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Live, from Los Angeles, from Milwaukee, from Philadelphia, and from Athens, Georgia, the National Educational Television Network presents "THE PEOPLE QUESTION VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY."

With the Vice-President in Washington, D. C. is NET's Paul Niven.

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MR. NIVEN: Good evening. For the next sixty minutes Vice-President Humphrey is going to answer questions put to him by groups of representative American citizens in four widely scattered cities. They include businessmen, workers, housewives, business and professional women, and students. The program will be entirely live, spontaneous, and unrehearsed. Its purpose is to give rank and file Americans a rather unusual opportunity to question one of their highest elected officials.

Now, the groups and their locations are as follows:

In Philadelphia, fifteen members of the League of Women Voters.

In Milwaukee, twelve members of the Student Government of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

In Los Angeles, twenty-four members of the United Automobile and Aerospace Workers of America.

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And in Athens, Georgia, fifteen members of the Athens J.C's.

These organizations have selected the participants, but those selected will speak entirely as individuals. Neither the organizations nor we have dictated the questions which will be put. The Vice President has not suggested or ruled out any lines of questioning, nor have the questions been screened by us or submitted to him in advance.

Presumably the questions will fall under three broad headings -- foreign policy, including Vietnam, domestic affairs, including urban problems and economic issues, and politics.

I am going to act as a kind of moderator or traffic cop. But I want to emphasize again that the subject matter of the program will be what the questioners want to be.

For the first question, Mr. Vice President, we will go to Los Angeles.

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QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, if the question of Vietnam were put to the voters as to whether to continue or pull out of Vietnam, and the voters indicated that we should pull out, what course would the Administration take?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first of all we do not have a national referendum on a specific or particular issue. We do have representative government, and I say in all respect that the question is rather hypothetical. There will be, of course, the issue of Vietnam that will be before the American electorate as one of the many issues in the presidential and congressional election of 1968, and at that time the American people will have to make their judgment, not only on issues, but upon the candidates and in particular upon whom they wish to have as President of the United States

I believe the American people, however, recognize the price that they have to pay for international leadership. I think they know that leadership in the world is not a luxury and not a privilege, that it is a burden and a responsibility.

No one likes war. Wars are unpopular. I hope they always will be unpopular. President Johnson, above all others I know, because I am with him a great deal--looks upon this war and any war with great pain and sadness and agony. He craves for peace. And he is willing to walk the extra mile for it.

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2 1 So I have to answer your question simply as I have, that  
2 it will be one of the issues, and the people will have a  
3 chance to speak.

4 MR. NIVEN: The next question, sir, from Athens,  
5 Georgia, the Jaycees.

6 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I would like to ask a  
7 question about bombing in Vietnam. I believe that we are  
8 now bombing targets that have previously been restricted.  
9 My questions are: Why were we not bombing these targets six  
10 months or a year ago, and now, since we are bombing these  
11 targets, were we wrong in restricting the targets in your  
12 opinion?

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first I should have  
14 thanked our friends from Los Angeles for their question,  
15 which I forgot to do. And now to all of you of the Jaycees  
16 in Athens, my greeting to you, as a former Jaycee, by the  
17 way, a little too old now for it.

18 In-so-far as your question on bombing is concerned,  
19 targets are a military decision. They are also a decision  
20 that relates to the overall national policy of our country.

21 I think it can be said that a year ago we were not  
22 nearly as well prepared or stationed for the struggle in  
23 Vietnam as we are now. The first year, from 19 -- when we  
24 went in with any sizable forces in the spring of 1965, up  
25 through the summer of '66 was essentially one of buildup, of

1 improving our logistics, of building the airfields, of  
2 building the ports and the harbors and the roads that were  
3 needed.

4 Then, too, we have tried to bring to bear in this  
5 struggle that amount of power which we think is necessary to  
6 fulfill the objective that we have, and that objective is to  
7 repel the aggression, to resist the aggression. We are not  
8 seeking to overrun a country, to destroy it, or do away with  
9 a government or with a nation. We are not engaged as an  
10 aggressive power. We are there in defense. And we have  
11 selected the targets, that is the military, along with the  
12 Commander in Chief, have selected those targets for our Air  
13 Force which we believe are vital insofar as our strength in  
14 South Vietnam is concerned -- that is, vital in terms of  
15 slowing down the rate of infiltration, vital in terms of  
16 making the North Vietnamese face a heavier burden in their  
17 own country, important in terms of military and political  
18 decisions.

19 Now, I can say this to you, that had we moved quickly,  
20 with all of the massive power that we have, no one could  
21 have predicted what would have been the result worldwide.  
22 Remember that North Vietnam has alliances with China, and it  
23 has a mutual defense compact with the Soviet Union. We have  
24 had to look upon this struggle both as a military struggle  
25 and a political struggle with grave international complica-

1 tions. We have proceeded with restraint and prudence. And  
2 I believe that that is the proper way.

3 Anyone can get the world into a major conflagration. It  
4 requires no statesmanship, no judgment. In fact, it requires  
5 very little common sense to precipitate a major catastrophe,  
6 a nuclear war, an all-out war. Our objective has been to  
7 avoid that, and, at the same time, to give protection and  
8 defense to South Vietnam, so that it could have self-  
9 determination, so that it could build its own political in-  
10 stitutions, so that it could improve its economy, and have  
11 a life of its own. I think we have done it well. And I  
12 think the words that characterize our efforts are prudence  
13 and restraint, both in terms of our decisions and the use of  
14 our power. And, believe me, today, where there is so much  
15 power available, the highest act of statesmanship is the  
16 prudent and the wise use of that power, not the reckless use  
17 of it.

18 MR. NIVEN: We go now to our student group at the  
19 University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.

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QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, do you feel that we have any legal justification for the bombing in North Vietnam?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, I should say we have. After all, this struggle in Vietnam was not started by the United States. The aggressor in this struggle is North Vietnam, its divisions, its regiments, its batallions, were in South Vietnam, and were conducting aggression which is recognized world-wide. We are using our air power as one of the instruments of our military for the defense of South Vietnam, and for the defense of our own troops, who are there under treaty, at the request of the government of South Vietnam, and in fulfillment of our responsibilities under the SEATO Treaty, and a resolution adopted by the Congress in August of 1964, which

proclaimed that peace and security in Asia and in southeast Asia was in our national interest, and authorized the President to take whatever steps were necessary to protect the armed forces of the United States -- and I repeat the exact words "to protect and defend the armed forces of the United States and to take whatever other steps were necessary to repel aggression."

It is under that legal authority that we operate.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, then do you feel

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1 that the Geneva accord agreements are in fact invalid  
2 -- specifically the agreements which specify that no  
3 foreign troops are to be involved in Vietnam?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, that agreement  
5 was violated openly by North Vietnam in 1959,  
6 and more flagrantly in 1960, and repeatedly in the  
7 early 1960's. The Geneva accords arrived at the  
8 conference in Geneva, I believe in 1954, those accords  
9 have been violated by the North Vietnamese who have  
10 been conducting open warfare as well as clandestine  
11 warfare through their own front, known as the  
12 National Liberation Front. By the way, Hanoi has  
13 never denied that they organized the National  
14 Liberation Front, which has been an active force of  
15 terrorism and subversion in South Vietnam, carrying  
16 out orders from Hanoi since 1959.

17 MR. NIVEN: Now we go, Mr. Vice President, to the  
18 League of Women Voter Members in Philadelphia.

19 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, would you comment  
20 on our foreign policy in Latin America, in comparison  
21 with our policy in southeast Asia. Are we as committed  
22 to the Alliance for Progress as we are to our commit-  
23 ments in southeast Asia? What kind of assistance do  
24 you see the United States giving to our Latin-American  
25 neighbors?

1                   VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:       Our commitment  
2 to Latin America has been and continues to be one of  
3 immediate and long-range purpose. We have the Rio  
4 Pact, which is an alliance of mutual defense and  
5 mutual security. We have the Bogota Agreement,  
6 which was the basis for the Alliance for Progress.  
7 And then we have the first conference at Punta del  
8 Este, under which the Alliance for Progress was stated  
9 or outlined.

10                   We have a firm commitment for the economic,  
11 social and political development of Latin America.  
12 Our objectives there are those of a good neighbor,  
13 seeking to help these countries to help themselves.

14                   I think we should recognize, as Americans, that  
15 we make a contribution that is a round 10 per cent  
16 of the economic contribution. The Latin American  
17 countries make about 90 per cent. They are doing  
18 quite well. There is reason to believe that the  
19 Alliance for Progress is making steady progress.  
20 The Inter-American Development Bank maintains the  
21 confidence of the United States and the representa-  
22 tives of the Hemisphere. It is financially a solvent  
23 institution.

24                   Our own Grant-in-Aid program to Latin America  
25 has been very helpful. Our Food for Peace program

1 has likewise been a source of strength for them.

2 We have a strong commitment, as strong a commit-  
3 ment to Latin America as we have to any part of the  
4 world, and maybe stronger, because they are our brothers  
5 and sisters, so to speak, our neighbors in this Hemis-  
6 phere. We have had that commitment since the time of  
7 the Monroe doctrine. in terms of defense. We fulfilled  
8 it in the instance of the Cuban missile crisis, which  
9 was maybe the most dangerous period in our recent  
10 national history. We have fulfilled it in the instance  
11 of the Dominican Republic where today there is an  
12 elected government, and I think sometimes we forget  
13 that a couple of years ago the government of the  
14 United States was receiving considerable criticism  
15 here at home because it was necessary for us to come  
16 in and protect American nationals as well as to help  
17 the Dominicans against their own freedom in a terrible  
18 struggle with the Communist elements.

19 Yes, I can answer your question. Our commitment  
20 to Latin America is binding, continuing, and strong,  
21 and is of the highest priority.

22 MR. NIVEN: To Los Angeles.  
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wb 1 1 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I am curious to know that  
2 if the North Vietnamese were to capitulate tomorrow, whether  
3 or not we would have to maintain a large police force there  
4 in Vietnam, continue to pour large sums of money into that  
5 country.

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: President Johnson has made a  
7 commitment which this nation will honor. He did so at  
8 Manila about a year ago when he said that after the violence  
9 has subsided, after the war has stopped and the violence has  
10 subsided, that the United States will withdraw its forces  
11 within six months.

12 Now, that commitment was a very firm one. We would hope  
13 that the Republic of South Vietnam would be able to have its  
14 own military security as a result of the struggle that it  
15 has gone through, in the training of its forces. I am sure  
16 that we would have to continue to give some technical and  
17 economic assistance in rather large amounts, I am confident  
18 of that. But in so far as any American bases in Vietnam,  
19 insofar as large numbers of American forces in Vietnam, the  
20 President of the United States, speaking for this nation,  
21 President Johnson, has said to the world, to friend and foe  
22 alike, that we do not seek to remain there, that when the  
23 war is over and the violence has stopped -- that means North  
24 Vietnam and the Viet Cong have ceased their aggression and  
25 their subversion -- that the American forces will be with-

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1 drawn, the bases that are there that have been used will be  
2 turned over to the sovereign government of South Vietnam.  
3 And I think that the world understands that commitment is  
4 a sincere one.

5 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, it has been reported by  
6 various news media that only a small percentage of the troops  
7 currently in Vietnam are actively engaged in combat with  
8 enemy forces. Why do we continue to send troops to Vietnam  
9 when only this small percentage is in contact with the  
10 enemy?

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I know that is a perplexing  
12 problem to the American people, and I believe that the  
13 questions reveal the lack of understanding of the nature of  
14 this conflict -- not necessarily your lack of understanding,  
15 sir, but I mean the national lack of understanding.

16 This war is not a conventional war where armies move  
17 in large numbers across fixed boundaries and fixed areas,  
18 where you can chart each day on the map where the forces  
19 are, and whether you gain two miles or lose two, or whether  
20 or not you were able to occupy a particular sector or lose  
21 another.

22 No, I believe, as Mao, the Chinese Communist  
23 authoritician said, the people are the sea in which the  
24 Viet Cong are the fish and swim.

25 In other words, they are everywhere.

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1           The problem in Vietnam is one essentially of security.  
2           There are some mainline units, large units, in which --  
3           which we confront in battle. We are right at this particu-  
4           lar hour, for example, in battle with some rather large units  
5           down near Saigon, and again up on the DMZ, the demilitarized  
6           zone. But most of the struggle is to secure the countryside.  
7           And most of the troops of South Vietnam, most of the troops  
8           of the United States, most of the troops of our Korean  
9           allies, of the Philippines, of the Australians, the New  
10          Zealanders, and the Thais -- and they are all there by the  
11          way -- most of them are used to stabilize, to secure what we  
12          call -- pacify and secure the countryside.

13           This word "pacification," I think, needs a little ex-  
14          planation.

15           Many people have thought that pacification was more or  
16          less just seeing that you had a doctor or a teacher or an  
17          agricultural specialist, or someone that came to teach you  
18          how to live, or to live better.

19           Pacification includes security, and it means that you  
20          have to have large numbers of forces that can secure the  
21          area, preventing maybe only one or two that would be the  
22          subversive force that would commit the act of terrorism.

23           That is one of the reasons that we employ only a modest  
24          amount of our forces at any one time.

25           There are times, of course, in which substantial numbers

1 are put into battle. But it is a fact that most of the time  
2 the forces are rather small. But there are hundreds of small  
3 skirmishes going on, and they escalate sometimes into 300 or  
4 400 during a week, and sometimes just a very few.

5 MR. NIVEN: To Milwaukee, and our students.

6 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, the Administration has  
7 mounted a campaign to crush dissent voiced against the war in  
8 Vietnam. I give as one example Secretary Rusk's Yellow Peril  
9 speech given last week. I would like to know first of all  
10 why the Administration feels it is necessary, and secondly  
11 I would like you to clarify Secretary Rusk's speech.

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, my dear friend, if the  
13 Administration has mounted a campaign to crush dissent, they  
14 sure lost that war, because there is plenty of dissent.  
15 Every time I pick up a newspaper, somebody has another view  
16 on the war in Vietnam or some matter of foreign policy. This  
17 is one thing we are not short of in this country is dissent.  
18 We may be short of judgment on occasion. We are often times  
19 short of money. But we have never been short of criticism or  
20 dissent. And I am one of those who believe in the right of  
21 dissent. I have exercised it a great deal in my own personal  
22 and public life. So I do not seek to still it in others. I  
23 believe, however, that dissent carries with it some responsi-  
24 bilities to propose constructive alternatives. And I have a  
25 feeling that sometimes that dissent does not carry with it

1 those constructive alternatives.

2 Now, about the so-called Yellow Peril.

3 The Secretary of State did not say anything about a  
4 Yellow Peril. What he did say was that there was concern in  
5 the subcontinent and in Southeast Asia over the power of  
6 Communist China. And yet if you will read very carefully,  
7 as I did again tonight in preparation for this interview, you  
8 will note that Secretary Rusk talked also of the desire of  
9 reconciliation with China. He spoke of the desire of and the  
10 hope of leaders coming in China that could exercise the  
11 kind of restraint and spirit of coexistence which we see today  
12 in Europe.

13 He spoke of the necessity of the nations on the periphery  
14 of China, in that area, being strong and viable and inde-  
15 pendent.

16 This is why we work with India. This is why we have  
17 given vast, billions of dollars of aid to a country like  
18 India. This is why we look with great interest upon the  
19 achievements of Indonesia.

20 We are not asking that they join in a war. We are not  
21 asking that they crush China. We do not seek to make China  
22 an enemy. We do not even seek containment with isolation of  
23 China.

24 What we seek is to contain the militant aggressive in-  
25 stincts or patterns of Chinese conduct, that is

1 Communist Chinese conduct, hopefully for a long enough period  
2 of time when prudence and good judgment can set in.

3 Very much the same thing as after World War II in  
4 Europe. The Soviet Union, for a period of time, had some  
5 aggressive instincts, or patterns of conduct. We had to  
6 stand firm in Iran, in Greece, in Turkey, and in Berlin. We  
7 had to help build the NATO alliance, and the Truman Doctrine.

8 These were not warlike measures. These were defensive  
9 measures. And all of these measures were taken for one  
10 purpose -- to give time for Western Europe to rebuild, so it  
11 could stand on its own feet, to give time to the Soviet  
12 Union to think through what it ought to be doing as a nation.  
13 And today the Soviet Union, I believe, recognizes the danger  
14 of nuclear war. I think it recognizes the importance of the  
15 exercise of power with restraint. And we have what we call  
16 peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union.

17 It doesn't mean that we agree. It doesn't mean that  
18 the -- that we have given up the ideological struggle. It  
19 means that the competition takes place in a more peaceful  
20 arena, and a more peaceful manner.

21 Now, that is what we seek in China. And with China.  
22 But let's not kid ourselves. China has attacked India twice  
23 in five years. The Chinese Communist Party almost had a  
24 stranglehold on Indonesia a little over two years ago, in  
25 the PKI. Chinese Communists have trained guerrilla warriors

1 in Laos, and northeast Thailand. The Chinese Communist Party  
2 was at work in Burma, and most likely is today.

3 But Mr. Rusk didn't call it a Yellow Peril.

4 Listen, we are in Southeast Asia helping colored people.  
5 We are helping the so-called -- well, Chinese ethnic --  
6 people of Chinese origin.

7 By the way, the Prime Minister of Singapore is in  
8 Washington right now as I speak to you, and he is of Chinese  
9 ancestry. He doesn't think we are talking about a Yellow  
10 Peril. Nonsense. As a matter of fact, may I say that some  
11 of the critics of our policy in Southeast Asia may be out to  
12 rethink a little bit about what we are doing there, because  
13 these same critics have been perfectly willing that every  
14 American should stand and die for Berlin, not because of  
15 Berlin, but because of the concern of the Soviet Union. And  
16 we have made that pledge, whether you like it or not. That is  
17 the pledge.

18 But those same critics don't seem to feel that the people  
19 of Vietnam are as important as the people of Berlin. I do.  
20 I think Asians are every bit as important as Europeans, and  
21 I happen to believe that the future of America's destiny may  
22 well be decided in Asia, and we ought to have a keen interest  
23 in it.

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MR. NIVEN: Is there another question in Philadelphia?

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, there came back the first part of the question regarding the dissent within the country, and the Administration's reaction to it. What is the reaction of the Administration to the dissent within the Democratic Party which is beginning to show itself at the grass roots level of the party, in such things as the College Young Democrat Clubs of America which were removed from the National Committee Offices last year, as well as the various anti-Administration people within the party around the country. What is the Administration's reaction to this criticism?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, the Administration is so busy right now trying to do its job here on the congressional front, and take care of our national interests and our international commitments, that really we just have not had too much time to be worried about the spate of resolutions which are passed by a ward club or by some particular organization of Young Democrats.

But let me tell you quite frankly that the Democratic Party has always been made up of individualists. Maybe you have forgotten that I led a little revolt

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1 in the Democratic Party myself in 1948, down at  
2 Philadelphia, over in Philadelphia. I was one of  
3 those that spoke up. I did not like what the  
4 majority of the platform committee did, and I came  
5 up with a minority resolution. That ought to tell  
6 you how I feel about it. And I might suggest to you  
7 that President Johnson has had his differences with  
8 many people in the Democratic Party over the issue  
9 of civil rights. He has taken the most forward-  
10 looking, the firmest, strongest stand on civil  
11 rights of any President in the history of the United  
12 States. There has been some dissent over that.

13 We never like it when people say you ought to  
14 get out of office. You don't like to have people  
15 boot you around. If you do, you are a very kind  
16 and good man. I have never really enjoyed that.

17 But I recognize that it happens. And may I  
18 just bring you one other little suggestion. I  
19 remember when Mr. Truman used to have a little  
20 dissent. I saw a public opinion poll here just  
21 today that showed in 1952, 67 per cent of the  
22 American people said we should get out of Korea.  
23 They disagreed wholeheartedly with what Mr. Truman  
24 was doing in Korea. And I remember in 1948 there were  
25 so many Democrats that even wanted to nominate Mr.

1 Eisenhower at the Democratic Conference. I remember  
2 they had a whole lot of candidates at the Democratic  
3 Convention. I was there. And we went on to win the  
4 election, even though a goodly number of people thought  
5 we were going to lose it.

6 So be of good cheer, my dear friends. It will  
7 all work out all right. Democrats like to fight,  
8 you know.

9 MR. NIVEN: How about the Democrats and  
10 RePublicans of the J.C's at Athens, Georgia?

11 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you mentioned  
12 something about our Latin-American policy. Do you  
13 see us sending troops to Latin America, to some country,  
14 to fight against the revolutionaries that are now  
15 being exported by Cuba?

16 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I do not. And I  
17 am happy to tell you why.

18 I believe that the countries in Latin America  
19 themselves are perfectly capable of maintaining their  
20 own security. Let me give you a classic example --  
21 the Republic of Venezuela, which has been a target  
22 of the Castroites, the prime target, as a matter of  
23 fact. That country has been able to defend itself,  
24 to build its own security forces. We have given it  
25 assistance, including military assistance, we have given

1 it some economic assistance.

2 The Organization of American States, by the  
3 way, is studying the whole subject of collective  
4 security for their respective countries.

5 One other country that we ought to remember is  
6 Colombia, that has had for years what they call "the  
7 Violence." There has been a group in Colombia that  
8 has tried for years to destroy the representative  
9 government of that country. It has been able, however,  
10 through its police forces, and its armed forces,  
11 to maintain the integrity of its sovereignty and of  
12 its nationhood.

13 Our commitment to Latin America is one of defense  
14 against external aggression.

15 Now, we went into the Dominican Republic because  
16 American nationals were threatened, and not only  
17 threatened, were facing death. And we went in because  
18 there was complete anarchy. But we also went in with  
19 other countries, other Latin-American countries, that  
20 went in as an OAS force. That experiment and experience  
21 has caused us a great deal of difficulty. But fortunately  
22 it came out well. And American forces were withdrawn,  
23 on schedule, as we said they would be, elections were  
24 held, free elections were held. As a matter of fact I  
25 went to the inaugural of the President-elect of the

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Dominican Republic. So I believe that answers your question.

Our main interest in Latin America today is to help the Latin-American countries improve their economy, to improve their political institutions, to develop their trade, and what wonderful things have been happening. At the recent meeting at Punta del Este, the Presidents of the Republics of this Hemisphere President Johnson and the others, agreed upon the Common Market for all of Latin America. This is an amazing achievement. And agreed upon a greatly expanded program in health and education and agriculture. And your Congress, by the way, has taken action to expand our commitment under the Inter-American Development Bank, to fulfill those three objectives of health, and of education and agriculture as a further improvement of our relationships with our Latin-American neighbors.

MR. NIVEN: Mr. Vice President, we are about half-way through our allotted hour, so let's switch, if we may, to domestic affairs, and for a question in the domestic field, go to Philadelphia and our members of the League of Women Voters.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, there seems to be great new interest in air pollution control problems. I understand that there is a piece of air pollution

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control legislation being considered in Congress now.

Could you tell us how such a piece of legislation would affect a city like Philadelphia, which has great air pollution problems.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Its primary purpose is to give states and cities and regional jurisdictions where you sometimes have to have counties and two or three states maybe get together, where you have a vast industrial complex, to give them financial assistance, to strengthen the state government institutions, to carry out a program of effective pollution control on the basis of research, on the basis of the funds that are necessary for policing, on the basis of funds that may be necessary to install new facilities so as to control pollution.

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2 The matter of pollution, by the way, is one I think  
3 will best be handled by regional compacts where two or three  
4 areas -- take for example in New York and New Jersey and  
5 Connecticut -- in that area. You can not have pollution  
6 control by a good pollution law in New York State, or New  
7 York City. It is going to require the entire metropolitan  
8 area, the whole industrial complex in that particular region.

9 This legislation makes that possible. It affords  
10 economic assistance for it.

11 Now, the same thing would be true of Philadelphia, where  
12 you have Camden and Philadelphia and many other communities  
13 all industrial, in two states -- you will have to have an  
14 interstate compact, an agreement between your legislatures,  
15 and your governors, and then setting up the kind of authority,  
16 the kind of, what shall I say, governing authority that would  
17 have responsibility to enforce a pollution code.

18 MR. NIVEN: Next to Los Angeles, and our United Auto  
19 Workers.

20 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, in your opinion, what is  
21 the purpose of the poverty program, and what has it  
22 accomplished, and where has it failed?

23 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: In my mind, the poverty  
24 program is the most significant undertaking that we have had  
25 for years. Let me tell you why. I am quite excited about  
it -- recognizing its limitations, knowing of its difficulties

1 and that I do.

2 We are a rich nation and we are a powerful nation. And  
3 I suppose it would be possible for us to gloss over the poor  
4 and our limitations. Some people have suggested that. But  
5 instead of that, at the very height of our prosperity and  
6 wealth, and at the height of our power, we have shown concern  
7 for a small segment of our population that has not had a  
8 chance or a fair chance to be an active participant in the  
9 blessings of the American society.

10 This is about one-seventh now of our population that is  
11 in the poverty group we call it. A year and a half ago it was  
12 one-sixth. We are beginning to make some progress.

13 Now, what is its purpose: To provide opportunity for  
14 every American.

15 You know, there are all kinds of poverty. There is the  
16 poverty of the purse -- that is economic poverty. That is the  
17 easiest thing to overcome because that literally can be over-  
18 come by a welfare check -- I mean if that is all you are  
19 interested in -- money. But there is another kind of poverty  
20 and that is the poverty of the spirit. A man that has no  
21 education, or that is in no way adjusted to industrial or  
22 urbanized conditions of living, one that has been rejected,  
23 a person that has been the victim of long-term racial  
24 prejudice or discrimination or bigotry. The poverty of the  
25 spirit, the poverty of the soul, the poverty of hopelessness

1 despair, and feeling not wanted, and no place for you.

2 Now, that is the poverty that is the hard one to get at.  
3 And that is what we are trying to get at. What are we trying  
4 to do about it? Well, we have training programs -- not just  
5 by government, by the way, Federal Government -- federal,  
6 state, and local community action groups, industry, labor,  
7 churches. This is the wonderful thing about this war on  
8 poverty. Really people have joined together in a massive  
9 alliance, a grand alliance in the war on poverty.

10 It is a slow war. There are no great victories. There  
11 is no great drama to it. But day by day we are making  
12 progress. And we have enlisted the private sector, private  
13 enterprise in America, in this struggle.

14 Many businessmen today are going out of their way to  
15 hire people that were the hard core unemployed. On-the-job  
16 training is greatly expanded today. The Federal Government,  
17 through its efforts, has strengthened state and local govern-  
18 ment agencies to provide better education for the disadvantaged.  
19 Why, if we had done nothing else but the Elementary and  
20 Secondary Education Act, which is a part of the war on  
21 poverty, I think we would have done something quite good.

22 Think of Project Headstart for the little children.  
23 Think of the Manpower Training Program that has trained almost  
24 a million workers for jobs. Just think what is going on today  
25 in our Job Corps centers, in our Project Upward Bound.

1           What does this all add up to? Breaking the bonds of  
2           despair.

3           You know, people can be enslaved many ways. They can  
4           be enslaved by drugs, they can be the slaves of ignorance,  
5           they can be the slaves of despair. We are trying to break  
6           that. And we are making progress. This is the greatest  
7           news of our time. Literally hundreds of thousands of young  
8           men and women and older ones have broken out of the prison of  
9           poverty. They have gone into a new life, self-sustaining  
10          citizens.

11          I will just close on this one by telling you this: We  
12          are not trying to build in America a welfare state -- even  
13          though it is always necessary on occasion to give welfare to  
14          people who cannot care for themselves. We ought to be com-  
15          passionate. We ought to have a sense of charity. That  
16          doesn't mean weakness. That means decency.

17          But what we are really trying to build in America is a  
18          state of opportunity. "Every man his chance," said the poet  
19          Thomas Wolfe. Every man his chance to make something out of  
20          his life. That is what we are trying to do.

21          MR. NIVEN: Speaking of education, may we go back to the  
22          University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee?

23          VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

24          QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, in listening to your last  
25          comment about the poverty program, you referred to the glossi

1 over of the programs, that the Federal Government is not  
2 glossing over programs and that the Federal Government seems  
3 to be having far-reaching programs to the poor.

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

5 QUESTION: However, why is it necessary, then, that in  
6 a city such as Milwaukee, the poor themselves have to re-  
7 quest that federal funds be turned off, be cut off to the  
8 city because they are not adequately represented on the  
9 councils, and why is it even further necessary in the last  
10 weekend the chairman representing the poor resigned because  
11 of what he felt was overdue influence by the Office of  
12 Economic Opportunity in Chicago?

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, we are not going to try  
14 to run Milwaukee from Washington. That is one thing I want  
15 to make perfectly clear right now. The heart and core of  
16 democratic government is local initiative and local  
17 responsibility. We have a role to play in Washington. We  
18 are a partner, and we ought not to be the dominating partner.  
19 And I have noticed many times that when people feel they  
20 cannot solve their own problems at home, they come charging  
21 down to Washington. That is a very bad habit.

22 I would just make this point: The poverty program is  
23 the one program in this government that has said by law that  
24 there must be maximum participation of the poor. It broke  
25 into the establishment, so to speak. I think it is fair to

1 say that many of the poor today that are, well, speaking up,  
2 sometimes to the distress of public officials, that these  
3 poor are speaking up today because they are on community  
4 action boards, because they were given this chance by the  
5 poverty program. In other words, they are having something  
6 to say about their own destiny. They may not always say what  
7 you like or I like, they may not always do what you think is  
8 right or what I think is right. But at least they are in the  
9 act.

10 You know John Stuart Mill once said that a man that has  
11 nothing to do for his country cannot love it. And we are  
12 trying to have people have something to do for this country.  
13 I think there is a great deal of this what we call rising  
14 expectations. When people have no hope they don't revolt.  
15 When people have feeling that nothing can be better, they  
16 are apathetic.

17 One of the signs of our times, as to the improvement of  
18 things, is that people today that never before ever spoke  
19 up, never before ever seemed to show any spark or spirit,  
20 are speaking up, yes, they are even resigning.

21 I want to say right now that person could not have re-  
22 signed two or three years ago, because there wouldn't have  
23 been anything to resign from. And one of the reasons that  
24 the person can resign now is because your Federal Government,  
25 working in cooperation with your local government, has helped

1 establish agencies that are getting at some of these problems

2 Now, we are not making all the progress we would like.  
3 The people have been poor a long time. I was at the Cancer  
4 Society last night. Sixty years the American Cancer Society  
5 has been working on trying to find a way to cure cancer. We  
6 haven't found it yet. But we didn't throw the doctors out.  
7 And I didn't deliver a diatribe to the Cancer Society saying  
8 that you were failures. I said no, we are making progress,  
9 we are beginning to make more of it. And I suppose there were  
10 some people that even resigned from the Cancer Society when  
11 they came out against smoking. There is always somebody  
12 that will pick up their books or their shoes or their coat  
13 and decide to leave.

14 I would suggest this, that stick with it, don't walk  
15 out. Anybody can walk out. It is the fellow that walks in  
16 and fights it out and works it out is the one that really  
17 makes the contribution.

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MR. NIVEN: Athens.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, don't you think the Administration has finally realized that the Poverty Program, the President's War on Poverty, is in trouble. Don't think --- that this is an indication that we need to stop and take a long, hard look at the overall program, and perhaps attempt to cure these evils that have come into our program? Incidentally, we were glad to hear there that you are not going to attempt to run the program there in Milwaukee, and we certainly wish that this were true in iniquitous federal guidelines that we have with our educational programs down here, sir.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPRHEY: Can I say a word to you. We are not running your educational program. The Constitution just provided that there should be equal opportunity and equal protection of the laws. That was in the Constitution. That wasn't something that Hubert Humphrey said he had or the President of the United States was to decide.

QUESTION: Yes, sir. But we were not in the Constitution picked out as the only area of the country to which the guidelines were to be applied to, sir.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPREHY: Well, I will tell you. If you were in Milwaukee now, you would think there were some areas of the country other than yours in which

1 guidelines were being applied. And if you were in  
2 Washington you would feel that way.

3 Let me get back to your question on the Poverty  
4 Program. I think it has been quite a success, in  
5 light of what it has had to work with, and how long  
6 it has been at it. Let me give you what I mean by  
7 a success story. There have been about 70,000, 75,000  
8 graduates of the Job Corps Centers.

9 Now, those Job Corps Centers were established for  
10 persons that had never had a job. Most of these are  
11 youngsters, young men between the ages of 16 and 20.  
12 About 75 per cent of them have an education less than--  
13 about 85 per cent have an education less than the tenth  
14 grade, half of them less than the sixth grade. Many  
15 of them can neither read nor write. What few if  
16 ever had a job, their job income has averaged about  
17 70 cents an hour. Now, what has happened out of that?  
18 Well, out of these graduates that have come out,  
19 10,000 have gone to the armed services, 15,000 have  
20 gone back to finish their high school education, and the  
21 other 50,000 have gone on to jobs that pay an average  
22 of \$1.50 an hour. You can call that a failure if you  
23 want to, but I think that is quite a success. These  
24 were people that got off of relief, no longer were welfare  
25 clients, no longer standing on street corners. Youngsters

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1 that had no place to go, had been school dropouts, nothing  
2 that they could do for themselves.

3 Take a look at Headstart. It has been a phenomenal  
4 success. One of the most wonderful programs for the  
5 little ones, the pre-school agers, that we have ever  
6 known. Just take a look at the Adult Study and Adult  
7 Work Program. Take a look at the Neighborhood Youth  
8 Corps, where young people who are jobless, hard core  
9 unemployed, have been given constructive work to do, and  
10 have been learning on the job. You are going to say  
11 to me there is some mistakes. Well, you know -- about  
12 the mistakes -- I should tell you that this program  
13 has been decentralized. Every program I have talked  
14 to you about is a Community Action Program, operated  
15 at your town, by your Community Action group, by the  
16 people in your state, and in your city. Not out of  
17 Washington. What Washington does is to provide the  
18 money, and sometimes people think we provide too much,  
19 sometimes they think we provide too little. It is hard  
20 to be popular on this one.

21 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I would like to ask  
22 you, sir, a few questions, if I may, about our present  
23 Social Security Program. Why is it that this program,  
24 so many of the benefits that are directed towards this  
25 program, why can they not be put and supported by the

1 general revenue budget, rather than the Social Security  
2 Program itself, where we are not guaranteed of  
3 any benefits back?

4 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, that has been  
5 a question of debate in Washington, D. C., in our  
6 Nation's capital, for thirty years, starting in 1937.  
7 There are people who feel, as your question indicates,  
8 that the whole subject of Social Security should be  
9 provided out of general revenue. Well, if it is, it  
10 would have to be out of a general tax.

11 QUESTION: I agree.

12 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And it is tax revenue.

13 Now, this Social Security Program is an insurance  
14 program. You pay in for the benefits that you are going  
15 to get. And those benefits are rather extensive. When  
16 the time of retirement comes, or if you are disabled or  
17 handicapped, or if you are in need of medicare.

18 QUESTION: May I ask you one question. You say  
19 this is an insurance program, sir. Is it an insurance  
20 program?

21 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPREHY: Yes, it is. And it  
22 actuarially sound. As a matter of fact, may I say many  
23 an insurance company that has looked at it has been  
24 surprised how well it has been operated.

25 MR. NIVEN: To Philadelphia.

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1 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Can I add by the way --  
2 it hasn't hurt the insurance business at all. As a  
3 matter of fact, the Social Security Program has made the  
4 American people' insurance conscious. And I think that is  
5 good. I happen to believe in insurance. I want to put a  
6 plug in for them.

7 QUESTION: Yes, I believe in insurance, too. But I  
8 don't think this is an insurance program. I beg to dis-  
9 agree with you.

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I respect you, sir.  
11 Maybe I ought to drop you a note.

12 MR. NIVEN: Philadelphia.

13 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, my primary area of  
14 concern is in unemployment, specially in ghetto areas.  
15 Many businesses will not remain in these areas due to  
16 the inability to obtain adequate insurance coverage. For  
17 example, here in Philadelphia many of the businesses as  
18 well as home owners' policies have been cancelled. Has  
19 there been any proposals or action taken to help alleviate  
20 this situation.

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: This subject is now under very careful scrutiny and discussion by the commission headed by Governor Kerner of Illinois, as well as before some of the committees of Congress. It is a very serious problem, the whole matter of insurance in ghetto areas, particularly where there has been trouble and violence in recent days.

Can I say a word about jobs in these areas? I work at this a great deal. It is sometimes very heart breaking and sometimes very discouraging. But then again there are days that you feel real progress.

We know that the group in American that can provide jobs, real jobs, over the long period of time, is the private business economy. And we are going to the business people today, and we are getting wonderful response from them to work out programs of on-the-job training where they take hard core unemployed, recruit them, train them, supervise them, put them to work as permanent employees, with the government and that business firm working together, really coming together on a contract for some of the costs of training.

We think this is going to work. We are also giving encouragement to businesses to go into the inner city, into the so-called ghetto areas, by using government contracts, set-aside contracts from the Defense Department, and from other institutions of government, hopefully that business firms will see that there is an advantage for them to go into the ghetto

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1 areas.

2 I personally believe that tax incentives and maybe on  
3 some occasions subsidy payments may be necessary.

4 I think that we ought to treat some of our slum areas  
5 and the victims of those slums -- and they are victims,  
6 really -- we ought to treat them as generously as we do and  
7 maybe -- and I think more generously than we do people in  
8 foreign countries. In other words, to apply the same prin-  
9 ciples at home as we do in our foreign aid. And what does  
10 that mean? Technical assistance, long-term low-interest  
11 loans, sometimes grants, working with them to see to it that  
12 people are not only given care, but they are given training  
13 and education and jobs and the encouragement for investment.

14 I think we can do it. We are doing it, by the way.  
15 The President just announced such a program for five major  
16 cities here about three weeks ago, a pilot project in five of  
17 our major cities.

18 MR. NIVEN: Before we switch to politics, let's go for  
19 one last question on domestic affairs to Los Angeles.

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QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I would like to know what do you think about large cities and poverty areas taking kids to various camps, similar to the one that occurred in Watts, and also why is it seemingly that the budget is always out on these poverty programs?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am very familiar with the program you are speaking of -- Camp Roberts, I believe that is right. It was a wonderful experiment. I am glad that you asked about it, because so few people in this part of American know anything about it.

Here at Camp Roberts two years ago the National Guard units were based there that came in to put down the violence in Watts. This year that same camp, and the military officers there, worked side by side with the young people that came in from the Watts area to enjoy a marvelous outing of a couple of weeks. No troubles, really, no disturbances, a splendid experience of camping out, of recreation, education, health care. We ought to do this all over America. And by the way, as the Chairman of the Youth Opportunity Council I have asked mayors of cities to establish a Youth Opportunity Council in their city, to maximize youth programs.

We have the National Guard now that is making

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1 available our military camps, the National Guard camps,  
2 for purposes of youth camps. In the summer, when the Guard  
3 is not being trained -- those camps ought to be used.  
4 The Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, has been so  
5 cooperative on this. We had a wonderful experience in  
6 a camp here in Washington, known as Camp Roosevelt.  
7 That was a Boy Scout camp that was going to be closed  
8 up. We kept that camp open, and about 1600 or 1700  
9 boys from the inner city, kids that had never been to  
10 camp, youngsters from the poorest of the poor families,  
11 had a marvelous scouting experience.

12 Now, these things can be done locally; we  
13 will help at the federal level. But your United  
14 Fund, by the way, can help on that. Let me put in  
15 a plug for the United Fund, for people that ought to be  
16 making contributions, so we can have camping experiences  
17 for our young people. We had 25,000 more boys in  
18 Boy Scout camps this summer than ever before. We can  
19 have 100,000, 200,000 more next summer if we get to work  
20 at it. We at the federal level will help provide food,  
21 supplies, and even money. But I want to say what it takes  
22 above all is a spirit of leadership and compassion and  
23 care right where you live and where I live.

24 MR. NIVEN: Mr. Vice President, let us turn now  
25 in our last few minutes to politics. Students are usually

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1 interested in politics. Back to Milwaukee.

2 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think students aren't  
3 the only ones interested in politics.

4 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, as you know, there  
5 is a large "Dump Johnson" movement that is sweeping  
6 at least this section of the country. What I would  
7 like to know is in view of the fact that a lot of  
8 these people are and have been strong members of  
9 the Democratic Party, for one myself I followed  
10 you around in 1960 on the bus through Wisconsin in the  
11 primary, which I certainly relish the memory of.  
12 Many of us supported you in 1964. And this is pretty  
13 much the liberal feeling within the party, that the  
14 Administration has sold out a lot of these liberal  
15 principles.

16 What is the alternative to Democrats who have  
17 worked in the party for a long period of time who feel that  
18 they cannot in good conscience, because of the war, vote  
19 for or support the President? Would you suggest they  
20 violate their conscience, and indeed vote for the  
21 President? Would you suggest that they work within the  
22 party to oppose the President? Or would you suggest that  
23 they leave the party?

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would suggest that  
25 they examine their conscience again, and stay with

1 the party. In fact, if they had been examining  
2 our voting record, they would have known exactly  
3 where we stood. And I hope you do. I haven't changed  
4 my attitude on Vietnam since 1955. It has been exactly  
5 that when I said in the Senate of the United States  
6 that the loss of South Vietnam would be a tragic  
7 and terrible loss to the Free World and would violate  
8 the security interests of the United States of America.

# 10 9 I said when I supported the Gulf of Tonkin  
10 resolution in August of 1964, before I was nominated  
11 as Vice President of the United States, that it was  
12 vital to the security of the United States that we  
13 had to take whatever measures were necessary, including  
14 the use of armed force to repel aggression. I felt  
15 that way about Europe, I felt that way about Asia, I  
16 felt that way about Korea. And speaking of Democrats  
17 that are a little bit disillusioned, as they put it, or  
18 dissenting Democrats -- we have had a lot of those in  
19 the past. I remember very well in my home State of  
20 Minnesota in 1946, when the dissenting Democrats took  
21 over the party, when they would not have anything to  
22 do with NATO, when they said they did not want the  
23 Marshall Plan, when they denounced Harry Truman for  
24 the Truman Plan. I remember it. They took over my  
25 party. I remember full well how they took it over. And

1 I find that some of those same people are at work again.  
2 They are a little older, but they have not changed their  
3 ideas any at all.

4 Frankly, I must say to you, my good friend, if the  
5 United States of America is unwilling to keep its  
6 commitments then the hope of peace for young men  
7 of your generation is gone forever. There has been a  
8 shield of peace in this world because America has kept  
9 its commitment, because it has taken the lead, because  
10 it has been willing to sacrifice. You might ask  
11 yourself some time in your moments of reflection what  
12 kind of a world do you think this would be today  
13 if Mr. Truman had not told Joe Stalin to get out of Iran  
14 and run the risk of world war with him -- if we had  
15 let Berlin go down the drain, and Greece and Turkey.  
16 What kind of Asia do you think it would be if Japan or  
17 Korea had gone in 1950 and '52. And believe me most people  
18 said it wasn't worth fighting for. What kind of America  
19 would this be today if John Kennedy had not had the  
20 courage to take this Nation to the precipice of nuclear  
21 war and tell Mr. Khrushchev to get out of Cuba. The  
22 fact that we didn't have to fight is a blessing that  
23 God Almighty gave to us.

24 What kind of world do you think it would be if the  
25 United States didn't stand guard around the world?

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1 If you want to live it up for the next few years,  
2 and live on our prosperity, ignore our international  
3 commitments, take down the sheild of American protection,  
4 we can do it. And we will have the Lost Weekend of all time.  
5 That happened once before. It happened once before in  
6 Europe, where people just didn't seem to think it made  
7 much difference that the aggressor was on the move. People  
8 in our time. Young people said then -- do you remember  
9 the Oxford Movement? I do. I was a young man at that  
10 time. I remember when the United States only renewed its dra  
11 draft call by one vote -- just a few months before Pearl  
12 Harbor.

13 No -- examine your conscience. That is what I would  
14 say. When I hear people say this is a matter of conscience,  
15 it is for me, too. I know it is not popular to take  
16 this stand. But if you are going to be in politics, and  
17 want to be popular, you may very well sacrifice national  
18 security. Popularity is a toxin, a toxin that can  
19 infect a person's sense of integrity. What is important  
20 is not to be popular. What is important for a man in  
21 high public office is to be right as he sees it.

22 Abraham Lincoln put it that way "Firmness in the  
23 right as God gives us to see the right." And, believe  
24 me. we try to see, we try to find what is right every day.  
25 We know what our responsibilities are.

rb-7

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1 MR. NIVEN: A quick question, please, from Athens,  
2 Georgia.

3 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I am sure you are  
4 well aware that several of the past Vice President have  
5 not been on the election ticket the second time around.

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

7 QUESTION: We are very interested in knowing whether  
8 or not Bobby Kennedy is going to replace you on this ballot  
9 next time.

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I am glad of your  
11 interest. Let me just say a word about my situation.  
12 I was born above a drug store out in Wallace, South  
13 Dakota, in a modest little family. I went through  
14 public school. I had to face the Depression, and be  
15 out of school, out of the university for several years,  
16 and then come back when I was married. My wife and I  
17 worked our way through the University of Minnesota. We  
18 sold sandwiches, cleaned hallways, we washed windows, she  
19 worked in an office, I worked in a drug store for twenty  
20 cents an hour. And I became finally -- one day I got to  
21 be Mayor of Minnesota, and then I became United States  
22 Senator, and now I am Vice President. If nothing else  
23 ever happens to me in this wonderful America than that,  
24 all I can say is this is a land of opportunity. I do not  
25 worry about what happens to Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

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1           What I am worried about is what is happening to America  
 2           right now. And I want to make sure that my American  
 3           provides an opportunity for every American at home,  
 4           and that it fulfills its responsibilities abroad. I  
 5           think this is the way we ought to do it.

6           QUESTION: You are still concerned about Bobby  
 7           Kennedy, aren't you?

8           VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPREHY: Not one bit. He is a  
 9           man of his word. He has already said he is for President  
 10          Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, and I say bless him, what  
 11          wonderful judgment.

12          MR. NIVEN: Mr. Vice President, you can see from the  
 13          hands up in all four of our groups across the country,  
 14          the students in Millwaukee, the auto workers in Los  
 15          Angeles, the J.C's in Athens, Georgia, and the League of  
 16          Women Voters of Philadelphia, this program could go on  
 17          for several hours.

18          VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPREHY: Why not.

19          MR. NIVEN: Thank you very much, our participating  
 20          groups. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for being with us.  
 21          We have had an exhilarating and I hope productive discussion  
 22          of Vietnam and Latin America in foreign affairs, of air  
 23          pollution, poverty and unemployment in domestic affairs,  
 24          and a couple of questions about the future of the Johnson-  
 25          Humphrey ticket in 1968 in these last few mintues.

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Thanks again to all our participants.

Thank you, Mr. Vice President.

Good evening.

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