

From the Office of:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
1313 New Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.  
Capitol 4-3121, Extension 2424

FOR RELEASE: After 3 p.m., EST  
SUNDAY, MARCH 29, 1964

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY ON

VIET-NAM

Following is the text of remarks by Senate Majority Whip, Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) during an interview on a special NBC program on Viet-Nam.

Following the French withdrawal from Indo-China in 1954, the U.S. gradually inherited the responsibility for defending Southeast Asia against further Communist encroachment stemming from China. Our concern therefore is not just with Viet-Nam, but with preserving the independence of the whole area that formerly made up Indo-China.

Today however, the immediate threat of Communist expansion in this area is in South Viet-Nam. Through a systematic program of subversion launched and financed from North Viet-Nam, the Communist forces have taken control of certain sizeable areas of South Viet-Nam and are threatening to extend their control over the remainder of the country.

In the present situation, we are faced with three alternatives:

a) We can attempt to strengthen the political and military base of the present Vietnamese government, enabling it to repel Communist attacks and regain control of the country.

b) We can pull out of South Viet-Nam.

c) We can extend the war into North Viet-Nam.

In my view the second and third alternatives are unacceptable. If we pulled out of Viet-Nam now, it would open the door to Communist control of the whole Indo-China peninsula, and threaten the security of Malaysia and the Philippines.

If we escalate the war and extend it to North Viet-Nam, we risk a full-scale confrontation with Red China, a confrontation which might entail the risk of nuclear warfare.

(MORE)

In my view, we have no choice at this time but to continue to support the present government, in the hope that if given our strong military, political and economic support, the Vietnamese government will be capable of mobilizing the support of its people to defend the country against further Communist subversion.

In pursuing this policy, we should continue to emphasize that this is a Vietnamese war, not an American war. We are willing to extend support now in the hope that once the situation in South Viet-Nam is stabilized, it may then be possible to consider negotiating an agreement for the neutralization of all of the area included in Indo-China. Neutralization of South Viet-Nam alone would be folly -- if North Viet-Nam remained a base for armed Communist attacks on the South, *however, a neutral Viet-nam, both North and South,* as part of a neutral Southeast Asia is a possibility which we not only can but should consider. And I do not believe that this proposal has any less merit because it has been discussed by President de Gaulle. If President de Gaulle can offer fruitful suggestions which might be the basis for a truly neutral Southeast Asia, then these should receive our careful consideration. They should not be rejected out of hand. Although we are determined to prevent the extension of Communist control in Southeast Asia -- we do not relish the idea of deep military involvement in Southeast Asia for decades to come.

###

Mills  
Mills

CBS NEWS and PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
Broadcast House  
Washington 16, D.C.  
244-5678

*File*

"FACE THE NATION"

as broadcast over the  
CBS Television Network  
and the  
CBS Radio Network

Sunday, April 26, 1964 - 12:30 - 1:00 PM EDT

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

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS: Paul Niven  
CBS News

John L. Steele  
Time, Inc.

Martin Agronsky  
CBS News

PRODUCERS: Prentiss Childs  
Ellen Wadley

DIRECTOR: Robert Vitarelli

CBS NEWS and PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
Broadcast House  
Washington 16, D. C.  
244-5678

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HIGHLIGHTS FROM REMARKS OF SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D., MINN.)  
ON "FACE THE NATION" TODAY (SUNDAY, APRIL 26) ON CBS TELEVISION  
AND CBS RADIO NETWORKS 12:30 - 1:00 PM EDT:

1. SEES SOUTHERN FORCES AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WEAKENING  
AS REALIZE PUBLIC WANTS IT. PAGE 10.
2. IF PROPOSERS OF BILL NEED INVOKE CLUTURE -- AND HE IS NOT  
SURE THEY WILL -- BELIEVES IT CAN BE INVOKED EARLY IN MAY. HAS  
VOTES FOR IT "IN LOW SIXTIES." PAGES 2, 3, 11.
3. THINKS COMPROMISE MANSFIELD-DIRKSEN AMENDMENT ON JURY TRIAL  
PROVISIONS "VERY SIGNIFICANT" AND HAS WIDE SUPPORT. "WE'RE  
BEGINNING MAKE GENUINE PROGRESS." PAGES 4, 5, 10.
4. BELIEVES "LEGISLATIVE PROCESS" SUCH AS THIS MORE EFFECTIVE  
THAN ROUND-THE-CLOCK SESSIONS BUT WILL INVOKE LATTER IF  
NECESSARY. PAGES 3, 4, 8.
5. SAYS ANSWER TO "STALL-INS" IS FOR SENATE TO STOP  
"TALK-IN." PAGE 13.

6. SAYS MAIL WHICH MONTH AGO WAS THREE TO ONE AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS BILL NOW ABOUT SIX TO FOUR FOR. PAGES 15, 16.

7. WON'T SPECULATE ON VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. SAYS IT SHOULD BE LEFT TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. PAGE 18.

ANNOUNCER: From Washington, D.C., Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, will FACE THE NATION.

In a live, spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview, Senator Humphrey will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky; John L. Steele, Washington Bureau Chief of Time Magazine. To lead the questioning, here is CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, welcome to FACE THE NATION.

As floor manager of the civil rights bill, you have taken on the most important legislative assignment of your career, perhaps the most important that any Senator has had in many years.

Senator Russell, the captain of the Southern team, last night renewed his pledge to fight the bill to the very end.

The civil rights battle is largely non-partisan, but later in the year you will be putting your partisan hat back on, and you are high on the short list of Democratic vice-presidential nominees.

We will begin the questioning in just one minute.

- - -

MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, how many votes do you have now for cloture of the civil rights bill, and when do you expect to have enough votes?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Niven, it is always difficult to predict accurately, but we are in the sixties, I would say,

at this time -

MR. NIVEN: Low or high?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: In the low sixties. We are short at this particular moment, I would say, four to five votes, if all the Senators are present and voting. But we need two-thirds of those present and voting. And I haven't any doubt at all but when the time comes, when we feel we need to use cloture, if we need to use it, that we will have the votes.

MR. STEELE: Senator, you say that at the present time you are a little on the short side. Why don't you forget about the cloture business and simply run the Senate day and night and break the filibuster?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Steele, this has been given a great deal of consideration. I am sure you know that as the floor manager of this bill, that I seek to find every legitimate way that we can find to encourage action on the bill, and to bring it to a decision. But the truth is that the opposition can amend this bill, time in and time out, and if we have a way of being able to proceed through the normal process of offering legitimate amendments, such as some of them that are now being offered, we think we will make more progress that way.

But I want to make it quite clear. If we find that by long sessions of 12 to 14 hours, as we have been holding of late, that this is inadequate, that it does not produce

results, we will have no hesitancy in taking the Senate into longer sessions, and, if I could have my way, around the clock.

I think the around-the-clock sessions sort of demean the Senate; but if the Senate insists on not doing its public business, then I suppose we will have to apply very strict discipline and procedures.

MR. STEELE: When would this come?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I do not like to make any predictions as to when that might come, because I am encouraged. I really believe that we are beginning to make genuine progress on the civil rights bill.

The Dirksen-Mansfield Amendment that was introduced only recently, after many hours of consultation, in which I participated, I believe indicates that we are moving along on the legislative process. And if that is the case, then I think it is better to move that way. We are not seeking trouble, you see. What we are seeking is action, and we are seeking a good bill. I think we will get it. I am confident that we will get it.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator Humphrey, you speak of the Dirksen-Mansfield Amendment. Senator Russell, who is the floor leader of the Southern opposition to the civil rights bill, also spoke of the Dirksen-Mansfield Amendment last night.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: He described it as a mustard plaster on a



cancer. That doesn't seem to indicate that there is any prospect whatsoever that the Southerners would accept this compromise, or any compromise in this area.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, our problem, Mr. Agronsky, is not one of physical infection, or any type of physical malignancy to which my good friend Senator Russell referred. Our problem is one of political infection, the sense of discrimination and intolerance in our political and social community. And I am of the opinion that the amendment which Senator Dirksen and Senator Mansfield offered as the leaders of the Senate, that this amendment will have wide support.

It is not a mustard plaster. It is due process of law.

And we seek not to cure cancer, but we seek to cure this affront to human dignity which is discrimination and segregation, and intolerance and bigotry. And I am convinced that the Dirksen-Mansfield or the Mansfield-Dirksen Amendment will pass, despite the comments of the opposition.

In fact, the Dirksen-Mansfield Amendment has a tremendous support already in the Senate and it will be the first victory for the proponents of the civil rights bill.

MR. AGRONSKY: When are you going to move to attempt to secure that victory?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We hope to be able to move on that amendment sometime next week.

MR. NIVEN: You mean this coming week?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes -- or if need be, a few days later. I exhibit no impatience. I know that victory will crown the efforts of those of us that seek to pass this very important legislation. And if it takes one week, or two weeks, to be able to write into law a provision of law that protects human rights, and provides due process of law to those that are accused, I think the time is well spent. And all I want to say is, to friend and foe alike, and particularly to the American people, we intend to stay on the job in the United States Senate until the civil rights bill is the law of the land -- however long that may take. And all I ask the Senate to do is to settle down and to do business.

I believe the American people have a right to expect the Senate of the United States to vote, to vote yes or no, aye or nay. I do not believe any Senator can justify his position in the Senate as a responsible legislator by using every parliamentary tactic to delay vote, to prevent vote, to deny the Senate of the United States its constitutional responsibility to do business. And that is what Article I, Section 8 says -- a majority shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of doing business. It does not say for doing monkey business or no business -- but doing business.

MR. NIVEN: Well, Senator, you said you need four to five more votes. Have any other Senators told you that while they are not prepared to vote for cloture now, they will be

after two more weeks, four more weeks, or six more weeks?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Niven, after having been in the Senate fifteen years, I believe I understand a little bit about the temperament of Senators. Senators are human beings, and after they see the normal processes of legislation frustrated and denied and abrogated by the paralysis of filibuster or tactics of delay, Senators will vote to get the Senate on record.

The Senate of the United States is on trial, gentlemen. The Senate of the United States is supposed to be a body of meditation, or thought, or reasonable men. And no one can justify action which denies the people of the United States to know how their Senators feel on this all-important great moral issue. No one can justify the filibuster. And the filibuster will be broken. And it will be broken because the American people will demand that it be broken.

What is going on now demeans the Senate, insults the American citizens. And the American citizen is going to ask his Senator and the Senate of the United States to stand up and to be counted on this vital issue of our time.

MR. STEELE: Senator, you say this demeans the Senate of the United States and that the Senate is on trial.

Now, I return to my previous question.

There is another tactic that you can take, and that is to keep the Senate in session until you vote. Now, at what

point do you apply this second course of action?

You have a lot of other business that is waiting to be done, and there is growing criticism of the Congress for being unable to act in this field.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Steele, I am the floor manager of the bill. And I will apply or ask to have applied the other tactics that we think are necessary when I think they will be productive.

I am not interested in conducting a circus. I believe that we have the jurisdiction in the field of legislation, and performers have jurisdiction in the field of entertainment and circuses.

MR. STEELE: How long would you let this entertainment run? Another month?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I say that I do not want entertainment. I want action. And when we think it is necessary, we will do what is necessary. In the meantime, the committees of the Congress are conducting hearings. As a matter of fact, the reason that we come in at ten a.m. in the morning is to permit my colleagues in the Senate who are in charge of committees and sub-committees, particularly the Appropriations Committee, to get their work ready, so that when this log jam of the civil rights bill breaks, and it will break, and it will break in early summer, we will be able to proceed forthwith with the appropriation bills and with the other items of

legislation on the President's program.

I want you to be a little more cheerful, because you are going to have a lot of good copy for your TV shows and your magazines and newspapers. We are going to pass this legislation. And then when that log jam is through, in terms of civil rights, you are going to have a hard time keeping up with the pace of the Congress as we pass one bill after another.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator - the Republican Majority Whip, your opposite number, Senator Kuchel of California, predicts June 1 for the first effort at cloture. Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, an advocate of civil rights and a right-hand to Senator Kuchel, does not see cloture or passage before the end of June. We are not even into May.

Are we facing one month, two months, or how many months of Senate business, before you can be cheerful about the Senate having done its duty and you voting this bill up or down?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Agronsky, you have been around this city a long time, and we consider you one of the most able and astute of the political observers and commentators.

MR. AGRONSKY: Thank you.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is very difficult to predict what the Senate will do in terms of its time schedule.

I say to you that no matter how long it take, the job will be done. I am a little more optimistic possibly than

some of my colleagues, because many things are under way at the present time which to me indicate progress on this bill.

For example, the involvement of Senator Dirksen and Senator Mansfield at this stage in a vital amendment I think is very, very significant. When you have the responsible leaders of the Congress of the United States, and of the nation, including the President of the United States, including the great religious organizations of the United States, including many of our top business officials in the United States, and the labor movement of the United States -- when you have all of this working for you, I am convinced that we have reason to have at least restrained optimism.

I would expect that the first effort, if we need cloture -- and, gentlemen, we are not sure that we are even going to need cloture. I see my opposition in this bill, the opponents of this bill, having difficulty mustering the troops that are necessary, to use the phrase, or the forces that are necessary to continue this debate over a long period of time. I think they are weakening. I think they realize that the American public wants this type of legislation. I am convinced that some of my friends who are in the opposition to this bill even under-estimate the political temper and tenor in their own jurisdictions, their own states.

But be that as it may -- possibly they are better at measuring that than I am -- I would say that if we need to

apply cloture, we will be able to do it sometime in the early part of May.

By the way, we are going to have a fine demonstration here in Washington on Tuesday, April 28, when a great inter-religious meeting will take place over at Georgetown University, chaired by Archbishop Boyle, of the Catholic Diocese of the District of Columbia, speakers being Rabbi Uriah Miller of the Synagogue Council; Archbishop Sheehan of Baltimore and Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches.

Now, all over American there will be people in their churches and synagogues lifting their voices in prayer and in pleading for this bill.

I think this is the kind of demonstration, gentlemen, that America will respect and that will have an effect upon the Congress.

MR. STEELE: Senator, you have raised the matter of demonstrations. I would like to ask you if there are some civil rights demonstrations which are unhelpful to your cause. For instance, the President of the United States was booed and heckled when he addressed the opening of the New York World's Fair. There were threats of a stall-in strike, although there seems to be no civil rights issue at the Fair, so far as the management of that organization is concerned.

Where do you draw the line between legitimate and commendable civil rights demonstrations and those which are

not helpful?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, it is very difficult for any one of us to stand in judgment of these matters. But you ask for my opinion, and I will share that with you.

First of all, my good friend and the minority whip, the Republican leader, Senator Thomas Kuchel of California, who is a stalwart in this struggle for the civil rights bill, and surely one of the great constructive forces in the Senate, Senator Kuchel and I issued a joint statement here some time ago deploring the so-called stall-ins that were threatened for the Fair -- this business of running your car out of gas, letting the water spigots stay open and using up the water. And we said then that civil wrongs do not help civil rights. And civil disobedience that is open violation of law is no way to ask for and to encourage respect for law.

After all, what we are seeking to do here in the civil rights bill is to protect constitutional law, to apply the constitution.

We believe there is an open violation of many of the constitutional provisions today in certain areas of our country. And we believe, therefore, that there needs to be law to fortify those constitutional provisions.

So I oppose civil disobedience. I do not condone violence or disorder. I not only do not condone it -- I condemn it.



But let me also add that sometimes you have to put this in proper perspective.

It is as the President, I believe, stated in Pittsburgh, that when you wake up with this hangover of disobedience and violence and disorder that you witness, just put yourself in the other fellow's place. Think of the generations of injustice and abuse and denial of opportunity that the American Negro has had to face. Think of the indignities that he has had to suffer.

Is it any wonder therefore that some of the more -- well, the more radical people, or those who want to take things in their hands, their own hands, gain control of certain groups.

But let the record be clear that the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement did not advocate the stall-ins. They did not participate in these sort of activities that we have criticized.

And I finally say that the Senate of the United States is not setting a very good example. We are talking in, while some other people are stalling in. The difference is that they called off their stall-in, and we have not called off our talk-in. And I suggest that the answer to the stall-in is to stop the talk-in.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, you said President Johnson will bring into this fight at a certain point a black bag of magical tricks. When are you going to ask him to open this bag?

Will it contain the familiar bait of post offices, roads, patronage appointments for various wavering Senators, or is it something really new?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, may I first of all correct at least one of those adjectives or descriptive words. I did not say the black bag; that has a kind of evil connotation. I said that the President of the United States has a bag of legislative -- a legislative bag -- let me see -- a mystery bag of legislative remedies, I believe is the way I put it.

What I was attempting to say is that the President of the United States is fully committed to this bill, as was his predecessor. And the President of the United States will use his good offices, and indeed the majesty and the power of that office, to encourage and persuade, not only the American public, but members of the Senate, to help us with this bill.

I don't think he has any miracle treatment as such. But I must say, he does some phenomenal things. When I witnessed the way that the railroad dispute was handled and the apparent area of agreement that was arrived at -- if you can settle a dispute that has been hanging fire for four-and-a-half years, and have both management and the Brotherhoods coming out smiling and complimenting the President, I do not think I have exaggerated to say that he does have some mystical and miracle qualities about him. And, Mr. President, we may very well need them before this fight is over.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, no one doubts that you may very well need them before the fight is over.

The President is fond of saying "Come, let us reason together". Has he brought the leadership of the Senate from the South to the White House in an effort to come and reason together? Has he asked Senator Russell if he will reason with him? Do you have this in mind? Does the President have this in mind?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You would have to ask the President about that. The President does speak to those of us that meet with him in the Leadership Conference, the Leadership Breakfast every Tuesday. He has fully committed himself to the civil rights bill. And I have every reason to believe that he will do whatever is within his power to pass this bill.

But it is the responsibility of the Senate, Mr. Agronsky, to pass this bill. We have this responsibility. I am not going to try to shove it over on our President. He has made his position manifestly clear. He wants this bill. He will do all he can to help us pass this bill. But the responsibility is upon the Senate. And I intend to ask the Senate to face up to that responsibility.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, how is your mail running?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, this is a very interesting development. Let's say a month ago, in the opening days of this fight, the mail was running three to one against us,

against the bill. Today I am happy to tell you that the mail is running about six to four for the bill -- 60 per cent for it, 40 per cent against it -- nationwide, that I am getting. Some of them are very abusive. But much of it is very, very good. In my home state it is overwhelmingly for it.

So the good news that I have to give to you, Mr. Niven, is that I believe that all through the Senate, from what I have heard from my colleagues, the American people are speaking up for the civil rights bill.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, we must ask you some questions about politics, even though it is a distasteful subject to you, and we will be back in just one minute.

-- --

MR. NIVEN: Senator, who is going to be the Republican nominee for President, and what will be the result in November?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Niven, I really could not tell you. They seldom consult with me. And when they do, they seldom take my advice. But the Republicans look as if they are having quite a time finding a nominee. I say with all respect to them it is sort of like arguing over the consolation prize. And possibly that is why it is a little difficult to ascertain just who the nominee will be.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, let's turn to a subject in which

you are infinitely more expert and infinitely closer to your heart: your own political future in the vice-presidential area.

A very distinguished columnist has recommended that one of the men who might be regarded as certainly your most formidable competitor in the prospect of getting the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, the Attorney General, move to a different state, give up all of his vice-presidential ambitions.

What do you think of that recommendation?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Agronsky, I am not a columnist. I am a United States Senator. And I have just about enough to take care of, enough to do to take care of the work that is presently on my shoulders as the floor manager of the civil rights bill. I am sure that the Attorney General will make his own decisions, just as I have to make mine. And I think possibly that I should stay with my task and I will let the columnist, who is a distinguished columnist, indeed, take care of his jurisdiction.

MR. STEELE: Senator, you are one of the men prominently mentioned as possible running mates for President Johnson. There are others -- including the Defense Secretary, Robert McNamara, who at least at one time was a Republican.

What is your feeling -- are you for McNamara, or are you for Humphrey, or are you for Robert Kennedy?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am for President Lyndon B. Johnson.

And what President Johnson asks that Democratic Convention to do at Atlantic City in August, I am quite convinced that the convention will do just that, when it comes to his running mate. I think it is entirely too early to even speculate on this matter. And I, for one, would not want to do one single thing that would in any way hemper the President or impair the President in the complete freedom of his decision. He will obviously consult with many party leaders, and he will consult with many other leaders in the total American community.

But until that day comes, I think that the speculation makes some headlines, but I am not at all sure it makes much sense.

MR. ROVEN: Does your civil rights bill role increase or diminish your prospects for the nomination?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The only thing I know is my civil rights role is an assignment of conviction and commitment. I am very pleased to have that role, even though it is a fatiguing one and a demanding one.

What it will do to my political future no one can predict. And I would be the last one to be able to give an objective prediction to it.

In the meantime, I hope that I do a good enough job to be worthy of the faith and the trust that has been placed in me in this important and responsible assignment. That is the only interest I have.

MR. STEELE: Senator, it has been said often that every President puts his own stamp on the White House by the method that he does business. I would like you to reflect for a few seconds on President Johnson's method and perhaps how it differs from his predecessor.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Steele, this is like asking a layman to comment upon the artistic qualities of two great artists - like a Rembrandt and a Renoir, or -- well, two artists.

The truth of the matter is that both the late and beloved President Kennedy and President Johnson were skilled craftsmen, statesmen, in the field of political science or the art of government. They do it differently, but they do it effectively. And I do not think we gain much by trying to compare these two men, or trying to differentiate them.

What is important is that both of them do their job well.

MR. NIVEN: On that note of artistic appreciation, we have to end, Senator. Thank you very much for joining us.

A word about next week's program in a moment.

- - -

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky; John L. Steele, Washington Bureau Chief of Time Inc., and CBS News Correspondent

Paul Niven.

Next week Senator Russell Long, Democrat of Louisiana,  
will FACE THE NATION.

FACE THE NATION was broadcast live from Washington, D.C.

- - -





# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)