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SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1960

GUEST:     SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
             DEMOCRAT FROM MINNESOTA

PANEL:

RUTH HAGY, Moderator

CHARLES REED, Harvard University

ELLEN JANE GRANDINETTI, New York University

GREG MACKYOWSKY, Rutgers University

DWIGHT CROPP, Howard University

HOWARD KIRSHBAUM, Yale University

DAVID DULLES, Harvard University

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THE ANNOUNCER: Here comes the future! From Washington, D. C., we present the Peabody Award-winning COLLEGE NEWS CONFERENCE where the leaders of tomorrow meet the leaders of today.

Here today to meet our panel of university reporters is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.

Now here is our founder and moderator, Ruth Hagy.

MISS HAGY: Welcome to another weekly edition of COLLEGE NEWS CONFERENCE.

Senator Humphrey, it is a very great pleasure indeed to welcome you back to our campus news room. And now I am going to introduce you to the students who are going to interview you.

From Harvard Law School, David Dulles, nephew of the late distinguished Secretary <sup>of State</sup> John Foster Dulles, and a member of the Harvard International Seminar of 1960.

From New York University, Ellen Jane Grandinetti, president of the Pre-Law Society.

From Rutgers University in New Jersey, Greg Machyowsky, who is a Fellow in the Graduate Institute of Politics and associate editor of the Student Lawyer's Journal.

From Harvard University, national Merritt scholar, Charles Reed, who is sponsored at Harvard by the Minneapolis -- the Northwest Bank Corporation of Minneapolis, Minnesota. He is a native from your native state.

From Howard University, Dwight Cropp, who is secretary of the Student Government, and from Yale University, Howard Kirshbaum who is the president of Hillel Society at Yale, sponsored by B'Nai B'Rith.

Now as you all know, students, this week the eyes of America were focused on Senator Humphrey, who waged a very interesting battle in Wisconsin against Senator Kennedy for the nomination for the Presidency. He lost that battle, but many experts say he was down but not out.

He is a man who has been described on this very program by Mrs. Roosevelt as one of the Democrats who had the spark of greatness needed by the next President of the United States.

He is now waging a very intensive campaign in West Virginia, in order to gain that high office, and who has the first question for him?

Ellen Jane --

MISS GRANDINETTI: Six months ago, Senator, you told Newsweek if you lost the Wisconsin primary you would go home and run for Senator, and it seems to me Senator Kennedy won about 56 percent of the votes there, and I was wondering why have you changed your mind on this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Ellen, I don't really believe that I lost in the Wisconsin primary. First of all the propagandists -- I was looking for a better word, but

the public relations boys and the propagandists were saying that, quote, Senator Humphrey would be swept away -- end of quote.

Secondly, that Senator Humphrey would lose all ten districts -- end of quote. Then one of the weekly magazines came around and said Senator Humphrey would lose eight districts, end of quote. Senator Humphrey carried four districts in the election, came very close to carrying five districts in the election, and I felt I made a respectable showing.

So I agree with most of the people who have analyzed the Wisconsin results. While it is true that my friend and associate, Senator Kennedy, won a majority of the districts and a majority of the -- plurality of the vote, he did not have a sweep, and there are still many factors undecided, and Senator Humphrey, regardless of what he might have said six months ago to Newsweek, or a new conference, feels that he should continue his efforts and that is exactly what I am going to do.

Thank you, Ellen.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: On a closer analysis of the returns which presumably your organization has made now, sir, are you sticking to the position which came out in the papers during the week that as far as its being a Democratic primary goes you got a majority of the Democratic votes?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir. I surely do, Greg.

I think the facts reveal that that is a fact. There is a substantial cross-over of conservative Republicans in this primary. I think I received very few of those. I suppose -- I hope I got a few, but in the areas -- take for example in the City of Racine, Wisconsin, I carried what are the normally Democratic wards. I carried them. In the wards that were strongly Republican, I did not carry them.

I feel that if you match my vote in this primary with that of Gaylord Nelson, the Governor of Wisconsin, you will see that I had a comparable vote fairly well -- at least fairly comparable.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: Doesn't the fact that Kennedy got so much of the cross-over vote indicate that he would perhaps be the winning candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I think if he could hold it that would be true. But the Elmer Roper poll indicated, from those whom they had tested -- and I mean this is again open to question -- but those that they had tested or questioned, that about 75 percent of those to 80 -- 75 percent to 80 percent who said they were going to cross over in the primary to vote for my opponent also said they were going to go back in the general election to vote for the Republican. Now I hope they don't. I hope that

Senator Kennedy convinced them, but good. He is a good man and I hope he did a good job of convincing them.

MR. DULLES: Sir, since many Democratic leaders are very much concerned now about Senator Kennedy's strength, I wonder whether it would be fair to appraise the West Virginia primary -- upcoming -- as Kennedy versus the field?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, it is Kennedy versus Humphrey. I will put it this way: Humphrey versus Kennedy. You see, David, I am the "David" in this one, and Jack is the Goliath. It isn't Jack the Giant Killer this time, it is "Hubert Humphrey: David."

What I am trying to say to you is that while there is a determined effort being made by, again what I consider to be good political propagandists, that this is the field against Jack, this is Hubert Humphrey. And might I add that if the field wants to be helpful, one of the ways they could do is to come out with some jack. This would help real good right now, which I don't have.

MR. DULLES: (Inaudible.)

MISS HAGY: You mean dollar signs, don't you -- David, go ahead.

MR. DULLES: Senator U. S. News in its current issue says Aldai Stevenson is emerging as the real dark horse of this Presidential year.

Now I wonder whether in view of that appraisal there is any room to argue that Stevenson is the "David" in this campaign?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Stevenson is just a little bit too big for just being David, on the surface.

I am always intrigued, David, by the weekly magazines who seem to be picking our Democratic nominees. They seem to always enjoy this, but of course they never support any of them, you know.

It is an interesting thing to me. They go around picking Senator Kennedy or Senator Symington, or Senator Johnson or Adlai Stevenson as the potential nominee -- they have had one each about every other week. They like to keep Democrats off balance.

I would suggest that you will find out who the Democratic nominee will be, light horse or dark horse, show horse or galloping horse, about in July in Los Angeles. I don't think there will be any decision before that.

MR. DULLES: Is there any chance that the nomination will be sown up before the Los Angeles convention?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: None whatsoever.

MR. CROPP: Senator, what would you consider a victory in West Virginia?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: A majority of the vote. This is



not a primary where we get delegates. This is in fact a popular contest. But this has a facet to it which I would like to call to your attention as compared to Wisconsin. In the Wisconsin primary anybody could vote in the Democratic primary. It didn't require that you were a registered Democrat. In other words, it is a fact that Republicans could have selected the Democratic nominee.

In the West Virginia primary, only registered Democrats can vote in the Democratic primary. This is true in South Dakota where I am entering also, where only registered Democrats can vote in the Democratic primary, but there they also seal down -- you seal down by your vote if you get a majority, the delegation.

Now in Nebraska where Senator Kennedy is operating or going to go into the primary, he can win the primary, which he will because it is uncontested, and never get a delegate because the primary doesn't tie up the delegates. This is why this primary system is so confusing. The Wisconsin primary, as you know, has been a sort of jigsaw puzzle for years because you never know what is going to happen simply because of the cross-over.

We saw this same thing in Minnesota. We saw it in 1956 when I, without trying to be unkind to anyone, every single measure of public opinion in Minnesota in 1956



showed Adlai Stevenson winning with a tremendous majority of the Democrats. When they polled people and said "Are you a Democrat or are you a Republican," and they said "I am a Democrat," the question was "Will you vote for Stevenson or Kefauver?" About two thirds said they would vote for Stevenson and yet when it came up in the primary, Mr. Kefauver won the nomination. And why did he win it? Without trying to be unkind to him at all, he won it because of a tremendous cross-over of Republican votes, and one of the areas which I know because I think I know my state, is in Wadena Minnesota, which votes about two to one Republican, and they cast as many votes for Mr. Kefauver in the primary as they did for any Democrat in the general election.

MR. KIRSHBAUM: In spite of the implication that perhaps the primary is not the best gauge of what will happen in the Democratic convention, it is of course important to bring forth the issues to the people.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. KIRSCHBAUM: This is what you waged your campaign on in Wisconsin, and I am about to ask you the differences between you and Senator Kennedy as you see them, going into West Virginia?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, the differences in West Virginia will be the same as they were in Wisconsin. I mean here is our voting record. We have differences on agricultural policy. that is not as meaningful in West Virginia, may I say, as it was in Wisconsin. We have differences on taxation where I voted for larger deductions for individuals such as the exemption allowance for dependents.

We have differences on oil depletion allowances where I voted to cut those depletion allowances -- Senator Kennedy on one vote at least voted to keep them at 27½ percent. We have differences on conservation. We had some differences on civil rights. We have some differences, but I must say they are differences of degree.

MR. KIRSHBAUM: Do you consider your strong stand on civil rights as a possible handicap in the West Virginia election?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It could be but you cannot have it both ways. You see, that is what I tried to say to Senator Kennedy out in Wisconsin. You can't be a low price supports man back East where they like low price supports and a high price supports man out in the Middle West where they like high price supports. You can't cut the cake both ways.

Senator Humphrey's position is well known. I have no intention of retracting it. I think I am sound morally and politically on this issue, and from the standpoint of our

national security, I think this is imperative. If it loses me votes in West Virginia, it will just have to lose me votes. I can't play it both ways. You have to come clean.

MR. REED: In view of the fact that less than five per cent of the population in West Virginia are Catholic, many people have said that it will be quite difficult to keep the issue of religion out of that state's primary. I am wondering if you have any comment.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Charles, I am going to do everything within my power to put this primary and any other primary on the basis of not religion but on the basis of the economic, political and social issues. All of my life I have fought any form of intolerance or bigotry. This is a mission in my life. This isn't just a political expression. In the State of Minnesota, I joined with many of my colleagues to help elect Eugene McCarthy. A fine Senator, my colleague. A Roman Catholic. My campaign manager in Wisconsin, Gerold Haney, a Catholic.

Well, we have never had this issue in Minnesota. We have been able to conduct our campaigns, may I say to my friends here, on the basis of the political issues.

This is close to my heart. If anybody thinks they are going to use Hubert Humphrey as a rallying point for Anti-Catholicism, they are wrong. I will denounce them. I will have nothing to do with them and I will tell you why: Because I am convinced that any man who is seeking the Presidency of the

United States on either ticket today would serve that office with independence, within his constitutional responsibilities. A man's religion is his own most intimate private choice and we must respect that religious choice. And as far as I am concerned, I don't think a man ought to be voted for because of his religion and I don't think he ought to be voted against because of his religion. I think what is important is that he have some religion, that he believe in Devine Providence and that he recognizes humility before God Almighty and that he asks for a little Devine Inspiration and guidance and if he does that, I think he may be a fairly good President.

MR. CROPP: Senator Humphrey, is there a "Stop Kennedy" movement in West Virginia?

SENATOR KENNEDY: Yes. I am leading it. I am for "Starting Humphrey." Don't misunderstand me. When you have a primary contest, you always try to win. If you mean is there a congealing of forces, there is none that I am participating in. I am not for stopping Kennedy. I am for starting Humphrey and I got a good start in Wisconsin, Dwight, and I hope that we can get further impetus in West Virginia. I might say, you know there isn't just one candidate in the Democratic primaries or the Democratic Party. When they say "Stop Kennedy," I want to be very fair about it. There is Senator Symington, there is Senator Johnson, there is Governor Meyner, there is Senator Humphrey. We are entitled to a little consideration. And I wouldn't want to get everybody feeling that somebody was being ganged up on because if you don't want to be ganged up on, don't run in primaries. I think they are ganging up on me too you know, every

once in a while but they are really not, they are just trying to beat me.

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MR. CROPP: Are you getting any aid from any of the Johnson helpers in West Virginia in any way?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think there are some people who said they liked Senator Johnson, who felt they might vote for me, but I have run into some people who felt they liked Senator Johnson and Senator Symington who told me yesterday they were going to vote for Senator Kennedy.

I tried to disabuse them of that thought. I even spent quite a lot of time with them. I even ran into some people who said they were going to vote Republican. This shook me more.

But I think this has been overdone just a little bit. I am trying to build my own political force.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: I am trying to find out if we can tie in an alleged "Stop Kennedy" movement, in with your own financial support. Have offers of financial support increased, decreased, or remained about the same since the Wisconsin results were out?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I haven't had time to find out. I hope they have increased. We ended up in Wisconsin with a deficit. We borrowed some money to start in West Virginia. I borrowed it from one of my campaign workers who has been kind to me in the past, and I believe he is right here in the studio.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: The feeling seems to persist that

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a good deal of this money is from Stevenson supporters or former Stevenson supporters.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I hope so. They are Democrats. I try to get my money from Democrats. I haven't tried to get too much of it from any Republican. And former Stevenson supporters, there were several million of them and we have a lot of them in Minnesota. In fact we voted hundreds of thousands of them and they put up a good deal of money for Senator Humphrey. In fact, the farmers of my state put up over \$25,000, door to door.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: There still seems to be a feeling that a good many liberals supporting you are really torn between you and Governor Stevenson, and isn't it important sooner or later for Governor Stevenson to make it quite clear that he won't accept the nomination, and indeed he supports you if you are going to hold on to this Stevenson vote? Isn't that a danger that this is just going to fade away, especially if you don't do so well in the primary?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Don't worry about it, Greg. I believe we will hold it ourselves. You know I must say, this is very effective propaganda that is being spread. I have a feeling that maybe I get a few votes on my own, Greg. Maybe not many, but a few. You see I did get elected in Minnesota. I didn't get appointed. I was elected Mayor twice, United States Senator twice, and I



didn't just squeak through, I got through quite well.

Now I am not saying that in a bragadocio manner, it is just a fact. Now of course a person receives help -- I received help from Harriman supporters, Kefauver supporters, but they are not running. I received help from Stevenson supporters. They are not running. I have had help from Al Smith supporters. My mother.

He had help from Franklin D. Roosevelt supporters, my brother. He didn't help as much as Bob and Ted, but he helped a little bit, you see.

MISS HAGY: Senator Humphrey, just a few moments ago you said you thought that the results of the nomination would really not become clear until July. You mean at the convention?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Of course.

MISS HAGY: Does that mean that if you should lose in West Virginia that you are going to continue?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, of course. It means that I have made a pledge to go into the South Dakota primary. My own delegation in Minnesota is forming. I have a goodly number of votes that have been committed to me in the Western states. I will go to the Democratic convention. I have my card -- I am a delegate from Wright County in Minnesota and I plan on going out there to be a voting delegate.



MISS HAGY: Yes, but will you go as an active candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I will be just as active as the body and the soul and the mind will permit.

MR. DULLES: Governor Rockefeller of New York said yesterday that he didn't know whether Vice President Nixon had the Republican Presidential nomination sewed up.

Do you see any basis for the Governor's doubt?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I do. I think that when the Republican candidate can only get 29 percent of the vote in a heavily Republican Wisconsin, maybe the Republican Party either out-foxed itself out in Fox River Valley in Wisconsin, or possibly Mr. Nixon is weaker than the pollsters thought and if that is the case I wouldn't be a bit surprised but what maybe Governor Rockefeller has that political finger up there feeling the breezes.

MR. DULLES: Now do you think there is any alternative to Rockefeller, or Nixon as the nominee?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would hope that the Republican Party was able, David, to produce more than two people out of the millions of people who voted for President Eisenhower.

MR. DULLES: Would Senator Morton be one possibility to come to mind readily?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, if somebody wants to recommend him, I would say he would surely have a full right to be

considered as a candidate. There are some Republican Governors. I haven't heard any of them that have made a great, outstanding record, but -- I really don't believe a Republican is going to be elected anyway, so it is a dubious honor to get the nomination.

MISS HAGY: Are you saying any Democrat can beat any Republican in the next election?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am of the opinion that the Democratic Convention will nominate a Democrat that will win in 1960.

MR. REED: Speaking of the convention, do you consider the recent civil rights bill is strong enough to enter as a plank in the Democratic platform, or would you take measures to strengthen this still further?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I consider the recent civil rights bill a very weak bill. It is something like Bouillon that has already been given an extra bucket of water. It has very little meaning to it, except a modest means of protecting the right to vote.

I would hope that the Democratic Party, and I would expect that the Democratic Party in convention would write a much stronger civil rights plank than the recent civil rights bill.

MR. CROPP: Senator, what kind of campaign will you wage against Senator Kennedy in West Virginia?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I started it, Dwight. I started it two days ago, and I talked about the issues that are before the people of West Virginia and America. I pointed out that West Virginia needs a government in Washington that cares, a government with a heart as well as with a mind, a government that understands not merely problems, but possibilities, and sees challenges and opportunities.

You see one of the things I disagree with with this Administration is that it spends its time wringing its hands over so many things, rather than getting on with the job of getting something done.

Now in West Virginia there is economic distress. I say that if the United States of America can help every other area of the world -- and I vote to help them, as you know -- if we can be interested in economic surveys for Formosa, and coal and Research Commissions for Korea, and area redevelopment for Afghanistan, it just seems to me that it might be all right to be interested in area redevelopment for West Virginia, and for Minnesota, or any other place in America that may need it. I suggest that this Administration can not have it both ways.

You can't talk liberal foreign policy and conservative domestic policy. What we need is a get-going Administration, one that sees these challenges and does something about it.

Now in West Virginia -- I am talking about other things, I am talking about disarmament. The necessity for America becoming a crusading force for peace in the world, building for peace. I mentioned to them yesterday at a meeting in Hinton, West Virginia, the importance of a Manhattan Project for peace. The mobilization of our best minds, scientific, technical, social, to find ways and means of improving detection and inspection so that we can have a safeguarded disarmament agreement.

I am going to talk sense to the people of West Virginia, just as Senator Kennedy and I did in Wisconsin.

I think we gave the people of Wisconsin a fine campaign of lofty purposes, of what I believe was substantial thought and content and we came out of Wisconsin, both of us, a little better for it, and the Wisconsin Democratic Party much stronger and the people of Wisconsin, I believe, were a little more interested in politics.

MISS GRANDINETTI: Senator, you called for Paul Butler's resignation and I was wondering, are you worried about fair treatment of candidates at the convention, and who would you suggest for Butler's successor?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, now I have always been friendly towards Mr. Butler. I thought Mr. Butler overstepped what I thought were the neutral bounds or the neutral conditions of a national Chairman. A

national Chairman should be the very epitomy of neutrality, and he should at all times be discrete in his comments about the many potential candidates in the Democratic Party.

I thought that Mr. Butler had violated that rule. Now I don't want to be unkind towards Mr. Butler. I thought that my chastisement was proper and in place. All I asked is that he conduct himself according to the rules.

MR. MACHYOWSKY: Senator, let me ask you a philosophical question: As a man who has proposed so much that has actually been adopted by the Administration -- say the disarmament proposals and the food for peace plan and the white mercy fleet, why is it that after having proposed so much and having so much adopted you are yet able to, say, take only six percent of the popularity polls of the primaries and the comments still are made that you are not really well known or really very popular. Why is this so?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't know. I wish you could tell me. I really feel my work as a Senator has been productive.

Of course I get a reward from that from the fact of seeing some of these ideas come to fruition. It is disturbing at times to see lack of identification. Take for example the Trade Fair Act that is on the books.

That was passed -- Senator Humphrey sponsored that, but it is never known as the Humphrey Act. The first Federal Aid to School Construction Act. I sponsored that and got it passed. It is not known as the Humphrey Act.

Now maybe you can help me, Greg.

MISS HAGY: Senator Humphrey, I want to ask you something. Do you think we have come to the place in American politics where a man's record does not count for very much in the evaluation of the public -- rather public relations method, the amount of money you spend on television, personality and all the techniques have surpassed the actual content of performance?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think there is some possibility of that and I think this is a very dangerous thing, because if American politics becomes paper thin with public relations as its veneer and its substance, then we are going to be in real trouble.

I have said that it seemed to me that American policy ought to be made on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue rather than on Madison Avenue. And I have a feeling that the execution of that policy ought to be from the White House and not some New York penthouse.

It just seems to me that this is the kind of government -- that is government that is based on substance and program and policy, that it is the kind that America needs.



I don't think we can stand the test in this cold war by this surface dealing with fundamental issues. And therefore I am going to continue my politics the same way.

I think it will stand me well. It has done well in Minnesota; it was a Republican state, today I think it is reasonably safe to say that it is a Democratic state. The Governor of my state deals with issues. My colleague, Senator McCarthy, deals with issues. He is a great scholar, as you know, and I think a tremendous philosopher in the field of politics.

We deal with substance and with issues because we are talking about people. If I have to resort to the politics of just the fanfare and the razzle-dazzle, if I have to resort to the politics of just the shibboleth and the slogan then I must say I don't think I will be much of a politician, much of a teacher, or much of a public servant.

MR. DULLES: Sir, returning to the international realm, we are very much concerned about where the United States stands in the world, and I wonder whether this nation can be so flexible as to bend its industrial efforts toward more armaments at the same time that it bends its diplomatic efforts towards less armaments.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: David, that is a very penetrating question and it is not easy to answer it in a hurry. Just



let me put it this way: I recognize that when you deal with the Soviet you must deal as we say from a position of strength, but that position of strength is not all military. It is also spiritual, political. That is the political solidarity between ourselves and our allies. It is also in a sense a composite of all of these factors.

Therefore it appears to me that the best thing for us to do is to try to take onto ourselves this mission or this message of the peace maker, of the diplomat, of the negotiator, knowing, however, what we want -- not just sitting down at the table just to spend time, knowing what our objectives are that we seek, and having everlasting patience and perseverance, knowing full well that you don't get any quick answer from the Soviet Union.

I want the United States of America to be strong enough to be able to defend itself in terms of its military and economic power, but even more strong to be able to project the message of peace to the world.

MISS HAGY: Senator, our time has practically run out. One quickie: Would you accept the Vice Presidency, and with which running mate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I will run for reelection to the United States Senate, Ruth, if I am unsuccessful in my current endeavors. I would consider it a high honor to be reelected by the people of Minnesota and I hope I could

do a good job.

MISS HAGY: Well, on that note we are just going to have to conclude our interview which has again proven all too short because there are so many questions that we want to ask you.

Thank you for joining us, Senator Humphrey, and I hope you will come back before we all go to the convention and perhaps again at the convention.

Thank you, students, for your very interesting questions. We want to invite all of you to join us again next week when our guest will be Dr. Lleras Camargo, the President of Colombia, South America, and until then, good bye and a good week from the college correspondents of COLLEGE NEWS CONFERENCE.

THE ANNOUNCER: COLLEGE NEWS CONFERENCE is created and produced by Ruth Hagy. Assistant producer, Petty Whedon. This program was directed by Richard Armstrong and originated in Washington, D. C.

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