

New York - Sept. 21
Pick the Winner

CBS RADIO

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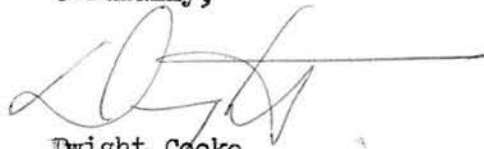
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Humphrey:

Just a brief note to thank you again for the magnificent program which you gave us on "Pick the Winner". I have heard nothing but rave reactions to it. And I, of course, much appreciated your cooperation.

Attached is a transcript for your files.

Cordially,


Dwight Cooke

DC:eb

CBS RADIO DIVISION

PICK THE WINNER

Sunday, September 21, 1952
4:30 - 5:00 P.M.

ANNOUNCER: Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, today's guests as Westinghouse presents ... PICK THE WINNER, with CBS Radio correspondent Dwight Cooke.

Each Sunday at this time, Westinghouse presents two distinguished Americans debating the important issues of the 1952 Presidential campaign so that you, the American voter, will be better prepared on November 4th when you go to the polls to PICK THE WINNER.

Now, here's your chairman - Dwight Cooke.

COOKE: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. We have a lot to accomplish today in a very interesting debate in view. I have two very distinguished senators as you've just heard with me. Our program - as we planned it today - was on the subject: "Social legislation and the Presidential campaign." But because there has been a developing campaign story in the headlines in the last day or so, both my guests have consented to begin today's debate on PICK THE WINNER with their comments on the question of Senator Nixon's fund, which I believe most of you listening have probably read about in your papers. So I turn now first to my senior guest here, our Republican guest, Senator Homer Ferguson, of Michigan.

Senator Ferguson, what is your comment on Senator Nixon's fund.

FERGUSON: Well, Mr. Cooke, those of the radio audience, I want to discuss it briefly and I can only do so from what I have learned from the facts on the radio and in the press.

Until it is shown that there has been something wrong, that is illegally or morally wrong, I would say at the present moment that I see nothing wrong with this trust fund. None of it has gone to Senator Nixon personally as I read in the press. It was raised for the purpose of taking care of certain matters, political matters, outside of what the

United States government provide for. In other words, if he wanted to send out a purely political speech that was not put in the record, he would have to have it printed and he would have to have it mailed on his own money. His salary is in all \$15,000, and his all but 2500 of that is subject to federal taxation. Therefore the money that he was using was not given to him personally, as I read in the press this morning, it was given to a trustee, deposited in a trust fund. I think that it is entirely different than where a man, for instance, in the Senate puts his wife or somebody else on the payroll, where he gets the money personally, and does not have to account for it, that's an entirely different case. There he's illegally, morally wrong to use public funds. I think that he ought to make a disclosure of what it was spent for; everyone is entitled to know exactly what it was used for.

COOKE: Thank you, Senator Ferguson. Now the same question addressed to the gentleman on my left, the Democrat here on the platform today on Pick the Winner, Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota. Senator!

HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Cooke, I want to discuss this in the same spirit of temperance and tolerance which Senator Ferguson has demonstrated in his remarks.

President Truman, some time ago, I believe it was about 2-yrs. ago, recommended to the Congress that all persons in our government with an income of \$10,000 a yr. or more, make a public disclosure of their sources of income and the amounts thereto. I favor that proposal. I believe that we should do that - and I think we have been grossly ~~x~~ derelict in not passing such legislation to see that it was done. That's one point that I think we ought to keep in mind because it will keep the situation just a whole lot more wholesome.

Now in reference to the fund, I think Governor Stevenson exemplified the kind of spirit that ought to prevail in America, when he said, "Let us not make accusations until all the evidence is in." And may I say to my Republican friends that this little ... this very tragic and difficult situa-

tion which faces the Republican Party today and the people of the country, should demonstrate the importance of having a man innocent until he's proven guilty. Instead of what has been unfortunately over the days a man guilty until he can unequivocally prove his innocence.

I happen to believe, however, that special funds of this nature should not be established. I happen to personally believe that members of the Congress must augment their income. I know that I have to - and I want to make it perfectly public, I know that in order to be a member of the United States Senate I have to earn extra money, by performing services through lectures, articles, speeches on lecture tours -but I believe that that should be declared through one personal income and be subject to income taxation. And if you expand out of that for business purposes in making your trips or in delivering your lectures, that's a business deductible expense.

Now I wish to make no value judgment here. I merely say that this should tell the Senate of the United States in particular that it's about time that we put our house in order and it's about time we recognized what the responsibilities of public office are and the costs thereto.

FERGUSON: Well, no one, Hubert, can dispute that there should be a high sense of ethics, morality and responsibility in public service. (applause) We all believe that and we should believe it. The taxpayers should look into it and they should see that that is done. I think that all incomes should be disclosed to the tax authorities, the income tax, but, unfortunately, the law is now that trustee funds if they don't come to you at all -- for instance if Mr. Nixon's fare was paid by this ~~tax~~ trustee fund back to California to make a political speech, then he didn't receive the money but the railroad or transportation company would receive it.

I think that the taxpayers at ~~home~~ here have a right to know what your income is and that I'm sure that in the campaigns they do know what your income is and your source of income. Fortunately, Mrs. Ferguson

and I are able to live upon our income and return to Michigan as far as we can on what we do get from the federal government.

HUMPHREY: Well, may I say that I don't believe this is illegal and may I say that I think that Senator Nixon in seeing that this was established in a trustee fund, surely took all possible precautions. As senator, I want to say that it's perfectly obvious that when a congressman goes back to his constituency whether it's in Michigan, Minnesota or California, that it's a terrific expense - and I want to make it quite clear I'm frank to ask those who ask me to come back when they want me to deliver a luncheon day speech, and I have 4 children to support, I say "Can you pay the expenses?" because I just don't happen to have the money. Now if that's wrong then I stand guilty. But I think it's one thing to ask a group to say pay your expenses to come home and they are willing to do so and another thing to have a separate fund set up by individual donors, and I think that's the difference that we're faced up with here.

But sooner or later the American people are going to have to realize that the costs of public service are big - and the Congress of the United States ought to provide enough money for its legislators to do their job without having to go out to private people to seek special assistance.

COOKE: Alright, thank you, gentlemen, for commenting on this headline news in the political campaign. As this series continues, I will continue to ask my guests when any headline hits just before a broadcast if they are willing to include it even though it was not planned as part of the topic.

And now, gentlemen, as while you get out your notes on social legislation in the Presidential campaign, here is a note from (COMMERCIAL) ..

And now, gentlemen, our subject of the day, the question of social legislation and the Presidential campaign - I think Senator Humphrey we might start with you and possibly the tax question you would like to start with under the heading of 'social legislation' is that very explosive issue known as 'civil rights.'

HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Cooke, I'd like to make a general statement first the

I'll move right into civil rights. The crowning glory of the Democratic Party in these past 20-yrs. is its achievements in the field of social welfare legislation - and I'm here to say that we take credit for it - from social security to minimum wages, the elimination of child labor, the to hospital construction, to public health, to vocational rehabilitation, whatever you wish to put your finger upon, is a part of the American social legislative structure. The Democratic Party and its leadership has fostered these programs. And may I say with equal candor and directness, my friends of the Republican Party have opposed them. Now, belatedly, they've become convinced of their good.

But take social security, for example - starting in 1935, it was declared to be socialistic; it was said that it would undermine the moral fibre of the American people; it would destroy the free enterprise of private insurance. All of which has been proven false. And, today, in America there are over 65-million people covered under the terms of social security in a sound social insurance system. I say that this is one of our greatest achievements and for which we do not apologize but rather we proclaim.

Now you ask me on civil rights (inter.)

COOKE: May I interrupt you now, Senator, before you go on with civil rights, let Senator Ferguson come in to answer your general statement with whatever he chooses in the same area.

FERGUSON: Well, Hubert, we realize that the party in power for 20-yrs. has had a development of social legislation. We believe that some of that legislation has been good. We think that in its administration - at times that it has not been the proper way.

For instance - I believe that when people put up the money for social legislation that is for social security they ought to be able to get that value of a dollar back. 10-yrs ago, when a person paid the money in he paid a dollar that would buy a hundred cents on the dollar. If he gets it back today, he is only going to get back a 46-cent dollar. I think it

should be put on a pay-as-you-go basis. In other words, instead of you paying the money in, which is being done now, and the federal government using it, it ought to be that what you pay in now is paid out this year, and what you get next year is what you pay in.

Now we believe, the Republican Party, and Dwight Eisenhower has stated that there is no doubt that a floor should be placed so that no one would actually go hungry in America; if for some unforeseen reason he cannot work then social security, old age pensions and so forth are alright. They are the proper thing to do. But you should not socialize America; you should not do as they have in the British Empire, made a socialized state out of the American people because every dollar that you get for this fund, must come from the people themselves.

What good did it do in Germany to have social security and then go to war and have it all wiped out. There was no need to have it wiped out if they would have done the right thing and not gone to totalitarianism in attempting to have socialized agencies. (APPLAUSE)

HUMPHREY: Senator Ferguson, I'm delighted that you agree that the social security program is basically a sound program and that you agree with its objectives. You bring in, at the tail end of your remarks, this old cat of 'socialism'; we've dragged that one across every scene and every debate. The simple truth is again that social security, as it is known in this country, has no relevancy whatsoever to socialism. It is Americans, who are privately employed on private jobs by private employers, paying into a social insurance system and getting back much more than they pay in. It is a sound principle and I have yet to hear anybody say that it wasn't.

Now these so called 'mismanagement' - I want the senator to tell me where is this so called mismanagement. The old age assistance people have their old age assistance - not as much as they ought to due to Republican obstruction - and the old age insurance people have their old age insurance (applause) not as much as it ought to because of Republican

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obstruction, and unemployed people get their unemployment compensation, not as much as they ought to in these days because of Republican obstruction. But I'm here to tell you that we've got a program that's a working program, that's financially solvent and that is administratively feasible and what is more we're continuing to expand it, gradually and progressively. (applause)

FERGUSON: Well, now, Senator Humphrey, you say that it has been Republican obstruction. 18 out of the last 20-yr. has been in the control of the Democratic Party. The Republican Party cannot keep you during those 18-yr. from passing any legislation that you desire. In fact, you had the ... the Republicans only had 88 out of 435 in the House of Representatives and at one time they only had 16 senators out of the 96. Why didn't you pass all these things? Why didn't you take care of these things? (APPLAUSE)

My friends, here is what they have done: They have wasted your money; they have been so extravagant that they have devalued your dollar and in one breath they say that they are giving you something, in another breath they are taking it away. The money that you older people paid in you're not going to get out with 100-cent dollars; you're going to get it out, my friends, with 46 and even less dollars unless you change the present administration and you put in Dwight D. Eisenhower. (applause)

COOKE: Alright, now we'll look at that.

HUMPHREY: Senator, that's mighty good oratory -you're just short on facts. Now let me show you some of the facts you're short on. (inter.) I want to tell you right now, Senator, that you better than anyone else know that the whole anti-inflation program in this Congress has been literally wrecked by such amendments as the Caperhart Amendment. Why, you even had an amendment in which two-thirds of the Republicans in the Senate voted that there shouldn't be any price controls whatsoever until the price structure raised \$3,300,000,000 in total aggregate.

Now let me just go back to something else. You said we've had the votes, that's right. When we had the votes, we got social security on the books. That's the way it got on the books - it didn't get on with

the Republican votes. (applause) Secondly, the senator from Michigan knows very well that the votes in the Senate have been extremely close and in the House; and he knows that just as in the Democratic Party, there are about two-thirds liberals and one-third conservatives. He knows that in the Republican Party there's about one-third liberal and two-thirds conservatives. And so what we've had, Senator, and let's be honest with the American people, is that you've had a handful of Dixiecrats, who are nothing more than ^{northern} Republicans with a Southern accent, and northern Republicans that have blocked time in and time out progressive social legislation, even though he have been able to inch along and make steady progress because of persistent effort on the part of Democratic liberal leadership and our President.

FERGUSON: Now who, Mr. Cooke, who has Mr. Humphrey - Senator Humphrey - been talking about. He's been talking about the Democrats. The Southern Democrats today have 19 out of the 30 chairmanships over in the House; they have 12 out of the 16 in the Senate. They are the people that you are going to elect to be chairmen of the respective committees if you elect Mr. Stevenson as President. And he's saying if you elect those people in that office they're not going to give him what he's now telling that they ought to have. (applause)

HUMPHREY: That isn't what I said at all, Senator.

FERGUSON: I want to say something about price control. We passed the price control law in September of 1950, right after the war took place. The President of the United States never offered to put it into effect until January of the next year; he allowed prices to go up.

I tell you my friends that everything that is done in Washington is to cause inflation so that they can get more of your tax dollars. They didn't use the price control law that the Congress gave them, and that's why your prices are going continuously up. (APPLAUSE)

HUMPHREY: Let's get the record perfectly clear.

FERGUSON: I want it clear ... (inter.)

HUMPHREY: When we talk about a good southern Democrat like John Sparkman, we're talking about a great American liberal, and a progressive American, and that's the kind of men that we want in the Congress of the United States. (applause) When I said about a Dixiecrat ... I'll name 'em ... Jim Byrnes, of South Carolina; Harry Byrd, of Virginia; those kind ... those are not the kind ... they're the people that vote along with Homer Ferguson of Michigan and with Bob Taft of Ohio and Senator Milliken ... (applause) Now we hear a little bit about ... we hear the Senator from Michigan talk about the anti-inflation program. Well, Senator, the fact of the matter is that the biggest mistake, I suppose, that President Truman ever made was when he listened to this Orthodox Republican economics (unintelligible) when he heard that indirect price controls and that balancing the budget and all this would do the job of which the senator from Michigan was one of the strongest exponents, the fact of the matter is that the senator from Minnesota said "we ought to have had price controls on the first day of July, 1950"-that's when we should have had them.

But, what did the Republicans do after they come out and try to use this two-edge sword; they said we should have put them on sooner. Because the President didn't put them on sooner they say we should scuttle them. And the record in the Congress is that the Republican leadership in the Congress has tried to scuttle the price control program from the first day it's been on the books; every amendment that's been introduced to weaken it, has come from the Republican side of the aisle and the senator from Michigan knows it.

COOKE: Did someone say that this particular Presidential campaign was going to be a very quiet and peaceful one? I wonder ... Senator Ferguson!

FERGUSON: Mr. Cooke, I'm glad that Hubert Humphrey brought up the name of the great liberal John Sparkman. Now I'm going to tell you about how 'liberal' John Sparkman is on civil rights. Let me read what he said in 1950. Here's what he said - he said: "Even though the Democratic platform

as well as the Republican, carries a pledge for civil rights legislation, no such law has been enacted and I predict that even if you do not take away from us, who represent you in Congress, the power that is ours as long as we can operate as Democrats" - and I want to underscore these next words - "on the inside, there will not be any such legislation. After all, civil rights legislation is not defeated by the Dixiecrat maneuver in Alabama nor by the threat of a splinter party, in the past it has always been defeated on the floor of the Senate, and there alone we must look for its defeat in the future."

Going on - "We Southern Democrats, 21 of us," - and this is John Sparkman, the candidate for Vice President, speaking - "21 of us, are banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device to defeat civil rights legislation." And, listen to this: "Every single one of those 21 Southern Democrats believes that we should stay in the Democratic Party. We know that the most important weapon is ... it is the ability to work as Democrats. Some seem to think that the Republicans are friends in defeating civil rights proposal. This is simply not the case. I have before me an AP story item of April 12th, and the headlines of this story tells - I quote: "Republicans demand F.E.P.C."

Going on with what he says: "In recent months, a civil rights amendment has been offered to 3 different measures, all important to the South, and in each instance the amendment was offered by a Republican senator; and in each instance by the Republicans voting strongly for the amendment and the Democrats, northern and southern, voting alike."

My friends, there is not a greater hypocrisy; a political fraud - upon the American people than that which is carried on by the Democratic Party, one segment of which will not allow the Congress to vote on it and the other segment is saying they want it passed. This is "hypocrisy" and John Sparkman (Applause) ... the great liberal now who stands beside Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, is a party that is "obstructing" it. (Applause).

HUMPHREY: Well, Senator, John Sparkman was a member of the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party, so was I, and the platform of the Democratic Party pledges my party to civil rights legislation, and Governor Stevenson, speaking at Richmond, Virginia, last night, pledged again the Democratic Party, in a southern state, to the enactment of federal legislation for the protection of civil rights. And, Senator, since you had about 6-min. on that one, I'm going to take a moment or two myself.

COOKE: I'll give you exactly as much time as Senator Ferguson ...
(inter.)

FERGUSON: Senator, I want him to have more time ... (inter.) ... he just can't answer that in all the time he's ... (inter.) (laughter) ...

HUMPHREY: Senator, I can answer it and I can answer it coldly and factually. When the cloture rule, which is the rule to stop filibusters, was changed in the United States Senate, in the 81st Congress, by the token title of the Wherry resolution, in honor of the late minority leader, the senator from Nebraska, it prevented all possibilities during that session of the Congress or any other session for changing the filibuster rule without a firm pledge on the part of every particular person in the political structure of America. What was that rule? That in order to stop a debate you had to have two-thirds of all senators voting to stop the debate. There isn't a single legislative procedure in the Congress of the United States that (inter.) - not yet - that requires that kind of a rule; and who was the sponsor of this iniquitous rule?; who was the sponsor of this hypocritical fraud? It came from Republican leadership. Oh, the Southerners ... (inter.)

Now let me say to my friend from Michigan, - of course they have fought us on civil rights. But as the senator from Alabama said - there were only 21 of them. And, Senator Ferguson, there are 96 senators. And any time that you Republicans want to join up with Hubert Humphrey or Senator Lehman of New York or Senator Benton of Connecticut, or anyone else that's on our civil rights bill, we'll pass 'em. But what happens in the Congress ... (inter.) ...

FERGUSON: ... the civil rights bill ... the senator from Michigan was responsible for anti-lynching and the poll tax ... (Applause) ... (inter.)

HUMPHREY: May I say to the senator from Michigan that every time that we've tried to get something done in this field the Republicans just seem to be conveniently absent. When do they bring up civil rights? They bring up civil rights amendments to bills when they want to kill a housing bill... when they want to kill it ... when they want to kill an anti-inflation bill.

Now look, Senator, the American people are not naive ... they know these parliamentary tricks just like you know them, and they know that the best way that you can kill a worthy piece of social legislation in the Congress is to attach to it as a rider ... now, senator, as a rider non-germane with no relevancy to the facts before the Senate a so-called civil rights measure.

Now the senator from Minnesota has a fair employment practices bill, and I'm glad tonight, and this afternoon, that we have the support of the senator from Michigan because this is the first time that he's ever supported a fair employment practices bill ... it's the first time he's ever put his name on the line as saying that he was for it - I welcome (inter.) but let me say your very splendid support. (applause)

FERGUSON: Let me (indistinct) little answer. (applause)

COOKE: Gentlemen, may I ask you to make an exceedingly brief statement ...

FERGUSON: Alright, I just want to say that the man whose going to manipulate these procedures down in the Senate - they want Mr. Sparkman to be the Vice President so that they'll never get a bill ~~sent~~ up ... never get it up on the floor ... (inter.) (applause)

HUMPHREY: Senator, what we want is Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the distinguished from Illinois, to be the President of the United States that's what we want... (inter.)

FERGUSON: And we want Dwight Eisenhower to be the President of the United States. (applause) ...

COOKE: Well, gentlemen, this certainly is the beginning of a developing and excited situation here - I think you have aroused all of us to a further consideration ... there's a consideration here that (C O M M E R C I A L)

Gentlemen, I want to thank you both - Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, for giving us such a rousing and exciting debate here on PICK THE WINNER on the issues of this campaign.

As you know - the reason these debates are presented is so that our listeners around the country will register and vote!

Now on the Sparkman issue, it might be interesting to all of you to know that my guest on PICK THE WINNER next Sunday, at this same time, will be the Democratic Presidential candidate, Senator John J. Sparkman, and I shall take pleasure, Senator Ferguson, in directly asking him the same question which you raised here.

FERGUSON: I'd like to be here and debate with him!

COOKE: I wish you could but... (indistinct) going to be in Washington. Three distinguished newsmen will join me there. And, now, this is Dwight Cooke reminding you again - "you can't vote if you don't register, and if you don't register what's the use of voting - and if you don't do either - what's the use of living in this ~~xxx~~ kind of a world. Good Afternoon!

ANNOUNCER: PICK THE WINNER with Dwight Cooke is brought to you by Westinghouse that gives you an opportunity to hear top men on the political scene debate the big issues of this year's historic Presidential race.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

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Ed. trans. P. O.



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