Dam

Two Stake Presidents felt that the Kirwan incident was considered by many in their Stake areas to be a blackmail attempt and had hurt Harding. One of these two explained that most people didn't approve of involving politics in essential projects which require bi-partisan support.

### Campaign

Five of the six Stake Presidents felt that the campaign was the most determining factor in the election, and one felt that most Mormon minds in his area were made up before the election campaign took place. Harding was felt to have a good personal appeal, and to be much more seasoned as a campaigner, but was tied too strongly to the Democratic party line. Hansen was felt to measure up in personal appeal with a "clean-cut, honest, all-American boy" look, who would have a more independent perspective in Congress. Two felt that Hansen's fresh look and handshaking, personal-acquaintance-type campaign was what the people wanted. One said he had met only Harding, and liked him and his family very much.



B.P.A.

The public-private power dispute was not interpreted by any of the Stake Presidents as having an effect on the Mormon membership in their Stake areas.

Kircher's Letters

The Stake Presidents felt that this incident was of interest only, but had no vote swaying impact.

Democratic-Republican Party Preference

Despite the Republican history of officeholders on the congressional level, all Stake Presidents indicated that cross-ticket voting was common among their Mormon membership, based on candidates' qualifications.

Campaign Finances

One Stake President said that campaign finances had an effect in his area, and the question was raised, especially toward the last of the campaign, about "where was Ralph getting his big money from?"

Summary

In summary, the six Stake Presidents felt that, in their Stake areas, the most important factor in the Harding-Hansen campaign was the personal campaign conducted by each. Both were very personable and Hansen's campaign benefited from dissatisfaction with government programs and policies by presenting a "fresh, independent approach" to the voters. Some question of campaign finances on Harding's part was registered.

The Harding-Benson controversy among Mormons was also held to contribute to the mood for a change in Congress, if an alternate choice were equally or more acceptable. Government fiscal policies and farm

programs helped to intensify voter dissatisfaction with the current Administration and those connected with it, with the conservative nature of the District providing a more favorable reception for Hansen's conservative-oriented campaign. In some areas, labor union support was strong for Harding, while Kirwan's strong endorsement of Harding involving the Teton Dam was of negative value to him.

B.P.A. and the Harding-Kircher incident were of negligible effect, and no one felt that the general Mormon voter was tied too strongly to either party, but rather voted for qualified candidates on a split-ticket approach.

## CHAPTER XI

### ELECTION RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### The Election Results

On November 3, the final tally of votes cast for congressional candidates and presidential candidates in the Second District showed the following:

TABLE 30---.1964 General Election Vote

Office	Democratic Vote	Percentage	Republican Vote	Percentage
President	84,788	47.4	94,684	52.8
Congressman	84,022	47.8	91,838	52.2

SOURCE: Idaho, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election, November 3, 1964, Office of Secretary of State (Boise), 1965.

Harding received less votes than President Johnson, but a slightly higher percentage of those cast on the congressional level than on the presidential level. This would indicate that those who were attracted to the Administration, also voted for Harding, while those who voted for Goldwater were hesitant about marking on the congressional level with the same strength. Table 3 in Chapter I showed that since 1952 the Republican presidential candidate has consistently run ahead of the Republican congressional candidate, but Harding reversed the pattern on the Democratic side where the congressional

candidate has consistently run ahead of the presidential candidate.

A comparison of the 1964 presidential and congressional votes by county in the Second District is shown in the following table.

TABLE 31--1964 Presidential and Congressional Vote

County	President		Congressman	
	Johnson	Goldwater	Harding	Hansen
Ada	19,639	25,404	17,746	26,044
Bannock	13,483	7,825	13,198	7,923
Bear Lake	1,857	1,409	1,608	1,623
Bingham	5,231	5,364	5,601	4,980
Blaine	1,293	1,161	1,303	1,106
Bonneville	9,637	10,736	9,766	10,216
Butte	848	649	874	611
Camas	258	316	283	282
Caribou	1,422	1,303	1,412	1,240
Cassia	2,608	4,009	2,593	3,887
Clark	187	262	185	244
Elmore	2,310	1,857	2,327	1,716
Franklin	1,583	2,400	1,643	2,235
Fremont	1,970	1,945	2,017	1,845
Gooding	1,848	2,527	1,913	2,383
Jefferson	2,061	2,740	2,239	2,474
Jerome	1,828	3,113	1,904	2,977
Lincoln	617	969	638	921
Madison	1,949	2,101	2,149	1,852
Minidoka	2,827	3,111	2,906	2,829
Oneida	768	1,111	1,142	717
Owyhee	1,168	1,216	1,189	1,150
Power	1,161	966	1,119	970
Teton	598	675	540	727
Twin Falls	7,638	11,518	7,727	10,886

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election, November 3, 1964, (Boise, 1965).

As shown in Table 31, Johnson won in eight counties whereas Harding won in thirteen. Seven of the eight were in counties also won by Harding. Johnson made up for the other five counties by pulling a much larger vote in populous Ada County (70.2 per cent urban) than Harding, though both failed to carry the county.

Hansen carried eleven of the seventeen counties won by Goldwater, but received less votes in all but two of them. In total, Goldwater received more votes in twenty of the twenty-five counties than Hansen, and Johnson received more votes than Harding in only eight counties. This would indicate that Harding's strength was greater than Johnson's in seventeen counties, whereas the heavy pull of Johnson over Harding in Ada county did not give Harding "coat-tail" assistance.

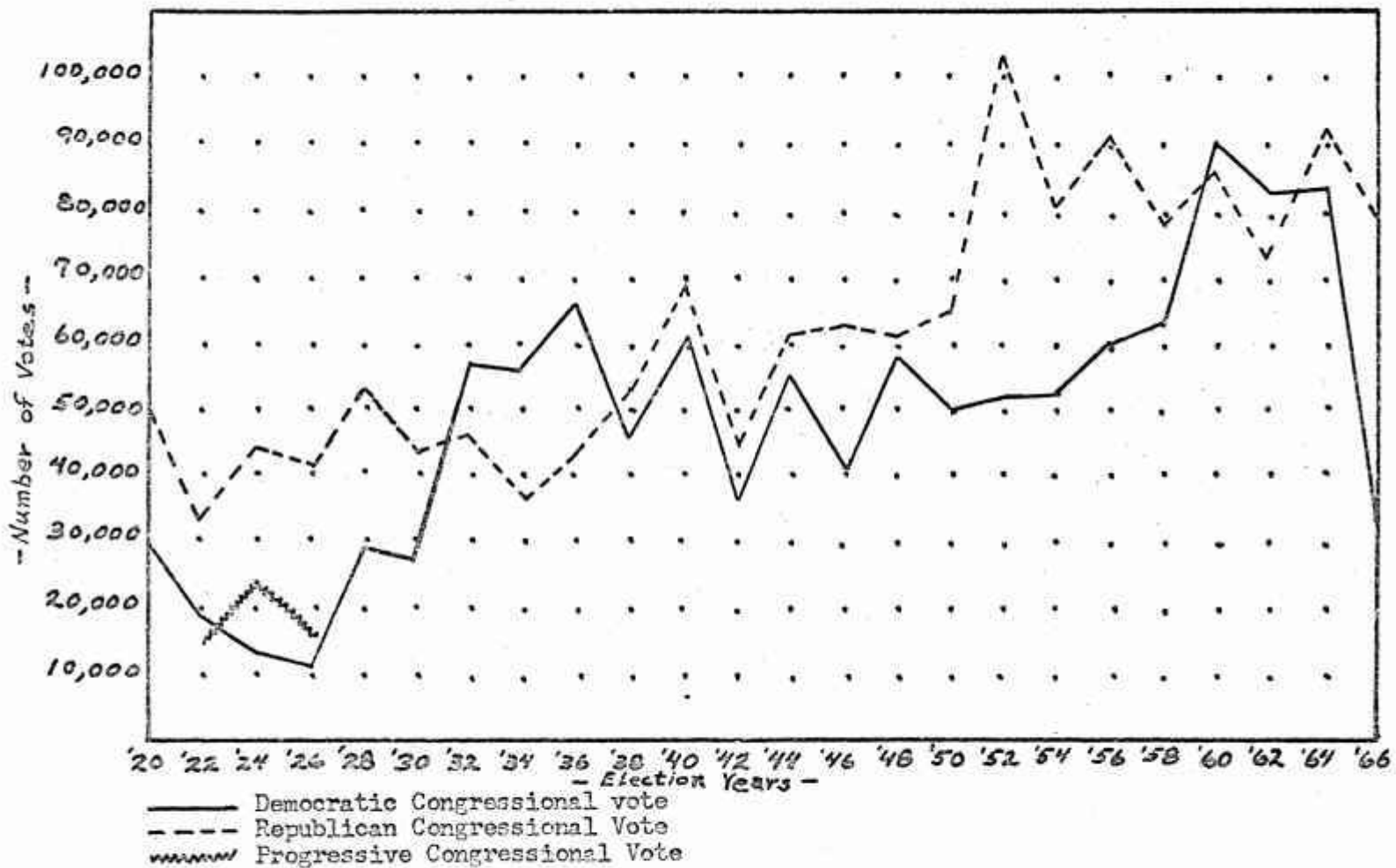
### Conclusions

General--As shown in the graph in Figure 2, the Democratic Second Congressional District vote since 1932 has been in the range of 37,000 to 67,000. In 1960, with the most dynamic and exciting campaign ever staged in the Second District--at least by a Democratic candidate for Congress--Harding won the Second District congressional seat by 90,161, the largest number of votes ever cast on the Democratic side of the ticket for Congress. This radical jump is shown in Table 32.

He evidently picked up many thousands of inactive Republican votes as well as many Democratic and Independent votes. Harding retained his newly-won constituency to an amazing degree in the 1962 election, which was an off-year, non-presidential election year. He lost only 7,009 votes while the Republican side of the ticket received 11,897 less votes than in 1960.

In 1964, Harding increased his vote to 84,022, a gain of 870 votes over 1962. By waging the same style of energetic campaign as Harding did in 1960, Hansen went out and rounded up an increase in the Republican constituency of 17,627 votes to raise the Republican total to 91,838 votes. This point should perhaps be emphasized: Harding did not suffer a loss in his total votes received from 1962 to 1964, but

Figure 2--Graph of Second District Voting, 1920-1966



SOURCE: Table 32, Page 171.



TABLE 32--Congressional Voting Patterns, 1920-1966

Year	Democratic	Republican	Margin	Total Vote	(Progressives)
1966*	33,348	79,024	45,676	112,372	
1964	84,022	91,838	7,814	175,860	
1962	83,152	74,203	8,949**	157,355	
1960	90,161	86,100	4,061**	176,261	
1958	64,214	78,553	14,339	142,768	
1956	60,552	90,738	30,186	151,290	
1954	52,861	81,824	28,963	134,290	
1952	52,692	103,047	50,355	155,739	
1950	50,255	66,966	16,711	117,221	
1948	59,006	61,690	2,684	120,696	
1946	41,231	63,692	22,461	104,923	
1944	56,249	61,751	7,443	111,941	
1942	37,815	45,805	7,990	83,620	
1940	61,726	69,840	8,078	131,530	
1938	47,199	54,527	7,328	101,726	
1936	67,238	43,834	23,404**	111,072	
1934	57,547	37,200	20,347**	94,747	
1932	58,138	46,273	11,865**	104,411	
1930	27,054	43,342	16,288	70,396	
1928	29,442	53,236	23,794	82,678	
1926	11,259	40,960	29,701	67,587	(15,368)
1924	13,470	44,365	20,895	81,192	(23,357)
1922	19,875	33,206	13,331	69,531	(16,450)
1920	29,130	49,642	20,512	78,772	

\*Reapportioned in 1965

\*\*Democratic Margins

SOURCE: Statistics of the General Elections, compiled by the Clerk of the House of Representatives: 1920-1966.

rather received an increase. He retained his ballot-box appeal, with a slight increase, while his Republican opponent evidently succeeded in bringing back to his side a large number of voters who had voted for Republican candidates in the past, and Harding in 1960.

The race between Harding and Hansen was an epoch in many ways. They were likely two of the most indefatigable campaigners to ever appear on the Idaho political scene. Harding won the reputation of being an incessant and tireless campaigner, starting with his defeat of Budge

in 1960, and again over Orval Hansen in 1962. In 1964, George Hansen matched him in campaigning ability.

Both Hansen and Harding had advantages and disadvantages. Harding had the tremendous prestige of the congressional office, with full staff, a continuing campaign organization and abundant contacts built up while in office. Hansen had the advantage of running in a district which is generally Republican on the congressional level, usually 15,000 to 30,000.

These contrasting advantages pretty well offset each other. It was Hansen's aggressive and organized offensive and a certain anti-Harding feeling which apparently decided the issue. Evidently, many people were ready to vote for a change in Congress in 1964 if they felt they had someone as good or better to choose from.

Both Harding and Hansen were crusaders for their points of view, Harding as a liberal and Hansen as a conservative. Harding's liberality was not out of step with the national trend of the Kennedy and Johnson Administration as much as it was out of step with the views of residents of the Second District. His commitment to medicare, BPA, full legislative reapportionment, labor, government farm programs, foreign aid approach to weaning Communist satellite nations from Soviet domination, etc., was turned against him in his conservative-oriented district.

Where other liberals, such as Senator Church, have survived with such viewpoints, Harding did not, largely because of the way he espoused them. His nature did not permit him to temper his emotional commitment with the political realities of his constituency, which had no such commitment to his causes.

As with Burns Creek, BPA, and Benson, with Harding it was a case

of all or nothing, and this led him into needless political risks. The head-on collision with the Birch Society is an example, as there were by and large no Society members in the Second District in 1963, and only a few in 1964. The Birch Society could have been dealt with from his congressional office without involving Ezra Taft Benson and the Mormon Church in Congress. Trying to gloss over prior reclamation problems by taking credit prematurely for the Teton project is a second example. The clash with private power companies in a private-enterprise-oriented state over the extension of BPA into southern Idaho is another example.

Harding's irascible nature led him to impetuous encounters and conflicts with his constituency, as with the Farm Bureau, Dr. Kircher, Grant Kilbourne of Simplot's, the Benson affair, and others who disagreed with him.

He made Budge's mistake of running on his record against an unscarred, young, dynamic opponent who pulled the political pendulum of a conservative district back from its four-year sweep into liberalism.

Caught up with the national Democratic party attack on Goldwater as an extremist and a captive of the Birch Society, Harding and the State Democratic Chairman, as well as the labor unions and some of Harding's campaign staff, concentrated their campaign against the John Birch Society and extremism. The dedicated Goldwater and Hansen workers in Idaho were apparently not concerned with the extremism issue. They delivered literature espousing their candidates' and the conservative cause into every household and ignored the effort to taint the GOP candidates with the Society.

Harding's concern with the Birch Society, and what it was going to do to him for opposing it, caused him to suspect almost any one of

differing viewpoint as having connections with the Society. Hansen's tolerance of the Birch Society in early 1964 presumably added up in Harding's mind to affiliation if not membership of Hansen with the Society.

Hansen's aggressive reaction to this assumption on Harding's part contributed to the emotionally charge debate between the two which centered on campaign finances of each other, as much as on issues. Hansen's constant attack with the issues he saw--debt, spending, Communism, farm problems--kept Harding on the defensive, always explaining and trying to justify his position to the conservative-minded Second District voter.

On Hansen's side, it must be observed that he fought against tremendous odds to win. First, there was little question that he was not the favorite of the state Republican leaders. He barely got enough convention delegates for the required 20 per cent, and then had to best the other two favored Republican contenders in the primary. This he did with his prolific handshake, ready smile and lots of shoe leather.

In the general election campaign, Hansen's big smile, incessant handshaking, and personality sparked party workers. His campaign organization functioned strongly in every county, especially in Ada County, where a young lawyer, Craig Marcus, and his lawyer father succeeded in welding the organizational strengths of the Smylie Republicans and Goldwater Republicans with the primary election organization already built up. Winning the District by 7,814 votes, Hansen received an 8,298 vote margin in Ada County. This was 5,038 votes more than the Republican congressional candidate received in Ada County in 1962, and was sufficient to be the winning margin for Hansen.

The overall strength of Hansen's organization can be seen again in that Harding won the crucial Upper Snake River Valley counties by only 159 votes, as totaled in Table 33, when the margin in 1962 was 2,212, and 5,134 in 1960.

TABLE 33--Votes by Counties, Upper Snake River Valley, 1964

County	Harding	Hansen	Total Margin
Bingham	5,601	4,980	
Bonneville	9,766	10,216	
Clark	185	244	
Fremont	2,017	1,845	
Jefferson	2,239	2,474	
Madison	2,149	1,852	
Teton	540	727	
1964 TOTAL	22,497	22,338	159
1962 TOTAL	20,950	18,738	2,212
1960 TOTAL	24,949	19,815	5,134

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections 1950-1966 (Boise, Idaho: 1967).

In 1960, the 5,134 vote margin gained in the Upper Snake River Valley by Harding balanced off the bulge Budge receive in Ada of 5,495 votes, and Harding's large win in Bannock provided the winning balance. The drop in 1964 to a 159 vote margin may be partly due to the Kirwan incident, which (as a threatened reprisal if Harding were not re-elected) did not set well with the independent Second District voters.

From 1960 to 1964, Harding ran very strong in Bannock, no doubt largely due to the strong labor endorsement affecting 14,000 members and their families, winning by 5,275 votes in 1964. In 1966, the labor endorsement did not go against Hansens re-election bid as in 1964,<sup>1</sup> and he reversed the trend and carried Bannock by 4,293 votes, the first time since Budge ran with Eisenhower in 1952, as seen in Table 34.

<sup>1</sup>Information received from Labor Temple, Pocatello, Idaho.

TABLE 34---.Bannock County Vote Pattern, 1950-1966

Year	Democratic	Republican	Margin
1966	6,850	11,143	4,293(R)
1964	13,198*	7,923	5,275(D)
1962	11,586*	6,116	5,470(D)
1960	13,796*	7,215	6,581(D)
1958	10,501	7,073	3,428(D)
1956	9,372	8,715	657(D)
1954	8,574	8,074	500(D)
1952	8,953	9,883	930(R)
1950	6,891	5,554	1,337(D)

\*Harding was the candidate.

SOURCE: Bannock County, Auditor's Office, Abstracts of Votes Cast at the General Elections, (Pocatello, Idaho: 1967).

With Hansen having roughly equal strength in most counties with Harding in 1964, the Bannock County margin for Harding of 5,275 was offset by the heavy margins given to Hansen by the central Magic Valley counties, as shown in Table 35.

TABLE 35---.Central Magic Valley Vote Pattern, 1964

County	Harding	Hansen	Margin
Cassia	2,593	3,887	1,294
Jerome	1,904	2,977	1,073
Twin Falls	<u>7,727</u>	<u>10,886</u>	<u>3,159</u>
1964 Total	12,224	17,750	5,526
1962 Total	13,095	14,270	1,185
1960 Total	13,315	16,309	3,984

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Election, 1950-1966, (Boise, Idaho: 1967).

Here again Hansen had an extensive operational organization



which worked hand-in-glove with the Goldwater precinct workers, but maintained a separate financial structure for publicity. Goldwater carried the area in 1964 by 6,566 votes.

Rural and Urban-.In order to assess the rural and urban aspects of the 1964 vote between Harding and Hansen, Table 36 has been constructed to afford an analysis by percentage.

TABLE 36--Rural and Urban Population Percentages

County	Urban*	Rural	County Carried by	
			Harding	Hansen
State-Wide	47.5	52.5		
Second District	51.4	48.6		
Ada	70.2	29.8		x
Bannock	79.4	20.6	x	
Bear Lake	44.0	56.0		x
Bingham	35.4	64.6	x	
Blaine	0.0	100.0	x	
Bonneville	70.7	29.3		x
Butte	0.0	100.0	x	
Camas	0.0	100.0	x	
Caribou	0.0	100.0	x	
Cassia	46.6	53.4		x
Clark	0.0	100.0		x
Elmore	35.8	64.2	x	
Franklin	43.0	57.0		x
Fremont	31.1	68.9	x	
Gooding	28.8	71.2		x
Jefferson	0.0	100.0		x
Jerome	40.7	59.3		x
Lincoln	0.0	100.0		x
Madison	50.6	49.4	x	
Minidoka	28.9	71.1	x	
Oneida	0.0	100.0	x	
Owyhee	0.0	100.0	x	
Power	0.0	100.0	x	
Teton	0.0	100.0		x
Twin Falls	55.4	43.6		x
			13	12

\*Places over 2,500

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1966, (Boise, Idaho: 1967). The 18th Decennial Census, p. 14-16.

In the rural-urban analysis, Harding picked up seven of eleven strongly rural counties (over 75 per cent), but the sparse population did not benefit his votetotal much. These rural counties had an average of 2,000 votes, and they were fairly evenly split, with Harding gaining a lead of only 482 votes, an average of 44 votes per county.

TABLE 37--.Counties Voting a Majority for Harding in 1964, by Rural Percentage

Rural Percentage	Counties		Harding	Hansen	Margin
	Won	Lost			
Over 75%	7	4	10,924	10,442	+ 482
50-75%	4	5	22,512	24,475	- 1,963
25-50%	1	3	37,388	48,998	-11,610
Under 25%	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13,198</u>	<u>7,923</u>	<u>+ 5,275</u>
	13	12	84,022	91,838	- 7,816

SOURCE: Calculated from Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1964.

Harding began to lose more heavily as the rural percentage decreased. Of the nine counties with 50-75 per cent rural population, he lost an average of 217 votes per county, and in the four counties with a 25-50 per cent rural percentage, he lost an average of 2,903 votes per county. The exception to this trend was Bannock County, with its heavy margin of 5,275 for Harding, in the less than 25 per cent rural population bracket.

This analysis indicates that Harding did not lose strongly in the counties with 50 per cent or more rural population. He lost the election in the more urban counties with 50 per cent or more urban

populations. This would lend little general support to a farmer rebellion against Harding, but rather strengthen the conclusion that other than farm issues were the determining factors in Hansen's victory.

As shown in Table 38, Harding's vote-getting appeal in the rural areas in 1962 was much more significant. He won an average of 332 votes per county in the over-75 per cent rural counties, 413 votes per county in the 50-75 per cent class, and lost an average of 889 votes per county in the 25-50 per cent rural counties. The highly urban county of Bannock continued its strong majority for Harding, with 5,470 votes.

TABLE 38---Counties Voting a Majority for Harding in 1962, By Rural Percentage

Rural Percentage	Counties		Votes		Margin
	Won	Lost	Gained	Lost	
Over 75%	10	1	11,698	8,379	+ 3,319
50-75%	8	1	23,115	19,399	+ 3,716
25-50%	1	3	36,753	40,309	- 3,556
Under 25%	<u>1</u>	—	<u>11,586</u>	<u>6,116</u>	<u>+ 5,470</u>
TOTALS	20	5	83,152	74,203	+88,949

SOURCE: Calculated from Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1964 for Idaho.

It is in the comparison of 1962 and 1964 rural county vote totals that the rural factor in Harding's loss is detected, as shown in Table 39.

TABLE 39--Comparison of 1962 and 1964 Votes for Harding by Rural Percentage

Rural Percentage	Counties Won 1962	Counties Won 1964	Change in Margin
Over 75%	10	7	- 2,837
50-75%	8	4	- 5,679
25-50%	1	1	- 8,054
Under 25%	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	- <u>195</u>
TOTALS	20	13	-16,765

SOURCE: Calculated from Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1964 for Idaho.

Table 39 shows a drop of seven rural counties in 1964 from the twenty counties giving Harding a majority in 1962. The shift in the margin is somewhat greater for the over-50 per cent rural counties (8,516), than in the under-50 per cent rural counties (8,249). This comparison would give weight to the conclusion that large farmer dissatisfaction influenced Harding's defeat in 1964.

As seen in Table 40, after gaining a large increase in 1960, Harding's rural vote consistently slipped away from him from 1960 to 1964, while he recovered votes in the more urban counties in 1964 over 1962. This indicates again that the more rural and farm areas were not remaining satisfied with Harding's efforts in their behalf. A comparison of Table 40 with the Republican vote pattern shows a significant correlation. This is shown in Table 41.

The over-50 per cent rural Republican vote had been gradually increasing to 1964, with the exception of the off-year election in 1962.

TABLE 40---.Comparison of 1958-1964 County Democratic Vote By Rural Percentage

Rural Percentage	(D) 1958	Harding		
		1960	1962	1964
Over 75%	9,191	12,256	11,698	10,924
50-75%	<u>17,358</u>	<u>24,370</u>	<u>23,155</u>	<u>22,512</u>
TOTALS	26,549	36,626	34,813	33,436
25-50%	27,164	39,739	36,753	37,388
Under 25%	<u>10,501</u>	<u>13,796</u>	<u>11,152</u>	<u>13,022</u>
TOTALS	37,665	53,535	47,905	50,410

SOURCE: Calculated from Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1964 for Idaho.

TABLE 41---.Comparison of 1958-1964 County Vote for Republican Candidates by Rural Percentage

Rural Percentage	1958	1960	1962	1964
Over 75%	10,099	9,761	8,379	10,442
50-75%	<u>21,872</u>	<u>23,512</u>	<u>19,399</u>	<u>24,475</u>
TOTALS	31,971	33,273	27,778	34,917
25-50%	39,509	45,612	40,309	48,998
Under 25%	<u>7,073</u>	<u>7,215</u>	<u>6,116</u>	<u>7,923</u>
TOTALS	46,582	52,827	46,425	56,921

SOURCE: Calculated from Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1964 for Idaho.

The urban Republican vote pattern was similar, but was apparently more volatile. The Democratic and Republican urban vote totals both fell more than 6,000 votes in 1962. Harding, however, recovered only

about 2,500 votes as compared to Hansen's increase of 10,500.

To recap, Harding lost 3,190 votes from 1960-1964 in the over-50 per cent rural counties, while the Republican candidates gained 1,634 votes. Harding lost votes to the Republican side, and also some who would evidently vote for neither party's candidate in 1964. In the rural counties, Hansen attracted only half of Harding's loss to his side of the ballot.

Harding lost a very similar number, 2,947, in the urban counties in the trend from 1960-1964. The Republican increase in this same period was 4,094 votes, which indicates that although Harding had an over-all general decrease, he apparently lost the race in the more urban areas where Hansen picked up all that Harding lost, plus additional latent votes.

Table 41 also shows this trend from 1962 to 1964. In the rural counties, Harding lost 1,377 votes in this period, while Hansen picked up a gain of 7,139 votes. In the more urban counties, Harding won an increase of 2,249 votes, and Hansen increased 10,496 votes over 1962. The margins of 8,516 in the rural counties and 8,249 in the urban counties are close as shown in Table 39, but Hansen evidently scored his greatest successes in the more urban areas. Hansen's broadly-based, personal-approach-type campaign into every area of the District--rural and urban--brought him a victory by increasing his vote in every county over the Republican candidate in 1962, and all but nine counties over the Republican candidate in 1960.

Mormon Church--. In 1960, when religion became an issue, with Harding running as an "active" Mormon against an "inactive" Mormon, Harding unexpectedly drew 25,947 more votes than his Democratic



predecessor in 1958. He received more votes in every county than the Democratic congressional candidates of 1956 and 1958 received.<sup>2</sup> Since, as shown in Table 43, 36.7 per cent of the Second District population is Mormon, the conclusion that Harding lost 70 per cent of the Mormon vote in 1964 because of his criticism of Ezra Taft Benson appears patently untrue, as there was never a shift of over 5 per cent of the total vote from 1960 to 1962 to 1964, as seen in Table 42. Table 16 also indicates that Hansen received 56.9 per cent and Harding got 37.3 per cent of the general Mormon vote in 1964.

TABLE 42---.Percentage of Second District Votes  
By Party Since 1950

Year	Republican	Democratic
1966	70.3%	29.7%
1964	52.2	47.8
1962	47.2	52.8
1960	48.8	51.2
1958	55.0	45.0
1956	60.0	40.0
1954	60.8	39.2
1952	66.2	33.8
1950	57.1	42.9

SOURCE: Statistics of the Congressional Elections, compiled by the Clerk of the House of Representatives: 1920-1966.

The fact that Harding also received more total votes in 1964 than 1962 does not initially lend strength to his contention that he was voted out of office by people who had previously voted for him, specifically referring to the Mormon vote. The criticism of Ezra Taft

<sup>2</sup>Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast at the General Elections, 1950-1966 (Boise, Idaho: 1967).

TABLE 43—Mormon Population and Harding's Vote, 1960-1964

County	1960 Total Population	Approximate* Mormon		(D) 1958	Harding's Vote		
		Population	Per Cent		1960	1962	1964
Ada	93,460	8,750	9.4	13,353	18,691	18,223	17,746
Barnock	49,342	23,000	46.6	10,501	13,796	11,586	13,198
Bear Lake	7,148	7,000	98.0	1,416	1,736	1,925	1,608
Bingham	28,218	14,700	52.1	3,769	6,068	4,963	5,601
Blaine	4,598	1,000	21.7	1,111	1,316	1,410	1,303
Bonneville	46,906	23,300	49.7	6,444	10,828	8,553	9,766
Butte	3,498	2,100	60.3	956	1,046	879	874
Camas	917	125	13.6	264	316	321	283
Caribou	5,976	4,600	77.0	1,130	1,505	1,499	1,412
Cassia	16,121	10,600	65.8	1,766	2,931	3,019	2,593
Clark	915	50	5.5	127	179	219	185
Elmore	16,719	1,200	7.2	1,919	2,681	2,343	2,327
Franklin	8,457	8,300	98.1	1,451	1,559	1,808	1,643
Fremont	8,679	4,850	56.0	1,679	2,242	2,063	2,017
Gooding	9,544	1,400	14.7	1,703	2,112	2,101	1,913
Jefferson	11,672	9,000	77.1	1,984	2,813	2,303	2,239
Jerome	11,712	2,000	17.1	1,772	2,280	2,204	1,904
Lincoln	3,686	1,200	32.5	574	803	745	638
Madison	9,417	8,640	91.7	1,397	2,116	2,105	2,149
Minidoka	14,394	4,500	31.3	1,883	2,761	2,689	2,906
Oroida	3,603	2,735	75.9	788	1,307	1,225	1,142
Owyhee	6,375	1,200	18.8	932	1,240	1,257	1,189
Power	4,111	2,100	51.1	896	1,032	1,096	1,119
Teton	2,639	2,300	87.1	429	699	744	540
Twin Falls	41,842	5,700	13.6	5,970	8,104	7,872	7,727
TOTALS	409,949	150,450	36.7	64,215	90,161	83,152	84,022
(Corresponding Republican Totals . . . . .)				78,553	86,100	74,203	91,838

\*Figures calculated from questionnaire to Second District Stake President in 1965.

SOURCE: The Eighteenth Decennial Census, p. 16; Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

Benson by Harding took place in 1963, and Harding's vote total shows an increase in his 1964 vote. Apparently Harding's basic voter constituency remained loyal to him after the Benson incident.

Turning to an analysis of the Mormon vote, Table 43 provides a breakdown of Harding's vote totals in relation to the Mormon population.

The general pattern of voting, in a comparison of 1962 and 1964 congressional vote totals, shows that Harding lost ground significantly in every county with less than 25 per cent Mormon population. He advanced heavily in three out of the four counties with 25-50 per cent Mormon population. He won two out of five counties in the 50-75 per cent bracket and lost six out of seven counties with over a 75 per cent ratio, as shown in Table 44.

TABLE 44--County Vote for Harding in 1964 As Compared to 1962

Mormons In County	Counties		Votes		Total	
	Won	Lost	Won	Lost	Gain	Loss
Over 75%	1	6	44	929		876
50-75%	2	3	661	477	184	
25-50%	3	1	3,042	107	2,935	
Below 25%	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>    </u>	<u>1,373</u>	<u>    </u>	<u>1,373</u>
TOTALS	7	18	3,747	2,877	870	

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

Harding found his increase in counties where the Mormon and non-Mormon balance was nearly even, especially where the Mormons were a large minority. He lost heavily where Mormons were a distinctly

small minority and where they were strongly in the majority.

Harding carried sixteen counties in 1960, twenty counties in 1962, and thirteen counties in 1964. Interestingly, twelve counties voted a majority for him at all three elections. The counties that voted a majority for Harding at each election include the following:

TABLE 45--.Counties Voting for Harding Consecutively  
1960-1964

County	Percentage Mormon	1960	1962	1964
Bannock	46.6	13,796	11,586	13,198
Bingham	52.1	6,068	4,963	5,601
Blaine	21.7	1,316	1,410	1,303
Butte	60.3	1,046	879	874
Camas	13.6	316	321	283
Caribou	77.0	1,505	1,499	1,412
Elmore	7.2	2,681	2,343	2,327
Fremont	56.0	2,242	2,063	2,017
Madison	91.7	2,116	2,105	2,149
Minidoka	31.3	2,761	2,689	2,906
Oneida	75.9	1,307	1,225	1,142
Power	51.1	1,032	1,096	1,119

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

This breakdown can be made more meaningful by grouping, percentage-wise, the counties according to their Mormon populations, as shown in the following tables. With the exceptions of Blaine, Camas, Elmore and Minidoka counties, every consistently loyal Harding county was in eastern Idaho, where the Mormon population was balanced with or in the majority over non-Mormons.

In 1962, Harding received his largest decrease in votes in those loyal counties that had a 25-50 per cent Mormon population, and his slightest loss in counties with over 75 per cent Mormon population.

His loss pattern was thus the heaviest in those counties with large mixtures of Mormon and non-Mormon population, and least when their majority or minority percentages were most dominant. Of the district-wide 7,009 vote decrease from 1960 to 1962 for Harding, 4,007 votes were lost in his twelve consistently loyal counties, and therefore 3,002 votes in the other counties. See Table 46.

TABLE 46--Counties Voting for Harding Consecutively  
1960-1962 by Percentage of Mormon Population

Mormon Percentage	Counties Won 1962	1960 to 1962 Vote Loss	County Average
Over 75%	3	99	- 33
50-75%	4	1,387	- 347
25-50%	2	2,282	-1,141
Under 25%	<u>3</u>	<u>239</u>	<u>- 80</u>
TOTALS	12	4,007	- 334

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

In 1964, Harding reversed the pattern, and made the heaviest gains in his strong counties which had a 25-50 per cent and a 50-75 per cent Mormon population, respectively. He continued to experience a slight decline in counties with predominant majority and minority Mormon populations. With a District-wide 870 vote increase from 1962 to 1964 for Harding, 2,172 votes were gained in his consistently loyal counties, with 1,302 votes being lost in the other thirteen counties. This gain of 2,172 votes was 54.2 per cent of the 4,007 votes lost in 1962 in these twelve loyal counties. See Table 47.

TABLE 47--.Counties Voting for Harding Consecutively  
1962-1964, by Percentage of Mormon Population

Mormon Percentage	Counties Won 1964	1962 to 1964		County Average
		Gain	Loss	
Over 75%	3		126	- 42
50-75%	4	610		+153
25-50%	2	1,849		+925
Under 25%	3		161	- 54
TOTALS	12	2,459	181	+181
TOTAL GAIN . . . . .		2,172		

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

The instability of the middle groupings could be due to several reasons. In light of the large increase of these counties for Harding in 1964 over 1962 (2,172), it could be speculated that this was a defensive vote for Harding to show unity to non-Mormon neighbors, who were of roughly equal numbers. However, since the increase in 1964 largely came from Bannock County with its 14,000 labor union members, this would tend to negate the "defensive" hypothesis.

There were four counties that never gave Harding a majority during his three election contests, and their Mormon population was small as shown in Table 48. All four counties voted against Harding in 1964 by very decisive margins. The gain from 1962-64 of 8,779 was more than enough to furnish Hansen's winning margin of 7,816 votes in 1964.



TABLE 48--.Counties with No Harding Majority at Any Time

County	Mormon Percentage	Margin of Loss		
		1960	1962	1964
Ada	9.4	5,495	2,784	8,298
Jerome	17.1	502	256	1,073
Lincoln	32.5	95	8	283
Twin Falls	13.6	2,797	986	3,159
TOTALS		8,889	4,034	12,813

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1959-1966.

Harding did not "lose" that many more votes, but the opposition picked up more from the electorate, as shown in Table 49.

TABLE 49--.County Vote by Number, 1960 to 1964.

County	Harding			Budge 1960	O. Hansen 1962	G. Hansen 1964
	1960	1962	1964			
Ada	18,691	18,223	17,746	24,186	21,007	26,044
Jerome	2,280	2,204	1,904	2,782	2,018	2,977
Lincoln	503	745	638	898	753	921
Twin Falls	8,104	7,872	7,727	10,901	8,858	10,886
TOTALS	29,878	29,044	28,015	38,767	32,636	40,828

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes, 1950-1966.

The above table would seem to indicate that Harding had a generally consistent voting constituency in these four counties which carried over from his 1960 election victory, whereas the Republican candidates had a less consistent poll appeal. A large segment of the Republican vote went into "hibernation" in 1962, and returned to vote for the Republican candidate in 1964, with perhaps much of the additional

vote being attracted from Harding's 1960 and 1962 vote dropout.

In those counties which did not give Harding a "consistent" majority or minority, as shown in Table 50, there was a numerical balancing of about 2,500 votes which shifted from 1960 to 1964 from Harding to the Republican side. Harding lost his votes in 1962 and Hansen picked them up in 1964, which indicates an anti-Harding or pro-Hansen Mormon vote in these counties.

TABLE 50---.Counties Not Giving Consistent Majorities for Harding 1960-1964

Percentage	Counties	Harding			Budge	O. Hansen	G. Hansen
		1960	1962	1964	1960	1962	1964
Over 75%	Bear Lake	1,736	1,925	1,608	1,695	1,076	1,623
	Franklin	1,559	1,808	1,643	2,217	1,702	2,235
	Jefferson	2,813	2,303	2,239	2,095	2,018	2,474
	Teton	699	744	540	554	479	727
50-75%	Cassia	<u>2,831</u>	<u>3,019</u>	<u>2,593</u>	<u>3,626</u>	<u>2,962</u>	<u>3,887</u>
TOTAL OVER 50%		9,738	9,799	8,623	10,217	8,237	10,946
25-50%	Bonneville	10,828	8,553	9,766	8,644	8,863	10,216
Under 25%	Clark	179	219	185	270	208	244
	Gooding	2,112	2,101	1,913	2,282	2,030	2,383
	Owyhee	<u>1,240</u>	<u>1,257</u>	<u>1,189</u>	<u>1,262</u>	<u>969</u>	<u>1,150</u>
TOTAL UNDER 50%		14,359	12,130	13,053	12,458	12,070	13,993
GRAND TOTAL		24,097	21,929	21,676	22,675	20,307	24,939

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, Abstract of Votes Cast, 1950-1966,

In this regard, Harding's loss from 1962 to 1964 took place largely in counties of over-50 per cent Mormon population where his total vote rose slightly from 9,738 in 1960 to 9,799 in 1962 and fell to 8,623 in 1964.

In counties of less than 50 per cent Mormon population, Harding fell from 14,359 votes in 1960 to 12,130 votes in 1962 and then regained half of that loss in 1964 with a 13,053 vote total.

The Republican opposition had a generally opposite parallel. In the over-50 per cent Mormon population counties, the vote total fell sharply from 1960 to 1962 and then regained the 1962 loss plus Harding's 1964 loss, to have a higher total in 1964. In counties with less than 50 per cent Mormon population, the total fell slightly and then regained that plus Harding's loss in 1964.

#### Final Conclusions

This analysis of the 1964 congressional election has shown the following factors to have been of the most importance in the defeat of Harding and the election of Hansen.

1. The Traditional Republican and Conservative Nature of the Second District---Harding did not make his office representative of this conservative factor, and incurred a growing dissatisfaction among his constituency. This dissatisfaction was heightened by trends and influences on the national level. Hansen geared his approach to the conservative attitude of the District and found a positive response.
2. Candidates' Campaigns---Harding did not utilize his personal-approach-type campaign in 1964, as he had in 1960 and 1962. This was due to (a) his late congressional session, (b) the over abundance of out-of-state guests which occupied his time, (c) his feeling that he was already well-known and could now run more on his record, and (d) his underestimation of Hansen's campaign effort. After two terms in Congress, instead of demonstrating a more sophisticated approach with his campaign finances, his campaign still had the appearance of the "novice amateur,"

using small 4' x 8' billboards along the highways. This fact contributed to a feeling that he was not really growing into the job as he should.

Hansen's campaign was geared to the rural nature of the state, but was organized to catch people's interest. Starting in May, when he filed his petition of candidacy, Hansen campaigned incessantly among District voters in every hamlet and town. By November 3, with the dedicated and effective support of his campaign organization, a grass-roots ground-swell carried him into office. After several encounters with Harding, Hansen emerged on the offensive and Harding never regained his loss. A vigorous grass-roots campaign by the Republican party, which overshadowed the Democratic campaign effort, contributed to voter interest in the Republican candidates.

3. The Involvement of the Mormon Church--Harding's speech against Ezra Taft Benson weakened his support among many Mormon Republican voters who had voted for him, as well as some dissatisfaction among Mormon Democratic voters. The incident was compounded by the publishing of letters concerning Benson, and by Harding's consistent defense of the speech. By election time, Harding had lost the aggressive support of the Mormon voters which he had endeavored to build up in his earlier elections. Mormon leaders in the District were not vocal in his behalf, as before, and a few were actively opposing his re-election. Hansen gained 17,635 votes over his Republican predecessor in 1962, and Harding also increased 870 votes. However, the bulk (12,902) of Hansen's increase came from the twelve counties with less than 50 per cent Mormon populations, while Harding had lost a total of only 3,888 votes from 1960 to 1964 in these counties. This indicates that Harding did not lose as much of his Mormon vote in these or other more Mormon counties as was thought.

4. The Farm Issue---.This contributed to a decline of Harding's support in the rural areas enough so that Hansen's efforts in the urban areas made the difference. General dissatisfaction among cattle and sheep farmers, as well as crop farmers, could not be overcome during the space of the campaign. Several incidents magnified Harding's disharmony with the farmers: (a) his conflict with the Farm Bureau and its members, (b) his voting record on Administration farm programs, and (c) sugar beet acreage quota insecurity, which produced a reaction among 5,000 Magic Valley sugar beet growers when Amalgamated Sugar pressured them to vote for Harding in order to retain the uncertain quotas.

5. Several Minor Issues---.Minor issues which gave added substance to dissatisfaction with Harding as the Second District Congressman were (a) the Kirwan statement about reclamation funds being withheld unless Harding were re-elected; (b) the Kircher correspondence which pointed to Harding's maturity in the office; (c) his feud with private power which led him to verbal attacks on the power companies, private businesses which supported them, newspaper men who disagreed with him and many individuals who differed with his anticipated accomplishments in bringing EPA into the District; (d) his affiliation with unfamiliar, out-of-state groups like the Council for a Livable World and large labor unions which were contributing to his campaign; and (e) the vast number of out-of-state guests who came to endorse Harding, which aroused a resentful suspicion that he couldn't stand on his own or that he was actually representing interests other than his District.

No one is perfect, and especially in politics a person's life is on the public chopping-block. Harding gave a sincere effort to his task as Second District Congressman, but unfortunately he had a personality clash with his constituency. Hansen took the offensive, and found a

receptive audience that watched his campaign with increasing favor.

The congressional election on November 3, brought him the Second District's stamp of approval for a new beginning to an old job.



A P P E N D I X I

IDAHO POLITICAL STATISTICS

Table 51--Population of Counties in Second Congressional District During 1960 Showing  
Number of Potential Voters

County	Population	Urban Areas (Over 2,500)	Percentage	Rural	Percentage	Number in County Over 21 Years
State Wide	667,191	317,097	47.5	350,094	52.5	372,484
2nd District	409,949	210,579	51.4	199,370	48.6	222,254
Ada	93,461	65,640	70.2	27,820	29.8	53,996
Bannock	49,342	39,194	79.4	10,148	20.6	26,303
Bear Lake	7,148	3,146	44.0	4,002	56.0	3,823
Bingham	28,218	9,990	35.4	18,228	64.6	14,310
Blaine	4,598	...	..	4,598	100.0	2,806
Bonneville	46,906	33,161	70.7	13,745	29.3	24,288
Butte	3,498	...	..	3,498	100.0	1,838
Camas	917	...	..	917	100.0	592
Caribou	5,976	...	..	5,976	100.0	3,068
Cassia	16,121	7,508	46.6	8,613	53.4	8,297
Clark	915	...	..	915	100.0	489
Elmore	16,719	5,984	35.8	10,735	64.2	8,909
Franklin	8,457	3,640	43.0	4,817	57.0	4,317
Fremont	8,679	2,700	31.1	5,979	68.9	4,509
Gooding	9,544	2,750	28.8	6,794	71.2	5,530
Jefferson	11,672	...	..	11,672	100.0	5,730
Jerome	11,712	4,761	40.7	6,951	59.3	6,320
Lincoln	3,686	...	..	3,686	100.0	2,066
Madison	9,417	4,767	50.6	4,650	49.4	4,512
Minidoka	14,394	4,153	28.9	10,241	71.1	7,324
Oneida	3,603	...	..	3,603	100.0	1,982
Owyhee	6,375	...	..	6,375	100.0	3,618
Power	4,111	...	..	4,111	100.0	2,214
Teton	2,639	...	..	2,639	100.0	1,290
Twin Falls	41,842	23,185	55.4	18,657	43.6	24,196

SOURCE: The Eighteenth Decennial Census, p. 14-59.

Table 52---Idaho Governors

Governor	Repub.	Demo.	Comments	Term of Office
George L. Shoup	x		Resigned	1890-1890
N. B. Wiley	x		...	1891-1892
William J. McConnell	x		...	1893-1894
William J. McConnell	x		...	1895-1896
Frank Steunenberg		x	Populist Democrat	1897-1898
Frank Steunenberg		x	Populist Democrat	1899-1900
Frank W. Hunt		x	...	1901-1902
John T. Morrison	x		...	1903-1904
Frank R. Gooding	x		...	1905-1906
Frank R. Gooding	x		...	1907-1908
James H. Brady	x		...	1909-1910
James H. Hawley		x	...	1911-1912
John M. Haines	x		...	1913-1914
Moses Alexander		x	...	1915-1916
Moses Alexander		x	...	1917-1918
D. W. Davis	x		...	1919-1920
D. W. Davis	x		...	1921-1922
C. C. Moore	x		...	1923-1924
C. C. Moore	x		...	1925-1926
H. C. Baldrige	x		...	1927-1928
H. C. Baldrige	x		...	1929-1930
C. Ben Ross		x	...	1931-1932
C. Ben Ross		x	...	1933-1934
C. Ben Ross		x	...	1935-1936
Barzilla W. Clark		x	...	1937-1938
C. A. Bottolfsen	x		...	1939-1940
Chas. A. Clark		x	...	1941-1942
C. A. Bottolfsen	x		...	1943-1944
Chas. C. Gossett		x	Resigned Nov. 17, 1945	1945-
Arnold Williams		x	Became governor upon resignation of Chas. C. Gossett	1945-1946
C. A. Robins	x		...	1947-1950
Ien B. Jordan	x		...	1951-1954
Robert E. Smylie	x		...	1955-1958
Robert E. Smylie	x		...	1959-1962
Robert E. Smylie	x		...	1963-1966
Donald Samuelson	x		...	1967-present

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, The 36th Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1961-1962, by Arnold Williams (Boise, 1963); personal knowledge since 1962.

Table 53--United States Senators from Idaho

Senator	Repub.	Demo.	Comments	Term of Office
William J. McConnell	x		....	-1891
George L. Shoup	x		....	1891-1895
Fred T. Dubois		x	....	1891-1897
George L. Shoup	x		....	1895-1901
Henry Heitfeld		x	....	1897-1903
Fred T. Dubois		x	....	1901-1907
Weldon R. Heyburn	x		....	1903-1909
William E. Borah	x		....	1907-1913
Weldon R. Heyburn	x		Deceased Oct. 17, 1912	1909-1912
Kirkland I. Perky		x	Appointed Nov. 18, 1912	1912-1913
James H. Brady	x		....	1913-1915
William E. Borah	x		....	1913-1919
James H. Brady	x		Deceased Jan. 12, 1918	1915-1918
John F. Nugent		x	Appointed Jan. 22, 1918	1918-1919
John F. Nugent		x	....	1919-1921
William E. Borah	x		....	1919-1925
Frank E. Gooding	x		....	1921-1927
William E. Borah	x		....	1925-1931
Frank R. Gooding	x		Deceased June 24, 1928	1927-1928
John Thomas	x		Appointed June 30, 1928	
			Elected Nov. 6, 1928	1928-1933
William E. Borah	x		....	1931-1937
James P. Pope		x	....	1933-1939
D. Worth Clark		x	....	1939-1945
William E. Borah	x		Deceased Jan. 19, 1940	1937-1940
John Thomas	x		Appointed Jan. 27, 1940	1940-1942
John Thomas	x		Deceased Nov. 10, 1945	1943-1945
Charles C. Gossett		x	Appointed Nov. 17, 1945	1945-1946
Glen H. Taylor		x	....	1945-1951
Henry C. Dworshak	x		....	1947-1948
Bert H. Miller		x	Deceased Oct. 8, 1949	1949
Henry C. Dworshak	x		Appointed Oct. 14, 1949	
			Elected for unexpired term	1949-1955
Herman Welker	x		....	1951-1957
Henry C. Dworshak	x		....	1955-1961
Frank C. Church		x	....	1957-1963
Henry C. Dworshak	x		Deceased July 23, 1962	1961-1962
Len B. Jordan	x		Appointed Aug. 6, 1962	1962-1963
Frank C. Church		x	....	1963-1968
Len B. Jordan	x		....	1963-1966
Len B. Jordan	x		....	1967-

SOURCE: Idaho, The 36th Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1961-1962, Secretary of State, (Boise, 1963); and personal knowledge since 1962.

Table 4--. Idaho Second District Representatives in Congress

Representative	Repub.	Dem.	Comments	Term of Office
Willis Sweet	x			1890-1891
Willis Sweet	x			1891-1893
Willis Sweet	x			1893-1895
Edgar Wilson	x			1895-1897
James Gun		x	Populist Democrat	1897-1899
Edgar Wilson		x	Democrat-Social Reform	1899-1901
Thomas L. Glenn		x	Dem. Populist, Soc. Reform	1901-1903
Burton L. French	x			1903-1905
Burton L. French	x			1905-1907
Burton L. French	x			1907-1909
Thomas R. Hamer	x			1909-1911
Burton L. French	x			1911-1913
Addison T. Smith	x			1913-1915
Addison T. Smith	x			1915-1917
Addison T. Smith	x			1917-1919
Addison T. Smith	x			1919-1921
Addison T. Smith	x			1921-1923
Addison T. Smith	x			1923-1925
Addison T. Smith	x			1925-1927
Addison T. Smith	x			1927-1929
Addison T. Smith	x			1929-1931
Addison T. Smith	x			1931-1933
Thomas C. Coffin		x	Deceased June 8, 1934	1933-1934
D. Worth Clark		x		1935-1937
D. Worth Clark		x		1937-1938
Henry C. Dworshak	x			1939-1940
Henry C. Dworshak	x			1941-1942
Henry C. Dworshak	x			1943-1944
Henry C. Dworshak	x			1945-1946
John Sanborn	x			1947-1948
John Sanborn	x			1949-1950
Hammer Budge	x			1951-1952
Hammer Budge	x			1953-1954
Hammer Budge	x			1955-1956
Hammer Budge	x			1957-1958
Hammer Budge	x			1959-1960
Ralph R. Harding		x		1961-1962
Ralph R. Harding		x		1963-1964
George V. Hansen	x			1964-1966
George V. Hansen	x			1966-

SOURCE: Idaho, Secretary of State, The 36th Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1961-1962, by Arnold Williams (Boise, 1963); personal knowledge since 1962. NOTE: A Second Congressional District was allotted to Idaho in 1910, but District boundaries were not designated until 1920.

Table 55---Congressional Vote by Party, 1920-1966, Idaho Second District

Year	Republican	Votes Received	Democratic	Votes Received
1966	George Hansen	79,024	A. W. (Bill) Brunt	33,348
1964	George Hansen	91,838	Ralph Harding	84,022
1962	Orval Hansen	74,203	Ralph Harding	83,152
1960	Hamer H. Budge	86,100	Ralph Harding	90,161
1958	Hamer H. Budge	78,553	Tim Brennan	64,214
1956	Hamer H. Budge	90,738	J. W. Reynolds	60,552
1954	Hamer H. Budge	81,824	Wm. P. Whitaker	52,861
1952	Hamer H. Budge	103,047	W. H. (Pete) Jensen	52,692
1950	Hamer H. Budge	66,966	James H. Hawley	50,255
1948	John Sanborn	61,690	Asael Lyman	59,006
1946	John Sanborn	63,692	Pete Leguineche	41,231
1944	Henry C. Dworshak	61,751	Phil J. Evans	56,249
1942	Henry C. Dworshak	45,805	Ira W. Masters	37,815
1940	Henry C. Dworshak	69,804	Ira W. Masters	61,726
1938	Henry C. Dworshak	54,527	Bert H. Miller	47,199
1936	Henry C. Dworshak	43,834	D. Worth Clark	67,238
1934	Heber Q. Hale	37,200	D. Worth Clark	57,547
1932	Addison T. Smith	46,273	T. C. Coffin	58,138
1930	Addison T. Smith	43,342	W. F. Alworth	27,054
1928	Addison T. Smith	53,236	Ralph J. Harding	29,442
1926 <sup>a</sup>	Addison T. Smith	40,960	Mary G. Gray	11,259
1924 <sup>b</sup>	Addison T. Smith	44,365	Asher B. Wilson	13,470
1922 <sup>c</sup>	Addison T. Smith	33,206	W. P. Whitaker	19,875
1920 <sup>d</sup>	Addison T. Smith	49,642	W. P. Whitaker	29,130

<sup>a</sup>1926: H. F. Fait, Progressive - 15,368

<sup>b</sup>1924: William A. Schuldberg, Progressive - 23,357

<sup>c</sup>1922: Dow Dunning, Progressive - 16,450

<sup>d</sup>1912-1920: Two Congressmen elected at large

SOURCE: Statistics of the Congressional Elections, compiled by the Clerk of the House of Representatives: 1920-1964.



A P P E N D I X   I I

ENDORSEMENTS IN BEHALF OF  
RALPH HARDING

ENDORSEMENTS IN BEHALF OF RALPH HARDING

Tributes by National Leaders\*

Lyndon B. Johnson - "The people of the Second District picked an outstanding Congressman...his work leaves no doubt as to his qualification for re-election."

John F. Kennedy - "The election of Ralph Harding to the Congress of the United States is evidence anew of what a young American with determination and courage can accomplish...he has demonstrated ability and adeptness in serving his State and Nation that are usually attained only after many years of service in the Congress."

Harry S. Truman - "He has been a great Congressman and a good Congressman. Don't let the people unseat him. It will mean a terrible loss if they do...Harding is voting right and for what is good for the country."

John McCormack (House Speaker) - "Ralph Harding has made an outstanding record in the U. S. House of Representatives. Ever since he came to Congress he has worked diligently for the best interests of his district and his state. You can well be proud of Congressman Ralph Harding. He is truly a 'people's' Congressman."

Carl Albert (House Majority Leader) - "I have seen many young members of Congress come to the Congress. None has more quickly established a reputation for hard work, competence and integrity than has Congressman Harding."

Stewart Udall (Secretary of Interior) - "There is no one who can do a better job of representing the Second District of Idaho. I have been particularly impressed with the leadership the Congressman has demonstrated in winning House passage of the Teton Project."

Harold Cooley (House Agriculture Committee Chairman) - "By his devotion to duty and by the splendid manner in which he has discharged the responsibility of every assignment, he has endeared himself to his colleagues."

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\*Copied from Campaign literature of the Harding for Congress Committee, Lynn Broadhead, Chairman.

Lee Metcalf (Senator (D), Montana) - "He has made an enviable record which, with the acquisition of additional seniority, will bring even greater honor to Idaho and benefit all the programs to which he has contributed so much."

Harlan Hagen (Congressman (D), Calif.) - "The high quality of his service to his country merits recognition. I serve with Ralph on the Agriculture Committee and find him a valuable co-worker in the fight to protect and assist western agriculture."

Harold T. Johnson (Congressman (D), Calif.) - "I know of no other Congressman who has worked harder for water development in Idaho than Congressman Harding."

Statements by Idahoans in Behalf of Ralph Harding\*

"We congratulate you on your excellent work and vote in getting Potato Bill HR 3928 sent back to subcommittee. Are pleased to hear of your outstanding leadership in this activity."

Lloyd D. Browning  
Executive Secretary  
Idaho Farm Bureau

"I just want to extend congratulations on the excellence of your presentation concerning a large quota for the beet sugar industry."

Douglas W. Love, President  
Utah-Idaho Sugar Company

"Let me take this time and extend our heartfelt thanks for your voting record on HR 11049. As Always, you have kept faith with the people of Idaho."

Tom Polillo, President  
Idaho State Association of  
Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO

"Thank you for the fine and yeoman work that you are doing in our behalf to hold the National Reactor Testing Station at its present level...I can assure you that we consider you as our right hand in this endeavor."

Ralph Geasas, Chairman  
A.E.C. Committee  
Idaho Falls Chamber of Commerce

"I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of myself, the city council and the citizens of Ammon for your efforts in getting our request to the Office of Emergency Planning through. We surely appreciate what you have done."

Reed Molen, Mayor  
Ammon

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\*Copied from campaign literature of the Harding for Congress Committee, Lynn Broadhead, Chairman.

"Please accept the sincere thanks of all of us for your good help in securing approval from the Community Facilities Administration for our I.S.U. housing loan of \$1,200,000 for dormitory facilities."

Donald E. Walker, President  
Idaho State University

"We appreciate all you have done and will do in the building of Fremont Dam."

R. Willis Walker  
Fremont-Madison Irrigation District

#### More Statements by Idahoans\*

"Congressman Ralph Harding displayed his interest and knowledge of Idaho's major industry when he requested and gained a seat on the House Agricultural Committee. He re-emphasized this interest by getting membership on the House Sub-Committee for Wheat....Ralph Harding consistently has voted for the best interests of the wheat farmers of Idaho. He must be re-elected!"

Carl Smith, President  
Madison County Wheat Growers

"Congressman Ralph Harding took prompt action to help the domestic beef industry when prices dropped to a disastrous low. As early as Feb. 25, 1964, he introduced a bill to limit beef, veal, lamb and mutton imports to the average imported during the five-year period from 1958 to 1963. Speaking on the floor, he urged Congress to adopt his bill which would have reduced imports by 30 per cent and save our markets for domestic producers. Livestock men from all sections of Idaho sent telegrams and letters of appreciation to Congressman Harding for his efforts in their behalf."

Cecil Green  
Rigby Stockman

"Sugar beet growers in Idaho were delighted when Ralph Harding was able to make the announcement that he had acquired an additional sugar beet acreage of 8,140 acres. It was the lions share of the total additional allocation made to the domestic sugar beet producers of the U.S. This accomplishment was due to the effectiveness of Congressman Harding and his position on the Agriculture Committee of the House. Ralph's position on this committee will continue to pay big dividends for Idaho in the years ahead. EXPERIENCE COUNTS! Ralph Harding is the only intermountain congressman on the House Agriculture Committee. He must be returned to Washington."

B. T. Remington  
Fremont County Sugar Beet Grower

"For the first time in recent history, Idaho's Second Congressional District is positively and effectively represented in the U.S. Congress. Ralph Harding has taken the time to find out the problems of the citizens of Idaho. With this mounting seniority, his unquestionable integrity, his dedication, Idaho finally is receiving the recognition

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\*Copied from political advertisement, The Post-Register, (Idaho Falls), October 25, 1964, p. 14.

that has been so badly lacking in the past. The respect Ralph Harding's colleagues have for him has made it possible to retain and enlarge the U.S. Air Force installation at Mountain Home. He continues to work for the farmers, the educators, our youth, the laboring man and the reclamation interests of Idaho. HIS RE-ELECTION IS A MUST!"

John Blasby  
Mountain Home Businessman

"Idaho's Second Congressional District has not had a major water reclamation project since Palisades Dam was authorized back in 1948. None, that is, until Ralph Harding came along. Congressman Harding has secured the authorization of two major water projects in less than four years. Ralph obtained the initial appropriation and work has started on the Ririe Dam. The \$52,000,000.00 Lower Teton Dam also was authorized in the closing days of the last session of Congress. Ralph Harding has the influence, prestige, seniority and the energy that will enable him to get its appropriation through the next session of Congress."

F. M. Bistline  
Pocatello Attorney

"No committee in Congress is more important to the economy of Idaho's Second Congressional District than the House Agriculture Committee. Ralph Harding is the first congressman in the history of our district to be assigned to this committee. He is the only congressman from the Intermountain area now on the Agriculture Committee....Those of us who have been involved in sugar, potato, wheat, feed grain and beef legislation important to Idaho naturally have gravitated to Ralph for help. From his influential position he has been extremely sensitive to the needs of our area. He has worked tirelessly to help provide solutions to problems....I can give personal assurance of the welcome way this attention contrasts with the indifference of many other members of Congress. This guy Harding really is full of energy and is eager to make a maximum effort in solving Idaho's problems.

R.M. Cannon, Vice President  
Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.

"About two years ago, when intense efforts were being made to place government controls on our potato industry, an outstanding member of the U.S. Senate told a group of potato farmers, shippers and processors that the fight to prevent government control of the industry would be difficult. It would be waged against tremendous odds, he said. He told us that our best hope was working through Ralph Harding because of Ralph's seat on the House Agriculture Committee. Congressman Harding joined with the potato farmers of Idaho, and the entire Idaho Congressional delegation, to successfully protect Idaho's most famous crop from government control. It is my opinion that Ralph Harding was our greatest, most effective force in this important battle. HIS RE-ELECTION IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO THE POTATO INDUSTRY."

Glen Wood, Rexburg Director  
Idaho Potato Bargaining  
and Marketing Association

A P P E N D I X   I I I

STATEMENTS BY

Ralph R. Harding, Former Congressman  
Idaho Second Congressional District

Lynn Broadhead, Chairman  
Harding for Congress Committee, 1964

Richard Hendricks, Campaign Manager  
Hansen for Congress Committee, 1964

George V. Hansen, Congressman  
Idaho Second Congressional District



Statement by Ralph R. Harding

December 8, 1964

Mr. Frank H. Jonas  
1218 Third Avenue  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84103

Dear Frank:

Please forgive my delay in replying to your two letters of September 19 and November 19. However, the election campaign and after election cleanup has had me so busy that my correspondence has really suffered.

I am enclosing a breakdown on reclamation and public works projects in the Second District of Idaho as well as tabloid newspapers from my last two campaigns which will emphasize the role that we have played in obtaining reclamation and public works projects for Idaho.

Next, Frank, I would be happy to tell you a little bit about our defeat on November 3.

In looking back on my campaign I am convinced I defeated myself in September of 1963 when in a speech on the Floor of the House of Representatives, I criticized Ezra Taft Benson for using his position in the Church to promote the John Birch Society. I fully realized at the time I made the speech that it involved a great risk to my political career. Yet, I have always felt that it is the duty of every public official to not only vote his convictions but also to speak them. There was no doubt that this speech had to be made and that it had to be made by someone who was an active and dedicated member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; so after a great deal of prayer and thoughtful consideration I made the speech.

As a result, the John Birch Society made me their prime target in the 1964 election. Perry Swisher, a Republican State Senator and Pocatello, Idaho, newsman, told of overhearing John Russelot and Reed Benson, John Birch Society officials, discussing the financing of my opponent's campaign with my opponent prior to the Republican primary in June of 1964. I am convinced that members of the John Birch Society contributed heavily to my opponent's campaign.

In addition, there were reports of several carloads of John Birch Society members coming from the Salt Lake City-Bountiful Area into Southern Idaho on weekends throughout September and October to work as campaign workers in an anti-Ralph Harding campaign.

Reed Benson, a John Birch Society coordinator, not only made several trips to Idaho, but spent the last three days prior to the election directing the John Birch Society efforts against me in Boise.

Although the John Birch Society has made many converts in the Boise area, as was evidenced by the large crowds that were produced by the appearances of Robert Welch, Billy James Hargis, Rev. McIntyre, Rev. Schwartz, Reed Benson and others, the society does not possess enough members and sympathizers to wield a great political power based on sympathy or support for the society. They were most effective in opposing me by stating that I had no business criticizing an Apostle of the Church.

Latter-day Saints are taught from childhood that criticism of Church authorities is a very grievous sin. In fact, in some Sunday School classes I have heard it taught that it ranks behind murder and adultery and ahead of such things as dishonesty, vulgarity, drunkenness, non-payment of tithing, etc. Therefore, throughout the campaign, Reed Benson and members of the Birch Society in the Church, as well as many of the Republicans, based their campaign among the L.D.S. people on the fact that Congressman Harding was guilty of a great sin when he criticized an Apostle of the Lord and, therefore, was unworthy to serve in the Congress. This approach was extremely effective and resulted in thousands of Mormons, who had supported me in the first two elections, voting against me in 1964.

In addition, some Church leaders in Idaho became so carried away that they used the Church to campaign against me, justifying their action because of my criticism of Apostle Benson. This was true with at least the following four stake presidents: President Dunn and President Ricks of the Boise and West Boise Stakes signed a letter, which they distributed to Church members throughout the Second Congressional District, in which they criticized me and supported my opponent; President Ike Lee of the Burley Stake went on the radio making spot announcements in behalf of my opponent; and President Lawrence Lambert of the Blackfoot Stake not only signed a letter in behalf of my opponent, but also made a speech in Quarterly Conference, the Sunday before the election, urging members of the stake to help stop the Congressman who had criticized an apostle of the Lord and pointed out the place to stop him was at the polls next Tuesday.

In addition, the John Birch Society circularized all members of the Church with a full page newspaper ad containing a speech by Ezra Taft Benson criticizing me and praising the Birch Society. This same speech had been recorded on a radio tape by Apostle Benson and was sponsored over radio stations throughout the District by prominent Church members, including many who did not even know that it was a speech supporting the Birch Society. They sponsored it simply because it was a speech by Apostle Ezra Taft Benson.

In addition to the John Birch Society, I had the normal difficulties encountered by every Democratic candidate. I was accused of being too liberal. The power companies, the Farm Bureau, the J. R. Simplot Company, and the Idaho Medical Association poured not only a great deal of time but also a great deal of money into my opponent's campaign.

Finally, it was a Republican year in Idaho. Not only did Senator Godlwater carry my district by 9,800 votes (actually I ran over 2,200 votes ahead of President Johnson in the Second Congressional District) but in addition, the Republican party made gains in both houses of the Idaho State Legislature. So it was impossible for me to ride on anyone's political coattails. As a result, I wound up on November 4 as an ex-Congressman.

While I do not have any firm plans for the future as yet, I have no regrets about the fact that during the past four years I have voted my convictions and spoken my convictions in doing my best to build a more prosperous Idaho, a stronger America, and a better world. I intend to continue to work for these same goals in the future as either a public official or a private citizen.

I hope that this lengthy epistle has supplied you with the answers to your questions.

Best personal regards,

/s/ Ralph Harding  
Member of Congress

RH:na

Statement by Lynn Broadhead

June 15, 1967

Mr. Dean M. Hansen  
395 East 100 North  
Provo, Utah 84601

Dear Dean:

I'm sorry it has taken me so long to answer your letter; I will help you as much as I can. These are some of my comments on the 1964 campaign.

Undoubtedly the most important issue in the race was the John Birch Society and it's involvement with the L.D.S. Church. Ralph raised the issue when he made his speech on the House Floor criticizing the "Society," then with evidence of Hansen's involvement with the Birch Society's activities attempted to point out the danger of extremism.

George was able through his own contacts, Reed Benson's contacts, as well as the influence of right wingers to get help from the pulpits in convincing the Mormon constituency of the merits of his dubious position and the merits of the John Birch Society. Thus, with the large L.D.S. population he was able to score heavily. Another convenient means through the zealous Birch members themselves going door to door preaching to Mormon families of the "heresy of Harding."

George's opposition to the Bonneville Power extension into Idaho was probably helpful in securing his campaign finances and other help such as Simplot's man flying from town to town blasting Harding, but I do not believe that the people opposed the B.P.A. extensions nor did Ralph lose more votes than he gained in his support of that proposition.

I believe the smear kind of charges reminiscent (sic) of MacCarthyism such as Ralph's acquaintance with the Council for a Livable World making him soft on Communism and the indication that his vote in favor of trading wheat to Russia made him disloyal, didn't really have much effect on the average voter, but fired up the super patriot right winger and provided him with propoganda to make his crusade more effective.

George Hansen's severe name calling of Congressman Mike Kirwan although damaging to Idaho's interest, gave George great press coverage and allowed him to get his name before the public at a critical time in the campaign. George Hansen was able to convince some of the people that Congressman Mike Kirwan's promises were threats.

Generally, George's blasts against government spending were effective with the conservative voter of Southern Idaho, yet Harding's record in getting projects for Idaho and Harding's affirmative stand on Federal Aid to Education kept voters in his column.

The session of Congress not adjourning until near the election kept Ralph constantly traveling to meet his congressional responsibilities and still try to campaign. This travel along with the constant irresponsible blasts from the extremist elements caused Ralph to be nervous and really not at his best in campaign appearances during the 1964 campaign. Constant harassment in sign disfigurement, destruction and acts of intimidation, and violence by Birch sympathizers and other extremists caused Ralph's campaign staff and Democratic party workers to experience many disappointments, after a lot of hard work to see their work mutilated by irresponsible partisans (sic).

At times one felt as though it would be worthwhile to fight fire with fire and use the same kind of tactics, but we did not feel winning was that important. I will always admire the restraint showed by Ralph in not reacting to the challenge to use demagoguery to fight the demagogic methods used against him. Surely no ends justify that kind of means in a democratic society.

With some of the handicaps mentioned above, Ralph was still able to gain a higher percentage of the vote in this district than the President, thereby proving his appeal to an extremely large population that were not voting for him because of his party but because of his brilliant record and strong personal appeal.

I hope this will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

/s/Lynn Broadhead



Statement by Richard Hendricks

June 1, 1967

Dear Dean:

This statement is my personal view of the campaign as I remember it. My capacity was campaign manager.

The most important factor to my mind is the fact that the Idaho Second Congressional District has a basic history of voting Republican. Congressman Budge held his seat for ten years and was defeated by Ralph Harding only because he failed to keep his district public relations alive. The following 1962 election between Ralph Harding and Orval Hansen went to Harding because Orval Hansen failed to stir or catch the imagination of the voter. Orval Hansen was not a dynamic campaigner. Thus, when George Hansen with his more conservative views and hand-to-hand type campaigning raced against Mr. Harding the voter was aroused to the kind of politician they knew and understood, and also the type of individual that fired their imagination about government leaders. To recap...Mr. Budge was a very weak (and he disliked it) person-to-person campaigner as was Orval Hansen. Ralph Harding was a good campaigner as was George Hansen, but the basic difference in philosophy was the key to victory for George Hansen.

The major part of the George Hansen campaign was his basic organization of one dedicated and willing worker in each county with one goal in mind--- to elect George Hansen. This person was generally not a precinct committeeman nor one with other assignments, but one who was energetic and ambitious. Experience was not a prerequisite.

Mr. Harding made some long-range errors. His letter to Dr. Kircher of Burley saying an unlearned individual was using Dr. Kircher's name to write him letters was poor policy. His membership in the Council for a Livable World cost him votes from the knowledgeable or fearful. Other letters to constituents which, I am certain, he did in haste also hurt his re-election.

Short-range mistakes lost Harding votes. Representative Mike Kerwin (sic) threatened to withhold funds from Idaho if the voters failed to return Harding to Congress. Hansen forces used this as blackmail tactics. Former President Harry S. Truman spoke out about only sending Democrats to Congress at a non-political rally in Blackfoot. Mr. Harding became embroiled in verbal arguments with farmers and cattlemen in Bear Lake, Blackfoot, and Twin Falls. Sugar beet farmers rebelled when Amalgamated Sugar Company in a selfish move instructed farmers to vote for Harding for their own good.



Monsanto Chemical reversed its company policy concerning B.P.A. and backed Mr. Harding in an attempt to get "cheap" power into Soda Springs. Even after negotiations between the Power Company and Monsanto Company were completed, attempts were made to suppress the announcement until after the election for political reasons. Disclosure of this fact helped Mr. Hansen gain votes.

Mr. Harding had a voting record of supporting liberal issues and voting against the farmer and rural Idaho on many issues.

As you can see by this report, I am inclined to believe that most voters cast their votes because of personalities and those whom they personally liked. The majority of voters do not know from one election to the next if their congressman votes right or left, liberal or conservative, hawk or dove. If he likes his looks, personality, or the way he delivers a speech, he votes for him; if this were not so, how could we have elected Church and Jordan in Idaho, or Bennett and Moss in Utah? It doesn't make sense, does it?

Sincerely,

/s/ Richard Hendricks

Statement by George V. Hansen

June 10, 1967

Dear Dean:

I am happy to respond to your letter and give you my view on the 1964 campaign.

It was my good fortune to win election for my first term as a member of Congress from the Second Congressional District of Idaho as the only Republican outside of the Deep South to defeat an incumbent Democrat in the general election held November 3, 1964, winning with a plurality of some 7,600 votes.

This was a very difficult, complicated, but interesting campaign. The flavor of the Johnson-Goldwater presidential campaign of extremism and numerous other overstated charges had a considerable impact in Idaho, particularly since my Democratic opponent, the Honorable Ralph R. Harding, had earlier chosen to make the John Birch Society an issue in government and ultimately an issue in the Idaho Congressional race. This, of course, was a red herring which tended to create a mistaken impression of the influence and impact of so-called "right wing" activity in Idaho politics.

My opponent had apparently become exercised over the activities of the Birch Society and particularly the fact that a high official of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and former Republican Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, had given public approval of their activities. Mr. Harding had chosen to soundly condemn both the Birch Society and Mr. Benson on the Floor of the House of Representatives. Subsequent to this, Mr. Harding continued to travel extensively, particularly throughout his district, further condemning Benson and the Birch Society. Many people looked askance at his behaviour, not so much from the standpoint of Mr. Harding being right or wrong in his accusations, but more from questioning the propriety of one Church member criticizing another Church member in religious tones from a government forum. (It should be stated that Mr. Harding and I are both active members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.)

This set the stage and tone for the 1964 Congressional election, and this issue, although it never emerged for any great amount of debate, still formed a strong undercurrent throughout the campaign.

As for the election itself, I was late entering, narrowly squeezing onto the ballot at the Republican State Convention of 1964 with two other candidates of considerable stature. When the smoke of the primary election held in August of that year had lifted, I was fortunate enough to be nominated by my party as its standard bearer for the general election. No short explanation could give the whole picture, but the fact that I had waged a statewide unsuccessful campaign for nomination to the U.S. Senate in 1962 and had inherited a residual organization from that effort made up of interested and dedicated people, plus an exceptional amount of hard work and extensive campaigning, would be the basic reasons for success.

The general election was hard-fought with both Mr. Harding and I and our supporters making a tremendous amount of effort on behalf of our respective causes. I can briefly attribute my success in the face of adverse odds created by the national election situation, all other things being equal, primarily to hard work on the part of so many-- particularly my wife and brother, who gave their every waking hour for many months--and the fact that my opponent made a number of moves that worked out to my advantage.

Perhaps the major one was the visit of Congressman Mike Kirwan (D-Ohio), Chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee of the House appropriations Committee, who, in his eagerness to promote Mr. Harding's re-election, made a rather blunt statement that was easily interpreted as a threat to Idaho voters that it was possible to lose a reclamation project on the Teton River if the election results were not favorable.

Another situation developed when a prominent doctor in the Magic Valley area of Idaho, having an obvious difference in philosophy with his then Congressman, wrote several critical letters, some of which had the effect of needling Mr. Harding. Mr. Harding responded with a strong letter of denunciation that some office-holders have used with success but which in this case was not successful in that it caused a widespread slogan to be coined: "Write your Congressman, and he'll call you a nut."

As the campaign wore on, other incidents developed of like nature where responses by Mr. Harding under pressure irritated certain groups of voters. This was aggravated by a defensive attitude on his part that occasionally manifested itself in a manner that led people to believe that the opinions of constituents didn't hold much weight if they conflicted with politics Mr. Harding subscribed to in Washington, and his implication that the constituents obviously didn't know what was good for them. This was borne out in several farm meetings, the best example being an appearance before the County Farm Bureau in Jerome, Idaho. Antagonistic statements in this meeting were felt so strongly that it prompted the State Farm Bureau organization to publish as a special edition of its monthly newspaper carrying Mr. Harding's remarks to the membership.

All of this seems to point to the fact that the original attack on Ezra Benson did not, and could not, have caused Mr. Harding's defeat in itself, but it did cause people to wonder about the propriety and

political maturity of their Congressman. Other events, such as I have mentioned, later tended to confirm the feelings of many that it was time for a change.

On the positive side, my campaign, although not heavily financed, was well organized and was carried out aggressively by myself and many volunteers. One event--possibly the turning point in the campaign--was a TV debate early in October between Mr. Harding and myself that was carried simultaneously in all major cities in the district. There were other debates between us, but none had the district-wide impact of this one. Basically, it appeared to be quite even until, with just two minutes remaining, Mr. Harding was asked if he would pursue the Benson-Birch matter in identical fashion were he able to do it over again.

Using most of the time remaining, he indicated that he would, giving his reasons why. There remained to me just about fifteen seconds for rebuttal, during which I stated strongly that I didn't feel that the Floor of the House of Representatives was the proper place for a member of Congress to attack another member of his own Church over personal and political differences. This brief, final statement proved to be a clincher and did great damage to Mr. Harding's case, helping to propel my campaign to a successful conclusion.

One interesting ingredient in the campaign, which had an impact that could not accurately be measured, was the support given to my opponent by an organization called the Council for a Livable World. There were many who said the Council had an unrealistic attitude on United States foreign relations policies that could subject us to undue dangers in dealing with Communist nations and in our attempts to secure world peace. This provided a counter-charge to "right-wing extremism" and brought forth considerable discussion as to who was receiving campaign funds from what sources. While I, knowingly, received absolutely no support from any person, group, or organization identified as a part of the so-called "right wing," Mr. Harding readily acknowledged receiving support from the Council for a Livable World, which many considered to be "far left" in its ideology.

A result of Mr. Harding's backing by the Council was the undermining of one of his principle campaign issues: his seniority. While Mr. Harding was saying that, if re-elected, his previous four-year tenure would give added weight and importance to his voice in the House of Representatives, the Council for a Livable World admittedly backed him on the premise that his re-election would place him in a position to run against Senator Len B. Jordan in 1966.

Thus, a double issue was raised: Mr. Harding's intent to relinquish his seniority at the end of two years; and the propriety of a large, well-financed out-of-state group contributing heavily to an Idaho campaign, no matter how well-intentioned.

The political issues themselves covered a broad range and were hard-fought with many interesting sidelights and frequent complications.



One such issue of general interest, but of particular concern in our area, was the public vs. private power controversy between the Federal Bonneville Power Administration and Privately owned power companies in Utah and Idaho. Mr. Harding favored Bonneville's extension into Southern Idaho, ostensibly to service existing large mineral processing companies and to attract others to the area. One such existing company had already agreed to accept the service.

However, an official of another company publicly denounced the proposed extension and campaigned vigorously against it--even to the point of drawing Mr. Harding to a debate challenge on the subject in the closing days of the campaign. And, while the debate did not materialize, the controversy elicited from Mr. Harding some rather erratic statements, giving him adverse exposure.

Farm issues were debated heatedly and Mr. Harding suffered from them as he attempted to vigorously promote certain administration programs which were not generally accepted by the farm population of the state as shown by various official and unofficial opinion surveys.

Another issue that militated against Mr. Harding concerned the then recent "one man-one vote" rulings of the United States Supreme Court. Most Idahoans opposed the rulings as evidenced by the fact that the following State Legislature approved a Joint Memorial to the United States Congress urging the passage of a constitutional amendment allowing a state to apportion one house of a bi-cameral legislature on factors other than population. I campaigned strongly for such an amendment, but Mr. Harding's actions were such that the suspicion was fostered that he gave the proposal less than solid support.

I placed great emphasis on showing how Mr. Harding's voting record had helped to increase our national debt and how it had led to inflation which, in addition to being a tremendous burden on all of us (and particularly on the poor who can afford it the least), was also pricing us out of many world markets. This, tied to massive foreign aid programs which Mr. Harding supported, gave me strong basis for suggesting that he shared considerable responsibility for our dwindling gold reserves. A phrase I used to emphasize his consistent pro-administration big spending voting record was that "The Idaho Second Congressional District vote was being used as a red ink rubber stamp."

Added to this was my criticism of Mr. Harding's support of what I asserted was an unrealistic foreign policy, particularly in our dealings with international Communism. A shoe, manufactured in Czechoslovakia, served as a good TV prop to illustrate how Harding's support of Red Trade allowed low-cost, slave-made items to capture part of the American market and put some of our people out of work. I stressed one vote that he had cast which resulted in a one-vote decision in the House (187-186) to have American taxpayers subsidize the sale of wheat to Russia. "Ralph Harding's one vote cost us tens of millions of dollars," was the gist of the assertion.

My constant repetition of this charge finally led to a counter-charge by Mr. Harding in which he claimed that I was impugning his loyalty by calling him a "red rubber stamp." Making his charge during a public meeting, at which I was also present, I was able to effectively silence his charge by repeating my charge, placing great emphasis on the word INK.

With Mr. Harding and I being approximately the same age, both relatively young, but with the charges of Goldwater irresponsibility which could reflect on me as an untried young man, I found a great ally in the mature wisdom of Senator Len Jordan, who saw fit to stand with me in the heated last days of the campaign and lend needed credibility. I am sure that the Senator could have been motivated by a number of things, such as the future threat of Mr. Harding's candidacy against him, the spirit of team play that the Senator is well-known for, and perhaps a personal liking. But whatever the reason or reasons, his presence added a welcome stability to the campaign.

In summary, I would say that the campaign was heated and hard-fought but with very few irresponsible acts committed against either of us. Mr. Harding seemed to be campaigning against everyone and everything--even having an extended public disagreement with the Governor of the state over the erection of small campaign signs next to state highways. Without question, he made a number of mistakes which I was able to capitalize on, and this, coupled with an aggressive campaign and tireless efforts by many of my backers, I believe, led to my ultimate victory.

Sincerely,

/s/ George V. Hansen  
Congressman



A P P E N D I X   I V

HARDING - BENSON - BIRCH CONTROVERSY

## HARDING HITS BIRCH STAND BY BENSON\*

### Congressman Claims Apostle's Activities Hurting L.D.S. Church

Rep. Ralph R. Harding, D-Idaho, said Wednesday former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson is hurting the Mormon Church as well as the nation by praising the John Birch Society.

Harding is an active member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly called the Mormon Church). Benson, Secretary of Agriculture under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, is one of the Church's twelve apostles.

Harding, whose congressional district has a large Mormon population and is the birthplace of Benson, said in a house speech that recent statements attributed to Benson were "disturbing, disgusting, and nauseating." Harding said Benson had been quoted in Los Angeles as saying the John Birch Society, a rightwing group, "is the most effective non-church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and godless communism." Harding said also that Benson had been quoted as describing Robert Welch, the society's organizer, as "one of the greatest patriots in American history."

Harding said Benson, on the basis of another news story, had declined to defend Eisenhower against a statement by Welch that he (Eisenhower) was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." It is most unfortunate that Elder Benson cannot take off the cloak of apostleship in the L.D.S. Church when he attends these right-wing extremist meetings," Harding said. "However," he said, "the facts are simply that he cannot. For this reason he is doing the Church great damage by having the name of the Church... linked with press releases such as those emanating from Los Angeles this past weekend."

Harding said Welch, "far from being a patriot," has in a book, "slandered and falsely accused some of the greatest Americans of this century of disloyalty to our country." Harding said "the least Mr. Benson could have done, is to have defended without qualification the patriotism of a loyal American president (Eisenhower) who had defended him through eight stormy years as Secretary of Agriculture.

"As much as I dislike being critical of any general authority of the L.D.S. Church," Harding said, "the time has come when I cannot refrain in good conscience from speaking out."

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\*Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), Sept. 26, 1963, p. 1.

Harding, recalling that the first presidency of the Church earlier this year had issued a strong anti-Birch Society statement, said:

Ezra Taft Benson, "as an apostle of the Church, should have respected, honored and abided by the statement of the First Presidency. However, he has continued to go his way, flirting with the John Birch Society...praising and lauding the society and Mr. Welch." The Idahoan, who fourteen years ago this month was ordained by Benson to go on a Mormon mission, urged fellow Mormons whether they be Republicans, Democrats or independents, to communicate with the general authorities and inform them of the adverse effect...Benson's John Birch activities are having on the reputation of the L.D.S. Church throughout the country. "It is time to stop apologizing to our friends for the activities of Ezra Taft Benson and to let Americans everywhere know that the Church... and the majority of our members do not approve of the... society, Mr. Welch or his reckless charges against loyal Americans. Nor do we approve of Ezra Taft Benson attending John Birch Society functions and lauding its actions as long as he continues to do so in his role as an apostle of the L.D.S. Church. The time has come for us to set the record straight."

3110 Valley Drive  
Alexandria, Virginia 22302  
May 22, 1967

Mr. Dean M. Hansen  
395 East 100 North  
Provo, Utah

Dear Mr. Hansen:

I have received your recent letter.

In response to your inquiry, let me first say that the John Birch Society is not a political organization. That is, we have not, and do not, endorse candidates; raise money for candidates; or recruit for political parties. We have members who are Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. We encourage our members to be good citizens at all times, and many of these members engage in political activities. However, they do so solely as individuals, and not as representatives of the John Birch Society.

I was appointed Utah Coordinator of The John Birch Society in October 1962. In October, 1963, my area was enlarged to include all of Southern Idaho. I did not get to Idaho very frequently during 1963 or 1964. I did make public addresses about the John Birch Society in Boise; Idaho Falls; Pocatello; and Blackfoot. According to my calendar, from the last of June until the 31st of October, 1964, I did not even enter the State of Idaho.

I came into Boise, Idaho, on the 31st of October, 1964, at the insistence of some of our members. They felt the vicious attacks on the John Birch Society should be answered. It was arranged for me to appear on a Boise radio program which took live questions over the phone from the radio audience. I appeared on the program, and then left for Utah on the afternoon of that same day.

Because of certain false impressions, I want to point out that during 1963 and 1964 (1) I did not contribute or raise money for any political candidate in Idaho; (2) I did not make any political speeches or political trips into Idaho; (3) I did not send others into Idaho to campaign for or against any candidate or to picket any candidate's speeches; and (4) I did not set up any organization, or meet with the Church leaders in Idaho, in order to help elect or defeat any candidate.

Some individual members of the Birch Society, I feel certain, were active in the Idaho political campaign of 1964--but solely as individuals and not as representatives of the John Birch Society. As to who they were, the positions they occupied, the candidates they supported, and the part they played, I simply do not know.

I hope this has been helpful. I'm afraid some people are too anxious to extend no credit or blame for a part I did not play.

Most sincerely,

/s/Reed A. Benson

rwl

Original statement of First Presidency on John Birch Society printed in the Deseret News, January 3, 1963.

The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Thursday issued a signed statement setting forth the stand of the Church on political questions in general and the John Birch Society in particular (The statement is as follows:).

The following statement is made to correct the false statements and unwarranted assumptions regarding the position allegedly taken by the leaders of the Church on political questions in general and the John Birch Society in particular.

The Church recognizes and protects the right of its members to express their personal political beliefs, but it reserves to itself the right to formulate and proclaim its own doctrine.

We believe in a two-party system, and all our members are perfectly free to support the party of their choice.

We deplore the presumption of some politicians, especially officers, co-ordinators and members of the John Birch Society, who undertake to align the Church or its leadership with their partisan views.

We encourage our members to exercise the right of citizenship, to vote according to their own convictions, but no one should seek or pretend to have our approval of their adherence to any extremist ideologies.

We denounce communism as being anti-Christian, anti-American, and the enemy of freedom, but we think they who pretend to fight it by casting aspersions on our elected officers or other fellow citizens do the anti-Communist cause a great disservice.

We again urge our bishops, stake presidents, and other officers of the Church to refuse all applications for the use of our chapels, cultural halls, or other meeting places for political meetings, money-raising propaganda, or to promote any person's political ambitions.

/s/ David O. McKay  
 /s/ Henry D. Moyle  
 /s/ Hugh B. Brown  
 The First Presidency

Under date of February 15, 1963, the following clarifying letter was sent by President McKay's secretary to numerous persons who made inquiries as to whether the statement of the First Presidency of



January 3, 1963, meant the Church was opposing the John Birch Society:

Dear Brother \_\_\_\_\_:

Inasmuch as President McKay is presently under such a heavy schedule of duties pertaining to the general administration of the Church, he has asked me to acknowledge for him your letter of (date), wherein you make reference to a recent statement published by the First Presidency setting forth the position of the Church regarding partisan politics and other related matters.

I have been directed to say that members of the Church are free to join anti-Communist organizations if they desire and their membership in the Church is not jeopardized by so doing. The Church is not opposing the John Birch Society or any other organization of like nature; however, it is definitely opposed to anyone using the Church for the purpose of increasing membership for private organizations sponsoring these various ideologies.

Sincerely yours,

/s/Clare Middlemiss  
Secretary to  
President David O. McKay

The above letter was read in the United States Senate by Sen. Wallace F. Bennett, and was published in the Congressional Record of August 6, 1963.

An additional clarifying letter was written by Miss Middlemiss at the request of President McKay late in 1965, answering inquiries as to whether Elder Ezra Taft Benson was sent to Europe because of his having befriended the John Birch Society.

The first three paragraphs of this letter were a repetition, for the most part, of the letter written in February, 1963. However, the final paragraph, concerning Elder Benson, reads:

President McKay has further instructed me to tell you that Elder Ezra Taft Benson was not sent to Europe for the reason given in your letter. Elder Benson was called by inspiration to preside over the European Mission. He has the love and respect of President McKay and other General Authorities; and furthermore, was sustained and upheld by them and the members of the Church as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles at the recent General Conference of the Church.

## Church Opposes Federal Aid to Education\*

June 15, 1961

Dear Brother Harding.

Regarding your inquiry as to whether the Church has taken an official stand against a general program of federal aid to education as embodied in the bill already passed by the Senate, please be advised that this matter was discussed by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve sitting as members of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University and the Board of Education of the Church. We were unanimously of the opinion that the proposed legislation before the Congress is unnecessary and unwise.

I note your statement that you have received hundreds of letters from bishops, stake presidents, and other loyal members of the Church who are primarily educators and teachers supporting federal aid to education; that on the other hand you have received hundreds of letters from bishops, stake presidents, and other loyal members of the Church primarily members of the National Farm Bureau and chambers of commerce, opposing federal aid.

It is apparent from this statement of yours that you detect in a number of these letters a certain bias because of personal interest involved. In our deliberations, however, we approach the matter entirely from what we considered to be right from the standpoint of the nation, for we have no personal interest to serve.

We are frankly gravely concerned over the increasing tendency of the Federal Government to assume more responsibilities with an ever-increasing indebtedness. In this respect we note your statement that the Federal Government controls most of the revenue in the nation through the federal income tax, and that you, therefore, think that the Federal Government should take on this new burden. In our judgment, the tendency of the Federal Government more and more to control the revenue of the country should be reversed, not increased.

It goes without saying that we are not attempting to control your vote in this matter, which should be determined by you in the clear exercise of your own conscience. But we have given you our best advice based on no little study on our part.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ David O. McKay  
President

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\*Church Section of the Deseret News (Salt Lake City), Letter sent to Rep. Ralph R. Harding of Idaho, November 10, 1962.

A P P E N D I X V

FARM BUREAU - HARDING CONTROVERSY

## The Meaning of Liberalism

By Harold H. Smith, Director  
Information Department  
Idaho Farm Bureau

A meeting of intellectual minds turned up some interesting points about what it takes to be a liberal. Such questions were asked as: When will the United States adopt a more "liberal" attitude toward disarmament, civil rights, federal aid, etc.? When can we expect abolishment of the unAmerican activities committee? The question was also asked: What do you mean by a liberal attitude? It wasn't answered, however. After being exposed to the aspirations of the liberals in the audience, the writer began asking himself something about the meaning of liberalism. What is it? Here are a few of his conclusions:

Liberalism Means--That we should give away more and more of our wealth, making the rest of the world strong even at the risk of making ourselves weak.

That we must lead the world in total disarmament, expecting others to follow our example in making the world safe for...what? We must be liberals at any cost.

That we abolish the unAmerican activities committee because to fight unAmericanism is UnAmerican--and very old fashioned.

That we continue to spend more each year for socialistic causes in order to show our humanitarianism and our unconcern for bankruptcy--which, after all, is just a myth of those who expect to take it with them.

That we add billions each year to our national debt, for a nation that is in debt to itself is really not in debt at all.

That we continue to empower labor leaders with the authority to take over the nation, dictate to business, industry, and agriculture, for labor is the only real wealth of a nation and all else should be subservient.

That wherever riots and violence erupt in the world we should feed the rioters and encourage more violence, for this furthers the cause of liberalism--and anything that has a liberal tag is a noble cause.

That our government must not oppose communism--for that is McCarthyism. We must not oppose the spread of communism even in our own land, for if communism is to prevail it must be the better system. So let's give it every chance.

That it is unAmerican to oppose communism, for we believe in freedom of speech and thought--even though where communism prevails there is no freedom in life.

That the true liberal will not believe communism and freedom do not exist together or that capitalism offers the individual greater freedom of opportunity--or that communism is anti-Christian. Just don't believe anything not liberal.

That our constitution is outmoded in this day of liberalism and should be overhauled to conform to "the needs of the times." The liberal is part of the wrecking crew.

That since we believe in freedom of the press we must give the Communists a free hand to disseminate literature among us which calls for the overthrow of our government and our free way of life. Yet, the liberal is silent about the Communists' refusal to reciprocate with freedom of the press and thought in their own country. The liberal remains silent over the Russian jamming of American broadcasts of Radio Free Europe.

That every encouragement be given in the Communist effort to force success of its philosophy on people everywhere, including America. To counter Communist efforts is to "appeal to fear and emotions."

That it is in the best interests of America to ban the showing of films in this country tracing the rise and progress of Communism--but unAmerican to ban Communist literature or Hollywood films designed to tear down capitalism in America and blacken our name in the world. It is unAmerican to disseminate truth about communism but apparently American to give Communist lies access to our mails.

That the liberal will bend over backwards to be duped by communism--and being the true liberal he never seems to learn a thing or forget a thing. All of Eastern Europe and the masses of Asia in Communist chains is a fact ignored by the liberal who clings to the old cliché that "it can't happen here."

Liberalism means all that the word implies: being liberal, being free with what we have except our common sense, our good old fashioned stability--yes, our plain old rugged individualism at which the liberal yells with laughter. It is a derisive laughter that comes from one who can't offer a way of life as abundant as the American way which has brought to more people the best life ever recorded in the history of man, anywhere at any time.

The liberal doesn't seem to want to understand that the Communists strive to show that freedom means explosion, violence, suffering and starvation, as in the Congo--where the Communist strategy is that finally the people, out of desperation, will choose communism as the only way.

Liberalism is the political paradox of our times. What makes the liberal always a liberal is an enigma that even he cannot reveal. For an unknown reason he is ashamed to be anything else on any subject. It is a disease that people--young people generally--suffer with until they reach maturity in thought and understanding of the real values of life.

One of the most dangerous facts about the liberal movement is that its proponents will not back away from any idea that has been tagged "liberal." The liberal goes all out for everything liberal. Words, such as "patriotism" and "Americanism," and the philosophy of the founding fathers are only childish ideas for conservatives and reactionaries. Nobody as far ahead of his time as a liberal thinks he is, could find any use for such outmoded words and ideas that pertain to being an American, first, last and always.

Harold H. Smith

Reprinted from

Idaho Farm Bureau News,

March, 1961.



April 15, 1961

Mr. Lloyd Browning  
Executive Secretary  
Idaho Farm Bureau  
Pocatello, Idaho

Dear Lloyd:

I would like to order fifty copies of your Idaho Farm Bureau News for the month of March. I just finished reading Harold Smith's editorial, "The Meaning of Liberalism," and I certainly feel that it deserves wide distribution.

I warn my colleagues in the Congress and especially on the House UnAmerican Activities Committee to know just how far the John Birch Society has permeated the Idaho Farm Bureau. I think that this editorial does an excellent job of demonstrating this.

I feel that Harold Smith's tactics of calling liberals "communists" are some of the most deplorable that I have ever seen. I don't necessarily consider myself a liberal, but if Harold Smith considers himself a conservative, I am sure I am at the other end of the totem pole. I can assure you that people such as myself not only know the meaning of "patriotism" and "Americanism" but also the meaning of tolerance, and I am grateful that I have enough toleration of the beliefs of others that I am able to read this type of an editorial and not hate the man who wrote it, but just pity this man.

I have many friends who classify themselves as conservatives and find them to be honest, sincere, loyal, devoted Americans. I also have many friends who consider themselves liberals and find that they also are loyal and devoted Americans and believe in many of the things that Harold Smith has accused them of opposing. I can assure you that this type of hate propoganda in your newspaper will certainly help you to find your place in history.

I look forward to receiving my fifty copies of your paper, as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours

/s/Ralph R. Harding  
Member of Congress

## Farm Bureau Lashed,

### Harding Calls Group "Confused...Stubborn"\*

Harding is Guest of Farm Bureau, Hansen Backs Bureau--. Representative Ralph Harding (D-Idaho) at a bi-partisan, "Meet the Candidate" open meeting Tuesday (October 20) sponsored by the Jerome County Farm Bureau, attacked the Farm Bureau for "failing to line up with other farm organizations on the wheat referendum matter. Harding was more explicit in his comments about the Farm Bureau following the meeting when he was interviewed by the North Side News.

Hits Farm Bureau--. He labeled the Farm Bureau as the organization which has consistently put a crimp in federal sponsored programs and called the Farm Bureau members "misdirected, confused and stubborn."

Walter Shouse, president of the Jerome County Farm Bureau and moderator for the evening, had little to say on Harding's statements. It is a well known fact that Idaho and Magic Valley Farm Bureaus were instrumental in defeat of the wheat referendum in the state.

Several days earlier, Harding speaking before county Democrats, said "propaganda and false information led to the defeat of the wheat issue."

Levels Attack--.It was apparent that he referred to the Farm Bureau position. About 100 persons attended the potluck dinner. "I bet Ralph didn't realize he was the guest of the Farm Bureau this evening. I'd like to hear what he says to his campaign manager tomorrow when he finds out," a Farm Bureau member commented.

Harding's remarks drew a shocked silence from the Farm Bureau audience.

Hansen also Guest--.Also a principalspeaker at the meeting was George Hansen, Republican candidate for Harding's seat in Congress. There was no exchange between Hansen and Harding due to the discussion arrangement whereby opposing candidates had an opportunity to comment on issues but not to openly debate each other at the time. However, Hansen commended the Farm Bureau.

Praises Bureau--."I don't criticize you for determining your own course of action," Hansen said, referring to the wheat referendum. "The American farmer is being discriminated against," he pointed out. Hansen said that even though the wheat referendum was defeated, the

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\*North Side News (Jerome) October 22, 1964, pp. 1, 8. Also see reprinted article in Special Election Edition of Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), October, 1964, XVII, No. 1A, pp. 1,3.

Secretary of Agriculture went ahead with other federally inspired farm programs. "I believe the farmer is being manipulated by the State Department for foreign welfare and I feel welfare should begin at home," Hansen commented. Harding, commenting on agriculture, indicated that government had an important role in farm regulation.

Favors Controls---.He said controlled planting is not the answer to American agriculture programs. "We simply can't market what we can produce. If we could dump all our surplus in the ocean and start anew it still wouldn't be the answer. According to one authority we can produce two billion bushels of wheat. But we only need 1,200,000,000 bushels," he said.

Still a Surplus---.Harding explained that with the philosophy of uncontrolled planting the nation would still end up with a surplus. "We need farm programs and we need good farm programs," Harding commented.

Both Hansen and Harding covered the same questions posed by Shouse but it was on the points of federal control and intervention that the candidates differed most. Harding, in his presentation, said he voted "about 85 per cent with plans sponsored by the Kennedy-Johnson administration." "I always vote my convictions," he added. Harding also explained that he is in favor of states rights but stressed the role of the federal government.

Strong Controls---."How long could we exist if we had 50 separate federal governments," he pointed out, apparently indicating that he favored a strong centralized government. Harding also said that if people want state legislatures patterned after the U.S. Congress, that is the right of the people of the state. Hansen agreed.

On the topic of foreign aid to Communist nations, Harding charged that aid was extended to Yugoslavia under the Eisenhower Administration and called wheat sales to Russia a "very wise decision."

"The U.S., in selling the wheat, showed the superiority of a capitalist form of government," Harding added.

Questions Politics---.Hansen, in commenting on the questions presented, said he did not criticize the integrity of Harding..."Just his politics."

"I am in favor of maintaining our wonderful country as a land of opportunity, not as a welfare state," Hansen added. "We must turn aside from considering that there is a large side we are on," he said. "I am flatly opposed to a paternalistic form of government. "The billions which we are wasting overseas is causing us to spend ourselves into destruction," Hansen said.

Confused Policy---."We have an inconsistent foreign policy. Our allies don't know which side we are on," he said. In addition to the Congressional candidates, Jerome County office seekers of both parties were present.

### Harding Insults Farm Bureau Positions\*

Walter Randolph, Vice President of American Farm Bureau Federation, and representative of the Farm Bureau at the Democratic Platform Committee hearings on August 19, 1964 was asked the following question by Representative Ralph Harding of Idaho, following his presentation of the Farm Bureau's recommendations for the party farm platform:

Rep. Harding: "Mr. Chairman. I'd like to ask one question of the Farm Bureau. I sit on the House Agriculture Committee and I've watched representatives of the Farmers Union, the National Grange, National Wheat Growers, Missouri Farmers Association and all of American agriculture's representatives come in combined and united on farm legislation except the Farm Bureau. And it is apparent to me that whenever we have a matter affecting the wheat growers, the Farm Bureau has taken the side of the millers or whenever there has been a matter affecting the farm power users or REA the Farm Bureau has taken the side of the private power companies. And furthermore whenever there's been a matter of conflict between farmers and food processors the Farm Bureau has represented the food processors. Now as Congressman Pat Jennings of Virginia used to say, when Mr. Shuman would come before our Committee, "How do the rest of the insurance companies feel about this legislation?" Now, I would like to ask how many dirt farmers does Farm Bureau represent?"

Mr. Randolph: "Well, you sure have made a speech. I'd like to say at the beginning that I don't agree with anything you said."

Rep. Harding: "Well, I don't agree with you either."

Mr. Randolph: "You are greatly mistaken in your facts. The membership of the Farm Bureau was given in this statement we made and we will submit for the record a statement of our membership by states, 1,628,295 farm and ranch families."

EDITOR'S NOTE: It was interesting to note that this was the only question during the platform hearings that was intended to discredit any farm organization.

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\*Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), "Harding Insults Farm Bureau Positions," Special Election Edition XVII, No. 1A, p. 3. Also see National Farmers Union, Washington Newsletter (Washington, D.C.), August 28, 1964, XI, No. 27.

## Editorial\*

Representative Ralph Harding has never taken any pains to hide his dislike of the National Farm Bureau Federation so his remarks in Jerome, October 20, attacking the farm group shouldn't surprise anyone. The Congressman was a guest at a "Meet Your Candidates" gathering sponsored by the Jerome County Farm Bureau. Harding was pretty open in his comments about the Farm Bureau. It's not often you hear a guest insult a host.

Of course Harding probably figures he had nothing to lose by being so frank in his opinions. He has never carried Jerome County and he probably figures he won't carry the county this year either.

Although Harding meant his comments as an insult, his remarks were really a compliment to Farm Bureau policy which encourages its members to think on their own and not be swayed by political pressures.

Our Jerome County Farm Bureau is composed of intelligent, sensible people who constantly strive to improve their own organization while improving their county. Jerome Farm Bureau President Walter Shouse and other officers are dedicated, hard working persons and are highly respected in our community. So when an outsider like Harding calls Farm Bureau members "misdirected, confused and stubborn" it kind of gets our dander up.

Harding suffered an intense personal defeat when the wheat referendum was voted down by the farmers. He'll never forget that the referendum's defeat was due principally to the opposition by Farm Bureaus across the nation who went out of their way to tell farmers the true facts in the issue. Harding doesn't like administration farm schemes exposed--it's just that simple. He would like to muffle the Farm Bureau, have them get in line behind further effort by the government to control agriculture. Fortunately, Farm Bureau members don't care about Harding's insults and we are certain that in future years they will continue to maintain their perspective. If there is any "confusion and misdirection" it rests with Mr. Harding, not with the Farm Bureau. Please keep that in mind when you enter the polling booth on November 3.

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\*Northside News (Jerome), Editorial, October 22, 1964, p. 2.

A P P E N D I X   V I

TETON DAM CONTROVERSY

AND B.P.A.



The following is an editorial read over the air on radio station KRXX in Rexburg, Idaho, September 27, 1964, at 1:05 pm by Gene Shumate:

Good-afternoon, everyone.

I saw a real demonstration of raw political power last night. It was very interesting. Most of us don't have the opportunity to feel or hear the real struggles that go on in closed rooms of politics. But the room was opened last night. This particular room was the dining room of the Idamont Hotel in Rexburg, where a news conference was held with dignitaries who were taking part in the inspection of the Teton River and then honoring Congressman Ralph Harding at a dinner at the Ricks College Ballroom. The dignitaries were Congressman Harding, Congressman Mike Kirwin of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Assistant Secretary John Carver. The star of the show was Kirwin.

Kirwin supplied the raw political power. Through the news representatives present, he told Idaho people that unless they re-elected Harding this November there would be no Fremont Dam on the Teton River. That was it; no veiled threats, no subtlety, no double-talk, just a statement of fact.

Who is Kirwin? Well, he is a remarkable man who has been in Congress for 28 years. As a young man, he worked in coal mines and on railroads. He has been as automatic in elections in the Youngstown, Ohio, district as a Democratic nominee from Mississippi or a Republican nominee from Vermont.

Kirwin has worked his way up to the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations and states that he personally has been responsible for appropriating 5 billion dollars in public works during the past 22 years.

The 76 year old Kirwin is also chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and it is obvious that he is extremely effective, based on his showing of last night. There is scarcely a district in the United States that has not been or wants to be a recipient of federal money in some public works project. Kirwin is the head filler of the pork barrels. He not only keeps the Congressmen in line but he keeps the people in line, too.

In other matters discussed last night, Secretary Udall said that the Fremont Dam normally will take from 4 to 5 years to build. He said there will be a Bureau of Reclamation headquarters set up when the first money is appropriated, and this headquarters will house the task force that does the final planning and oversees the construction. Asked where such a headquarters might be, he said that is yet to be decided but he spent some time in St. Anthony yesterday afternoon and was impressed by the fact that there is space already available. This space is the vacated buildings of the Forest Service. The Targhee

Headquarters during the past year moved into a new building in St. Anthony, but the government still is in possession of the former buildings.

The Secretary said he has hopes of being able to sit down with the people of Idaho Power after the election and arrive at a decision whereby Idaho Power would deliver Bonneville Power to Southern Idaho. He said the recent inter-tie arrangement between the Northwest and Southwest give a good precedent for combining facilities of public and private power. Seven-hundred million dollars will be spent to tie in the Northwest with Hoover Dam in Nevada. The federal government will provide 300 million, the City of Los Angeles will provide 50 million, and the private power utilities will provide 350 million to build lines to wheel surplus power from the Columbia Basin to the power-starved Southwest and Southern California.

Udall praised John Carver for his work in the department and said he was one of the most able men the Department of the Interior had ever had. Carver, an Idahoan and former assistant to Senator Church, replied by saying that Udall was the greatest Secretary that Interior had ever had. In answer to a question concerning Carver's political ambitions in Idaho in the future, Carver sidestepped it.

Kirwin said that Harding was one of the brightest young men to come to Congress since he had been there. Everybody said that Kirwin had done more through public works for the West than any man in history, including President Theodore Roosevelt.

Concerning Burns Creek, Kirwin said he had put 62 thousand dollars in the budget this year for a further study of an expanded dam. Harding said he was confident there eventually would be a Burns Creek Dam. Udall agreed. He said that Fremont Dam was the first step. The second step will be the extension of Bonneville Power in Southern Idaho, and the third step will be Burns Creek.

Kirwin also said he had put in 400 thousand dollars for the Ririe project and he did it because Harding had asked him to.

Preceding the trip down the Teton yesterday and the banquet last night, the most newsworthy--or, at least, most talked about--development was Governor Robert Smylie's refusal to be a part of the activities. The Governor said the whole thing was political and designed only to help Congressman Harding politically. The Democrats acted insulted. Secretary Udall, before the news conference, commented that he thought the Fremont Dam should be named Smylie Dam. And during the news conference, he said, "I wish he had been on one of the rafts."

But any illusions concerning the non-political pose disappeared with the appearance of Congressman Kirwin. He arrived about 5 minutes late to the news conference. Up to that time, the illusion was still apparent. Kirwin didn't hesitate.

His opening statement was, "I'm 28 years in Congress and I play the rules. Some projects have waited 35 years for money after they were authorized. It is up to 'We the people' to follow through." When no one rose to the bait and asked what following through by the people consisted of, Kirwin supplied the answer, "Keep Harding so that he can ask me."

He was stating one of the political facts of life, of course. In a Public Works Project, the authorization by Congress is only the first step. The signing of the bill by the President is the second step. Neither one means a thing, actually, unless there is money made available to support the authorization. The President asks for it and it is up to Congress to vote it. I almost said "up to Congress to supply it," but that's a trap we all fall into frequently. The people of the country "supply" the money. The Congress says where it should be spent. As far as I know, Congress itself hasn't made a dime since the forming of it.

What turned out to be the final question last night was one that went back to Kirwin's opening statement. The question was, "In the event that a Republican is elected from the Second Congressional District, and Mr. Harding is defeated, what happens to the Fremont Dam?"

Kirwin answered, "I would take care of some other project that's been waiting for 30 years, if a Republican is elected."

This must make Mr. Harding the wealthiest man in Washington. President Johnson's worth is estimated between 4 and 14 million dollars. Congressman Harding is worth 52 million.

Good-afternoon, everyone. Thanks for listening.

This letter was sent to approximately 1,000 employees of the Pocatello Division of the J. R. Simplot Company.

October 19, 1964

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY--YOUR JOB IS AT STAKE!!!

Dear Fellow Employee:

You will remember that I wrote to you in my official capacity as your General Manager on April 29, soliciting your help in urging Congress to deny a request by Bonneville Power Administration for authorization to build a power line into Southern Idaho to sell electric power far below cost to our electric furnace competitors and thereby destroy our industry and your job. This request was denied but the threat still strongly exists as long as Congressman Ralph Harding remains in office because he has termed this defeat only a temporary setback that he will keep working hard to correct.

I am now writing to you as an individual and at my own expense in order to avoid any possible conflict with election laws so that this serious threat to our jobs can again be brought to your attention.

The marked paragraphs on pages 3, 4, 6, and 12 of the enclosed speech (which I have also had printed at my own expense) explain just why Bonneville Power in Southern Idaho will destroy our industry and your job by subsidizing the giant electric process corporation against us with millions of dollars of your own tax money each and every year. In fact, if you will take time to read the whole speech, you will be fully informed on this whole threatening subject.

Ralph Harding has been working hard to cut our throats with our own tax money and thus bring this catastrophe upon us and has promised to accomplish it if re-elected. I don't know why he insists on championing giant world-wide corporations at the expense of home owned industry that reinvests all its profits in Idaho, but I urge you to do everything possible to defeat Mr. Harding on November 3, and thereby put all politicians, regardless of politics or party affiliation, on notice that we will not stand to have our jobs threatened in this way. The election at this point looks very close, and every vote against Mr. Harding you can muster among your friends, neighbors, and relatives could be very important to the preservation and growth of our business and all of our jobs.

Sincerely yours,

/s/W. Grant Kilbourne

P.S. If you have not done so, please be sure to REGISTER before October 23, and be sure to VOTE November 3.

A P P E N D I X   V I I

KIRCHER - HARDING CONTROVERSY



## EDITORIAL\*

## Have You Written Your Congressman Lately?

If So, He May Send You a Reply: "You're a Nut!"

In May of this year, Dr. James R. Kircher, Burley physician, wrote two letters to Rep. Ralph Harding (D-Idaho) giving his views in opposing a pay raise for congressmen. In his first letter, Dr. Kircher pointed out that a \$7,500 increase in pay was out of line. The facts were, he wrote, that the sum was still a 33 per cent increase of the top salaries, whereas those civil servants and military personnel at a lower pay scale and who would need the raise the most would have to be satisfied with a much lesser increase. Kircher also explained that the present congressmen received a comfortable fringe benefit of \$3,000 exemption, and also was concerned over a "conflict of interest" code of ethics which was not adopted by Congress to apply to its own members.

Further enlightening Mr. Harding, the good doctor said: "The \$3,000 exemption just happens to coincide with the arbitrary level of income that has been determined by the present administration to be "poverty." I wonder what the poverty population would think of this exemption--if the fact were as broadly publicized in the press as their plight and "benefits" the federal government plans for them? He explained further that he had tried to give one of his employees a raise of \$25. After the withholding tax and Social Security tax were deducted, she retained \$20.70 of the original raise she deserved. "In summary," the doctor said, "I am opposed to this proposal, not so much because of the increased pay to some employees, but rather because you are now getting a \$3,000 tax-free salary, and I seriously doubt that anyone should expect a 33 per cent increase in their salary."

Sixteen days later, Kircher forwarded another letter to Mr. Harding and declared: "I believe certain basic principles should apply and are as valid in the field of public service as in the sector of private business and employment. Pay raises are usually earned first and then expected and attained as a reward for good business management, not for poor management and continual efforts resulting in a repeating deficit for the employer." This fundamental logic, Kircher said, was quite apparent to a group of high school age individuals in Burley, who unanimously rejected the idea of voting a pay raise for one's self during a period of an unbalanced budget. Dr. Kircher added: "When Congress illustrates with action and conclusive proof it is for saving and fiscal soundness, rather than big spending and fiscal irresponsibility, a pay raise for its members will then be in order and a proper reward for good service." (As all Americans know, in this so-called era of prosperity, the pay-raise bill passed in

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\*The Idaho Sunday Statesman (Boise), "Have You Written Your Congressman Lately? If So, He May Send You a Reply: 'You're a Nut!'" October 18, 1964, p. 4.



Congress. Representatives Harding of Idaho's Second District and Compton White of the First District voted for the pay hike.)

Dr. Kircher awaited a reply to his communications, but it was not until June 8, that Mr. Harding dictated a letter from his office in Congress in a franked envelope:

Dear Dr. Kircher:

I just thought you would like to know that I have been receiving some very ignorant, slanderous and stupid letters from someone in Burley who is using your name and stationery. I wanted you to be fully aware of this, and maybe you can prevent this person from writing me. I am sure that the type of letters he is writing reflects no credit upon anyone.

/s/ Ralph Harding

The reply could be found quite humorous if the issue had not been a serious one. But there is no levity in the matter when an Idaho congressman so brusquely pushed aside a sincere inquiry and viewpoint expressed by an Idahoan.

Kircher wrote his congressman--an effort which more Idahoans should undertake--and Mr. Harding replied, in effect, that the doctor was a nut. The reply is trite anyway. It is not original with Mr. Harding.

The Second District Congressman, now seeking re-election to a second and "more prosperous" term, is not as interested in serving the people of his region as he is in perpetuating the image of the personable Ralph Harding. Thus he would toss off any suggestion which might be in opposition to his own views with half-wit brevity. An intelligent answer to the doctor might have been written; but the Harding term has been a rather vapid affair and what should one expect?

At any rate, Idahoans know Doctor Kircher proved a point. Win or lose November 3, some congressmen remain overpaid and they type of letters they write to constituents reflects no credit upon them. Dr. Kircher, the students in Burley and other patrons of Mr. Harding are being cheated.

## EDITORIAL\*

## Harding Letters Reveal Immaturity

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Burley Physician James R. Kircher recently wrote Rep. Ralph Harding expressing his views in opposing a pay raise for congressmen. Harding's reply referred to Dr. Kircher's epistles as "very ignorant, slanderous and stupid letters." In our opinion, Dr. Kircher presented some very sound reasons for opposing the raise.)

The reaction of Congressman Ralph Harding to criticism from Dr. James R. Kircher of Burley probably set a new record for political immaturity in the U. S. Congress.

As far as we are concerned it is not basically a question of whether the views of Congressman Harding or Dr. Kircher are right on any given issue but the manner in which Congressman Harding acted when faced with criticism. Congressman Harding acted like a spoiled child who, apparently, seriously believes no one could think differently than he does on matters affecting the welfare and safety of 190 million people across the nation.

Dr. Kircher, as any other citizen, has a right to his views and deserves to be treated by the Congressman representing his district with courtesy irrespective of Congressman Harding's opinion of those views. This applies to pay raises for government employees and elective officers, power, medical care for the aged, meat import quotas, the John Birch Society, the Americans for Democratic Action, the price of fish in Finland or any other subject of state, national or international concern.

It is obvious to anyone familiar with the Dr. Kircher-Congressman Harding confrontation that the Congressman regards anyone whose views are different from his as an extremist crackpot. Even if Congressman Harding regards such people who disagree with him as extremist crackpots, he should have the maturity and good judgment to face such situations as an adult rather than as an opinionated, shallow person who hardly demonstrates the sense of balance to deal with the life or death problems the world faces in the nuclear age.

Yet, Congressman Harding is now asking Idaho voters to send him back to Congress where he will have an important voice in grave matters of enormous import to Idahoans as well as countless millions throughout the world. Mr. Harding says he should be returned to Congress because of his seniority in that body and its supposed benefits to the people of Idaho. It seems to us Congressman Harding will have to grow up very quickly before he will have seniority in any body either government or private.

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\*Burley Herald Bulletin (Burley), Editorial: "Harding Letters Reveal Immaturity," October 23, 1964, p. 4.

Undoubtedly Congressman Harding feels his presence in Washington is needed to save America and Idaho from extremist crackpots or others who do not see eye to eye with his ideas. Mr. Harding might do well to heed the Biblical admonition: "seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? There is more hope of a fool than of him." Proverbs, XXVI:12.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## Rep. Harding Retorts to Editorial Charge\*

Rep. Ralph Harding, Democratic candidate for re-election in the Second Congressional District, replying to an editorial in the Sunday Statesman criticizing him in connection with an exchange of letters with a constituent, said Monday the editorial was "misleading" and "insulting." His reply was contained in the following letter to The Statesman:

I have patiently taken a lot of abuse from what I consider to be unfair editorials in The Statesman. Sunday's editorial concerning my correspondence with Dr. Kircher is an example of this attitude.

Flays Deception--You made an attempt to picture me as answering two reasonable letters opposing a federal pay raise with "a deliberate angry insulting letter." This was deceiving in itself, but your insinuation that this was anywhere near a typical answer to a constituent was misleading to the people of Idaho and insulting to me personally.

Since I have been in Congress I have received my share of crackpot mail from constituents like Dr. Kircher of Burley. I answered his first letters patiently, carefully, and politely. However, subsequent letters were answered appropriately. I have received many letters from Dr. Kircher opposing the United Nations, supporting the position of the John Birch Society and lambasting me as a Congressman.

Unreasonable Letter--I remember distinctly that the letter of Dr. Kircher's that I answered with my "deliberate angry insulting letter" was an unreasonable letter in which he charged me with "typical leftist mentality and methods," not the two reasonable letters you suggested. The subject of his letter was anti-BPA.

I expected an anti-Harding letter-writing movement this campaign but I didn't expect it to be dignified by the editorials of even such a Republican paper as the Statesman. Especially when you failed to contact me for a full release of all correspondence between Dr. Kircher and myself before writing such a prejudiced article.

If it is practical and you want to pursue the matter further, I suggest you publish all the correspondence between Dr. Kircher and myself and let the people of Idaho judge whether or not my letter was justified.

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\*The Idaho Daily Statesman (Boise), "Rep. Harding Retorts to Editorial Charge," October 20, 1964, p. 6.

May 11, 1964

Ralph Harding, M. C.  
House Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harding:

I understand legislation to increase the pay of government employees is again proposed. The major change from the previously defeated measure is that only \$7,500 increase is proposed for Congressmen rather than the previously proposed \$10,000.

It seems to me that the \$7,500 increase is out of line in view of these facts:

1. This is still a 33 per cent increase of the top salaries, whereas the lower pay scale who may need it the most must be satisfied with a lesser raise.
2. Included with the present Congressman's pay is a nice fringe benefit of a \$3,000 exemption.
3. The "Conflict of Interest" code of ethics has not been adopted by congress to apply to its own members.

The \$3,000 exemption just happens to coincide with the arbitrary level of income that has been determined by the present administration to be "poverty." I wonder what the poverty population would think of this exemption--if the fact were as broadly publicized in the press as is their plight and "benefits" the federal government plans for them.

Recently I TRIED to give one of my employees a raise of \$25. After the withholding tax and Social Security Tax were deducted, she retained \$20.70 of the original raise I felt she deserved.

In summary: I am opposed to this proposal not so much because of the increased pay to some employees but rather because you are now getting a \$3,000 tax free salary, and I seriously doubt that anyone should expect a 33 per cent increase in their salary.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ JAMES R. KIRCHER, M. D.

May 27, 1964

The Honorable Ralph Harding M. C.  
House Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Congressman Harding;

I believe certain basic principals should apply and are as valid in the field of public service as in the sector of private business and employment.

Pay raises are usually earned first and then expected and attained as a reward for good business management, not for poor management and continual efforts resulting in a repeating deficit for the employer.

This fundamental logic was quite apparent to a group of high school age individuals in Burley. They unanimously rejected the idea of voting a pay raise for oneself during a period of an unbalanced budget. (When have we last had a balanced budget?)

When Congress illustrates with action and conclusive proof it is for saving and fiscal soundness, rather than big spending and fiscal irresponsibility, a pay raise for its members will then be in order and a proper reward for good service.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ JAMES R. KIRCHER, M. D.

JRK:hd



May 27, 1964

Public Forum Editor  
Salt Lake Tribune  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sir:

Congressman Ralph Harding's letter of self-justification supporting his position on the BPA controversy in the May 21 issue was a beautiful example of the leftist mentality and methods.

In presenting a "poor me" picture, he hopes to detour the reader from the main points of the issue. The "facts" presented were only a portion of the facts appropriate to the issue in question.

If the Congressman is so firm in his righteous position, why does he go to such lengths to justify his position? One must consider, however, this is an election year.

Congressman Harding justifies the selling of BPA power below cost because the BPA accumulated a "surplus" in its re-payment schedule. History and facts prove the BPA rates were lowered in conjunction with the extension, by the edict of Secretary Udall of BPA into Southern Idaho. The rates were lowered below the actual cost of producing the power--this was "justification" "facts" and "proof" for the extension of BPA into Idaho.

When the "surplus" has been used for these political purposes, the rates then must be raised to a realistic level. By this time of course, the entire manipulations have served their purposes and by subterfuge, subsidised socialistic electric power has been entrenched in a region where it was never needed.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ JAMES R. KIRCHER, M. D.

JRK:hd

June 8, 1964

James R. Kircher, M. D.  
Suite 6, Snow Building  
Burley, Idaho

Dear Dr. Kircher:

I just thought you would like to know that I have been receiving some very ignorant, slanderous, and stupid letters from someone in Burley who is using your name and stationery.

I wanted you to be fully aware of this, and maybe you can prevent this person from writing to me. I am sure that the type of letters he is writing reflect no credit upon anyone.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Ralph Harding  
Member of Congress

RH:kn

June 12, 1964

Ralph Harding, M. C.  
House Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Congressman Harding:

Thank you for your letter of June 8, 1964. I wish to inform you that the stationery is mine, the letters are mine, and the signature on them is mine. Inasmuch as in your opinion they are "very ignorant, slanderous, and stupid" I wish to assure you that I have opinions also regarding the nature of certain letters in answer to mine from a Congressman who is using your name and stationery.

I assure you also that it is still not just my privilege and right, but my duty to write my congressional delegation, even to criticize them if I feel so inclined.

"To be born in freedom is an accident; to live in freedom is a privilege; to die in freedom is a duty and an obligation."

Sincerely yours,

/s/JAMES R. KIRCHER, M. D.

JRK:hd

A P P E N D I X   V I I I

HANSEN ELECTION MATERIALS

LETTER SENT TO CONVENTION DELEGATES

May 21, 1964  
P.O. Box 2093  
Pocatello, Idaho

Dear Fellow Idahoan:

I wish there were time to write a personal letter. I have tried to visit with as many of our good party workers as possible in the short time since I entered the Congressional race. I sincerely hope I can get to see everyone in the next few weeks.

I'm sure you will be quick to agree that we have not had open minded representation in our Second District Congressional office since the G.O.P. lost it four years ago. Instead, there have been frequent immature and undignified outbursts on issues that have no relevance to the position held and served no purpose except to cripple Idaho and her economy by ineffective representation and continual promotion of federal encroachments into our lives.

I'm very concerned about this deplorable condition and feel keenly about giving Idaho the kind of representation she needs and deserves. I feel that things are such that we can give you the best chance for victory possible. There are many hurdles, conventions, primary and the general election. I pledge to you the hardest working campaign possible--please lend us your support all the way.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ George V. Hansen

INFORMATION SENT TO CONVENTION DELEGATES

George V. Hansen for Congress

Dear Fellow Republican:

Greetings and best wishes for a successful year!

We urge your support for the candidacy of George V. Hansen for U. S. Representative as the G.O.P. candidate most likely to win the 1964 general election.

GEORGE BELIEVES:

...in equal rights and equal justice for all tempered with responsibility and honesty.

...that faith in the individual is the only true foundation for our national strength.

...as Lincoln did, that a government should do for its citizens only those things that have to be done, but cannot be done by individuals for themselves.

...that our national stability depends entirely upon the basic constitutional principles that unite us.

...that free enterprise and encouragement of individual incentive give this nation an economic system second to none on earth.

...that sound economic growth is generated only by a balanced budget and a stable dollar.

...that Americans have an enduring responsibility to make hard decisions unflinchingly when our nation's security is threatened by aggression.

GEORGE PLEDGES:

- \*\*Support of FREE ENTERPRISE
- \*\*Support of PROSPERITY BASED on living wage--fair value--good business climate
- \*\*To promote Idaho's economy by development of NATURAL RESOURCES AND WATER POTENTIAL
- \*\*ASSISTANCE TO THE FARMER and the FARM ECONOMY without restrictive government controls.
- \*\*Every effort towards good LABOR-BUSINESS relations
- \*\*To ENCOURAGE LOCAL AND STATE RESPONSIBILITY to minimize demand for federal encroachments.
- \*\*To work for BETTER COOPERATION between federal, state and local governments for increased efficiency and service
- \*\*Effort to gain REVISED FOREIGN-AID AND REALISTIC FOREIGN POLICY
- \*\*Support of active programs AGAINST COMMUNISM

We thank you for your consideration and will certainly appreciate your help in making this necessary change in Idaho's representation in Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours

GEORGE HANSEN FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE



PRIMARY ELECTION ENDORSEMENTS

"The primary election is August 4th. This is the time to give serious thought to selecting the right man to represent Idaho in Congress.

"I have had the opportunity to know George Hansen well. He is a most dynamic campaigner and I sincerely believe his principles, qualifications, and untiring enthusiasm make him the best choice for this important office.

"I earnestly ask you to help him to become our next U. S. Congressman."

A. W. "Tony" Naegle  
President Pro Tem of the  
Idaho State Senate

"I know George Hansen well and I had the good fortune to watch him in the last primary election when he was running for U. S. Senator. I have seen and heard him in several meetings. I like his conservatism, his enthusiasm and his campaigning ability.

"George is civic-minded and has held many elected positions of responsibility. It is going to require an aggressive, hard driving campaign to be successful in November.

"I sincerely believe that George Hansen is clearly the best qualified man to win and be an effective congressman for Idaho."

John Sanborn  
U. S. Representative  
Idaho (1947-1950)

Table 56--George Hansen Campaign Schedule

Date	A.M.	P.M.	Eve.
Sept. 15	Pocatello	Pocatello	Pocatello
16	Boise	Boise	Blackfoot
17	Fremont	Jefferson	Pocatello
18	Rupert	Fairfield	Hailey
19	Arco	Montpelier and St. Charles Celebration	
20	Sunday		
21	Montpelier	Montpelier	Twin Falls (Pocatello)
22	Amer. Falls-Rupert	Burley	Pocatello
23	Idaho Falls	Driggs	Driggs
24	Boise	Boise	Boise
25	Fremont	Fremont	Fremont
26	Pocatello		
27	Sunday	Gooding	
28	Bingham	Bingham	Aberdeen
29	Jefferson	Jefferson (Rot.)	Jefferson
30	Madison	Madison	Madison
Oct. 1	Malad	Downey	Pocatello
2	Twin Falls	Filer	Buhl
3	Pocatello	Soda Springs	Soda Springs
4	Sunday		
5	Blackfoot	Shelley	Idaho Falls
6	Boise	Boise	Boise
7	Boise		Mountain Home
8	Pocatello	Pocatello	Pocatello
9	Rupert	Rupert	Rupert
10	-----Pocatello and Raxburg-----		
11	Sunday		
12	Preston	Preston	Preston
13	Burley	Burley	Burley
14	Twin Falls	Twin Falls	Twin Falls
15	Caribou	Caribou	Pocatello
16	Idaho Falls	Idaho Falls	Idaho Falls
17	Boise	Boise	Boise
18	Sunday		
19	Boise		Arco-Pocatello
20	Clark-Madison-Jefferson		Idaho Falls
21	Gooding	Gooding	Jerome
22	Twin Falls		Shoshone
23	Owyhee	Boise	Boise
24	Boise		Fairfield
25	Sunday		
26	Rigby		Idaho Falls
27	Twin Falls	Twin Falls	Twin Falls
28	Hailey	Burley	Rupert
29	Blackfoot	Pocatello	American Falls
30	Boise	Boise	Boise
31	Boise		Twin Falls
Nov. 1	Sunday		
2	CARAVAN	CARAVAN	CARAVAN
3	Election		

October 23, 1964

Dear Fellow Idahoans:

I am George Hansen and I would like to be your Congressman from the Second District.

My candidacy was prompted by a strong feeling that the present representative from this district has not fairly and adequately served the people of this district. In fact, I feel that he has been taken in by interests outside of Idaho that are contrary to those of our district. He has ignored and neglected the very people that put their trust in him and elected him to this high office.

Let's look at the record:

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT** - My opponent has supported and campaigned for the extension of B.P.A. into this district which would rob local communities of much needed property taxes they receive from privately-owned utilities.

**LIVESTOCK AND AGRICULTURE** - Agriculture in Idaho is in a serious depressed state. My opponent voted for the 1962 Trade Extension Act which has allowed meat imports to increase, helping to drive down prices for Idaho beef. Wheat prices are off--almost any segment of Idaho agriculture is off. Yet my opponent brags about his seat on the Agricultural Committee but fails to discourage legislation that is harmful to Idaho.

**IDAHO ECONOMY** - In addition to the depressed agricultural community, my opponent has stood silent while Mountain Home Air Force Base and the A.E.C. in Idaho Falls has been cut back or suffered losses. Two years ago he said he could bring government contracts to Pocatello at the old Naval Ordnance Plant which was taken over by a private corporation. Yet it is now standing idle, nothing more than a warehouse.

**NATIONAL AFFAIRS** - My opponent has constantly voted to aid communist nations. On May 20, 1964, he cast the decisive vote to allow export subsidies on food shipped to communist nations--the vote was 187 to 186. To date the sale of wheat to Russia has cost you 43 million dollars. He has voted three times to allow loans to communist nations.

**SALARY** - This summer he voted himself a salary increase of \$7500 and to exempt \$3000 of it from taxes, along with a lifetime pension. This was done at a time when our National debt is at an all time high and must be paid through our taxes.

I think it is time to bring my opponent back to Idaho. It is quite evident that he has lost his way and no longer has a strong feeling or understanding of Idaho's problems.

Your vote for me November 3 will do this. I certainly solicit and will appreciate your support.

Sincerely,

George Hansen

A P P E N D I X IX

LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Table 57--1960 Campaign Contribution Reports, Ralph Harding

Date	Contributor	Location	Out of State	In State
10/27	Amalgamated Political Ed. Comm.	New York, N. Y.	200.00	
10/27	International Brotherhood of Electric Workers Comm. on Pol. Ed.	Washington, D. C.	250.00	
10/7	National Comm. for Eff. Congress	New York, N. Y.	350.00	
10/25	National Comm. for Eff. Congress	New York, N. Y.	500.00	
10/25	National Comm. for Eff. Congress	New York, N. Y.	350.00	
11/4	National Comm. for Eff. Congress	New York, N. Y.	500.00	
11/2	United Steelworkers	Pittsburgh, Pa.	500.00	
11/3	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	Denver, Colorado	200.00	
10/21	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	Denver, Colorado	156.00	
5/24	COPE AFL-CIO	Washington, D. C.	5,000.00	
6/24	Idaho State COPE	Washington, D. C.	3,500.00	
9/8	COPE	Washington, D. C.	9,000.00	
11/3	COPE	Washington, D. C.	500.00	
10/23	Machinist Non-Partisan Pol. League	Washington, D. C.	250.00	
	TOTAL		\$21,256.00	

SOURCE: Post-Election Statement of 1960 for Ralph R. Harding, filed with Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Table 58--Unions contributing to Harding 1962 Campaign

Date	Union	Location	Out of State	In State
	Committee for Good Government	Detroit, Michigan	500.00	
	National Committee for an Effective Congress	New York City	850.00	
	Rural Political Education Committee	Denver, Colorado	500.00	
	Sheet Metal Workers COPE	Washington, D. C.	500.00	
	United Steelworkers	Spokane, Washington	500.00	

SOURCE: Post-Election Statement of 1962 for Ralph R. Harding, filed with Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. (Partial Listing)



Table 59--Unions Contributing to Harding 1964 Campaign

Date	Union	Location	Out of State	In State
8/13	Nat'l Rural Electrical Coop Asso.	Washington, D. C.	25.00	
8/13	AFL-CIO	Brooklyn, N. Y.	250.00	
8/19	Jim Patton, Nat'l Farmers Union	Washington, D. C.	100.00	
8/31	APEC, Jacob Potfsky	New York, N. Y.	200.00	
9/11	IBEW-COPE	Washington, D. C.	250.00	
9/23	Meatcutters & Butchers Workmen	Chicago, Illinois	250.00	
9/23	ILGWU	New York, N. Y.	250.00	
10/5	NCEC	Washington, D. C.	2,000.00	
10/6	NCEC	Washington, D. C.	500.00	
10/23	NCEC	Washington, D. C.	250.00	
10/23	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	Denver, Colorado	250.00	
10/23	RPEC Custodians	Denver, Colorado	250.00	
10/	Industrial Union Department	Washington, D. C.	500.00	
10/	International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers	Washington, D. C.	250.00	
10/	IBEW-COPE	Washington, D. C.	100.00	
10/	UAW-COPE	Detroit, Michigan	500.00	
10/	U.S. Steelworkers of America	Spokane, Washington	500.00	
10/	Nat'l Comm. for Eff. Congress	Washington, D. C.	1,000.00	
9/17	Trainmen's Political League	Bannock County		200.00
10/5	Railway Political League	Elmore County		150.00
10/	Brotherhood of R.R. Trainmen	Pocatello, Idaho		217.00
10/	Machinists Non-Partisan Pol. League	Pocatello, Idaho		500.00
10/	United Brotherhood of Carpenters	Boise, Idaho		500.00
10/	IBEW	Boise, Idaho		200.00
10/	Sheet Metal Workers	Boise, Idaho		500.00
	TOTALS		\$7,425.00	\$2,267.00
	GRAND TOTAL:	\$9,692.00		

SOURCE: Post-Election Statement of 1964 for Ralph R. Harding, filed with Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

A P P E N D I X X

REAPPORTIONMENT

## RALPH HARDING'S VIEWS ON REAPPORTIONMENT\*

I feel that the recent Supreme Court decision and opinion that both houses of a State Legislature must be apportioned on the basis of population was too far-reaching. I believe that the people of each state should have the right to determine what kind of legislature they want to function in their state government. If the majority of the citizens of a state want a unicameral (one house) legislature such as the Nebraska State Legislature, that is their right. However, if the majority of the people of a state decide they want a bicameral (two house) legislature patterned after the United States Congress with one house based on population and one house based on counties, units of local government or legislative districts; that is also their right. For this reason I will support a bill or constitutional amendment to make it clear to everyone including the Supreme Court that this is a matter for the people of the individual states to decide.

For this reason during the session of Congress just ended I declared my support for the Dirksen-Mansfield proposal which would have placed a two-year moratorium or waiting period on the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in order to give Congress and the States time to take necessary and appropriate action to guarantee the right of the states to determine what form of state legislature they desire. Unfortunately, Congress adjourned without final action on the Dirksen-Mansfield proposal. However, I will continue to support it in the next Congress.

The other proposal offered in the last Congress was a proposed Constitutional amendment by Congressman Tuck from Virginia which would have removed all jurisdiction over legislature apportionment from U.S. Courts, both District and Supreme. I considered this proposal just as far reaching and unreasonable as the court decision it was attempting to nullify.

For this reason, I voted against the Tuck Bill. I believe that Americans of every state and of every race, religion, and color must always have an APPEAL to the U. S. Supreme Court in all matters affecting their lives.

To summarize, I feel that Supreme Court decision of one person-one vote was too far-reaching and for that reason I will support the Dirksen-Mansfield approach to a moratorium and the necessary legislation or Constitutional Amendment to see that the people of each State retain the right to a legislature of their choice. However, I believe that legislatures should be apportioned on a fair and honorable basis and I do support the future rights of American citizens to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court if their legislature is unfairly proportioned so for this reason I opposed the Tuck Bill which would have denied citizens this right of appeal to the Supreme Court in these matters.

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\*Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), "Candidates Give Views on Supreme Court Apportionment Decision," October, 1964, XVII, No. 1, pp. 6, 8.

## GEORGE HANSEN'S VIEWS ON REAPPORTIONMENT\*

Idaho's farms are the backbone of our prosperity and deserve fair representation.

One hundred seventy-five years have passed since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. This was the most significant government document in all history. It demonstrated concern for the protection of all the people's rights and interests, whether they are in the majority or in the minority, the great or small, the rich or poor.

Probably the most remarkable feature of this instrument was the provision for a legislative body divided into two branches: a Senate based on geographic representation, a House based on population. This provision represents one of the delicate balances which brought about the union of the states.

The Supreme Court recently handed down a 6-3 decision declaring that the equal protection clause of the Federal Constitution requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis. This was a result of petitions filed through the courts by citizens desiring a change in the concept of representation in state government. Among these are some who are on record as contending that the U. S. Constitution is an 18th Century agrarian document. The majority decision could well be a result of this thinking.

The constitution sets forth carefully limited powers and when it was adopted by the 13 original colonies along with the Bill of Rights, the Tenth Amendment clearly acknowledged the sovereignty of each state in the areas of jurisdiction not specifically granted to the federal government. With this in mind, I am convinced that the recent Supreme Court decision has openly and clearly violated the right of the states toward self-determination and self-government.

To the contrary, my opponent has openly favored court-ordered reapportionment and is willing to grant Idaho's Legislature no more than an extension of time to get it done. His voting record and statements about bills before the House and Senate have clearly shown this. In fact, his voting record, his interests, and the large percentage of his campaign funds lie with people and organizations outside the borders of our state.

The majority opinion in the Supreme Court's action on reapportionment embraces the so-called "one person, one vote" doctrine. A dissenting opinion by Justice Potter Stewart said that the decision "finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or prior decision of this Court or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union," and if allowed to stand, some 44 or 50 states must revise their legislative apportionment to comply with it.

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\*Idaho Farm Bureau News (Pocatello), "Candidates Give Views on Supreme Court Apportionment Decision," October, 1964, XVII, No. 1, pp. 8, 11.

Justice Stewart also stated, "what the court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 states...without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each state...stemming from distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population, and distinct political heritage."

The majority decision potentially challenges the very foundation of national, state, municipal and county government. This is the situation that confronts us.

In Idaho we are faced with a real problem. It has been clearly understood that the State House of Representatives in Boise should be apportioned on the basis of population, and have periodic readjustment to minimize inequities. It has been equally understood that the Idaho State Senate would be based on geography. In this way the handful of more heavily populated areas would most assuredly have control of the House, and the rural areas could undoubtedly control the Senate. Both the urban and rural populations would have equal power. To now give the few more heavily populated areas control of both houses of the Idaho State Legislature could be disastrous for the remainder of the state.

For illustrative purposes let's consider what the picture might be if this reapportionment theory of one person-one vote were to be applied to the U.S. Senate.

We immediately see that Idaho would have to be grouped with several other sparsely populated states to even gain one U. S. Senator. Having to share a representative with all the possibilities of conflicting interests in a block of states such as this would give us almost no voice in the Senate. A heavily populated state such as California would have several Senators and great power. Under this system how could we defend ourselves against such a thing as piracy of our Idaho water resources by such states as California?

Reapportionment of the Idaho Senate could create similar inequities.

Granted, the Idaho House of Representatives has "been badly apportioned for years and is only now moving toward giving the more populated areas their proper voice in government. However, the answer to some often stated inequities in the State Senate lies not in reapportionment and destruction of geographical representation. This concept must be preserved.

Clearly, immediate action is necessary on the part of the states and the Congress to examine the issue and conduct hearings on a constitutional amendment to rectify the Supreme Court's decision.

Idaho must have a Congressman who will fairly represent the best interests of our state and our people, a Congressman who will work diligently to protect our rightful voice in all levels of government.

A P P E N D I X X I

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



## COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

October 2, 1964

Memorandum to: Persons interested in pragmatic measures to ease international tensions

In re: The Congressional elections, foreign policy, and the Council for a Livable World

We are sending you this election memorandum on the assumption that you may be interested in joining with us in a concerted effort to halt the arms race and avoid nuclear war--the program to which the Council for a Livable World is dedicated.

The Council for a Livable World was set up in 1962 on the basis of proposals of the late Leo Szilard--famed nuclear physicist and recipient of the 1959 Atoms for Peace award. The Council's purpose is to support members of the Congress and the Administration--and their number is by no means negligible--who want to work toward an enlightened foreign policy. The Council's primary aim is to bring to Washington an ever-increasing number of Senators and Congressmen who understand the needs of this nuclear age and who are willing to exert effective pressure to achieve responsible measures of arms control and disarmament.

Our plan for accomplishing this aim is simple. It is based on the fact that 10,000 people, having an average income of \$10,000 and willing to devote one or two per cent of their income to political campaign contributions could provide an amount of one million to two million dollars a year toward the election of good Senators and Representatives. Such amounts, if wisely spent, could have profound effects on the composition of Congress and on its attitudes. The Council determines those contests in which its supporters' contributions could have a significant effect and acts as an agent for transmitting checks from its supporters, made out directly to the candidate.

In the current campaign, there is urgent need for the kind of support the Council can provide. In some states the Republican candidate for President is being supported loudly and effectively. In these states Congressional candidates of both major parties who oppose his views are under strong and sometimes extreme attack by opponents who may have exceptionally large funds at their disposal and who, in some instances have had political organizers brought in from outside the state. The Council is recommending that support now be concentrated on the campaigns of four candidates who are confronted with just this situation, and whose elections would materially contribute to a Congress which can deal with foreign affairs on a rational and considered basis:

Gale W. McGee, for re-election to the Senate from Wyoming;  
 Frank E. Moss, for re-election to the Senate from Utah;  
 Joseph M. Montoya, for election to the Senate from New Mexico;  
 Ralph R. Harding, for re-election to the House from Idaho.

How effective can support to these candidates through the Council be? In the 1962 Congressional elections the Council recommended to those who sought its advice that their campaign contributions be concentrated on three Senatorial candidates. The Council transmitted over \$20,000 to George McGovern, former Director of President Kennedy's Food for Peace Program, who was running for the Senate in South Dakota. He was elected with a margin of a few hundred votes, the first Democratic Senator in South Dakota in 26 years. To two other Senatorial candidates, the Council transmitted over \$10,000 and \$4,000 respectively, and both of them were elected. In addition, on a continuing basis in Washington the Council organizes a highly regarded series of seminars for Congressmen and their aides on the vital questions of the nuclear age, and brings together in Washington scientists, high officials from the Executive Branch of the government, and other knowledgeable individuals to discuss these problems with members of Congress.

It was the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 that served to remind us that the dangers of nuclear war are neither remote or abstract. This realization has propelled the major nuclear powers into the first arms control agreements--the hot-line between Moscow and Washington and the partial test ban treaty. More recently, unilateral actions on both sides have resulted in a slowing down of the rate of accumulation of thermonuclear weapons and in minor cuts on our respective military budgets, with a detectable relaxation in the international atmosphere.

Today both sides have reached a mutual deterrent in terms of thermonuclear weapons. Neither side can hope to "win" a nuclear war. This is not, of course, a stable deterrent. Technology never stands still nor can such weapons be withheld from development by an increasing number of powers unless the major nuclear powers, in conjunction with other powers, arrive at a workable and verifiable agreement limiting the numbers and types of thermonuclear weapons.

But no matter how many sensible ideas are advanced in this matter, without the support of a larger number of intelligent, forward-thinking Senators and Congressmen, all efforts to achieve reasonable measures of arms control can be blocked indefinitely.

If such men are to win in November--and the Council feels it is extremely important that they win--they must receive all the support we can muster. We, therefore, urge that you now join the dedicated minority who are Supporters of the Council. We realize we are asking for a substantial commitment--two per cent of your annual income, or, if this is not possible, one per cent, \$100, or whatever you can afford. We suggest that you contribute half of your commitment directly to a recommended candidate, half to the general funds of the Council for political and other purposes. (We are requesting the contributions to the general funds of the Council so that we may have the flexibility

to make contributions that may prove to be critical in this election.) We make this request in the belief that your contribution, together with those of the scientists, scholars professional persons, and others who already support the activities of the Council, can have decisive effects.

We enclose a memorandum to provide you with more detailed information on the candidates, a reprint of a recent article from Science magazine on the Council, and a questionnaire for your convenience in replying. We will be glad to provide you with additional information on the Council, including a copy of our 1965 Action Program. But if you share our aims and our enthusiasm for this practical method of implementing them, we urge you to become a Supporter now, and contribute toward the election of a candidate who will support pragmatic measures to end international tensions.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Bernard T. Feld  
President

BTF:mkc

Enclosures

"PEACE" GROUP CONTRIBUTING TO EIGHT PIVOTAL CAMPAIGNS\*  
 "Council for a Livable World"  
 by  
 Fulton Lewis Jr.

Funds supplied by a Washington-based peace group could tip the political scales in eight pivotal contests next month. The semi-secret Council for a Livable World is now soliciting more than a million dollars to aid the campaigns of eight "peace-oriented" Democrats.

Council leaders have shown considerable acumen in selection of their political targets. They are avoiding the populous Northeast to concentrate on the smaller states of the Midwest and West where a political buck goes a lot further.

Senators seeking re-election with Livable World support are Gale McGee, Wyo.; Albert Gore, Tenn.; Eugene McCarthy, Minn.; Frank Moss, Utah; Phil Hart, Mich.; and Edmond Muskie, Maine. Council aid is also earmarked for Reps. Joseph Montoya, N.M.; and Ralph Harding, Idaho. Montoya is moving up the political ladder to challenge Republican Sen. Ed. Mecham. Harding is seeking re-election; he will oppose GOP Sen. Len Jordan in 1966.

The Council was born in June, 1962. Five months later it claimed to have elected its first senator, George McGovern of South Dakota. McGovern, an ultra-liberal Democrat, received \$22,000 in Livable World funds. He won election by fewer than 600 votes.

Dr. Bernard Feld a Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor who succeeded Szilard as Livable World president feels that such a kitty could work political miracles: "Such amounts, if wisely spent, could have profound effects on composition of Congress and on its attitudes as well as those of the Administration."

Szilard in 1961 set up two groups to work for general and complete disarmament. The organizations bore similar titles: The Council for Abolishing War and the Lobby for Abolishing War. A year later, in June, 1962, Szilard merged the two groups into the Council for a Livable World. By the year's end, Szilard claimed 2,500 members, each of whom was expected to kick in two per cent of his annual salary. The council now seeks 10,000 members, each with an average income of \$10,000. By taxing each member one or two per cent of his annual salary, the group would raise from \$1 to \$2 million a year

In the years after World War II, Szilard fought development of the hydrogen bomb and supported J. Robert Oppenheimer in his unsuccessful fight to retain security clearance.

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\*Human Events, Fulton Lewis, Jr., "Peace Group Contributing to Eight Pivotal Campaigns," (Washington, D.C.), October 25, 1964, p. 2.

It was during this period that Szilard began his long correspondence with Soviet leaders. Over State Department objections he wrote, first to Stalin and Molotov, then to Khrushchev. Pen pals Szilard and Khrushchev huddled in a two-hour closed-door New York conference in 1960.

Szilard in 1957 joined the philosopher, Bertrand Russell, and the millionaire industrialist, Cyrus Eaton, to sponsor a controversial series of East-West scientific confabs. The meetings, held at Eaton's plush Pugwash, Nova Scotia, retreat, were termed a Soviet propaganda coup by the Senate International Security Subcommittee.

NOTE: The Council has seized advantage of a legal loophole to hide its political activities. Livable World members are asked to make their checks payable to specific candidates then forward them to the council's Washington office. As a political organization, the Council technically does not contribute to a candidate; it merely recommends support and serves as a political middle-man. The group is therefore, exempt from provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act that require detailed financial records to be filed with the Clerk of the House.



COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD  
 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
 Washington, D.C. 20036

September 24, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO: Persons interested in the Council for a Livable World  
 SUBJECT: 1964 Congressional Elections

This memorandum will bring you up to date and provide information on the candidates the Council recommends supporting in the 1964 congressional elections.

The Council has already recommended support of the following candidates:

Gale W. McGee, for re-election to the Senate from Wyoming;  
 Frank E. Moss, for re-election to the Senate from Utah;  
 Joseph M. Montoya, for election to the Senate from New Mexico;  
 Ralph R. Harding, for re-election to the House from Idaho;  
 Edmund S. Muskie, for re-election to the Senate from Maine;  
 Eugene J. McCarthy, for re-election to the Senate from Minnesota;  
 Albert Gore, for re-election to the Senate from Tennessee;  
 Philip A. Hart, for re-election to the Senate from Michigan.

In the judgment of the Directors of the Council, all of these candidates are worthy of your support, and the Council would be pleased to transmit contributions submitted in their behalf. However, on the basis of the assessment of the status of their campaigns and of their relative needs at this time, the Council recommends that priority should now be given to support of the campaigns of McGee, Moss, Montoya, and Harding. Information on each of the candidates follows.

RALPH E. HARDING, candidate for re-election to the House of Representatives from Idaho

The Council again recommends support for Congressman Ralph E. Harding of Idaho, a vigorous and effective member of the House who faces an extremely conservative opponent in this election. If Congressman Harding retains his House seat, he will be the logical choice to run for the Senate in 1966 against the very conservative incumbent Senator Len B. Jordan (who, for example, voted against the Test-Ban Treaty) whose term will then expire. Congressman Harding's record is excellent: he has been a strong supporter of foreign assistance programs, was one of the original supporters of the Peace Corps, and is a staunch advocate of the United Nations.

Congressman Harding faces an especially difficult campaign for re-election. Idaho has been the scene of considerable right-wing activity during the past two years and Harding's opponent this year is an extremely conservative Goldwater supporter. In addition, Senator Jordan recognizes that Harding is his most probable opponent in 1966 and is dedicating his office to Harding's defeat in the current House race.



Opposing Congressman Harding is George Hansen, a Goldwater supporter, who has stated, for example: "Vacillation, appeasement, and even treason are all too often found in American Foreign policy...trading with the enemy is unwise, unsound and unconstitutional and should be completely discouraged...Our objective must be victory over the red menace." Of the Birch Society, "Inasmuch as these people are good conscientious citizens, and are going to have to support somebody, I would accept their support the same as that of any other organization."

A P P E N D I X X I I

QUESTIONNAIRES

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your marital status? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Number of children \_\_\_\_\_
4. In what state (or country) were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you were not born in Idaho, when did you first come here to live? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many years of education do you have (please underline)?
  - a. less than 12 years
  - b. high school graduate
  - c. some college
  - d. college graduate
  - e. some graduate work
  - f. advanced degree (i.e., LLB, MD, etc.) List \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Place of father's birth? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Extent of father's education? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What was your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
11. How long have you lived in your present home? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do you own your own home? \_\_\_\_\_
13. How long have you lived in your present community? \_\_\_\_\_
14. With regard to your Church membership, were you (please underline)
  - a. born in the church?
  - b. a convert before age 18?
  - c. a convert after age 18?

If your answer above was (a), then were your parents

  - a. born in the Church?
  - b. converts before age 18?
  - c. converts after age 18?
15. What is your mission experience? (please underline)
  - a. full-time mission
  - b. stake mission
  - c. no mission

16. What Church positions have you held in the past five years?

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_

17. What was your Church position during the 1964 election campaign?

18. How long had you held that position? \_\_\_\_\_

19. What are your community activities? (Please list, i.e., PTA, Elks, fund drives, et.)

	Very Active	Active	Inactive
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____

20. With which political party do you identify yourself? \_\_\_\_\_

21. How strongly do you identify yourself with your party? (please underline)

- a. weak
- b. moderately strong
- c. strong

22. Within your party, do you consider yourself a (please underline),

- a. liberal?
- b. moderate?
- c. conservative?

23. Did you contribute financially to a political party in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Do you hold an office in a political party? \_\_\_\_\_ (during 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, what? \_\_\_\_\_ (what? \_\_\_\_\_

25. Did you vote in the 1964 General Election? \_\_\_\_\_
26. For whom did you vote in the 1964 Congressional Election? (please underline)
- a. Ralph R. Harding
  - b. George V. Hansen
27. What was your reaction to Ralph Harding's speech in Congress in 1963 concerning Ezra Taft Benson? (please underline)
- a. approved
  - b. disapproved
  - c. indifferent or undecided

Please comment \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

28. Did the Harding-Benson incident affect your vote between Harding and Hansen? \_\_\_\_\_
29. Why did you vote for the one you did? (please underline)
- a. farm problems and programs
  - b. reclamation issues (Teton-Fremont Dam, etc.)
  - c. personal acquaintance
  - d. general principles and philosophy of the candidate
  - e. liberal-conservative issues
  - f. issues involving the Church
  - g. government contracts (AEC, Mtn. Home AFB, etc.)

Please comment \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## TO BE FILLED IN BY STAKE OFFICIALS ONLY:

1. How many members were there in your stake in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is the nature of your stake? (please underline)
  - a. all rural
  - b. rural and towns under 5,000
  - c. rural and towns over 5,000
  - d. all within city limits
3. Percentage of stake who were active members in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Use figure corresponding to total tithe-payers in stake)
4. According to your judgment, what is the approximate political affiliation of your stake?
  - a. Democratic \_\_\_\_\_%
  - b. Republican \_\_\_\_\_%
  - c. Independent \_\_\_\_\_%
  - d. Non-voting \_\_\_\_\_%
5. With regard to Ralph Harding's speech in Congress in 1963 concerning Ezra Taft Benson, what was the reaction of your stake membership, according to your judgment?
  - a. approved \_\_\_\_\_%
  - b. disapproved \_\_\_\_\_%
  - c. indifferent or undecided \_\_\_\_\_%
6. According to your memory, for whom were the most votes cast in your stake in the 1964 Congressional election? (please underline)
  - a. Ralph R. Harding
  - b. George V. Hansen
7. With regard to the previous question, what were the underlying reasons for your stake membership in voting for whom they did, according to your judgment?
 

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## TO BE FILLED IN BY WARD AND BRANCH OFFICIALS ONLY:

1. How many members of your ward were there in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is the nature of your ward? (please underline)
  - a. all rural
  - b. rural and town
  - c. all within city limits
3. Percentage of ward who were active members in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Use figure corresponding to total tithe-payers in ward)
4. According to your judgment, what is the approximate political affiliation of your ward?
 

a. Democratic	%
b. Republican	%
c. Independent	%
d. Non-voting	%
5. With regard to Ralph Harding's speech in Congress in 1963 concerning Ezra Taft Benson, what was the reaction of your ward membership, according to your judgment?
 

a. approved	%
b. disapproved	%
c. indifferent or undecided	%
6. According to your judgment and memory, for whom were the most votes cast in your ward in the 1964 Congressional election? (please underline)
  - a. Ralph R. Harding
  - b. George V. Hansen
7. With regard to the previous question, what were the underlying reasons for your ward membership in voting for whom they did, according to your judgment?

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## GRASS-ROOTS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_
2. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_
5. With which party do you identify yourself:
- a. Democratic \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Republican \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Independent \_\_\_\_\_
6. Did you vote in the 1964 General Election in Idaho? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What do you think was the important campaign issue (or issues) in the 1964 Congressional election contest between the then incumbent, Ralph R. Harding, and the Republican opponent, George V. Hansen?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
8. For whom did you vote in 1964? Ralph Harding \_\_\_\_\_ George Hansen \_\_\_\_\_
9. Why did you vote for the one you did? (If same as No. 7, write same.)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you feel your personal views are similar to other people in your area?
- Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Listed below are several topics relative to the 1964 Idaho Congressional campaign between Ralph R. Harding and George V. Hansen.

Please indicate (with an "X") which of these you felt was the most important to you in that election.

If others are also felt to be important, please put a check by each of them.

- My personal acquaintance with the candidate
- General principles and philosophy of the candidate
- Personality and personal appeal of the candidate
- Endorsed, recommended or referred by Union, other groups or individuals
- Influence of campaign, speeches, T.V., radio, newspapers, etc.
- Liberal-Conservative issues (Big Government, Social Security, National debt, etc.)
- Reclamation issues (Teton-Fremont Dam, Representative Michael Kirwan, Burns' Creek, Ririe Project, etc.)
- Farm problems and programs (Wheat referendum, wheat sale to Russia, beet acreage, potato controls, cattle and sheep supports, etc.)
- Religious issues (controversy regarding Ezra Taft Benson, etc.)
- Public-Private Electric Power issue (Bonneville Power - B.P.A., R.E.A., Idaho Power Company, Simplot and Monsanto, etc.)
- Government contracts (A.E.C. Mountain Home Air Force Base, etc.)
- John Birch Society
- Council for a Livable World
- Others (Please specify)
- 
- 
- 

Comments

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE  
1964 IDAHO SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

An Abstract  
Presented to the  
Department of Political Science  
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

By  
Dean Maurice Hansen

August, 1967



## ABSTRACT

The Problem---After having been elected to Congress from Idaho's Second Congressional District in 1960 by a record vote, and re-elected in 1962, Democrat Ralph Harding was defeated in 1964 by Republican George Hansen in the face of a national Democratic landslide. The objective of this thesis was to analyze the Harding-Hansen contest and attempt to identify the factors which produced the Hansen victory. The methodology employed in this analysis included library research, a comprehensive survey of newspapers serving the Second District which covered the congressional race, correspondence and interviews with candidates, campaign managers and other involved individuals and groups, a grass-roots questionnaire among District voters, a questionnaire to Mormon Stake Presidents and Bishops in the District, and interviews with six Mormon Stake Presidents in the District.

The Findings---As a Democratic liberal, elected from a traditionally conservative and Republican District, Harding's election in 1960 was chiefly the product of a tremendous personal campaign, with overtones of anticipated reclamation projects and a strong religious identification to the large Mormon population in the District.

On his part in 1964, Harding's defeat was in turn largely the result of (1) the general nature of his campaign, which (a) lacked Harding's vigorous personal campaign efforts among the voters as in his prior campaigns, (b) departed more and more from the anticipated promotion of his congressional record and became geared against the

John Birch Society and extremism rather than his Republican opponent, (c) underestimated Hansen's campaign effort and growing strength among the voters, and (d) suffered from Congressman Kirwan's threat of withholding reclamation funds if Harding were not re-elected, the publishing of the Harding-Dr. Kircher letters that suggested Harding's immaturity in office, and a continuing "out-of-state" charge reflecting Harding's dependence on non-Idaho political support;

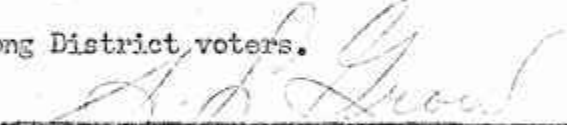
(2) an increasing realization by District voters that Harding's political philosophy did not seem representative of his District;

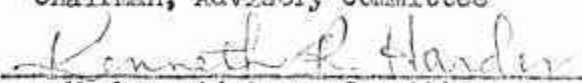
(3) a pre-election encounter with Mormon Apostle Ezra Taft Benson which counteracted the previous appeal to District Mormon voters; and

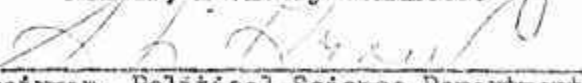
(4) his inability to consolidate his support among District farmers who were becoming increasingly alienated from farm policies and programs of the Democratic Administration. Harding received the strong endorsements of organized labor, the Council for a Livable World, and many visiting public figures. He also received the "negative" endorsement of the Idaho Farm Bureau, Private power companies, and the John Birch Society.

On the other side, Hansen conducted an untiring and effective personal campaign among the voters and also organized a strong grass-roots campaign organization. By an aggressive advocacy of conservative views, Hansen kept Harding on the defensive and took full advantage of Harding's problems among District voters.

APPROVED:

  
Chairman, Advisory Committee

  
Member, Advisory Committee

  
Chairman, Political Science Department