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TRANSCRIPT

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FACE THE NATION

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GUEST: HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

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1 MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice President, does the intensifi-
2 cation of enemy military operations in Vietnam rule out the
3 possibility of a bombing halt at this time?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think, Mr. Agronsky,
5 that's something that can only be determined by the negotiators
6 in Paris, along with consultation, of course, with the President,
7 and under his direction. The intensification that I see so far
8 is not what you would interpret as a major offensive.

9 ANNOUNCER: From CBS New York, in color, FACE THE
10 NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Vice
11 President Hubert Humphrey, a candidate for the Democratic
12 Presidential nomination. Vice President Humphrey will be ques-
13 tioned by CBS News Correspondent George Herman, David Broder,
14 National Political Reporter for the Washington Post, and CBS
15 News Correspondent, Martin Agronsky.

16 Today's interview is brought to you by the new Parker
17 Touche II, with the soft tip that writes loud. The Touche II,
18 mightier than the pen.

19
20 MR. AGRONSKY: In the past couple of weeks, Mr. Vice
21 President, you've repeatedly indicated your belief that we may
22 be on the verge of producing some substantial advance toward
23 peace in the Paris peace talks. Do you still believe that?

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Agronsky, the peace
25 talks must be, I think, viewed in light of our experience in other

1 conferences with the Communist forces. When you take a look
2 at the peace talks today as compared with the Korean experience
3 at Panmunjom, the experience that we've had in Laos, I think
4 we've made rather significant progress. I believe it's generally
5 well accepted now that some of the earlier stages of sheer propa-
6 ganda and delay and subterfuge -- that that is out of the way,
7 and that the conference is now approaching where -- a point
8 where there are real substantive matters under discussion, such
9 as the demilitarized zone, the rate of infiltration, the troop
10 disposition. I believe that these matters do indicate that the
11 talks are making slow, but I think steady progress. And we
12 simply have to have the perseverance and the patience to stick
13 with it.

14 MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, you've had a chance
15 now to see Senator McCarthy's proposed Vietnam plank. Is it
16 something that you can accept, or does it involve what you have
17 called repudiation of past policies and past sacrifices?

18 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I did have a chance
19 to scan through the plank as it was stated in today's press.
20 The fundamental difference between myself and Senator McCarthy
21 on this plank is on the imposition of a coalition government as
22 a precondition, so to speak, for further developments around the
23 peace table. I cannot agree with that. Senator McCarthy feels
24 that the central point of a peace conference -- of a successful
25 peace conference is that we must insist on a coalition government

1 as the beginning. Neither Senator Robert Kennedy nor myself
2 have agreed with that position. I made note in a discussion in
3 New York City on Saturday, before the Liberal Party in its
4 Executive Council meeting, the statement made by Senator Robert
5 Kennedy in his discussion with Senator McCarthy out at California
6 just prior to the primaries, and as you may recall, at that point
7 the Senator said that he did not favor the -- an imposed coali-
8 tion government. He favored the free choice of the peoples of
9 South Vietnam. Now, that has been my position, and I favor open
10 and free elections that include, in South Vietnam, all groups:
11 neutralists, the Communists, the anti-communists, all groups
12 that are willing to accept the results of an election and engage
13 in peaceful political processes. I believe that that's a proper
14 position, and that's the fundamental difference that we have.

15 MR. HERMAN: Let me return to the military side of
16 this platform plank and of the war in Vietnam, forgetting for
17 a moment -- Senator McCarthy also calls, as I understand it,
18 also calls for halting our search and destroy operations or
19 promising that we will not further widen the war either by in-
20 creasing our forces or expanding the conflict, and here I'm
21 reading from his proposed platform plank -- and halting the
22 bombing. Now, in the current state, you have just said that
23 this may not -- that we don't know yet whether this is a major
24 offensive. But in the present state of increased fighting, can
25 you agree to such a platform plank?

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that for the
2 Democratic Party in convention to try to draw up military
3 strategy and tactics is just a little bit beyond what the Ameri-
4 can people would expect of a political party, and beyond its
5 capacity or ability to do. These are matters that must be left
6 up to -- to our Commander in Chief, to the officers of our
7 Government, to our military, and to our negotiators.

8 I would say further that what we all seek, I would
9 hope -- at least what I seek, in order to speed up the peace
10 talks, is a cease-fire, including stopping the bombing.

11 Now, a cease-fire will give us an opportunity to talk
12 and not just to fight and talk as is going on at the present
13 time, but for us to try to spell out, in a -- in the heat and
14 the controversy of the Democratic convention what you call search
15 and destroy operations, which -- by the way, many people have
16 some doubt as to what that all means -- or to try to spell out
17 what a military strategy ought to be, and how it ought to be
18 applied, I really do not believe that is responsible political
19 activity.

20 MR. HERMAN: Well, Mr. Vice President, let me go back
21 to the peace strategy. If -- if you have said a cease-fire --
22 you've talked about a cease-fire, you've talked about a bombing
23 pause. You've also said that there must be some sign of respon-
24 sible restraint. Does the present increased fighting in Vietnam
25 worry you in terms of this sign of response or restraint from the

1 other side?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It concerns me. I don't be-
3 lieve that you can give yet an accurate interpretation. What I
4 think is most important is that, whatever we do, that we keep
5 in mind that we have forces there in South Vietnam. The Ameri-
6 can people are not going to stand for any kind of a -- of a
7 peace arrangement, or any kind of a tactical arrangement relat-
8 ing to the peace discussions that leaves our men in South Vietnam
9 at the mercy of the enemy. They're just not going to do that,
10 and you shouldn't expect them to do that. So whatever we do,
11 in terms of trying to move the negotiations forward, which I
12 want to have happen very much, must call for some kind of re-
13 straint and response -- reasonable response from Hanoi. Now,
14 what that restraint and reasonable response should be, I think
15 should be left in the hands of our negotiators, to give them
16 wide latitude to interpret as best they can, from the informa-
17 tion they get from the field, from the information that they're
18 able to have from intercepts of enemy -- of enemy orders or
19 enemy information -- to let those negotiators have that latitude
20 and that degree of flexibility. I don't believe the Democratic
21 Platform Committee ought to be engaged in the business of trying
22 to be Commander in Chief and general staff of our forces in South
23 Vietnam.

24 MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice President, leaving out that
25 the Democratic Platform Committee should be acting as a general

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1 staff or making that kind of military interpretation, our Secre-
2 tary of State, who is not a military man, recently said that a
3 halt in the bombing -- that -- would be conditioned on a pledge
4 of reciprocal decline in military activity by North Vietnam.
5 Now, somebody has to make that evaluation --

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is correct.

7 MR. AGRONSKY: -- has to make it.

8 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think we elect people to
9 our Government to make that evaluation, and we have negotiators
10 that are competent and able and experienced and tried and tested,
11 and they are there with more information at their command about
12 the actual situation that prevails in Vietnam than any Platform
13 Committee or any person that's seeking public office or anyone
14 that's trying to write some kind of a statement that sort of
15 covers all bases on Vietnam.

16 MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice President, one of the reasons,
17 really, I think you would concede, that Senator McCarthy became
18 a candidate for the Presidency and Senator McGovern is now a
19 candidate for the Presidency, that there is so much division
20 in the country on Vietnam, is a widespread feeling in the country
21 that the military is dragging its feet on interpreting, say,
22 halts in enemy activity in Vietnam, and generally a feeling that
23 we are not making the interpretation as quickly as we should
24 make it.

25 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The military, Mr. Agronsky,

1 is not making the interpretation. The interpretation and the
2 policy relating to the struggle is being made by civilian officers
3 of this Government, and by, as I've said, men that I consider
4 to be as responsible and as peace-like, and as "dove"-like, if
5 I may use the term, as any that I can think of: Ambassador
6 Harriman and Ambassador Vance. These are our two leading nego-
7 tiators.

8 And I want to make it crystal clear. Of course, the
9 gentlemen that you've mentioned, Senator McCarthy and Senator
10 McGovern, entered the campaign because of strong feelings about
11 the struggle in Vietnam. We respect them for that. My point
12 was that when you get into search and destroy operations, and
13 when you get into the degree of escalation or de-escalation of
14 certain military forces of the United States in South Vietnam,
15 I think you're over on details and tactics. What I think is
16 much more important for us to consider is how do we best obtain
17 a forward movement in the peace talks. And some have said an
18 immediate cessation of the bombing. I have said that we should
19 have an immediate cease-fire on both sides, including the bomb-
20 ing of North Vietnam. And I have further said that we ought to
21 look for some evidence of some restraint and some reasonable
22 response from North Vietnam. Why? Because we have hundreds and
23 thousands of American men just south of the demilitarized zone.
24 We have over 500,000 men in South Vietnam. Now, no responsible
25 official of this Government can look upon those men as -- without

1 grave concern as to their welfare and as to their protection.
2 And I, for one, am not going to be around passing out formulas
3 for what we call easy answers to peace talks at the expense of
4 the half a million men that we have in South Vietnam. I want --

5 MR. HERMAN: Are we still in forward movement on the
6 peace talks?

7 MR. HUMPHREY: Yes, I think we are. I think that's
8 the most encouraging part about it. I do believe that we're
9 actually still in slow, steady progress in the peace talks in
10 Paris, and I do not want us to see -- I do not want the Democratic
11 Party in convention to do anything that will give Hanoi the
12 feeling that if they just stall, that something's going to change
13 here, and that they're going to get an easier package out of
14 it. I think we ought to be able to come out of that convention
15 with the express desire of peace as early as it's possible to
16 obtain it, a political settlement, not necessarily an uncondi-
17 tional military victory, which we have not sought, but that we
18 ought to come out of there with the desire to see South Vietnam
19 be able to have self-determination and we to be able to proceed
20 systematically to remove our forces from that area of the world.

21 MR. AGRONSKY: Excuse me, gentlemen. We must inter-
22 rupt here for a moment. We'll continue the interview with the
23 Vice President in a moment.

24 - - -

25 MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice President, as you know, there's

1 great interest in the country about a televised debate between
2 you and Senator McCarthy, which you accepted to conduct on
3 Friday night. What would you think of adding Senator McGovern
4 and Governor Maddox to that debate?

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, it would sort of be
6 like a four-man "wrestling" contest, it appears to me. No.
7 Frankly I don't think that's very sensible.

8 MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, if we go back to
9 the platform for just one more moment. Senator McGovern says
10 that he thinks you could accept almost anything in the way of
11 forward proposals as long as they did not involve a repudiation
12 of the past policies. Is that a fair statement of your posi-
13 tion?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Senator McGovern is
15 a man that I believe has some perspective about tomorrow, and
16 I am primarily interested in the forward proposals. I'm inter-
17 ested in learning -- trying to learn some lessons, or hopefully
18 understanding some of the lessons that we've learned out of the
19 experience in Southeast Asia. It seems to me that a Democratic
20 platform that looks to the future, that tries to chart essential
21 basic principles of an honorable peace in Southeast Asia, that
22 lists out what we might consider to be appropriate guidelines
23 for future American involvement or activity around the world,
24 would be a very constructive measure.

25 MR. BRODER: Are you willing to say that you will run

1 on whatever platform the Democratic convention accepts, or are
2 there some conditions under which you could not go to the country
3 and say, "This is the policy that I will defend in this campaign"?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, there are many issues
5 that will come into a platform if the Democratic --

6 MR. BRODER: Let's take it specifically, Vietnam.

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, that's one issue, and,
8 of course, that's not the whole issue, but I can't imagine the
9 Democratic Party repudiating its President or the three previous
10 Presidents of the United States on Vietnam. I think the Demo-
11 cratic Party will take a forward look. I think that Senator
12 McGovern has put his finger on what the Party may very well do:
13 it will recognize what has already happened, it will take into
14 consideration the peace talks that are now under way at Paris,
15 which I consider a very singularly new, important dimension in
16 the whole Southeast Asia situation, and, from there on, it will
17 continue to build. I can run on that kind of a platform.

18 MR. AGRONSKY: Why do you think it so wrong to make
19 a statement that perhaps we did follow a wrong policy in Vietnam?
20 Why would you find that so completely unacceptable?

21 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Because I don't think we did
22 follow a wrong policy.

23 MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think what we did, while
25 it was distasteful and while it was difficult, and while it was

1 costly, was a policy that, in the view of the best that we --
2 the best leadership that we had, particularly at that time--
3 there seemed to be an appropriate policy -- not an easy policy,
4 but basically a sound policy. No one could have foreseen, Mr.
5 Agronsky, the dimension of -- I mean, the extent of this war or
6 the degree of involvement.

7 MR. HERMAN: You expressed some sort of humorous
8 contempt for finding yourself in a four-way wrestling match.
9 Aren't you in one?

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, but why put it on
11 television?

12 MR. HERMAN: Well, it seems likely to show up at the
13 convention. What has been the impact, if any, of Governor
14 Maddox's entrance on your strategy?

15 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: None whatsoever, no impact
16 by Governor Maddox's entrance. He spoke for himself, we knew
17 what he would say, we know what his point of view is and what
18 his --

19 MR. HERMAN: Do you know what his delegates will be?

20 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- what his standards are.
21 I'm not sure what his delegate strength would be, but I would
22 think that whatever delegate strength he was able to obtain I
23 most likely wouldn't have had anyway.

24 MR. AGRONSKY: Would you feel that the entrance of
25 Senator McGovern in the race helps you or hurts you in the

1 nomination?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't think one can really
3 measure that, and I've thought about this. He entered without
4 any knowledge on my part. In fact, my information about it was
5 a telegram that I received from him. I must say that he tried
6 to call me by telephone, but I was in route and didn't get the
7 telephone message. I -- I tend to feel that what happens here
8 is that some of the uncommitted delegates that were at the point
9 -- at this stage of the game not quite sure where they'd go, have
10 another look at another candidate. I really don't believe it's
11 going to hurt me. As a matter of fact, it might take a few away
12 from Senator McCarthy. That candidacy might take a few away
13 from Senator McCarthy.

14 MR. AGRONSKY: I wonder, Mr. Vice President, whether
15 Senator McGovern, who has represented himself as carrying on in
16 the ideals of the late Senator Kennedy, might be able to provide
17 a bridge to the disaffected pro-Kennedy people of the Democratic
18 Party that you might usefully use.

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I'd consider that Senator
20 McGovern's candidacy is a wholesome and healthy thing. The
21 Senator is a kind man, he's an intelligent man, you know that
22 I consider him a warm, personal friend. I do believe that it's
23 entirely possible that his entrance here, knowing of his loyalty
24 to the Party, can be a great help after the nomination has been
25 made, and I believe that you will find him working for the nominee

of the Party, as he said he would.

MR. AGRONSKY: Would you regard him as a -- possibly working for you as a Vice Presidential running mate?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I've never made any statement as to whom I thought would be the best Vice Presidential running mate, but I have a high regard for both of these Senators. It's common knowledge, and one doesn't rule out any possibility.

1 MR. BRODER: You said, or you quoted this morning
2 as saying that you have ruled out people that you describe as
3 being a reactionary or a conservative or an unknown. Doesn't
4 that fairly well limit your field to just a few Northern
5 Liberals like yourself?

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not at all. I think there's
7 a whole new group of leaders that are arising in the South,
8 and of course in other parts of America. One of the factors
9 that changed in American politics is the great change that
10 has taken place in what I call the "New South", that Mr. Nixon
11 failed to understand or to see. There are men like the
12 Governor of South Carolina, there are men all over. There is
13 Terry Sanford, the former Governor of North Carolina. Why,
14 there are governors -- I saw a list of potentials that the
15 State Chairmen of Southern states had listed. They were all
16 very fine and good men.

17 MR. BRODER: Do you consider Governor Connolly of
18 Texas a conservative, and therefore out of the running?

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I consider him a man
20 that's in the middle of the political stream. I don't consider
21 him out of the running. He hasn't put himself in the running.
22 Let me put it this way: I think there are a number of good
23 men that represent forward looking policies in the South and
24 throughout America. I think the great tragedy today in American
25 politics is the tendency on the part of some who call themselves

1 Liberals, and I'm one of the Liberals, the tendency of some
2 of those to try to rule out people from the areas of the South.
3 That's a kind of discrimination which I think is almost as bad
4 as racial discrimination. Regional discrimination has no
5 place in American life.

6 Now, I don't have any idea as to, at this stage of
7 the game, as to whom we're going to select. I've looked over
8 a number of men. If I'm privileged to be the nominee of the
9 Party, I've obviously thought about a number of them. But, I
10 look over the South and I see a whole group of leaders coming
11 out of that part of America. And why we should brand the South
12 as reactionary is beyond me. As a matter of fact, they've
13 been doing more in the field of education, they've made great --
14 than most areas of the country; they've done great things in
15 the field of industrialization; the development of the trade
16 union movement; the improvement in the field of human relations.
17 There are vast areas of growth in that part of America that I
18 honor, and I don't want to have it appear that their leadership,
19 that new leadership, is unwanted in the Democratic Party or
20 unworthy of our respect or confidence.

21 MR. HEPMAN: Also coming out of the South is former
22 Governor George Wallace. Now, you've been talking at some
23 length about new Southern leaders, but how are you going to do
24 in the South in a three-way race with Nixon-Agnew, George
25 Wallace and you and your running mate?

3
1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think we'll do much
2 better than I had anticipated a month ago. I believe that the
3 new leadership of the South, in the sense now that both Mr.
4 Nixon and Mr. Wallace are in contest in the South, is going to
5 give the Democratic nominee of the Party, particularly if I'm
6 that nominee, a good share of the vote. And while not a
7 majority in these states, an adequate plurality to pick up
8 some electoral votes. I feel much better about it now than
9 I did before Miami.

10 MR. BRODER: But you're -- I take it then that you're
11 not really going to compete for those Wallace votes. You're
12 going to try to soak up all the other vote in the South. Is
13 that it?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I cannot out-Wallace Wallace,
15 and I cannot out-Nixon old Nixon, and I don't think the new
16 Nixon is operative in the South. I think that's a part of the
17 personality that's operative other parts of the nation.

18 MR. AGRONSKY: You feel then, that Mr. Nixon made
19 a mistake in choosing Mr. Agnew? You have said that it was
20 dictated to some extent by Senator Strom Thurmond: Do you
21 think that?

22 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I won't call it a mistake.
23 I just simply say that he made his own calculation as to what
24 he thought was the mood of the country and how he thought best
25 he might strengthen his position in the South. My point is

1 that Mr. Nixon looked at the South, and as I've said to one
2 other group, he saw the midnight of the South and I've seen
3 the dawn, the new South. He saw the midnight of the old South:
4 Strom Thurmond is a man in his own right; he's a strong, power-
5 ful Senator from South Carolina; he led the Dixiecrat walkout
6 in 1948. That was not a walk forward; that was a walk backwards.
7 And when Mr. Nixon decided that he had to make his peace with
8 Strom Thurmond, Senator Thurmond, and that Senator Thurmond
9 should be, in a sense, his spokesman with the Southern dele-
10 gations, that was Mr. Nixon's judgment as to what he needed to
11 carry a certain number of states.

12 I believe that that judgment was in error; I believe
13 that it leaves me the opportunity to pursue a much more
14 progressive policy and a stronger policy, a forward looking
15 movement in the South. And I think the South is ready for
16 it. I think one of the great hopes in America today is the
17 resurgence of a sense of sensible, constructive progressivism
18 in the South. And I'm going to join it and help it.

19 MR. HERMAN: How seriously do you take the threat of
20 Negro or black abstention in the November election?

21 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't take it that
22 seriously, as seriously as it's been printed. As a matter
23 of fact, I'm confident, from every public opinion survey I've
24 seen that we'll do very well, that I personally will do very
25 well in the black community. I believe I should. I've been

1 a spokesman for human rights and civil rights and all it means
2 all of my life, and I expect to get a very large vote out of
3 the black community, and I want to earn it and merit it.

4 MR. HERMAN: Are you going to choose a running mate
5 who will be acceptable, or better than acceptable to the Black
6 community?

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We'll have a running mate
8 that's acceptable to all Americans.

9 MR. BRODER: I'm curious, Mr. Vice President, as to
10 -- as the Administration candidate, whether you've been able
11 to find out more than we have about what is going to happen in
12 Chicago in terms of schedule, arrangements and so on. Did they
13 tell you what's going to go on at this convention?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My contact about the conven-
15 tion in Chicago is Mr. John Bailey. I think you know, Mr. Broder,
16 that, despite all the charges that the President is in charge
17 of the convention, that I've found no evidence that indicates
18 that at all. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bailey has made it crystal
19 clear to me that he's in charge. We've been able to get our
20 floor space, our rooms, we've gotten some few telephones. I
21 must say that the principle of neutrality is being adhered to
22 here with almost deep religious conviction. As a matter of fact,
23 I told one of my friends in Senator McCarthy's group that I
24 thought they'd gotten the best of it on the hotel rooms: they
25 got eighteen more rooms than we did.

1 MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Vice President, will President
2 Johnson put your name in nomination?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have no idea that he will
4 do so.

5 MR. AGRONSKY: Have you not spoken to him about it?

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I haven't, sir. And I
7 have no such plans.

8 MR. AGRONSKY: Where do you stand on the credentials
9 fight, on the Mississippi Freedom Party and the regular party?
10 Who will you support?

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I've already made my
12 expression of support, because I've been deeply involved with
13 what we call the Loyalist Group in Mississippi, not just of
14 recent date, but over the years, because I think it truly repre-
15 sents the -- the more forward and liberal approach in the State
16 of Mississippi. I've expressed my personal support for that
17 group. The Credentials Committee is under the Chairmanship, as
18 you know, of Governor Hughes of New Jersey. He's a judicious
19 and fair man, and highly respected, and I want to say that I
20 was one of the -- well, I helped prepare what we call the Civil
21 Rights Act of 1964 for the Democratic Party: the open party
22 program that provides that there must be representation in all
23 the different Democratic Parties -- equal representation or fair
24 representation, I should say, of the community.

25 MR. BRODER: A one-ballot convention, Mr. Vice President

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I hope so. I think so.

2 MR. AGRONSKY: For you on the first ballot?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think so. I hope so.

4 MR. AGRONSKY: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President.

5 I regret we have run out of time.

6 A word about next week's guest in a moment.

7 - - -

8 ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Vice President
9 Hubert Humphrey was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent George
10 Herman, David Broder, National Political Reporter of The Washington
11 Post. CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky led the question-
12 ing.

13 Next week, on the eve of the Democratic National Con-
14 vention, in Chicago, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, a
15 candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, will FACE
16 THE NATION.

17 FACE THE NATION originated, in color, from CBS New
18 York.

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