

To: Terry Edwards

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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

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SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1968

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GUEST:

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

INTERVIEWED BY:

John Scali, ABC Diplomatic Correspondent

Bob Clark, ABC Capitol Hill Correspondent.

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MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, welcome.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, John.

MR. SCALI: In announcing that he would run for president, Senator Kennedy denounced the policies of the Johnson Administration as disastrous and divisive and said they can be changed only by changing the men who make these policies.

What is the Administration answer to this?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first, I believe Mr. Kennedy is demonstrably wrong. I regret that he made such an emotional statement. The policies of this Administration are the

1 continuing policy of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and
2 now, with President Johnson elected in his own right in the
3 election of 1964, building on that record, policies at home of
4 trying to open up our society to every American, to give every-
5 one the chance to bring them into the mainstream of this
6 society and abroad to keep our commitments, to continue to
7 serve as a responsible world leader and at the same time to
8 make every endeavor to build the conditions that can provide a
9 just and an enduring peace.

10 Now, those are the policies of this Administration. I
11 think they are sound policies.

12 MR. CLARK: Well, Mr. Vice President, as you know, many
13 Democrats are alarmed that the Kennedy campaign could wreck
14 the Democratic party and possibly hand the White House over
15 to the Republicans without a real battle in the fall. Isn't
16 this a grave danger?

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, all of us that are Demo-
18 crats, I am sure, would much prefer a unified party, but the
19 Democratic party has gone through many trials and tribulations
20 in the past. We have not always had a serene and tranquil
21 existence. I recall, for example, in 1948 I had strong con-
22 victions, as other people have today. I have presented those
23 convictions to the convention. Some of our fellow Democrats
24 got up and walked out. Other Democrats joined in another
25 political party, the Progressive party, under the leadership of

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Mr. Wallace, so we had four parties in the election of 1948, the Dixiecrats, the Progressives, the Republicans and the Democrats, and Mr. Truman went on to win a great victory. I supported him then, President Truman, and I support in 1968 President Johnson now.

I might add that in 1960 -- this is maybe a little more relevant -- I was in the presidential primaries. They were hard-fought primaries. John F. Kennedy was the leader in that primary battle. He defeated me in Wisconsin even though the contest was close. He defeated me very soundly in West Virginia in a hard fought and almost a bitter primary, but I came around at the end of the convention, as you may recall, and supported John F. Kennedy and I was his Majority Whip in the United States Senate.

I think that is a good example. I hope others will follow it.

MR. CLARK: Taking your example, there wasn't really any doubt in 1960 that John Kennedy, if he had lost, would have rallied round and supported you. Don't you think there is some doubt that Robert Kennedy would support the Johnson ticket after the bitter note that has already been injected in this campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that that fine family tradition of support for Democrats will stand well and I hope that it does.

1 I heard Senator Kennedy speak in his announcements
2 and I have read what he has said in the past. He has repeat-
3 edly said over the days and the years here, and the months,
4 I should say, that he would support the nominee of the
5 Democratic party, that he would support President Johnson,
6 and then it became the nominee of the party. I hope he will
7 continue that.

8 MR. CLARK: But did he not say that Saturday in his
9 announcement. He said he would make that decision at the
10 convention.

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: He has been changing his mind
12 lately on several things.

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1 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, if Senator Kennedy should
2 succeed in getting the nomination, would you and President
3 Johnson support a Kennedy ticket in the election?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that we'll have to take
5 a good look at what happens at the convention, but you see I'm
6 a Democrat and
7 I haven't the slightest doubt as to what is going to happen
8 at the Democratic Convention. The iffy questions
9 are always good for theoretical discussion. I will only
10 say this, that I have been studying the Democratic Party all
11 of my life, I have been an active participant in it all of my
12 adult
13 /life. I have never veered away from the Democratic Party.
14 When it came to a choice between the Democratic nominee
15 and the opposition, I think party responsibility is a
16 fundamental part of our political system. I expect to see
17 President Johnson renominated. I haven't the slightest
18 doubt that that is going to happen and I am going to do
19 everything that I can to see that it does happen, and I
20 expect that he will go on to win the election in November,
21 1968.

22 MR. SCALI: Well, Mr. Vice President, how do you know Mr.
23 Johnson is even going to run?

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I would be very surprised
25 if he didn't. Let's put it that way.

MR. SCALI: Well, has he told you?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I said I would be very surprised

2 1 if he didn't.

2 MR. SCALI: Well, has he told you anything at all about
3 who his running mate is going to be, would it be
4 Hubert Humphrey, for example?

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would be very surprised if you
6 had any other information.

7 MR. CLARK: You haven't quite said that you would
8 support a Kennedy ticket and that is not a very extraordinary
9 thing to ask any Democrat at this stage. Will you support
10 whoever the nominee of the convention might be?

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am a Democrat and I
12 support the nominations of my party.

13 MR. CLARK: So you would --

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And I expect it will be
15 President Johnson. I am not about ready to add any
16 little tidbit of interest or strength to any of the opposition
17 within the party. I haven't the slightest doubt that the
18 Democratic Convention of 1968 will renominate President
19 Lyndon Johnson and I hope everybody will take the same stand
20 that I have in the Democratic Party to support our
21 nominee.

22 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, Some Democrats are talking
23 about the desirability of a Johnson-Kennedy ticket as a means
24 of healing the split in the party. Would you be willing to
25 step aside if this appeared to be the only way to repair the

1 breach in the party ranks?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I have always served the
3 high calling if it has been my privilege to do so, but I
4 think we will rely upon the Democratic Convention to make
5 that judgment. This business of answering iffy questions
6 and wondering if it is going to happen, I am much
7 more of a pragmatist and a realist. I look forward to the
8 Democratic Convention in August and I look forward to
9 coming out of that convention alongside of the President
10 of the United States, if he wants me and if the convention
11 wants me.

12 In the meantime, gentlemen, I am enjoying my work and
13 I have had a high honor of serving as Vice President of the
14 United States. If I can serve in that position with honor,
15 with integrity, with some degree of effectiveness, I
16 believe that I can trust the judgment of the delegates
17 of the convention as to what they think is best for the
18 party and best for the country, and I will just put
19 it on that basis. I lose no sleep at night over this
20 question at all.

21 MR. CLARK: Senator McCarthy is obviously going to go into
22 the convention with a fairly sizeable block of delegates. He
23 has already won some in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

24 Can you conceive of the possibility that he might
25 use those delegates to negotiate a spot for himself on the

1 Johnson ticket?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think that my friend
3 Senator McCarthy is a very fine and honorable man. Now we
4 have a long friendship. Despite political differences
5 now, that friendship still prevails. I understand
6 the Senator is a man that doesn't make deals, and I take him
7 at his word.

8 MR. CLARK: You do not feel that he would make any
9 deal for the Vice Presidency?

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I understood him to say that
11 he doubted that anything like that would be in the offering.

12 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, do you think the biting
13 characteristic and tone of Senator Kennedy's criticism
14 of President Johnson and his policies now has carried this
15 split beyond the point of reconciliation?

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, there are always those
17 that feel in the spring of politics that the biting tone
18 is so serious that the wounds cannot heal, but I have noticed
19 I don't know whether it is climatic or whether it is due to
20 the proximity to the election, but my how wounds do heal
21 right after conventions. It is a modern medical miracle with
22 a little political interest involved. So I am not one
23 that thinks that these biting comments now will be lasting.

24 I take you back to other periods in American history. We
25 have had bitter exchanges, as you know, during the period of

1 the Roosevelt Administration, and some of the leaders -- surely
2 in the period of President Truman, and in the primary of
3 1960. My, I said some things in 1960 and so did President
4 Kennedy when he was a candidate, that were very biting. Deep.
5 But they healed, and they healed quickly and we went on to work
6 together.

7 I think that is a good example. I think it is something
8 that we might want to ponder and hopefully imulate.

9 * * * * *

10 (Announcement)

11 MR. CLARK: Mr. Vice President, Senator Kennedy is being
12 rather widely accused of being a ruthless opportunist
13 for the speed in which he moved in on the heels of
14 the McCarthy victory in New Hampshire.

15 Would you agree with this characterization?

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't ascribe motives or
17 characteristics to candidates. I think Senator Kennedy
18 has explained himself as well as he could and I believe
19 Senator McCarthy has made a few footnotes to all of it.
20 I think we will leave it to the two of them to, well, to
21 make the judgment.

22 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, Senator Kennedy says
23 he is in the race to win. If he loses his bid for
24 the Democratic nomination, do you think there is a
25 live possibility that he will organize his support and

1 enter the November election as a third party candidate?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that is rather remote.
3 I recall the Senator making the statement that his family
4 had always served the Democratic Party, that he owes a great
5 deal to the Democratic Party and I think he sincerely feels that.
6 No, I don't think that is a real possibility.

7 MR. CLARK: But there did seem to be the implication in
8 that statement, or I thought there was that if the Democratic
9 Party doesn't change its ways -- he talked about the Democratic
10 Party always having been the party of change and the party
11 of the people -- that if the party didn't change its ways he
12 might be compelled to do something else.

13 You did not get that --

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, you can always get some
15 inuendoes and some inflections of voice which you can
16 interpret but the Democratic Party is a party
17 of the present and a party of the future. It does
18 change. It changes in terms of the needs of our country
19 and it changes in terms of course of the requirements
20 of international leadership and international responsibility.
21 If the factor that will maintain one of party allegiance
22 is one of change, change for the good, I have no worry at all
23 about where our contestic Democratic friend will be.

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1 MR. CLARK: Well, Senator Kennedy, in a story today which
2 has just moved on the wires, has expressed grave reservations
3 about supporting President Johnson if he is renominated unless
4 the President changes what the Senator calls his catastrophic
5 policies.

6
7 Now, if Senator Kennedy doesn't support President Johnson,
8 where does he go after the convention?

9 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Let me just say this: That I
10 have read not one, but a dozen statements from the Senator
11 about his support of the President. I have been present when
12 he has announced his support of the President, and even his
13 support of the Vice President, and within the last month he
14 has announced his support of the President and of the Democratic
15 nominee. He has done so since the Tet offensive in Vietnam.

16 Now, there hasn't been a thing that has changed about
17 President Johnson since those announcements; not one, and I am
18 prone to believe that when the Senator checks up the list and
19 sees how many times he has announced his support of the
20 Democratic party and its nominee, and in particular President
21 Johnson, in light of the policies that the President follows,
22 even policies of which the Senator at times has disagreed, I
23 can't imagine that the Senator could do anything else but to
24 continue to support President Johnson because the record is
25 replete with example after example and statement after statement
of support for President Johnson and, indeed, support for the

1 nominee of the party.

2 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, much of the recent attack
3 on President Johnson, both from the Republicans as well as from
4 Senators McCarthy and Kennedy, is that the President just is
5 not telling the complete truth to the American people.

6 On Vietnam, for example, Senator Kennedy says that the
7 President has glossed over the recent setbacks there with il-
8 lusion. The New Hampshire results seem to indicate that at
9 least some of the voters share this lack of confidence; perhaps
10 believe there is what the Republicans call a credibility gap in
11 Washington. What do you have to say about that?

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, the business of trying to
13 be a prophet in politics is always a very precarious one and
14 you are never quite able to ascertain what events of the
15 future will give you, and, therefore, any prediction that is
16 made about war or peace, or about the domestic economy, or
17 what happens in your country, always is subject to some fault
18 or to some little mistake, and this is frequently called the
19 credibility gap, which is essentially just a phrase.

20 I think all of us recognize that we have a very difficult
21 and turbulent time ahead of us. We are in a period of ferment
22 at home and we are in a period of change at home, but I don't
23 think it is bad. I personally think, for example, that what
24 is happening in terms of opening this society to the minority
25 members of our society that have never had a chance before --

1 at least a full chance -- that while this brings change and
2 ferment and at times turbulence, it is good. We are beginning
3 to enter a higher level of American democracy. We are begin-
4 ning to fulfill the promise of American democracy.

5 Now, when you speak of the international matters, we do
6 not deny for a single minute that we have suffered reverses,
7 that we have had difficulties in Vietnam, but we have the
8 confidence that if we prevail, that if we do not either reach
9 out for the ultimate weapon on the one hand, or withdraw on the
10 other, if we pursue a middle course with perseverance, using
11 every art of diplomacy that we have to find negotiation and
12 negotiated peace and at the same time to maintain our position,
13 that if we persevere with courage that we can ultimately succeed.

14 If you try to take the temperature report each day, Mr.
15 Scali, and then report it as a sort of final observation, you
16 are going to get into trouble.

17 I think one of the real problems that we have all had --
18 and I think this goes for all of us, gentlemen -- is that we
19 try to report the making of history on a day-by-day basis.
20 While history is the sum product of what happens day by day,
21 if you are to have any perspective of the great events of the
22 world, I think you should be a little more patient; I think you
23 should take the longer view.

24 If we have tended at any time to gloss over what seemed
25 difficulties, then we should stand under the impact of criticism.

1 I am sure we have made some mistakes. I think we ought to
2 admit that upon occasion we have made some errors of judgment.
3 We have undoubtedly been, upon occasion, a little too optimis-
4 tic. Why wouldn't we want to be? This is a painful war.
5 This is a very discouraging operation at times, and yet we
6 have gone through this sort of thing many times before. But,
7 in the long run, on the basis of perspective in history,
8 gentlemen, the President has told you that it will be a pain-
9 ful, costly conflict. But what he has also said is that we will
10 persevere. He said we have the ability, the capacity. Do we
11 have the will? Do we have the courage? And we answer that
12 question on this program today. We do have the will. We do
13 have the patience. We do have the perseverance and let us not
14 judge each other, even in our individual comments day by day.
15 Let's judge on the basis of the long term record.

16 MR. SCALI; You talk about a middle course in Vietnam.
17 Are you saying that as a result of the review, that has been
18 under way here for several weeks, that we have decided to
19 continue basically along the same road in Vietnam?

20 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, we are making a very careful
21 evaluation of everything in Vietnam; the political, the
22 economic, the military possibilities, the strengths and the
23 weaknesses, but we do not see that our course, as we have out-
24 lined it in the past, is wrong. We think that it is basically
25 sound.

1 Now, there may be some variations that have to come into
2 it, but this course is not one of President Johnson's alone,
3 and I want to just put this in a little perspective. Four
4 presidents have felt that we ought to be there, that our in-
5 volvement there was essential to our national security; that it
6 was essential to the security of Southeast Asia and it was
7 essential to the peace of the world, and I might add that even
8 some of the prominent Senators, who are today critical, also had
9 this view. I can recall that the Senator from New York,
10 some years back, when he was a member of the Administration --

11 MR. CLARK: Senator Kennedy?

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, Senator Kennedy. When he
13 visited Saigon, when he was Attorney General, when he was a
14 member of President Kennedy's Administration, he said we should
15 be there. He said we should not only be there, but we will
16 win. He made the pledge of American resources.

17 Now, I don't criticize him for that. I think what he said
18 was right and I think what President Eisenhower said, what
19 President Kennedy said and what President Johnson has said --
20 these men working together in harmony, I think is right.

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22 (Announcements)

23 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, what is going to be the
24 role of (1) Vice President Humphrey and members of the Cabinet
25 during the campaign months? Will people be going out making

1 speeches? Will you?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, last night I was in Indiana
3 and I was there at the request of the Governor to address the
4 large meeting of all the Indiana/^{County} Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen
5 and county officials of the Democratic party. We had a
6 tremendous meeting and I went there because I was asked and,
7 as you know, Governor Brandigan announced that he would be a
8 stand-in candidate in the Indiana primary for President
9 Johnson. We think that was a very healthy development. I will
10 go wherever I am needed and wherever I am requested. If re-
11 quested, if needed, I will go there and I imagine other members
12 of the Cabinet will do the same.

13 MR. CLARK: The request has already come from the
14 Democratic leaders of Wisconsin. You mean, then, that you would
15 then go into Wisconsin?

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Then it is only a matter of
17 making arrangements. I am very proud to represent the Presi-
18 dent and to represent this Administration. I think we have
19 a great record. We have made breakthroughs in the last few
20 years that are nothing short of phenomenal in terms of the
21 social structure of this country.

22 When I think that only Saturday of this week I had the
23 privilege of being with a thousand of the corporate leaders of
24 America -- Henry Ford and Mr. Austin, as the co-chairmen of the
25 National Alliance of Businessmen for Jobs -- this partnership

1 between government and free enterprise, this is new, gentlemen.
2 This represents the new kind of politics. It represents the
3 new effort of the American people to get at their problems and
4 when I think of what we are doing in some of these programs --
5 the new banners we march under today: Head Start, Upward
6 Bound; Vista, Job Corps, Peace Corps, Work Study, Teacher Corps
7 all of these things tell you that there is a great change for
8 the good that is coming in America that has come about. This
9 isn't, as some people say, a "sick society." This is a society
10 that has moral purpose today.

11 MR. CLARK: Mr. Vice President, we want to take you back
12 a bit in politics. We have a few more questions here. We
13 get the impression that there is some hopeful feeling at the
14 White House that Senators Kennedy and McCarthy might knock each
15 other out in the primaries.

16 Do you see this as a possibility, the fact that they are
17 both staying in the primaries could work to the advantage of
18 the President?

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Here is how I view it. I speak,
20 now, entirely for myself. I don't look upon these primaries
21 as discouraging or as divisive in a long-term sense. I think
22 they are going to air the issues before the American people.
23 It is going to compel all of us to really debate, to stand up
24 and be counted, to state our case.

25 For example, speaking for myself again, I feel all the

1 more vitality and all the more vigor in going out and
2 stating the case for the President in this Administration.

3 I have been a part of this record. All of my life in
4 Congress I have fought for social progress and there has been
5 more social progress under President Johnson than any president
6 in this century. All of my life I have fought for peace.
7 Peace Corps. That is identified with Vice President Humphrey;
8 Food-for-Peace program; the Disarmament Agency; the Nuclear Test
9 Ban Treaty. I have also stood up against totalitarian aggres-
10 sion.

11 I am happy to take this message of trying to build a
12 lasting peace and responsible law and order in the internation-
13 al scene, I am happy to take it to the American people and the
14 primaries give us the chance.

15 MR. SCALI: Yet, Mr. Vice President, how do you account
16 for the fact that Senator McCarthy, in your home state, has won
17 a substantial number of delegates?

18 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, that is not hard to under-
19 stand. Senator McCarthy has many friends in our home state.
20 He is a respected public figure in Minnesota. The majority
21 of delegates, of course, supported President Johnson and Vice
22 President Humphrey, and a good healthy majority, just as the
23 majority of democrats in New Hampshire supported President
24 Johnson, even though it was a write-in, and a very difficult
25 one. President Johnson didn't even have his name on the

1 ballot, and yet he got a majority of the Democratic votes.

2 Now, I don't think we ought to pretend that men of the
3 stature of Senator McCarthy are not formidable opposition,
4 but I must say again that I believe this kind of debate that
5 he brings into the discussion is not bad. It is not unhealthy.
6 It is basically constructive and it is healthy, and to bring
7 young people again back into the party and back into the dis-
8 cussion, off of the streets into the meeting halls, I think
9 this is good and I see thousands of young people --

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1 1 MR. CLARK: Are you drawing a line between the type
2 of debate that Senator McCarthy brings into the campaign and
3 that which Robert Kennedy is bringing in?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, no --

5 MR. CLARK: Are you saying that it is healthy
6 on either side?

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- oh, I am sorry. If that
8 appeared to be the thrust of my answer, no, these
9 are both intelligent men. I hope that we will continue
10 in the discussion to really discuss the issues and
11 as all of these men have said, not to involve ourselves
12 in personalities.

13 MR. SCALI: Mr. Vice President, doesn't the success of
14 Senator McCarthy in New Hampshire and this sudden emergence
15 of Senator Kennedy as an active candidate and the degree
16 of opposition as being expressed now add up to perhaps an
17 underestimation by the Administration of the kind of
18 opposition there is to the President's policies?

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No. No, it does not. Let
20 me make it quite clear, there is a great deal of
21 difference between -- well, let me put it
22 this way: It is not always easy to be popular, particularly
23 when you have to perform. It is much easier to discuss
24 and debate than it is to decide. And there are many ways
25 to be popular. Many ways. But very few ways for a

2 1 President to be effective in his performance. We
2 have had every strong President -- every strong President
3 has been the victim of unbelievable attack, within his
4 own party and within the general public. Take a look at
5 Woodrow Wilson. Take a look at Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
6 Take a look at John F. Kennedy himself. I remember an issue
7 of Time Magazine in late October, 1963, a
8 feature story where it said that President Kennedy had
9 lost the support of the college campuses and the intellectuals,
10 I remember that.

11 MR. CLARK: Mr. Vice President, I am sorry, our time is
12 up.

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am sorry, too.

14 MR. CLARK: Thank you very much for being with us on
15 ISSUES AND ANSWERS.
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March 16, 1968

FOR: The Vice President
FROM: Ted

RE: "Issues and Answers," ABC-TV; 1:30 p. m.
Sunday, live, color; 1:00 p. m. at studio for
makeup and lighting

The interviewers: John Scali (State Department) and
Bob Clark (Capitol Hill).

Subject matter: All politics. Foreign affairs, legislation,
gold, et al will enter into the questioning only
as they touch on politics. The questions,
needless to say, will flow largely from what
Senators Kennedy and McCarthy have to say
on "Face the Nation" and "Meet the Press"
earlier in the day.

1. Q. What effect will Senator Kennedy's candidacy have on
the Democratic party? Won't it so divide the party that a
Republican victory will be inevitable in November?

A. Needless to say I would prefer a united party to a
divided one. But the Democratic party has, in its
history, had its share of strife. We have a way of getting
back together before election day.

There have been years of course, such as 1948, when we
didn't get together and when we won anyway. No, I don't
think a Republican victory is by any means inevitable --
nor do I even think it is likely.

TO: Ted Van Dyk

American Broadcasting Company

1124 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

EXECUTIVE 3-7700

March 1st, 1968

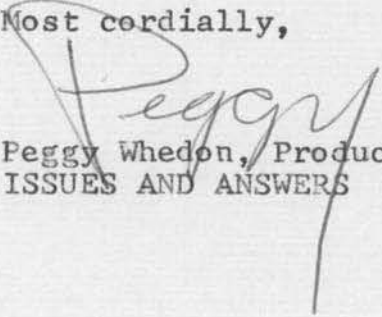
Dear Mr. Vice President,

Just a short note to confirm your guest appearance on ABC's "Issues and Answers" for Sunday, March 24th.

The program will be done "live" (1:30-2 PM) from our Washington studio, 1124 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest, and we would ask that you be here by 12:45 PM for make-up and preliminary details.

I'll stay in touch with Norman Sherman as the date draws closer. In the meantime, looking forward to an excellent program and to seeing you again soon, I am,

Most cordially,


Peggy Whedon, Producer
ISSUES AND ANSWERS

The Honorable
Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
The Capitol
Washington, D.C.

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1. Q. What effect will Senator Kennedy's candidacy have on the Democratic party? Won't it so divide the party that a Republican victory will be inevitable in November?

A. Needless to say I would prefer a united party to a divided one. But the Democratic party has, in its history, had its share of strife. We have a way of getting back together before election day.

There have been years of course, such as 1948, when we didn't get together and when we won anyway. No, I don't think a Republican victory is by any means inevitable -- nor do I even think it is likely.

3/19

2. Q. What are your plans? Will you campaign in primary states? What will your role be in these next few months?

A. As you know, I was in Indiana yesterday at a Democratic meeting. Because official business does keep the President in Washington, I have done a good deal of work with the party in my Vice Presidency. I expect to do more. But it's too early to say just when and where I'll be in the weeks ahead.

One thing is certain: I intend to work the best I know how for the President's renomination and re-election.

3. Q. Will the President run again?

A. I would certainly be surprised if he didn't.

4. Q. What are your predictions on the primary contests? Will the President run strongly ... will he be defeated ... will Senator Kennedy run ahead of Senator McCarthy?

A. Political prophesy is a losing game. The only prediction I'll make right now is this: The President will come to the nominating convention in a strong position. He will be renominated. And I expect him to be re-elected.

5. Q. If the President is renominated, will Senators Kennedy and McCarthy support him?

A. I would certainly expect so. I know that Senator McCarthy has said on past occasions -- since declaring his candidacy -- that he preferred President Johnson over any Republican alternative. I would certainly hope that Senator Kennedy would feel the same.

6. Q. Senator Kennedy inferred yesterday that, if both he and Senator McCarthy remained candidates at convention time, some kind of deal might be arranged between them. What might that be?

A. I also saw that Senator McCarthy said he wasn't interested in any deals. As I understood it, his position was that -- if he dropped out -- he would free his delegates to support whomever they wished.

7. Q. Why do you think Senator Kennedy decided to run? Why did he wait until after New Hampshire to declare his candidacy?

A. I would refer you to Senator Kennedy's own statements. I won't try to interpret him.

8. Q. Have you talked with either Senator Kennedy or McCarthy in the past few days?

A. I have talked briefly with Senator McCarthy. We are old friends. I have always respected the sincerity and honesty of his candidacy. We certainly haven't stopped communicating because of it.

9. Q. What happened in New Hampshire? Why did Senator McCarthy run so strongly, and the President so weakly?

A. First of all, I don't think the President ran weakly. His name was not on the ballot. Senator McCarthy's was. All the President's votes therefore had to be write-ins.

The President did not campaign personally in New Hampshire. Senator McCarthy did -- and he did so aggressively and effectively.

I don't think the New Hampshire primary necessarily tells us anything, except that Senator McCarthy campaigned well.

10. Q. Would you comment on the advertising used by the President's supporters in New Hampshire, and on the use of coupons and pledge cards which required use of name and address? Didn't this harm the President?

A. I don't know. Things are sometimes undertaken in the heat of a campaign which are later regretted. I suspect some of the people who meant to help the President in New Hampshire may now feel they tried to do so in the wrong way.

I want to make one thing clear: Senator McCarthy's campaign has been decent, honest and gentlemanly. It is certainly not the President's intention to reciprocate otherwise.

11. Q. Senator Kennedy says he feels the nation is drifting at home and is following an immoral policy in Vietnam.

A. Whatever his intent in making these statements, I believe he is wrong.

Drift: Far from it. The fact is this: President Johnson -- and I believe the vast majority of the American people -- have made their full and final commitment to building the open and free society we have always sought. This is no small task. It involves changing the habits of generations. And it involves, above all, ferment. This is a troubled and difficult period. But it is far from a period of drift.

Immorality: I regret this assertion. From President Eisenhower on, American Presidents have seen our involvement in Vietnam as a necessity in maintaining peace and stability in the whole of Southeast Asia.

They have felt that the success of aggression in Vietnam would encourage wider and far more dangerous aggression.

Now, that is the reason we are in Vietnam today. It was the reason we were in Vietnam when Senator Kennedy served in the Administration. At that time he made a number of strong statements -- and they are all on the record -- concerning the necessity of sticking it out there, just as President Kennedy did. Now he finds our effort "immoral."

I don't find any war moral. Far from it.

But I must say I would find nothing moral about opening up a vast area of the world to the threat of further Communist subversion, pressure and force -- when that area is not yet able to defend itself against them. So I must say that I find this charge both hard to understand and unsupportable by fact.

12. Q. Many people say that you support the President only because you are Vice President -- that, if you were still in the Senate, you would be taking a line much like that of Senators Kennedy and McCarthy.

A. I support what I believe to be in the best interests of my country. That is why I support the President. If I felt I could not, I would either keep silent or would resign.

When I was in the Senate I was an outspoken advocate of social progress in America. President Johnson has done more than any President in this century to promote that progress. And I am proud to have been associated with that effort.

When I was in the Senate, I was also identified with measures to build the peace -- such as arms control, the UN, the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps and firm resistance to totalitarian aggression. I also took a strong position on the importance of our effort in Vietnam. President Johnson has stood for all these things.

No, if I were still a Senator, I am quite sure you would find me speaking out just as you find me speaking out as Vice President.

13. Q. If President Johnson's Administration has been so effective, why do the polls show him trailing Republicans?

A. Anybody who knows history knows that performance and popularity don't often go together. There are many easy ways to be popular. There are fewer ways to be an effective President.

I don't need to remind you of the unfair and sometimes slanderous charges that have been made throughout history about our Presidents -- especially our strong Presidents. In this century, Wilson, both Roosevelts, Truman, and certainly President Kennedy have been the object of public and private defamation. I needn't remind you, for instance, that only a small minority of the American people supported President Truman during the dark days of the Korean War. But today he is revered. And I know of no responsible person who believes we were mistaken to stand up in Korea. But both President Truman and his policy were deeply unpopular at the time.

Any President who gets things done, who makes decisions, and who serves during difficult times is not asking for popularity. But I believe the American people are mature enough to recognize that this is so. And I also believe that, when it comes to specifically choosing the one man they want to lead them, they take into account larger things such as a man's capacity, courage, and experience.

So I am not too worried about any temporary popularity polls. They are volatile. You can't live by them -- and the man who does is soon recognized for it.

14. Q. You have talked about a "new isolationism." Do you regard Senators McCarthy and Kennedy as isolationists?

A. No. Neither man is an isolationist. I do believe, though, that there is an ad hoc united front in America -- made up of many people who might disagree with each other on any number of specific issues -- who add up to a powerful force against many of our past and present domestic and international commitments. I think, taken together, this reflects a certain fatigue in America with the burdens of leadership -- rather than any basically selfish or inward instinct.

We see this reflected now in the attacks on foreign aid ... in the efforts to turn back our longstanding policies of liberal trade ... in the calls for disengagement not only from Asia, but also from Europe and Latin America... in the attacks on the war on poverty ... on much of our recent landmark economic and social legislation in America.

Again, I think "fatigue" is behind the New Isolationism while a certain degree of selfishness and heedlessness was behind the Old Isolationism. But it adds up to the same thing.

The antidote is a good dose of self-examination -- and of reality. To abandon our international commitments, and to deny the rising expectations of millions of Americans -- both of these things are to ask for obvious and dangerous trouble. I think, by the way, that this will undoubtedly be a central issue for the 1968 campaign.

15. Q. Taking this a little further, though, don't you think there is a real question today -- not related to anything like isolationism -- about just how far this country can stretch itself? Isn't that the basis of much disagreement about Vietnam -- a feeling that those resources would be better spent elsewhere?

A. I agree entirely. Those resources would be far better spent elsewhere. So would the resources we expended in World Wars I and II, in Korea, in the Cuban Missile Crisis. And at home I am quite sure we would all prefer devoting more of our resources to education, for instance, and fewer to crime prevention and control. But when the peace is threatened, order has to be preserved. Now, internationally, of course, we have to ask: In this situation, is the general peace threatened? Might this situation lead to wider war? And we have to make an assessment. This is an important assessment to make in a world of nuclear weapons.

Now, it has been the assessment of four American Presidents that the situation in Vietnam required our involvement and the investment of our resources. The fact is that, even with our expenditures in Vietnam, we have more financial resources available to us for other things -- by far -- than at any other time in our history. The expended resources I regret most are the lives of people -- of all nationalities -- which have been lost in this conflict. You can generate new economic growth. You can never replace a lost father or son.

But now, as in the past, the men our people have chosen to lead them have believed we had no choice but to meet this obligation. I believe fervently that, by standing firm in Vietnam now, we are averting bigger trouble later on. And, when this conflict ends -- as it certainly will one day -- I believe the American people will have reason for satisfaction that we did stand firm. I believe they will see that we saved resources -- both money and lives -- by learning the mistakes of the past and putting out a fire before it spread throughout an entire neighborhood ... in this case the neighborhood of Southeast Asia.

16. Q. But won't this stand cost President Johnson and yourself your jobs in 1968?

A. As I said before, you cannot make decisions concerning war and peace ... decisions vital to the security of this country on the basis of political opinion polls. I don't think the American people elected President Johnson and myself in the expectation that we would.

Now, we believe our course in Vietnam is critical to the safety of this country. We believe it heads off the danger of World War III. We believe it adds to the security of a vital area of the world and discourages further aggression there. We believe so on a basis of past human behavior ... on a basis of history in this and past centuries ... on the basis of facts and data available to us.

Popularity doesn't enter into it.

But, finally, let me add this: I believe that, when the American people have to make their assessments in November 1968, they will reach just about the same conclusions we have. I have faith in that. It is one thing to be concerned or troubled -- as all of us are about this war. But it is another to make choices and decisions. I think the people will decide we have been right.

17. Q. How is this Vietnam war ever going to end?

A. It can end three ways. First, it can end by a negotiated settlement. That is a possibility. It can also end, as former Secretary Dean Acheson has suggested, when the Communists simply decide it no longer serves their purpose and they decide to stop it. That could happen too. There is, of course, a third possibility: That is, by a combination of the first two -- by a Communist recognition that an end of the aggression is in their interest, at which point they might possibly wish to enter into negotiations or discussions. In the meantime, we are keeping active on all fronts -- diplomatic, military, and so on -- which could lead to any of these solutions. Any one of them will take time. And there is no mistake about it.

18. Q. What is the Administration doing to protect the dollar in face of the international "gold rush?"

A. Basically it comes down to tightening our belts. We have passed a law removing the so-called "gold ~~power~~!" The Federal Reserve Board has increased the rediscount rate to 5 percent. We are meeting with leaders of Congress to see where we can further reduce the national budget. This will mean making some hard choices. We are trying to stem unnecessary flow of dollars overseas.

But the thing we need most is still in the hands of the Congress -- namely the 10 percent tax surcharge we have been seeking now for many, many months. The country just must have this surcharge if the rest of the world is to take seriously our efforts to protect the dollar.

For the average citizen this is all difficult to understand. It is quite true that the strength of any currency ultimately depends on the strength of the economy behind it. The American economy is the strongest in the world -- so why is the dollar in difficulty?

The answer lies partly in the fact that, because of our role of world leadership, we have overseas expenditures which are most difficult to cut back without jeopardizing our safety and freedom. But it also lies in the fact that the whole international monetary system needs modernization and reform so that such a situation will not arise again. In the meantime, we must take the hard steps necessary to protect the dollar in the face of speculators. And we intend to do so.

#

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19. Q. Might that 10 percent surcharge become a 20 percent surcharge, as Secretary Fowler hinted the other day?

A. Only if costs in Southeast Asia made it necessary.

Please see attached other materials of use.

Robert Kennedy, Saigon Airport Press Conference
February 18, 1962

"We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain here until we do win . . .

"I think the American people understand and fully support this struggle. Americans have great affection for the people of Vietnam. I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat.

"Hanoi may deny its responsibility, but the guilt is clear. In a flagrant violation of its signed pledge at Geneva in 1954, the North Vietnamese regime has launched on a course to destroy the Republic of Vietnam . . . The American people will see Vietnam through these times of trouble to a period when the Vietnamese people will find a long sought opportunity to develop their country in peace, dignity and freedom. "

To the Vice President

From Ted

Re: Issues and Answers, ABC-TV, 1:30 p.m., Sunday, live, ~~#####~~ color
1:00 ~~##~~
~~#####~~ p.m. at studio for makeup and lighting.

The interviewers: John Scali (State Department) and Bob Clark (Capitol Hill).

Subject matter: All politics. Foreign affairs, legislation, gold et al will enter into the questioning only as they touch on politics.

The ~~###~~ questions, needless to say, will flow largely from what Senators Kennedy and McCarthy have to say on "Face the Nation" and "Meet the Press" earlier in the day.

1. Q: What effect will Senator Kennedy's candidacy have on the ^{Democratic} party? Won't it so divide the party that a Republican victory will be inevitable in November?

A: Needless to say I would prefer a united party to ~~one standing~~ a divided one. But the Democratic party has, in its history, had its share of strife. We have a way of getting back together before election day.

There have been years of course, such as 1948, when we didn't get together and when we won anyway. No, I don't think a Republican victory is by any means inevitable---nor do I even think it is likely.

2. Q: What are your plans? ~~Will~~ you campaign in primary states? What will your role be in these next few months?

~~A:~~

A: As you know, I was in Indiana yesterday at a Democratic meeting. ~~I have~~ Because official business does keep the President in Washington, I have done a good deal of work with the party in my Vice Presidency. I expect to do more. It's too early to say just when and where I'll be in the weeks ahead. *But*

One thing is certain: I intend to work the best I know how for the President's renomination and reelection.

3. Q: Will the President run again?

A: I would certainly be surprised if he didn't.

4. Q: What are your predictions on the primary contests? Will the President run strongly...will he be defeated...will Senator Kennedy run ahead of Senator McCarthy?

A: Political prophesy is a losing game. The only prediction I'll make right now is this: The President will come to the nominating convention in a strong position. He will be renominated. And I expect him to be reelected.

5. Q: If the President is renominated, will Senators Kennedy and McCarthy support him?

A: I would certainly expect so. I know that Senator McCarthy has said on past occasions---since declaring his candidacy---that he preferred President Johnson over any Republican alternative. I would certainly hope that Senator Kennedy would feel the same. ~~I believe he's enough of a political realist to know~~

6. Q: Senator Kennedy inferred yesterday that, if both he and Senator McCarthy remained candidates at convention time, some kind of deal might be arranged between them. What might that be?

A: I also saw that Senator McCarthy said he wasn't interested in any deals. As I understood it, his position was that---if he dropped out---he would free his delegates to support whomever they wished.

7. Q: Why do you think Senator Kennedy decided to run? Why did he wait until after New Hampshire to declare his candidacy?

A: I would refer you to Senator Kennedy's own statements. I won't try to interpret him.

8. Q: Have you talked with either Senator Kennedy or McCarthy in the past few days?

A: I have talked briefly with Senator McCarthy. We are old friends. I have always respected the sincerity and honesty of his candidacy. We certainly haven't stopped communicating because of it.

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A: First of all, I don't think the President ran weakly. His name was not on the ballot. Senator McCarthy's was. All the President's votes therefore had to be write-ins.

The President did not campaign personally in New Hampshire. Senator McCarthy did---and he did so aggressively and effectively.

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10. Q: Would you comment on the advertising used by the President's supporters in New Hampshire, and on the use of coupons and pledge cards which required use of name and address? Didn't this harm the President?

A: I don't know. Things are sometimes undertaken in the heat of a campaign which are later regretted. I suspect some of the people who meant to

help the President in New Hampshire may now feel they tried to do so in the wrong way.

I want to make one thing clear: Senator McCarthy's campaign has been decent, honest and gentlemanly. ~~It has dealt with the issues.~~ It is certainly not the President's intention to reciprocate otherwise.

11. Q: Senator Kennedy says he feels the nation is drifting, ~~has lost support in the world,~~ and is following an immoral policy in Vietnam.

A: ~~I must say in all candor that I must disagree with Senator Kennedy. Whatever his intent in making these statements, I believe he is wrong. Drift: Far from it. There is a great deal of uncertainty and concern in America, I know, about the change and ferment all around us. But this is happening. The fact is this: President Johnson---and I believe the vast majority of the American people---have made their full and final commitment to building the full and free society we have always sought. And, in the carrying out of this commitment, there is inevitable. This is no small task. It involves changing the habits of generations. But it is a noble task. And it is far from drift. And it involves, above all, ferment. This is a troubled and difficult period. But it is far from a period of drift.~~

~~Support in the world: I have traveled over most of the world as Vice President. In many places, yes, I found concern over both our domestic what was happening in America. In few places I found concern over our policies in Southeast Asia. But nowhere did I find any hostility toward our country---except, of course, for the ever-present small group of Communist demonstrators.~~

~~I would be surprised to find that others in the world---others who depend on us for both physical and moral leadership---were not disturbed by the news they most often see about trouble in our streets...about the difficult situation in which we find ourselves in Asia. But we are too. But the issues are concerned as friends, not as adversaries. But that is not to say we should abandon policies we believe to be right, either at home or in Asia.~~

~~Immorality: This is the matter which, I think, has I regret this assertion. The reasons for our involvement in Southeast Asia have not changed over these past years. From President Eisenhower on, American Presidents have seen our involvement in Vietnam as a necessity in ~~bringing~~ maintaining peace and stability in the whole of Southeast Asia.~~

They have felt that the success of aggression in Vietnam would encourage wider and far more dangerous aggression, in all of Asia.

Now, that is the reason we are in Vietnam today. It was the reason we were in Vietnam when Senator Kennedy served in the Administration. At that time he made a number of strong statements---and they are all on the record---concerning the necessity of sticking it out there, just as President Kennedy did. Now he finds our effort "immoral."

I don't find any war moral. Far from it.

But I must say I find nothing moral about ~~#####~~ opening up a vast area of the world to the threat of further Communist subversion, pressure and force--when that area is not yet able to defend itself against them. So I must say that I find this charge both hard to understand and unsupportable ^{by fact.}

12. Q: Many people say that you support the President only because you are Vice President---that, if you were still in the Senate, you would be taking a line much like that of Senators Kennedy and McCarthy.

A: I support what I believe to be in the best interests of my country. That is why I support the President. If I felt I could not, I would either keep silent or would resign.

When I was in the Senate I was an outspoken advocate of social ^{progress} change in America. President Johnson has done more than any President in this century to promote that change. And I am proud to have been associated with that effort. ^{progress}

When I was in the Senate, I was also identified with measures to build the peace---such as arms control, the UN, ~~###~~ the Alliance for Progress, ~~and~~ the Peace Corps. I was equally identified and firm resistance to totalitarian aggression. I also took a strong position on the importance of our effort in Vietnam. President Johnson has stood for all these things.

No, if I were still a Senator, I am quite sure you would find me speaking out just as you find me ~~today as Vice~~ speaking out as Vice President.

13. Q: ~~Why is there such~~ If President Johnson's Administration has been so effective, why do the polls show him trailing Republicans? ~~Why is he being challenged from within his own party?~~

A: Anybody who knows history knows that performance and popularity don't often go together. There are many easy ways to be popular. There are fewer ways to be an effective President.

I don't need to remind you of the unfair and sometimes slanderous charges that have been made throughout history about our Presidents---especially our strong Presidents. ~~This was true~~ In this century, Wilson, both Roosevelts, and certainly President Kennedy ~~###~~ the object of public and ^{Truman,} ^{have been}

private defamation. ~~All have~~ I needn't remind you, for instance, that only a small minority of the American people supported President Truman during the dark days of the Korean War. But today he is revered, ~~for what he did.~~ And I know of no responsible person who believes we were mistaken to stand up in Korea. But both the ~~President and his policy~~ were deeply unpopular at the time. ^{Truman}

Any President who gets things done, who makes decisions, and who serves during difficult times is not asking for popularity. But I believe the American people are mature enough to recognize that this is so. And I also believe that, when it comes to specifically choosing the one man

they want to lead them, they take into account larger things such as ^{a man's} capacity, courage, and experience.

So I am not too worried about any temporary popularity polls. ~~They are volatile.~~ ~~They serve as a useful conversation piece. You can't live by them. But you can't make live policy by them---~~ and the man who does is soon recognized for it.

14. Q: You have talked about a "new isolationism." Do you regard Senators McCarthy and Kennedy as isolationists?

A: [Pickup attached.]

nomination to the World Bank with his strong endorsement.

I think it should be noted that this Administration has, in general, had a remarkable continuity and relatively small turnover in comparison to past Administrations. From time to time people leave; others replace them. But this is nothing startling. It is normal. As to Vietnam policy, I see no change. I think we are on the right course - - a course of moderation directed toward a peaceful, political settlement - - and we intend to pursue it.

5. Question: Not long ago you referred to a "new isolationism" emerging in America. Do you think Senator McCarthy's candidacy is a reflection of such an isolationism?

Answer:

Neither man
No. Senator McCarthy is not an isolationist. I do believe, though, that there is an ad hoc united front in America - - made up of many people who might disagree with each other on any number of specific issues - - who add up to a powerful force against many of our past and present domestic and international commitments. I think, taken together, this reflects a certain fatigue in America with the burdens of leadership - rather than any basically selfish or inward instinct.

Fatigue

*aid
Trade -
Disengagement*

We see this reflected now in the attacks on foreign aid ... in the efforts to turn back our longstanding policies of liberal trade ... in the calls for disengagement not only from Asia, but also from Europe and Latin America ... in the attacks on the war on poverty ... on much of our recent landmark economic and social legislation in America.

Again, I think fatigue is behind the New Isolationism while a certain degree of selfishness and heedlessness was behind the Old Isolationism. But it adds up to the same thing.

The antidote is a good dose of self-examination - - and of reality. To abandon our international

commitments, and to deny the rising expectations of millions of Americans - - both of these things are to ask for obvious and dangerous trouble. I think, by the way, that this will undoubtedly be a central issue of the 1968 campaign.

15. a. ^{Q:}
Question:

Taking this a little further, though, don't you think there is a real question today - - not related to anything like isolationism - - about just how far this country can stretch itself? Isn't that the basis of much disagreement about Vietnam - -- a feeling that those resources would be better spent elsewhere?

^{A:}
Answer:

See this

I agree entirely. Those resources would be far better spent elsewhere. So would the resources we expended in World Wars I and II, in Korea, in the Cuban Missile Crisis. And at home I am quite sure we would all prefer devoting more of our resources to education, for instance, and fewer to crime prevention and control. But when the peace is threatened, order has to be preserved. Now, internationally, of course, we have to ask; In this situation, is the general peace threatened? Might this situation lead to wider war? And we have to make an assessment. This is an important assessment to make in a world of nuclear weapons.

Now, it has been the assessment of four American Presidents that the situation in Vietnam required our involvement and the investment of our resources. The fact is that, even with our expenditures in Vietnam, we have more financial resources available to us for other things - - by far - - than at any other time in our history. The expended resources I regret most are the lives of people - - of all nationalities - - which have been lost in this conflict. You can generate new economic growth. You can never replace a lost father or son.

But now, as in the past, the men our people have chosen to lead them have believed we had no choice but to meet this obligation. I believe fervently that, by standing firm in Vietnam now, we are averting bigger trouble later on. And, when this conflict ends - -

as it certainly will one day - - I believe the American people will have reason for satisfaction that we did stand firm. I believe they will see that we saved resources - - both money and lives - - by learning the mistakes of the past and putting out a fire before it spread throughout an entire neighborhood ... in this case the neighborhood of Southeast Asia.

16. ~~7.~~ Question:

Q: But won't this stand cost President Johnson and yourself your jobs in 1968?

A: Answer:

~~Possibly.~~ *As I said before* But you cannot make decisions concerning war and peace... decisions vital to the security of this country on the basis of political opinion polls. I don't think the American people elected President Johnson and myself in the expectation that we would.

Now, we believe our course in Vietnam is critical to the safety of this country. We believe it heads off the danger of World War III. We believe it adds to the security of a vital area of the world and discourages further aggression there. We believe so on a basis of past human behavior ... on a basis of history in this and past centuries... on the basis of facts and data available to us.

Popularity doesn't enter into it.

But, finally, let me add this: I believe that, when the American people have to make their assessments in November 1968, they will reach just about the same conclusions we have. I have faith in that. It is one thing to be concerned or troubled -- as all of us are about this war. But it is another to make choices and decisions. I think the people will decide we have been right.

8. Question: What about General Eisenhower's suggestion of an invasion of North Vietnam?

Answer: It is not now -- nor has it been -- under any sort of consideration by our government. We have believed it would be a mistake to send ground troops into North Vietnam. I know this may be hard to understand for some Americans. But it is a part of this

difficult war that we must exercise all possible restraint so that it will not spread. We are meeting the aggression so it will not spread; but we are also limiting the scale of the conflict so it will not spread. That is hard to do, but we have done it. And we will continue to do so. In the meantime, we are using bombing and artillery in the North to ease the pressure on our ground troops in the South, where this struggle will finally be resolved.

17. ^Q Question:
^{A:} Answer:

How is this ^{Vietnam} war ever going to end?

It can end three ways. First, it can end by a negotiated settlement. That is a possibility. It can also end, as former Secretary Dean Acheson ^{has} suggested ~~the other day~~, when the Communists simply decide it no longer serves their purpose and they decide to stop it. That could happen too. There is, of course, a third possibility: That is, by a combination of the first two -- by a Communist recognition that an end of the aggression is in their interest, at which point they might possibly wish to enter into negotiations or discussions. In the meantime, we are keeping active on all fronts -- diplomatic, military, and so on -- which could lead to any of these solutions. *Any one of them will take time. And there is no mistake about it.*

10. Question:

When might any of these things happen? *about it.*

Answer:

No one can predict. I think the most critical single factor in all of this is the situation in the South Vietnamese countryside. Increasingly, as the enemy is defeated ... as he is able to exert less and less coercion and control over land areas --- as the people begin to feel more and more that they can safely support the popularly-elected South Vietnamese government, our adversary will have to make a reassessment. Up until now he has kept fighting. He has refused to talk. Either or both of those things might change if our progress continues in the countryside. So that is where I would keep my eye.

18. Q: What is the Administration doing to protect the dollar in face of the international "gold rush?"

A: Basically it comes down to tightening our belts. We have

~~passed a law removing the so-called "gold cover."~~ The Federal Reserve Board has increased the rediscount rate to 5 per cent. We are ~~increased the rediscount rate to 5 per cent. further~~

meeting with leaders of Congress to see where we can reduce the national budget. This will mean making some hard choices. We are trying to stem ~~the~~ ^{unnecessary} flight of dollars overseas, ~~for whatever reason they go.~~ ^{flow}

But the thing we need most is ~~###~~ still in the hands of the Congress--- namely the 10 per cent tax surcharge we have been seeking now for many, many months. The country just must have this surcharge if the rest of the world is to take seriously our efforts to protect the dollar.

~~Now, the average citizen has a hard time grasping the technicalities of the "gold rush."~~

~~Central bankers from around the world have been meeting this weekend in Washington. We hope they will~~

For the average citizen this is all difficult to understand. It is quite true that the strength of any currency ultimately depends on the strength of the economy behind it. The American economy is the strongest in the world---so why is the dollar in difficulty?

partly

The answer lies in the fact that, because of our role of world leadership, we have overseas expenditures which are most difficult to cut back without jeopardizing our safety and freedom. ~~such as costs for defense~~
But it also lies in the fact that the whole international monetary system needs modernization and reform so that such a situation ~~of artificial~~ ~~business~~ will not arise again. In the meantime, we must take the hard steps necessary to protect the dollar in the face of speculators. And we intend to do so.

19. Q: Might that 10 per cent surcharge become a 20 per cent surcharge, as Secretary Fowler hinted the other day?

A: Only if costs in Southeast Asia made it necessary.

Please see attached other materials of use.

March 17

MEMORANDUM

FOR: The Vice President
FROM: Norman L. Holmas
SUBJECT: ISSUES AND ANSWERS (March 17, 1968) Background Material
DATE: March 16, 1968

Attached is a proposed talking line for your Issues and Answers appearance:

- 1) Comparing the "Riot" Commission and Administration proposals and programs, and
- 2) An historical perspective on the necessity to resist aggression.

ISSUES AND ANSWERS MATERIAL
FOR MARCH 17, 1968 SUNDAY

QUESTION:

Mr. Vice President, it has been suggested that the Administration does not endorse the report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, commonly known as the Riot Commission Report. In your view, what is the position of the Administration concerning the Riot Commission Report?

ANSWER:

As you know, the President has called upon all the agencies of Government to study this report with specific reference to the recommendations made by the Commission.

The principal recommendations made by the Commission concerning the role of the Federal Government fall into four categories, dealing with employment, education, the welfare system, and housing. The record of activities of this Administration in these categories is without parallel in the history of this country. I think that a reading of the Commission Report demonstrates this, for in fact, the Commission repeatedly noted the great scope of the Federal Government's activities ^{over} of the past few years.

For example, with regard to employment, the Commission noted that "Federal expenditures for manpower development and training have increased from less than \$60 million in 1963 to \$1.6 billion in 1968. The President has proposed a further increase to \$2.1 billion in 1969 to provide work experience, training, and supportive services for 1.3 million men and women." The Commission's report was issued on March 3 of this year and the above quoted reference is with regard to the President's Message on Manpower on January 23 of this year. The Commission report states that "the most compelling and difficult challenge is presented by some 50,000 "hard-core" unemployed who live within the central city." The President's Manpower Message treats specifically with the problems of the 500,000 hard-core unemployed.

In the area of education, the amount of funds expended by this Administration in the past four years is more than double the amount of Federal funds expended for education in the previous 100 years. Under programs supported by this Administration, 9 million educationally disadvantaged children in 18,000 school districts in all of the 50 states have received special assistance in educational programs and services. The Commission specifically commends and urges

the expansion of such programs as the Teacher Corps, the National Youth Corps, and the College Work-Study Program. These of course are all programs that were initiated by this Administration. The problem confronted by the Administration in expanding these and other programs and making them more effective has not stemmed from any reticence on the part of the Administration, but has rather been as a result of Congressional unwillingness to accept all the recommendations made by the Administration for additional funding.

In 1960, for example, the Office of Education spent a total of \$474 million in support of education. For the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1968, and for that Fiscal Year alone, the Office of Education will spend \$3.9 billion in support of education, or approximately 9 times the amount spent by the Federal Government through the Office of Education in 1960.

In the area of higher education, the Commission Report supports the recommendation for the expansion of the existing Upward Bound Program, a program designed to motivate and prepare students from poverty backgrounds for college. The Commission supports the recommendations of the President's

proposed Education Opportunity Act of 1968.

In sum, the Commission states "the Federal Government has recognized and responded to this need (financing the expansion of education). Federal expenditures for education, training, and related services have increased from \$4.7 billion in Fiscal 1964 to \$12.3 billion in Fiscal 1969 ... This network of Federal educational programs provides a sound and comprehensive basis for meeting the inter-related educational needs of disadvantaged students. We need now to strengthen that base, as we have proposed, and to build upon it to provide greatly increased Federal funds for the education of the disadvantaged."

As concerns the welfare system, the President, as recently as January 2, 1968, has stated "The welfare system in America is outmoded and in need of major change." On that same date, the President established a Commission on Income Maintenance Programs to look into all aspects of existing welfare and related programs and to make recommendations for constructive improvements. On that occasion, the President stated, "We must examine any and every plan, however unconventional, which could promise a constructive advance in

meeting the income needs of the American people."

The Commission's Report takes note of this effort and states that "it should be of particular importance in providing direction."

Finally, as concerns the housing recommendations of the Commission, the Commission recommends that there be provision of 600,000 low and moderate-income housing units next year and 6 million units over the next five years.

The President's housing message of February 22, 1968, also called for the construction of 6 million housing units, but proposed their construction over a 10 period with a start of 300,000 units in the coming year. The issue of whether or not 6 million units are built over the next 10 or five years and whether we have 600,000 housing starts next year or have only 300,000 next year all are based principally on what action the Congress authorizes.

The Model Cities Program, inaugurated by this Administration, is characterized in the Commission Report as "potentially the most effective weapon in the Federal arsenal for a long-term, comprehensive attack on the problems of American cities.

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"The President has recommended that \$1 billion be appropriated for Model Cities. He strongly supported this recommendation as a minimum start, noting that a much greater scale of funding will ultimately be necessary if the program proves successful and if it is to be made available to all the cities that require such aid. "Here again, whether the recommended funding is, in the words of the Commission, "a minimum start," or a final expenditure, will depend upon what the Congress does in the future.

I do not wish to suggest that everything that the Commission recommended is a part of an existing Federal program, but I do wish to make it amply clear that there is no basic conflict between the programs of this Administration and the Commission Report. Only someone who has not read the Commission Report and was totally unfamiliar with existing Federal programs could reach the conclusion that this Administration's programs and the Commission Report are in conflict.

The dedication of the Administration to the support of Civil Rights is exemplified by the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts. The question of whether we have legislation, as the Commission recommends, providing for open occupancy on housing without regard to race, creed, or color, is not an issue for the Administration to decide, for the Administration has taken its stand in this regard. The President in his letter of February 19, 1968 to Senator Hart of Michigan stated unequivocally "fair housing practices --- backed by Federal laws that apply to every section of this country --- are essential if we are to resolve the crisis of our cities." The Senate has passed a Civil Rights bill containing such an open housing provision. The Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives has stated their intention to bring this matter to an early vote. House Minority Leader, Gerald Ford, has stated his opposition to such an approach. Here again, the issue is not one of Administration leadership, for that has been demonstrated. The question now rests in the House of Representatives and most particularly with the Republican minority.

I think that there is no question that the problems of our cities, as detailed in the Commission Report, do not arise as a result of policies that the Administration has pursued. On the contrary, some of the most successful steps to solve these problems have been taken in this past few years as a result of the policies pursued by this Administration. Nor have we sought to make empty promises. In 1961, the Federal Government spent approximately \$16.8 million to meet the problems of our cities. The President has recommended expenditure of over \$37.5 billion in the next year to deal with these problems.

This Administration is firmly committed to meeting its obligations here at home and abroad. In so doing, it has sought to act responsibly and to protect the economy from the dangers of inflation that such expenditures might represent.

In this connection, the Administration has proposed a modest tax increase that will expire on June 30, 1969. The Coalition of Retreat in the Congress has constantly opposed and sometimes successfully cut the Administration's proposals to meet our domestic problems. It has also constantly resisted, thus far successfully, the proposed tax increase.

The issue as I see it is not one of whether we are capable of doing the things that we must do, but rather whether we have the determination to meet these obligations.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, in your view, why are we in Viet Nam, and why must we remain there?

ANSWER: We are in Viet Nam basically because of commitments made by three Presidents to guarantee the security of Viet Nam against Aggression. The lessons of history dictate that we remain there.

To leave Viet Nam, to fail to fulfill our commitments under international treaties that the United States has entered into, would be an act sacrificing the security and welfare of our children and grandchildren.

In the 1930s the free world refused to meet the challenge of aggression and subversion in China, in the Ruhr, in Ethiopia, and in Spain and Czechoslovakia and Austria. This failure to meet aggression ultimately resulted in the Second World War. From the time that the Japanese crossed the bridge into Manchuria till the last gun was stilled in the Pacific, some 55 million people were killed.

We stand in Viet Nam opposing aggression as we have opposed aggression in Greece and Korea. We stand in Viet Nam as we stood in Berlin and in the Cuban missile crisis, to prevent the tragic errors of the 30s from overtaking us.

President Kennedy made a most discerning statement about Viet Nam in September of 1963 when he observed "... What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the Government in Saigon, that we should withdraw ... I think that we should stay. We should use our influence in as effective a way as we can, but we should not withdraw."

Ours is a commitment to peace and freedom in recognition of the fact that there can be no peace where aggression is unopposed.



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