

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
MEETS WITH THE "TASK FORCE"
ON DOMESTIC, URBAN AND POVERTY PROBLEMS
AND MEMBERS OF THE NEWS MEDIA
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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ROBERT NATHAN: My name is Robert Nathan, and I am under the direction of the Vice-President setting up "Task Forces" in the preparation of position papers by mobilizing talents in academic, labor, business, and financial groups throughout the United States. This morning here in Los Angeles we had the privilege of meeting for an hour and a half with the Vice-President in a completely off-the-record discussion, in which there was very frank give-and-take between members of a number of task forces, which have been organized, and a few individuals who are in the process of organizing other task forces, as well as some of the Professors for Humphrey who are assembled here today.

I would like to emphasize that in order to assure the frankest and fullest transmission of views in both directions, it was clearly announced in advance that this would be an off-the-record session, both as to the specific topics discussed, and the comments made, and the people at the meeting.

I might just say one word about the latter point, these task forces do include individuals who are not formerly political supporters, and there are also individuals who are not identifiable because of their official or organizational relationships.

1 It was an excellent and very helpful meeting, and
2 I think the Vice-President enjoyed the participation with
3 the members, and I know they found it very stimulating and
4 exciting.

5 Let me just say one word about our services and
6 worth on this task force position paper area.

7 When we began about six weeks ago to organize,
8 to serve on these task forces, there was some indication
9 that we would have some difficulty in getting the quality
10 of people we wanted, and those of you who have seen the
11 press releases, and those who are identifiable, and I think
12 if you will evaluate those lists you will find that we have
13 some of the finest brains and some of the best minds in
14 America serving in an advisory capacity to the Vice-
15 President in his campaign.

16 We asked the individuals to be forthright, forward-
17 looking, and frank to help in terms of material for
18 speeches, for the platform, and when the Vice-President is
19 nominated, for the speeches between the convention and
20 election, and when he is elected, to be helpful in the
21 program for the future of America.

22 These task forces are divided into three
23 categories: Foreign Policy, Economic Policy, and Domestic
24 Non-Economic Policy, which fall into some 30 categories,
25 with membership ranging from six or eight to a dozen
26 individuals.

1 The position papers are beginning to come in,
2 and they are excellent. I am confident that as we transmit to
3 you, Mr. Vice-President, these views, these suggestions,
4 these proposals for your consideration, that you will find
5 that the best talent in this country is anxious and willing
6 to help and advise, and have done a remarkable job in
7 this respect, Mr. Vice-President.

8 If there is any question on the task force work,
9 I would be happy to answer them briefly; but I know that
10 you are anxious to hear from the Professors for Humphrey
11 organization, and from the Vice-President.

12 I would like to introduce at this stage, the
13 three co-chairmen of Professors for Humphrey in the United
14 States.

15 The first view of professors, Samuel Huntington
16 of Harvard University.

17 (Applause)

18 PROFESSOR HUNTINGTON: Thank you, Bob. We have been
19 doing our best in the past few weeks to try to keep this
20 organization under cover, but when we went over the 1,000
21 mark, we decided we had better surface it before you people
22 surface it for us.

23 I am sure that the first thousand members is the
24 very beginning of a snowballing drive on the campuses, and
25 in the schools, which will eventually produce a tremendous
26 outpouring of academic support for the Vice-President.

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I think the reasons for that support are quite obvious.

Many of the most serious problems which confront our society today are discrimination, jobs, draft, generation gap which have a special impact on the school and the campus.

As a result, quite obviously, the American academic community is divided and in trouble today. This is the year in which the academics have found it easy to protest, albeit evil. It is easy to be anti-war, anti-discrimination, anti-poverty, anti-crime, anti-inflation, anti-government.

It is hard, however, that you produce concrete workable programs to deal with these problems, a program to bring about constructive change. It is for this reason that the American people, as it is true of the next President, that he be a man, not just a symbol of protest, but one who is an effective promoter of change. For two decades, this has been the rule which Hubert Humphrey has played in our national life. He has been a doer, not a complainer; a man who has chosen to fight --

The problems of the seventies will differ radically from those of the fifties and sixties. Yet, the man, who by common consent, was responsible during the past two decades, with more constructive legislation than any other single member of the American Congress, is not stopping now.

1 He is the man who is most likely to grapple
2 successfully with the problems of the future.

3 There is a time for protest, and there is a time
4 for purposeful change. This is the year of protest, but
5 the next four years must be years of change.

6 We professors and educators enthusiastically
7 endorse our former colleague, a former professor, and a
8 continuing educator, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, as the
9 one candidate in any party, who has consistently demonstrated
10 the vision, the talent, and the energy to lead our nation
11 in the paths of constructive and peaceful change, which our
12 society demands.

13 I would like now very briefly to turn the plat-
14 form over to my co-chairman, Paul Seabury, a native son.
15 Paul?

16 PAUL SEABURY: I did want to welcome you, since I
17 happen to be a Californian, Mr. Vice-President, to this
18 State, which we call it the "Fort Knox of Nobel prize
19 winners."

20 I would like to add to what my colleague, Sam
21 Huntington, has said. I suppose you are aware, Mr. Vice-
22 President, that you, too, have been a university teacher,
23 and professor, and that you are now back in the midst of
24 a group who practice one of the great professions in the
25 world, and who have great intellect, and we have come here
26 today to give some time with our regard to you and to your

1 candidacy.

2 Someone once said that the reason why we quarrel
3 among ourselves so furiously is because the stakes are so
4 small.

5 One of the reasons why we are here today, and in
6 agreement, is because we feel that the stakes are very
7 great.

8 I suppose the principal reason for this, and for
9 our support of your candidacy, is because we have always
10 known how difficult it is to develop and to sustain a
11 partnership of ideas and words. We have admired for a very
12 long time your efforts, your successful efforts to develop
13 and sustain your partnership; and I hope it will be a very
14 long one.

15 (Applause)

16 PROFESSOR HUNTINGTON: I would like to turn now to our
17 third colleague, Professor Carl Auerbach, Professor of Law
18 at the University of Minnesota.

19 PROFESSOR CARL AUERBACH: I have known the Vice-
20 President for 20 years. I know of no man who has earned at
21 this time, and who has remained more true to his basic
22 liberal convictions and impulses; and I have also been
23 privileged to work with the Vice-President on some of the
24 executive tasks that have been entrusted to him since
25 1964, particularly in the field of civil rights and
26 international marine affairs. I think it will be

1 acknowledged in time that Vice-President Humphrey has given
2 new stature and executiveness to the office of Vice-
3 President, which will have stark significance. Like the
4 thousand most respected leaders in Washington, D.C., which
5 James Reston has written, it is my conservative opinion
6 that the overwhelming majority of the university people in
7 the country will agree that Hubert Humphrey will make the
8 best President of the United States in 1968.

9 Paul Seabury and Sam Huntington have given me
10 the honor, because I am from Minnesota, of allowing me to
11 introduce the Vice-President. Without further adieu,
12 therefore, may I present to you the Vice-President of the
13 United States.

14 (Applause)

15 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Carl Auerbach,
16 for your words of friendship and your introduction. I wish
17 to very briefly express my appreciation and profound thanks
18 to Dr. Huntington and Dr. Seabury, Sam Huntington and Paul
19 Seabury, for their co-chairmanship, and Carl Auerbach, of
20 the professors that today have endorsed my candidacy, and
21 are the three co-chairmen of the Committee of Professors
22 for Humphrey.

23 I am sure you know that it means a great deal to
24 me. As I am a refugee from the classroom, I say in jest, and
25 I hope not in truth, in case things don't work out, I trust
26 you have a place in the department for me.

1 Now, we had a very productive meeting this
2 morning. As was indicated, many of our scholars gathered
3 here to discuss a wide range of subjects. We are having a
4 series of these meetings, as I travel across the country,
5 and some of them in Washington, some of them elsewhere,
6 where I can talk with members of our task forces, as well
7 as those who do not serve on the task forces, to get their
8 views, and to share my views with them. That is what we did
9 today.

10 Now, if any of the members of the media request,
11 the press, wish to ask any of these professors a question,
12 I wish you would do it now. I know that you will want to
13 take at me, and I am ready for it, and even a little bit
14 anxious for it. But if you would like to direct your
15 attention for a few moments to some of the persons that are
16 here, the three co-chairmen, or any of the others that are
17 with us, and I would be more than happy to endeavor to
18 answer any questions.

19 Mr. Agronsky?

20 MARTIN AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice-President, who is the man
21 in charge of the position papers on foreign policy at the
22 present time?

23 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We have several different
24 groups on foreign policy, Mr. Agronsky, on the arms control
25 area, on the Far East, Middle East, Latin America.

26 MARTIN AGRONSKY: Who is the one in charge of Vietnam?

1 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Professor Sam Huntington
2 and I have been working on that; and we have a task force
3 on that particular area, all of Southeast Asia, not just
4 Vietnam.

5 MARTIN AGRONSKY: May I address him?

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, surely.

7 MARTIN AGRONSKY: Mr. Huntington, the position paper
8 that you have composed with the Vice-President, does it
9 recommend in any way, any major shift from the Vice-
10 President's position on Vietnam?

11 PROFESSOR HUNTINGTON: I can't comment on the contents
12 of any particular position paper. Let me say that there
13 isn't just one position. We have got a task force working
14 on Southeast Asia and Vietnam, and there are a multiplicity
15 of position papers and suggestions that have come in and
16 have been considered, and which cover almost the entire
17 world.

18 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Can I follow that up,
19 Mr. Vice-President, to either you or to Professor
20 Huntington?

21 Among the thousand-odd professors that constitute
22 this group, is there a striking unanimity of opinion on
23 the Vietnamese policy, or is it just the opposite?

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I must confess that we
25 did not take a poll on that.

26 I thought that our discussion this morning, what

1 I had to say, and what others had to say on some of the
2 perspectives, I indicated that I thought possibly that the
3 nation was concerned with the subject matter over and beyond
4 what we call Vietnam. This is a great big world. The
5 peace of this world depends a great deal on what happens
6 amongst the major powers, particularly the United States
7 and the Soviet Union.

8 In the nuclear age we live close to the precipice
9 of total destruction, so it would seem to me that our
10 concern should be much broader than some tactical maneuver
11 in South Vietnam, even though that area of the world is
12 important.

13 Vietnam to me is like an infected thumb on the
14 palm of Asia, and the palm of Asia is a part of the world
15 body politic, and I would suggest that we give consideration
16 to the totality of this world, and also top priority con-
17 sideration to the possibility of total destruction that
18 comes from the nuclear confrontation, and therefore the
19 emphasis, my emphasis, in the field of peace, is on how
20 we develop ways and means to de-escalate the arms race,
21 how we can proceed with negotiations, both on offensive
22 and defensive weapons, so as to reduce the possibility of
23 their acceleration and their use; and how we can engage
24 in the effective disarmament, so that we can reduce
25 military budgets, and thereby be able to have resources for
26 many of the developmental needs of the countries of the

1 world, including our own.

2 Above all, how can the United States and the
3 Soviet Union arrive at a working relationship that will
4 minimize the possibilities of a nuclear holocaust or
5 confrontation.

6 Now, it is about time that we put the problems of
7 national security and world peace in proper perspective.
8 I know that it has become a matter of interest and concern
9 and of current events, to constantly concentrate our atten-
10 tion on Vietnam. But may I say in all candor, that the
11 major problem of the world today is over and beyond that.
12 It is the problem of whether or not we can keep within
13 control and within limits the weapons of mass destruction,
14 and reduce the possibilities of their ever being used;
15 and hopefully to provide the kind of a world in which law,
16 principles of international law and institutions, a world
17 law will prevail. Now, that is where I am going to direct
18 my attention. I believe the American people are entitled
19 to have a President that has some conception of the world
20 in which we live, and the dangers of that world, and the
21 President that understands the meaning of the nuclear age
22 and space age, and believe me, we have given very little
23 attention to it in the debate so far in this campaign.
24 I intend to give much more to it.

25 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, last
26 night your staff released the text of a letter that you had

1 written to Dr. Kerr, which dealt only with the smaller
2 question of Vietnam. I would ask that if your reply to
3 Dr. Kerr would indicate any change in any past policies
4 that you have advocated, and does it represent any departure
5 from what the Administration is presently following?

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The proposal of Dr. Kerr, and
7 the National Committee for a Political Settlement in
8 Vietnam, has eight items in it, relayed to me in the text
9 of an ad, with a query to the Presidential candidate.
10 I read over those proposals, and I must say that in my
11 discussions of my position on Vietnam, that I found nothing
12 in those eight items, with the one caveat that I added on
13 Item No. 1 that was different from what I had been suggest-
14 ing, or what I had supported. You have the copy of my
15 communication to Dr. Kerr. I said, "I whole-heartedly
16 endorse all eight points of your program, with one measure
17 of elaboration. Under Item 1, I believe the present
18 limited bombing of military targets in the North should be
19 terminated as reciprocity is obtained from Vietnam."

20 Now, I did not define that reciprocity. I do not
21 believe it is necessary to do so at this time.

22 The statement which we are working on, and which
23 Dr. Huntington addressed himself, and by the way, we have a
24 pretty good task force, and there are several points of
25 view within the task force. The goals of the task force
26 is not to have a monolith, but to have a diversity of

1 opinion to advise the principal, namely in this instance,
2 myself.

3 The task force comes in as an advisory group.
4 Since I know that you are all concerned that there have been
5 too many "yes" men in Government, I know you wouldn't want
6 me to have a "yes" men task force. You wouldn't want me to
7 have an unanimity of view in that task force. I know you
8 would like me to have a diversity of opinion, and I have
9 had that.

10 Now, we, in our task force, have also related
11 our interest to after-Vietnam, that is, post-Vietnam.
12 What are some of the lessons that we hopefully learned
13 of our involvement in Vietnam? What shall be some of the
14 standards of America involvement in Asia, and in Southeast
15 Asia, and elsewhere in the world, as a result of our
16 experiences in Vietnam?

17 It is around this particular area that we still
18 have a good deal of discussion, because this is charting,
19 frankly, new ground, staking new paths, and taking out
20 new standards, and before we do that, as a position paper,
21 or as a statement or release on my part, I want to be
22 pretty sure of my ground. I will in time, after getting the
23 benefit of my counsel on this matter, I hope it will be
24 somewhat helpful, and I know it will represent a new
25 direction in terms of American involvement, particularly
26 in Southeast Asia, and as we progress in terms of our

1 involvement in Asia itself.

2 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, if
3 you were a South Vietnamese, and it was proposed to you
4 these eight points, you might go to jail if you took part
5 in these negotiations. What is your comment on that?

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am not a South Vietnamese.
7 I am an American. I want to speak up for my country, and
8 speak up for what I believe is a reasonable responsible
9 position of the American community and as a candidate for the
10 high office of Presidency. I believe there is not a single
11 thing in this proposal of Dr. Kerr's, except the one
12 elaboration that I have added, as my own personal observa-
13 tion, that would not be very helpful. For example, I have
14 said long ago that I believe in free elections, in the
15 freedom of choice of the South Vietnamese. I do not believe
16 in an imposed coalition government, and I do feel that the
17 South Vietnamese can elect whomever they wish and as Item 3
18 says here, "Free elections so that the Government of
19 South Vietnam can be chosen democratically by the people,
20 and not imposed by Washington or Hanoi."

21 I feel that this is a very, very important state-
22 ment.

23 "-- with an agreement by all parties, including
24 the United States and North Vietnam, to accept the results
25 of the elections."

26 That is self-determination.

1 Then the fourth one, which comes down to
2 elaborating the earlier ones, "Full freedom for all political
3 groups in South Vietnam, including neutralists, communists,
4 and anti-communists, to organize, campaign and present their
5 candidates and programs."

6 This is my position, and it is one that I have
7 elaborated on in some detail last April, before I ever
8 became a candidate for the office of President. And I think
9 that it is a very constructive proposal.

10 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: The South Vietnamese
11 Government doesn't seem to be much interested today --

12 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I can't say that. I think
13 they have broadened the base of their Government. Their
14 new Prime Minister is one who has broadened the base of
15 the Government of South Vietnam. It is my view that it is
16 in our interests, their interests, and in the interests of
17 a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, that there be a broader
18 base, and that there be full participation of all groups
19 in every election. This is what we are talking about here.
20 This is a belief on the part of Americans, as to what
21 traditions we believe would lend themselves to a peaceful
22 settlement; and I believe in a negotiated political settle-
23 ment. This is again not news. To those of you who have
24 studied my record know that I have always felt that the
25 problems of South Vietnam were not subject to an all-out
26 military solution; but were subject to a political solution,

1 and we must seek that political solution, and we are now
2 in that process.

3 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, what
4 is your feeling about the one that was runner-up for
5 premiership in South Vietnam last year, when he was sentenced
6 to five years in jail --

7 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My good friend, I do not know
8 what the charges and conditions and facts are in that
9 matter. I believe that the first thing that a man who seeks
10 to be President ought to do is to know what the facts are
11 before he starts to make his conclusions or judgments. If
12 you can present to me the evidence pro and con, then I will
13 be able to make a judgment. But if I am going to stand in
14 the position of a judge, then I would like to have the
15 evidence, and I would like to hear the defense. All that
16 I know about it is what I have read in news stories, and I
17 must say in the light of judicial processes, news stories
18 are hardly adequate evidence one way or another.

19 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, you
20 have endorsed all of the points, including Point 8, "Neither
21 unilateral withdrawal or military escalation by the United
22 States."

23 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

24 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: We have been expecting
25 another offensive from North Vietnam for some time. Would
26 you, in that event, not advocate military escalation --

1 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think the forces that we
2 have in Vietnam now are adequate to take care of any
3 offensive by the North Vietnamese, or VietCong, against the
4 Allies, and the South Vietnamese and ourselves. In my mind,
5 from what I know, I think we have adequate strength,
6 adequate forces, and I believe that if any offensive, if it
7 is launched, and I hope and pray it will not be launched,
8 but if it is launched, it will be repelled.

9 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Would military escalation
10 include search and destroy missions?

11 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: You know, I am not prepared
12 to argue the details of search and destroy, search and hold,
13 all of these catch phrases that we have. All I am saying is
14 that our position today is one of defending the area of
15 South Vietnam. I am hopeful that we will not have to
16 engage in any form of escalated military activities. I
17 have opposed, as you know, the invasion of the North.
18 I do believe that we can hold our position, and successfully
19 defeat the enemy if they engage in military activity.

20 What I would hope for is a cease fire, and I
21 believe we ought to rally world opinion about that area.

22 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, these
23 eight points that you have accepted, with one exception,
24 do they go beyond the present position of the Johnson
25 Administration, and if so, in what respect?

26 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I will have to let the

1 President and Secretary of State speak for that. I am a
2 candidate as well as the Vice-President. I have accepted
3 the points, as I have stated, with one elaboration, and
4 many of you have always wanted me to be my own man. Here I
5 am.

6 (Applause)

7 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, when
8 do you expect to find this reciprocity that you have
9 mentioned?

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I can't tell you. I believe
11 that there is always a certain amount of strength in having
12 a good deal of leeway and flexibility on a feeling of
13 matters of negotiations. That is the whole purpose of
14 negotiation -- don't get yourself into a fixed position.

15 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Yesterday, Senator
16 McGovern said to me that he didn't see that there could be
17 any unanimity in the Democratic Party, and it doesn't
18 matter, that Vietnam was solved -- and he seemed to take a
19 rather different attitude than you -- he seemed to think
20 that a resolution of the conflict rests with the United
21 States, and he believes that could be done in 60 days, if
22 the Administration decided -- and he also said that the
23 Administration sold -- at least broke faith with the American
24 people in 1964 when President Johnson escalated the war.

25 How would you respond to that?

26 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I am going to say, my

1 good friend Senator McGovern, and he is a good friend of
2 mine, and a neighbor. I have many friends that disagree
3 with me. That is one of the joys of my life. I would
4 only say this, that if we are going to spend all of our time
5 about what happened yesterday, we won't have much time for
6 tomorrow. But I do feel, very candidly, that this
7 Administration is seeking desperately to find, seeking
8 sincerely and conscientiously to find a basis for a
9 negotiated settlement.

10 I am sorry that Senator McGovern has revealed
11 that he doesn't support me. I think when he gets away from
12 Californians, and has total reflection, he will find out that
13 I am still right there.

14 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, he
15 did say that he would support you.

16 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Will you repeat that.
17 That isn't what the headline story says. That sounds like
18 very good news.

19 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: He did tell me that he
20 would support you, but he also said this, sir, that we
21 should get a strong platform before the convention, and that
22 he would want the Democratic Party to admit that Vietnam
23 was a major problem.

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, we will be able to write
25 a platform, I am sure, that will be forward-looking, and
26 will contain not only a peaceful solution to the problems of

1 Vietnam, but will search for the conditions of peace in this
2 world, and along the terms of what I said a little earlier,
3 working d'entente with the Soviet Union, building bridges
4 of reconciliation with China, trying to get the kind of a
5 world in which we can have reason set forth as a prevailing
6 standard. We must try to do that. I do know that Vietnam
7 is a very crucial issue; but I want to say there are many
8 other issues. I am not a one-issue candidate. I am
9 terribly concerned about the plight of some of our fellow
10 Americans, who today are living in depraved conditions that
11 are unworthy of human beings, who are denied jobs because
12 of prejudice, or because of lack of training. I want to see
13 this nation of ours set a standard of its own, a standard
14 for equal opportunity and to practice what we have said are
15 our beliefs and our ideals. This means cleaning up our
16 cities. This means giving people a chance to become
17 something; to be self-respecting citizens. This means
18 giving a chance for people to earn their way, and to learn,
19 and have an education, peace at home, a decent neighborhood.

20 I don't think the only issue before the American
21 people is the issue of Vietnam. It is an important issue.
22 It must be solved, and we have two good diplomats right
23 now trying to find a peaceful solution.

24 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, what
25 is your impression of the turnout last night at the
26 Voter Registration Rally at Elks Hall?

1 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I was, first of all, very
2 gratified with the turnout that we had, and the interest
3 that we had on the part of many, many members of the black
4 community. There was a good crowd there, and they were
5 enthusiastic. They wanted to conduct their program of
6 registration. They wanted to hear what my views were, even
7 on such a little matter, which is not little to them, but
8 in terms of all of the complex issues, and Head Start,
9 and my feelings about that, and whether or not Head Start
10 should be kept in OEO, or whether it should go over to
11 HEW. I stated my position very clearly, that I thought it
12 was one of the Community Action Programs that ought to be
13 still under the terms of the Office of Economic Opportunity.
14 There were several hundred, from 750 to a thousand people
15 there, that were willing and anxious to listen to a message,
16 and wanting to be of help to me, there to support me,
17 representing a vast cross-section of the black community.

18 There were anywhere from 15 to 25 that came in
19 and decided to disrupt the meeting.

20 I don't think this means that the black community
21 is not interested in people and progress. I think the black
22 community wants to be heard, I think the black community
23 wants a spokesman that wants to talk for them, and I am
24 going to come to the black community whenever I have a
25 chance. I am not going to be driven away.

26 (Applause)

1 By the way, let me make it clear, I have had more
2 booing in some places that had less reason to boo than
3 they had in the black community. I may say even on college
4 campuses. I think they would stand second to none.

5 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President,
6 in regard to the statement on South Vietnam again, did you
7 say that you will work for a platform plank for a negotiated
8 political settlement rather than a military solution?

9 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Absolutely.

10 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Is that a departure?

11 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't think it is a
12 departure. It is not a departure from my thinking, and I
13 am a candidate.

14 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: What is your opinion as
15 to the Government of the United States and Russia getting
16 together --

17 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am not going to make any
18 comment that would in any way cause any difficulty in the
19 peaceful resolution difficulties that now exist in that
20 very troubled area. I believe that as Vice-President of
21 the United States, there is great merit in these areas of
22 sensitivity, so I will just cut that one off.

23 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: What do you think about
24 the reduction of our forces in Western Europe?

25 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe there needs to be
26 a reduction of forces in Western Europe, mutually agreed

1 upon between the Western powers, the Soviet Union, and the
2 Warsaw Pact countries. I think we should take the initiative
3 and try to get that kind of reduction in forces. After
4 all, everything is relative, and we ought to have a thin-out,
5 but not unilaterally. I do not believe that that would
6 contribute to a more healthy situation in Western and
7 Eastern Europe. I have a feeling, that just as the Soviet
8 Union indicated a willingness to discuss, to negotiate,
9 offensive and defensive weapons, the ICBM's, and the anti-
10 ballistic missiles systems, that we ought to try to press
11 for negotiations in terms of a thin-out.

12 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Do you think there should
13 be closer cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe
14 even if it meant less understanding with the United States?

15 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is my view that we should
16 be an active proponent of East-West cooperation. The lines
17 that divide Europe are becoming more frail, and rightly so.
18 The so-called iron curtain has been eroded by pressures and
19 desires of people to have communication. It has been lifted,
20 and I think we should continue to seek its lifting. I
21 believe it is to the benefit of Western Europe and Eastern
22 Europe to have closer ties, to have closer economic ties,
23 to seek political reproachment, a pride and an attitude of
24 d'entente, and I don't think this is going to result in any
25 lack of interest on the part of the United States with
26 Europe, or Western Europe, or any diminution of our

1 partnership with our Western European Allies. I just don't
2 believe that is going to happen.

3 Now, in reference to the wall, may I say that this
4 is related to the whole subject of Europe being settled.
5 I don't think that you deal with an item as specific as
6 that unless you deal with it in a most broader context.

7 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Did you meet with Caesar
8 Chavez today, sir?

9 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I did, sir.

10 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Did you solicit his
11 support?

12 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I will let Mr. Chavez speak
13 for himself. I discussed with him some of the problems
14 that the migrant workers have, the agricultural workers.
15 He knows my long interest in their problems. This is not
16 new. I held the very first hearings in the United States
17 Senate as early as 1950 on the problems of the agricultural
18 migrant workers. I believe these agricultural workers
19 should be brought under the provisions of the National
20 Labor Relations Act. I believe that they should probably
21 have the right, which they now have, to form a union, and
22 that they should have the protections of that Act. They
23 should be able to bargain collectively.

24 I am told that Caesar Chavez and his people have
25 a very difficult situation with what they call the "green
26 collar system," which has reduced the effectiveness of

1 Mr. Chavez' organizational work and their boycott. I
2 believe that the Immigration Service of the Federal
3 Government needs to do a better job in terms of the wetback
4 infiltration, and the use of the green card system. I am
5 in sympathy with Caesar Chavez. I didn't really ask him
6 this morning whether or not he would support Mr. Humphrey.
7 I thought it was much more important that I support his
8 efforts.

9 (Applause)

10 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, do
11 you feel that they are going to be able in this country,
12 this year, to conduct a normal campaign, and I ask that
13 in the sense that wherever we have traveled, that there
14 are great many armed police everywhere, and many members
15 of the Secret Service, and there is a lot of tension and
16 demonstrations. What are your feelings on this?

17 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I regret that all of this
18 has to take place, and it isn't certainly at my desire
19 nor at my direction.

20 You go through a community, such as this great
21 community, and suffer from the tragedy of the assassination
22 of the late Senator Robert Kennedy, and I am sure that there
23 is no one here that wants that to happen to anyone, surely
24 never to happen again. The police are very apprehensive,
25 and very concerned, as municipal authorities are. You know
26 that the President has ordered Secret Service protection

1 for every candidate of both political parties. I regret
2 that this has to be the case, and it doesn't represent any-
3 thing basically wrong with the United States. It represents
4 something basically wrong with a very few people in the
5 United States. There may be a tendency to overdo this, but
6 I can't stand in judgment of it. The Secret Service has its
7 job to do. It is their job. It was authorized and directed
8 by the Congress of the United States, and now by the
9 President of the United States.

10 I intend to carry on a campaign that is as normal
11 as humanly possible. I put myself in these crowds, because
12 I like people, and because I want to be in contact with
13 them. I am going to do what I can. I know the risks that
14 are there. I have been living a life of risks all my life.
15 When I was Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, I was present
16 at more assassination attempts than I would like to think
17 of. In fact, I was fired upon three times. I didn't get
18 much news out of it except locally, but it happened. I
19 made an effort to clean up the city. If you want to be in
20 public life, and be safe, you are in the wrong kind of work.
21 I do think as a campaigner, you have to get out to the
22 people. I would hope that we could minimize the use of the
23 police. I put my guards, I suppose, to a little trouble
24 now and then. I go down and see the people. I don't play
25 games, but I like to see the people. But we are going to
26 conduct a campaign out in the public, and of course through

1 the media, but I will be out on street corners, in areas,
2 suburbs, inner cities, the main cross-sections of this
3 country, difficult as it will be.

4 Let's hope and pray that we can have sort of an
5 outpouring of public conscience in America, and that this
6 campaign be permitted to be conducted in a formal, orderly,
7 peaceful manner. I think when the people of America start
8 to demand that of this country that there will be a little
9 more order in the campaign.

10 (Applause)

11 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: To get back to a plank
12 in the party platform, can you see the possibility of a
13 settlement in South Vietnam without a coalition government?

14 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I can't predict that, sir.
15 I know that when you talk in regard to political settlements,
16 we talk about a situation in which neither side gets all that
17 they want. Or should I put it that both sides have to
18 make some concessions. That is what a political settlement
19 means. To spell out the specific details of that on my
20 part would not be very helpful, and I doubt if it would be
21 very accurate.

22 MARTIN AGRONSKY: If I may return once more to Vietnam.
23 Thursday night when you were speaking about the platform,
24 in Boston, you made a statement that was recorded, and I
25 thought it was significant, and I wish to comment on it,
26 that you said that since 1954, which was the time of the

1 Geneva Conference, United States had followed a policy in
2 Vietnam, and Southeast Asia, that emphasized military
3 solutions, which we thought was wrong, that we used in a
4 military sense, power which was excessive. You said we
5 should have emphasized social and economic progress.

6 The indication was that you felt since 1954 that
7 the United States had followed a policy derived from initial
8 bad judgment.

9 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I only wish, first of all,
10 that the speech would have been as well reported as you
11 have indicated now. I thought it was a pretty good speech.
12 And I didn't read a line about it.

13 MARTIN AGRONSKY: That was an answer to a question.

14 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPREY: That was the best part of the
15 speech, and I didn't see one word about it, and I was very,
16 very disappointed. Now, you can help me, so we can get it
17 on the record. There was a question about Vietnam, as
18 there always is. And, by the way, I believe it was the
19 only question from that audience about Vietnam, interestingly
20 enough. I might call that to your attention. There were
21 1500 people there, and one question about Vietnam, and there
22 was about a 35 to 40-minute question period.

23 Now, I did say, one of the lessons that I think we
24 are learning and have learned, and ought to learn, is this:
25 That the application of military assistance and economic
26 assistance, without the proper emphasis upon political

1 development, does not lend itself to stability.

2 I want to emphasize again, that one of the lessons
3 we need to learn out of all of our forms of assistance,
4 whether it includes military involvement, or just military
5 assistance, is the importance of trying to help to develop
6 political institutions that have a broad base with people.
7 And I doubt that in our policy in Vietnam since the
8 beginning that there has been adequate emphasis upon that.
9 There has been more emphasis upon it in the last two and a
10 half to three years than at any other period, when we have
11 sought to have the South Vietnamese have free elections,
12 to write a Constitution -- and let's not underplay what has
13 happened. A Constitution has been written. A Constitution
14 has been accepted. A Parliament does sit in South Vietnam.
15 It is not a rubber stamp Parliament. A Government has been
16 elected, with all of its limitations. It has had its base
17 broadened. I think we are beginning to put in practice
18 some of the lessons that we have learned, or some of the
19 inadequacies that we had before. I want to make it crystal-
20 clear, I also said in that response, that I thought the
21 commitments that we had made to permit the successor
22 aggression was a proper commitment, and I thought that no
23 one had been able to truly estimate the degree of our
24 involvement. No one could possibly have estimated that.
25 Therefore, I said that I wanted very much, that we as
26 Americans, should try to draw from this experience valuable

1 lessons for the future. One of those valuable lessons is
2 that military assistance alone and economic assistance
3 alone, does not guarantee either a free society, or a safe
4 society; that political development is absolutely funda-
5 mental. And then I went on to point out, which is a well-
6 known fact, that our military assistance, with a trained
7 Army for not the kind of a war they had to fight -- whose
8 fault that is, I don't think you can lay that to any one
9 Administration. It started in the Eisenhower Administration,
10 continued into the Kennedy Administration, and only within
11 the last year or two have we started to really train the
12 ARVIN with the equipment, within the last year, in the
13 manner in which it should be.

14 We are now getting to the point which I think
15 that the South Vietnamese may well be able to take over the
16 major burden of their self-defense. And that must be our
17 objective, so we can remove ourselves as a military force
18 in this area.

19 Thank you very much.

20 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Mr. Vice-President, you
21 have been meeting with the California delegation this
22 afternoon. Can you give us some indication of what you
23 told the members?

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: This is an invitation that
25 Mrs. Humphrey and I accepted to meet with the California
26 delegation, which we do in every State, to come and meet

1 with them on a social basis. Many of these people I do not
2 know by first name, or personally, and we would very much
3 like to meet them, as we hope to be able to serve them at a
4 later date.

5 A MEMBER OF THE NEWS MEDIA: Did you do some
6 politicking?

7 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes. There are very few
8 times when I don't discuss politics.

9 Thank you very much.

10 - - -

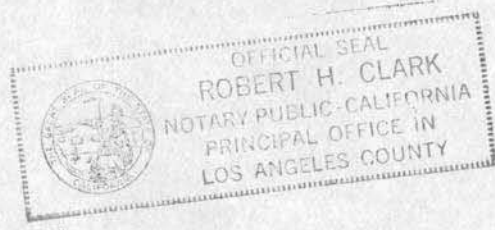
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3

4 I, Robert H. Clark, CSR and Notary Public within
5 and for the County of Los Angeles and State of California,
6 do hereby certify:

7 That the foregoing, consisting of 32 pages, is a
8 full, true and correct transcript of proceedings taken before
9 me at the time and place herein set forth, and was taken
10 down by me in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting
11 under my direction.

12 WITNESS my hand and seal this 7th day of August,
13 1968.
14

15 *Robert H. Clark*
16 Notary Public in and for the County
17 of Los Angeles, State of California
18 ROBERT H. CLARK





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