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

MODERATOR: Stuart Novins

REPORTERS: Carleton Kent
Chicago Sun-Times

Dallas Townsend,
CBS News

John C. McDonald
Minneapolis Tribune

PRODUCER: Michael J. Marlow

(Note to Editors: Though this program originated in the television studios of Station WITI in Milwaukee, transcripts are being distributed in Washington in accordance with usual procedure.)

ANNOUNCER: Senator Humphrey, FACE THE NATION.

(Music)

ANNOUNCER: You are about to see the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament and possible Democratic presidential candidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, FACE THE NATION, in a spontaneous and unrehearsed interview with veteran correspondents representing the nation's press:

John C. McDonald, political writer for the Minneapolis Tribune;

Dallas Townsend, of CBS News; and

Carleton Kent, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Sun-Times.

And now, from CBS News, the moderator of FACE THE NATION, Stuart Novins.

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MR. NOVINS: Nikita Khrushchev leaves the United States tonight after a most eventful visit to this country. In the background of his trip here have been the Berlin, Germany, have been Laos, Tibet, disarmament, all the issues of the cold war.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and an expert on disarmament, the views of Senator Humphrey should shed additional light on some of these issues, and he is here now to FACE THE NATION.

Senator, here in Milwaukee, where our program originates today, you have been doing what some very naive people might call campaigning for the Democratic national presidential nomination. We want to ask you about that, too, so, if you will, let's take this first question from Mr. Kent.

MR. KENT: Senator, you have talked at length with Mr. Khrushchev. What do you think is the best that could come out of the Camp David talks, apart from the formal language of the communique?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Kent, I think the best that we could hope from these talks would be a better appreciation on the part of Mr. Khrushchev of the determination of our people and our Government -- a determination not to give in, in terms of some of the basic principles that we have stood by; a better appreciation of the vitality of the American Nation; and, finally, maybe some -- moderate relaxation of tensions.

I put it this way: Maybe we'll quit shouting at each other and start talking to each other, maybe a little less of the recrimination and a slight possibility of better negotiation.

MR. TOWNSEND: Well, Senator Humphrey, along that same line, as Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, what chance do you see of some progress in that particular field in the light of the Khrushchev visit?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Townsend, I'm hopeful that one step may come from these discussions, particularly at Camp David, and that is in the field of the nuclear weapons testing.

As you know, our Government has been negotiating with the Soviet Government, along with the United Kingdom, for several months, in Geneva, on the subject of the cessation of further nuclear tests, atom bomb tests. Those discussions have been recessed. Frankly, they have been stalemated on one issue -- the issue of inspection, on site inspection, in the Soviet Union, and in any other country, as a matter of fact. And without that kind of inspection system, it would be very dangerous -- it seems to me -- to have any agreement, even though I hope that an agreement can be arrived at. It seems that possibly at the Camp David discussions there might be some agreement between the Heads of State as to a reopening of the discussions on the subject of on site inspections, the enforcement machinery of an agreement, and possibly a formula established.

And I am hopeful that that is the case.

This would be the beginning, and I'll just conclude by saying this would really prove, or at least it would lend itself to some proof that Mr. Khrushchev was sincere and serious and purposeful in his United Nations disarmament speech of a few days ago.

MR. NOVINS: Mr. McDonald.

MR. McDONALD: Senator Humphrey, I believe you said there have been no nuclear bomb tests since October. How long do you expect this cessation to last, with the talks stalemated, as you say, at the present time? Do you believe this will continue, or --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. McDonald, I was one of those that urged upon our President to announce that we would continue our moratorium on further nuclear tests as long as there was any hope whatsoever of a sensible, effective agreement with inspection and enforcement on the cessation of further tests.

Actually, I think the world's public opinion is acting as a kind of a brake on these -- on the resumption of these tests. I have a feeling that the Soviet Union is somewhat concerned as to what the whole world may think, if they should break the moratorium. I'm convinced that we are concerned about it, and quite obviously the British are willing to go along with no further tests as long as there is none by anybody else.

The one country that poses a bit of a problem now, and I say this most charitably, is the Republic of France. France has made considerable advance in the field of nuclear technology and she wants to test one of her own weapons. I actually believe that the French are bargaining with the

United States for some good nuclear weapons technology information, along with their threat or their assertion that they should like to test a weapon some place out in the Sahara.

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MR. TOWNSEND: Do you think France has a bomb now?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think the French have arrived at a point now in the technology of nuclear weapons where they could test a bomb or a device. There is a difference between a sophisticated weapon on the one hand, a practical weapon, and a nuclear device that gives off a tremendous burst of energy or explosive power.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, you mentioned France but you did not mention another country that is sometimes thought of as being on the threshold of atomic potentialities, and that is, Communist China.

Now, you suggest that we may be bargaining something with France, but we can't very well bargain with Communist China under the present situation. Do you think we ought to change the conditions of nonrecognition on the one hand, and membership in the United Nations so far as Communist China is concerned, in order to be able to bargain?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First of all, Mr. Novins, the discussions at Geneva on nuclear weapons testing are broad enough in the context of the proposed treaty to include all nations, all nations of the world. As a matter of fact I think that ultimately all nations must be brought under the purview of any such agreement. I don't believe that we could afford, in terms of our own national security, to have large areas of the world such as China, the land mass of

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China, excluded from any agreement. First of all the Soviets themselves, might sneak weapons tests there --

MR. NOVINS: Yes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Just as they presume that we might sneak some, somewhere off in a neighboring country, friendly country's area, like the Sahara.

MR. NOVINS: But as a practical matter, Senator, do you think that Communist China is likely to enter voluntarily into such an agreement, without a quid pro quo. Aren't they going to insist on recognition from us, or on membership in the U.N., before they come in?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: They may insist on membership in the U.N., I am not at all convinced that they are concerned about recognition by the United States.

MR. NOVINS: Let's take those one at a time, then.

What should our position be if they insist on membership in the U.N.?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Our position should first be that this treaty which we are contemplating with nuclear test cessation is an open-end treaty, open to all nations, and I want to inform you, sir, that the Soviet Union is as concerned about the potential nuclear technology of China as we are, and maybe more so.

MR. NOVINS: I am delighted to hear that --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: After all, China has a border or

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Russia has a border with China some 2,500 miles, and I can't believe that the men in the Kremlin would sleep any easier if they knew that the officers of the Communist Party in Peiping had found a way to explode a nuclear weapon and were able to develop them in substantial numbers.

I might add there is a difference between developing a weapon, on the one hand in the laboratory, a prototype --

MR. NOVINS: Yes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And being able to actually develop them for substantial production, and I go back now to your question again.

Number one, I believe an open-end treaty could include China, and I think we ought to have as part of the quid pro quo that the Soviet Union urge China's acceptance of this treaty and come within its context.

Number two, in reference to her membership in the United Nations, I am sure our Government would not approve of it. Our Government would vote against it, but there is reason to believe that our Government would not exercise the veto power in the Security -- in the Security Council and even if it did it could be bypassed in the Assembly.

MR. KENT: Senator, couldn't the Soviet Union force the issue giving Red China some nuclear weapons?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, Mr. Kent, she could; but she hasn't.

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MR. KENT: Are you sure of that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am not sure - insofar as we know.

I have a feeling that the Soviet leaders are deeply concerned about the spread of the nuclear weapons system. The more that these weapons are spread out, the more uncertain becomes the world situation. I think that Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States underscores one observation that the Soviets repeatedly make: They would like to have the world sort of governed by two major powers -- a division so to speak between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Now, they constantly parade as the great friend of the so-called People's Republic of China, Communist China; but I have a feeling that Mr. Khrushchev has a couple of eyes in the back of his head all the time looking around to see what's going on there. 650 million people at his back door.

MR. MC DONALD: Senator, did Mr. Khrushchev give you any hint of this when you talked to him --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No direct hint, Mr. McDonald, no direct hint; in fact he refused to discuss that.

MR. TOWNSEND: Senator, I gather from the tenor of what you have been saying that you detect some slight improvement in relations between the United States and Russia, at least an improvement over what the situation was last December when you came back from Moscow.

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: On a limited area. I have -- I have felt for some time Mr. Townsend, that there was a definite possibility, probability of our arriving at an agreement with the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom on the matter of the cessation of further nuclear tests. I have said this repeatedly. I have studied the question, I think, in some detail. I have reasons to believe that the Soviet Union, Soviet scientists, Soviet political leaders are searching somewhat -- searching for a way to find a formula.

Now they do not want a formula that will permit international inspection inside the Soviet Union.

You know these Soviets are interesting people. They like to probe outer space but they don't want anybody probing their inner space, and this is what they are trying to prevent. But, we must never let that happen. We must insist upon international inspection.

MR. KENT: Senator, a little bit earlier you said that you thought that out of the Camp David talks would come Mr. Khrushchev's realization that the American people and Government were not going to give in, in terms of some of the principles we have stood by.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. KENT: That sounds fine. But suppose Mr. Khrushchev's attitude is the same about his principles and his people's, or his Government's principles? Where is the room then

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for any give?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think that's what Mr. Khrushchev's position is going to be. I said so before he came here. I do not expect Mr. Khrushchev to back up one bit in reference to his position relating to Eastern Germany, for example, the Warsaw Pact countries. You may see some softening of the tone, but I came away from my visit with Mr. Khrushchev convinced that at least for a considerable period of time there would be no major political decisions. They are still in the position of maneuver, they are still hoping that somehow or another we can't take it over the long period of time. These Soviets, there is one line that Mr. Khrushchev said I believe gentlemen at the Press Club in Washington, he said: "We are a persistent people," and I believe Americans ought to remember that line and almost repeat it every day to remind them of the nature of our competition, of our adversary, of our opposition.

Now what Khrushchev is attempting to do, it seems to me, is to probe every possible area of difference between us, and see whether or not we'll yield, back away. Now, I would hope that we would take a different tack, that we would make it quite clear that we are not going to sacrifice West Berlin, our allies, that we are not going to back away just to get a treaty on cessation of weapons to accept any old make believe type of arrangement, but rather that we

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would persist on one subject of disarmament, number one a good international agreement with effective control and inspection on nuclear tests;

Number two, that we would probe and push for greater contacts.

I am convinced that the exchange program is to our advantage. The more we can get into the Soviet Union, the better it is for the possibility, the long run possibility of modification of their system and world peace.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, I think in fairness to you, we should point out that this conversation is going on before the communique was issued from Camp David.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes; and may I add, Mr. Novins, I have been fully aware of this and I am kind of wondering whether or not when it's all said and done if I might not look just a little bit bad. I am not much of a prophet, you know. I am only giving, I am only giving my views.

MR. NOVINS: Exactly, and that's why we are not asking you to predict what the communique will say.

But, I think there is a question that is raised, from what you have said, Senator.

Obviously, the big issues like disarmament and an inspection plan are not things that are going to be laid out in blueprint form at Camp David, regardless of what the communique may say when it comes out. This leaves then some

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minor areas on which we may have reached some kind of accomodation so that we can make a communique look good.

I am wondering, Senator, what kind of a communique is going to be possible when President Eisenhower goes to Moscow? What's left?

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SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Novins, first let me say that in this communique that I -- that will be issued today -- I would be willing to predict that there will be some reference to the exchange program and its continuity. This is important. We must remember that the differences between our society and the Soviet are basic and fundamental, they are deep, they are long-lasting, and they are not going to be erased by some tourism --

MR. NOVINS: Could I interrupt for just a moment?

When you say exchange, you are speaking of cultural exchange, rather than trade?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Cultural -- I think there will be something on trade. I wouldn't be a bit surprised if the communique would have some reference to the exploration of the trade possibilities between the United States and the Soviet Union. That's about as far as I think it may go.

Also, I feel that there will be greater emphasis upon non-military scientific exchanges, particularly in the medical field. I found Mr. Khrushchev receptive to this when I was in Moscow. I have encouraged this in my -- visits with Government officials in our country, and a letter to the President, to the Secretary of State. I think these are the kind of things you are going to get.

Now, this is what I call, before you get to disarmament, you have to start to disarm the international

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atmosphere, and you are not going to do it politically, you are going to do it functionally. You are going to start out at professional levels, at education, science, medicine, where the professional people can meet and start possibly there to erode away some of these sharp edges, or to blunt off those edges. And I'll just say that we had better be a persistent people.

MR. KENT: Senator, it's been interesting to notice that in the last ten days or two weeks there's hardly been any activity on the Communist aggression front anywhere in the world. Would you call that an unearned increment maybe of the Camp David talks and the Khrushchev visit here?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

MR. KENT: Would you say that that could possibly continue, if the prospects of further talks developed at Camp David?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's a possibility. I wouldn't want to -- as we say, bet my life on it, but I think it is a possibility. I believe we ought to understand that what Mr. Khrushchev has wanted most of all out of this visit is a kind of international acceptance, respectability, and to visit with the Chief Executive of the United States of America, to be his guest, is indeed a high honor.

Then, I might add that, while this is, of course, to the plus, on the plus side, the asset side, for Mr. Khrushchev,

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we must never forget that the President of the United States is going to Moscow, as Mr. Novins said. This is a reciprocal arrangement, and I have a feeling that this will have an impact even in that monolithic, tightly-disciplined society of the Soviets. I would surely like to be there to see the reception that Mr. Eisenhower will receive, and it will not be a contrived one, either. To be sure, they will try to contrive possibly something, but I have a feeling there will be a tumultuous outburst of friendly reception on the part of the Soviet people, particularly the young people.

There is a, there is something peculiar about all of this, with all the poison propaganda about the United States to the Russian people, they just plain don't believe it all. You know, they, they have been reading under, between the lines for the fine print -- for about five hundred years over there. This is nothing new, this kind of propaganda system that they have.

MR. KENT: Senator, your remarks seem strange to me, to a man who is regarded by a great many people as a Democratic candidate for President, your high praise for President Eisenhower and the -- the kind of reception he is going to get, you think, in Moscow, sort of leads us into national politics, and 1960. And I would like to ask -- are you or are you not a candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Kent, let me just set

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the record straight, first of all, about President Eisenhower. He is my President, he is yours. I think President Eisenhower is a man of peace. I did encourage him, as just one citizen, to lend as much of his talent and efforts as he could possibly do to trying to visit many areas of the world in these concluding two years of his term. He cannot run for re-election. He has a tremendous reservoir of good will here in the United States, I can assure you, as well as abroad. I am a politician and I have the political finger up a lot, and Mr. Eisenhower is a popular man in the United States, and he surely is abroad. And, in the Soviet Union, the two most popular American figures in the Soviet Union are -- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the late President Roosevelt, and Dwight Eisenhower. And I only hope that President Eisenhower will be successful in his mission.

Now, if it means that that sort of files off the edges of my partisanship, well, then I guess that's the fact.

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MR. NOVINS: Well, let's take it in the domestic issues, Senator. What's your position on the civil rights bill, now?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe we need one.

MR. NOVINS: What --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe we need --

MR. NOVINS: What kind of a bill, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think we need a civil rights bill which will, first of all, recognize the decision of the Supreme Court, that will empower the Attorney General to protect the rights of citizens.

MR. NOVINS: By the right of subpoena?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: By the right of subpoena and by the right of initiating action on his own.

I believe also that we, well we have done one thing which I surely applaud, extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission, and give it some additional authority in terms of subpoenaing certain documents, particularly on voting rights.

I want to say this, and I think the biggest thing that we can do in the field of civil rights is to guarantee this right to vote, protect it and who can be against that?

MR. NOVINS: Well, Senator --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I mean, you can have all kinds of attitudes about segregation and desegregation, what have you, but when it comes down to the right of an American citizen who is called upon to bear arms, called upon to

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pay taxes, called upon to fulfill all the duties of citizenship, then I say he has a right to vote and I frankly have no time for people that want to deny him that right to vote and I would think it was the duty of Congress to give to the Executive Branch of Government every power that is necessary to protect that right to vote.

MR. NOVINS: Do you think Lyndon Johnson is dragging his feet on, on that right to vote?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, sir.

MR. NOVINS: Do you think you will get that kind of legislation in the next session of the Congress?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. TOWNSEND: Senator, to get back to the question of your candidacy for the Democratic nomination for a moment ---

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I couldn't hardly evade that one.

MR. TOWNSEND: Are you or are you not a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I'm a very interested participant in the activities of the Democratic Party, and I have a number of friends here in this great State of Wisconsin, as well as my own State of Minnesota, of course, our Governor, Governor Freeman, my colleague in the Senate, Senator McCarthy and others who have urged my seeking this nomination.

I have said a number of times I surely look upon it

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with considerable favor. It is my intention to make an announcement as to my -- my activities some time in December, or perhaps in January.

MR. TOWNSEND: Well haven't you in effect really telegraphed that announcement by announcing that you will enter the Wisconsin primary next April?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have said that that is my intention, but may I say there is a long ways between signing the dotted line and just getting down to where the signature is affixed. Every insurance salesman knows that.

MR. TOWNSEND: Isn't that a rather fine distinction?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It's a fine distinction, but, gentlemen, you help me make it.

MR. NOVINS: Senator Humphrey, the late Senator McCarthy used to call a press conference in the morning to notify reporters that he was going to hold a press conference in the afternoon. This is a little bit like that, isn't it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well I have never tried to emulate his tactics, but -- was it effective, Mr. Novins?

MR. NOVINS: Apparently it was, he got a lot of press. Are you happy with the press you are getting, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I always enjoy good commentary in the press. There are certain areas where I think we could improve it, if they would let me write the stories.

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MR. KENT: Senator, there is another very interested Democratic Senator, Jack Kennedy, who finished a bunch of speeches in Wisconsin yesterday. And one of them was at LaCrosse where he sort of shook up his audience. Instead of praising them, as politicians and candidates quite often do, he gave them a bad time. He said that the American people are soft, complacent, too sure of its own security and liberty and future. Do you agree with that, more or less?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I do not. And I am not trying to placate the American people or trying to please them. I think the American people are exactly what their leadership asks them to be, a great nation like this cannot be strong and powerful, active and forward looking without leadership. Somewhere in the Scripture, it is written that "If the trumpeter is uncertain, who shall follow the call," or "who shall heed the call?" And we have had an uncertain trumpet. We haven't had a sense of direction.

I am convinced that the American people will respond to leadership, will respond to inspiration, will respond to sacrifice if they are asked to do it.

Oh of course there are many indications of a kind of flabbiness in our society because we have been told that it's better to have bigger fin tails on cars than it is to have national strength. But when, when it comes from high places, and I don't mean just the Presidency, even though

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that's the central point, I mean from members of Congress, I mean from the leaders of our civic life and our spiritual life, that we have a great challenge and a great responsibility, I think we will respond.

And, I will tell you something Mr. Kent, I think that Mr. Khrushchev's visit is going to sharpen this very -- this very -- is going to pinpoint this very point. He is going to -- his visit makes us understand that we have our work cut out for us, and I have a feeling that the American people are yearning for someone to tell them, not to tell them or order them but to inspire them to activate them into a program of positive actions.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, how can you say that when your Democratic Congress cut back on foreign aid budgets, cut back on so many of the other things that would tend to reduce this national flabbiness that has been suggested.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Novins, we lived by what I call the budget fever chart this year, with Dr. Stans and Dean Eisenhower, of the Political Medical School, standing over us all the time. When anything came up relating to the needs of this country, we did not always have a chance to take a look at the need, we took a look at the budget message. Now I think that, I don't mean the Congress only did this, I mean the Administration did this.

MR. KENT: Did your remark about the leadership,

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Senator, apply to the Democratic leadership of Congress, which was deficient?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I should say --

I did not apply it to them. We passed a good housing program. We lost it twice. We passed good farm legislation, it was vetoed. We passed good legislation in the field of medical research and health and thank goodness we were able to tuck it into a bigger bill and it was saved.

MR. MC DONALD: Senator --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Many good things we did.

MR. MC DONALD: Senator, our time is getting very short and there is one question I would like to ask you:

In your explorations last week at a fund raising dinner you said you were making exploratory reconnaissance of the situation. Are you interested at all in the Vice Presidency, the second place nomination?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. McDonald, I am a -- up for re-election in the State of Minnesota for the United States Senate. I shall give that priority consideration. That is my first love, my first duty, my first responsibility; and my other exploratory reconnaissance efforts to date have been very rewarding and what I find I like, and what I see I enjoy, and what I look forward to, I think will be a great challenge.

MR. NOVINS: Senator Humphrey, thank you very much

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indeed for coming here to face this challenge. We are delighted that you are here to FACE THE NATION.

Our thanks also to today's news correspondents:

To John C. McDonald, of the Minneapolis Tribune;

Dallas Townsend, of CBS News; and

Carlton Kent, of the Chicago Sun-Times.

This is Stuart Novins. We invite you to join us next week at this time when our guest on FACE THE NATION will be the Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Our program today originated at Station WITI Television, in Milwaukee.

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Announcer: FACE THE NATION was produced by Michael J. Marlow.

Associated in production, Bill Kobin.

Directed by Bill Linden.

Today you saw Democratic Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, FACE THE NATION.

Stuart Armstrong speaking.

This has been a Public Affairs presentation of CBS News.

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