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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, MARCH 26, 1972

GUEST:

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY (D. Minn.)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Sam Donaldson, Capitol Hill Correspondent

Bill Gill, White House Correspondent

MR. DONALDSON: Welcome to ISSUES AND ANSWERS, Senator.

Senator Muskie yesterday in Wisconsin attacked you directly as the man he said was using political expediency in taking positions and decided your positions on the space shuttle, the ARM, and the Lockheed loan, he said you were a promise-a-day candidate who was refusing to face the hard choices. Do you plead at least a little bit guilty?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not a bit. Not one bit guilty.

I vowed when I entered these presidential primaries that I would avoid discussion of personalities, that I would concentrate my attention on what I thought were the major issues that confronted this nation and the differences between the

1 Republican Administration and myself. I have adhered to
2 that policy. I think it has produced constructive results.
3 I remember and recall when I entered the primaries I had
4 less than what I would have liked in the rating of public
5 opinion. I have followed the course of action I have outlined,
6 a frank discussion of the issues of the day without indulging
7 in attacks upon my fellow Democrats whom I respect.

8 After all, I selected Ed Muskie as my vice-presidential
9 running mate and I think highly of him. I believe this
10 course of action that I pursued has been what the people want.
11 I think people are tired of any kind of personal attack and
12 I want to also keep in mind that we have an election in
13 November and the political opponent that I see is not my fellow
14 Democrats but Mr. Nixon.

15 MR. DONALDSON: It was not particularly a personal
16 attack I suppose as much as an attack on your position.
17 Is that unfair in a Democratic primary where Mr. Nixon is
18 not entered, for candidates to point out the positions
19 of other candidates, with Muskie being unfair to you and why
20 won't you respond to him?

21 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I still consider that the major
22 opponent that we ought to be targeting our attacks
23 or our arguments on is Mr. Nixon. I don't think we ought to
24 ever forget that and I think we ought to be very careful that
25 we don't say something in March and April that we will have

1 to live with and have thrown back at us sometime in September,
2 October and November, and that is why I have been exceedingly
3 careful. I haven't hesitated to address myself to the issues.
4 For example, I happen to believe that jobs are important and
5 when I voted for a guarantee of a loan to Lockheed I did
6 it for jobs and it produced 12,000 jobs in Lockheed that
7 wouldn't have been there, and I think the workers appreciate
8 that vote. There has been no money from the government.
9 12,000 people went off unemployment compensation. 12,000
10 people are paying taxes. 12,000 more people are earning
11 income. I think that was a pretty good vote. I also have
12 to say that, on the ABM, that I have been one of the oppon-
13 ents of the antiballistic missile system. I also was one
14 that advocated no deployment of the MIRV because I felt
15 that was a dangerous escalation of the arms race. I didn't get
16 much help on it, I have to add to that, and on the ABM we
17 are negotiating with the Russians. I felt that I should
18 follow the lead and Senator Cooper, Senator Brooks,
19 Senator Church, who were the three men that led the fight
20 against the ABM, and yet said that the two ABM missile sites
21 that they had approved prior should be continued simply as a
22 bargaining tool when we sit down with the Russians. I don't
23 believe you can bargain with the Russians from nothing.

24 MR. DONALDSON: May I ask just one more question in
25 this series about the space shuttle? I gather from what

1 Senator Muskie says he is complaining a bit that you come out
2 for the space shuttle in Florida, which is very important, but
3 you don't talk much about it in Wisconsin, where perhaps
4 other priorities are important.

5 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yesterday I spoke considerably about
6 the whole space program, including the space shuttle. I don't
7 back away from it a bit. It is solid economy. It is jobs.
8 It is economic advancement; it is scientific advancement. It
9 represents real economy in the space program.

10 For example, the space shuttle will make possible the
11 repair of reconnaissance satellites, the repair of ^{the} communica-
12 tions satellite. It can actually save our space program over
13 the next ten-twelve years, millions, hundreds of millions,
14 maybe billions of dollars rather than having to destroy a
15 communications satellite that no longer works.

16 A space shuttle will permit you to repair it. I would
17 join on the space shuttle in Florida. I was chairman of the Space
18 Council for four years. I know the Space Program. Maybe I know
19 it a little bit better than some of my opponents.

20 MR. DONALDSON: Who, Ed Muskie?

21 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, just any of them, let's put it.
22 I don't want to get personal about it.

23 MR. GILL: Senator, another issue you were very
24 lucid on in Florida which will continue to be brought up
25 in all of the primaries is the busing issue. You seemed at

1 first, of course, to fully endorse what the President had
2 said about a moratorium and the various things in his
3 statement on busing. That was very soon amended, very
4 critically. But there is one point that I am still confused
5 about.

6 Now, the President has called for a moratorium on
7 busing. I thought he made it very clear that he was
8 talking about a moratorium only until the issue is settled
9 in Congress and you get a ruling from the court, but you have
10 severely criticized him for that while indicating some type of
11 moratorium would be acceptable, so precisely what would you
12 have offered?

13 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let's just get the complicated
14 issue of busing in some perspective because I have never
15 changed my opinion. I am opposed to busing children from
16 good schools to poor schools. I am for busing children from
17 poor schools to good schools where it adds to their quality
18 of education.

19 I happen to believe that the best way to get inte-
20 grated is to use in part busing as a tool but to open up
21 the neighborhoods, to break down the housing barriers, to
22 redesign school districts and, above all, I think what this
23 country really needs are good schools. Where there are poor
24 schools let's have good schools. Where there are poor
25 teachers, let's have good teachers.

1 Now, as to the President's own message, the message
2 that he gave us on television, the commercial, was far
3 different than the fine print that came out a couple of
4 days later and what I have said was simply that the President
5 did not offer any new money at all. He offered \$2.5 billion
6 that he would take away from other programs, and as to the
7 moratorium, no President can withhold the action of the
8 courts.

9 I seriously doubt its constitutionality and think that
10 it is most likely unconstitutional.

11 MR. GILL: Where and when has anyone proposed numerical
12 balance by busing? That is not what I understood in the
13 background briefings and what later was brought out by the
14 President, and you did indicate that you were questioning the
15 timing of the moratorium, so again I will ask you, would you
16 support a moratorium until the issue is settled either in
17 a court hearing or on Capitol Hill rather than the more or
18 less five, ten or fifteen-year plan that you have of overall
19 housing integration? Would you support any kind of a mora-
20 torium?

21 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I considered the President's
22 statement on a moratorium to be a violation of the separation
23 of powers that is prescribed under the Constitution of the
24 United States. He is not merely asking for a moratorium on
25 the Richmond case, such as the Mansfield-Scott amendment

1 did, he is asking for a total moratorium on all court
2 actions relating to desegregation, and in fact it may very
3 well open up many, many cases that are presently in
4 litigation or many cases that have already been settled.
5 I consider the President's proposal on the moratorium un-
6 acceptable; I consider his proposal on the \$2.5 billion of
7 money not to be additional money, but merely the shifting of
8 funds in programs presently pending in the Congress.

9 MR. DONALDSON: There are places where the courts
10 have said: Busing is the best way to try to break down the
11 old de jure-caused segregation.

12 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

13 MR. DONALDSON: Now, which is more important in your
14 mind: Continuing the effort to integrate the schools in
15 those situations even though it calls for busing, or being
16 against busing because of the inconvenience and the other
17 problems associated with it?

18 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Donaldson, no one should be
19 against busing where it improves the quality of education.
20 We have it all over America. The consolidated school system
21 has made that necessary. Also, busing is one of the tools
22 and an important tool for integrated education.

23 I think what the average citizen is rightly concerned
24 about is where you bus a child from a good school in to a
25 poor school in the name of racial integration.

1 I don't think it makes any sense and I don't think very
2 many people do. I think most Americans are fair-minded;
3 they'd like to see a child have a better educational oppor-
4 tunity and an integrated educational opportunity from busing
5 from a poor school to a good school. Now, that is what the
6 court has suggested and that is what I am suggesting.

7 MR. DONALDSON: As I understand it, beginning with Brown
8 vs. the Board of Education, the issue was not quality
9 education, although I think all of us can assume that is
10 the goal.

11 SENATOR HUMPHREY:

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13 MR. DONALDSON: And I think the court said no
14 what school was good or bad if it was desegregated because of
15 the de jure situation it was inherently unfair and must be
16 corrected so, without regard to whether the school is good
17 or bad, will you continue a very strong drive to include
18 the use of busing to break down segregation?

19 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would indeed, and may I say de
20 jure segregation is by law. That is unconstitutional. De
21 factor education is by housing pattern.

22 MR. DONALDSON: Segregation?

23 SENATOR HUMPHREY: And that is a kind of, new kind of
24 segregation. Economic segregation, social segregation. I
25 think that also should be destroyed.

(Announcements)

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MR. GILL: Senator Humphrey, big labor, George Meany, and the President, seem to be now at definite odds.

Mr. Meany has taken the AFL-CIO, as you know, off of the Pay Board. With all that you know about the economy of the country and efforts to control inflation, can you endorse that move by George Meany?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I can surely understand the move because it is quite obvious that the so-called anti-inflation program has not worked. It has actually been a hoax and it is understandable that Mr. Meany, speaking for millions of workers, would do as he did, and not only for organized labor, but for people all across this country.

Let me just cite a few things that would give some indication: There have been seven thousand applications for price increases, and only 107 have been denied, and five have been turned back. They are the price increases in this country since Phase II, the cost-of-living has gone up five per cent before it had gone up slightly over four per cent. There are just hundreds and hundreds of cases. Let me give you another one. The ITT, we have heard a lot about that. On January 14th the ITT and its subsidiaries asked for price increases in 26 different subsidiaries and different items and all 26 were granted; up as high as 14.9, almost 15 per cent.

Now, J. Pierpont Morgan, the great financial institution,

1 had profits increase of 35 per cent. Overall corporate
2 profits have gone up about 19 per cent. One hundred of the
3 largest corporations have gone up 75 per cent.

4 Now, the people in this country who expected to have an
5 anti-inflation program when their wages were held down,
6 whether they were organized or not -- a school teacher, some-
7 body working in a shop or a filling station -- these wages
8 have been frozen and over here on the other side is the Price
9 Commission that has let these prices get totally out of hand.

10 Mr. Meany didn't speak just for organized labor; he
11 spoke for millions and millions of housewives in this country
12 that know that prices are going up and know that the inflation
13 program is not working, that know they are being taken at the
14 same time that their husbands coming home with the paycheck or
15 a woman working in an office or a factory coming home with that
16 paycheck finds that it won't meet the bills. Now, that is what
17 it is all about.
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1 MR. GILL: What you are actually doing is questioning
2 the motives then of the Administration and the President.
3 I would deduce from that that you are saying the effort
4 as established and operating is nothing but a political
5 facade but at the same time their answer is that the
6 price of food is the greatest offender in this, with the
7 meat prices, the fresh produce. How would you answer that?

8 SENATOR HUMPHREY: First, Mr. Nixon said it was all the
9 workers' fault that we had inflation. Then he got around
10 to one of his spokesmen where he said it was the
11 farmers' fault. Now he says it is the middleman's
12 fault. Maybe the President should really take a look and see
13 whose fault it is. He said that Mr. Meany had walked
14 off the job on the fight on inflation. I charge that Mr.
15 Nixon has walked off the job three and a half years ago.
16 There is no anti-inflation program in this country.
17 Interest rates, bank profits, corporate profits have
18 gone up fantastically. Prices have gone up.
19 The consumer has not been protected. Mr. Nixon's anti-
20 inflation program just doesn't work, and it hasn't worked,
21 and what he is trying to do is find a scapegoat and I
22 suggest that the Administration go get a big mirror and take
23 a look in it and see whose trouble it really is.
24 They have no program.

25 MR. DONALDSON: If it hasn't worked, let's make you

2 1 President tomorrow and you tell us what you would do that
2 he isn't doing?

3 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, if you could -- could you assure
4 me that we would have that success tomorrow on the first
5 part, of being President?

6 MR. DONALDSON: I am neutral.

7 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, don't be.

8 What is needed is enforcement.

9 What is needed is an even-handed policy. What is needed
10 is just simply fairness. If you are going to ask
11 workers -- and I am not just talking of organized workers,
12 I am talking of a school teacher, I am talking about a
13 secretary, I am talking about hundreds and thousands of
14 people across this country who are living on fixed incomes.

15 I am talking about the elderly who are really the victims
16 of inflation, almost more than anybody else, because of their
17 fixed incomes. I am saying that if you are going to have --
18 if you are going to have wage control, then you have got
19 to have price control, and you cannot have it just lackadaisical,
20 with 45 percent of your rental units not
21 covered by price control.

22 MR. DONALDSON: Should we cover them?

23 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think if you are going to
24 have wage control, you have got to have even-handed
25 controls across the board.

3 1 MR. DONALDSON: Should we have wage and price controls?

2 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it is desirable if you are
3 going to try to stop inflation, but Mr. Nixon has decided
4 that he would try to put on the wage controls on the one hand,
5 but has not had the political courage to really move in on the
6 giant interests of the country, and let me say this
7 Administration is loaded in behalf of, bends over backwards
8 in behalf of the super rich, the large corporate structures
9 of this country and the price fixers of this country.

10 MR. DONALDSON: Well, should we now put controls
11 on unprocessed farm products?

12 SENATOR HUMPHREY: We don't need to do that. We
13 didn't even do it in World War II. We didn't do it
14 in the Korean war. Farm prices have gone up on the average
15 of six percent in the last 20 years. Wholesale food
16 prices have gone up 19 percent. Retail food prices
17 have gone up 45 percent -- in fact, 62 percent of the
18 entire cost of food is at the middleman level. Only 38 percent
19 is in the actual food. Beef prices have gone down \$3 a
20 hundredweight in the last week, but it hasn't been shown in
21 the supermarkets. I think it is about time that we had
22 a total investigation of the entire anti-inflation program
23 of this Administration, and I have called for it because
24 I consider it to be a hoax and a sham and it is working
25 a grave injustice upon the American people and no one is at

4 1 fault more than the President of the United States.

2 MR. DONALDSON: By the way, if I may go back just a
3 moment, you say you understand Mr. Meany has walked out.
4 Does that mean that you agree with it, that you
5 think he did the right thing?

6 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think Mr. Meany performed a real
7 service for the American people because he is going to
8 precipitate a total reevaluation of the so-called
9 Economic Stabilization Program, and if he does that, if
10 that is what is the result of his walkout, then he has
11 performed a service.

12 MR. DONALDSON: You don't think that it was a rule or
13 ruin type

14 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not one thing. Listen, the labor
15 people were promised when they came on the board they would
16 have a fair shake, and they haven't gotten it.

17 MR. GILL: You have long had the support of organized
18 labor, Senator Humphrey. Labor now appears to be in their own
19 public statements hesitant, with some exceptions -- some
20 important exceptions -- to give you the endorsement that we
21 might have expected for a Hubert Humphrey from organized
22 labor. What encouragement do you have that you are
23 going to be able to persuade them that you can win this
24 in order to get their endorsement before this convention?

25 SENATOR HUMPHREY: You know what they did was really a

5 1 good thing for me. They made me go out and work for
2 it and it is coming. The International, the Executive
3 Council, the AFL-CIO didn't try to pinpoint or earmark
4 one candidate. There are a number of good
5 candidates in the Democratic Party, and many of them have good
6 records with organized labor, and I think this proves
7 again that the labor movement is attempting to be fair
8 and not to dominate the political scene in the Democratic
9 Party. But I will tell you what has been happening.
10 In Pennsylvania when I met with the AFL-CIO representatives,
11 I got 84 percent of the vote in the straw ballot, secret
12 ballot. In Texas, I got 85-1/2. At a recent meeting
13 of three states in the Chicago area -- Wisconsin,
14 Ohio and Illinois -- Wisconsin, Michigan and
15 almost Illinois -- I received / 50 percent out of all of
16 the Democratic candidates. So I am earning it and by the
17 way I think I ought to have to go out and earn it and
18 I am gaining it, so I am very pleased.

19 MR. DONALDSON: May I move ahead to the problem of George
20 Wallace in Wisconsin, and nationally the Democratic
21 Party. Some of your colleagues who are running for the
22 Democratic nomination, Senators Muskie and McGovern come
23 to mind, and Mayor Lindsay, have criticized Mr. Wallace very
24 strongly. They have called him a demagogue, and worse.
25 Why?

1 SENATOR HUMPHREY: What I have done, Mr. Donaldson,
2 is to take Mr. Wallace on on the issues, and I will continue
3 to do so and I have done it in Wisconsin and I did it in
4 Florida. I have taken him on on the issues of taxes,
5 I have taken him on on the issues of education, I
6 have taken him on on the issues does he really represent
7 the little guy, and the answer is he does not, and I
8 can document the case, and I continue to do it. I don't think
9 personal vilification is going to help. I think it makes
10 a martyr out of him, rather than to weaken his chances.

11 (Announcements)

12 MR. DONALDSON: I am going to ask you what I admit is a
13 loaded question. You have just told us that you think
14 your strategy about not attacking Governor Wallace has worked.
15 Isn't that what gives rise to these complaints that you read
16 in the public press about you these days that it is
17 political expediency that is guiding your campaign, rather
18 than principle?

19 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not a bit, Mr. Donaldson. Let me
20 tell you, I fought the medical lobby on Medicare , health
21 insurance. George Wallace didn't. I have tried to close tax
22 loopholes as a voting Senator in the United States Senate
23 and taken the raps for it. George Wallace didn't. I
24 have fought for the elderly in this country and expanded
25 Social Security benefits. George Wallace didn't. And

1 I have been going right down the line. I fought for
2 federal aid to education, and George Wallace didn't, and
3 I fought for civil rights for 25 years for every American.
4 George Wallace didn't. I fought for equal opportunity,
5 equality of pay for equal work, equal rights for the American
6 women. George Wallace didn't. That is exactly the issue,
7 you see. It is issues that count, and I am going to stay
8 on those issues.

1 MR. DONALDSON: After Florida and his win there, Governor
2 Wallace said that we reporters should really ask people like
3 you whether you would support him if he turns out to be the
4 Democratic nominee. I know you say that he hasn't got a
5 chance, but it is a fair question. Should he win the nomina-
6 tion in Miami Beach, would you support him?

7 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't think that George Wallace's
8 stands in the Democratic party are the kind of stands that are
9 going to get him the nomination, nor the ones that can gain
10 him the election. He has no chance to be the nominee of this
11 party and I see no reason that one should go around pretending
12 that he would. That is playing games. He doesn't have a
13 chance. I think that I have a fairly good chance to be the
14 nominee of the party.

15 MR. DONALDSON: Do I conclude then, sir, that you would
16 not support him even if he should win the nomination?

17 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, if Mr. Wallace will endorse
18 full civil rights for the American people, equal opportunity,
19 breaking down the bars of segregation in this society, opening
20 up the schools to the American people for children of all
21 races, then I would say he would start to qualify, start to
22 qualify, but until he does that he does not qualify for my
23 support.

24 MR. GILL: Well, Senator Humphrey, many of the political
25 observers, whomever they may be, politicians and reporters,

1 believe that Wisconsin could be a make-or-break primary.
2 Now, the polls show you out front. Can you tell me exactly
3 how important you think it is? To what extent will the
4 results of that Wisconsin primary actually determine the
5 Democratic nominee for President?

6 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't believe it is going to be
7 the make-or-break. Honestly I don't, even though,
8 as you have said, it appears now according to what some of
9 you say that I am out front. It would be nice if I could
10 say that I won that it was the make-or-break, but I doubt
11 that. I think other candidates will go on and will be very
12 tough in the primaries. Let me say that it helps to win,
13 though. I know. I have lost some and it doesn't help.
14 The uplift that you get, the psychological lift that comes
15 from a win is really very, very helpful to you. But each
16 primary is a battle unto itself. From Wisconsin we go into
17 Pennsylvania and Ohio, into Michigan, and we have to fight
18 it out one at a time.

19 MR. GILL: Some of the issues that we haven't been
20 able to cover in any depth I would like to ask you about.
21 Knowing what has come out so far in the ITT controversy with
22 the administration, Mr. Kleindienst's role in it, can you
23 -- with what you know -- vote for the confirmation of Mr.
24 Kleindienst for Attorney General?

25 SENATOR HUMPHREY: If things were not any more clear than

1 they are today I could not, but I don't like to hold myself pre-
2 cisely to that because the Senate Committee on the Judiciary
3 is investigating these charges. I don't believe in trying to
4 make accusations without the proof, but there is a cloud
5 hanging over the government today and over the Justice
6 Department and Mr. Kleindienst has been involved in it and
7 unless that cloud can be removed, unless this pallor of un-
8 certainty and suspicion and doubt about the ITT case can be
9 removed, then Mr. Kleindienst ought not to be Attorney General
10 and, frankly, he ought to step aside.

11 MR. GILL: From what you know of your colleagues' think-
12 ing on this, you must have discussed it and had input, how do
13 you predict now that vote will come out on the Senate floor?
14 Can he win confirmation?

15 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Only if all the allegations which have
16 been made are disproved. Otherwise I seriously doubt that he
17 could be confirmed.

18 MR. DONALDSON: May I jump back to politics in Wisconsin
19 for a moment? Senator Muskie said today that he is the only
20 one who has won anything aside from Governor Wallace. He said
21 he has won in Arizona, in Iowa, in New Hampshire and in
22 Illinois, and therefore he is in the best position to defeat
23 President Nixon.

24 Now, it is true you haven't won anything. What is
25 wrong with his argument?

1 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I wouldn't say we haven't won
2 anything. We have picked up a few delegates down in Florida,
3 which was my first effort, and he picked up none. And that
4 is when we were in the contest together. It is rather diffi-
5 cult to compare how we do if we don't meet in a contest.

6 Now we are in a second contest in Wisconsin. I think
7 I am the one progressive Democrat that can defeat George
8 Wallace in these primaries. I think I am the one progressive
9 Democrat that can defeat Mr. Nixon. I received 32 million
10 votes in my last effort against him. It won't take many
11 more to defeat him.

12 MR. DONALDSON: You know, you keep saying "Progressive
13 Democrat." Who are the "unprogressive Democrats" who are
14 running now against Governor Wallace?

15 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I didn't try to say others were not.
16 I said I think I am the one progressive Democrat that can de-
17 feat Mr. Wallace and can defeat Mr. Nixon. I have a good track
18 record. We came within a half --

19 MR. DONALDSON: Some people think the word "progressive"
20 means Henry Jackson; that you were trying to make a distinction
21 there. Are you?

22 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think well of Henry Jackson. I
23 don't try to call my opponents names. They are fine men.
24 Many of these are men I have he-ped along the way like Senator
25 McGovern and Senator Muskie and I like to speak well of

those with whom I have been associated and whom I have helped.

MR. GILL: Senator Hubert Humphrey, thank you very much
for being with us today on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

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