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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, JULY 7, 1968

GUEST:

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,

Vice President of the United States

INTERVIEWED BY:

Frank Reynolds - ABC News Correspondent

Sam Donaldson - ABC Washington Correspondent

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MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Vice President, Senator McCarthy has just, as I understand it, declined another opportunity to say that he would support you after the Convention, unless you change your position on Vietnam.

Are you prepared to say, as you have said so many times in the past that you will support him?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, I am prepared to do so again. I believe that this two-party system of ours has served our country very well. We don't always find men leading our party with whom we have total agreement. There were a number of people, for example, that supported Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 that did not find themselves in full agreement with this very great American, but they

1 supported him. I am sure that there a number that did
2 not find themselves in full agreement with John Kennedy.
3 For example, I contested John Kennedy in the primaries
4 of 1960. Yet I supported him very vigorously in the election
5 of 1960, against Richard Nixon. You see there are choices,
6 and I happen to believe that the choice this coming year
7 will be between a Democratic nominee and Mr. Nixon,
8 and I believe that Democratic nominee can be and will be
9 myself, but if it is not, if it is Mr. McCarthy, if I have
10 the choice between Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Nixon, there isn't
11 any doubt that I will support Mr. McCarthy.

12 MR. REYNOLDS: Even in the event he does not change his
13 policy on Vietnam?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is my view that whoever
15 becomes President of the United States will have a much more
16 mature and responsible attitude about the problems in
17 Vietnam, once you have to come to grips with
18 the realities and you are no longer just talking about
19 it and observing it. I have watched the leader of this
20 country, the President, face this horrendous problem of
21 Vietnam. I have watched the agony of it. I have watched
22 the seriousness of the decision-making process, and I have
23 the feeling that whoever is President of the United States
24 will try to find an honorable peace and will try to do it in
25 a manner that is worthy of the great sacrifices that this

country has made.

MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Vice President, Senator McCarthy, of course, has made Vietnam a major issue against you and he said recently of Hubert Humphrey, the candidate: "Where does he stand on Vietnam? He favors negotiations and so do we all." And quoting Mr. McCarthy further "But how does he feel about escalation? Is he against it?"

Are you against it?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think it is quite obvious that the major act of deescalation that has been taken by anybody in this struggle has been taken by the Administration, namely, the reduction of the bombing below the 20th parallel. That is a major act of deescalation. The acts of escalation have come from the enemy. The attack upon Saigon by promiscuous rocketing. The constant increase in infiltration from the North. I want to see this struggle deescalated. I have called for a cease-fire on the part of all parties in this struggle. I have urged the intrusion or the action of the United Nations to try to provide some kind of peacekeeping machinery that could prevent any violation of any truce or any cease fire action.

I want a political settlement in this struggle. This has been my position and it has been the position of this government, a political settlement. Not to settle this struggle on the battlefield, but to settle it at the conference

table, but not to settle it at the expense of the lives of millions of the people of South Vietnam. To settle it in an honorable way to produce a genuine peace. I think we can get it.

MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Vice President, is it fair to say, then since you have just stated as you have in the past that you are for a political settlement, that President Humphrey -- should there be a President Humphrey next January -- would rule out military escalation as a way of settling the war?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is my view that the settlement of this war will come at the conference table. I believe that that process has already started in Paris. Once that that process is started, it has a tendency to feed on itself, fortunately in this instance, and I am convinced that there is a greater stability of government in South Vietnam now that the situation is improving in that part of the world, and I am also convinced that if we conduct our diplomacy throughout the world as we are now doing, for example, with the Soviet Union, on a basis of reconciliation, of reduction of tensions, that the peace that we all search for and long for can be obtained, and I will do just that. I will try to use the powers of the office of the Presidency to reduce tensions abroad, to seek every honorable way to bring this struggle to a prompt conclusion, and to deescalate the struggle as quickly as

1 possible and ultimately to find a peace.

2 MR. DONALDSON: But may I persist, Mr. Vice President:
3 Can you say that you will rule out massive military escalation
4 on our part, should the Paris peace talks fail?

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is my view that the military
6 action in this war is primarily in the South, that the
7 bombing as a part of this war is related to infiltration
8 and to the movement of supplies and men to the South. I
9 would rule out as far as I can see the attack upon the North
10 by open ground warfare. I believe that that is the kind of
11 escalation that some people have been concerned about. I
12 believe that the policy that we have pursued of trying to bring
13 this conflict to the conference table is the right policy.
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1 MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Vice President, you call for a cease
2 fire. Is this conditioned upon a proper response from the other
3 side?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, of course. You can't have
5 a cease fire unless both sides decide to cease fire.

6 MR. REYNOLDS: Then is your call for a cease fire, does
7 that really have any meaning?

8 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, I think it does because it
9 comes from the Vice President of the United States and not
10 just from a citizen even though any citizen can call for it.
11 It comes from one who is a member of the National Security
12 Council. It comes from one of the several advisors to the
13 President. It represents my personal view, as well as an of-
14 ficial view of one of the ways to bring about a better environ-
15 ment for the peace talks in Paris.

16 MR. REYNOLDS: Well, could you define the reciprocity, sir,
17 how would that come about? What would encourage you to believe
18 that they had made a sort of reciprocal move that would entitle
19 the President now to order a cease fire?

20 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, a cease fire -- possibly
21 I haven't made my position clear, Mr. Reynolds, but a cease
22 fire means that both sides stop the firing. Both sides stop
23 the killing.

24 Now, this has been called for by the Secretary General of
25 the United Nations, U Thant. It has been endorsed by the

Government of the United States. I have brought it back into the forefront once again because I believe now that a cease fire has more relevancy to the possibilities of a just and a genuine peace than ever before simply because, for the first time, the representatives of North Vietnam are now in Paris prepared to negotiate, and they are negotiating even though the process is tedious and slow. The fact of the matter is that they are there and this is the most singular spectacular breakthrough in the struggle in Vietnam since its beginning.

MR. REYNOLDS: You say, sir, of course, you favor a political settlement and you have said that for many years. What is your view now about the ultimate political settlement of the war? Must it involve the acceptance on our part of a coalition government in South Vietnam that would include members of the NLF?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Reynolds, I really believe that for a candidate for public office at this stage to start to spell out what would be the ingredients of an acceptable political settlement would be a great disservice to the men who are conducting our negotiations in Paris. I do not seek to avoid that question. If I have the responsibility as President of the United States I would, of course, be fashioning that sort of policy for our negotiators in Paris. But we have two of the most able men that this country has ever produced in the

1 field of diplomacy: Ambassador Averill Harriman and Cyrus
2 Vance, that are there in Paris today; men of experience and
3 wisdom who have a broad latitude of operation in terms of seek-
4 ing a settlement. For the Vice President of the United States,
5 with my office that I hold, as well as being a candidate, to
6 particularize or detail what would be the acceptable ingredients
7 or facets of a political settlement I think would be a great
8 disservice to the men who are conducting the negotiations and
9 might very well spell the end of the talks. So I have had to
10 make some sacrifice, may I say, in terms of some of the things
11 that I might want to say.

12 I do not believe that as Vice President, and even as a
13 candidate for the office of President on the Democratic ticket,
14 that I ought to say anything or do anything that will either
15 impair or injure the possibilities of a successful negotiation
16 in Paris.

17 Now, if that costs me some votes, if it means that some
18 people don't like it, if they say that I am not coming clean
19 with the American people, whatever they may say, that is a
20 modest sacrifice to make compared to what others have had to
21 do.

22 (Announcements)

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24 MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Vice President, following up on what
25 you just said about your belief that as Vice President to

1 discuss the peace talks, or terms for a settlement might be
2 irresponsible how, however, are you as a candidate, to enunciate
3 positions? For instance, Senator McCarthy called on you a week
4 ago to free yourself and to ask the President to free you from
5 any restraints as Vice President so you could discuss these
6 issues. How are you ever to do it?

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have no problem discussing the
8 issues. My understanding of the issue of Vietnam has been
9 made very clear to the American people. I think we are there
10 for a purpose, for the purpose of the protection of a free and
11 independent people in South Vietnam to whom we have commitments
12 by treaty. The treaty, by the way, that Senator McCarthy
13 voted for, and that I voted for, and by the way, we are also
14 there under a resolution which Senator McCarthy voted for and
15 which I voted for, known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.
16 And we knew what that resolution provided.

17 We are also there to provide for the right of self-
18 determination, to afford a shield behind which the people of
19 South Vietnam could build their own institutions and government,
20 could create their own defense and to improve their defense
21 and ultimately to take over their defense. And all of this is
22 coming about. We are there also to provide a peaceful solution
23 to this struggle, and that is what we now have under way in
24 Paris.

25 I merely said that to discuss the details of what might

1 come out in an agreement, I do not believe is what the Vice
2 President of the United States ought to do.

3 I recognize that my position is different than that of a
4 Senator. I have been a Senator for 16 years. I know the free-
5 dom of action that you have. I also know sometimes that you
6 can say things for which you don't have to have accountability.
7 I am the Vice President. I have a position as a member of the
8 National Security Council. When I speak, regrettably some-
9 times, but always, whether we like it or not, it seems to
10 represent what is an official view and therefore I am not going
11 to in any way impair the activities of Ambassador Harriman
12 and Cyrus Vance, who are as interested in peace, may I say,
13 as any two people I know in this country, who are just as con-
14 cerned about bringing about an equitable settlement as any two
15 men that I know. I am not going to impair their activities.

16 You know no one has any monopoly on peace. I have spent
17 a lifetime working for peace, Mr. Donaldson. I am one of the
18 authors of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I went to Europe a
19 year and a half ago to help perfect a non-proliferation treaty
20 on nuclear weapons. I am the author of the Peace Corps. I am
21 the author of the Disarmament Agency. I fought for universal
22 and general disarmament under inspection long before some people
23 even dared speak up for it. So, when you come to the question
24 of peace, may I say there are many ways that you achieve it, and
25 I believe that we are beginning to achieve it now. With the

1 non-proliferation treaty, with the treaty that bans weapons
2 in outer space, with the consular agreement with the Soviet
3 Union, with the nuclear test ban treaty, and now with the
4 beginning of talks and negotiations on offensive and defensive
5 weapons in the Antiballistic Missile System and the Inter-
6 continental Ballistic Missile System. These are the building
7 blocks of peace and I have had a hand in all of the fashioning
8 of these building blocks and I am going to continue to speak
9 responsibly about building this edifice of peace.

10 MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Vice President, you have just
11 enunciated your record. How can you account then for the fact
12 that many people in this country view you as someone dedicated
13 to the escalation of the Vietnam War? Many people say -- and
14 you know it; you have heard it; you have seen it in the crowds
15 in front of you -- that Hubert Humphrey is a warmonger. How
16 do you account for that?

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I wish I knew. Of
18 course, it isn't true. Some people still believe the world is
19 flat. It still isn't true, and there have been people who
20 have been propagandized into believing lots of things. There
21 was a time when people in this country believed in America
22 first; that we had no responsibility in the world at all. I
23 lived in a state that was known as an isolationist state
24 when, if you ran on the basis of international responsibility
25 and you ran for public office, you were most likely to be de-
feated.

1 But I helped break that syndrome. I helped break it and
2 today I am happy to tell you that we now believe in our role as
3 a responsible nation in the field of international cooperation.

4 I am not particularly disturbed that some people tend to
5 mouth what I consider to be fallacious propaganda. I am going
6 to continue to pursue what I believe to be an honorable and the
7 right course.

8 MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Vice President, if we could move to the
9 question of domestic political peace, you gave a speech last
10 night in which you spoke of political tactics characteristic of
11 totalitarian politics and you said, "I am disturbed by the
12 abusive tactics which have reappeared in American politics."

13 Do you believe this is really a serious problem this year
14 and do you attribute any responsibility for it to political
15 leaders who know better?

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I called upon all of us who
17 were candidates for high office to promptly denounce these kinds
18 of tactics. Regrettably, some people in this country have come
19 to the conclusion that they can exercise in what they call their
20 rights, a sense of total irresponsibility. I did not see, but I
21 was back in Minneapolis and I read, for example, where a group
22 of youths broke into a meeting that Governor Wallace was address-
23 ing. Now, I don't agree with Governor Wallace. I find
24 many of his attitudes totally repugnant to what I believe in,
25 but I believe he has a right to be heard. I believe he has the

1 right to speak and I believe that free and democratic government
2 must protect that right, and I believe that those who bust into
3 these meetings and try to disrupt them by violence and acts of
4 storm trooper tactics are not living by the democratic process.
5 And I think it is imperative that Hubert Humphrey condemn that
6 kind of action.

7 I also must say that when I see people jeer and heckle
8 and chant at public meetings where someone is attempting to
9 make a serious presentation of the issue, I do not consider this
10 to be either good manners, learned, or a part of the democratic
11 process. With every right comes a responsibility and all that
12 I am saying is, the tactics of the street, violence, disorder,
13 heckling, harassment, abuse, have no place in this country
14 today when we are trying to reduce tensions, when we are trying
15 to get our people to think together and to work together; when
16 every one of us are talking about the necessity for reconcilia-
17 tion, and for a more tolerant and understanding attitude about
18 the views of other people. So I have just called upon all of
19 us whowant to be leaders and say that we are leaders, I have
20 said: Let us stand together, whatever our views may be, and
21 denounce this kind of political activity.

22 (Announcements)

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1 MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Vice President, what do you suppose
2 the campaign is going to be all about this year? Even after
3 the Conventions, what is the number one issue that
4 is troubling the American people right now.

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe the number one issue
6 that troubles the American people today is how you can have
7 both civil order and civil justice. I believe the American
8 people are essentially a fair-minded and rather generous
9 people. I also believe they are what I would call an out-reaching
10 people. They want to do things. They are a progressive people.
11 They are a forward-looking people. They want to do what is
12 right. They want to open up the channels of
13 opportunity in this country. And yet on the other hand
14 they are confronted with what is oftentimes almost what
15 appears to be almost a revolutionary situation, or at least
16 instances of violence and growing violence and disorder.

17 I think what the American people want is a law-
18 abiding country on the one hand, that is a country in
19 which we can make our change without lawlessness. I
20 think they want to see a President, and they want other
21 officials of government who will not only speak out vigorously
22 against disorder and violence and crime in the streets, and
23 looting and burning and all that goes with what we have
24 seen, but they also want that same man to speak up, to
25 speak up for the education of our people, and particularly of

2 1 our deprived. To speak up not only for social security, but
2 for social opportunity. To speak up for a rebuilding of
3 our cities, to make them livable. To speak up to see that
4 every child in this country that needs food and has
5 an inadequate diet will get that good diet
6 and have that adequate food, particularly in a country
7 that has unlimited capacity to produce it.

8 I think in other words they want leadership in
9 this country today that on the one hand understands
10 that you cannot have a better America if it is to be confronted
11 with violence and disorder, but on the other hand you can
12 have a better America if you can preserve a modicum of
13 order and move the country ahead in the pattern of change.

14 They know this is a different world, the American people
15 do. They know that the standards of yesterday or the policies
16 of yesterday are not adequate. They want a man and a
17 President who can see ahead for a decade or a generation, with
18 new solutions for new problems.

19 MR. REYNOLDS: But basically then it is a question of
20 the people being afraid this year, afraid of crime in the
21 streets, of violence and lawlessness. That is the number one
22 issue, you say?

23 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think there are two kinds of
24 politics, Mr. Reynolds. There is the politics of fear and
25 despair which I do not indulge in, and then there is the

3 1 politics of hope and inspiration. That is more my kind.
2 I believe you have to point the way. People know that
3 there is trouble in America. There are great troubles in this
4 nation, racial troubles, urban problems, problems with our
5 young people, tremendous demands upon the educational
6 structure. There is a society in ferment, a change that is
7 taking place that is almost beyond human grasp. They know
8 that. But they also know that we have been able to do great
9 things in our life as a people and as a nation and
10 I believe that the man who will be elected President of
11 the United States ought to be one, and I think he will be one,
12 who can point to the basic goodness of the American
13 people, to the desire to do great things. In fact, to
14 even challenge him to do what some people say is impossible,
15 and he has to be one who understands with Lincoln that this is
16 the last best hope of earth, and you have to ask the people
17 to come forward and do great things. As one philosopher,
18 minister, once said: "In the worst of times, we must do the
19 best of things."

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1 MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Vice President, if I may ask a couple
2 of quick political questions, because our time is about over,
3 as you know, the New York State Democratic Chairman has called
4 for a reconvening of the State Committee to try to come up with
5 a new slate of at-large delegates. The slate that had been
6 appointed included only 15 and a half votes out of 65 for
7 Senator McCarthy, although he won just over half of the elected
8 delegates. Do you think the new slate should be appointed and
9 that it should include more delegates for Senator McCarthy?

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that the New York situa-
11 tion calls for a consideration not only of the proper allocation
12 of delegates, but also on the basis of some of the ethnic groups.
13 For example, Mr. Bedio and Mr. Sutton have both brought up
14 the fact that in the delegates-at-large there was a conspicuous
15 absence of people who were very important in the political en-
16 vironment of New York, Puerto Rican and the Negro. I think that
17 ought to be brought in.

18 May I say that, you know, the Humphrey people were not
19 consulted about the delegates-at-large in New York. We weren't
20 very much involved in the entire apparatus. But I believe that
21 Chairman Byrnes, along with his county leaders, understands the
22 importance of fair play and let me make it crystal clear. I
23 believe in fair play; that has been the politics of my life.

24 MR. DONALDSON: Do you think your people
25 have been fair to Senator McCarthy?

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, very fair. May I say that
2 when the opposition has had a majority, they have locked up the
3 votes. When they haven't, they have cried "foul." But I want
4 to see an open convention. I want to see fair play all the way
5 down the line.

6 MR. DONALDSON: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President,
7 for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

8 (Next week: Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York.)
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July 7, 1968

Issues & Answers TRANSCRIPT

Our guest on Issues and Answers, the Vice President of the United States, the Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, will be interviewed by ABC Washington correspondent, Sam Donaldson, and ABC news commentator, Frank Reynolds.

Q. Mr. Vice President, Senator McCarthy has just, as I understand it, declined another opportunity to say that he would support you after the convention, unless you changed your position on Viet Nam. Are you prepared to say, as you have said so many times in the past, that you will support him?

A. Yes, I am prepared to do so, again. I believe that this two-party system of ours has served our country very well. We don't always find men leading our party with whom we have total agreement. There were a number of people, for example, that supported Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 that did not find themselves in full agreement with this great American, but they supported him. I'm sure that there were a number who did not find themselves in full agreement with John Kennedy. For example, I contested John Kennedy in the primaries of 1960. Yet, I supported him very vigorously in the election of 1960 against Richard Nixon.

You see, there are choices and I happen to believe that the choice this coming year will be between a Democratic nominee and Mr. Nixon. And I believe that Democratic

nominee can be and will by myself. But if it is not, if it is Mr. McCarthy--if I have the choice between Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Nixon--there isn't any doubt that I'll support Mr. McCarthy.

Q. Even in the event he does not change his policy on Viet Nam?

A. It is my view that whoever becomes President of the United States will have a much more mature and responsible attitude about the problems of Viet Nam. Once you have to come to grips with the realities; you will no longer be just talking about it and observing it. I've watched the leader of this country, the President, face this horrendous problem of Viet Nam. I've watched the agony of it. I've watched the seriousness of the decision-making process. And I have a feeling that whoever is President of the United States will try to find an honorable peace and will try to do it in the manner that is worthy of the great sacrifices that this country has made.

Q. Mr. Vice President, Senator McCarthy, of course, has made Viet Nam a major issue against you. And he said recently, of Hubert Humphrey the candidate, "Where does he stand on Viet Nam? He favors negotiations and so do we all." And quoting Mr. McCarthy further, "How does he feel about escalation? Is he against it?" Are you against it?

A. Well, I think it is quite obvious that the major act of deescalation that has been taken by anybody

in this struggle has been taken by the Administration--mainly, the reduction of the bombing below the 20th parallel. That was a major act of deescalation. The acts of escalation have come from the enemy--the attack upon Saigon by promiscuous rocketing; the constant increase in infiltration from the North. I want to see this struggle deescalated.

I have called for a cease-fire on the part of all parties in the struggle. I have urged the intrusion or the action of the United Nations to try to provide some kind of peace-keeping machinery that could prevent any violation of any truce or cease-fire action. I want a political settlement in this struggle. This has been my position and it has been the position of this Government. A political settlement--not to settle this struggle on the battlefield, but to settle it at the conference table. But not to settle it at the expense of the lives of millions of the people of South Viet Nam. To settle it in an honorable way, to produce a genuine peace. I think we can get it.

Q. Mr. Vice President, is it fair to say, then--since you have just stated, as you have in the past--that you are for a political settlement, that President Humphrey, should there be President Humphrey next January, would rule out military escalation as a way of settling the war?

A. It is my view that the settlement of this war will come at the conference table. I believe that this process has already started in Paris. Once that process has started, it has a tendency to feed on itself--

fortunately in this instance. And I am convinced that there is a greater stability of government in South Viet Nam, now that the situation is improving in that part of the world. And I'm also convinced that if we conduct our diplomacy throughout the world--as we are now doing, for example, with the Soviet Union--on a basis of reconciliation, of a reduction of tensions, that the peace that we all search for and long for can be obtained. And I will do just that. I will try to use the powers of the Office of the Presidency to reduce tensions abroad, to seek every honorable way to bring this struggle to a prompt conclusion, and to deescalate the struggle as quickly as possible and ultimately to find a peace.

Q. But may I persist... ... military escalation on our part should the Paris talks fail?

A. It's my view that the military action in this war is primarily in the South, that the bombing as a part of this war is related to infiltration and to the movement of supplies and men to the South. I would rule out, as far as I can see, the attack upon the North by open ground warfare. I believe that that's the kind of escalation that some people have been concerned about. I believe that the policy that we've pursued in trying to bring this conflict to the conference table is the right policy.

Q. Mr. Vice President, your call for a cease-fire: is this conditioned upon the proper response from the other side?

A. Well, of course. You can't have a cease-fire unless both sides decide to cease fire.

Q. We.., then, is you call for a cease-fire -- does that really have any meaning?

A. Yes, I think it does, because it comes from the Vice President of the United States, not just from a citizen, even though any citizen can call for it. The call comes from one who is a member of the National Security Council. It comes from one of the several advisors to the President. It represents my personal view, as well as an official view, of one of the ways to bring about a better environment for the peace talks in Paris.

Q. Well, could you define the reciprocity, sir? How would that come about? What would encourage you to believe that they had made a reciprocal move that would entitle the President now to order a cease-fire?

A. Well, a cease-fire--possibly I haven't made my position clear, Mr. Reynolds--a cease-fire means that both sides stop the firing, both sides stop the kicking. Now, this has been called for by the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant. It has been endorsed by the Government of the United States, I have brought it back to the forefront once again because I believe now that a cease-fire has more relevancy to the possibilities of a just and genuine peace than ever before, simply because, for the first time, representatives of North

Viet Nam are now in Paris, prepared to negotiate, and they are negotiating. Even though the process is tremendously slow, the fact of the matter is that they are there and this is the most spectacular breakthrough in the struggle in Viet Nam since its beginning.

Q. You say, sir, that you, of course, are in favor of a political settlement, and you've said that for many months, many years. What is your view about the ultimate political settlement of the war? Must it involve the acceptance on our part of a coalition government in South Viet Nam? Would it include members of the NLF?

A. Mr. Reynolds, I really believe that for a candidate for public office at this stage to start to spell out what would be the ingredients of an acceptable settlement would be a great disservice to the men who are conducting our negotiations in Paris. I do not seek to avoid that question. If I had the responsibility as President of the United States, I would, of course, be fashioning the most able men that this country has ever produced in the field of diplomacy--Ambassador Averill Harriman and Cyrus Vance. They are there in Paris today, men to experience and wisdom who have a broad latitude of operation in terms of seeking a settlement.

For the Vice President of the United States, with my office that I hold as well as being a candidate, to particularize or detail what would be the acceptable ingredients or facets of the political settlement, I think would be

a great disservice to the men conducting the negotiations and might very well spell the end of the talks. So, I've had to make some sacrifice ~~to~~ in terms of some of the things I might want to say.

I do not believe that as Vice President and even as ^{the} candidate for office of President on the Democratic ticket that I ought to say anything or do anything that will either impair or injure the possibilities of a

successful negotiation in Paris.

Now, if that costs me a few votes, if it means that some people don't like it, if they say that I'm not coming clean with the American people -- whatever they may say -- that is a modest sacrifice to make compared to what others have had to do.

Q. Mr. Vice President, following up on what you have just said about your belief that as Vice President to discuss the peace talks or terms for a settlement might be irresponsible, how, however, are you as a candidate to enunciate your position? For instance, Senator McCarthy called on you a week ago to free yourself, and to ask the President to free you, from any restraint as Vice President so you could discuss these issues. How are you ever to do it?

A. I have no problem discussing the issues. My understanding of the issue of Viet Nam has been made very clear to the American people. I think we're there for a purpose -- for the purpose of the protection of a free and independent people in South Viet Nam to whom we have commitment by treaty, the treaty, by the way, that Senator McCarthy voted for and that I voted for. By the way, we are also there under a Resolution which Senator McCarthy voted for and which I voted for, known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, and we knew what that resolution provided. We are also there to provide for the right of self-determination, to afford a shield behind which the peoples of South Viet Nam could build their own institutions and government, could create their own defense and to improve their defense, ultimately, to take over their defense. And all of this is coming about. We are also there to provide a peaceful solution to this struggle and that's what we now have underway in Paris.

I merely said that to discuss the details of what might come out in the agreement, I do not believe, if what the Vice President ought not to do. I recognize that my position is different than that of a Senator. I have been a Senator for 16 years. I know the freedom of action that you have. I also know that sometimes you can say things for which you don't have to have accountability. I am the Vice President. I have a position as a member of the National Security Council. When

I speak -- regrettably, sometimes, but always whether we like it or not -- it seems to represent what is an official view; and, therefore, I am not going to impair in any way the activities of Ambassador Harriman and Cyrus Vance who are as interested in peace as any two people I know in the country, who are just as concerned about bringing about an equitable settlement as any two men I know. I'm not going to impair their activities.

You know, no one has any monopoly on peace. I have spent a lifetime working for peace, Mr. Donaldson. I am one of the authors of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I went to Europe a year and a half ago to help perfect a non-proliferation treaty on nuclear weapons. I am the author of the Peace Corps. I am the author of the Disarmament Agency. I fought for universal and general disarmament under inspection long before some people even deared to speak up for it. So, when you come to the question of peace, may I say there are many ways you achieve it and I believe that we're beginning to achieve it now -- with the Non-Proliferation Treaty, with the Treaty that bans weapons in outer space, with the Consular Agreement with the Soviet Union, with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and now with the beginning of talks and negotiations on offensive and defensive weapons in the Anti-Ballistic Missile System and the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile System. These are the building blocks of peace, and I have had a hand in all of the fashioning of all these building blocks. And I am going to continue to speak responsibly about building this edifice of peace.

Q. Mr. Vice President, you've just enunciated your record. How can you account, then, for the fact that many people in this country view you as someone dedicated to the escalation of the Viet Nam war. Many people say -- and you know it, -- you've heard it, you've seen it in the crowds -- that Hubert Humphrey is a warmonger. How do you account for that?

A. Well, I wish I knew. Of course, it isn't true. Some people still believe that the world is flat. It still isn't true. And there've been people who have been propagandizing and believing lots of things. There was a time that people in this country believed in America first; that we had no responsibility in

the world at all. I lived in a state that was known as an isolationist state; when if you ran on the basis of internal responsibility and you ran for public office you were most likely to be defeated. But I helped break that syndrome. I helped break it and today I am happy to tell you that we now believe in our role as a responsible nation in the field of international cooperation. I am not particularly disturbed that some people tend to mouth what I consider to be fallacious propaganda. I am going to continue to pursue what I believe to be an honorable and forthright course.

Q. Mr. Vice President, if we could move to the question of domestic political peace. You gave a speech last night in which you spoke of political characteristics of totalitarian politics. You said "I am disturbed by the abusive tactics which have reappeared in American politics." Do you believe this is really a serious problem this year and do you attribute any responsibility for it to political leaders who know better?

A. I called upon all of us who are candidates for high office to promptly denounce these kind of tactics. Regrettably, some people in this country have come to the conclusion that they can exercise what they call their rights -- a sense of total irresponsibility. I say -- did not see, but I was back in Minneapolis and read -- for example, where a group of youths broke into a meeting that Governor Wallace was addressing. Now, I don't agree with Governor Wallace. I find many of his attitudes totally repugnant to what I believe in. But, I believe he has a right to be heard. I believe he has the right to speak and I believe that free and democratic government must protect that right. And I believe that those who burst into these meetings and try to disrupt them by violence and acts of storm trooper tactics are not living by the democratic process and I think it is imperative that Hubert Humphrey condemn that kind of action. I also must say that when I see people jeer and heckle and chant at public meetings where someone is attempting to make a serious presentation of the issues, I do not consider this to be either good manners, learned or a part of the democratic process.

With every right comes a responsibility, and all I am saying is that the tactics of the street -- violence, disorder, heckling, harrassment, abuse -- have no place in this country today when we are trying to reduce tensions, when we are trying to get our people to think together and to work together, when everyone of us is talking about the necessity for reconciliation and for a more tolerant and understanding attitude about the views of other people. So, I just call upon all of us who are leaders, who want to be leaders - and say that we are leaders. I've said let us stand together whatever our views may be and denounce this kind of political activity.

Q. Mr. Vice President, what do you suppose the campaign is going to be all about this year? At the convention -- what is the number one issue troubling the American people right now.

A. I believe the number one issue that troubles the American people today is how you can have both civil order and civil justice. I believe that the American people are essentially a fair-minded and rather generous people. I also believe that are what I would call an outreach people -- they want to do things. They are progressive people, they are a forward looking people. They want to do what is right, they want to open up the channels of opportunity in this country. And yet, on the other hand, they are confronted with what is often times, almost, appears to be a revoluntary situation -- or, at least, instances of violence, growing violence, and disorder. I think what the American people want is a law abiding country on the one hand, that is, a country in which we can make our changes without lawlessness,

I think they want to see a President and other officials of government who will not only speak out vigorously against disorder and violence and crime in the streets, and looting and burning and all that goes with what we've seen, but they also want that same man to speak up for the education of our people and particularly our deprived; to speak up not only for social security but for social opportunity, to speak up for a rebuilding of our cities to make them livable, to speak up to see that every child in this country that needs food and has an inadequate diet will

get that good diet and have that adequate food, particularly in a country that has unlimited capacity to produce it.

I think, in other words, they want leadership in this country today that on the one hand understands that you cannot have a better America if it's to be confronted with violence and disorder, but, on the other hand, you can have a better America, if you can preserve a modicum of order and move the country ahead in the form, the pattern of change. They know that this is a different world, the Americans do. They know that the standards of yesterday or the policies are not adequate. They want a man in the presidency that can see ahead for a decade or a generation with new solutions for new problems.

Q. Basically, then, it's a question of people being afraid this year; afraid of crime in the streets, violence, and lawlessness, etc. That's the number one issue, is it?

A. I think there are two kinds of politics, Mr. Reynolds. There is the politics of fear and despair, which I do not indulge in. And there is the politics of hope and inspiration. That's more my kind. I believe you have to point the way. People know there is trouble in America. There are great troubles in this nation -- racial trouble, urban problems, problems with our young people, tremendous demands upon our educational structure. There is a society ferment, a change that has taken place almost beyond human grasp.

They know that. But they also know that we have been able to do great things in our life as a people and as a nation. And I believe that the man that will be elected President of the United States ought to be one -- and I think he will be one -- who can point to the basic goodness of the American people, to the desire to do great things; in fact, to even challenge them to do what some people say is impossible. And, he has to be one who understands the problems, that this is the last, great hope. And you have to ask the people to come forward and do great things. As one minister and philosopher once said, "In the worst of times, we must do the best of things."

Q. Mr. Vice President, if I may ask you a couple of quick political questions, because our time is about over. As you know, the New York State Democratic Chairman has called for a reconvening of the State Committee to try to come up with a new slate of at-large delegates. The slate that had been appointed included only $15\frac{1}{2}$ votes out of 65 for Senator McCarthy, although he won just over half of the elected delegates. Do you think a new slate should be appointed and that it should include more delegates for Senator McCarthy?

A. I think that the New York situation calls for a consideration not only of the proper allocation of delegates, but also on the basis of some of the ethnic groups. For example, Mr. Badillo and Mr. Sutton had both brought up the fact that in the delegates at-large there was a conspicuous absence of people who are very important in the environment of New York -- the Puerto Rican and the Negro. I think that ought to be brought in. May I say that -- you know, the Humphrey people were not consulted about the delegates at-large in New York. We weren't very much involved in the entire apparatus. But I believe that Chairman Burns, along with his county leaders, understands the importance of fair play. Let me make it crystal clear. I believe in fair play. That's been the politics of my life.

Q. Do you believe that they have been fair to Senator McCarthy.

A. Yes. Oh, very fair. May I say that when the opposition has had a majority, they locked up the votes. When they haven't, they cry foul. But I want to see an open convention. I want to see fair play all the way down the line.

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