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GUEST: THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
United States Senate
(Democrat of Minnesota)

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS: Paul Niven
CBS News

Marquis Childs
St. Louis Post Dispatch

Martin Agronsky
CBS News

PRODUCERS: Prentiss Childs
Ellen Wadley

DIRECTOR: Robert Vitarelli

ANNOUNCER: From Washington, D.C., Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, will FACE THE NATION. In a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview, Senator Humphrey will be questioned by: CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky; Marquis Childs, Washington Bureau Chief of the St. Louis Post Dispatch. To lead the questioning, here is CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, welcome to FACE THE NATION.

President Johnson's action last week in narrowing the field of Democratic Vice Presidential possibilities seems to make you the clear front-runner. We'd like to ask you today about that situation, about the campaign that lies ahead, and, also, about the attack reported this morning on a U.S. destroyer by three torpedo boats off the coast of North Vietnam.

We'll begin in just one minute.

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, just before we went on the air, you got a briefing from the State Department on yesterday's incident off North Vietnam. Could you tell us what you learned?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, what I learned has been very accurately reported in the press and through the news services, namely, that one of our destroyers that was cruising in international waters -- and I want to underscore that -- in the international waters of Tonkin Bay, some 25 or 30 miles off the coast-line, was attacked by PT boats. Those PT boats seem to

be North Vietnamese.

Our Navy defended itself in this unprovoked attack, and did it in a very admirable and creditable manner.

That's about all, Mr. Niven, that I learned about it.

MR. CHILDS: Were you told, Senator, that there was no truth whatsoever in this report that that gunboat had bombed a town in North Vietnam?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I received no information on that, Mr. Childs, at all.

MR. CHILDS: Just one step further: The situation out there appears to be growing increasingly serious. And I think just yesterday the South Vietnamese Minister of Defense said that American combat troops would be necessary in the near future. Do you think that's a real possibility?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I really do not. I think that we ought to keep in mind that there is a degree of political instability in South Vietnam which is rather inevitable in light of the developments there the past year. And from time to time there will be spokesmen from South Vietnam, in an effort to bolster their own people's morale, that may be making statements that upset us a bit.

This isn't uncommon, you know. There are occasionally instances within the United States when spokesmen make statements for local consumption that upset people in other parts of the world. We are going through some of that right now.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you say this, Senator, from personal knowledge? Have we been informed by the South Vietnamese Government, by Premier Khanh, for example, that when he makes such statements, they are entirely for internal consumption? We can ignore them and not be concerned about them?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, no. I just surmise this, Mr. Agronsky. I believe that our Government is being very frank with the American people. The President is deeply concerned over the situation in South Vietnam, as I am and as you are. We have a commitment there. There is outright Communist aggression. There is violation of international agreements. And we have made a commitment that we are going to sustain. We are not going to withdraw; we are not going to let this part of the world be overrun by the Communist aggressor. And we are not going to be drawn into unnecessary or needless activity.

V.N.

What we are attempting to do is, first of all, stabilize the political situation, which I think is paramount, and at the same time to strengthen the military situation to give us some opportunity to work out a program, in cooperation with the Vietnamese, so that there is loyalty on the part of the people and a desire to win.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, a number of high officials have gone to the White House today to discuss this incident of yesterday. Did the State Department indicate to you how seriously they

regard this incident?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Niven, my briefing was so limited, as you know, just prior to this program, that I had very little opportunity to get any more information than is on the ticker. I have the tape here of the news services -- this happens to be the Associated Press review -- and it is as accurate as anything that I've heard.

I suppose that during the day we will get more information.

But let me say this: A great world power such as the United States inevitably faces moments of crisis. And the real test of our character and of our capacity to give leadership and to be a responsible world power is being able to sustain ourself during these moments of crisis, being able to meet these crises without an emotional reaction, to think through the problem and then to come to some decision.

I believe we have that capability.

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, if we may move into politics, it seems now to be believed on very good authority that, while President Johnson is reserving himself some freedom of maneuver, you are at present his first choice for the Vice Presidential nomination. Is that your own impression, sir?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Niven, you have given me more encouragement than I have had for some time.

MR. NIVEN: You've heard this before, I'm sure.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I've heard this, but I like to hear

it from you because I respect you so much. I surely haven't heard it from the President. But I, of course, read the press. I listen to FACE THE NATION and CBS, and I know that what you say always has a great deal of interest.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, you were reported in West Virginia as saying yesterday, "It looks good." You didn't get that just from CBS.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I said it looks good for the reelection or the election of President Johnson. In fact, I am confident that he will be reelected or elected in his own right as the President of the United States.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, there was a very interesting thing that happened when the President told all of the members of the Cabinet that they would not be involved. Did he at that time inform you, for example, that he was going to take this action, that he was excluding or foreclosing the Vice Presidential prospects of all these other people?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Agronsky, I regret to tell you that I was not in on that decision. I heard about it just about the same time that you did.

As a matter of fact, I want to compliment the news services of our country. One or two newsmen called me some 30 or 35 minutes prior to the announcement and told me that they heard that such a thing was going to develop. Now, you can imagine what this did to my sense of vanity. To be supposedly

close in on the Administration and a close personal friend of the President, and to find out from two, in fact, three, newsmen, a half-hour before the announcement that this was in the works, and here Hubert Humphrey was not even knowing it.

I actually had no advance information about it. I was in my office when the information came through on the radio and one of my staff members came to me and said, "Senator, I think you might want to hear what is being said by the President on the radio." And it was quite interesting.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, though it may have injured your vanity, it certainly considerably improved your prospects, don't you think?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I haven't really looked upon this situation as one of prospects. I don't want to seem to be subtle about this or cute about this. I know that my name has been mentioned as one of the possibilities for the Vice Presidential nomination. But this essentially is a matter that is in the hands of the President of the United States. He will make his recommendation to the convention. And when he does, I'm sure that the convention will abide by that recommendation.

There's very little that I can do about it or very little that I intend to do about it. Quite frankly, the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, is a longtime friend. I have been privileged to work with him. He's been my

leader throughout my political life here in Washington, D.C. in the National Government. I worked with him as one of his associates in the United States Senate. I was one of his floor deputies, so to speak.

So he knows all about Hubert Humphrey, and he knows about my limitations, and I hope he knows a little bit about some of my assets or qualities. I trust his judgment. Whatever he does is going to receive my enthusiastic support.

MR. CHILDS: Senator, someone has said that the prescription that the President laid down for the Vice Presidency sounds like a prescription for a saint. He used the adjectives "attractive", "prudent" and "progressive". Now, you are certainly known as progressive. But doesn't the business community regard you as too progressive and slightly imprudent?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Childs, if the prescription that the President laid down was one for a saint, then that eliminates me. I'll have to take myself out alone.

I think what the President was attempting to do was to give the American people some idea of what qualities he would hope to find in a person that would be his running mate. I am not in a position to judge as to whether or not I have any of those qualities because I am entirely too subjective. I'll have to leave that up to others.

But you asked about the business community. I believe that one of the heartening developments of the Democratic

Administration, of President Johnson's Administration, is the new relationship between the business community, the business leaders, the leaders of finance and industry and commerce, and the White House. It's one of assurance, it's one of confidence, it's one of trust.

And I'm very happy to say that I find in my own situation a much warmer and a much more cordial and friendly relationship between the business community and the Congress. I am a member of the Congress and I find that in my own case.

I think this is all to the good. What President Johnson is attempting to do, and I think doing very well, is to develop a national consensus here. And he is not one that believes in a class struggle. He doesn't try to pit labor against capital, or finance against management, or farmer against worker. He seeks to build a national unity; and he's done well at it.

MR. CHILDS: Senator, the Republicans chose as their number two man, William E. Miller, who is a Catholic. Do you think this makes it advisable for the Democrats to choose a Catholic for their Vice President?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Childs, if the President wishes to choose a man that happens to be a Catholic, that surely is his privilege. I think that we ought to judge people on their merits, and there are many fine people of Catholic persuasion on the American political scene that the President

might very well put his hand on and say, "This is the man I want." But the Democratic Party and the American people have set aside for once and for all, I trust, this religious qualification for public office.

In the election of President John Kennedy, we demonstrated in this country that we seek the best man; and that a man's religious affiliation, while important in the sense of his moral commitment, is not a matter that should deny one public office, and maybe not one that should assure him of public office.

What I personally believe is that he ought to have a high standard of character and morality.

MR. NIVEN: One interpretation of the President's action in taking the Attorney General out of the running was that the President feared an effort by Mr. Kennedy's supporters to force the President's hand. Do you accept that interpretation? And if not, what other interpretation would you put on it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Niven, I am not going to try to search into the motives of the President on this decision. Actually, you see the President almost as much as I do. And I think that's a question that should be directed towards the President of the United States.

What the President did was, of course, a very significant political development. His reasons for doing it, anyone can have their own conjecture. I think it's a question for the

President.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, the President said that one of the qualifications for the man whom he wished to be his Vice Presidential running-mate was that he should be a man that is well received in all the States of the Union. The South is, of course, numbered among the States of the Union.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, indeed.

MR. AGRONSKY: Indeed it is, sir. You have been the leader, the floor manager, in fact, of the civil rights bill that was very badly received in the South, that the South resisted bitterly as long as it could, and which you finally forced the passage of with those who backed you.

Now, sir, how would you meet the qualification of a man who is well received in all States of the Union? What is the feeling about you in the South and might you damage the Democratic ticket?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would say, Mr. Agronsky, that the answer to your question, particularly the latter part as to the Democratic ticket, what would happen to it, that's a matter that will have to be decided by the President of the United States.

MR. AGRONSKY: Certainly.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Because we have to weigh off all of these matters.

But I have a great affection for the South. I went to

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school in Louisiana, Louisiana State University. I think I understand a little bit about some of their critical problems and the social tensions that exist there. We have them in the North, I might say, as well.

The truth is that in a national election for the Presidency of the United States, really, the people vote for the President. And I believe that they are going to take a good look at the Democratic ticket with President Lyndon Johnson as the head of that ticket, and it will be the President of the United States that is voted for.

Now, a Vice Presidential nominee may add a little or detract a little. But in all honesty, the attraction of the ticket or the acceptability is predicated upon the acceptance and the support of the Presidential candidate. And I know of no man in American life that should be more acceptable to our fine states in the South, which are traditionally Democratic, thank goodness, than President Lyndon Johnson. He comes from Texas. He is well known in the South. He has an understanding of their problems. And I would imagine that

by November -- and I would like to make a little prediction -- that by November, the vast majority of the states in the South will once again find themselves in the Democratic column, because the Democratic Party has been a friend of the South, has helped build the South. And the South indeed has been a friend of the Democratic Party. We need each other.

MR. CHILDS: Senator Humphrey, it's generally agreed that race will be the most conspicuous issue in this campaign. You must hear, as a leading Democrat, very disturbing reports about the white backlash, particularly in the trade unions in the North: in Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania. How are you going to counter this fear, this resentment, the feeling that civil rights is moving too fast?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, you gentlemen surely ask tough questions, and this is one of the really difficult problems that we face. And I don't want to indicate that it is not a problem for the Democratic Party. I think that it is.

The word "backlash" itself is an unfortunate term because it indicates a kind of violent reaction. The truth, however, is that whoever is elected President of the United States in this coming election, whether it's President Lyndon Johnson or Mr. Goldwater, they have the obligation once they put their hand on the Bible and take the oath of office to enforce the law. Now, the law is on the books, the Civil Rights Law. So whether it's a Republican or Democrat, or Senator Goldwater or President Lyndon Johnson, the law is there and the Chief Executive of the land must take that into consideration and seek observance of the law and enforce it.

I think, also, that it is the duty of those who aspire to this high office to seek to explain this law, the truth about it, not the myths, not the fiction. For example, I think

I have a little understanding about the concern of some of the trade unionists and some of the mis-information they have had. They are worried about their jobs, they are worried about their homes; they are worried that somehow or another this law is going to crowd in on them and make them less secure.

Now, this law does nothing to effect job quotas. It doesn't set job quotas. It doesn't affect union seniority. In fact, it expands the area of opportunity. It does nothing about housing. These are matters that will be settled at the local level.

And I think that when we get to the people, Mr. Childs, with the message of the prosperity that has come under this Administration, four years of continued economic growth and prosperity, the record of the Democratic Party as a friend of the worker, the record of the Democratic Party in terms of honest, responsible trade unionism, and compare that with the record of obstruction of the Goldwaterites -- that I sincerely believe that Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party will once again find support amongst the working people of the United States.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, to put this in very practical political terms; do you think that taking this message out into the Northern industrial centers, where feeling on civil rights is strong, will be a major function of the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee this year?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It'll be a major function of both the Presidential nominee and the Vice Presidential nominee. But obviously the Vice Presidential nominee in both political parties will have to carry a substantial share of the campaign burden.

I want to also add to this, Mr. Niven, that every American is finally concerned about the safety of his country. He's concerned about the security of his country. And while working people are upset in many instances about what they think is in a law, rather than actually what is in the law, they are more upset about the peace of the world and the security of their beloved America. And I think that when it gets right down to the final moment in that ballot booth, when a man communes with his own conscience as to the kind of an America he wants, he's going to ask himself this question: "Which of these two men, which one, Mr. Goldwater or President Lyndon Johnson, is the man that I can trust with the lives of my children, of my family, with the safety of my country? Because they know that this President has the control of the nuclear weapon, the atomic weapon, exclusive control.

And I think they'll want a President that is calm and forbearing, that is sincere and secure, and one that understands the heavy responsibilities of America, rather than to have one who is uncertain, has a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger, and may very well give an irrational response to an international

→ Crisis.

crisis.

And on the basis of that, I think the American people, whether they are businessmen or workers or farmers or school teachers, white or black, are going to vote for Lyndon B. Johnson.

MR. AGRONSKY: Is it your contention, Senator Humphrey, that Senator Goldwater, the Republican candidate for the Presidency, is not to be trusted with control of the nuclear button?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is my contention, Mr. Agronsky, that Senator Goldwater's statements on the issues of national security and nuclear weaponry are very disturbing. I am deeply concerned over any man that talks about using nuclear weapons for the purpose of defoliation of trees in a jungle when it could actually mean the scorched earth of humanity.

* I don't think you play loosely with this weaponry. We have an entirely new world, and everybody knows it. This is a world in which mankind has been able to generate unbelievable instruments or create unbelievable instruments of destructive power. And, therefore, we need in charge of this power someone who clearly understands the full responsibility of the use of it. And not only how to use, but how to restrain the use of it. And I place my trust in President Johnson.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, we have a number of additional questions. But we must stop. We'll be back in just one minute.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, James Reston reports today that President Johnson called Secretary Freeman last week and told him to stop making personal attacks on Senator Goldwater. In West Virginia yesterday you accused Mr. Goldwater of kidnapping the Republican Party.

Have you not been asked to stop attacking Senator Goldwater?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's not an attack. That's just an analysis of what happened, because really Senator Goldwater did kidnap the Republican Party, that is, the Republican organization. And I give you two or three instances: Two-thirds of the Republicans in Congress voted for the tax reduction bill. Senator Goldwater voted against it. Three-fourths of the Republicans in the Congress, as I recall, voted for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Senator Goldwater voted against it. Four-fifths of the Republicans in Congress voted for the Civil Rights Bill. Senator Goldwater voted against it.

The mainstream, which is a new word that we have found in American politics, the mainstream of the Republican Party has bypassed Senator Goldwater, or let's say that he pole-vaulted over it.

I don't think I was being unkind to Senator Goldwater when I say that he's changed the Grand Old Party into Goldwater's own party.

MR. CHILDS: Senator, carrying this a bit further, Senator Goldwater, out in San Francisco, called President Johnson the

look up
HHH is
Kidnapping
Party
Dem

biggest faker in the business, and he called him a phoney.

Now, do you think that it's going to be possible to prevent that kind of name-calling on your side of the fence?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I do.

MR. CHILDS: How will the Vice Presidential candidates be able to avoid this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, that kind of politicking is not going to be well received by the American people. These are troublesome times, as every one of us know. And I think the American people will want to know that someone is in charge of this country who is calm and resolute, and who is just and who is forebearing and tolerant, and give a sense of security to the American people.

The President of the United States, President Johnson, I am confident, is not going to engage in any kind of polemics the likes of which took place out in San Francisco. And whoever is his Vice Presidential nominee will follow the general pattern. I think the Democratic Party and its standardbearers will conduct their campaign on high ground; that we will announce the record of the Democratic Party. Every one of us that takes this campaign to the American people, whether we are Senators or Congressmen, or the top of the ticket, we will go forward with the Kennedy-Johnson program. And let me just climax it with this: Speaking for myself personally, whatever my role may be in this campaign, I am going to remember

that this campaign, as far as a Democrat is concerned, should be a living memorial to the late President John Kennedy.

I don't think that as a citizen and as a Democrat I have any right to demean his memory, and I am going to see to it, whatever I can do, that the campaign is on high ground, on principle and on program. We have honest differences there. Personal invective, innuendo, rumor, smear --- the American people are going to repudiate that, because we need an era of decency in this country, and it ought to be in the campaign.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, an intimate of the President was recently quoted as having said that he had no doubt this would be the dirtiest, the meanest campaign in this century. Now, is it going to be throughout, no matter how dirty and mean it gets, the intention of the Democratic candidates, whoever they may be, and suppose you are included among them, to turn the other cheek?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No. I think you can fight hard and fight clean. I think you can lay down the program that you support. For example, there's a difference between the two parties, candidates, on Social Security. Mr. Goldwater seems to be against it. We are for it and for its expansion. We can argue that, and we can make it precise, we can make it clean, we can make it hart hitting.

But to get into the personal invective, to call people phonies, and fakers -- that's not for Presidential candidates

or Vice Presidential candidates, gentlemen. That isn't even called for on the alderman level. And I have been in a lot of campaigns, and I have found that most of the people that involve themselves in low level campaigning end up not being in office.

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, thank you for being our guest on FACE THE NATION.



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