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Maria Cole and Roy Elwell, Moderators.

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Mr. Elwell. I am so glad you made it here.

Vice President Humphrey. I am happy that I made it, too. Your freeways are very busy. Then when you get a little accident on them, that jams them up.

Mrs. Cole. We still have not solved that.

Vice President Humphrey. I have had a great day as I was telling you, Maria and Roy. Today has been just one of the best days in my campaign. It has really been one of the best days I have had. I started out in the morning feeling good and going out to Leisure World and visiting there with the Senior Citizens. We had the amphitheater filled and many friends of mine from back home, by the way.

Mr. Elwell. Everybody comes here to retire.

Mrs. Cole. You mentioned that you wanted to formulate a plan for senior citizens to decide in the plans of the future, which is very important. But I wonder, too, Vice President Humphrey, what about the young people deciding in the plans of the future? Because here is where our future lies. What are we going to do about them?

Vice President Humphrey. You know, as I was thinking about that meeting today out at Leisure World, I thought of the real community between, frankly, grandparents and young people.

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Vice President Humphrey. I think when you are parents, you try to rub at times with your young ones, your teenagers, because there is also a bit of conflict there. But once that you get into another age bracket and the young people take a different look at you and you take a much more, I think, friendly look at the young people, I found myself that way this morning. First of all, of course, talking to senior citizens about their needs and their opportunities in this country and talking to them about a type of community service endeavor they can enter into to use their talents, so they are really doing things and not just retired.

Then I thought to myself, what we really need more than anything else is the involvement of our young people into every aspect of our life in government, too. Because the government must set the standard.

That gets down to something that I have been talking about on the platform.

Mr. Elwell. Let's get down to the voting age, now, sir. Is that really an issue with you, the voting age?

Vice President Humphrey. No, I have been for 18-year old voting since the first day I went to the Congress of the United States. Somebody asked me the other day, are you for 18-year old voting? I said yes, I have been for it for 18 years. I introduced it in

Congress as a constitutional amendment with the late Senator Langer of North Dakota.

Mr. Elwell. More and more, young people today are participating. You want them to vote?

Vice President Humphrey. I want them to vote, but I also want them to act and to participate. When I started in politics actively as an elective office, I was 34 years old. I had just had my 34th birthday, actually. All the young folks associated with me were younger. They called them Humphrey diaper brigade. The present Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, I think he was 26 at the time. The present Mayor of Minneapolis was my secretary, and at that time, he was 21. He was secretary to me. Mr. Freeman was chairman of my civil service commission when I was mayor of Minneapolis. He was a young man, aged 26. Donald Frazier, a Congressman from Minnesota, he was about 18. Walter Mondale was chairman of my campaign in college and chairman of my campaign in Minnesota. He was the man who succeeded me. The administrative assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, Tom Hughes, was another one of my students. He is down in Washington now. He is a big man. I can go all across this country and find young men that we brought into politics. Now, we are bringing them in again. I have my own sons.

Mrs. Cole. What are we going to do if their attitude in voting because they are not satisfied with the candidate?

Vice President Humphrey. We are going to have to talk to them. We are going to have to get them to see what are some of the issues, to bring them in and want them. I think they have to know are they wanted, are they going to be used. I think there is a great deal of difference. We don't want to use them, you know, for just symbolic purposes. The average age of my campaign organization up to the convention time -- I think I mentioned this to you once, Maria -- was 26. We had young people involved in every aspect of it, from the public relations to the ad copy to the advancing of our meetings and to the establishment of our meetings, to the writing of papers. They are involved totally.

Now, this is what they want. But they want it more than in politics. They want it at the college level.

I think part of the trouble that we have had at college campuses before it got out of hand -- there are two kinds of trouble. There is what I call the legitimate dissent and then there is the disorder. But the college student today wants to have a share in designing his own curriculum. He wants the program to be relevant to the needs of his life. He isn't satisfied to have it handed down from on top and he does not need to be satisfied, either. Because he ought to be a participant. Student government in a college ought to be more than just make believe. It ought to be involved. It ought to be such as involved in the whole operation of a college.

Mr. Elwell. You just said that it is out of hand here and there.

Vice President Humphrey. In some places.

Mr. Elwell. Do you feel that inasmuch as law and order is one of the major issues in this campaign, you could make any distinction between the acts of civil disobedience by the young people who are opposed to the war -- can you make any distinction between their actions and crime, hard crime by the student?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, I think if you engage in civil disobedience, you know what you are doing. You may engage in it. I guess that is your right, but you have to pay the penalty. You have to be willint to take the responsibility of it.

Actually, sometimes people who engage in it change the law. As I have said to many young people, I said, look, you don't have to be disorderly, what you ought to do is get busy and help change that which you don't like. The way to do that is to participate in the political processes of this country and change it.

Look what we did in our recent convention, for example. We changed the rules of our party, we changed the whole caucus system of our party. No longer can you be a national delegate. You have to elect them. That was changed. An issue oriented the party rather than having it based upon what you call a machine. It is seminar, workshops, issue orientation of the political structure.

Mrs. Cole. Excuse me for interrupting you. I know you are going to be asked an awful lot of questions about change and Vietnam and so forth, and before we go to our viewers, I know this is one of the first questions to come up, on Vietnam. I know you have stated that you will not act apologetic for supporting the President's policy on Vietnam. There is so much emotion involved on the war now with our young people, you made a statement I think, that certain events will decide what is going to happen. What events do you mean?

Vice President Humphrey. What I am saying is hhat I doubt that the rhetoric of the campaign, the charges and the counter-charges, the proposals and the de-ate, will really change the course of the war. The war will be decided by the negotiations in Paris and by the events on the battle field. And events will have a great deal to do really with what happens in the election.

Mrs. Cole. I was interested in the fact that you mentioned that 90 percent of the bombing had stopped over there. I wonder about many people, do they know this? Not in Vietnam, and not in South Vietnam. There are thousands of people still being killed in Thailand.

Vice President Humphrey. Ninety percent of the population of North Vietnam today is absolutely bomb free,, not touched. Seventy eight percent of the territory is bomb free. One hundred percent of the territory of South Vietnam is bombable and 100 percent of the area is under attack. Fvery one of the district capitals in the Tet offensive was assaulted, every one of every one of the reginal capitals, provincial capitals were some of them occupied, assaulted, and many of them burned down -- incredible damage and destruction of property and life in the so-called Tet Offensive of last January and February. That was the offensive of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

What I have said is that our government has taken a very significant step in de-escalating the war. We no longer bomb HaiFong or Hanoi, the population centers. Ninety percent of all the people of North Vietnam are as secure today as you are sitting at that chair in so far as any enemy action is concerned. And 100 percent of the people of South Vietnam are totally insecure. They never know what is going to happen. They have guerilla attack as well as main line unit attacks.

What I am saying is that the process of peace, which is what we want, a political settlement of this war, a negotiated settle-

ment of this war, a negotiated settlement is what we want -- it requires some give, some indication from the enemy, from Hanoi that they really want peace. I think I told a group of your friends and my friends that we are prepared today to have a total cessation of the bombing if we have any indication from Hanoi that this will lead to substantial and substantive negotiations in Paris.

In other words, the President said on March 31, when he pulled out of the political race so to speak, and declared that we would no longer bomb large areas of North Vietnam, he said any little act -- those are his words -- any little act will be enough to have total cessation of the bombing.

Now, any President before he would do that would want to make sure that the safety of our own troops was not jeopardized. That is one of the main reasons that we talk about the demilitarized zone, which is the area between North Vietnam and South Vietnam, a strip about six miles wide. We want to be sure that that is demilitarized.

Mr. Elwell. We will be able to continue as long as you care to make yourself available, but we have to take time now for a message, if you will.

Mr. Elwell. We are talking with you on two levels, really, as a Vice President and as a candidate. We are going to open up our phones to viewers shortly, but as a candidate, may I ask you if you feel that this trip to California has brought you the full support of the delegation that you could not seem to have because of the bombing issue at the convention? Have you had success in the time you have been here?

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, very much so. Speaker Unruh has been with me all the time, and Supervisor Ken Hahn of Los Angeles County has been right by my side, working closely with me, National Committeeman, Mr. Rheinhard and Mrs. Leopold, they have been very closely with me. Mayor Alioto of San Francisco came down to meet with me last night. Members of the Assembly -- Billy Green was with me just recently over at Pepperdine College. So many of them have been. I feel that we are really beginning to pull together here and there is a new spirit, a real new spirit of cooperation and understanding. The people of California, they are just not doing to let Mr. Nixon become the President of the United States by their vote. I know that. I can't imagine the people of liberal persuasion in this State, particularly, with whom I have worked for many years -- I have been out here a hundred times if I have been here once since 1945. I can't imagine that my liberal friends are going to turn this country over to a gentleman that they have fought all of their lives.

Mrs. Cole. But Mr. Vice President, you have said yourself that people vote because of attitudes, because of a feeling. You have said also that they can't take on complex answers. So what is the general thing? What is it that you are going to try to get over to these people to make them understand why?

Vice President Humphrey. I think there are two things, Maria. The first thing is that our country today is in serious difficulty on the basis of -- well, human relations, our race relations. We may as well face up to it. There is a lot of prejudice running around this country. We can overcome it and we are beginning to do it, but we can't overcome it without a firm commitment on the part of the government and every leader in this country. We can't waffle

this one. You can't go around and say, well, I just sort of hope it works out. You have to take one stand. Now, you have got one candidate over here that has taken a stand, really as a racist. The other one says, well, I -- and Mr. Nixon is not a racist. I want to be very clear with that. But he has had to make a few compromises with people off to the right, to the supreme conservative area, that does not permit him to have what I think is a free hand.

I made my commitment 25 years ago. I happen to feel this country has to be one country, one people. I long for the day when one fellow can look at another and say, hello, fellow American, not look at race, creed, color, but just talk to him on what we are, what we can give, what we can produce, what we can do, what we do with ourselves. I believe that is at the center of this election.

Are we going to be two societies, separate and unequal, as the Kerner Commission said? Or are we going to be one society, or at least working toward that one society?

Mrs. Cole. We are going to let you talk to some of our people.

Question. Can I make my question?

Mr. Elwell. Yes.

Question. First, I would like to say it is an honor to speak to you directly, Mr. Vice President.

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you, sir.

Question. What I would like to ask you, sir, is why, if television and radio can sell soap and sell beer and sell all the things that of course we all need and sell them so emphatically, that the government cannot utilize Madison Avenue to sell human relations? All of this hate, all of the bigotry, why can't the government do more to utilize Madison Avenue, that wonderful machine, to sell human relations?

Vice President Humphrey. I got you.

Mr. Elwell. I think if you will hang up, sir, you will get an answer.

Vice President Humphrey. Well, first of all, the government must take a stand on behalf of equal opportunity and equal protection of the laws and equal justice under the law -- equality, that is what we are talking about. A unity, a national unity. The government must take that stand. The government does not have -- in fact, Congress prohibits the government of the United States, that is, the executive branch, from using funds for purposes of propaganda. We have the United States Information Agency for abroad, but we do not have one here at home.

However, the spokesmen of government can speak out and must speak out. But speaking of that Madison Avenue, which in a way, what we are really talking about is the public relations operation of our country -- private industry is doing a good deal today to enunciate the doctrine of brotherhood, of understanding, of cooperation, and to beat down these walls of segregation and discrimination. But I think it ought to do more. And I think a political campaign above all, when we have this chance every two to four years, we ought to emphasize the oneness of this country, the unity of our people, the necessity of working together, our willingness

to give up the pettinesses and the selfishness and the prejudices. We have laws today on civil rights that will fill a book as big as this catalog. It isn't a shortage of law that affects us. It is a shortage of heart and attitude and practices. That is an individual thing and it is something this free society of ours needs to do something about.

Mr. Elwell. We will sell that.

Our lines are open if you would like to question the Vice President directly. This is a rare opportunity for you. Please limit yourself to one question and we will try to answer you if we can.

Question. I would like to ask a question of Mr. Humphrey, please.

Mr. Elwell. Go right ahead.

Question. What I want to know is how do you stand on accepting the coalition government in Vietnam, a coalition that includes the NLF?

Vice President Humphrey. I believe that the matter of the government of Vietnam is up to the people of South Vietnam. I do not believe that that government should be imposed either by Hanoi or by Washington. In other words, one man, one vote -- free elections. And whoever is elected we must be willing to accept the results of that election. I think that election must be open, however, to all the people of South Vietnam who are willing to accept the results of a peaceful political process.

Now, that includes the so-called neutralists, the nationalists, the many different religious groups, the Communist, the non-Communists, if they are all willing to accept the outcome. If that brings forth some government that is not exactly the one we have today, we have to accept it.

But I am opposed to the United States of America saying to the people of South Vietnam that you must accept at the direction of the United States, Communists in your government, members of the Viet Cong that have been killing members of your family. And I am opposed to Hanoi imposing on the people of South Vietnam the National Liberation Front as a government. I happen to believe in self determination and I believe that the best way of selecting your government, the only way that is legitimate, is through the election process -- one man, one vote, open and free elections, in this instance carefully supervised so there would be no pressures brought to bear, and surely, no violence or any type of an attack that could upset the elections.

Mr. Elwell. I think that is a most adequate answer.

Let's take another call.. Mr. Humphrey has just said that he is willing to take these calls as they come, and it is exciting for him and it has never been done before.

Vice President Humphrey. That is true. No presidential candidate within my memory and I have been a student of government, has ever been willing to get on an open microphone, where the questions have come in on the scene, in what you might call a total press conference from the community and just take them as they come. If I stumble a little bit once in a while, you will understand. A man can't know all the answers.

Mrs. Cole. Do you think you might probably be endorsed by Senator McCarthy?

Vice President Humphrey. I have a feeling that things will work out well. I have not tried to in any way pressure the Senator. But as you know, Maria, we are friends of over 20 years.

Mrs. Cole. I know.

Vice President Humphrey. Abigail and my wife Muriel are close friends.

Mrs. Cole. That is why I had to ask.

Vice President Humphrey. I think the world of Senator McCarthy, and I know you know I have said many times that he performed a valuable service in this election by challenging first of all personal policy. Whether I agreed with his challenge does not matter. It is the manner in which the challenge is made. Secondly, by bringing young people into the political process, by getting them away from just parading and demonstrating. They learned so much. There were literally hundreds of thousands of young people this year that learned for the first time what politics is all about. They learned a depth of cleanliness to it, an idealism to it that every one of us needs, that this country desperately needs. I don't think a man can amount to anything in politics, Maria, unless he has a good dose of idealism coming to him everyday from the youth of the nation and from the idealists of the nation. Youth is not always idealistic, but most are. I have a few. I have had a condition, I admit. I have been a teacher. I have seen some young people at age 20 that were ready for Geritol and Social Security in their attitudes. But many of them are forward looking, imaginative, idealistic. You need that. That brings out the flavor of a free society.

Mrs. Cole. That is what I am hoping.

Question. I would like to know his position on the draft and if he thinks it is practical to abolish the draft in the next three to five years.

Vice President Humphrey. I think the present draft law is very inequitable and has caused a great deal of difficulty and misunderstanding. I favor what we call the lottery system. This is the random selection system. And if your number comes up, you go, but if it does not, you don't have to worry about going unless the nation is fully mobilized for an all out war. In other words, you know what is going to happen to you. The present system is filled with all kinds of regulations and exemptions and you don't know if you are going or not and if you are in college, if your grades don't hold up, you are apt to go. If they do hold up, you can go, you don't have to go. It is bad.

Question? Would it change with the lottery?

Vice President Humphrey. Yes, in the lottery system, when your number is called up in that number range, you go. Your number is called up at age 19 you are eligible for the draft at age 19. If it is not called up, you are through, you don't have to go in. It is a matter of luck, whatever you call it, random selection.

Question. You would not every say as the resisters say that drafting them is placing them in involuntary servitude?

Vice President Humphrey. Not in a country like ours, because we have representative government. The drafting system is put out by the Representatives. If you don't like the Congressman that has

voted for the draft rule, what you do is go out and defeat them. You have a chance for the redress of your grievances.

The other question was could we really rely on a voluntary army? I hope so in time. Maybe we can, particularly if we can get some kind of arms control and when we get this war over in Southeast Asia, which I hope and pray can come to a prompt end. But right now, I would be less than honest if I thought that we could meet our national commitments in light of NATO and the dangerous situation which now exists in Europe and we are committed there with a volunteer army. I think we need some selective service system and the best one that I know of is the lottery system, the random selection system.

Question. I would like to know what are you going to do about the draft? Are you going to change it or leave it?

Mr. Elwell. I think that question was just covered very thoroughly.

Vice President Humphrey. I said I was for the lottery system. I believe the present system is filled with inequities. When I become your President, we will try to do something about it. We will also try to have a good, vigorous, young Selective Service System director so when he goes out on the college campuses and talks to you, he will be a man of such vigor that anybody that wants to talk to him about it will. He will be a man that will give him a good selection.

Question. Did you just say you would replace General Hershey?

Vice President Humphrey. I like the General. I said that. There comes a time in a man's life when he becomes of usefulness.

Mrs. Cole. Do you think Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew have an appointee in mind in place of Fortas?

Vice President Humphrey. I think so. I wish I knew. There has been something very peculiar about it. I understand from what I heard today on the news that the nomination is before the Senate and the debate is on and it may develop into a filibuster. If it does, it will be the first time in the history of this country to my knowledge -- I will stand corrected if I am in error -- but to my knowledge, the first time that a nomination of the Chief Justice of the United States has ever been objected to to a point of an extended debate or filibuster.

Now, Mr. Fortas was confirmed as an associate Justice of the Supreme Court. That means that the Senate had to look into his qualifications as an associate Justice. Quite honestly, a man that is capable of being an associate Justice of the Supreme Court on the basis of character, at least, on the basis of his integrity, is also capable of being a Chief Justice.

I think there are other qualities for a Chief Justice, but those are not being debated, because a chief Justice is in fact the administrator of the court. He has great responsibilities. He is the chairman, so to speak, of the court. But the argument against Mr. Fortas is not on that, at all. There are all kinds of arguments about lectures. What the real argument is that there is a group in Congress that have been opposed to the liberal decisions of the court since 1954, Brown versus U.S. That is the decision on school desegregation. That is the heart and core of it all. I know what I am talking about. I have been in the Senate 16 years.

I watched the House and the Senate try to overrule the Court decisions. Every one of those motions was sponsored by the most conservative elements in the Senate. I don't say they are bad elements. I say they are conservative elements. I saw the present President of the United States with my help kill off each and every one of those efforts to restrict the authority of the Supreme Court and to throw it back, so to speak, a couple of generations in its philosophy.

The next President of the United States is going to be able to select or nominate if Mr. Fortas is not confirmed the next Chief Justice. The next President will have undoubtedly, the right, because of age in the court, to select anywhere from two to three other associate justices. And we had better think very carefully what is going to happen in this country, because that court is a separate and equal branch of the government, because the decisions in that court affect your life, my life, and our life every bit as much as a decision of the Congress. I do not want to see this court become an established institution of reaction.

Franklin Roosevelt faced a court like that at one time and it almost put this country into a tailspin. You remember the bitter fight he had over the court. Now we are at another crucial point and what is it all about? It is whether or not we are really going to extend to the American people -- all Americans, sir -- every opportunity that you and I have. Is every boy and girl in this country going to get a chance like Hubert Humphrey had? I came from a poor family. But I am white. Are we really going to have a chance for every boy and girl in this country -- Negro, black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, any minority in this country to be a full-fledged American? Or are we going to have a court that stands in the way of it?

That is what it is all about, let's quit the nonsense. There is a basic issue in this case and that is why I am in it.

Question. Mr. Humphrey, would you open the National Archives and do you think the federal government should block -- and would you prevent Garrison from going to court?

Vice President Humphrey. Oh, my goodness, are we going back to that?

I would surely be very, very careful about opening the National Archives and I would want to consult with the Kennedy family about that. I think we ought to quit playing around with this tragic matter that relates to the late and beloved President. The next thing it will be will be with his brother. Why don't we leave his family alone? I think the Warren Commission did a good job and I don't think Mr. Garrison has come up with anything except sensationalism.

Question. I would like to ask the Vice President what are you going to do if elected President of the United States, how are you going to help American Indians?

Mr. Elwell. Do you have a position on the plight of the Indians?

Vice President Humphrey. Oh, my goodness. I do have deep concern. I have served for the last six months, about six or seven months with the Indian Economic Opportunity Council. The Council coordinates the several departments of the government that relate to the needs of our Indian people, such as the Department of Interior, the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Also, that Council is made of Indian members themselves from the Indian tribes. There are six members on there from the public as

well as from the agencies. I don't think any of us have a quick and easy answer to the plight of the American Indian.

The first thing we need to recognize is that thus far, our efforts have not been very successful. The next thing we need to recognize is that that man, the first citizen of this land, that family, is entitled to every opportunity. And we have got to move in on the educational front, the job training front, bringing industries to the Indian reservation, bringing capital to the Indian reservation where they live on reservation, and treating that American Indian with all the rights and privileges that he obviously is entitled to, because he was here before the rest of us as a citizen of the United States.

But for a man like myself to sit here and try to outline the total program and say it is easy would be to mislead you. I can only say to the lady that has asked me the question that it is not that I have any shortage of heart for this problem, it is that all of us are going to have to do a lot of deep thinking about it and see what we can come up with. I can assure you I will do my best.

Question. I would like to know what is going to be done about re-forming bank and price support to farmers, et cetera, against the city workers who have their income tax taken out of their wages. They have nothing that they can use as expense and etcetera. Is the income tax to be equalized more so that corporations, individuals, et cetera, are paying the same taxes? In other words, last year, my husband and I paid about \$15,000 between us. A corporation that handled a million dollars paid the same income tax as we did.

Vice President Humphrey. That is obviously wrong. One of the first things that we will do is to present to the Congress a tax reform bill that will get right at that problem that you have mentioned. The Democratic Party Platform includes a provision in it that requires a minimum tax payment for people with incomes of a million dollars or over -- that is, for those who are avoiding through the law, through loopholes in the law avoiding their fair share of payment of the taxes. You have brought to our attention something the public needs to know about.

Now, about Mr. Farmer, there are some big farmers now but there are many small ones. For the number of large ones, there are a thousand small ones. I live in a rural countryside. My neighbor just across the street farms 460 acres of land. I suppose that he has an investment in machinery of around \$50,000. He is a young man and he has a lovely young wife. He has a brother in law that farms another 400 acres just down the road. He is married. They are both young couples and they have small children. That man's net income with 380 acres of land, with over \$50,000 worth of machinery, with one hundred cattle, was \$5,000 last year. That is what he made. He and his wife.

And some of the newsmen that are here with me today saw that young man and his wife out there piling up bundles of hay, working out there as common laborers in the field in the heat and the sun. They are not over-paid.

The average dairy farmer in the State of Minnesota gets a wage of 52 cents an hour. How would you like that? The price support program does not make them rich. The purpose of the price support program is to provide something like a worker gets in a minimum wage. Every worker in this country, with few exceptions, has a minimum wage today of \$1.60 an hour. I don't know of a single family farmer in America today that gets \$1.60 an hour. I am for the working man. I have worked with them and I have supported trade

unions, minimum wage legislation, social security legislation. The farmer was the last to be brought under social security.

This price support program is pretty good also for the worker. The farmer in this country today buys more machinery than any other single industry. The farmer today buys more petroleum product than any other single industry. The farmers of America today use more electricity than the cities of Philadelphia, Houston, Dallas, San Francisco, Denver and one other. I believe either Minneapolis or Milwaukee put together. Now, when you have a drop in farm income, you have a drop in farm machinery sales. When you have a drop in farm machinery sales, you have a drop in workers. They are dropping now. Farm machinery sales are down. When you have a drop in farm income, you have a drop in automobile sales. Mr. Worker and Mrs. Worker are tied right into it.

It is not for the farmer, it is for the country, just like exactly like minimum wages are for the people, just exactly like many areas of economy are protected by tariffs and all kind of protections your government gives.

Question. First of all, I would like to say with a privilege it is to have an opportunity to talk to the Vice President.

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Question. My question, sir, is what is your attitude toward the Common Market and its impending impact on the economy of the United States, particularly if Iron Curtain countries join?

Vice President Humphrey. First of all, I doubt that the iron curtain countries are going to be joining very quickly. I will start out by saying I support the Common Market. I think it is necessary for a strong Europe and a strong Europe today, a Western Europe in particular, is vital to the peace of the world and indeed to our own security. The Common Market has a tendency sometimes to be inward looking. That is to hold out other goods and try to live within itself.

We encourage the development of the Common Market. It was not just a European idea. Europe went to war about every 20 years primarily over economics because the small countries were unable to sustain themselves. Now with the Common Market, they have been able to pool their production, to be able to develop a market just like in the United States within their own areas, and the standard of living for the European workers, European people has gone up very significantly.

With the rise in that standard of living, our exports to the Common Market have gone up. We are a very large exporting country. We have a favorable trade balance every year between \$4 and \$8 billion, a favorable trade balance. We export huge amounts of agricultural products to the Common Market and we export a large amount of manufactured products. To be sure, we import some from the Common Market. You can't have trade as a one-way street. I happen to believe that what we need to do is to improve our productive efficiency and we are doing that so we can compete. If the Common Market puts up barriers that are too restrictive to prevent American goods from coming in, then we have a machinery called GATT, the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs, where we can go and bring our case and point out a restrictive measure and get compensation. They do the same thing for us.

By and large, I think it is a good idea. In fact, I encouraged Britain to join the Common Market. I believe it will be beneficial

for Europeans, Americans, and for peace.

Mrs. Cole. I want to say something very quickly. I am so disturbed about the young people today, their voting and so on. If you are elected, how do you plan to go about convincing the people in Hanoi that it is in everybody's interest to stop this bombing and to do more talking. How are you going to do this if you are elected?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, that is the hardest question that a man ever faces. In talking to people about that situation in Vietnam, I have had to say to them in all honor and candor that no one can predict what the situation will be on January 20, 1969. Until then, I don't have anything to say about it except as another adviser in the government. I want to say out quite personally that I know President Johnson is looking for peace with all the power and all the influence at his command. His place in history, really, in a large measure depends on what happens in this war and he has not sought a military solution. He is seeking a negotiated political solution. He retired from politics. He had a better rating in the polls, may I say, than I have. And he retired from politics for one reason as he told me privately and personally. He said I want people to believe that I have but one ambition and that is to bring this war to an end.

Now, he has taken some great steps toward that. What would I do? The first thing as I have said I would try to do would be to reassess the entire military and political situation when I become President. To say that does not mean that you would automatically change. It is just that you ought to take inventory, as you ought to do in every area of government.

Secondly, I would seek to find some way hopefully as the Army of South Vietnam improves in its effectiveness with modern equipment and modern training, I would seek with discussions with the Government of South Vietnam to bring about systematic reductions of American forces in South Vietnam without jeopardizing either the safety of our troops that remain or the security of South Vietnam. Can I do it? I think so. I have said so. At least I will try to do so. And that is the strongest commitment that a man can make if he says he will try to do it to the best of his ability and hopefully find a way to bring this war to an end.

Mrs. Cole. Thank you.

Mr. Elwell. We will take another call now.

Question. Joey Bishop.

Vice President Humphrey. Hey, Joey, how are you? What are you doing on the other end of the line?

Mr. Bishop. I have a problem. You did my show last night and I let you use my dressing room and you accidentally left 38 cents on the dressing room table.

Mrs. Cole. He needs it for the campaign. Send it in.

Mr. Bishop. I have got six Secret Service men demanding the 38 cents and I said it was in the form of a gratuity.

Vice President Humphrey. Joey, give it to charity. You were very kind with me last night, bless your heart.

Mr. Bishop. I wanted to say thank you. I also want you to know you are in great company right there.

Mrs. Cole. I would like to say right here, of course I have known you myself for many years, but one of the things that it is important for me to state is that it is quite apparent that you, because of your personal integrity, you have stated that there are some things you will not do even to win this election. I think it is very important that our viewers know this. I have read it and I must admit that personally, I was impressed by the statement, and that you, because I think there is too much stake for one man to worry about a position, even if it is as President of the United States.

Vice President Humphrey. Maria, I have said that if the price of winning the presidency is to make a compact with extremism, and I mean the worse kinds of extremism -- racial extremism, and archism, the kind of extremism that we see today -- then I won't pay that price. I just can't do that. There is something more important than being just elected, even to this great office.

Secondly, I have said that I will do nothing, no matter what the political consequences are, that I believe in my heart will impair the success of the negotiations that are going on in Paris.

I can say many things to people for political purposes that might give me a few more votes. But I can't do it knowing that this might be an impediment in the way of ending this conflict. You know, and I have talked to you quite privately about this, that what I want is the stopping of this killing. And I don't want to say anything publicly or privately that will give the people in Hanoi the feeling that all they have got to do is keep up this war for another three or four months and then a new President will come in and they will get a softer deal from me than they would from President Johnson. I want them to come to that conference table now. They are going to get every consideration if they come to that conference table, because this government of ours wants to settle this war.

As the President said, we are prepared to help in the reconstruction of North and South Vietnam or South and North Vietnam. What is there to be gained any longer by the killing?

You know, you can't get a military solution here unless you escalate this war far beyond what it is now. And anybody that -- I surely don't recommend that. I would recommend against it and as President, I would be against it. So I am going to have to go along with some of my friends being quite unhappy because I won't say some of the things they want me to say.

For example, they want me to say stop the bombing immediately. Now, if I had any reason to believe that stopping the bombing this afternoon would lend itself toward bringing about better discussions in Paris -- in other words, toward deescalating this war, I would recommend it tomorrow morning. I would say it regardless of what the President liked. That is not the point. The President has not tried to force me. He does not screen my speeches. President Johnson has not made me his slave and I am not his humble servant. I am his partner and I am Vice President of these United States. I respect the President. I think he has done the best that he can possibly do. I know that his heart is heavy with this war. I know that he wants to bring this war to an end. And sometimes, I really resent the attacks that are made on the President as if he did not want peace.

He has two sons-in-law over there.

Mr. Elwell. This is exactly what the California delegation

wanted you to say, is it not?

Vice President Humphrey. That is what they wanted me to say, but what good would it have done? Would it bring peace? I think what I am doing comes closer to bringing peace, because if the men in Hanoi know this country is not going to play politics with national security, then I think we have a better chance to bring peace.

Mrs. Cole. We have to go. It's Mr. Elwell's show. I want to say things you remind me of -- when I was a little girl, somebody said I want to live with myself, so I have to be fit for myself to know. I don't want to stand in the setting sun and hate myself for the things I've done.

Thank you.

CPH-WIH LA

DEM FOR HHH DC
ATTN: HAL LAUTH
FOR HUMPHREY ADVANCE

FROM JOHN STEWART

FOLLOWING TEXT SPECIAL MESSAGE TO BE RELEASED AFTER VP'S
DEPARTURE -- AND ONLY TO LOCAL PRESS. REPEAT: DO NOT
RELEASE UNTIL AFTER VP DEPARTS. FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION ONLY
AND SHOULD NOT GO TO NATIONAL PRESS TRAVELING WITH VP.

BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR LOS ANGELES
FOR THURSDAY PM'S

I KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES ARE SEEKING NEW WAYS TO
INSURE LAW AND ORDER IN THIS CITY.

I AM FAMILIAR WITH THE PROBLEM. I BEGAN MY PUBLIC CAREER AS
MAYOR OF A GREAT CITY. WHEN I CAME INTO OFFICE, MINNEAPOLIS
WAS RACKET RIDDEN. WHEN I LEFT FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE
FOR YEARS LATER, WE HAD DRIVEN THE RACKETS OUT.

MY PRESCRIPTION WAS THIS*

THIS IS CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT THE V P DEPARTED
THE HOTEL THIS MORNING GA PLS

CPH-WIH LA

DEM FOR HHH DC
THANKS. WILL CHECK

WAIT SORRY WE DID NOT READ THE FIRST PART OF THE TEXT
MIN PLS

OK

AS FAR AS WE KNOW THE ENTIRE PTY HAS CHECKED OUT
WE ARE CHECKING MIN PLSS

MEANWHILE WILL CHECK HERE TOO. THANKS TAE OK

APPARENTLY HAL LAUTH IS STILL HERE IF YOU STILL CARE TO
FINISH PLS DO SO VERY SOOXX SORRY

YOU LEFT OFF AT WHEN I LEFT FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE
FOR YEARS LATER WE HAD DRIEXXX DRIVEN THE RACKETS OUT.

PLS CONTINUTXXX CONTINUE TU
GA

ARE YOU GOING TO ANSWER

GA PLS FINISH SPEECH TU

JUST RETURNED. IF LAUTH STILL THERE DEFINITELY, WILL FINISH
TEXT, OTHERWISE WILL HAVE TO WAIT FOR HIGHER POWERS TO DECIDE.C

PLS FINISH HAL ALUGXXXLAUTH IS HEERE
GA

OK, GIVE HIM MY LOVE. HIS OLE BUDDY TERRY.
WILL FINISHED TEXT IN MOMET
OK

MY PRESCRIPTION WAS THIS: BE FAIR. BE TOUGH. SPEND ENOUGH
AND ABOVE ALL, KNOW YOUR ENEMY.

I KNOW THAT AS RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS, THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES
UNDERSTAND THAT THE ANSWER TO CRIME DOES NOT LIE IN ATTACKS ON OUR
COURTS, OR ON OUR LAWS.

IT LIES IN REASONED EFFECTIVE ACTION BY STATE, LOCAL, AND FEDERAL
AUTHORITY, EACH BEARING ITS SHARE OF THE BURDEN.

OUR FRONT-LINE FORCES -- THE POLICE WHO CARRY THE BURDEN OF OUR
BATTLE AGAINST CRIME -- NEED BETTER TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT. THEY
ALSO NEED ADEQUATE SALARIES -- SO THAT QUALIFIED MEN WILL BE
ATTRACTED TO CAREERS AS POLICEMEN. SO THAT THEY CAN SUPPORT THEIR
FAMILIES IN AT LEAST MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

I INTEND TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS.

YESTERDAY I RELEASED MY XXXXXXXX DELATE

THE OTHER DAY I RELEASED MY TASK FORCE REPORT ON ORDER AND JUSTICE
-- CONTAINING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON HOW I WOULD GET THIS JOB DONE.

I AM GOING TO PUT THE RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- FOR
THE FIRST TIME ON A MAJOR SCALE -- BEHIND LOCAL POLICE FORCES.

I AM GOING TO PUT FEDERAL FUNDS BEHIND THE LOS ANGELES POLICE
FORCE.XX-- TO HELP SUPPORT THEIR TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT, AND
SALARIES.

I AM GOING TO GIVE YOU ACTION -- NOT WORDS, SOXX SLOGANS, AND
IRRESPONSIBLE ATTACKS ON OUR COURTS OF LAXXX OR LAW ENFORCEMENT
OFFICIALS.

I ASK THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES TO JOIN ME -- WITH FAITH IN THE
ESSENTIAL ABILITY OF THIS COUNTRY TO COPE WITH ALL ITS PROBLEMS --
IN BUILDING AMERICA SO STRONG AND FREE THAT NO ONE WILL EVER BE
ABLE TO TEAR IT DOWN.

###

END OF TEXT. ACK PLS.

WE HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT LAUTH IS ON HIS WAY TO SACRAMENTO
I TALKED WITH A MRS CONNAR WHEATLEY AND SHE SAID SHE WOULD
TAKE THE RELEASE DO YOU WANT HER TO HAVE IT GA PLS

DON'T KNOW MRS. CONNAR, BUT IF SHE IXX KNOWS WHAT IS TO BE DONE,
GUESS IT WILL BE OK.
FINE SHE IS PART OF THE ADVANCE PARTY I GUESS WILL DELIVER
THANK YOU GA OR END

OK MUCH THANKS. WE'LL FIND OUT OONXXX SOON ENOUGH IF THIS MRS.
CONNAR ISN'T LEGIT. THANKS. TAE

HER NAME IS CONNAR WHEATLEY END

OK

CPH-WIH LA

DEM FOR HHM DC

ATTN: HAL LAUTH ROOM 534

OK TO GO AHEAD?

GA

TO: TED VAN DYK
FROM: JOHN STEWART
RE: ECONOMIC COMPARISONS : CALIFORNIA
HUBERT H HUMPHREY STATEMENT

CONTINUED PROSPERITY AND FURTHER ECONOMIC GROWTH ARE NOT INEVITABLE. GOOD TIME AND BAD TIMES DO NOT HAPPEN BY CHANCE. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND ACTIONS DIRECTLY AFFECT YOUR JOBS AND YOUR INCOMES.

THE TREMENDOUS PROSPERITY OF CALIFORNIA IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS STANDS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE RECORD UNDER THE NIXON-REPUBLICANS. THE SAME IS TRUE FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE.

IN 1967 THE PER CAPITA INCOME IN CALIFORNIA WAS \$950 HIGHER THAN IN 1960. THE INCOME PER MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN CALIFORNIA ROSE BY MORE THAN ONE THIRD FROM \$2715 IN 1960 TO \$3665 IN 1967. THE AVERAGE FAMILY OF FOUR PERSONS IN CALIFORNIA TODAY HAS \$3800 MORE TO SPEND OR SAVE THAN IT HAD IN 1960.

ON THE OTHER HAND, DURING THE NIXON-REPUBLICAN EIGHT YEARS, PER CAPITA INCOME IN CALIFORNIA INCREASED BY \$500. IF WE CORRECT FOR PRICE CHANGES IN BOTH PERIODS, WE FIND THAT REAL (ADJUSTED) INCOME PER CAPITA FROM 1953 TO 1960 ROSE AT ONLY ONE HALF THE RATE OF THE LAST SEVEN YEARS.

THE TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME FOR ALL PEOPLE IN CALIFORNIA WENT UP \$16 BILLION BETWEEN 1953 TO 1960. IT WENT UP \$27 BILLION FROM 1960 TO 1967.

EMPLOYMENT CHANGES ALSO REFLECT THE VAST IMPROVEMENT UNDER DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. FROM 1960 TO 1967, 1.5 MILLION NEW JOBS IN NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT WERE CREATED IN CALIFORNIA. THAT IS AN INCREASE OF ALMOST 30% IN ONLY SEVEN YEARS.

DURING THE REPUBLICAN YEARS 1953 TO 1960, EMPLOYMENT ROSE ONLY 1 MILLION OR ABOUT TWO THIRDS THE INCREASE UNDER THE DEMOCRATS.

THE DIFFERENCE IS CLEARLY REFLECTED IN THE MEASURES OF UNEMPLOYMENT. IN JANUARY 1953, WHEN NIXON BECAME VICE PRESIDENT, 4.7 PERCENT OF INDIVIDUALS IN CALIFORNIA COVERED BY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION WERE IDLE. THE RATE INCREASED TO 8.3 PERCENT IN JANUARY OF 1961 WHEN THE REPUBLICANS LEFT THE WHITE HOUSE. IN JANUARY 1968 THE RATE HAD DROPPED BACK TO 4.7 PERCENT AND JUST LAST MONTH -- AUGUST -- IT WAS ONLY 3 PERCENT!

THESE FIGURES DRAMATICALLY REVEAL WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THERE IS A GOEXXX GOVERNMENT THAT RESIGNS ITSELF TO BOOMS AND BUSTS AND ADOPTS A "LET NATURE TAKE ITS COURSE" PHILOSOPHY.

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE REPUBLICANS HAVE NOT LEARNED SINCE THE COOLIDGE-HOOVER DAYS. THREE OUT OF THE FOUR RECESSIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE 22 YEARS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II TOOK PLACE IN THE EIGHT YEARS OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WHEN NIXON WAS VICE PRESIDENT.

UNDER THE DEMOCRATS, THE COUNTRY HAS NOW ENJOYED 92 MONTHS OF UNINTERRUPTED PROSPERITY AND GROWTH.

SINCE THE DEMOCRATS TOOK OVER AGAIN AT THE BEGINNING OF 1961 WE HAVE ADDED (ULINE) 10 1/2 MILLION JOBS IN THE NATION AND WE HAVE CUT (ULINE) UNEMPLOYMENT BY 2 MILLION. IN THE PREVIOUS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION EMPLOYMENT WENT UP ONLY 4 1/2 MILLION AND UNEMPLOYMENT ROSE (ULINE) OVER 2 MILLION.

YOU SHOULD NOT FORGET THE REPUBLICAN RECORD OF BOOM AND BUST. YOU CANNOT ASSUME THAT GOOD TIMES AND INDIVIDUAL SECURITY WILL PERSIST NO MATTER WHO IS ELECTED. TAKE A LITTLE TIME TO LOOK AT THE RECORD AND YOU WILL REALIZE THAT THERE IS A MARKED CONTRAST IN PERFORMANCE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

ASSURED PROSPERITY, ASSURED GROWTH AND ASSURED XXX ASSURED CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE REQUIRE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STAY IN POWER. THE ALTERNATIVE WILL BE RECESSIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT STAGNATION, AND LESS SECURITY FOR THE WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

THAT IS TRUE FOR CALIFORNIA AS WELL AS FOR THE REST OF THE COUNTRY.



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