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Washington D.C.  
Jan. 15, 1955.

Dear Sen. Humphrey,

I enclose a transcript of the PRESS CONFERENCE you were good enough to take part in which went on the CBC Dominion Network last Wednesday.

It received excellent listener reaction. You may be amused by the confidential reaction I had from the head of the Talks and Public Affairs Division of CBC, who commented: "Your Senator is a treasure - he's remarkably articulate, and delightfully plain-spoken. He even knows when he had his feet planted firmly in two camps and isn't afraid to admit they are where they are."

It reads as well as it sounded. I think your remarks notably advanced thinking on some very important topics - size of farms for one - which I, personally, should like to see more widely discussed and understood here.

Thank you very much indeed for your contribution.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'James M. Minifie', is written over a horizontal line.

James M. Minifie  
Washington Representative  
CBC

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey  
U.S. Senate  
Washington. D.C.

## CBC PRESS CONFERENCE

This is CBC's Press Conference which comes to you this evening from Washington, D. C. Our guest is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. He belongs to the Democratic party, which has a majority in both the House and the Senate. He is a Phi Beta Kappa, and was twice mayor of Minneapolis. He was elected to his second term in the Senate last November by a thumping majority, and you may say that he embodies the honorable tradition of thoughtful progress which has so distinguished the State of Minnesota.

I brought in to discuss the prospects of the second session of Congress William S. White of the New York Times; May Craig of Maine Papers; Max Freedman of the Winnipeg Free Press, and Edwin Dale of the New York Herald Tribune. Your Chairman is James M. Minifie of the CBC.

Senator, very kind of you to come today and I'm going to turn you over to the tender mercies of Bill White of the New York Times.

Senator H: Mr. Minifie, may I first say that it's a real privilege to be able to participate in the program for CBC. I hope that we can make this informative and interesting.

Mr. Minifie: Thank you, Senator. Bill.

Mr. White: Senator Humphrey, I'd like to ask some questions about this whole present concept of bi-partisanship, because I rather suspect that our Canadian friends cannot quite see how it can be very tidy.

First of all, I'd like to ask you the obvious question -- will, in your judgment bipartisanship be really effective in most foreign questions in this Congress?

Senator H: Yes, I think so, Mr. White. First of all, the administration's

foreign policy, and in the main its defense policy, is within the spirit and tradition of that established by the prior administration. Obviously, there are now some detailed differences. But the Democratic party has seen pretty much eye to eye with President Eisenhower upon the major objectives of our foreign policy. I just list those as the collective security concept or idea, the strengthening of our alliances with the free nations, economic and technical assistance in the underdeveloped, under privileged areas, and also the maintenance of a strong defense at home and amongst the allies.

In that field there will be a good deal of harmonious support from the Democratic party, and we hope that we'll get a good deal from our Republican colleagues as we try to uphold this policy.

Mr. White:

Senator, I think that many people ask, since after all I suppose the ultimate function of a party is to be partisan to the extent of winning the White House (and you have this problem in '56) - I believe many people ask, since the foreign policy now covers so great an area of our total efforts, how in short will the Democrats be able to deal wholly bipartisan with the Republican President and at the same time make the adequate issues on which they might win the White House in '56?

Senator H:

Well, Mr. White, bipartisanship does not mean that you are just a "yes-man." It means that you conduct yourself in a constructive and responsible manner, even when you disagree, and that you hope to keep those disagreements within the bonds of the common good, not letting them get out of hand. This doesn't mean that the Democrats will always agree with every iota and every detailed program that comes down from the White House.

But the broad outlines we support, and we will have the opportunity to put the finishing touches, so to speak, on appropriations, maybe more emphasis in one area of the world than the administration might feel was desirable.

What I'm trying to across is, is that there is a difference between a responsible opposition and an irresponsible opposition.

Mr. White: Senator, may I ask one final question - not to monopolize this, but to try to narrow this a bit - where in this whole area of world affairs will any sort of a traditional party issue - can it be drawn? Can you think of a case?

SenatorH: Yes, I certainly can -- in the matter of trade, if you want to broaden off from the diplomacy and the defense area into the economic areas. That will be one issue where there will be a sharp difference in the parties in Congress -- it will be on trade. I think that you will find that the Democratic majority will want to scrutinize these very carefully -- the President's program for what we call "limiting our defense forces," particularly in the Army. I think you will find the Democratic majority want to review very carefully any economic aid program, particularly as it might pertain to the Asian and African areas; what we might do in Europe. This doesn't mean that we are going to say "No" to these programs. It means that we are going to want to look at them as responsible public servants and not just a step from on high that is passed down to us.

Mr. Minifie: Max Freedman here would like to talk to you about foreign trade, Senator.

Mr. Freedman: My first question, Senator, would be - do you think that this

Congress will accept the President's program for an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act for three years and go along with him on a general program to liberalize imports?

Senator H:

I do. And I want to say that I feel this because the Democratic party is more united, or has a greater degree of unity on the matter of foreign trade, extension of reciprocal trade which was and is a Democratic party program itself, since the days of Cordell Hull, then you will be able to pick up a goodly number of Republicans in the Congress on this particular program. I think the President was very wise in submitting this message early, because the sooner we get at it, the better. And it will give a good opportunity to show that we are a responsible party recognizing that the Executive is a Republican, and that the control of the Congress is in Democratic hands. We will be able to give a demonstration here of what we mean by bipartisanship and responsible government on the part of the Legislative Branch.

I look forward to considerable success. Now that doesn't mean that the program as the President's message outlined will be accepted in every detail, but I think three-year extension of reciprocal trade is in the books, as we say here. I think that's going to happen. And I would say that would authorize the President to make these scaled-down reductions, the 15% over the three-year period. There may be some efforts made to protect, as we say, certain aspects of our economy, but by and large I think it will be rather successful.

Mr. Freedman:

It's one measure of Canadian anxiety, Senator, in this whole field of international trade that three members of the Canadian cabinet came to Washington last Thursday to meet representatives of the

Eisenhower Cabinet at the very time that he was delivering his State of the Union Message and praising reciprocal trade as one of his objectives. We feel that although we have had all sorts of noble promises, we've had a pretty thin diet in actual performance. Why should we be more confident now?

Senator H: Because the Democratic party has a majority in the Congress. (Laughter). May I say that our Republican friends have been good on noble promises, and that we are rather good on effective performance. So when you blend together noble promises and effective performance, you may get program, and that's what we're after.

Mr. Freedman: Well, now, can you translate that into a question on the farm thing, Ted?

Mr. Dale: Yes, but I wonder if first I might go back to just one second to Bill's theme - the coming election of '56? Bill cited the dilemma of basic agreement on objectives in foreign policy between the Democrats and the President as you concurred. Would it be a fair assumption that the issues in 1956 will likely be domestic?

Senator: I would hope so, and I think the real problem in this government of ours is to get basic agreement between the President and the Republican party. Now if the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, will spend less time trying to get unity in a party of disunity, and more time in trying to program out of coalition between Democrats and Republicans that are internationally-minded, we'll make some real substantial progress. The only danger that I can see to the effective bipartisanship here in Congress would be if the President pursued this



term what he did the first year of the last Congress, when I think too much time was expended and I think too much effort was made to try to placate the implacable element of the Republican party. You just can't do it. Now he has, by the simple rule of arithmetic, a majority in the Congress for effective international policy - and effective diplomacy - an effective trade policy and effective defense. But if he is going to worry about how he is going to please certain elements of the Republican party that haven't been pleased for forty years, then we're going to be in trouble. I don't think he will, though. I think the President has learned that lesson, and I also think that the leadership of the Democratic party has given him some pretty good assurances.

Now just to finish up on this, because this is the ticklish question, needless to say -- I think there will be some real domestic issues. First of all, no one can prognosticate or prophesy what this economy will do. I personally have confidence in its strength and in its forward-moving qualities; but there will be issues such as the tax program, the public power program, the reclamation program. There will be minor issues on the security program. There'll be issues on taxation, farm legislation, labor legislation. There's no problem getting into a fight in Washington. This town is filled with promoters - fight promoters I might say. And there are many good combatants and contestants.

Mr. White

You mentioned the farm legislation. I'd like to ask you your interpretation of a subject that has a lot of different ones. What was the reaction of the farmers in the last election to Mr. Benson's program? Mr. Benson thinks that they have vindicated him. Many of the Democrats

think that the returns show otherwise. What is your belief?

Senator H: Well, I think that one shouldn't try to expound on the basis of conjecture on this. Here again you just get the slide rule out -

Mr. *Whit* Right.

Senator H: - and see what happened. What did happen? The Republican party lost a substantial number of votes in every rural district in the Midwest where agriculture is the main means of the economy or the production.

Mr. *Whit* That's precinct by precinct.

Senator H: Precinct by precinct, county by county. You can go into North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, -

*Mr. Whit*  
*Miss Gray*  
And Vermont.

Senator H: And Vermont, New Hampshire - and when you went into the rural areas, the farm program was not popular. The President is exceedingly popular in many of these areas where his program wasn't popular. It's a strange situation, in American politics. But I found, for example, in my political experience, that the Republican strength was primarily in the smaller towns, and needless to say in the Midwest we have a large number of our people living in communities of 15 - 20 thousand, 5 thousand - 10 thousand people, or less. Now it was in those areas where the Republican strength was the greater. But when you went out right across the town boundaries, so to speak, the jurisdictional limits of the town, or the city, or the village, and went out into the country in rural precinct after rural precinct, the Republicans lost as much as twenty to thirty to fifty per cent of the vote that they had in 1952.

Mr. *Wale* Senator, there's been a lot of discussion as to just what the Democrats will or can do about the lowered price supports, which as we



all know affects at least immediately wheat primarily.

Senator H: Yes.

Mr. Dale The thing that has been overlooked is the fact that if nothing is done, it goes to 75% in 1956.

Senator H: That is correct.

Mr. Dale So I would like to know, to ask you your idea of what feasibly might be done to carry out your people's program of preventing this reduction of supports?


Senator H: Well, we are committed as a party by platform and by statement of our leadership in the last election and by most of our candidates to a return to 90% of parity for the basic commodities, that is the list of what we call basics of which wheat is one. Wheat is, of course, the central commodity in terms of feed values - the equivalents of feed. Now that will, of course, require that there be acreage limitation. It will require that in some of these commodities that there even be production quotas. I think that the votes of the farmers themselves will reveal that they would prefer to have a reasonable price in the market place and a parity price rather than unlimited production. They are willing to take a certain amount of acreage control and production control in order to get a fair price.

Mr. Dale Well, I wonder if you could just pull out your crystal ball a little bit rather than take what you think we ought to do, what you think this Congress can do, or will do in the light of the fact of the President's potential veto of any change in the law.

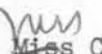
Senator H: Well, I think this Congress will do before the two years are out, a reversal on the farm policy. I am not sure that it will be done

this year to be very honest with you.


Mr. Minifie: May, do you have a question?

 Miss Craig: Yes. Senator, you are preparing legislation for an investigation -- a deep study of our security system, I understand.

Senator H: I am, Miss Craig.


 Miss Craig: Do you think the principle problem now is the lack of coordination between departments, or do you think the really deep principles of the scope and the proper limitations of security investigation is the trouble?

Senator H: I think it's both. First of all, we have witnessed in recent days what I would consider to be some glaring inconsistency and irregularity in the application of the security program. I should back up to say that I believe in the security program. I always have. I supported Mr. Truman's loyalty program. I supported the Executive Order of the President. But I find that in this security program it is subject to such wide interpretation and such diversity of application that there is no continuity of pattern. There seems to be no set standards by which you measure what we call "security" -- a good security risk and a bad security risk. And the Wolf Ladejinsky brought sharp focus upon this particular item.

 Miss Craig: Now in that case there was a difference of opinion between the Agriculture Department and the State Department as to whether he should or should not have security clearance, and does not that illustrate that there must be some difference of opinion on the deep principles of what is security?

Senator H: That is right. That is what I meant by what I say there is not sufficient criteria or standards as to what we mean by a good security


risk or a bad security risk. And surely in this case we did see two departments of the government, both by the way that had an interest in agricultural attaches. In this instance it was a man devoting his activities in the field of foreign service in the field of agriculture. We also noticed that there was no place that the man that was charged with these particular transgressions could go and get a review of his case, except back to the same department that dismissed him, or refused to take his services. Now I say that this is the President's security program by his own Executive Order, and you can't have several different governments, so to speak, operating under one administration, because in this instance you have several courts without any review of a higher court. This would be like permitting our judicial system in this country to be operated at the federal level on strictly a District Court basis with no right of appeal.

 Miss Craig:

When will your bill be ready?

Senator H:

We hope to have it ready this weekend.

 Miss Craig:

Are you going to have a Commission, joint Congressional and outsiders on it?

Senator H:

Yes, it will be a Commission of twelve members that will represent two members of the House of Representatives of both parties, two of the Senate, two members of the Executive Branch, the President to appoint two public citizens, the Speaker of the House to appoint two members distinguished Americans, and the President of the Senate to appoint two of different parties - a bipartisan Commission, and the purpose of this Commission will not be to try to dig up all the little extravagances and excesses of the security program, but the purpose of

the Commission will be to try to evaluate its operation, to make recommendations for its improvements, particularly procedurally and to get right at what you have been talking about, Miss Craig. What are the criteria by which you judge a man to be a security risk or not a security? And we will want to go into the scope of the security program. Should we go all the way down, for example, to R.O.T.C's on college campuses? Should we follow every grant and aid program of the federal government when a federal dollar gets out and touches an individual? It may be way out here in the woods, so to speak. Do you apply the security regulations there? Now I'm not drawing any conclusions on this. I think this requires a better mind than I have, but I do have an idea at least that we ought to look into it carefully, constructively, and get it out of the political passions. That's one of the things I worried about here, that if you take the security program and just toss it into the committees of Congress, you're apt to get into what we call just a plain razzle-dazzle hassle here, just a big fight, and in the meantime you excite the American people. You maybe distort the real security program that is underway, either good or bad, and you don't get to the answers.

Mr. *Belk*

Don't you have any Republican sponsors to the bill?

Senator H:

I hope to. As a matter of fact the only reason I didn't introduce it on the day that I had set (Monday) was because I felt that there was an opportunity to get some general support on both sides of the aisle, and I have been told that that is possible.

Mr. Minifie:

May I pause here a moment to identify this program? This is CBC's press conference. It comes to you from Washington, D. C. The guest is Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota. Max, have you a question?

Mr. Freedman: Senator, I would to return for a moment to the general problem of trade and I would ask you to believe that my question is not made for purposes of controversy, but to get a candid answer for purposes of information.

If I may say so, sir, I think your own position in Congress represents a dilemma that is characteristic of members of both parties. You are a resolute supporter of reciprocal trade, and you are with equal fervor a determined advocate of high and rigid price supports in agriculture. The Canadians feel that there is a conflict between these two positions and the rigid supports lead to import restrictions and a network of restrictive devices, and now to a lavish program of subsidized exports to get rid of your own surplus. How do you, sir, reconcile these two points of view?

Senator H: It's difficult. (Laughter) It's difficult and you want a candid answer. But I must say this to you sir, that my job as a member of this Congress is to be basically concerned with the wellbeing of the American people. Now the wellbeing of the American people does not always rest upon what we do in domestic legislation. I recognize that. I recognize that our wellbeing, our general welfare is tied up with that of the world in which we live, and surely this matter of foreign trade is fundamental. I think that in the instance of Canada our problem is pretty well handled by just the general spirit of understanding between the two governments, and between the two peoples. I wish it was as easy in other parts of the world. Actucally for example on the matter of Canadian exports of oats and other feed grains, I had voted against, as you may know, on a couple of occasions, on any import

quotas on Canadian oats and other grains. But I did go to the President, and I did go to the Secretary of State, particularly at the time of the visit of your Prime Minister here a year or a year and a half ago, and asked our chief officers of our government to try to work out something with the Canadian officials so that they voluntarily restrict or limit some of their exports into the American market in view of our abundance of the oats crop. Now I think what we have to face up and I think the farm population has to face up to it, that if you want price supports, you are going to have accept some controls. And I've never gone around and said that you can have price supports without some production controls. Just one final thought on that, I'd say. I think that we have underexplored the possibilities of the use of agricultural commodities outside of the food line. There are a great many other uses for it, and there are other great markets in the world. With half of the world starving to death, one of our jobs is to see it that they lift themselves a little bit so that they are a better market. I think the long pull on this is all to the advantage of abundant production and great trade. Our immediate problem for the next four or five or ten years is how do you lift up the standards of other people or help them lift it up so that they can buy another bushel of wheat.

Mr. Minifie: Bill?

Mr. White: Senator, to go from this very important bread and butter aspect of foreign policy to a somewhat more passionate issue -- peaceful co-existence is what I have in mind -- I wonder if you'd tell us whether



you think a peaceful co-existence with Communist China, specifically, can be arranged, should be arranged and will be arranged?


Senator H: Well, the last question, Mr. White, is beyond my scope of knowledge. But I think that we might just as well face up to the fact that these words, or this phrase "co-existence" is nothing more or less than a recognition of what we have been going through for a long period of time. We'd had co-existence with the Soviet Union since 1917. We'd had to have co-existence even at times when we were sort of tossing out the kitchen sink, and occasionally having eruptions around the world, such as in Indo-China and Korea and other place. But to either co-exist or set yourself to the task of seeing whether there is anyone to co-exist. Now, co-existence doesn't mean that you just lie down supinely on your back and say, Well, now take me over." Co-existence is a challenge to the free world to see to it that our ideas and our economy and our forces are able to make more progress in the world than those of the opposition side. And we hope that we can do this without coming the terrible ordeal of an all-out war with nuclear weapons. I say very frankly to those that say about co-existence "Oh, we can't have co-existence," -- "Well, what do you advocate.

Mr. White: Senator, let me ask another question that somewhat more defines the term. I think probably it is fair to say that the debate on the term "peaceful co-existence" in this country, the division has been this. The people who use that term, seem to me they believe in avoiding or not taking certain actions, as for example, unilateral blockade of Communist China to attempt to free our people who are there now. Now, it also looks now that the United Nations effort in that direction is

not very fruitful. Now assuming that it does totally fail, will there be a rising demand, a serious rising political demand in the Senate for such action as a blockade, or some affirmative and possibly dangerous action?

Senator H:


I imagine, Mr. White, that there will be those that would want to go to other extreme. We've even had advocates of preventive war, even though they won't openly confess that. I think that whenever we go to that -- whenever we get to a place, let's say, where the United Nation's efforts fail in the release of Americans that are being held captive, that this is something where you don't just have a Senator running off on the end of the bridge and shouting, or the President just saying, "I'm just going to do this." You have the responsible committees of the Congress with the responsible officers of the executive department meet together and discuss the alternatives here, because after all we are not talking about eleven people only, we are talking about two and a half billion PEOPLE in the whole world, and I am not going to make any comment as to what my government should do until I know what the consequences are, what the alternatives are and what the sacrifice may be if we decide that we have to do more than we are doing.

 Miss Craig:

Senator, I've been waiting a long time to get a farm Senator to ask this. I was in Japan when Mr. Ladejinsky was helping to administer our land reform there, which was very popular. But it consisted in taking the big land holdings at a price we determine and distributing them among small farmers. Now are you in favor of breaking up the big land holdings in this country, or in Canada and distributing them around, too?

Senator H:

I am in favor of a program that surely does not augment these big land ownings - land holdings. As a matter of fact I am going to propose as a member of the Agricultural Committee that our price support program be limited to a certain number of acres and a certain amount of production, because I think that the large corporate type of farm in the United States can well get along with less price supports than the family size farm. This Senator happens to believe that the political and economic structure of our country is best helped and strengthened by the social pattern of the so-called family size farm, and I am for the land reform around the world, and I wish that our government was more vociferously for it.

 Miss Craig:

And the trend in this country, of course, and in Canada, too, I believe, is toward the bigger farm and away from the family size.

Senator H:

In some instances, but not in - not fully. As a matter of fact the trend in America today is for larger numbers of people to own their own farms and fewer tenant farmers. But I do think that one of the excesses of the old price support program was the failure to place any limits, may I say, upon the amount of price supports toward large, huge enterprises. Now I am not ready to spell this out, but I have spoken about it publicly to farm groups and I have some ideas about it. I think that we might very well have a reduced price support program when you come to the larger producer, and thereby put a discouragement upon large groupings and holdings of land, and and encouragement upon the family type farm.

Mr. Minifie:

Ted?

Mr. Dale:

I wonder - I wanted to pursue Bill's point, I'm sorry we are jumping all over the globe here -- but about the blockade of China as a

specific example. You've just been through an election campaign, Senator. Would sense that the feeling of the American people is (It's hard to define, but to make the distinction) belicose or co-existence-minded. In other words, would the people in effect not want to take the rash action, or would they want to take the rash action?

Senator H:

They would not want to take it. The American people yearn for peace. But they do not yearn for peace without honor. The American people yearn for freedom. They yearn for security. But they yearn for it all with honor. And I want to say right now that when any President, or any leader of our government will two things: One, make sure that we have strong allies and do everything that we can to build the area of freedom and to strengthen it, make sure that we have strong defenses and to make sure that we are not going to be just shoved off the globe. But at the same time bend over backwards to try to do everything that we can to preserve the peace of the world. He's going to have to support them. The American people - there are a few loud ones that rattle the sabre from the quiet comfort of their parlors, their offices, but believe me the American people know what an all-out war means. It's one thing to for somebody to sit in the cocktail bars or in a Senate office, or in his comfortable parlor before his television set and talk about setting this country on the path of war, and it's another thing to face up to the terrible ordeal. Now I'm of the opinion that what the American want is not appeasement. They want firmness of policy, they want strength, they want to build the area of freedom, and they want patience and calm and poise and determination. Anybody can get the country into trouble,

it takes a statesman to kind of keep it out.

Mr. Minifie: Have you a final, last question, Max?

Mr. Freedman: What about Congress and Chiang-kai-shek?

Senator H: Well, I'm not an expert in that particular field. I do feel that the American people and the Congress that Formosa should be protected. And I think there are mixed emotions as to Mr. Chiang-kai-shek himself. But regardless of the personality, I think that we feel that Formosa's integrity, or internal integrity and external integrity should be guarded, and the Americans would take a very dim view of any aggression upon Formosa.

Mr. Minifie: Well, thank you very much indeed, Senator Humphrey. Very kind of you to be here tonight. We've been enjoying it enormously. You've been listening to CBC's press conference. The guest was Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota. Gathered with him were Bill <sup>White</sup>~~Smith~~, New York Times; May Craig, MainePapers; Max Freedman, Winnipeg Free Press; Edwin Dale, New York Herald Tribune. Your chairman was James M. Minifie of CBC.



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