

September 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Senator  
FROM: Jack  
SUBJ: Face the Nation

We should arrive at the CBS studios, 2020 M St., N. W. at 11 a.m. for make-up, lighting adjustments, etc. D. J. will be there to supervise technical arrangements.

The program begins at 11:30 a.m. It is live at that time to about half of the CBS network, but is shown an hour later (at 12:30 p.m. EDT) to the rest of the network, including Washington. You can have a drink and watch at the studio if you like.

You will be questioned by:

George Herman, CBS correspondent and regular on Face the Nation. He is tough and extremely knowledgeable, asks questions as sharp as anyone on any of the Sunday network interview shows.

David Schoumacher, CBS correspondent who covers politics and general domestic issues.

Jules Witcover, Los Angeles Times Washington Bureau, who concentrates on the political beat.

General suggestions

The comments on your performance on Issues and Answers

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 2

in May were overwhelmingly favorable because you appeared relaxed and because your answers were generally short, to the point and responsive. I would strive for the same mood and tone on Sunday.

The panel will take their cues on questions from the weekend news. As of now, some of the likely areas of questioning are:

- Presidential politics, polls and strategies.
- The economy.
- The Vice Presidency and Senator Muskie's comments on a black running mate.
- The Supreme Court vacancies.
- Attica.
- The draft vote.
- Agnew's speech on defense spending cuts.
- The Vietnam elections.
- Bussing.
- Nixon foreign policy -- Vietnam, China visit.

Material on these and other subjects is in the briefing book. In addition, here are some suggestions:

On politics: I would avoid detailed responses on a primary strategy. Max Kampelman called to say he thought the New York Times story Friday had too much

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 3

emphasis on this.

You should say that you are stepping up your activities to determine whether or not you should become a candidate, that the response you get around the country is warm and encouraging, but that you have not reached a decision and that questions now about primaries are "iffy."

The viewers don't want to see a politician preoccupied with a strategy to get the nomination. They want to see a man with ideas, vision, knowledge, concern, leadership. Too much emphasis on particular primaries, specific states, filing dates, etc., projects the image of politician rather than leader.

On polls: Stress the fact that they go up and down. Stress the fact that it is still very early for polls to have real significance. Mention the parallel with polls of Republican contenders in 1968: "About this time four years ago, the polls showed that George Romney had the Republican nomination sewed up, but of course he didn't get it."

This hits indirectly at the front-runner psychology of the Muskie campaign, without saying a word about Muskie.

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 4

On the economy: Stress the absence of job creation in Nixon's proposals.

Mention George Meany by name for doing more than anyone in the country to call attention to the inequities in the President's proposals.

Stress the uncertainty and economic paralysis produced by the 90-day freeze, with no real proposals for the post-freeze period.

In this connection, I think the analogy to the airline pilot you have used to demonstrate the uncertainty is unapt. If you want one, I suggest this:

"The President has acted something like a quarterback who says in the huddle: 'Gee, I'm sorry, but I don't know what play to call next. Let's just go up to the line of scrimmage and see what happens.' How can anyone have confidence in their leadership with such uncertainty?"

Mention your leadership role in proposals to Democratic caucus.

On the Supreme Court: Point out that you proposed serious consideration of a qualified woman in the Johnson Administration and again as soon as the first of the current vacancies occurred. You're not just trying to ride women's lib sentiment.

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 5

On the draft: Mention your vote on cloture, for the first time in Senate career, despite your leadership on civil rights and your long opposition to the filibuster: "I wanted to register my strong feeling about our continued presence in South Vietnam. We must disengage so that we can get on with reconciliation and reconstruction at home."

On a Black Vice President: Answer as you have before: Muskie has no racism in his make-up. But "I don't think we can say to any American -- black, white, or brown, man or woman, that he can rise only so high in public life."

You have not really had to confront the question of whether you agree with Muskie that a black on the ticket would lose votes. If this is asked, I would say: "It is impossible to say whether anyone -- whatever his race or sex -- would add or detract from the ticket. But I would hope that the time has come when the American voter is ready to judge a candidate on the quality of his character and his competence rather than the color of his skin." And stop right there.

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 6

On Attica: Stress need for prison reform, which you have long called for. Mention that the Attica episode demonstrates the larger problems of American society -- race relations, poverty, urban tensions, and the urgent need to solve them.

But mention also that it points up the need for greater security for prison personnel dealing with the potentially violent.

Vietnam: Don't be drawn into a prolonged discussion of the past -- the "why's and what if's" of the Johnson policies.

I doubt if they'll get on this tack. If they do, you turned it around effectively once by saying: "This is one of the things wrong with America. I believe we can learn from history, but not at the expense of today and tomorrow. What we desperately need to do is look ahead. What kind of nation do we want? How are we going to plan for our growing population? How are we going to find the 20 million new jobs we will need by 1975? These are the kinds of questions I want to address myself to."

MEMORANDUM  
Senator Humphrey  
September 23, 1971  
Page 7

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Even if there are no direction questions, you should try at least in passing to briefly get these things said:

"We must withdraw from Vietnam."

"The nation needs a vision and a forward-looking leadership that is lacking today -- and the American people sense this strongly."

Mention of the significance of your cloture vote on the draft bill.

Some criticism of the Administration on the school lunch program and mention of the new bill you will propose.

"Strong consideration should be given to nominating a qualified woman to the Supreme Court."



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