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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "MEET THE PRESS"

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Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak

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SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 1960

MODERATOR:        Ned Brooks

GUEST:             Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Democrat from Minnesota

PANEL:             James Reston, New York Times  
Paul Ringler, Milwaukee Journal  
Charles Bartlett, Chattanooga Times  
Sander Vanocur, NBC News

THE ANNOUNCER:    Now, from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, we  
invite you to MEET THE PRESS, the unrehearsed program  
which has won every major award in its field.

Our guest, ladies and gentlemen, is Senator Hubert  
Humphrey of Minnesota, whose hotly contested battle with  
Senator John Kennedy for the Wisconsin Democratic  
delegation will be decided in Tuesday's primary.

In just a moment, Senator Humphrey will MEET THE PRESS.

(Announcement)

THE ANNOUNCER:    Now MEET THE PRESS, produced by  
Lawrence E. Spivak. Remember that the questions  
asked by the members of the panel do not necessarily  
reflect their point of view. It is their way of getting

the story for you.

Now here is the Moderator of MEET THE PRESS, Mr. Ned Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: Welcome once again to MEET THE PRESS. Our program comes to you today from Milwaukee. This week the eyes of the nation will be fastened on Wisconsin's Presidential primary. Two Democratic Senators, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and John Kennedy of Massachusetts, are competing in the first and perhaps the most important contested primary of 1960. The result here in Wisconsin on Tuesday could have a great influence on the nomination at the Los Angeles convention.

In the Republican primary Vice President Nixon is unopposed.

Our guest today is Senator Humphrey. He is the former Mayor of Minneapolis and he has served in the Senate since 1949. He is a high-ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a former delegate to the United Nations and advisor at the Geneva Conferences on the control of atomic weapons.

And now seated around the press table ready to interview Senator Humphrey are Charles Bartlett of the Chattanooga Times, James Reston of the New York Times, Paul Ringler of the Milwaukee Journal, and Sander Vanocur of NBC News. Lawrence E. Spivak, our regular member of the MEET

THE PRESS panel will be back with us next week.

Now Senator, we hope your laryngitis has improved.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you.

MR. BROOKS: And we will start the questions with Mr. Vanocur.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, for the last three weeks you have gone around the state attacking Senator Kennedy on his voting record, especially on farm issues.

Don't you think that if Kennedy does become the Democratic nominee this is going to hurt your party's chances in the election in November?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Vanocur, I have discussed the farm record as I have other matters of public record. I happen to believe that a discussion of the public record is about the only way that you can honorably carry on an election contest. Surely one wouldn't want to discuss extraneous issues.

Now there are honest differences of opinion on agricultural policy between Senator Kennedy and myself. I am happy to report that Senator Kennedy in many instances has changed his point of view from that early record. I think I have maybe been persuasive. I hope so.

No, I don't think this is going to damage the party because I am sure whoever the nominee of our party is in Los Angeles that he will stand by our platform and he will

campaign on the basis of that platform and that he will make a very creditable showing on it and of course Senator Kennedy's record in agriculture is far superior to Mr. Nixon's. Mr. Nixon is undoubtedly the Republican nominee, at this time at least.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, if you don't get the nomination, you are going to campaign for a third term as Senator in Minnesota. Don't you think the Republicans in your state are going to pick up the charges from your lips and throw them against you, running on the same ticket with this man you have attacked on agriculture?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I want to say that if I have no greater worry than the charges that will be hurled at me by partisans in the coming election, that I will be a very fortunate man. I will be able to point out that there were times that Senator Kennedy in the instance of agriculture as one issue voted with the Administration. I did not. I will point out also that in the last two years that my friend from Massachusetts, I think, has seen the error of his ways and he has voted with me and I am pleased that he has done that.

MR. RINGLER: Senator Humphrey, what is the minimum number of delegates you would want to claim a victory in Wisconsin next Wednesday?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would like to have a majority

of the delegates and I believe that we shall be able to obtain them, Mr. Ringler.

In light of some of the propaganda that has been given out -- I read two or three weeks ago in one of the leading weekly magazines that I wasn't supposed to get any delegates, so I suppose that one or two would look like quite a victory. And two weeks ago I read that I was maybe to get two districts, so that would look like quite a victory. But I plan on getting a majority of the delegates, and I would consider that a substantial victory.

MR. RINGLER: If this should not happen, Senator, and recalling the fact that Wendell Willkie in 1944 withdrew from the Republican contest after losing in Wisconsin, if you do happen to do poorly on Tuesday, will you quit the Democratic race?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Ringler, first I don't intend to do poorly on Tuesday, I want that quite clear. I intend to do well, with the help of course of the people of this state. If however the theoretical assumption that you make, which is a classical example of high theory, if that should come about I will still pursue the course that I have outlined for myself, namely to go ahead with the next primary which is in West Virginia. I made a commitment to carry out that assignment and I will.

I expect to be able to win and I will go through with all of the other primaries because I didn't merely enter Wisconsin as a do-or-die proposition, I entered this as one of several primaries, and of course my victory here will be a great help in the others.

MR. RESTON: Senator, is this campaign resolving genuine issues of public policy, or is it raising false, personal issues in your judgment?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't believe it is raising any personal issues, Mr. Reston. First of all let me make it crystal clear -- and I am sure that you know this from your long association with both Mr. Kennedy and myself, that I have a high regard for Jack Kennedy. Jack is a fine man. He has a fine family. He has a splendid record. I am not going to let any personality difficulties, or all of this rumor of personality stuff enter into this campaign.

I think we have done some good work in this campaign. I think that the people of Wisconsin, as we have discussed issues -- I have tried to discuss issues from every platform in this state. I believe they have a better appreciation of where we as individuals stand and where the Democratic Party stands and where it ought to stand. I have not only talked about where we have stood, but where we ought to stand. I have discussed for

example disarmament in detail in the State of Wisconsin. I think this has been a service. And the responsibility of our government in this field of world leadership. I think we have helped.

MR. RESTON: Do you think Wisconsin is representative of your Party in any way?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, in part. Of course every state is different. Every locality has its own problems and every state has its own political tradition. But Wisconsin is a state in which there is a balance of a type between industry, labor and agriculture. I have learned a great deal in Wisconsin -- the fabulous industrial development of this state, the skill of its workmen and the competence of its management and the high quality of its agriculture.

It seems to me that Wisconsin may be what you might call above the average because of its highly developed society and of its economy. But I do feel that the issues that we talk about here are characteristic of the whole country.

MR. RESTON: The point I was trying to get at, Senator, is that some people say that this election here is going to be decisive. Yet I think most people would say that the state itself is very unrepresentative of the nation as a whole.

Now does that make sense? That is my question.



SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I don't think that this election is decisive. Even though I hope for and look for a victory. I can't imagine that it is going to be decisive. I can't imagine for example that Senator Kennedy would quit. I can't imagine that Senator Symington would say "Well, I never should have announced." I can't imagine that Senator Lyndon Johnson would give up his desires relating to the Presidency.

What the Wisconsin primary does, however, is add psychological importance to whatever developments may come. If I should be the victor, it will give me a great boost. As a matter of fact, I have a feeling there will be the greatest reshuffling of political allegiances since the War Between the States, and I am looking forward to that.

If I should lose, it will only add an extra element to my determination to go on and win the next one.

MR. BARTLETT: Senator, you have advertised yourself in Wisconsin as a Midwestern candidate for President. I wondered why it was any more fitting to run as a regional candidate for great national office than it would be to run as the candidate of the druggists or the candidate of the men with brown eyes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I thought it would be honest to tell people where I come from. I do come from the



Midwest. I am a Midwesterner. But may I suggest to you that a man's geography is relatively unimportant. What is important are his thoughts, his philosophy, his program, his policies, and his record.

I do feel however that it is entirely appropriate for the Midwest to feel that it has fully come of age and get over any inferiority complex it might have ever had relating to the Presidency.

Actually had we had a Midwesterner in the White House long before -- I mean by that someone intimately acquainted with the problems of the Midwest, we would have had the St. Lawrence Seaway I think 10, 15, 20 years before. I think we would have had many greater industrial developments in this part of America.

But a man should not run for office as a regional candidate, and I do not. In fact, my politics, may I say, is good for New York and California, good for the South and good for the North, and I feel that I have demonstrated as a Senator of the United States of America that I understand or at least have an interest in the basic national problems of our country.

MR. BARTLETT: Well, to follow up this point of identification, you have boasted many times in the campaign that you voted with labor on 213 out of 214 votes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. BARTLETT: And at other times I have heard you talk of an aspiration for an America where there would be no second class citizenship.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Correct, sir.

MR. BARTLETT: Wouldn't the voters be running the risk of voting second class citizens by voting for a man who has identified himself so closely with one sector of the country?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not at all because I haven't identified myself that closely with one sector of the economy.

Let's take the 213 votes that you mentioned. The AFL-CIO Legislative Committee has listed out 214 votes on key issues. Foreign policy, national security, atomic energy, public health, medical research, agriculture, minimum wages, taxation, and only a handful of them are real issues relating to the labor movement. And they have said "Now here are the great issues. Let's see how the Senators have voted on them," and Senator Humphrey voted according to their evaluation, 213 out of 214 possibilities right. Now that is a mighty good record.

Now let's go over to agriculture. And I have the same kind of a record that has I think met with the general approval of people who are in the rural areas, that is, on the issues. Now that doesn't mean that all

farmers are for Senator Humphrey. And in small business I have been on the Committee on Small Business for 12 years. I come from an independent business family and have tremendous support amongst the independent business community. And finally my work in the field of foreign policy I think qualifies me above all others as a truly national candidate, as a serious contender for the office of the Presidency, because I have never put sectionalism above my country, I have never put even my partisanship above my dedication to the great causes for which this country out to stand. I am an American first, I am a Democrat second, and then I come from the Midwest, as a matter of geography.

MR. BROOKS: Senator, in the last 48 hours here in Milwaukee we have been hearing a lot of rumors about a so-called "Stop Kennedy" movement joined in by your organization and others.

Are you a party to any such movement, or are you aware that there is one?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I have been a party to the movement to start Humphrey. I have always been a positive thinker.

Senator Kennedy has had a mighty good start already, and I sort of felt it was fair play that since we were both declared candidates that I should have a start too. And what

I am doing is attempting to carry out a real serious and I hope intelligent and active campaign to win in Wisconsin. You know when you win, somebody has to lose.

MR. BROOKS: What I meant is, are you joining up with other candidates or other organizations in a "Stop Kennedy" movement? That has been the rumor.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, that is just another rumor. May I say that I am willing to accept support from any honorable source, and I hope that it is for Humphrey. I want to warn those who are supporting me that I really think they are supporting me because they are for me. Maybe I am being naive about this, but that is my feeling.

MR. BROOKS: Are you getting support from Wisconsin Democrats who favor Senator Symington, who is not in the primary?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I saw that in the paper, and I was very pleased because these are good people. I have checked their background, these are the sort of people who supported Gaylord Nelson and Senator Proxmire and Senator Estes Kefauver. These are fine citizens. Senator Symington is not in this campaign in Wisconsin and they decided as a group that they thought that Senator Humphrey's record deserved the kind of support that they extended to me.

What they did was to say they thought I would be the

better candidate for the Democratic Party.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, in line with the preceding question, I am sure you are in this to win, but don't you often have the feeling that you are fighting Adlai Stevenson's battle? Don't you think that much of your support comes from people who would like to have Stevenson if he would only declare himself as a candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I think there was something to that in the beginning, Mr. Vanocur, but I am convinced now that they have found a fellowship with Hubert Humphrey that they will stay with. It is a fact that I have I think carried on the kind of a campaign that -- I trust this is a fact -- that would gain the respect of those who had previously supported Mr. Stevenson.

But Mr. Stevenson is not a candidate and who could better tell than he himself? He has said he is not a candidate. I think he is an honorable man. And Hubert Humphrey is a candidate, I am a stalking horse for no one, I am a working horse for the country, the United States of America and I am trying my level best to carry out a program that I think is worthy of the people of this state and of the nation.

So if anybody has any suspicion that Humphrey is trying to save the day for them, the ones I am trying to save the day for are the people of the United States and not some political potential opponent.

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MR. VANOCUR: Senator, it is true that you are getting a good deal of your money from Stevenson's supporters, aren't you, who have not given up their allegiance to Stevenson, who would be ready to go for him at the convention if Senator Kennedy slipped, if Senator Johnson didn't make it, if you couldn't make any impressive showing in Los Angeles?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Vanocur, you are so pessimistic. You shouldn't be like this. Really. You should have a more cheerful outlook on matters.

The truth is, of course, that we get money from people who once supported Adlai Stevenson. That supported Averill Harriman. That supported Estes Kefauver. My state chairman in this state is the former chairman of the Kefauver movement in Wisconsin.

We receive additional aid from people who thought that Hubert Humphrey would make a very good candidate. We have received a lot of help from people in Minnesota and a great deal of it from people in Wisconsin. And may I say, I welcome it. In fact, I know it may be a violation of the FCC rulings, but I need it.

MR. RINGLER: Senator Humphrey, large sums of money are being spent in Wisconsin in this campaign and because of apparently inadequate state and federal laws the voters will probably never know the sources of this money. Isn't this a very unhealthy situation and how can it be remedied?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The Corrupt Practices Acts at both State and Federal level need to be tightened. We in the Senate passed what we call the Clean Elections Bill which does apply to national primaries and state primaries. I think this is required. The reporting system is very faulty, and as one who has been in politics a long time, I would suggest that every legislative body in the land, including the Congress, completely reassess the so-called Corrupt Practices Acts or the Reporting Acts relating to political campaigns. There isn't any doubt but what you are right.

MR. RESTON: There isn't any law, is there, that insists that you do not tell us now what it has cost you to campaign in Wisconsin, is there?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, sir, there is no law that tells us that I should not report that to you.

MR. RESTON: Would you like to confess all?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I will tell you what I would like to do, Mr. Reston. I would like to assure you personally, privately and publicly and all of you, before April 19, a complete summary of all expenditures and contributions in the state of Wisconsin will be made to the people of Wisconsin. This will be a matter of my, what I call integrity in politics, not a requirement of law. I think this should be done. I really believe that it would be an eye-opener. I think this should be done.

MR. RINGLER: May I ask, Senator, if the contributors



will be listed specifically by name and address?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Wisconsin contributors, yes.

MR. RINGLER: Out-of-state contributors?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, we have a National Committee and it is very difficult to know that, Mr. Ringler. I am not trying to duck your question, but we have a National Committee into which funds come and checks are just written out of it. Let's say, for example, Paul Ringler would send us a contribution, which I hope you would do, to our National Committee. It would be deposited in the bank and unless you said "This must be used for the Wisconsin campaign," Mr. Ringler, I just don't think it would be right to say you send money in strictly for Wisconsin.

MR. RINGLER: Senator, this is our problem, though, in this State.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. RINGLER: We do not demand addresses and the names that come in, the H. Smiths, the P. Jones, go on and on, with no addresses.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I assure you that I will cooperate on the addresses. Thank you.

MR. BARTLETT: On your accounting, do you intend to put in the expenditures which have been paid for by money from out of the State?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Sir?

MR. BARTLETT: Do you intend to include in your listing the expenditures which have been financed by contributions from outside?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I will give you a complete accounting, Mr. Bartlett, that will meet the high standards of the accounting profession and may I add no matter what that accounting is it will hardly be the amount that has been spent by others in the Wisconsin campaign.

MR. BARTLETT: That was my point.

Now Senator Kennedy talked this afternoon that he thought the primary in Wisconsin ultimately would cost each contestant in the neighborhood of \$135,000, I believe he said. How strongly do you differ with that sum?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I couldn't say. I couldn't say. I know that a Greyhound Bus costs much less than a Convair, and I know that it is a great expense to carry on a campaign but I couldn't say and I think it would be unwise for me to make a statement as to the amount. It is expensive, let me tell you that. It is more than I think we ought to spend.

MR. BARTLETT: But you have made a statement -- you said three or four times yesterday, I think, that Kennedy would spend three or four times as much as you spent.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think that is about right. I think that was a conservative estimate, yes.

MR. BARTLETT: If he is talking in terms of \$140,000,

that wouldn't leave you much to put in for your last week because you have already reported \$32,000.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think Mr. Kennedy proved himself to be a rather conservative man this afternoon on that point.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, how big a factor do you think religion is going to be in this primary, Tuesday?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well Mr. Vanocur, I have been reading a great deal about this and I noticed where Mr. Leubel, an eminent political analyst, and Mr. Roper in his poll, indicated that somewhere around -- I think they said eighty percent of the people of Catholic faith would vote for Mr. Kennedy. I don't believe it. I don't believe it. And I will tell you why: I have been in politics a long time, and in the State of Minnesota last time, we elected Senator Eugene McCarthy and I am convinced that people did not divide on religious lines. In fact, I know they didn't. By an analysis of the vote. And I have a feeling that the people of Wisconsin are no different from the people of Minnesota. And I think they are going to take a good look at those of us who are the candidates -- at least this is my hope and my prayer, and I think they will. And therefore my feeling about it is simply this, that a man ought not to be voted for because of his religion. And he surely ought not to be voted against because of his religion. But a man who is a candidate for public office ought to have some religion and he ought to practice it.

MR. VANOCUR: Well, Senator, practicalities of politics are one thing, and the moralities of politics are another.

Do you resent the fact that a lot of people who are Catholic will vote for Senator Kennedy because he is a Catholic?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have no proof of that. As a matter of fact, I resent the fact that people will intimate that until they have some evidence, and they have no such evidence. I am happy to report that in my campaign organization I have people of all religious faiths. I have men like Senator McCarthy, and Carl Rovard, Lt. Governor Freeman, Sam Rissold, Lt. Governor Nash, and I have Eugene Foley, Pat O'Connor. Now I think you have just about found a whole gamut of religious faith and I am happy to say that we know how to work together. And I deplore above all things in my life this injection of this element of what I call religious intolerance into this campaign.

My whole life, Mr. Vanocur, has been dedicated to better human understanding. It has been dedicated to tolerance, it has been dedicated to the elimination of bigotry and discrimination and nothing would sicken me more than to see this campaign degenerate into what I think some people would like to have it degenerate to, and when I say "some people" I mean some very little-minded ones. Thank goodness that both Senator Kennedy and

Senator Humphrey have no truck with this kind of thing and we will have none, I can assure you of that.

MR. RESTON: Senator, do you think that you are coming out of this campaign without too many scars, either within your own party or in the nation? Has it been a devisive campaign in your judgment?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It has not, Mr. Reston. As a matter of fact I think it has been a helpful campaign, first of all to the Democratic Party in Wisconsin. I think we have helped build the party here.

Secondly, I believe that both Jack and myself have come to understand the issues a little better because we have had to sharpen up our explanation of them.

Thirdly, I really think the Democratic Party nationally has profited greatly and I almost feel sorry for my Republican friends. They have carried on no campaign and if Mr. Nixon ends up here what I think he may, as a weak third in this primary, it will be a body blow to Mr. Nixon's national chances and to the Republican Party.

MR. BARTLETT: Sir, in listening to some of your speeches I have heard you many times question the quality of Senator Kennedy's liberalism -- I think you once described him as bland and like warmed-over tea. One of the letters circulating out here is a letter your wrote, a Dear Jack letter, on September 8, 1958.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Wait a minute, Mr. Bartlett, before you go. I have never said that Jack was bland or like warmed-over tea. I have never said that. I said that I want to make sure that American politics doesn't become that way and that we don't indulge ourselves in shere public relations. I can say many things about Jack, but he is not bland and he is not warmed-over tea, I can tell you that.

MR. BARTLETT: This is from my notes, but the suggestion I have gotten was that you didn't feel he was liberal enough.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The suggestion that I have is that we have disagreed on issues of taxation. For example, on depletion allowances he votes for high depletion allowances; I vote to lower them. On exemptions for families he votes for \$600; I vote for \$800. We have disagreed on conservation, we have disagreed on atomic energy. I think I have been right, and I think the record bears me out.

MR. BARTLETT: On September 8, 1958 you did write a Dear Jack letter "Your fine work on behalf of liberal social legislation proves you believe in a government with a heart."

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I certainly did, and I think he deserved it. And may I say I have done a great deal since then to encourage Jack to even be more liberal.

MR. BROOKS: Gentlemen, I am sorry to interrupt but I see that our time is up. I am sure the panel could continue this for a long time, Senator, but our time has run out.





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