

Monday AM's

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF COLUMBUS

G. K. T. V. S. G.

Yours is a city hard at work at the business of finding jobs and putting people to work.

It exemplifies to other cities that much can be done to help the unemployed get off city welfare rolls, and earn wages.

When tax-eaters become taxpayers, everybody benefits.

Columbus businessmen, in both small and large organizations, have set a record in creating summer jobs for needy youth, and hiring in permanent jobs the unskilled unemployed.

Much of my time as Vice President has been spent designing and implementing these kinds of self-help programs-----and I say they are beginning to show results.

The National Alliance of Businessmen in Columbus has gone over its quota this year.

NAB shows every sign of meeting the job quota set for July 1971 well in advance.

Government, on a local and Federal level, is also doing its share. The Concentrated Employment Program, funded in July by the Federal government, is already in the early stages of formation. And Mayor Sensenbrenner's administration is working closely with the people of Columbus to create a broad base for the Model Cities program here.

Churches and other private institutions are also active in stimulating full job opportunity.

Columbus's joint efforts to open doors for all its citizens give promise of continued stability and confidence in all sectors of the city.

But we can do more.

When I am President, I intend to see such combined city efforts strengthened and

more

expanded.

I have urged, in particular, a far greater measure of state and local responsibility with less direct Federal control than now exists. And I have insisted on a reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy to avoid jurisdictional disputes and speed our cities' efforts at social progress.

As a former Mayor, and, for the last four years, the principal link between the Federal government and our cities, I know this can be done---- and I know how to do it.

I commend your progress in Columbus; I seek your support in creating in America urban and rural environments true to our democratic promise.

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MONDAY PM RELEASE

A SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF CLEVELAND

Your fine Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, Jack Gilligan, said some things this week that struck home with me.

He spoke of the price of crime. Crime costs the people of Ohio \$1.4 billion dollars a year. That's \$135 per person - at least as much as is spent on health insurance for every man, woman and child in the state.

Now you and I know that crime is a national problem.

But Americans rely on their own local resources to fight crime. I don't think anyone wants to see the formation of a national police force. We've never trusted that in America and I don't think we ought to begin now.

But we ought to be doing everything within our power to help cities recruit, train and support the very best men and women possible into police work.

And at today's odds, that's not easy. Policemen didn't join to fight. They are family men -- people who live here at home -- and have the biggest stake in domestic peace of any of us. Most would be happy if they never had to draw a gun in their entire careers.

I think it's up to all of us to help reduce the odds for them. When they are driving old patrol cars they don't do the job -- when they can't find facts about criminals at a moment's notice -- when they can't have access to the best equipment; to the best in attitude preparation for their demanding tasks -- when we deny them this support, we aren't living up to our end of the bargain. Finally, when we fail to pay them the very best rate we can afford, we are shortchanging not only the police, but ourselves as well.

I asked people in my campaign to pour their very best thinking into ways to help resolve police problems -- and resolve them locally.

I want to be ready to help -- not some day -- by the day after Inauguration Day. I propose programs for training, for equipment improvement, and for salary support. I propose programs for police communication systems.

And I applaud the New Careers programs through which Cleveland began training inter city residents this week for jobs in city government -- including the police department.

Yes, we have begun -- but I know we can do more -- much more -- in helping our local police do a better job -- for everyone.

When I am President, I will provide this support. That's what I mean when I say: "Support your local police."

WLWC - COLUMBUS, OHIO
September 22, 1968

Participants:

Vice President Humphrey
Nick Clooney - Talent, Host of AM Show
Carl Grant - Assistant News Director
Hugh DeMoss - News Director

Mr. Clooney: Ladies and gentlemen, our very distinguished Vice President.

You once told me, Mr. Vice President, that in an interview in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, you once indicated that one of your favorite things in the world was not an interview in the morning, is that true?

Vice President Humphrey. You are so right. You are so right. I am a night man.

Mr. Clooney. Is that right.

It is a great pleasure to have you here, Mr. Vice President. I want to welcome you to Columbus. We have so many questions. I think they can be broken down into two categories. I know our news men have issue-type questions. My questions deal more with what kind of a man is Hubert Humphrey. I think that is what my audience wants to know, too.

If, I may just start off, if I could, in your background, when you were a young man in South Dakota, who were some of your heroes?

Vice President Humphrey. It depends upon which category of life you want to become involved in. If it were sports, it would have been Babe Ruth in baseball and Herb Joske in football. You may not know who Herb Joske was, but he was all-American at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Clooney. Of course.

Vice President Humphrey. He was one of my favorites. In politics, I was sort of brought up as a Democrat. I had an advantage over many people. It is one of the few privileges I have had in life. My national hero in those days was Woodrow Wilson, whom my father thought was the really truly great man. But as I came along and in my 20's, then it was Franklin Roosevelt who was my political hero.

The real hero of my life, I must say in all honesty, was my own dad, who was really a remarkable human being.

Mr. DeMoss. A few years ago, one of the -- Secretary of State Rusk. At sometime, there was some question about his political alignment. I asked him about it. I believe he is from Georgia.

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, that is right, great country.

Mr. DeMoss. He said he was 12 years old before he knew what a Republican looked like. Would you fall in that category?

Vice President Humphrey. No, as a matter of fact, most everybody where we lived was a Republican. My father was one of the brave, one of the few courageous souls around the county. I remember in the campaign of 1912, there were only 12 Democrats. My father was campaign manager for Al Smith. There weren't Democrats. It was almost illegal to be a Democrat in South Dakota. Some people thought it was immoral. I can recall dad saying once in a

while he even worried about my mother's politics. He told me my mother was a wonderful woman. Whenever I would get a little sassy, he would always catch me up quick and say, I want you to be decent to your mother. She is a lovely woman. She is my wife. She is my sweetheart. She just happens to be your mother. I want you to treat her with respect. He would go on and tell of her many virtues.

Then he would say there is just one thing about your mother that I worry about. She is politically unreliable. Dad always felt that mother voted for Warren G. Harding.

Mr. DeMoss. In this area, that is all right.

Vice President Humphrey. It was natural. This is the way it was. I think he even thought she went as far as to vote for Coolidge and that was more than he could take.

Mr. Grant. While we're on politics, Mr. Humphrey, will Muriel have a special role in the Humphrey Administration?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, she is having a very special role in this campaign. As a matter of fact, I sometimes think it would be better if she were the head of the ticket, because she does a remarkable job. She has been this past week in North Carolina and in Tennessee and in Virginia. She receives a wonderful press wherever she travels. She has a fine reception. She talks about things that people are really interested in. Sometimes, I think some of us, we get so big-shotty that we start talking about things that do not relate directly to the lives of the family or the lives of the people.

She will be a lovely First Lady. She has a great interest in the handicapped, a great interest in education. She has a natural green thumb. I know she will be able to carry on the beautification program. I have spent a good deal of my life paying for shurbbery that she has planted.

But I think that one of you mentioned here that you were at my home in Waverly.

QUESTION: Yes.

Vice President Humphrey. Well, Mrs. Humphrey has been fully responsible for the landscaping there. She is a great interior decorator. Again, as I said to another associate in a news show, once, it seems like my life has been filled with draperies and shrubbrey. Every time we move, she gets new drapes. I never understand how she has to pay so much for them. I see those ads where you can get drapes for five dollars. Apparently, she never finds those stores.

Mr. Clooney. Mr. Vice President, you spoke about education there briefly and you mentioned one of your heros, Woodrow Wilson, basically. You yourself were a teacher at one point. You mentioned at some point in your campaign, you were interested in a 12-month year for students in schools. Is that correct?

Vice President Humphrey. This lost me all the young people's vote. Senator Fred Harris told me about an incident in his family. He said he actually had a rather traumatic experience. His little daughter, who is in the first grade, came home. She is the one who was introduced to me and she did not hear it properly. Instead of calling me the Vice President, she calls me the nice President. When she came home to her parents after school one day, she said the Vice President had recommended that there be school 12 months a year. She told her mother she was not sure she liked me any more, that was the school.

...I have recommended the use of our schools on a 12-month basis. In fact, I think they ought to be used 12 months a year and I think they ought to be used at least 12 hours a day, maybe more. They are paid for by the public. There is a tremendous investment, running around \$60 billion in school buildings. Those facilities, playground, swimming pools, workshops, the auditorium, all of that, ought to be used.

Then I think with the change of our country's life from that of a rural economy to an urban economy, we would be much better off if we had some kind of readjusted summer school program. It does not need to be a full school program, but at least where you have part of the day used for the child most of that summer time. Now, we are beginning to use our schools and our school people more and more this way. But I think we ought to do it.

The nine month school period was directed toward the rural economy. You needed those three months for the harvest and that is why you had the nine-month school period. We don't need the three months for harvest now. Most of the harvesting is done by machines.

Mr. Grant. Yesterday we heard George Wallace talk about education. He said the mixing of races was not working and parents are hysterical about the integration of schools. How does a statement like that sit with you?

Vice President Humphrey. It does not sit very well. I know there are difficulties in integration, but there is something that comes from integration that is really basically good. The level of education improves. There is a temporary letdown -- we have to be very candid about this. When you first integrate, you have a temporary letdown in the overall averages.

Now, why? Because the Negro child that comes in has generally come in from an inferior school -- I say generally, not always -- and therefore has had an inferior education.

Now, when you bring them together, you have a momentary, temporary letdown of the overall school average -- that is, the quality of education. But it mounts very quickly and all of the schools improve markedly.

Now, we have proven that, that is statistically proven. We have seen the same thing happen in the District of Columbia schools. We have seen it happen elsewhere. The Negro child competes and becomes a much better student. The white child, that has a cultural background that many times has been a little better than the Negro child, also competes. So you start to lift the average of the country, you start to lift the quality of education, the quality of citizenship. I think that is what we ought to be trying to do.

Now, we are not making progress as fast as some would like it, but we are making progress in the field of education and in an integrated education. I think you have to have some sense of balance, but it is my view that we are doing quite well.

Mr. DeMoss. Mr. Vice President, the polls indicate that you are running quite behind.

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, I have been reading that information.

Mr. DeMoss. Do you run better as an underdog?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, I will be very candid with

...and I had a little of both, so I can speak with some authority on this. I have never felt that there was anything that happened to you in defeat that could not have happened better in victory. I know once in a while, you have people say you build your character out of defeat. Well, I have been spending a lot of time building my character, so I want to win.

But it is a fact that when you are an underdog, many times your people get a little more excited; that is, if you go to them and take your case to them, which I am trying to do.

I am not disturbed, really, about polls. All of my public life, I have had the same situation. It is the most remarkable experience that when I ran for Mayor, I was the underdog in the polls and I was elected with the biggest majority any man ever received as mayor of my city.

When I ran for the Senate, I was the underdog in the polls. I got the biggest majority any man in the Senate had ever received up to that time in the State of Minnesota.

I have had many other experiences like this in the polls. In 1960, when I was elected with the then largest majority I had ever received, 279,000 votes, it looked like I was going to be beaten in the polls, a week before election. I don't say the polls are wrong, I just say people have more sense than the polls.

I read the polls here in Ohio. I have more relatives in Ohio than your polls showed. They may be like my mother, politically unreliable. But I just can't believe that one and if I could, it will only make me work harder.

Mr. DeMoss. It seemed like President Johnson was going to run for re-election and hence it seemed the Convention was a little later than usual. Did this make it more difficult for you?

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, I think it is fair to say the scenario for the Democratic campaign was predicated on President Johnson's thought that he would run for re-election; therefore, as an incumbent President, a President in office, he had the Convention late. Our Convention really was not over until almost the first of, you might say until Labor Day. Well, ordinarily, you have at least a full month before Labor Day to get geared up. It takes a lot of time for the organizational program that is required. We had none of that time. We had a very difficult convention, as you know.

We had several months of fratricidal civil war within our party, as you know, very serious cleavages. We spent a lot of our effort and money and time in that difficult period.

Then after Labor Day, you really don't get anything done in the Labor Day weekend at all, because people are all away, and it took us at least ten days after Labor Day to get ourselves organized.

Now, you may say, you should have been organized ahead of time. Well, we change the whole national committee after a convention. Parents are getting their children back to school. It just isn't a very good time to do political organizing. So we did have a drawback there, there is no doubt about it. But we are on the way now.

Mr. DeMoss. Here is a problem that is inherent in the system. You are the Vice President of the United States. You are running for the presidency. How do you be your own man?

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Vice President Humphrey. Just be like I am now. I think I am the most likely acting different from Lyndon Johnson, right now.

Mr. DeMoss. I mean on the issues, Mr. Humphrey.

Vice President Humphrey. You speak the issues from your own heart. Sometimes Democrats agree, you know. It upsets people when we do. But we do agree. The President, for example -- I am my own man on education. President Johnson is a strong advocate of federal aid to education. I have been one all my public life, so in order to be my own man, I must not come out against education, you know.

Mr. DeMoss. No, no.

Vice President Humphrey. So I strongly support it. I strongly support our efforts in the field of education, in mental health, hopefully Kiddyicare, something to help our little ones. I strongly support the programs we have undertaken in the conservation, and natural beauty and resource development.

I have my own views about the world in which we should live, arms control, for example, the slowing down of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. I have my own views about how we ought to improve our agricultural program.

Those are the ways that you sharpen your image as a political figure. Then your method, your mood and your method, the way that you approach things. Once you get to be President, you know, nobody will ever ask that question again about being your own man. Because you surely stand out very quickly.

Mr. Clooney. Excuse me, Mr. Vice President, and Hugh, just a moment. I have a question about the travelling White House you asked once before, and I will ask about that in just a moment. We are going to take a moment.

(Break)

Mr. Clooney. Mr. Vice President, you at one point in the campaign suggested taking the White House all around the country. This is an interesting idea. Would you explain it a little bit?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, I did not mean to pick up the body of the physical structure of the White House. I was talking about what we generally refer to as the White House, the Presidency. There is no reason at all in this age of electronics that we should not be able to have the key members of the President's staff and the President himself go to different parts of the country for selected periods of time to conduct the affairs of government and to get a better feel of this country. Here is what I had in mind. I have lived in Washington now for 20 years and I go home to my home state very often and I travel this country a great deal. I generally go when I am terribly depressed in Washington, because Washington is strictly a government city. Everything is a crisis. If you sneeze it is a crisis in Washington. It will get a headline right across the page one, particularly if any prominent member of the Federal Government sneezes. Out our way, you can sneeze all day and they just think you have hay fever. They really won't worry that much about it. I have the feeling that if the President and his Cabinet could spend a little time once in a while in other parts of America, they would get a better feeling of America. I think we would be a little more normal. I think we would be just a little more with it. I don't see any reason why this could not be done. It would give the people the chance to see the President and sense

of this government, what it is all about. I know when I am out of this country, Cabinet officers, he is received wonderfully. No matter what people's views are, they have a high regard for them, a great respect for them.

I don't see why it can't be done. There is no reason at all that you could not have three or four places in the country that you could not, for a week or ten days or two weeks or whatever time you would like, or longer, have the President and members of the Cabinet set up shop, so to speak, and carry out their duties. It can be done just as simply as we do it when -- when the President travels. He has full equipment with him and he is on his airplane. If he travels abroad, he takes the White House with him, so to speak.

Mr. Clooney. And the entire staff is with him.

Vice President Humphrey. All the important members of the staff. Frankly, you sometimes have too much staff with you. It would be better if you left some of them home.

Mr. Grant. One of the important questions on everybody's mind is the Viet Nam war. Last night I think you said in your speech before the Democratic Convention, if you are elected, you will use all the powers of the Presidency to bring an honorable settlement. What will you do then that is not being done now?

Vice President Humphrey. First of all, you will remember, I said I thought our Democratic Platform had outlined all the steps. I thought what that platform provided was the steps toward settlement for cessation of the bombing when it did not impair the safety of our troops, the free elections in Vietnam so that all factions could be represented that were willing to accept the results of an election, the peaceful processes of democracy, the withdrawal of foreign forces and the systematic de-Americanization of that war, which I think is right at the heart of it. I think the American people are very anxious to see a reduction in the level of American forces when that is possible, with safety to our own forces and with safety and protection to South Vietnam.

And I happen to be one that believes that as time goes on, and there is a great deal of improvement everyday, that as time goes on, the Army of South Vietnam will be able to better undertake the defense of its own country. When that comes about and as it comes about, we ought to be able to systematically, through agreement with the government of South Vietnam, reduce our own forces.

I also said that if the President had not been able to obtain some sort of settlement between now and that time of January 20, when the new President comes in, I would use every power and all the means at my command to obtain a settlement.

I don't think it is good for a man to project every idea that he might have in this instance. That does not mean that I avoid the issue, because I do not want to say anything now that would tempt the men in Hanoi, the North Vietnamese, to drag this war on in the hopes that they are going to get a better deal out of me on January 21 than they are able to get out of the President of the United States on September 21, 1968.

I believe that it is imperative for all humanity that this war come to an end. We must do everything we can to bring it to an end, but we must also expect that the enemy would have to show some interest in this objective.

Mr. Grant. Can you predict how long this might be?

Vice President Humphrey. I don't think any man can safely predict and I have watched officers of government make predictions. One of the pitfalls of a man in public life is attempting to be a prophet on a specific date. I can only say this, that the evidence indicates that what I intend to can come about.

Mr. DeMoss. Did you get sort of entangled when you indicated some of the troops will be coming home, and I believe it was the next day in New Orleans that the President went to the American Legion Convention and said no man can predict that.

Vice President Humphrey. I just said no man can safely predict.

Mr. DeMoss. What did you mean when you said some of the troops will be coming home, will be coming home?

Vice President Humphrey. I think the members of the Press Corps were a little confused as to what Mr. President said in New Orleans. What he said was no man can safely predict when this war will be over, when you can withdraw all of your troops. I don't think anybody can safely predict that.

But I do think and I can predict for myself that it will be possible sometime in the future to be able to have a systematic reduction of American forces in South Vietnam when and if the Army of South Vietnam continues to improve its combat effectiveness and is able to take over more of its own self defense.

Now, that is my position. What the President's position is, that is his business. That is my position, is over here, and I have never withdrawn from that statement at all. And I don't think we are in conflict. But if we are, then so be it.

The point is that I have to make statements for myself. I am going to be the next President of the United States. President Johnson has made it quite clear that he is not a candidate and he is not on the ballot. On January 21, there is going to be a new President. Now, what is that new President going to do?

Mr. DeMoss. In the intervening time, Mr. Vice President, isn't it extremely difficult for you, again, to hark back on being your own man. I know you agree with the President on education, civil rights. But the one issue where there seems to be disagreement is on Vietnam.

Vice President Humphrey. Not with me.

Mr. DeMoss. What is your position?

Vice President Humphrey. I have said I agree on the Vietnam platform and I am running on that program. What seems to be important to me is to interpret that platform to the American people. I just stand on the platform. I think it offers great flexibility. It says that a great power must be willing to take risks for the cause of peace. It also says it outlines what I consider to be stepping stones to that great day when peace can be our --

Mr. DeMoss. Will we bring in the McCarthyites?

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, I think we are finding, as you have noticed here in Ohio that we have had a wonderful outpouring of the different camps prior to the convention.

You know, I wonder when we are going to settle down and know that a Democratic Party always has a little trouble before a convention, always been the same. You act as if this year it was a new experience.

... before the 1960 convention, Lyndon Johnson and Kennedy.

Vice President Humphrey. Of course, it was, but I recall the bitter confrontation they had in Los Angeles in 1948. Our party was really split up in little pieces. The only time that our party was in harmony was 1964. We surely had it in 1952 between the Stevenson and Kefauver forces. You can be a Democrat unless -- you have to have some car tissue on you coming from pre-convention days.

Mr. DeMoss. Can you draw a parallel between the Democratic Party situation now vis-a-vis 1964 in the cold war area?

Vice President Humphrey. We will never have another day when you will be so lucky as that. You cannot depend upon the Republican Party to be stupid all the time. You cannot. They do it pretty well.

Mr. DeMoss. Is the Democratic Party in that situation?

Vice President Humphrey. The Democratic Party is not in as happy a situation. It is much more normal. I think the 1964 period was abnormal in many ways. The Democrats were far too chummy and the Republicans committed an act of kind of mass political suicide. But you cannot always depend on that. This time, I think the Republicans have drawn their forces together quite well. And we are in the process of doing so.

I just want to remind you of one thing, that many a game is settled in the last quarter. Yesterday, my home team, the University of Minnesota, was doing good up to about four minutes before the end of the game. Then the USC took them on. O. J. Simpson, he gave it to them. I am going to be the O. J. Simpson of 1968 politics.

I expect to be able to adjust the ballot that comes along sometime between now and mid-October. Then after mid-October, you quietly sneak aside and start putting your bets, because we are going to win this election. Make no mistake about it, we are going to win this election. The votes are here. The American people are not going to turn back the clock of progress. They are not even going to stop it. They are going to move ahead.

Mr. DeMoss. I gather from what you have said, as far as Vietnam is concerned, there will not be any break between you and Mr. Johnson.

Vice President Humphrey. I think events and situations are going to determine what happens in Viet Nam. The rhetoric Is not going to be particularly different between myself and others. I see Mr. Nixon says he does not want to say anything that will jeopardize the negotiations. I surely don't want to do anything that will jeopardize the negotiations. But I have said and I repeat it that it is my view, speaking for myself, that with the progress that is taking place in South Vietnam on the part of the Army of South Vietnam, that is doing a magnificent job, we ought to be able to, sometime in the near future, we ought to be able to systematically reduce American combat forces in South Vietnam. We ought to be able to but I only want that "possible," if it does not jeopardize our own troops there or the safety of our own troops and the safety of that country.

Mr. Clooney. Mr. Vice President, I can't thank you enough for coming here and helping us get to know you.

Vice President Humphrey. I wish we could. We were just getting good, just settling the war.

Sunday, Sept 22

NEWS - CLEVELAND, OHIO

Dorothy Fuldheim, Moderator
Charles Loeb, Managing Editor, Cleveland Call & Post
Hugh Danacean - TV-5 News
John Hambrick - TV-5 News
Richard Maher - Cleveland Press

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Miss Fuldheim. Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to thank the members of the panel for being here and to welcome the Vice President of the United States. It is a great honor and a great pleasure to have you here.

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you, Dorothy.

Miss Fuldheim. I hope the half hour won't be too great an ordeal. But you have taken other ordeals.

I should like to start this by saying to you that there is a conviction abroad that there are two Hubert Humphries, one the Vice President and the other the Hubert Humphrey who personally must be against the war in Vietnam and that it will be necessary for the real Hubert Humphrey to step in order to electrify the succeeding weeks before election.

Vice President Humphrey. Well, Dorothy, there are not two Hubert Humphreys, there are two different positions. One position of the Vice Presidency has certain requirements to it and the other position of a candidate for office has certain requirements. I used to say that as a Senator, I had a certain type of obligation and as the Vice President, I had another. Vice Presidents are not in authority. They have responsibility, but they have little or no authority. A Vice President is a member of the team. He is not the captain of the team. A Vice President is an adviser. He is not an administrator.

That is a very awkward and unique office in the American constitutional system. As Vice President, you are called upon to give advice and counsel when you are called upon by the President. And you offer it. And I have done so.

Now, as a candidate, I will speak as a President would speak. I speak not in terms of what we should be doing again now and January 20, 1969. My message is what we ought to be doing after January 20, 1969. Therefore, I have to have some gift of prophecy or at least some look at the future. And I shall speak out, very frankly, on what I believe this country needs in terms of the war, in terms of our overall foreign policy and nuclear testing policy. And it won't be a different Hubert Humphrey. It will mean that you have a different responsibility.

It is the same, may I say, as a person. When you are courting, you are one person and when you are married, you are another.

Miss Fuldheim. Alas, I must admit that is right, with great and deep feeling.

Mr. Loeb.

Mr. Loeb. Mr. Vice President, the last time you were here, you were a candidate for the nomination. Now, you are the nominee. We thought you would have an easy time getting the nomination and you had a rather tumultuous convention. I wonder if you can give us

a progress report on how much you have done and how successful you have been in unifying a party that looked pretty well split up at the end of that convention.

Vice President Humphrey. There isn't any doubt, Mr. Loeb, that our convention was a very tumultuous one, but it was also a refreshing one in the sense that we did not duck a single issue. Our platform was debated openly. There were strong convictions held by a number of people. I think it was one of the best political conventions in modern political history and I say that not as a candidate but as a political citizen. If you wanted a cozy, comfortable, dull, boring convention, that was not it. There was another one that met those standards about a month before that, down in Miami. But this was a convention in which there were strong points of view, I mean in which points of view were held very strongly and the vote was called, the roll was called, and a majority cast its ballot as did a minority. The majority, of course, is what ultimately controls in a free society with full respect for the rights of a minority.

I have been busily engaged since that convention -- indeed, I started with my acceptance speech -- trying to bring people back together around the areas of agreement. Quite candidly, there were many more areas of agreement than there were disagreement, even on the issue of Vietnam.

For example, none of us thought we ought to have unilateral withdrawal. None of us felt there ought to be a military solution to the problem in Vietnam. All of us felt that foreign forces, both United States and North Vietnamese, should be withdrawn when peace could be obtained. All of us advocated a cease fire. Every one of us believed in free elections, including all the peoples of South Vietnam. The argument was essentially over the tactic, whether or not you should stop the bombing immediately or whether or not as the majority plank said, you should cease the bombing when it would not seriously impair the safety of your troops. And there was some, some indication of response from Hanoi. Now, that was the main difference in that platform.

I think that the convention did well and I have been trying to do well since then putting the pieces back together. Finally, I can report to you that we have made great progress and I expect that within the next two weeks, you will see a tremendous upsurge of Democratic strength. I see it now.

Mr. Danacean. Mr. Vice President, both you and Mr. Nixon and even Mr. Wallace, as you travel around the country, talk for the most part to partisan crowds. The people who come to see and hear you are people who are going to vote for you anyway without coming to see and hear you. Walter Reuther said here last week that all politicians in the fall must be heard with this admonition: They are like fish peddlers, that never tell you they have any rotten fish to sell. What are you going to do about the great mass of people who don't come to see and hear you?

Mr. Vice President. Well, we have shows like this.

Miss Fuldheim. Mr. Vice President, I would like to make one objection. I object to being compared with fish peddlers. We must talk to Walter Reuther about this.

Mr. Danacean. You and Mr. Nixon are telling people what they like to hear. This is what Mr. Reuther says.

Miss Fuldheim. Will you confine yourself to a question.

Mr. Danacean. My question is what do you have to tell the great mass of people who do not come out to see you, who are not ready to vote for you today?

Vice President Humphrey. There is no doubt but that most of the audiences one gets to a public meeting, most of the people in those audiences are your partisans. But not all, not by a long shot, because many people bring their friends, their neighbors, and many people do enjoy the political contest. They really look upon it as an important part of their life. So it isn't all partisans. I guess you would say that most of your audience is over half, three-fourths are partisans. But we have the media, we have the press, we have the radio, we have the television. Hopefully, they will bring to the other audience, that vast majority of Americans that are not in that immediate audience, the message you are trying to give.

Now, I have done something else, sir. I go to these audiences and I make myself available for questions. And they are not screened. There is none of this fancy stuff where you set up a beautiful format, where you have nice little desks that everybody sits behind and everybody is well groomed and they are all fixed up. I have seen that kind of show. In fact, I have seen one of my opponents run that kind of show. I take them as they come. I take people that are hostile to my candidacy, my view. I think that is the way we ought to do it. That is what I call politics of participation. And I am going to continue to do it all across this country. And I have taken audiences of 10,000 to 15,000, depending on whose is there. We just take the questions right from the audience.

I go to colleges and universities and take questions from the student body, from the panel. By the way, Mr. Nixon has yet to appear on a show like this. He has not appeared on one since 1957 on any of the network shows like Face the Nation, Meet the Press, Issues and Answers, Capital Round-up. He does not appear on one of these because when he does, they take the skin off a little bit. I have some scar tissue from those. But --

Miss Fuldheim. I can attest to the fact that there have been no rehearsals here.

Mr. Loeb. Should a man run on his record or on what he says he is going to do?

Miss Fuldheim. Please --

Vice President Humphrey. I would like to answer. I think he runs on both. I think he runs on his record, which is one way of judging what a man's future performance is going to be. But he also runs on his commitments. If you have a record of performance and integrity in political life, that is some indication -- I don't say it is controlling, but it is some indication that that may be the future performance of the particular individual.

Miss Fuldheim. You certainly can't hide your past.

John?

Mr. Hambrick. Considering the fact that Mr. Wallace support seems to have grown so much, don't you think it is time now to deal

specifically with this man, to call him out in the open?

Vice President Humphrey. I think Mr. Wallace is bad news for the country. I don't say this personally about the man, because he has been at my home as a governor when I entertained all the governors of the United States in 1965. And I have no personal animosity toward people in public life. I try to maintain a social relationship. But I think that his appeal is wrong. I think it is bad for America. I think there are many people today who are expressing support for Mr. Wallace that ultimately are not going to support him. They are doing it as a sort of, oh, an angry response to what they see about them -- many people that feel that there is too much militancy, they feel we are going too fast, too far. Some people that have been injured in some way, some people that are angry with riots and with disorder. So they say to their pollster, for example, well, I am going to vote for that fellow, Wallace. But they know that Mr. Wallace does not really have a program. Repression is not enough. Law and order, yes. But also justice. You cannot just have the one side of that coin, because it becomes counterfeit currency.

I happen to believe that for a period of time now, that you are going to see Mr. Wallace's strength stay around 20 percent in that poll. Then you are going to see at election time when they know that he can't be President, that they will make the choice between the two major parties and the candidates of those parties.

Mr. Maher. Mr. Vice President, you have been quoted at times as saying the sur tax cannot be dropped in 1969. At another time, you have said there is a possibility of a tax deduction.

Vice President Humphrey. No, I have never been quoted that way. I am pleased that you asked me about it, Mr. Maher.

Mr. Maher. I would like to get your position. Could I have your position on the task force situation?

Vice President Humphrey. One of my gentlemen that is a member of one of my task forces, and there are many, and works on the economic aspects of my program, had said that the Vice President might, if he saw it was necessary, to ask for the reinstatement of the surtax. This was headlined as being that Humphrey is for a continuation of the surtax.

Well, what I have said, speaking for myself, is that if the economy is going as it is and if the war in Vietnam is no more serious than it is, then the surtax will come off.

But you cannot predict what the struggle in Vietnam will be, nor can you really safely predict between now and next April just what the economy will be.

But the odds-on bet would be that the tax will come off.

Now, if the economy is in an inflationary spiral, sir, then I would recommend some kind of fiscal restraints. Whether it would be this surtax or not, I can't say. But I surely would not want to see the value of the dollar eroded by a spiraling inflation. If the economy is in the doldrums or starts to slip a little bit, then indeed, the tax ought to come off quickly because we want to have the money available in the private economy for the purposes of investment.

You see the danger in all these politics is simplistic answers. When a man starts to be reasonable or uses his intelligence, which I believe is one of the requirements of a man's seeking the presidency he sometimes finds himself in a bit of trouble. It is so much easier just to say, take it off or put it on. Well, now, that is fine as a candidate. But I happen to think I may be President and I have been close to the presidency for four years. If I am going to be President, I don't want to make any simplistic or simple answers to questions of complex situations. This economy is a very, very sensitive mechanism and its health and its progress and its steady growth is vital to everything that you and I believe in. Therefore, I don't believe that I ought to be playing games with formulas, so to speak. So I have said if the economy is strong, if the War in Vietnam is no more than it is now, that tax can come off. If the economy is in the doldrums somewhat or has been in some downhill movement, it obviously ought to come off. If there is a spiraling inflation in which the dollar seems to be eroded, its purchasing power, then I think I would be the best friend the American people have by saying that we ought to have some kind of fiscal restraint, some kind of tax that will slow down the economy.

Miss Fuldheim. Mr. Vice President, how are you going to get the votes of those people who were supporting Senator McCarthy, including McCarthy. How can you get them back in?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, I am happy to tell you that, mam -- I won't say most, because I have no way of knowing that -- but many, many of the McCarthy supporters are actively supporting my candidacy. For example, the candidate for Congress in New Hampshire that was one of the most avid McCarthyites in New Hampshire, that was his leader, he is now supporting me. Steven Mitchell, the chairman of the McCarthy Movement, is an active supporter of mine, a vice chairman of my citizens committee. All over the United States, McCarthy people as such are coming to us. The young people in particular have come in droves. We are very happy with that. I will wait and see what my friend, Senator McCarthy, will do, after he has had those weeks of relaxation on the Riviera. He may come back and be so happy that he will support me quickly.

Mr. Danacean. Mr. Vice President, how do you sell yourself as all things to all people? How do you attract not only those people who were supporting Senator McCarthy but how do you also at the same time attract the backbone of the Democratic Party here in this area, the white factory worker, who is now for George Wallace? How are you going to pull two different, opposite poles together?

Vice President Humphrey. You don't sell yourself as all things to all people. People make compromises in life. I trust you have. I have made some. You know, you can't really stay around very long unless you adjust yourself to a few of the lessons in life. People have to make choices. The choice in this election is between Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon, and George Wallace. None of those choices may be the perfect choice, but people have to make some choices. I think that when most of the Democrats, for example, that were for Bob Kennedy, the late Senator, or for Senator McCarthy or for George McGovern, I think most of them will come around to support me. And why? Because we agree on so many things. Our disagreement was not on the domestic scene at all. It was not on fiscal policy at all. It was not on monetary policy. Our disagreement was not even on basic foreign policy. It was over tactics in the Vietnam war. That disagreement is not on fundamentals. I don't disagree on cessation of the bombing, only when it takes place. I don't happen to think it makes a great deal of difference what I say about

it. I am not Commander in Chief. It will make a great deal of difference when I am commander in chief,

Miss Fuldheim. Very convincing answer.

Mr. Loeb?

Mr. Loeb. Mr. Vice President, I have watched you as a politician for more years than I want to admit. Ten years ago, nobody would have questioned your flaming liberality, your dedication to civil rights. There are some people in the Negro community who have nowhere to go but you if they want to be sensible, who are saying that they, they seem to discern a little restraint in this flaming advocacy, and they are looking for it. I think that they are going to be a valuable attribute, they are going to be a valuable contribution. They may offset some of the things that are not going so well. They are anxious to hear you really come out as the Hubert Humphrey of old where they are concerned. That vote is going to be an important vote, and I am quite sure that you and your advisers know it. I think that you ought to move up in this area. You ought to call Wallace --

Miss Fuldheim. Is this a question?

Mr. Loeb. Yes, I think -- I want to say this: Do you intend to tell black America in no uncertain terms that there is a basic difference in philosophy between you and Richard Nixon and certainly between you and George Wallace, and that under no circumstances are you going to permit the racists and the status quers to make you into something else, a compromiser who will compromise too far?

Vice President Humphrey. Let's get first principles. First of all, so much that -- so much has happened in civil rights since I was that liberal, as you have said, in 1948, that what I have stood for all of my life has now been readily accepted. The comprehensive civil rights Act of 1964 which I fought for for six years is now the law and I was the manager of that legislation. The voting rights, the open housing laws, these are the things that

when I was saying them were the flaming liberal pronouncements. Today they are the established law of the land.

Some of the people who are looking for that name, that has been what has kept the hearth warm, it has happened. Now, it is the practice.

Now, are there any differences? First of all, Mr. Wallace is obviously playing to racism. He is a racist. That is number one.

Mr. Nixon is trying to straddle the fence and I have said it about 15 times. I don't believe that Mr. Nixon is a racist, but I say that he has compromised on the fundamental issue of civil rights. He says he is for the Supreme Court decision in 1954, but he is against -- he thinks its implementation is not right, that the Federal Government has gone too far. I say that that is playing games with the issue and I said so when I spoke in Cleveland and I have said so before a hundred other audiences.

I think the central issue, Mr. Loeb, in this nation -- not only in this campaign -- is whether or not we are going to live together as one nation or whether we are going to listen to voices that divide us as the two nations, separate and equal. I have never varied from that. My whole purpose of my life, the whole political and public purpose and private purpose of my life, is to build a society in which people are recognized as people, in which race, color and creed are only essential in so far as they are colorful traits or ethnic traits. But insofar as citizenship is concerned, we are one citizen, one citizenship. We have equal rights, equal opportunity. We should have.

In fact, I go much further. I think some people have had such a lack of opportunity for so long that they need a little more than equal opportunity. That means more here in education, a little extra help in neighborhood development, a little extra help in health, in job training. That is what I have said when I have talked to Black America when I have said black entrepreneurship, job training, job placement, these urban centers, the Job Corps, all of the things I have fought for all my public life. These things are now beginning to take hold and I must say it is good for the country.

Mr. Hambrick. Mr. Vice President. Along this same line of

questioning, I think I have read you have said that most people have a tendency not to remember a lot of things. One of the things when you make that statement, a lot of people would not remember some of the good things that you have been responsible for.

By the same token, it would seem -- and this, I think, is what Mr. Loeb is driving at -- by the same token, it would seem that a lot of people, apparently 20 percent of the people at this point, have forgotten some of the bad things Mr. Wallace has stood for, too.

It is your responsibility, it would seem to us -- I think this is what he is saying, to point these things out.

Vice President Humphrey. We do everyday, everyday. I point out that the people who preach bigotry, segregation, discrimination, intolerance, hate, they are bad. What they say is ugly and it is divisive and it is destructive. When Mr. Wallace preaches it, I tell him just exactly that. When Mr. Nixon refuses to preach on the subject of building this country as one great nation -- and may I say, I think he should shed himself of the arrangement that he has with Strom Thurmond. I think Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond is bad medicine for what we are talking about. He represents the most conservative attitude of the Republican Party. He walked out on the Democrats in 1948 because we took the stance for human rights, which I led. And he walked in with Mr. Nixon in Miami in 1968. I think that tells you the difference between these two parties. I don't know of any better way to summarize my case, sir, on the issue of human rights than what I have just said.

Mr. Maher. You said a little while ago that in two weeks, we will see a little turn around, and you also said you expect the McCarthy people will be for you. Can I deduce from that that there is a possibility that Senator McCarthy is going to declare for you which will give an upsurge?

Vice President Humphrey. I have no agreement with Senator McCarthy. We are 20-year friends. We have a high regard for each other. And I know that the good Senator is a good Democrat.

Mr. Maher. Does he have any place else to go?

Vice President Humphrey. He may not want to go any place. That is a possibility. But I happen to think the Senator thinks enough of this country -- and I know he is a great patriot -- thinks enough of this country that he would not want either Mr. Nixon or Mr. Wallace to be president of the United States. I think he feels with Ted Kennedy that the realization of their goals, his goals, Ted Kennedy's and others, is through my election. I was highly honored when the Senator from Massachusetts said the other day that he thought the goals of peace abroad and progress at home could best be achieved through the election of Hubert Humphrey. I felt that was the kind of endorsement that rings very true and also one that is very helpful.

Mr. Danacean. Mr. Vice President, is it possible that you have something coming up that might attract Senator McCarthy? You spoke of a new strategy for peace at the Democratic steer roast.

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, sir.

Mr. Danacean. Is this some new strategy that you are going to outline, something new that is going to come up in the next few weeks?

weeks?

Vice President Humphrey. I have no particular arrangements with Senator McCarthy, as I said.

Mr. Danacean. I mean do you have a new strategy for peace that you are going to outline for the country in the next few weeks that might attract Senator McCarthy?

Vice President Humphrey. The peace I was speaking of is not only peace abroad, but peace at home. That seems to be issue number one, what is going on here at home, which we have been talking about on the domestic scene.

On the international scene, I have talked about it, what I think will come in the not too far distance, within the next year, hopefully before that, when we will be able to sharply reduce or I should say systematically reduce America combat forces in Vietnam. And we want to do that without in any way jeopardizing the forces that remain or without jeopardizing the safety of South Vietnam.

How can we do that? By the army of South Vietnam being consistently improved in its combat effectiveness. And it is being so. It is getting modernized, it is getting the best modern equipment, it is getting good training, it is getting excellent combat experience. I see the day, not in the too distant future when, if I am the President of the United States, that I will be able to sit down with the government of South Vietnam and talk to them and get some understanding about the systematic reduction of American forces. That is what Americans want. They want to de-Americanize this struggle. And I think the time is coming when that can take place. And that is one of my hopes.

Mr. Danacean. Within the next year?

Vice President Humphrey. That is what I said, yes, sir. I did not say within the next month. I have nothing to say about between now and January 20. I am talking about, speaking of the calendar year 1969. It would be my hope that in that period of time, and hopefully in the early part of it, that we would be able to make some reductions.

Mr. Danacean. By the early part, do you --

Vice President Humphrey. Not now --, never mind, no more specificity.

Mr. Maher. Is that what you meant by --

Vice President Humphrey. That is right, and I have never changed my point of view on it and I am backed by the fact of the combat effectiveness of the training and equipment of the army, the army of South Vietnam.

Miss Fuldheim. We have no more time for questions. We have the dismal sign that there are only two minutes left. I want to make one comment. Before, when Mr. Danacean asked you a question about the people that come to hear you, they are people for you. Is it not your job as the leader to affirm over and over what your party stands for?

Vice President Humphrey. Correct.

Miss Fuldheim. And the people who are going to vote for you, the too, must have it.

For example, you gave this to Mr. Loeb. He wanted an affirmation from you.

Vice President Humphrey. That is right, and he received it. May I say our platform, I think, is the most specific detailed program that any political party has ever written. That is why I was speaking about our convention. Our platform went unnoticed by many of the commentators because they wanted to concentrate on the Vietnam aspect. But there is the whole balance of a program for the domestic scene -- the application of the living environment of our cities to the rural America, to health of our people, to the conservation and use of our resources. It is a great document. I had a hand, may I say, in preparing it.

Miss Fuldheim. I want to thank the panelists. I know there are a dozen questions you would like to ask, but the brevity of the half hour makes it impossible.



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