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A METROMEDIA - WTTG PRESENTATION

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

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GUEST: THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, VICE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES

INTERVIEWED BY: JACK COLE, METROMEDIA TV NEWS

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WASHINGTON, D.C., PAPERS SHOULD ALSO CREDIT WTTG-TV, CHANNEL 5.

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, WHO WILL BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

HUMPHREY: THAT'S A QUESTION I HAVE BEEN WORKING ON TO GET AN AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER. IT'S MY HOPE THAT I SHALL HAVE THAT HIGH HONOR AND THAT PRIVILEGE.

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, NOT VERY MANY OF US IN THE POLITICAL REPORTING BUSINESS ARE DOING ANY PREDICTING ANY MORE WHAT WITH ALL THE CATAclysmic EVENTS THAT WE HAVE HAD, THE UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS, BUT LET'S SAY THAT, IN TERMS OF ASSESSING THINGS AS THEY LOOK PRESENTLY, IT LOOKS VERY MUCH AS THOUGH YOU WILL BE THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT AND THAT RICHARD NIXON WILL BE THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE. WHAT DIFFERENCES DO YOU SEE BETWEEN YOURSELVES ON THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM?

HUMPHREY: WELL, THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENCES, BUT YOU HAVE ASKED PARTICULARLY ABOUT VIETNAM. IF WE ARE THE NOMINEES OF OUR RESPECTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES, WE WILL HAVE THE OBLIGATION, FIRST OF ALL, TO ARGUE THE BASIS OF THE PLATFORM OF THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES AND THOSE PLATFORMS GENERALLY HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. I THINK THEY'LL BE DIFFERENT AGAIN. ON THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM, I THINK THAT THE MAIN DIFFERENCE YOU WILL FIND IS NOT SO MUCH ON VIETNAM, ITSELF, AS THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES TO ASIA, TO FREE ASIA, TO NON-COMMUNIST ASIA. THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS IN THIS POST VIETNAM PERIOD. IT'S MY VIEW THAT THE FIRST THING THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL WANT TO DO IS TO EXAMINE THE LESSONS OUT OF VIETNAM, TO SEE HOW WE CAN PREVENT THE POSSIBILITIES OF

FUTURE VIETNAMS, RECOGNIZING THAT SOMETIMES THESE MATTERS ARE NOT ALWAYS IN OUR HANDS, THAT IS, THE DECISIONS ARE NOT ALWAYS IN OUR HANDS.

COLE: HOW DO WE GET OUT OF THIS VIETNAM THAT WE'RE IN RIGHT NOW?

HUMPHREY: WE'RE MIGHTY CLOSE TO FINDING OUR WAY, AS I SEE IT. FIRST OF ALL, OUR OBJECTIVE IN VIETNAM HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO FIND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND NEGOTIATE A PEACE. THAT OBJECTIVE, IN PART, IS NOW ACCHIEVED. THE CONFERENCE IN PARIS WHERE WE HAVE TWO OF OUR MOST ABLE AND GIFTED DIPLOMATS, MR. HARRIMAN AND MR. VANCE, IS IN THE PRELIMINARY STAGES NOW PROBING FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I BELIEVE WITH PATIENCE, PERSEVERANCE, TENACITY, THAT WE CAN FIND THAT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I WANT TO MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT WE HAVE NEVER FELT THAT THE STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM WHICH IS SO DEEPLY INVOLVED WITH THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FABRIC OF THE COUNTRY WILL LEND ITSELF TO A MILITARY SOLUTION. THE MILITARY HAS A ROLE TO PLAY; TO RESIST THE AGGRESSION; TO PREVENT THE SUCCESS OF AGGRESSION; TO PROVIDE A SHIELD BEHIND WHICH SOUTH VIETNAM COULD CREATE ITS OWN INSTITUTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, ITS OWN ECONOMY, TO STRENGTHEN ITS OWN DEFENSE FORCES; BUT THE REAL ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM IN VIETNAM IS TO BE FOUND IN THE POLITICAL SOLUTION, IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF GOVERNMENT, IN THE TAKING OVER BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES OF MORE AND MORE OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES, INDEED, IN FINDING SOME WAY FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SUPERVISE A PEACE BETWEEN NORTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH VIETNAM. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WE ARE NOW APPROACHING.

COLE: YOU SAID THE OTHER NIGHT, I THINK IT WAS THIS PAST WEEKEND AT THE DEMOCRAT FARMER LABOR CONVENTION IN MINNEAPOLIS, THAT WE HAVE TO BE

ABLE TO MAKE THE SACRIFICES AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. WE HAVE TO BE WILLING TO MAKE THEM IN THE SAME WAY WE HAD BEEN WILLING TO MAKE THEM ON THE BATTLEFIELD. WHAT EXACTLY DO YOU MEAN BY THAT?

HUMPHREY: I FEEL AT TIMES THAT SOME OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS HAVE BECOME VERY EXASPERATED WITH THE PROPAGANDA EFFORTS OF THE COMMUNISTS OF THE PARIS TALKS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HANOI IS USING THE TALKS, IN PART, AS A PROPAGANDA MECHANISM. THEY'RE FIGHTING AND ATTACKING VICIOUSLY IN VIETNAM. THEY'RE ROCKETING AND KILLING CIVILIANS BY THE HUNDREDS IN SAIGON. ALL OF THIS IS A PART OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OF THE COMMUNISTS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. WHAT I MEANT WAS: LET'S NOT LOSE OUR PATIENCE. YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD SAY 'LET'S NOT LOSE YOUR COOL', SO TO SPEAK. LET'S STAY WITH IT. THE TRUTH IS THAT NORTH VIETNAM IS SUFFERING GREATLY. I REALLY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE HURTING IN THIS STRUGGLE, AND THEY'RE USING THEIR PRESENT OFFENSIVE TO TRY TO BREAK OUR WILL. SO, WHAT I SAID WAS, IN PARIS, LET'S BE STEADFAST; LET'S NOT BE PROPAGANDIZED AWAY FROM THE CONFERENCE TABLE; LET'S NOT BECOME EXASPERATED; LET'S NOT BECOME INTEMPERATE; LET'S NOT BE BAITED IN TO A MASSIVE ESCALATION IN THIS WAR IN AN EFFORT TO TRY TO PUNISH THEM BECAUSE THEY'RE PUNISHING US; LET'S TRY TO FIND PERSISTENTLY, PATIENTLY THE WAY TO BRING SOME OF THESE ITEMS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND TO A SOLUTION.

COLE: AT THAT CONFERENCE TABLE, PEOPLE IN THE POSITIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY AND THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY HAVE SAID THAT THE ONLY REALISTIC SOLUTION, THE ONLY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, THAT WE CAN HOPE TO

GET IS AS A 'CARETAKER' COALITION GOVERNMENT, RECOGNIZING THE VIETCONG AND GIVING THEM THE SAME ROLE, APPROXIMATELY, IN THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM THAT THEY HAVE WON ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THAT IS NOT YOUR VIEW?

HUMPHREY: THAT IS NOT MY VIEW, AND IT WAS NOT THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY'S VIEW. AT ONE TIME, IT WAS, BUT IN HIS DEBATE WITH SENATOR MCCARTHY IN LOS ANGELES DURING THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY, I NOTED WITH GREAT INTEREST THAT SENATOR KENNEDY POINTED OUT THAT NO COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH THE VIETCONG, OR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, SHOULD BE FORCED UPON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. HE SAID IF SUCH WERE TO COME, IT SHOULD COME THROUGH THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT IT, THROUGH THE POLITICAL PROCESSES. THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR POSITION; THAT IF THERE IS TO BE ANY CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT, WHATEVER CHANGE THERE MIGHT BE IN SOUTH VIETNAM, IT SHOULD NOT BE ONE THAT WE WITH OUR POWER FORCE UPON THEM. IT SHOULD COME THROUGH ELECTIONS; IT SHOULD COME THROUGH THE POLITICAL PROCESSES; IT SHOULD COME THROUGH THE ASSENT OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. AFTER ALL, THAT GOVERNMENT WAS ELECTED. NOW, SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS TAKEN A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW. HE HAS, FIRST OF ALL, CALLED FOR A COALITION, I GUESS FEELING THAT WE SHOULD BE INSISTING THAT SUCH COALITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS TAKE PLACE. I THINK THAT'S VERY RISKY. IT'S NEVER WORKED OUT IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD. THERE WAS ONCE A COALITION IN POLAND; THERE WAS ONCE A COALITION IN HUNGARY AND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THOSE COALITIONS ALL ENDED UP WITH THE COMMUNISTS TAKING OVER. LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN LAOS. IT HASN'T WORKED OUT. THE COMMUNIST FORCES HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT WARFARE WITH THE

NEUTRALISTS AND THE GOVERNMENT. SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS CALLED FOR AND SAID THAT HE RECOMMENDED UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES. I DISAGREE WITH THIS VERY SHARPLY. I THINK THAT'S A DISASTROUS COURSE. COLE: I DON'T RECALL THAT SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS SAID THAT. I WONDER IF YOU WOULD REFRESH ME.

HUMPHREY: YES. HE HAS INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE NOW READY FOR A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL.

COLE: I THOUGHT WHAT HE SAID WAS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD STAND FOR IT, AS OPPOSED TO STANDING FOR FURTHER KILLING, BUT THAT IS NOT QUITE THE SAME THING AS SAYING THAT HE, PERSONALLY, FAVORS WITHDRAWAL.

HUMPHREY: LET ME SAY, I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL STAND FOR A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL, LEAVING THAT WHOLE COUNTRY AT THE MERCY OF THE COMMUNIST GUERRILLA WHICH WOULD BE A WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER OF PEOPLE. THAT WOULD BE A TERRIBLE ACT. I CAN'T BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FOR IT, AND I THINK THAT TO INDICATE A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL DOES NOT HELP OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION IN PARIS. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE VERY DISTURBED ABOUT THIS WAR. THEY WANT A PEACE, AND THEY WANT AN HONORABLE PEACE, BUT THEY ARE NOT FOR LITERALLY CUTTING AND RUNNING AND GETTING OUT. I THINK THEY REALIZE THAT THIS WOULD OPEN UP A PANDORA'S BOX OF TROUBLE. THERE WOULD BE WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER, FIRST OF ALL, IN SOUTH VIETNAM BY THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE NORTH AND THE VIETCONG OF THE PEOPLES AND THE LEADERS OF SOUTH VIETNAM. THE AMERICAN POSITION IN ASIA WOULD BE ONE OF OBVIOUS WEAKNESS AND OF RUNNING AWAY FROM RESPONSIBILITY. IT'S MY VIEW THAT THIS KIND OF TALK IS A BIT DANGEROUS RIGHT NOW. THE HOPE FOR PEACE IS NOT IN OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE POLITICAL PLATFORM. IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE IN VIETNAM, AND I HOPE AND PRAY THAT THERE WILL BE, IT WILL COME OUT OF THE CONFERENCES IN PARIS. THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THERE ARE THE IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS TAKING PLACE TODAY. ANY INDICATION OF WEAKNESS ON OUR PART BACK HERE, OR A DRASTIC CHANGE OF POSITION, WOULD, I THINK, SERIOUSLY IMPAIR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN AND AMBASSADOR VANCE IN PARIS REPRESENTING OUR COUNTRY.

BREAK

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, WE WERE DISCUSSING A MOMENT AGO THE PROBLEM OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT WHICH SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS ADVOCATED FOR VIETNAM. YOU SAID THAT A COALITION GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE FORCED ON THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. I THINK WE ARE TALKING ABOUT A 'CARETAKER' GOVERNMENT, ARE WE NOT, AND THAT IS BY DEFINITION, A GOVERNMENT THAT CANNOT BE ELECTED; IT IS A GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TO BE NEGOTIATED FOR PRESUMABLY IN PARIS, OR DURING TALKS WHICH FOLLOW THE PARIS TALKS. ISN'T THAT AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION?

HUMPHREY: I DON'T BELIEVE IT IS PROPER FOR US TO SIT HERE AND DISCUSS WHAT THE VIETNAMESE OUGHT TO ACCEPT.

COLE: BUT THE VIETNAMESE AREN'T REALLY INVOLVED IN THE PARIS TALKS.

HUMPHREY: I THINK THAT THE VIETNAMESE WILL HAVE TO INVOLVED ULTIMATELY IN ANY SOLUTION THAT IS BROUGHT ABOUT. OUR EXPERIENCE WITH COALITION GOVERNMENTS, WHETHER 'CARETAKERS' OR 'NON-CARETAKERS', IS NOT A VERY



HEALTHY AND A VERY REWARDING ONE. I KNOW OF NO COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS THAT HASN'T ENDED UP WITH THE COMMUNISTS TAKING OVER. NOW, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME, BUT I AM UNAWARE OF IT. SO, IF THERE IS TO BE ANY SUCH ABRUPT CHANGE OF POLICY, THAT IS SOMETHING THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE WHO, AFTER ALL, HAVE AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT, A FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WOULD HAVE TO APPROVE THEMSELVES. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN FORCE COALITION UPON ANYONE.

COLE: IF WE CANNOT, AND WILL NOT, NEGOTIATE IN PARIS ABOUT A COALITION GOVERNMENT, WHAT IS THERE TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT? WHAT DO WE GIVE UP, IN OTHER WORDS, IN RETURN FOR THE NORTH VIETNAMESE GIVING UP WHAT WE CALL THEIR AGGRESSION?

HUMPHREY: I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR GOVERNMENT IN PARIS ON THE LAWN OF WAVERLY, MINNESOTA. THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT CAN BE TALKED ABOUT. OUR POSITION HAS BEEN QUITE OBVIOUS AND QUITE CLEAR. WE SEEK NO ONE'S TERRITORY. WE SEEK NOT TO OCCUPY ANYONE ELSE. WE DO NOT INVADE THE NORTH. WE HAVE OFFERED PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND REHABILITATION WITHOUT REGARDING IDIOLOGY TO NORTH AND SOUTH. WE SEEK TO HAVE A PEACEFUL VIETNAM, NORTH AND SOUTH, A NONALLYING NEUTRAL VIETNAM. SOUTH VIETNAM IS PERFECTLY AGREEABLE WITH US. WE SEEK TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION OF THE PEACE OF THE AREA SO THAT HOSTILITIES WILL NOT BREAK OUT AGAIN. WE'RE CALLING FOR A CEASE-FIRE, AND I CALL FOR A CEASE-FIRE RIGHT NOW, SO THAT DISCUSSION CAN GO ON WITHOUT THE FIGHTING AND THE TERRIBLE LOSS OF LIFE. NOW, THOSE ARE SOME OF THE THINGS THAT YOU CAN TALK ABOUT, AND



I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL.

COLE: THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF CRISES THIS YEAR TO TAKE TO THE PEOPLE IN NOVEMBER. ALONG WITH VIETNAM AND OUR VARIOUS FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS, WE HAVE, OF COURSE, WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE URBAN CRISIS. HOW DO YOU SEE YOURSELF DIFFERING FROM SENATOR MCCARTHY ON THOSE PROBLEMS?

HUMPHREY: IN THE FIRST PLACE, LET ME SAY I AM NOT TOO FAMILIAR WITH HIS SET OF SOLUTIONS. MY WORK WITH URBAN AREAS HAS NOT BEEN AS MUCH IN THE TALK AREA AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE ACTION AREA. I HAVE BEEN THE LIAISON, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH THE MAYORS OF THE NATION'S CITIES FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS. I HAVE SERVED AS A MAYOR, THE MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS, FOR TWO TERMS. I HAVE LIVED THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA. I'VE BEEN IN EVERY MAJOR CITY OF ANY CONSEQUENCE SINCE I HAVE BEEN VICE PRESIDENT, NOT MERELY TO SPEAK, BUT TO GO INTO THEIR GHETTO AREAS, THE INNER CITY, TO WORK WITH THE MAYORS AND THE PLANNING COMMITTEES, TO WORK WITH THE POVERTY PROGRAMS, TO SEE HOW THEY WORK AND, SOMETIMES, TO SEE HOW THEY DON'T WORK. I HAVE A FEELING THAT I AM NOT ONLY A STUDENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS, IF I MAY BE A BIT IMMODEST, BUT VERY MUCH UP-TO-DATE ON THE PROBLEMS AND HAVE HAD THE BENEFIT OF THE ADVICE OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ON THE SCENE. I SEE THIS URBAN CRISIS AS THE MOST COMPELLING AND DEMANDING REQUIREMENT OF OUR GOVERNMENT IN THE YEARS AHEAD. WHY? BECAUSE SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE LIVE IN OUR CITIES. SECONDLY, BECAUSE MANY OF OUR POOR LIVE IN OUR CITIES. THIRDLY, BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS OF LAW AND ORDER ARE ESSENTIALLY IN OUR CITIES. NOW, THESE PROBLEMS ARE ALL SUBJECT TO SOLUTION, AND SUBJECT

TO IMPROVEMENT. FIRST OF ALL, WE NEED TO MAKE OUR INNER CITIES VIABLE, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AREAS, NOT MERELY POOR HOUSING OR EVEN LOW INCOME HOUSING, MODERN HOUSING, BUT TO MAKE OUR SO-CALLED INNER CITIES AREAS WITH BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, WITH SOCIAL SERVICES, HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, COMMUNITY CENTERS AND HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION. I SEE THE MODERN CITY OF TOMORROW WITH A CENTER CITY OF EXCELLENCE AND A SERIES OF NEIGHBORHOODS, SMALLER COMMUNITIES, AROUND THAT CENTER CITY - MUCH LIKE A WHEEL WITH THE SPOKES AND WITH THE HUB. EACH OF THESE SPOKES LEADING OUT TO A COMMUNITY THAT CAN LITERALLY LIVE UNTO ITSELF. COMPARE THIS WITH WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO OUR OLDER CITIES AND TO THE OLDER AREAS OF OUR CITIES. THE SLUMS, THE GHETTOS, THEIR BUSINESS AREAS, IF AT ALL, ARE VERY OBSOLETE, SOME OF THEM NONEXISTENT. SOME OF THEM ARE ESSENTIALLY TENEMENTS. WHAT WE NEED IS TO BRING THE SERVICES OF GOVERNMENT TO THESE AREAS. WE NEED TO BRING THE SERVICES OF HEALTH TO THESE AREAS, AND THE BEST OF EDUCATION TO THESE AREAS SO THAT THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN WHAT WE CALL THE INNER CITY, THE SO-CALLED FORMER SLUMS, WILL LIVE IN A MODERN TOTAL COMMUNITY THAT CAN SURVIVE UNTO ITSELF. HOW WILL THIS BE DONE? THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. IT CANNOT BE DONE BY ONE OR THE OTHER ALONE.

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE POINTED UP THE PROBLEMS AND, PERHAPS, SOME IDEAL SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES, TO THE URBAN CRISIS, BUT HOW DO WE GO ABOUT DOING THIS? WE'VE GOT AN ENORMOUS FEDERAL DEFICIT RIGHT NOW, AND IT LOOKS LIKE WE'RE GOING TO HAVE AN EVEN BIGGER ONE NEXT YEAR WITHOUT A RAISE IN TAXES, AND THIS ONE WHICH

WE HAVE JUST SIGNED INTO LAW, CERTAINLY ISN'T GOING TO COVER IT. HOW DO WE DO IT NOW? THE APPROACH OF THE LATE SENATOR KENNEDY, AND, ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE, SENATOR PERCY, AND OTHERS, IS TO PROVIDE TAX INCENTIVES TO PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO COME IN AND ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO THESE PROBLEMS. IS THAT YOUR APPROACH?

HUMPHREY: THAT IS ONE OF THE MANY APPROACHES THAT YOU NEED. I THINK YOU HAVE TO LOOK ON SOME OF YOUR URBAN INNER CITY AREAS AND GHETTOS, AS WE CALL THEM, VERY MUCH AS YOU LOOK ON AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY, OR A DEVELOPING COUNTRY. THEY ARE REALLY THAT BACKWARD AND THAT FAR AWAY FROM WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE REST OF THE CITY. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CITY OF THE MIDDLE INCOME AND THE UPPER INCOME AND THAT PART OF THE CITY THAT IS LOW INCOME AND SLUM IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A RICH NATION AND A POOR NATION, BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED NATION AND THE DEVELOPING NATION. THEREFORE, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE APPLY SOME OF THE SAME METHODS OF GENEROSITY, AND, INDEED, SOME OF THE SAME TECHNIQUES TO OUR INNER CITY AREAS AS WE HAVE IN OUR FOREIGN AID. FOR EXAMPLE, VERY LONG TERM LOANS AT LOW RATES OF INTEREST WITH A PERIOD OF GRACE BEFORE YOU EVEN HAVE TO START PAYING BACK PRINCIPLE OR INTEREST. NOW, IF WE CAN DO THAT FOR BRAZIL, MAYBE WE OUGHT TO DO THAT FOR HARLEM, OR FOR HUFF IN CLEVELAND, OR ANY OF OUR OTHER SLUM AREAS. I WOULD THINK SO. I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HAVE WHAT WE CALL INSURED PRIVATE INVESTMENT, GUARANTEES OF PRIVATE INVESTMENTS, SO THAT WHEN PRIVATE INVESTMENT GOES INTO A RISK AREA, AND IT IS A RISK AREA WHEN YOU GO INTO A SLUM, THAT THERE IS SOME COOPERATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT. ENCOURAGING THAT KIND OF INVESTMENT IS SOME GUARANTEE. WE DO THIS IN

COUNTRIES ABROAD; WE DO IT IN AFRICA; WE DO IT IN ASIA; WE DO IT IN LATIN AMERICA. I HAVE ALSO RECOMMENDED, AND I COMMEND THIS TO YOUR ATTENTION, THE DEVELOPMENT OR THE CREATION OF AN URBAN RE-DEVELOPMENT BANK VERY MUCH LIKE WE HAVE THE INTER-AMERICA DEVELOPMENT BANK IN WHICH THERE ARE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FUNDS, STOCK ISSUES, WHERE YOU DON'T HAVE TO GO TO THE CONGRESS FOR APPROPRIATIONS, AND WHERE THE GREAT LOANS THAT ARE TO BE MADE FOR PURPOSES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SLUM AREAS, WILL COME FROM THIS BANK, WILL COME UNDER BANKING PRACTICES WITH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE. WHEN THERE ARE LOANS THAT HAVE TO BE MADE WHICH ARE SOFTER, AS WE SAY, THAT ARE LESS ECONOMICALLY FEASIBLE, DO THE SAME THING AS WE DO WITH THE WORLD BANK TODAY. WE HAVE A SOFT LOAN WINDOW. WHAT I AM SAYING IN SUBSTANCE IS, LET'S APPLY SOME OF THE TECHNIQUES THAT HAVE WORKED SO WELL IN EUROPE, IN LATIN AMERICA, IN ASIA, IN AFRICA AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, LET'S APPLY THEM TO OUR CITIES. I HAPPEN TO THINK THAT THEY'LL WORK HERE A WHOLE LOT BETTER THAN THEY WORK IN OTHER PLACES, BECAUSE, AT LEAST, WE SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE, WE'RE THE SAME CITIZENS IN THE SAME COUNTRY. THOSE ARE JUST SOME OF THE APPROACHES THAT I THINK YOU CAN USE, BUT, AGAIN, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT IS GOING TO TAKE A GREAT DEAL OF PRIVATE CAPITAL; IT'S GOING TO TAKE A GREAT DEAL OF COOPERATION BETWEEN PRIVATE CAPITAL, PRIVATE BUSINESS, AND THE GOVERNMENT; AND IT'S GOING TO TAKE JOB TRAINING FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED LIKE WE'RE DOING NOW, BUT EVEN MORE SO, IN GREATER MEASURE. IT'S GOING TO TAKE ENTREPRENEURSHIP, HELPING THE GHETTO RESIDENT, THE NEGRO, THE BLACK MAN, BECOME AN OWNER, BECOME A PROPRIETOR, AND WE'RE

BEGINNING NOW TO FASHION SUCH A PROGRAM, AND I'LL BE OUTLINING ONE IN SOME DETAIL.

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, YOU MENTIONED THE RISK IN THE INNER CITY, AND, CERTAINLY, THAT RISK IS, IN LARGE MEASURE, THE RISK OF LAWLESSNESS. NOW, I WOULD THINK, AND STOP ME IF I AM WRONG, THERE IS A CERTAIN DIFFERENCE, AND I THINK, PERHAPS, AS GREAT A DIFFERENCE HERE IN APPROACH AND IN EMPHASIS, AS THERE IS BETWEEN YOU AND SENATOR MCCARTHY ON VIETNAM. THE DIFFERENCE HAS TO DO WITH SENATOR MCCARTHY STRESSING THE NEED FOR JUSTICE, AND YOU'RE STRESSING MORE THE NEED FOR LAW AND ORDER. NOW, ADMITTEDLY, THE TWO ARE MUTUAL AND INSEPARABLE, BUT IT'S A QUESTION OF WHICH YOU STRESS MORE. ARE YOU CONSCIOUSLY STRESSING LAW AND ORDER?

HUMPHREY: I SAY THAT THEY'RE INTERDEPENDENTS, SIR, AND THEY ARE. I SERVED AS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS, AND I HAD LAW AND ORDER AND I HAD JUSTICE. THE FIRST FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ORDINANCE, THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR HOSPITALS, THE EXPANSION OF OUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, THE FIRST VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM IN A MODERN CITY. IT WAS JUSTICE. YOU SEE, YOU NEED ORDER AND CHANGE, CHANGE AND ORDER. THERE IS NO JUSTICE IN AN AREA OF VIOLENCE, AND THERE IS NO WAY THAT YOU CAN GET LAW AND ORDER UNLESS YOU HAVE JUSTICE. THEY GO TOGETHER, AND FOR ONE TO TRY TO SELECT ONE OUT AS A SPECIAL PREROGATIVE OF YOURS IS TO IGNORE THE ISSUE. THE GHETTO RESIDENT IS THE VICTIM OF MORE CRIME AND MORE VIOLENCE THAN ANYONE ELSE. IT'S THE POOR MAN WHO SUFFERS THE MOST FROM LAWLESSNESS. HE'S THE VICTIM, 10 TO 1, IN LAWLESSNESS AND CRIME, OVER THE MIDDLE INCOME MAN, OR THE HIGHER INCOME GROUP. LAW AND

ORDER IS SOMETHING THAT IS DESPERATELY NEEDED IN THE GHETTO BY THE POOR MAN. BUT I'LL TELL YOU WHAT ELSE HE NEEDS - HE NEEDS A CHANCE, HE NEEDS A BREAK, HE NEEDS A JOB, HE NEEDS A WHOLESOME COMMUNITY, HE NEEDS SAFE STREETS. A POOR MAN LOVES HIS DAUGHTER, TOO, AND DOESN'T WANT HER THE VICTIM OF ASSAULT. A POOR MAN WANTS HIS HOME SAFE, TOO. HE DOESN'T WANT TO BE THE VICTIM OF ASSAULT AND BATTERY AND OF THEFT AND ROBBERY. ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES OF THE MODERN CITIES IS THAT THE POOREST POLICE PROTECTION IS GIVEN IN THE POOREST AREAS. THE POOREST AREAS GET THE LEAST GARBAGE COLLECTED. THEY GET THE LEAST OF EVERYTHING. WHEN A MAN IS TALKING ABOUT WHAT YOU ARE GOING TO DO FOR CITIES, YOU TALK ABOUT THE TOTAL PICTURE. YOU OUGHT TO HAVE THE BEST GARBAGE COLLECTION IN THE POOR AREAS; THE BEST SCHOOLS IN THE POOR AREAS; THE BEST HEALTH CENTERS IN THE POOR AREAS; THE BEST LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE POOR AREAS; THE BEST JOB TRAINING IN THE POOR AREAS; AND A MASSIVE PROGRAM OF BUILDING HOUSING THAT PEOPLE CAN OWN AND RENT THAT'S WHOLESOME AND DECENT WITH RECREATIONAL AREAS AND OPEN SPACES. JUSTICE! I OUTLINED A PROGRAM OF CIVIL ORDER AND CIVIL JUSTICE, ONE AND INSEPARABLE. I KNOW NO WAY TO BUILD AN AMERICA. AFTER ALL, THAT'S WHAT WE TALKED ABOUT - ONE NATION, UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. YOU CAN'T HAVE LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL IN VIOLENCE AND CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS AND LOOTING AND BURNING. YOU HAVE IT WHEN YOU APPLY THE FIRST ESSENTIAL OF MODERN GOVERNMENT, ORDER.

COLE: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, AS YOU HAVE POINTED OUT MANY, MANY TIMES ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, YOU WERE KIND OF AN ORIGINAL CRUSADER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS BACK IN THE DAYS WHEN THAT WAS NOT QUITE AS POPULAR AS IT IS

TODAY. BACK IN 1948, YOU PRACTICALLY SINGLE-HANDEDLY TORE APART THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION ON THAT ISSUE, AND THAT, OF COURSE, RESULTED IN THE 'DIXIE-CRAT' REBELLION OF THAT YEAR. WHAT HAS HAPPENED FROM 1948 TO 1968 TO MAKE YOU THE 'BETE NOIR', SO TO SPEAK, OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO COMMUNITY AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND TO MAKE PEOPLE LIKE THE LATE SENATOR KENNEDY, AND NOW THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT SENATOR MCCARTHY IS INHERITING SOME OF THAT MANTLE. WHY ARE YOU NOT THE CHAMPION THAT YOU ONCE WERE?

HUMPHREY: I AM, INDEED, I AM. I'VE HAD 20 YEARS OF FAITHFUL SERVICE IN THIS AREA, AND MANY OF THE THINGS WE FOUGHT FOR WHEN IT WAS A CRUSADE ARE NOW A REALITY.

COLE: YES, SIR, BUT WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, BUT HOW IT HAS BEEN RECEIVED. A FEW WEEKS AGO AT RESURRECTION CITY, YOU WERE ACTUALLY BOOED.

HUMPHREY: BY A HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD BOO ANYBODY. IT'S QUITE A COMPLIMENT TO BE BOOED BY SOME PEOPLE. BUT, WHAT A JOY IT IS TO WALK DOWN THE STREETS OF OUR GREAT CITIES AND SEE PEOPLE COME UP TO YOU BY THE HUNDREDS, EXPRESSING THEIR THANKS, SHOWING THEIR FRIENDSHIP, AND BEING GOOD NEIGHBORS.

CLOSE.





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