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Who is a Captive of Whom?

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Democrat from Minnesota

MRS. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Former Republican Congresswoman from Connecticut

THEODORE GRANIK

Moderator

Announcer: Good afternoon. It's time once again to join the American Forum of the Air dedicated to the full and public discussion of all sides of all issues vital to you and your country. This program is brought to you by the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation, one of the nation's largest producers of metal products, so that you in your home may enjoy the authoritative discussion of one of the many vital topics of our times. Today the American Forum of the Air presents a discussion of the topic, "Who Is a Captive of Whom?" Here with us to discuss this question are Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, former Republican Congresswoman from Connecticut, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.

And now here is the founder and moderator of the American Forum of the Air, Theodore Granik.

Mr. Granik: With the presidential election just about five weeks away, the air is filled with catchy words and political labels. Their target is the American vote. One of the most prominent political tags emerging from this year's campaign is the phrase, "the captive candidate". Republicans shout that Governor Stevenson is the captive of the Truman administration, the big city bosses, and the Americans for Democratic Action. Democrats reply that General Eisenhower is the captive of the Taft forces, the McCarthy backers, and the Old Guard G.O.P. leaders. Are these charges "political babblings", or do they merit serious consideration by all of us? Today the American Forum of the Air will attempt to get behind these "captive" labels and see if they are really justified.

Senator Humphrey, as a former national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, do you think Governor Stevenson is a captive of that organization?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Granik, I think it's about time that the American political struggle in this election got out of the area of epithets and name-calling and slogans and that we got down to the issues. The good, wholesome sunlight of the issues will be refreshing to the American people. Now, let's quit fooling about this matter of who is a captive of whom. General Eisenhower is the Republican candidate. Now, if you want to say that he is the captive of the Republican party, well and good. Governor Stevenson is the Democratic candidate. If you want to call him the captive of some faction of the party, go right ahead and do it. The simple truth is that Governor Stevenson is a lifelong Democrat who has served his government with distinction. He is Governor of the State of Illinois, a Democratic Governor, and he has been proud of his Democratic affiliation. I hope that General Eisenhower can point to such a long service in behalf of Republicanism as Governor Stevenson has been able to point in behalf of liberal democracy.

Mr. Granik: Let's hear from Mrs. Luce.

MRS. LUCE: Well, first of all, I must say that I am very pleased to see that Senator Humphrey has begun at once by scrapping what I believe to be a false idea, that a candidate does not reflect the aims of his party, or that he is, so to speak, captured by some particular group. I was about to make that point myself, Senator. On the other hand, when you say that Governor Stevenson is a lifelong Democrat

who served his party well throughout the years, and then cast a little reflection on General Eisenhower, perhaps because he has not been a politician, I think we must ask ourselves why do we have parties at all, why does a man serve a party? I think he would be the first to agree with me that he serves his party in order to serve his country. And if General Eisenhower has not been closely affiliated with the Republican Party in years past, it is precisely because he has been serving his country in other ways in another profession.

Mr. Granik: Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mrs. Luce, of course, we all have great admiration for the service of General Eisenhower to his country. But I am trying to point out in this discussion—and I would like to make it a discussion worthy of the mature American audience such as is listening to this program—I would like to point out that political parties have different points of view and what General Eisenhower represents today are his own points of view, to be sure, and those of the political party for which he bears the standard. Now, that political party, Mrs. Luce, isn't just the political party of General Eisenhower. It is the political party of Robert Taft. It is the political party of Joseph Martin. It is the political party that has been defeated five times in twenty years before the American electorate. It is the political party that is desperate to get into power, and in its desperation it is at times willing, may I say, if not to distort the truth, at least to stretch it to a point that it would capture the electorate, rather than having the candidate being a captive of some force within the party.

Mr. Granik: Mrs. Luce.

MRS. LUCE: Well, of course, it is better even to stretch the truth than to stop telling it. And, as you know, Governor Stevenson said himself that he would stop telling the truth.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I would like to say, Mrs. Luce, I have never heard Governor Stevenson be accused of stopping telling the truth.

MRS. LUCE: He made that proposition.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would say that Governor Stevenson's greatest asset today is his candor, his frankness, his willingness to tell the American people that our problems are not easy, that it is going to require time and sacrifice. For example, Governor Stevenson hasn't promised tax-reduction when he knows it can't be done. Governor Stevenson hasn't said that there is any easy solution to the international situation when he knows there is no easy solution. And may I say with equal candor, General Eisenhower knows that there is no easy solution, and he, too, is under obligation to say so.

Mr. Granik: Mrs. Luce.

MRS. LUCE: Senator, I know that you are a very enthusiastic partisan of Governor Stevenson, and I know that the organization of which you are a Chairman, the Americans for Democratic Action, is very keen on Mr. Stevenson too. Now, I have here a little statement that you made and released to the press in '49 asking for a sound program for government economy. And, of course, all politicians live by eating their words. But I am sure you wouldn't deny what

you say here. You analyzed the budget dollar, and then you point out, quite properly, that 34 cents of that dollar is directed to national defense, 16 cents to our international programs, 13 cents to the public debt, and so on. And then you wind up by saying that 76 cents out of every budget dollar is dedicated to national defense, European recovery, veterans' benefits, and so on, and that only 24 cents of the American people's dollar remains for essential public services. And you propose economy in government. Shortly after that, in the Senate—this is from your own home newspaper.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is a very friendly newspaper, except that they don't vote for me.

MRS. LUCE: Well, these are your words. The paper is not quoting you. I am quoting you here. This is the Minneapolis Star. In your first session in the Senate you, by your own admittance—I mean here it is, your own estimate—that you introduced bills, many of them very high-minded and very fine bills. I don't quarrel with the nature of the bills. But these bills would have added a sum total, by your own estimate, of \$9 billion had they been passed. Now, that is very high-minded of you, but it isn't really responsible legislation when, on your own account, you say there is only 24 cents of every dollar to be spent.

Mr. Granik: May he answer that, please.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I have the article, Mrs. Luce, because, may I say, Mrs. Luce is so generous to me that I think it would only be well that I should know that the article is not by Hubert Humphrey but that it is by the editor of the paper, Mr. Nat S. Finney, who took the liberty to comment on the legislation, and then in turn I commented upon his, only to point out that he was grossly in error. Now, if you will get down to the bottom of the article you will find out what Hubert Humphrey had to say.

MRS. LUCE: I read that.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: But that isn't what you quoted, Mrs. Luce; and I would say that this is getting to be an old Republican trick, and I think maybe we ought to stick to the facts. Now, let me just point out—

MRS. LUCE: May I have the article back?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The issue is not what Hubert Humphrey did. The issue in this election is what does Governor Stevenson stand for and what does General Eisenhower stand for.

MRS. LUCE: I want to say—

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now, just one moment. I think I should have my turn.

MRS. LUCE: All right, go ahead.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: With all of the charm on the other side of the table, I still want my moment. I think the issue in this campaign is not whether or not Hubert Humphrey introduced bills in the Senate or not. The issue is what kind of legislation does the Republican Party and its leaders stand for, what kind of legislation and policy does the Democratic Party and its standard bearers stand for? Now, the Republican Party's standard bearers stand for giving the tidelands over to the three States, Louisiana, Texas, and Cali-

fornia. The Democratic standard bearer says no. The Republican Party says no Federal action in the field of civil rights. The Democratic candidate says yes. The Republican candidate endorses McCarthy, Jenner, and all that come along, despite the fact that he says that he is the great internationalist. Governor Stevenson makes his position patently clear that he will not embrace people just on the basis of their party regularity, that he believes that there is something more noble in life than just being a party regular. Now, I say to you that the issue in this debate is where do these two parties stand. Now, if Mrs. Luce wants to find out where I stand, I will be honored. I didn't know I would get that much time to defend my record.

Mr. Granik: Mrs. Luce, do you want to comment?

MRS. LUCE: Just a small correction is sometimes worth a lengthy argument. This particular clipping says that these are Senator Humphrey's own estimates given in this paper. And here are Senator Humphrey's own estimates with an article by you speaking of the estimates. And, excuse me, I have made a mistake. Your estimate was that it would only cost six and a half billion dollars.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, that is quite a saving.

MRS. LUCE: That is more economy than we have had in the last ten years.

Mr. Granik: Do you want to get to the point.

MRS. LUCE: Yes, I wish to go on and say that when—I am trying to develop the point.

Mr. Granik: I am sorry.

MRS. LUCE: I think sometimes a little background is useful. Again when Senator Humphrey tackled foreign questions, the question of China, I have here another clipping in which is his solution in his first year in the Senate. I am sure that he has gained in wisdom since then.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you.

MRS. LUCE: His first suggestion was that, at a cost of \$500 million the first year, we should drain the swamps of Asia and drain out the Communists with it. Now, I only offer this because this is—and Senator Humphrey is a member of the organization—an example of the high-minded, rather I think silly thinking of that sort of the A.D.A. I am not altogether sure that this is the type of thinking which they recognize in Governor Stevenson. Governor Stevenson's own record is very plain. He promised economy in the government of Illinois. They did not get economy. The budget of Illinois is higher today than it has been in the history of the State and so are the taxes. Now, the big issue—and I agree with you—is what sort of ideas do these two men have. And I say that Eisenhower is for a program of security and solvency. And on the record Mr. Truman's party, which Governor Stevenson is now slavishly following, has not given us security. We are in a bloody war in Korea. And certainly it hasn't given us solvency. Every American citizen owes the government \$1800.

Mr. Granik: May he answer that?

MRS. LUCE: Our national debt is \$655 billion.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, is it my turn now?

Mr. Granik: Go ahead, sir.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First of all, may I make this little comment. I appreciate the rather trite and sometimes, may I say, almost care-free way in which Mrs. Luce treats my comments as a freshman Senator. I appreciate the limitations of a freshman Senator. But may I say that my position in the Asiatic area, Mrs. Luce, was not spending \$500 million to drain a swamp, as you well know. My position was support of the Point 4 program which represents Christian compassion, which represents democracy at its best, which represents constructive planning and utilization of human and natural resources. This is the program to which the Democratic Party is pledged. And it is the program which was practically scuttled by the Republican leadership in the United States Senate. It was the program which the Republican leadership tried to put back into the committee of Congress and kill. I will tell you what the Democratic Party represents. It represents hope, not bitterness or the past. It represents compassion and understanding, not frustration and tension. It represents some planning for the future and some present policies for today. The Republicans are past masters of history. They are always going back some place; they don't know where it is. They are always thinking about the good old days that they never had anything to say about. They are all the time planning on how they can win elections by bringing out old slogans. Governor Stevenson has laid down a program for the American people. He has given that program in a series of messages, and it is a program that makes sense. It is a program of resource development. It is a program of equal rights for the American people. It is a program of national defense and national security for our people and our neighbors. And I submit that is the kind of a program that is going to win, and we can win without bitterness, we can win without distortion, we can win by the facts.

Mr. Granik: Mrs. Luce.

MRS. LUCE: Well, I don't like constantly like this, Senator Humphrey, to be attacking your credibility, but here are your own words which you denied a minute ago: "We believe in democracy and we should tell the Asians not only that in one breath, but we must say we want to help you drain your swamps."

Senator Humphrey outlined the draining of swamps, a symbol for Point 4, suggesting the expenditure of not less than \$500 million the first year and more thereafter. And then you go on to suggest not only draining swamps, but hydro-electric power facilities, flood control, irrigation, the expansion of public health facilities.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mrs. Luce—

MRS. LUCE: Now, I say we have to have an end to the kind of thinking that is going to pour this program, of course, rural electrification for China, pour billions and billions of dollars of the American people's money into Asia and all other countries and get nothing in return except enemies which we now have.

Mr. Granik: Do you want to answer that before we take our questions from the audience?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. I would like to say to you, Mrs. Luce, what I have said to thousands of people. Freedom is not free, and I am here to say that if the Government of the United States, acting with the private agencies and the United Nations, the church and the religious groups of this country, would launch upon a great program of development of underdeveloped areas of the world and the underprivileged peoples, such as I mentioned in the program for Asia, we would be further along the road to peace. \$500 million for a continent that embraces over a billion and a half people is a small price, may I say, to wage a war for peace. And I say that you have no program in the Asiatic area except to talk about old horses and horses that have been stolen out of the stable.

MRS. LUCE: Would you rather talk about horsemeat in Chicago?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Indeed, if you prefer. Anything to accommodate a lady.

MRS. LUCE: Anything to look out for the horse after the meat has been eaten. But to go back to this business of how wonderful it would be to do all of these things abroad, I agree with you, I wish with all of my heart that this country had the wealth of the whole world and ten times that much so that we could give to every nation. But there comes a limit, and I think that what people like you, Senator, are doing is making promises to the ears of people all around the world, that you must break their hearts or break the American people.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now, Mrs. Luce, I want to say right now that unless the American people take the psychological offensive, we are going to lose this war. Our problem is with the Soviet Union. And if you are going to put a price tag on how much you are going to pay for your liberty or your freedom, you are going to lose it. What we have to do is what we are compelled to do by the international situation and not what the Republican bookkeepers think we can do because they have never thought we could do very much.

Mr. Granik: I am sorry, but we must turn to our studio audience for their question on today's discussion about captive candidates. But first here is an important message.

Announcer: Each Sunday for nearly a year and a half we've talked about many of the important problems that face America. We have reminded you that Communism is a real threat to America's freedom. We have urged you to be on the lookout for their propaganda designed to set one group against another. We have urged you to analyze carefully all proposed changes in our government, to be sure those changes do not rob us of any of the freedom we now enjoy. Recently because this is an important election year we suggested that you study the records, speeches, and backgrounds of candidates for high political office. We've encouraged you to find out as much as you can about each candidate, then vote, using the judgment gained from a thorough knowledge of each candidate and what he stands for. I have reviewed what we have talked about during the past 18 months. Now, I would like to tell you what the television viewers have said to us. Literally thousands of viewers have expressed not only a deep and abiding faith in American freedom, but also a new determination to keep and extend that freedom we have today. This afternoon's pro-

gram is the last of the series sponsored by the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation. If the messages we have brought you during the past 18 months have played even a small part in reminding you of the dangers of Communism, if our messages have helped inspire you to take positive action in protecting and strengthening the freedom we have today, the original purpose of the Bohn Aluminum & Brass Corporation in bringing you this program will have been accomplished. Now the Bohn Aluminum & Brass Corporation returns you to the American Forum of the Air.

Mr. Granik: Now let's see what questions we have from our studio audience. May we have the first question, please.

QUESTION: My name is Don Suttonfield. May I direct my question to Mrs. Luce. Eisenhower has accused the South of being captive voters. He admitted he secretly voted Republican in 1948. Is he not the real captive candidate?

MRS. LUCE: General Eisenhower, in my opinion, is a captive only to the American people. A great many Republicans want him and, of course, a great many Democrats too. It is very interesting to note that one of the people who wanted Eisenhower and who must be a Democrat, was Senator Humphrey himself. He and the Roosevelt boys all ached to have General Eisenhower, in spite of his Republican affiliations, become their candidate in 1948. Senator Humphrey was violently opposed to Mr. Truman then. Of course, he defends him now. We know the partisan spirit. But General Eisenhower is a captive, in my opinion, only to the people. He chose the Republican Party because he thought it the better instrument to clean up what Governor Stevenson himself refers to as the mess in Washington.

Mr. Granik: Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I want to say, Mrs. Luce, of course, we would have loved to have had General Eisenhower become a Democrat, because no one knew what his politics were, and we thought it was a pity to have one who had been honored so often and in such a marvelous way by two great Democratic Presidents, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, fall into the path of political sin and iniquity by becoming a Republican. We were trying to help him out. A fine man like that ought to be a Democrat.

I would like to correct the record. Senator Humphrey was not one of Mr. Truman's most bitter critics. I take great pride in saying that I think he has been a fine President and I think his foreign policy will establish him in the history pages of America as one of our great leaders of all times.

MRS. LUCE: That is what you say now.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is what I said in 1948.

MRS. LUCE: Another clipping?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I will say that if you are going to quote the Republican press to a Democrat, why, I am glad to listen to it all afternoon.

MRS. LUCE: Well, I don't see why we should labor these points of what you said or didn't say.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't either.

Mr. Granik: May we have the next question from the audience? Go ahead, ma'am, please.

QUESTION: My name is Elizabeth Fielding. I would like to address my question, if I may, to Senator Humphrey. Do you claim that Governor Stevenson has managed to keep the backing of the Jake Arvey political machine without playing along with the machine politicians that make Arvey's friends in Illinois?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I surely do, because there is one thing that a practical politician likes above all, and that is a winner. He likes to have one who can perform. You can say all you wish about the so-called machine boys, but they don't like to lose the elections. They are the people who backed Woodrow Wilson. They are the people who backed Franklin D. Roosevelt. I submit that they were the people in the days of Abraham Lincoln who backed Mr. Lincoln. The Philadelphia machine, for example, was still going strong in 1860, but I point out that these men have been the great Presidents of the United States. Mr. Arvey has no influence over Mr. Stevenson any more than any other citizen. Mr. Stevenson's record speaks for itself.

Now, we Democrats do not believe in guilt by association. That is an old Republican doctrine. We sort of believe that a man is innocent until he is proven guilty. We believe that people are decent souls until they can be proven otherwise.

Of course, I must admit that the guilt by association doctrine has taken hold of a lot of people these days, but I just repudiate that and say that both General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson are fine and great Americans and we ought to talk about them that way, and I think that we ought to discuss the issues, and not the personalities.

Mr. Granik: Mrs. Luce.

MRS. LUCE: Well, one of the great issues, it seems to me, that we ought to discuss is the question of a price tag on our freedom. You think there should be no price tag. Governor Stevenson the other night in Baltimore said that he was going in for a policy of bare bone spending, so apparently he does think there is a point at which you have got to stop spending the people into bankruptcy. I think you've parted company for the moment, with that . . . well, he has parted company with you for the moment, since on the record the only foreign policy that the Democrats have had is to try to spend their way out of an attack by Russia.

I agree with you that the real issue of this campaign is how do we get a peace founded on a real prosperity and not a wartime inflation. I couldn't agree with you more, but I think the man who knows how to do that best is General Eisenhower, whom you yourself called a great American.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mrs. Luce, may I say that with all of my high regard for the distinguished General, I have never known any General yet who was a great budget balancer. I have never known any officer of the Military who has been given merit badges or honors by the Congress or the President for being a saver of the public treasury. If there is any area of the American Government

that is wasteful, it is the Military. And then there is a Supreme Commander of the Military, he has a great deal to say about the waste or the lack of waste.

So I would suggest to my Republican friends, that if they want to talk about economy, they really ought to parade Bob Taft out, not General Eisenhower, because a General is not a saver. He may be a saver of the war, he may be a saver of the peace, but he is not a saver of the dollar, — not that I think that that is the most important thing either, in the world.

MRS. LUCE: Well, Senator Humphrey, would you mind naming me two Democratic Presidents since 1932 who have balanced the budget?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, yes, I would be delighted to. As a matter of fact, Harry S. Truman in 1947 to 1949 had a balanced budget. I am glad you asked me that question.

MRS. LUCE: I am glad you brought it out, because it was the 80th Republican Congress that saved him \$3 billion.

Mr. Granik: *Just a second. Do you care to summarize, Mrs. Luce?*

MRS. LUCE: Of course, I will be very happy to summarize my position, although I am afraid we have been rather scattered in our arguments.

It seems to me that General Eisenhower is not a captive of anything except, as I say, the American people. What we have had is three dreadful wars under three Democratic Presidents, and their incompetence in foreign affairs has found no way to prevent these wars. Instead, these three Administrations have given us the biggest debt, the highest taxes, the highest cost of living and the most debased currency this nation has ever known.

It has headed us increasingly toward the Welfare State, towards the type of Socialism advocated by you, Senator Humphrey, by Wilson Wyatt, by Leon Henderson, and all of the rest of the ADA planners.

And yet this is the picture it tries to sell to our people under the slogan "We have never had it so good." You are the one who doesn't like slogans. There is yours.

Mr. Granik: *I am sorry, Mrs. Luce, we must take Senator Humphrey's summary.*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I pick up where Mrs. Luce left off? We have never had it so good, and even Mrs. Luce knows it. Even those with whom she is associated know it. It has never been so good for the magazines. It has never been so good for the people. It has never been so good for the American people in terms of two things:

Number One, the economic productivity and prosperity and, Number Two, their opportunities for world leadership. And that opportunity for world leadership has been undertaken under Democratic guidance and Democratic direction, and I would say to you, Mrs. Luce, that this business of calling people Socialists is unbecoming to an informed participant. There is no Socialism in a country that has more private enterprise than ever before, more people gainfully

employed, and an economy that is moving forward and not backward.

This is the program we offer: Faith in the future, and not a recitation of the yesterdays.

Mr. Granik: *I wish we had more time.*

Thank you, Mrs. Luce, and Senator Humphrey.

You have been listening to a discussion of the topic: "Who is a Captive of Whom?"

Our speakers have been Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, former Republican Congresswoman from Connecticut, and Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

Now, this is Theodore Granik bidding you goodbye.

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The American Forum of the Air, produced by Theodore Granik, with technical direction by Sherman Hildreth and directed by Joseph Browne, has come to you from the Continental Room of the Wardman Park Hotel in Washington. This is Ray Michael speaking.

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