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ISSUES AND ANSWERS

ABC Television Center  
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Sunday, June 4, 1972  
Taped 2:00 p.m.  
Broadcast 7:00 p.m.

GUESTS

From Los Angeles:

Senator Hubert Humphrey  
Democrat of Minnesota

General Taylor Hardin  
Representing  
Governor George Wallace of  
Alabama

Senator George McGovern  
Democrat of South Dakota

Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles

From New York City:

Representative Shirley Chisholm  
Democrat of New York

REPORTED BY:

Darlene L. Slosser, CSR  
Betty Sue Pearson, CSR

P R O C E E D I N G S

TELEVISION STATION: Regularly scheduled programs will not be seen at this time so we may bring to you the following one-hour special edition of Issues and Answers.

From Los Angeles, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.

General Taylor Hardin, representative of Governor Wallace of Alabama.

Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota.

Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles.

And from New York City, Representative Shirley Chisholm, Democrat of New York.

2 PRESS: From Los Angeles, California and New York City, the American Broadcasting Company brings you an hour-long special edition of the award-winning program, Issues and Answers.

The candidates in the California primary, next Tuesday, June 6, will be interviewed by Sam Donaldson; ABC news correspondent, Bill Matney, and ABC news special correspondent, Frank Reynolds.

PRESS: I want to welcome each of you and all of you to this special edition to Issues and Answers.

Let me just take a moment to say ABC News originally had invited Senator McGovern and Senator Humphrey, the two leading candidates for the presidential election. Mrs. Chisholm has also been invited to participate.

ABC News agreed to earlier requests for appearances from Mayor Yorty and the campaign headquarters for George Wallace.

That explains this cast here today and Mrs. Chisholm in New York.

One question we want to put to each of you gentlemen and Mrs. Chisholm. It may seem innocuous to some of you and others it may not.

Will you pledge today to support the nominee of a Democratic candidate and will you limit your answers to just one minute.

Senator McGovern.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I will pledge to support the nominee of the candidate at its national convention, because I think it is of utmost importance of this nation that there be a change in the Administration. I think the Democratic Party will be able to pull itself together to place before the American people a strong ticket, to carry the case for a tax reform to the American people, to end this war, to return our prisoners of war and that we end this war, to bring about a rebuilding of our cities, to reconstruct this economy so that jobs are available, and people do not have to suffer the pains and tragedy of unemployment, and to start to do something about the basic human needs of this country in an education and health and care of children and an adequate pension and dignity for our elderly.

PRESS: Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Hardin, you represent Governor Wallace.

MR. HARDIN: Mr. Reynolds, I think I occupy a rather unique role here today and the question you posed is a more or less personal question and let me answer in this regard, if I might.

Since last fall and certainly since the first of the fall, Governor Wallace has directed his sole attentions and activities toward nothing else other than the Democratic nomination to the Presidency. He has given his all, as you know, toward that end. He now finds himself less than a month away from that convention. He still considers himself a most viable candidate.

You referred to the two leading candidates. I think three leading candidates. Certainly popular vote is number one and delegate votes number two, as I understand it.

The question you ask is personal to him and I cannot foresee all of the foreseeable events of the convention that might take place. So a refutable answer I would not like to give.

But I would like to say to you that the Governor has nothing else in his mind, he has devoted himself to nothing more than the Democratic nomination of the Presidency, and I am sure that is a course he will pursue.

PRESS: Senator McGovern.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: Mr. Reynolds, it is my present inclination to support the nomination of the Democratic Party as I did in 1968.

I think I can say that with greater confidence in 1972 because the whole delegate selection process by which we select a Democratic nominee is much more open and much more representative this year than it was four years ago.

I am confident that we are going to have a convention in Miami Beach that will be fairly representative of all groups in the country. It will be fairly well divided between men and women. It will have fair representation for black people, for Mexican-Americans, for young people. Under those circumstances, I think that the nominee will be the person who is most broadly representative of the interests and the concerns of the Democratic Party. I will intend to support that person.

PRESS: Mayor Yorty?

MAYOR YORTY: As far as I am concerned, I have been a Democrat all my life, but I am not a professional Democrat and I reserve the right to use my own thinking power to make the decision.

I will not sign a blank check to support any Democrat who happens to be nominated.

However, I am very interested in the defense of the United States, in our military establishment, to see that it is adequate, and I am very interested in jobs for

Californians.

Some of the Senators here today voted against the American Supersonic Transport Program. It cost us 150,000 jobs in aerospace. It would be different if they were really killing supersonic transports, but the Russians are showing theirs at air fairs and trying to sell them. The British have ten orders for theirs. And I am interested in the defense of the country and economy of the State and Nation and will wait and see who the candidates are.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm.

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: I cannot just support any candidate nominated by the Democratic Party because he is the Democratic nominee.

I think it is important to understand before the convention or the nomination of the President at the convention that there are going to be important challenges raised at the convention this year in terms of groups that didn't have real input. And although we did have structure and mechanism for the broadest kind of representation in our Democratic section, we have quite a number of things that don't follow that, so to the broadest kind of representation as to how those credentials are going to be settled when they are challenged at the convention, not a blank check.

PRESS: Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm.

As I read it here, we have five contenders for the

Democratic convention, only two of whom will actively or openly profess to support the nominee.

Mr. Hardin, you are the personal representative of Governor Wallace on this program. Are you able to say that Governor Wallace will not pledge his support to President Nixon?

MR. HARDIN: That he will not pledge his support to President Nixon? I cannot conceive of that happening, Mr. Reynolds.

PRESS: Senator McGovern, you talked about convention and rules of selection process as part of rules of your office. You said awhile ago you wouldn't challenge --  
[Inaudible.]

As you know, Mayor Daley of Chicago has said in his exact words, "To hell with the rules. Delegations can be challenged." But you have not done so.

Two questions:

Why did you not challenge Mayor Daley, and why do you take the stand others have taken?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I do not subscribe with the view, "To hell with the rules," obviously. I will do everything I can as a member of that Democratic convention in 1972 to see that every challenge has a fair hearing.

I am not a part of the challenge to Mayor Daley's delegates in Chicago. I made that decision because we had no McGovern delegates that we are contesting the Mayor's



delegates in Chicago.

If I had made the choice some months ago to run McGovern slates in Chicago and I felt that those slates had been defeated by unfairly selected delegates, we would be in there participating in the challenge.

Now, I am not opposed to the challenge that is being brought in Chicago. It simply is not my challenge. I have said that I want them to get a fair hearing. I don't know all the merits of the challenge presently being brought in Chicago, but it is entitled to a fair hearing, it is entitled to be heard all the way up to the convention itself, and when we get a clear picture of the merits, I will cast my influence on the side that I think is right.

PRESS: Just to nail this down to those people who might say that you are not challenging them because you are afraid of offending Mayor Daley, what is your answer to that?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I would just have to say to those people that from the very beginning that the Chairman of the Reform Commission, I have taken the political risk involved in lending my name to 28 new guidelines that were not very popular with some people in this country. All of them were not popular with Mayor Daley or with other party leaders, but we held our ground. We came out with what we felt was a fair way of selecting the delegates to our party, and I am going to stand by that.

It is not my personal responsibility to bring challenges in every state of the Union where I think something may be out of line. If there are other states bringing those challenges, and at some point if I have a chance to help, I'll join from that effort.

PRESS: There's one other aspect of this Chicago challenge I would like to get clarified here.

One of the leaders of the Daley challenge is Reverend Jesse Jackson, who is here in California today campaigning for you. He indicates that he will take this challenge to the convention floor, and I have been informed that many of our own delegates, black and white, from New York, California, Louisiana, South Carolina will support that challenge.

PRESS: Now, will you support those people?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: Those delegates are free, of course, to support the challenge if they wish.

I talked to Reverend Jackson, and I have talked to Alderman Singer from Chicago, who is one of the leading challengers involved in this effort. Both of them told me they wanted to proceed on their own. They didn't request my help. But if at some point I think they are not getting a fair hearing, I'll step in to do what I can to be helpful.

Now, I can't make these judgments finally. Finally, they are made by the Credentials Committee and the delegates for the 1972 convention. But I will have one voice there, and I'll use it on the side of Justice when it comes to the seating of delegates.

PRESS: I know you want to move on, but I would like to ask why Senator Humphrey, why don't you challenge Mayor Daley?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think the case ought to be heard by the Credentials Committee. We have Patricia Harris,

a distinguished lawyer, an ambassador of quality, who is the Chairwoman of that Credentials Committee.

PRESS: You are passing the buck.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not at all. I think a man would be unworthy of public trust if he started to prejudge a case before the evidence is in.

PRESS: You know, there aren't enough blacks, enough women on the delegation. Isn't there a prima facie case that you can discuss?

SENATORY HUMPHREY: Frankly, I do not know that. And may I say that the State of Minnesota was the first state to abide by all the new rules.

I recommended Senator Harris as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. I helped to report to the McGovern committee. I stand by those reforms. But I do not believe that we ought to be judging people in the public press or on the television show before somebody has had a chance to present their case.

We put up a Credentials Committee and the Credentials Committee is a good one, and the Credential Committee is the product of a reformed convention. And I think they'll make a decent ruling, and I'll support the ruling of the Credentials Committee.

PRESS: Let's go on, if we may, to another topic that I know of, that is perhaps of wider interest.

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After your last debate the other night, Senator McGovern and Senator Humphrey, I had a letter from a woman in California, as a seven-year-POW wife.

"I found that Senators Humphrey and McGovern on the POW issues on last evening's program sadly lacking."

She goes on to suggest a few questions, and I want to put this to you, Senator Humphrey.

PRESS: Please ask Senator Humphrey if he agrees or disagrees with President Nixon's present action in Vietnam on the Hanoi issue and the acts of the Americans missing in action.

She said, "Please do not read my name on the air because I have received some unpleasant mail about this."

What is your idea?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's my judgment that President Nixon in his most recent statement said we were prepared, once there was an agreement on the prisoners of war release, to withdraw all forces from Vietnam, all forces.

He removed any part or discussion about the quality or the formation of the government in South Vietnam. In other words, he tied down the release of the prisoners with a simultaneous -- or the removal of our forces with a simultaneous release of the prisoners.

That is my position.

Now, let me give you a suggestion. I want President Nixon to immediately proceed, since he has been to Peking and Moscow himself, to immediately proceed to send a high-level Administration emissary to Hanoi to work out the release of these prisoners.

I might suggest, a man with the strength of a former Cabinet officer, to send him to Hanoi to see if we can pin down what President Nixon said he would do: namely, withdraw

all of our forces, and the missing in action.

I would not, by the way, leave those prisoners of war, if I am the President. I would not permit our prisoners of war to rot in prison simply because we are removing all forces from Vietnam.

I think Hanoi must know the price to release prisoners of war for the removal of American forces.

PRESS: You think you should send John Connally?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Maybe somebody else. But I think he has the strength and ability to do the job.

PRESS: I know I am taking up too much time.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think he is the kind of man we need. He knows what is going on. I believe he can be of great use.

PRESS: I would like to direct a question to Mayor Yorty. He is suspicious because the Soviets obviously are gleeful over what they got. Senator Jackson said he doesn't like the limited arms pact.

Do you support the President's action?

MAYOR YORTY: First of all, you said one minute, and then you take ten minutes on that delegation.

I would like to comment on the prisoners of war.

I am the only one here wearing the Prisoner of War bracelet. I am the only one that met with them in February. We asked all the candidates, and they wrote a letter, and the

only way you are going to get the prisoners of war back is to put pressure on.

I wouldn't take their promises. Certainly I approve on what is happening in Vietnam now because I recommended it in 1965.

This is a copy of a speech I made here in Los Angeles which I said the support of high function should be closed. I went to President Johnson to close that support. If he had done it, we wouldn't be discussing the war here today.

President Nixon, belatedly, as far as I am concerned, I would have bombed the supplies north of DMZ before they came through there, and I asked that it be done, and he didn't do it.

Now, it is a clear invasion, and he has taken the action that he felt necessary, and I wish all these Democratic candidates would say, This is you, let's be Americans first, let's take it out of politics, back what he is doing, and discuss economics of some issues where I think President Nixon is very vulnerable.

PRESS: As long as we are still on Vietnam, what is Governor Wallace's program to secure the release of the American troops?

MR. HARDIN: It's an issue to support the present action being taken. We believe the pressure should be put on the enemy.



The Governor's position was and always has been any time American forces are committed to battle, they should have the all-out support of the American people, the materiel and morale facets, and everything should be put behind our men in combat.

Once the decision is made that the full support is not going to be rendered, then we think the troops should be withdrawn.

But the Governor feels, and he feels very strongly, and I was going to mention to the Governor and his wife, both, who have worn on their arms the prisoners of war bracelets, and he feels it is absolutely essential any agreement or termination of this war must be conditioned on the return of the MIS and POW's.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: After all the eight years this war has been continuing, and even military have come back to this country and indicate this is a war the United States cannot win -- [inaudible].

As long as the meetings have been going on in Paris, I think we have to realize an error has been made. The pressure of the Geneva Convention and world would cause something to be done with respect to prisoners.

If you are going to [inaudible] --

Should be released before we end the war. We are

going to continue to accumulate many more American prisoners of war.

There has been no indication at all that prisoners are going to be released. Meanwhile, more American boys are being taken prisoners every day. They are incarcerated under -- [inaudible].

I think we have to say, "Let's get out of there," and at the same time continue negotiations for the release of the prisoners, recognizing that more and more prisoners are being taken in each day until the 50,000 lives have been lost already.

Sixty-five percent of the American people have said they want out. Red lines, economic lines. This is a Government of the people.

The American people have spoken. I think that should be the criteria.

PRESS: I am not sure we are completely clear.

Would you take all the troops out before the troops have retired?

MRS. CHISHOLM: Yes. Because I believe the pressure of world opinion would further cause the release of those prisoners as fast as possible.

We have been in Paris, what, two or three years now, sitting around those different tables, negotiating and trying to have something -- [inaudible].

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And with respect to the release of our prisoners and absolutely nothing has been said at this point. How much longer can we go on fooling ourselves?

PRESS: I want to refer back to this telegram that the lady sent to me the other day and there was a reference to you in it, too, Senator McGovern. This is what she says:

"On what evidence does Senator McGovern base his assumption that POW's will be released by North Vietnamese after the American troops withdrawals? I feel he has no right to risk my husband's life on these assumptions."

SENATOR MC GOVERN: Mr. Reynolds, first of all, I agree 100 percent with what Representative Chisholm just said. She is talking common sense on this issue.

It is clear now that we are not going to get our prisoners released if we stay on this present military course. Each new day brings another American prisoner.

Now, I think the President has done us a great disservice in leaving the implication if we just keep bombing and dropping mines and maintaining our military support for General Thieu, that that will bring about the release of our prisoner. Obviously, it will do just the opposite.

It means more men held in prison and the locks on those cells are made tighter.

So there is only one way that we can hold out any hope for the release of our prisoners, and that is to end the war, withdraw our forces, terminate military aid to General Thieu and then we have to go on the faith that we have after ever previous war, that once the fighting is stopped, the

prisoners will be released.

No one can guarantee that, but what we can guarantee is that as long as we stay there, our prisoners are going to stay in their cells.

PRESS: May I ask you and Mrs. Chisholm, since you have a similar question, if your faith is not vindicated, if Hanoi doesn't release the prisoners or haggles over the release, what action would you take?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: First thing, Mr. Donaldson, we are no worse of with the prisoners than we are now. I think you agree with that. They are still in jail in either case.

Second, take our case to the international community with more force than we are at the time when we are taking the attack to North Vietnam and continuing a military presence, which must of the rest of the world doesn't support.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm?

REP. CHISHOLM: I think we have to recognize what is happening in terms of past involvement of our country, and at the end of each involvement we find most of our prisoners haven't been released.

I think we are entertaining the pressures --

5a PRESS: Let me interrupt. I don't mean to be rude.

What if you are wrong -- and I am not saying you are wrong -- but if you are wrong, as President of the United States, what action would you take?

REP. CHISHOLM: The only action I could take is constantly negotiate for the prisoners and the very fact of the matter is the prisoners are still there in Vietnam, although we have been negotiating the past three years in Paris. So it doesn't make any difference.

It seems to me in this situation, before we get any more prisoners, we may as well get out of the war and hoping that the pressure of world opinion will help us get release of our prisoners because we have no evidence right now that that is uppermost in the minds of the enemy that we have been dealing with in Paris in the past three years.

PRESS: Senator Humphrey?

SENATORY HUMPHREY: I think there are other options and I cannot agree with Senator McGovern and Representative Chisholm on leaving prisoners there. First of all, we have not used the facilities of the United Nations as a good office to try to get those prisoners out of there, and we should.

Secondly, we should set a firm date of withdrawal of American forces. That date should be given to the presidential emissary, and unmistakable, clear date. That

emissary should take that date to Hanoi and say that within these perimeters, whatever date it would be, the President said four months, within that period of time, we are prepared to withdraw all of our forces if simultaneously the prisoners of war are released.

Now, why thrown in the sponge ahead of time? What you are really saying here is we are going to get out and hope that the prisoners of war will be released.

I don't think there is any evidence that Hanoi will keep that agreement. But I think there is evidence that you can use the force of world community, the United Nations, Peking, the Soviet Union, and a personal emissary in Hanoi and try to lay it on the line and end the war and get those prisoners of war out of there.

PRESS: I would like to move on to another question and I would like to address this to Mr. Hardin.

George Wallace was quoted some weeks ago as saying blacks would support him if they got to know him better.

Now, what has happened to Mr. Wallace, the Governor, to change his basic opinion on race, racial relations, and so forth? What has changed him to make him say that?

GENERAL HARDIN: May I revise your question?

I don't think that Governor Wallace's position has changed whatsoever.

It happens that what he says is true. When you

come to know him better, this impression of him disappears, and I think that what he says is true, and I think we found it true to a large extent in Alabama because of the many things he has done there, in the way of educational activities, compassion that he has for all races, the fact that he has provided through state government for people of all races.

And I have known this gentleman for 35 years, I guess. I have never heard him one time face a decision or opinion on race.

I think that what he says is absolutely true. If you seek his advice, you should know him better and know his positions better.

PRESS: Has he revoked the statement that he delivered in his inaugural speech several years ago when he said, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever"?

GENERAL HARDIN: I think that has been revoked by very many intervening events.

You and I know segregation is not here today or tomorrow and probably going forever. So we certainly know that segregation is no longer an issue in this country whatsoever.

So it calls for no -- that issue has been resolved.

PRESS: One issue that remains heated, Mr. Hardin, is the question of bussing. I am curious to know, and bussing



must be in the Democratic platform, and what must the stance of a Democratic nominee be on this question of bussing in order to keep the Governor in the fold?

GENERAL HARDIN: Let's broaden it a bit there.

Bussing, of course, is a very burning issue to people in many states. Wisconsin it was. Michigan it was. Florida it was. To a certain extent in this state it is. But I think Governor Wallace's opinions on these matters has been predicated on a larger base, and that is Federal interference with local control of schools, and I think this has been with him throughout his period of public service.

I think bussing in his mind and in the minds of most people I discuss the matter with, this is symbolic, and points up the epitome of interference.

PRESS: Are you going to require that the Democratic platform make a statement against school bussing?

GENERAL HARDIN: I don't know that we can require the Democratic platform to do anything. But I do think that the Democratic platform of its own initiative, if it seeks a successful election in the fall, certainly should state something free from interference in public schools.

PRESS: Mayor Yorty, let's start with you and change the subject to the Mideast.

If you were President, would you commit, under any circumstances, U. S. combat or support troops in a shooting war in the Mideast?

MAYOR YORTY: Well, I would if it meant that Israel was going to be defeated and the great energy sources of the Middle East fall under the domination of the Soviets.

There is a good chance this might happen anyway, because the Soviet Navy and military force is very strong, very strong in the Mediterranean now. They have air bases along the southern rim of the Mediterranean. I am not sure our fleets would get out of there in a conflict and I am sure of one thing, if you accept Senator McGovern's cuts in defense, our defense will be so weak and so low that we would be in danger.

I wrote a series of articles for the Hearst paper in 1965 and what I sent in is happening today.

I went to President Johnson and I urged him to stop the support of the United States for the refugee camps there. I said, "They are nothing but a hotbed of diversion and they will start war," and I had him pretty sold on that idea, I thought. But the American people didn't know we were paying 70 percent of the costs of keeping refugees in those camps where they hated it.

I said, "We are paying so much of your cost and you don't even appreciate it," and they said, "No, it is Truman's fault. He caused it and it is unappreciated."

PRESS: You would come to defense of arms?

MAYOR YORTY: I will tell you so, I don't think it is going to be necessary. In my opinion Israelis have atomic weapons and I think before they are driven into the sea, they will unleash that.

PRESS: On what evidence do you base that statement?

MAYOR YORTY: I have evidence.

PRESS: Can you tell us what it is?

MAYOR YORTY: No, I can't.

But I have talked to some very prominent Israelis and, you know, they helped build the nuclear weapons for the French, and, you know, they have got the skills, they have got a place there at Technian University at Haiphong.

PRESS: Senator McGovern, would you commit combat troops?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: General Dayan, the great commander of the Israelis, has said the greatest mistake Israel could make would be to request American troops. He went on to say he could not see any circumstance on which American forces would be necessary in the Middle East.

I don't see any point in doing saber-rattling by saying what we will do with the Russians if they interfere in the Middle East.

I think we have to make it clear we will meet the legitimate questions Israel has made, which is the right to purchase American jet aircraft and other military equipment.

They have one of the finest and devoted armies in the history of this world. They don't need American troops. What they need is tools to provide for their own defense and that is what we have to provide.

PRESS: But if General Dayan changes his mind and if Israel is under very great attack, would you commit troops?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: With Soviet invasion of the Middle East, of course, we would have to do what we could to meet it or against any other independent country, we have to respond. I don't think that is going to happen.

And I want to say in response to Mayor Yorty's comments about my defense views, I believe enough nuclear power and conventional power in the Mediterranean under the budget I proposed that would overwhelm anything the Soviets ever thought of putting into the Mediterranean, including the American carrier task force, the greatest concentration of nuclear power ever assembled on any fleet any time in history. We are perfectly capable of responding if we have to with the Sixth Fleet.

MAYOR YORTY: Let me add, what the Senator is proposing is a resort to nuclear power, which might not be necessary if we maintain our conventional power, and he is not right. We do not have overwhelming conventional power in the Middle East. That is a misstatement.

PRESS: Go ahead, Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: This is the critical area of the world. The Middle East. And this is where our national interests are really involved. The underbelly of NATO is there. That is all of the Mediterranean. And Israel is a loyal friend and a great democracy, and it merits our full and

hardened support.

The way to prevent a possibility, Mr. Donaldson, so your question could be answered in the affirmative, is to see that our defenses are adequate.

And, Senator McGovern, the fact is that the Sixth Fleet will not be strong enough with conventional forces particularly to give good account of itself.

We took seven aircraft carriers in the Cuban Crisis.

Senator McGovern's defense cuts would remove all of our aircraft carriers to six. And that would mean that there is really one left for the Sixth Fleet.

Furthermore, the Senator has not supported in the Congress of the United States the commitments and the resources which Israel needs.

Now, he voted against the defense procurement bill, Senator McGovern, that would provide \$500 million for Israel for defense --

SENATOR MC GOVERN: The Senator knows why. Because it also contains funds for China, which he chided me before.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: But may I say, when it came to defense appropriations, it included funds for Vietnam, you voted for that.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: And, Senator Humphrey, you objected to it. You objected to that and voted for the other.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You are inconsistent.

You voted against \$300 million for Israel, against the \$80 million for Israel and voted against \$50 million for Israel. Those are votes, final votes.

And I think the Israelis must be saying, "I wonder what bill we have to get into Congress."

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm, we will get to you in a moment, if we may. But Senator Humphrey has partially answered my question.

If necessary, or under any circumstances, rather, would you commit United States ground troops or support troops in the Mideast?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: If our NATO allies are threatened -- wait a minute -- the Middle East involves NATO, Mr. Donaldson.

PRESS: You know I am talking about Israel and the Arab land.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: My judgment is we ought to be prepared at all times to take whatever action necessary. But it would be foolish on the part of a man on this program to say, "We are ready to go to war tomorrow morning," in a particular set of circumstances.

Israel never asked for American troops, never asked for an American division, and you and I know it. Why put them in the position they are asking for American forces?

We should be prepared to take whatever steps necessary to fulfill our treaty requirements and --

PRESS: We have no treaty.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: With NATO we have in the southern flank of NATO, and I say if we have the forces present and we don't weaken NATO and we have the NATO forces in proper strength and if we give Israel the means of her defense, she can take care of anybody. Israel has had no trouble taking care of herself.



5d PRESS: Now, I am going to get to Mrs. Chisholm. You have been very patient, Mrs. Chisholm.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, she has, indeed.

PRESS: Gentlemen, one of the reasons we raised this question is because we heard from you, Senator Humphrey and Senator McGovern, no more Vietnams, and want to find out the conditions under which you would commit troops.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have given you an answer.

A lot of difference between Vietnam, where we have no business, and a solid treaty of NATO, with the Mediterranean -- Mediterranean is part of Africa and part of the Middle East. That --

PRESS: Don't we have treaties?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Protocols, but no signed treaty.

PRESS: How about this treaty we heard about for so many years, which was the justification of going into the war?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That was a misunderstanding between Eisenhower and South Vietnam. But no difference between NATO and Grand Alliance and the protocols that we have in Southeast Asia.

You asked me what my point of view is. I consider the Middle East as a critical part of the world, and I say we should be prepared to defend ourselves there, but nobody

in his right mind would be willing to start a premature war, to answer a question of Mr. Donaldson.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm?

REP. CHISHOLM: I would like to give my position on the situation.

I would like to say what Dr. Weisman said, quote: "Not one right to right a wrong in the entire Middle East situation."

We heard the question of -- (inaudible) -- back in 1948. But in the process of creating this statement, it is very necessary for the Jewish people -- all world powers forgot what is necessary to do to the thousands of Palestinians that live in that area. You can't whisk them away from the face of the earth.

I think it is important to include them in negotiations or we will continue to have in the Middle East problems.

[Inaudible] -- we can't constantly feel we are going to be able to solve the problems of the world in terms of talking about arms and jets.

[Inaudible] -- and the Middle East has never been handled by the world powers.

We are always talking about, "Well, are you for or against Israel?" or "Are you for or against something for Arabia?" What Russia and the United States needs to do, both

of them, is get out of the Middle East and let the Arabians and Israelis settle the question.

As long as you have Russia on one side and you have the United States on the other side, you will never have peace in the Middle East. You have to get out completely. Palestine is the difficulty of that area.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm, while we have you on the line, and changing the subject, getting back to domestic affairs of some moment, why do you believe that Senator Kennedy will be the nominee in July, Democratic nominee?

REP. CHISHOLM: I say that on the basis of many of the people not taking into account -- on the basis of the numerous challenges that will be put before the convention, and to the extent that those challenges are settled satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily, we may have another candidate emerging, or team of candidates emerging to keep that convention together.

There is no doubt that the challenge by the Illinois delegation, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia delegations are going to be challenged. The reaction to those challenges is going to determine to a large extent as to how some of the delegates are going to be casting their votes at the convention.

We have to remember that the delegates that are going to the convention this year are not controlled and maniplable in terms of formal delegation. I say we are not

realizing that we have an open convention, but very important questions raised before the platform and convention committee and have to have some compromise candidates.

It depends on the Credentials Committee challenging is where I raised Kennedy's name.

PRESS: If the question comes down to a choice between Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern, whom would you support?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: I will not support any one man just on the basis of supporting the man. I am sick and tired of this.

I think it is important to see what the team would be like.

I would be interested in seeing who would be with Mr. Humphrey or Mr. McGovern in terms of a team.

The Vice-Presidency of the country is becoming very, very important. We can't think in terms of the top person on the ticket without giving consideration to the second person on the ticket.

So I will not make a unilateral decision on that basis.

PRESS: Would you like to be on Senator Humphrey's team, Mrs. Chisholm?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: I would see what develops at the convention. There are many unforeseen things that will develop at that convention, so I will not say whose team or what team I want to be on. I want to see that all these people start negotiating, block power in the convention, that I can be in there telling them to remember the people just a little bit.

PRESS: Let me broaden that question, Mrs. Chisholm. Forgetting possibilities, if your own candidacy for the top spot should fail, would you actively seek the ticket? Are you saying that you could serve as Vice-President of the ticket?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: I could serve as President of this country, believe it or not. That is why I am running.

PRESS: Let me go back again.

Would you like to be on the ticket, whether first or second spot?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: You can't be on a ticket, period. There would be many, many things to be answered, the platform, what the platform would be, what are the commitments to the person, who would be the top person, the nominee. It is not being just on the ticket.

This country has got to a point we have to make sure whatever ticket, it addresses itself after the convention is over to the needs and hopes and aspirations of the people for many people. It is not being on the ticket, per se. There are other factors to be taken into consideration.

PRESS: Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm.

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: You're welcome.

PRESS: Mayor Yorty, at this point in the nomination I am bound to say that you have no real chance to capture it in California. In the California poll, the most recent one taken, and published just a couple of days ago, shows you lost half of your support.

You were 2 percent on May 1st and you were 1 percent on May 31st. Why are you here? What are you up to?

MAYOR YORTY: I am here because I think somebody should speak up for California, and also I haven't had the tremendous amounts of money, like Senator McGovern has or the amounts Senator Humphrey has had, so I haven't really been able to reach the people.

But I would like to have the California delegation go with me to Miami Beach and see that the problems of California, the defense industries, our aerospace industries, are protected.

PRESS: The winner of the primary gets all the delegates for California.

MAYOR YORTY: That's right.

PRESS: Doesn't the winner of the primary get all the delegates?

MAYOR YORTY: That's right. I would like to have that delegation. It has been very hard for me without the money, and where I was foreclosed even from appearing in my own state where I have been Mayor for the largest city for 11 days -- 11 years, until I got a court order, and I want -- [inaudible].

She did better in the Washington Court than we did out here.

I think if I had had a chance to talk about the Middle East and Southeast Asia and the other problems, and problems of California, I would have had a much better chance.

For instance, I have conferred with the refugees there, and I'm going to tell you something.

Mrs. Chisholm --

PRESS: If you have no delegates, what do you hope to broker in Miami Beach?

MAYOR YORTY: I'm not trying to broker anything. If I win the delegates, I would see to it -- if I can't be nominated, however, it would be interested in California problems with the context of the problem of the United States.

I just want to say this one thing to Mrs. Chisholm because she mentioned these refugees.

I have conferred with them. I was at Jericho and



talked to the leaders in 1954, and I asked them, "Would you take money or resettlement and get out of these camps?"

And they said, "We are taking blood oaths to drive the Jews into the sea."

So as far as the Middle East is concerned, I want to just add this one thing, that we will not have to go into the Middle East if only the Arabs are the opponents of the Israeli because they can beat the Arabs. If the Russians join in, then that's another story.

Unless we have -- if we don't disarm unilaterally, and Senator McGovern wants to -- if we do that, I think the Russians would be tempted.

If we are strong, I don't think they would be tempted.

PRESS: I think this may be an appropriate time to bring up a situation illustrated by this program.

As a matter of fact, television's problem with equal time in trying to inform the American people about the process of selecting the President, which is a very important responsibility for us.

The law says that any candidate, regardless of his or her strength, or whatever evidence there is of popular support, must be given time equal to front-running candidates on all but regularly-scheduled news programs.

Here, Mayor Yorty and Mrs. Chisholm, you were here in

New York, with your one and two percent in the poll, arguing with Senator McGovern and Senator Humphrey, do you think this law is right, wrong, good, or bad for political education in this country?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. I think it is. I do.

I think people have to have the right to be heard. You never know whether or not you are a two-percent candidate.

Senator McGovern was a five-percent candidate not long ago, and look where he is.

I think that you can't judge people on the basis of that percentage. They have a right to be heard, but I want to say something now about this format.

I wanted some debates with Senator McGovern. We had one, and the first one on another network --

PRESS: You would have had one for this one except for the ruling.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: -- a couple days later, and that was a much stricter -- but in order to get those debates where I would like to show the people in California so they can know just exactly where we stand, I'm asking Senator McGovern now to join me on Monday night for another hour of debate.

We'll divide the cost, George. You pay half and I pay half. You got more money than I got. I'll sacrifice a little bit here, and we can go right at it.

We can discuss it as two Senators would, without any

personal animosity, and I want that very clear, that we have none, and really go at it and let the people know our differences on some of the views and let them now know we feel Mr. Nixon should be defeated.

I offer you the chance to go out and buy an hour of time, Monday night, and you put your people to work, I'll put my people to work here. Since we can't do one here, how about it on Monday?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I hope, in addition to the debates, Senator Humphrey and myself, whichever one gets the nomination, or somebody else, if it is Mrs. Chisholm or Mayor Yorty, or whoever it is, when the fall elections come along, I hope President Nixon will participate in the debates. He, after all, is the real issue before the country. Whether we are going to continue under the four years -- for another four years under President Nixon's -- I am happy to debate.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Can I ask so we can get this pinned down?

George, can you tell your people to work out?

SENATOR MC GOVERN: Yes. We made a commitment for other things Monday, but I think we can adjust that and see if we can't work out.

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now we have something moving here.

PRESS: I have a problem with your answer, Senator Humphrey.

First, you say you think it was fair never to exclude people.

Secondly, you said you want a debate, and you understand you can't have it here, and I'm not speaking for ABC, but networks would be very low to invite two people when there are so many in the race, when they know the courts may well instruct them to invite -- (inaudible) -- you invited McGovern to pay for time.

You know if the other candidates, if they come up with the money, they will have to be included.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, no. The law does not prevent two candidates --

PRESS: That's true. The television station must sell time to them.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Right. That's the problem of the television station. We'll let you worry about that.

PRESS: How are the American people really getting a chance to examine all of the candidates?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's a problem. But I do not see any other way but to support the court ruling. And I do want to subscribe to what has been said here about the

importance in the general election of the networks being able to provide an amount of free time for the candidates for the President in the general election, and I mean free time.

You have a public license; you are on the air primarily because you get a public license, out of the Federal Communications Commission, and I believe President Nixon and Hubert Humphrey ought to be debating --

PRESS: You know Congress has already turned down the major effort to abolish 315 for presidential debates this year.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I haven't had a chance to comment on that.

PRESS: I want everybody to comment.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: I think any place where a candidate can file for the Presidency and meet the requirements of state law he is entitled to free time during that primary. Once the nominees of the various parties have been selected, then I would like to see some modification in Rule 315 so that the voters would have a chance to hear the principal candidates in face-to-face competition.

Now, ordinarily that would mean the Republican candidate and the Democratic candidate.

If we have a third or fourth party that has been demonstrated in the previous election that it was at least five percent of the vote, or if they didn't run the previous

election, if they can get five percent of the electorate to sign a petition, I would give that third or fourth party equal time, too. But that would get us down to a point where we could have a fair exchange.

PRESS: I assume, Mrs. Chisholm, you are in favor of the Court ruling that put you in that chair?

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: Senator Humphrey did indicate some feeling with respect to the fact that I talked to Mayor Yorty -- [inaudible].

Taking some possible valuable time from myself and George.

I would like to say this:

I think exactly what is wrong with American politics -- [inaudible].

Unless you can buy, and unless you have the money, people that have ability, creativity, and new solutions to how Government should work are left out.

After all, if Senator Humphrey sits there and says, "George, you and I should be able to get together for time Monday night," that is good if George and Hubert and work it out, but after all, Hubert has been a part of the national leadership for the last few years. I think the people really know where Hubert really is on these issues.

PRESS: Mrs. Chisholm, and gentlemen, we have come to that point in the program where we are going to have to begin

our summaries. Each of you have a minute, and at the end of the minute, I'll cut you off. We'll begin with Mayor Yorty.

MAYOR YORTY: First of all, let me say that the election is not decided by polls. Hubert, I'm a little surprised at that proposition. I don't think anybody would watch, because you and Senator McGovern spent 25 minutes discussing who turned against the war, and if I had been there, you would have had a difference of opinion.

There was no discussion about the American program. If I were in the debate, I would force some discussion in that.

So I think it is sort of a meaningless debate when two people seem to have so much to say, and you are trying to exclude me. After all, no matter what the polls say, I am the Mayor, by far, of the largest city, Los Angeles, and I would like the opportunity to debate with you so-called self-appointed frontrunners the issues that are important to California.

PRESS: Thank you very much, Mayor Yorty.

Next, Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I want to get this nomination and to be the President of the United States because I am deeply concerned about many things in this country.

I think it is time that this country of ours understood that the Government was to be one of the people, not Government for Government, or Government for a privileged few. I believe that the 1970's is a decade to do great things, to give some equity and justice in taxes, and I want to lead that

fight, which we can really do something about meaningful work to build this country rather than having people being told they are going to get unemployment compensation, take a look at our cities and really make them worthy of the American people.

I think it is time to take care of our elderly so that they don't have to live in poverty, to love our children enough to take care of them in health and education.

I think what this country needs is faith, confidence, trust in each other, and we really need an abiding fellowship amongst all of us with dedicated leadership and courage to really need and not just to falter.

PRESS: Senator McGovern.

SENATOR MC GOVERN: First of all, I'm grateful for this broadcast today. This is the third one of these discussions we have held. I noticed on all three networks, all the panels have been males, and all the guests have been males, and today for the first time we had a woman, Mrs. Chisholm, and I think it has added an interesting and bright note to our discussion.

It is my hope as we move into 1972 the issues will be discussed in terms of some new opportunities in this country so we do not feel we have to depend on war as a means of providing jobs. We don't have to depend on ABMs but that we can be about the business of building up the real strength of this country.



Of course, we want to be military strong, but we also want to recognize that the morale and economic social strength of this country is of importance.

PRESS: Thank you.

Mrs. Chisholm.

REPRESENTATIVE CHISHOLM: In terms of seeking the highest office -- [inaudible].

Of course, because of the tradition with respect to this highest office, my candidacy has been accepted as a joke. After trying -- [inaudible].

That is very disturbing, if nothing else, though I am literally and figuratively the dark horse, but we are going to try to keep them honest at the convention. We are going to remind them to remember the needs of the people of this country, the needs of the people whose tax dollars are not being utilized for their benefits.

When they start bargaining and start getting together, you find quite often -- [inaudible].

Become actually meaningless. I have been at too many conventions to know exactly what happens when you go down the pike.

So I am here running very, very hard, running also to keep them honest, to keep them on their toes, and also to be an instrument for those who are usually helpless at a national convention.

PRESS: Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm.

Mr. Hardin.

MR. HARDIN: I am grateful that you would allow me to appear here today and participate on behalf of Governor Wallace.

I would like to say, on the sincerity of my command, despite the talk, I do believe, in Governor Wallace, we have the frontrunner for President. I base this on the fact he won more primaries than any other candidate. He leads by one million votes, and the popular vote where the people had an opportunity to express themselves.

He, I believe, is going to the convention with the predominant position, and I believe that the political leadership in this country, in the Democratic Party's, those leaders are going to come to grips; that in George Wallace they do have the means of recapturing the Presidency.

After all, I think everyone here today agreed that is the primary objective of the democratic process. I believe very shortly the realization will come to the leadership of the party and the leadership of the various states where the party prevails at this moment; that they will turn to him and that he will have the Democratic nomination. And I have every confidence he'll go for election in November.

PRESS: Well, our time is up.

We have tried to be fair and equal in distribution

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of time here. I'm not sure we succeeded completely, but it has been interesting, and we have been very pleased to have you, all of you, this crowd, on ABC's Issues and Answers today, and I wish to thank you for Sam Donaldson and Bill Matney, and this is Frank Reynolds in Los Angeles.

\* \* \*

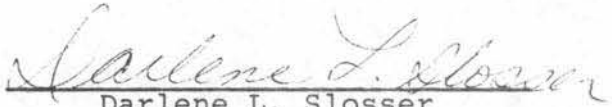
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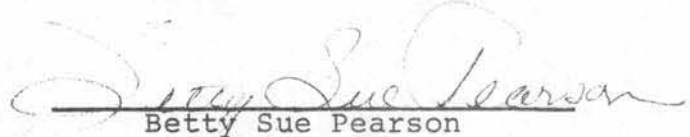
We, Darlene L. Slosser and Betty Sue Pearson, Notaries Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California, certify:

That the foregoing proceedings of Issues and Answers held before members of the press were taken down by us at the time and place set forth herein stenographically and were thereafter transcribed under our direction and supervision; and

That the foregoing pages 1 through 50 are a true and correct record of said proceedings.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 4th day of June 1972.

  
Darlene L. Slosser

  
Betty Sue Pearson

(last debate)

new politics

000350

WE HEAR A GREAT DEAL ABOUT NEW POLITICS -- A GREAT SLOGAN BUT IS THIS NEW POLITICS:

1. MCGOVERN SAYS HE WANTS JOBS FOR EVERYONE

Jobs

BUT HE ~~OPPOSES~~ A PROGRAM WHICH WILL LOSE MORE THAN

180,000 JOBS FOR CALIFORNIANS NOW WORKIN IN THE AEROSPACE AND RELATED INDUSTRIES AND WHICH WILL THREATEN THE JOBS OF MORE THAN 500,000 OTHERS.

180,000 jobs

2. SENATOR MCGOVERN SAYS HE IS FOR TAX REFORM

Tax Reform

Wall Street Ad

-2-

BUT HE TAKES OUT A ~~\$21,000~~ FULL PAGE AD IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TELLING THE BIG BANKERS AND STOCK BROKERS THAT HE REALLY DOESN'T MEAN IT.

3. SENATOR MCGOVERN SAYS HE WANTS TO LIFT THE TAX BURDEN FROM YOUR BACKS BUT HE PROPOSES A \$1,000 GIVEAWAY FOR EVERYBODY -- RICH OR POOR -- WHICH CAN BE PAID FOR ONLY BY INCREASING THE TAXES ON EVERY SINGLE PERSON EARNING \$8,000 A YEAR OR MORE AND EVERY FAMILY OF 4 EARNING \$12,000 A YEAR OR MORE.

Give away

\$1000

Every single person over \$8000 = \$567

~~THE MIDDLE INCOME WORKING FAMILIES WHO ARE ALREADY  
CARRYING TOO GREAT A TAX BURDEN~~

4. SENATOR MCGOVERN SAYS HE IS FOR A STRONG  
AMERICAN BUT HE PROPOSES TO CUT OUR FLEET IN HALF --  
OUR STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND BY MORE THAN ONE-HALF,  
OUR AIRCRAFT CARRIERS DOWN TO A LEVEL WHICH WOULD  
CRIPPLE OUR ABILITY TO REACT TO SIMULTANEOUS CRISIS --  
OUR NAVAL AIR SQUADRONS BY 80% -- CUT OUR ACTIVE  
ARMED FORCES TO 66,000 BELOW THE PEARL HARBOR LEVEL --  
WITHOUT REQUIRING THE RUSSIANS TO CUT THEIR ARMED  
FORCES.

*Defense*

1546

-1-

*Bases*

5. HE SAYS HE WANTS TO CUT THE BUDGET BY CUTTING  
DEFENSE COSTS BY 43%, BUT WHEN HE WAS RUNNING IN  
THE PRIMARY IN NEBRASKA HE SAID HE ~~WASN'T~~ WOULDN'T  
CLOSE ANY OF THE BASES THERE; AND WHEN HE WAS  
RUNNING IN THE OHIO PRIMARY, HE SAID HE WASN'T GOING  
TO CUT THE AIR BASES THERE AND NOW IN SACRAMENTO HE  
SAYS HE ISN'T GOING TO CUT BASES IN CALIFORNIA.  
I GUESS THE ONLY BASES HE WILL CUT ARE THOSE IN NON-  
PRIMARY STATES.

6. HE SAYS HE IS A FRIEND OF THE WORKING

MAN BUT VOTES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AND  
VOTES WITH BIG BUSINESS AGAINST THE UNION SHOP.

7. HE SAYS HE IS A FRIEND OF ISRAEL, BUT IN ISRAEL  
JULY, 1970, HE SAYS ISRAEL MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO  
USE HER AIRCRAFT ON ARAB TERRITORY AND ON MARCH 3, 1971,  
THE NEW YORK TIMES IN A HEADLINE READS: "MCGOVERN  
URGES ISRAEL PULLOUT".

8. HE SAYS HIS CIVIL RIGHTS RECORD IS AS GOOD AS  
MINE BUT ON APRIL 20, 1960, HE VOTES AGAINST CIVIL  
RIGHTS IN HOUSING; MAY 26, 1960, HE VOTES AGAINST

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR SCHOOL FACILITIES; JUNE 15, 1964,  
HE VOTES TO WEAKEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS VOTING BILL -- ONE  
OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PIECES OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION  
IN MODERN TIMES.

9. IN FLORIDA, HE ATTACHED SENATOR MUSKIE FOR  
SECRECY IN CAMPAIGN SPENDING. IN SPITE OF MY  
COMPLETE DISCLOSURE OF MY CAMPAIGN SPENDING IN  
CALIFORNIA AND MY REPEATED REQUEST FOR HIM TO  
DO THE SAME, HE HAS REFUSED TO DISCLOSE ANY OF THE  
DETAILS IN RESPECT TO THE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS HE HAS  
SPENT. IN THIS STATE HE HAS REFUSED TO DISCLOSE

227-3541

"Issues"  
22

000345

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

about  
out 7,700 Price increase  
applications - only

107 - Denials of increases

5 - orders to reduce prices

---

ITT - Jan 14 - Daily Decision  
Report.

26 price increase  
request - 26 given

---

some as high as 14.9%



## United States Senate

## MEMORANDUM

Cost of living up  
5% since Phase II  
4.1%. before

Medical costs up 6 to 7%.  
Clothing costs up 3%.

---

Profits up 20%.  
OO Corp. up 75%.

---

J.P. Morgan Profits up  
35%.

---

62% of food dollar to  
middle man

## United States Senate

## MEMORANDUM

Issues

- (1) end war + bring Persons  
home
- (2) end unemployment
- (3) Halting inflation -  
~~inflation~~.
- (4) cutting tax burden of  
low + middle income  
Tax Loop Holes
- (5)

1969

In

1969

Corporations

paid

20%

20%

of all Federal Revenues.

Corporations

By the end of 1972, corporate

1972

Income Taxes reduced to

16%

of All Revenues.

who is paying bill.

well, most of the increase was

in Payroll Taxes.

Payroll taxes

In 1969, Payroll Taxes

accounted for 21% of all ~~taxes~~ ~~taxes~~

Federal ~~taxes~~ Taxes.

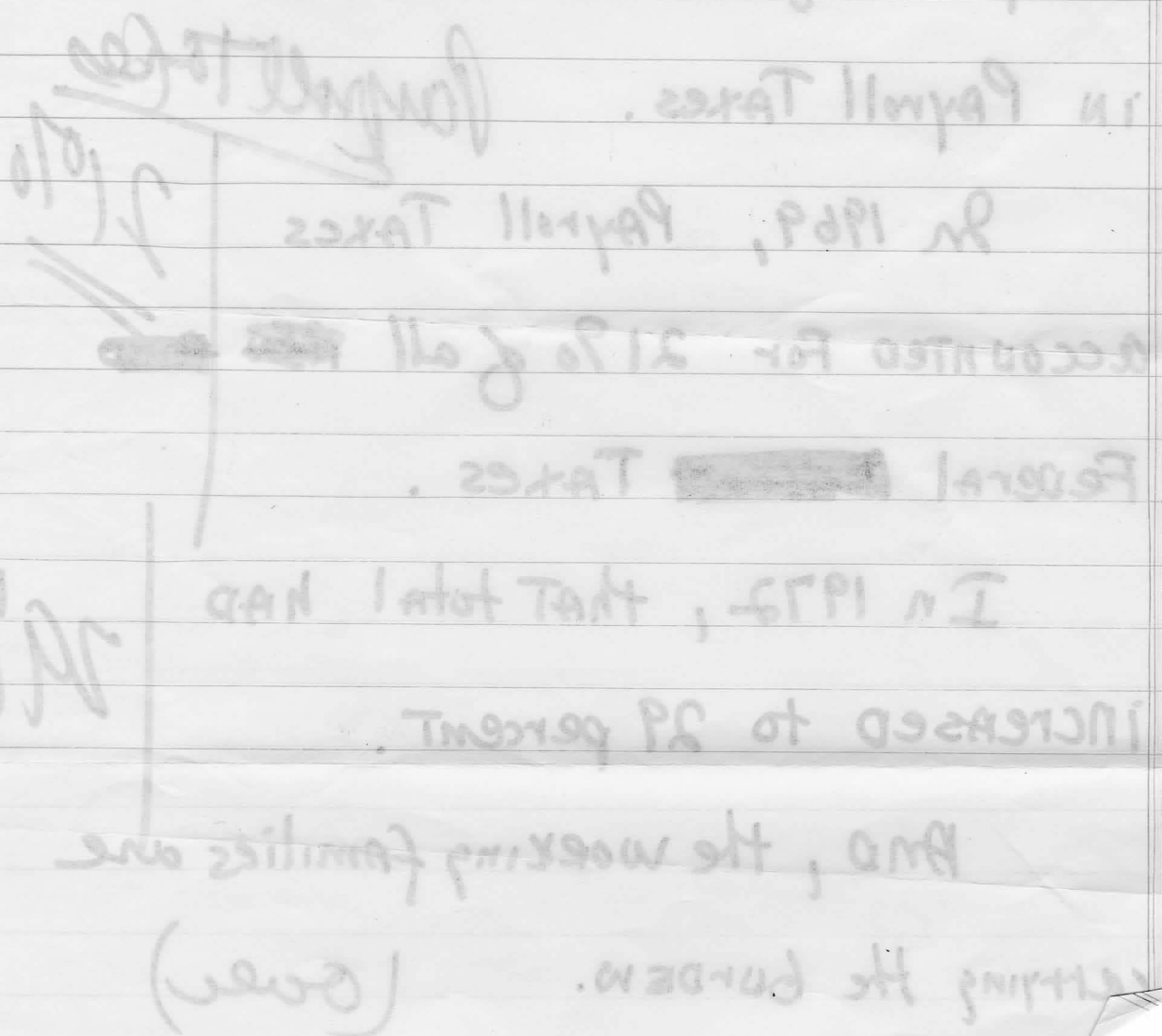
21%

In 1972, that total had increased to 29 percent.

29%

And, the working families are carrying the burden. (over)

There has been a deliberate  
 and calculated shift of the  
 tax burden from the corporate  
 to the working families under  
 the Republican, big business  
 administration





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