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Following is the text of "Your Senators' Report," a program done jointly by Senator Joseph S. Clark (D.Pa.) and Senator Hugh Scott (R.Pa) for broadcast on 15 television and 38 radio stations in Pennsylvania.

GUEST: Hubert H. Humphrey
Senator from Minnesota

ANNOUNCER: Your Senators' Report. From the Nation's Capitol we present another Report to the People of Pennsylvania. This unique award-winning series of programs, done in the public service, is brought to you by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, and Senator Hugh Scott, Republican. To open today's program, here is Senator Clark.

CLARK: This is our last program for 1964. Just as in 1962, we were off the air by reason of the regulations of the broadcasting companies because I was running for reelection for Senate; this year we are off the air after this show because Senator Scott is a candidate for reelection. We both regret this necessity but we understand it. Our guest on this, our last program, is a familiar figure to all of our listeners. He's the Senior Senator from Minnesota and Democratic Whip, Hubert H. Humphrey, a strong supporter of first the Kennedy and now the Johnson Administration. Hubert, I'm going to throw the first question to you. What do you hope and pray that we Democrats are going to be able to accomplish in the way of major legislation in this, the second session of the 88th Congress?

HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, Senator Clark -- and I'll speak of you affectionately as Joe from here on out --

SCOTT: And call me Hugh.

HUMPHREY: I'll call you Hugh. I was going to get around to you very shortly. I find myself in the position of being on the final program. I hope that this isn't because I'm on it. I trust that it's only because of the rules of the Federal Communications Commission and I notice, Joe, that you regretted the circumstances which necessitated this concluding program, mainly the reelection campaign of Senator Scott. Now, I'm sure that we have to go through these things, having the reelection campaigns.

CLARK: Now take it easy. There are lots of people who are glad the show is over!

(Laughter)

HUMPHREY: Can't I get on to that question now?

SCOTT: I want you to but just because the record needs to be kept clear and straight.... On the last program before Senator Clark became a candidate for reelection, on February 4, '62, he said -- and we find no quarrel with this, either of us, I am sure -- he said, "I regret very much, may I say to our listeners, that this is the last joint show that Senator Scott and I will participate in. We both hope that if certain events happen toward the end of this year and I return to the Senate, we'll start them again in 1963." And I said that while I'd do my part to elect a Republican Senator that if he's elected I'd be happy to be on the show with him. So this is

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HUMPHREY: I'm sure this is reciprocated.

SCOTT: This is the feeling that both of us have.

CLARK: This does not mean that I will not really eat my heart out to beat him next November.

HUMPHREY: Well, I see we're off to a good start so I'll attempt to respond to the question that you placed to me, Joe. Of course, the program in the second session of the 88th Congress is well-known by both of you able Senators: the Tax Bill is top priority right at this time. This bill is very much needed and I think it will be a great help to our economy. Then the broad, comprehensive Civil Rights program that will come to us from the House of Representatives and I am sure will be enacted by the Senate. The Hospital and Nursing Home program under Social Security, commonly referred to as Medicare; this is on the priority list. The passage of the Youth Employment Opportunities Act, which includes the Youth Conservation Corps program and the Hometown Youth Corps. The National Service Corps Act, which was our Domestic Peace Corps, so to speak. Then this broad program of an attack on poverty: the poverty of economic trouble; the poverty that comes from illiteracy -- in other words, an attack upon the problems of illiteracy and upgrading our education. And then there will surely be these regional programs such as Appalachia, which you gentlemen are so involved in, and I hope we have one for the upper Great Lakes area as well. And then a program in the field of housing, urban renewal and development will be high on the agenda. Regular appropriation bill, with expanded hospital and nursing home construction; housing for the elderly -- and I trust that we'll do much more in that than we've done, even though we've had a good start. Then our program of implementing the legislation on higher education and vocational education, passed in the first session of the 88th Congress, and our appropriations and programs for mental health and mental retardation. Now that's a pretty good outline of what we're going to do. Senator Scott, with your cooperation and with the enthusiastic leadership of your colleague, Senator Clark, I am confident that the second session of the 88th Congress can be a very great success. And both of you can go back to your respective constituency saying that you've done your part. And I know of no better record upon which you can run, Senator Scott, than to carry through those items of the program I've outlined.

CLARK: Can you really be in favor of the Johnson program as he's outlined it?

SCOTT: I have a very fine record -- I hope -- and I'm interested because I imagine that this is about what you said at the beginning of the 88th Congress a year ago, and I'm wondering what makes you so optimistic when one-third of your party is resolutely determined to dig their heels in on a filibuster on civil rights. I wonder whether you are projecting this for one year or for ten years? And I also wonder why, when you've had control of the House and Senate for thirty-two out of the last thirty-six years, you haven't done more about the poverty which you so recently discovered?

HUMPHREY: Well, to answer your most recent utterance, one of the reasons we haven't been able to do more is we haven't had quite enough enthusiastic response and cooperation from the Republican Party. It's the party more or less of the Lost Horizon rather than the New Frontier, you see.

SCOTT: This is the technique of the lion blaming the sheep and of the

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two-thirds majority complaining about the one-third minority, Hubert. Now don't you think you've ridden that old horse long enough?

HUMPHREY: No, as a matter of fact, we haven't really been able to tell the public the truth about the kind of obstructionism we run into. But I want to come back to this program, for the 38th Congress.

SCOTT: Yes, because when you mention obstructionism are you thinking of your twenty-five Democrats who won't be with you?

HUMPHREY: We don't have that many. We have about, I'd say, twenty-two Southern Democrats who will oppose us on the civil rights issue.

SCOTT: You'll support all of them for reelection.

HUMPHREY: No, many of them won't ask me to.

SCOTT: Your party will support them. Maybe you're persona non grata in a few places.

HUMPHREY: Well, I wasn't planning on campaigning in all of those states, unless you can fix it up -- if you have any influence in my party, you might be able to fix it up so that I could campaign around.

SCOTT: If I had any influence in your party, you would have accomplished a lot more than you have in the last session.

CLARK: Hubert, I would point out, that while we have perhaps eighteen Democrats who are against some of the programs of the President, most of the things you outlined would be supported by the Senators from Tennessee, the Senators from Alabama. It's that hard core of Neolithic men in the right-wing of the Republican Party who really give us most of our trouble.

HUMPHREY: The difference is, Joe, that in the Democratic Party we do have people of different persuasion, of course, as you have in the Republican Party and we have what we call our conservative element in the Democratic Party. They represent about a quarter of the Party strength. The Republicans have a little different balance. They have a conservative element, some of which goes back into ancient history, in terms of political philosophy, of about three-fourths. You have about a quarter who come in the liberal group, and I am very proud of that group, and then you have three-fourths over here that are still battling back in the days of the thirties.

SCOTT: Well, Hubert, I was out in your home town, where you were born, in Huron, South Dakota, the other day....

HUMPHREY:.....A Democratic stronghold

SCOTT: and I dropped by the pharmacy of your brother, Ralph, and he never told me that you didn't know how to count or that you were bad in arithmetic. You say three-fourths of the Republicans are all bad.

HUMPHREY: Oh no, I said they were conservative; I didn't say they were bad, I just said they were misguided.

SCOTT: Misguided, whatever choice you want. But have you remembered

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or forgotten that on several of the civil rights bills all Republicans voted for them and that on one key vote, twenty-eight out of thirty-three Republicans, not so very long ago, supported a civil rights vote where you couldn't get two-thirds of your own people?

CLARK: How many of them voted for cloture?

SCOTT: Well, a great many voted for cloture. More than two-thirds if you'll look into it.

HUMPHREY: I'd like to interrupt the argument by saying that rather than to discuss the errors of yesterday -- and that would make a splendid documentary -- that we might think about what we could do about tomorrow. You give us twenty-five Republicans; we'll put through a civil rights program that is the best that this country's ever had or ever even dreamed of. And we're going to need twenty-five. And I'm going to say right now, for civil rights it requires bipartisan support.

SCOTT: Why are you going to need twenty-five?

HUMPHREY: Let's quit kidding each other and the constituents. The fact of the matter is -- the facts of life are -- that the Southern Senators are not going to vote for civil rights. You know that and I know it. This is just the way it is. This is exactly like asking a farmer from Kansas to vote against wheat. And you know he isn't going to do it.

SCOTT: You are going to get two-thirds of the Republicans; you'll get at least twenty-two. I hope you'll get twenty-five; I hope you'll get all of them.

HUMPHREY: We need twenty-five of them.

SCOTT: But every time you cry about the need for more Republicans in the Senate to accomplish certain things I say to myself, if we are so valuable, then why oppose us for office? Why not elect the Republicans as a majority and then we can take on this program for ourselves with full responsibility. Then you don't have to say, "We Democrats could give the people a fine program if the Republicans -- out-numbered -- one-third -- if the Republicans would only be with us."

CLARK: Well, the answer to that is very clear indeed. The people of the United States of America just don't want to elect Republicans and I can well understand their fine discrimination.

HUMPHREY: I see you have a very friendly show here.

SCOTT: I haven't said one thing, Hubert, and that is that you asked whether we support these programs.

HUMPHREY: Yes.

SCOTT: Of course I support the tax bill. I support the civil rights bill and I've given you help many times when you needed it. I see you raise your finger like this.

HUMPHREY: And you've responded well.

SCOTT: And I've responded and said, "All right, this is in the

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Nation's interest and I'll be for it." And I'm going to be for a good part of your program, but I'm going to reserve the right to be selective and not merely obedient.

HUMPHREY: Well, I think all of us do that, Hugh, and I want to say that in support of the civil rights bill -- which you do and which you've actively done throughout the years -- you will be able to go to your constituents and talk of a good record in this area. This is a bipartisan measure. I'm not going to be on this program to pretend that civil rights can be passed by the Democrats, because it can't. It requires bipartisanship. And I think that more than anything else, that the people want to hear the truth from us. We need bipartisanship in civil rights. We've got to have it. The party of Abraham Lincoln has an obligation just as the party of Franklin Roosevelt and Thomas Jefferson has an obligation.

SCOTT: Well, we're the ones who thought up civil rights. Go all the way back to Lincoln. We have the obligation.

HUMPHREY: I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll give you all the credit in the world. All I want to do is to pass it. Now, we're going to be able at least to produce forty-one to forty-two Democratic votes for civil rights.

CLARK: For cloture.

HUMPHREY: And for cloture. Senator, Joe, you're right. We need cloture first because I don't want us to go through this miserable performance of the process of attrition, trying to see how we can wear each other down in order to bring up an issue.

CLARK: Tell the audience what cloture is.

HUMPHREY: Well, cloture simply means bringing a question to a head. It calls off debate so you can vote on the substance of the issue. That's what it's all about.

CLARK: You need two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to get it. You can pass the civil rights bill with a simple majority but you can't get to a vote on it unless you can get sixty-seven Senators to say, "We've had enough hot air, let's stop..."

SCOTT: And you have sixty-seven Democrats and, admittedly, you can't get them all?

CLARK: Yes.

SCOTT: You need help from us. We owe it to our own responsibility, we owe it to decency, and we owe it to our own commitments to dignity and equality among men to come in there and help you.

HUMPHREY: Exactly.

SCOTT: I'm going to do it to the very limit that I can help to do it and I think we'll give you our proportionate quota. But I think there are a few little teeter-totterers on the Democratic side who could be brought over with a little more of that persuasive unctiousness that you use.

HUMPHREY: We're working on them and I want to say that all the reports thus far look very reassuring.

CLARK: Hubert, it seems to me that it's fairly clear that we're going to pass a tax bill in the next couple of weeks, but what are the tactics? What is the strategy of the Democratic leadership in bringing the civil rights bill to a vote in the Senate?

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HUMPHREY: Well, I don't believe that's all been fully agreed upon yet, Joe, but the last conference in which I participated it appeared that we would have the bill as it came from the House. And it is my view that the best that we can do in the Senate is to pass a bill as it comes from the House. I doubt that we can strengthen any such bill, and we'll be very fortunate if we can hold what is in the House bill. And when it comes, we can refer it to a committee giving them a certain day to report back or we can act on it immediately. Now we have a precedent for this in 1957, I believe, and in 1960. We can intercept the bill, so to speak, as it comes through the door of the Senate and call it up for immediate action. Or we can use it as... we can put it on the calendar and refer it to committee with instructions to the committee to report back to the Senate in, let's say a week or 10 days, whatever we wish to do. It would be one of those two. But as you know, whatever move we make will be subject to debate and it is there that your description of cloture -- and what cloture means -- comes into effect.

SCOTT: That's what I wanted to point out here that in this entire century of 63 years, as far as I am able to find out, the Republican Party has never conducted a filibuster on its own responsibility and I'm glad we have that record.

HUMPHREY: All to your credit, sir. Can I just say this about civil rights and maybe then we can move on to something else? It seems to me that the civil rights issue today is of such national importance -- such overriding importance -- that it's almost in a position like our foreign policy. It requires bipartisan support. That doesn't mean that you don't analyze it and that you don't evaluate it and offer suggestions and proposals. But in the main, it appears to me that we've got to make this a bipartisan, national issue and for once and for all meet it head on. And I think we're going to do it and I believe that 1964 will be a banner year. And both of you men who have been stalwarts in this fight, you can claim a great deal of credit. On the tax issue, I think that it's fair to say that those of us who are concerned about jobs and concerned about a thriving economy and concerned about the role of investment in this private enterprise economy, are going to support this tax bill. I gather... I know Senator Clark... Joe, you've said so and I gather you support the tax bill.

SCOTT: I'm disappointed that there wasn't much tax reform left in it.

HUMPHREY: I don't think anyone could be more disappointed than your colleague, Joe. And I'd like to join in that chorus. Tax reforms are long overdue. But to put it bluntly, sometimes you can't get everything you want. I think what we need now more than anything else is this additional thrust for the economy, this additional force and impetus that will help absorb what unemployed we have, and put to work more people, and expand the use of our plants, and modernize our equipment.

SCOTT: The President has come out with a budget of a little under \$98 billion, for which everybody commends him. But do you seriously believe we will finish anywhere near that budget? Won't the President send down a lot of supplemental requests? Won't the budget actually go way over \$100 billion before he's finished?

HUMPHREY: No, to the contrary. In fact I've discussed this intimately and personally with the President and some of you have too because President Johnson's had us all over to the White House discussing this budget with him. This budget that he sent down here is the Presidential budget and he said there would be no supplementals to this particular budget. In fact, he told us the other night that he expected the Congress to cut the budget some. He said that, as Majority Leader, he cut three Eisenhower budgets several billions of dollars. And I think

he expects that we're going to do some cutting. And, may I add that he, himself... I make a prediction here. I predict that President Johnson will send a supplemental budget message to Congress, particularly on Federal employment, reducing his budget request. Reducing it.

SCOTT: This will be not only Utopia, but an extra cut-rate Utopia and you and I...

HUMPHREY: It's going to happen.

SCOTT: ...have been taking some positions about cut-rate activities I hope it happens but it is not the history of it to happen. And I don't get to the White House as often as you do but I was down there recently and hope to do so again...

CLARK: Not for four years more.

SCOTT: I was there the other night as a guest of President Johnson and he said to us pretty much as you've said here about the budget. I would say the reception was skeptical. I think you will come in with considerable supplementals. I think the deficit will be twice what you're anticipating.

CLARK: Oh, you're so gloomy today.

HUMPHREY: You ought not to feel this way. You're such a fine man.

SCOTT: I really am a very fine man. But what I'm getting at is... why I'm gloomy. Let's look at it. There have been 34 years in this century where the Republicans had party control. There have been 30 years when the Democrats have had control of the White House, 1900 to 1964. In those years, the Republicans have balanced 22 budgets and the Democrats have balanced only three. And that's why I'm gloomy.

CLARK: And those were the years in which progress in America was made and we caught up a little bit on our social and economic obsolescence, passed the reforms without which the Republic might well have floundered; and then we just sat down under a tree for a while and let the Republicans do nothing.

SCOTT: Your periods of the unbalanced budgets then were the periods in which you passed your debts on to your grandchildren and everybody got...

CLARK: Well, now, you had the largest unbalanced budget in peace time history -- Dwight David Eisenhower and you know it. \$13 billion.

SCOTT: You don't think that the...

HUMPHREY: Would you like to comment on that"

SCOTT: Yes. Most of the time you don't want me to comment. But I would say this: There was one budget which was very high because we had the depression of -- what was the year '56?...

CLARK: The second Eisenhower recession, I think you'd call it.

SCOTT: Nobody wants to see a recession. Generally speaking it isn't...

CLARK: We haven't had any since Kennedy was in.

SCOTT: ...accurate to charge the recession against the President. But that's your tactics to charge the recession entirely to Mr. Eisenhower, "who went out and brought everybody to their knees and", I believe -- according to your view -- "they sold apples." Actually it was a recession and as a result of the recession, the revenues did not

come in as anticipated and there was a very big deficit. But even so, the total of the Eisenhower deficits was still no greater than the total of Democratic presidents in various periods such as a typical four years or eight years under Roosevelt, for example. You had a good many deficits, and you'll have bigger ones than \$13 billion if you stay in power longer than this year.

HUMPHREY: Deficits are not the worse thing that can happen to a country. There's something worse than a deficit, that's defeat and war and depression and destruction of democratic institutions...

CLARK: Chronic and persistent unemployment.

HUMPHREY: ...and the breakdown of your economy. These are things that we'd like to avert and I think that we have done a very good job of it. And I repeat once again, we ought to look ahead. I think most of our viewers and listeners know what we've done in the past. I think they'd like to know, for example, what we're going to do about youth employment where we find a rising tide of teenage unemployed. I think they'd like to know what we plan on doing further in the field of education than we've done. And then, I think people would like to know how we're going to attack these pockets of poverty. Now this is what people want to know. This other stuff that we're going through is just so much chit-chat about yesterdays and it doesn't get us any place where we ought to be tomorrow. What are we going to do about the elderly people here and their medical problems?

SCOTT: Hubert, all of these questions raise a further question. Some of these bills you mention have been passed in the Senate and have gone to the House. You have a majority of about 100 over in the House and there they stay -- locked up and nothing happens to them.

HUMPHREY: In the Rules Committee. Could you get me one of those Republicans?

SCOTT: I'd be glad to help.

CLARK: Just one Republican. All we need is one Republican.

SCOTT: You very often had my one Republican vote when I was over there on the Rules Committee. But you enlarged the Rules Committee, by adding two more Democrats...

CLARK: And one Republican.

SCOTT: ...and one Republican, in order to make sure you had the missing vote which you lost in some key issues after I left the House. So you created the Rules Committee exactly as you wanted it to make sure you could carry out your purposes and you fell all over your own feet again and you're just as badly off as if you hadn't...

HUMPHREY: That's why we need your help, Hugh.

SCOTT: But I'm not a member of the House.

CLARK: It would be a great thing if you were.

SCOTT: I'm going to say to the people out there, "you notice that two Democrats are continuously saying how much they need my help in the Senate."

CLARK: I'd like to have your help in the House. Why don't you go back to the House and work on the Rules Committee?

SCOTT: When you say war is worse than a deficit, of course it is. But are you arguing that an unbalanced budget leads to peace or that a balanced budget leads to war?

HUMPHREY: You're too smart for that, Hugh.

SCOTT: I'm too smart, but I'm trying to find out if you two fellows

HUMPHREY: I may not be too intelligent or smart, but I do know that we... that the large deficits that accrued in this country were in the war years and in the Korean war years, and in these periods of vast readjustment when our country had to take on unbelievable responsibilities for world security and all that goes with it. I'm not saying that a deficit is something to cherish, something to look forward to. But I am saying that it's better to have had a deficit than to have had weakness. It is better to have had a deficit than to have had continued depression and chronic unemployment. Now, what are we trying to do, and what I said a moment ago, is with programs such as civil rights and the tax program, and the youth employment program, and the area redevelopment program, and the attack on poverty to eliminate these deficits. We can improve the economy.

SCOTT: Yes, and I am for doing those things. I'm for doing them wisely and as soon as we can wherever they are useful to the Republic. But, you both had a little fun with me about the Eisenhower heavy deficit that year and neither one of you...

HUMPHREY: You and Joe were battling it out -- you Pennsylvanians.

SCOTT: ...were candid enough to mention that these deficits were created by the obligations incurred by the Democratic House and Democratic Senate. And the Chief Executive can only carry out, and appropriate, and spend the money which the Congress gave him. So you put him in this bucket and then you are trying to exploit it.

HUMPHREY: That's just not the fact. The fact of the matter is that in each of the Eisenhower years -- and I think President Eisenhower did many good things -- but in each of those years, the then Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, proudly proclaimed that he had been responsible as the Majority Leader here in the Senate and Rayburn in the House for cutting the budget request of President Eisenhower. So that had we appropriated as much as the President had asked for, the deficit would have been even larger. Now you know that...

SCOTT: No, I don't know that because... I know the facts because I was here. What happened was that the Majority Leader frequently got up and said, "I'll cut this, that and the other," including certain space and research projects, by the way, which were cut by Representative Mahon, I think it was, in the House and by the Majority Leader in the Senate. These cuts were made and this was claimed as saving money. But in the meanwhile, in other areas, back on the ranch in other departments, you were increasing the budget and you were creating new obligational situations which had to be met out of the budget.

HUMPHREY: Senator, the facts are that from 1953 through the Eisenhower Administration of January, 1961, some \$13 billions were cut by the Congress out of the budget requests of the President. Now that is a fact. I'm saying that the total when you add up what was asked for and what was appropriated and when you add up what was added and what wasn't added...

SCOTT: I hope you can get your leadership to give you some of these things which are good and some you won't get, but before we close the program, I have...

HUMPHREY: You have a present for us?

SCOTT: Not for you. But since this is our last program, I have a present for Senator Clark, (much laughter) because Senator Clark says he has to go out on the hustings now and oppose me from now on and I hope we'll both be back together. Meanwhile, if he's got to oppose me,

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I want him to use soft gloves instead of fists, so Senator Clark, with my compliments (giving him a set of boxing gloves).

CLARK: I'm grateful to you for this kind gift, but I'm going to leave this show and turn these in for a pair of brass knuckles.

HUMPHREY: Well, I hope that you men will fight with the Marquis of Queensberry rules, brass knuckles or not.

SCOTT: Well, he can put these on over the brass knuckles.

HUMPHREY: These are mighty fine. As a matter of fact, they look like they're just made for a national campaign...

SCOTT: It looks to me like you're both heavily armed.

CLARK: Now, the format on this show, ladies and gentlemen, is that Hugh closes it. He doesn't have much time left. So I want to turn it over to him with this remaining question. Senator Humphrey has outlined the Johnson Democratic program. I want you to tell our audience just which parts of it you're against. I think you're really for every bit of it. You ought to be running as a Democrat. I don't think your own right-wing is going to be happy with your position...

SCOTT: You ask me this question when the show is eight seconds over. It will take me a half an hour to do it and I'll be glad to meet you again if you get the consent of the Democratic Party to put you on.

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, you've been listening to Your Senators Report from Washington, D.C., a report to the people of Pennsylvania brought to you in the public service by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, and Senator Hugh Scott, Republican.

SCOTT: I find that even though he's closed the show that we actually had 22 seconds left and I don't think I can do it in 22 seconds either. But I will answer from time to time, the things I'm for and the things I'm against and I hope that people will be satisfied

HUMPHREY: I proclaim it a draw. (Laughter)



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