

OPINION IN THE CAPITAL

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Sunday, January 21, 1962, 7:45 p.m.

GUEST: Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) Senate Majority Whip.

QUESTIONED BY:

Mark Evans, Vice President in Charge of Public Affairs
for Metropolitan Broadcasting

AND

Martin Weldon, Director of News for Metropolitan
Broadcasting

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MR. EVANS: This is Mark Evans in Washington.

Much of the world's important news is made here in this Capital city. To give you a clearer understanding of the meaning of the news, we invite leading figures in government to give their positions on major issues, to generate opinion in the Capital.

Joining me to interview our guest is Metropolitan Broadcasting News Director, Martin Weldon. Our guest today is one of the most important Democratic Senators on the Hill, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. The Senator is the Senate's Majority Whip. He is Chairman of the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and these other important Committees: Appropriations, Government Operations, and Small Business.

Senator Humphrey, a former Mayor of the great City of Minneapolis, he has been elected to the Senate three times, first in 1948, 1954 and again in 1960. He is married, has four children, and I am sure won't object to being described as one of the most eloquent and influential liberal spokesmen in the land.

In a moment, Martin Weldon will begin the questions.

(Announcement)

MR. EVANS: All right, Martin, if you are ready, we are.

MR. WELDON: Senator, objectively and in as non-partisan a way as possible, how is the Administration's program

doing so far this year?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, of course we have just started the program in the Congress. It is really too early to predict just how the program will evolve, except that I feel optimistic, as I did when the President made his State-of-the Union Message. I believe that the President has outlined for us a series of specific programs which have appeal in the Congress and need in the country.

MR. EVANS: Which of these do you place in most important position, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: ~~That~~ the most important program, as I see it is the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, with broadened authority for the President to permit him to negotiate more effectively with other countries, such as the Common Market area in Western Europe, thereby improving American export trade.

MR. EVANS: Where do you expect the opposition primarily?

I heard Henry Ford last week make a statement -- I heard him speak, where he wholeheartedly endorsed it.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, Henry Ford made a splendid speech on it and endorsed it as have many other prominent industrialists. The opposition to the expanded foreign trade program comes from localized areas, where there is a local industry that may be adversely affected by a relaxation or a

lowering of tariffs or the removal of quotas. Take for example, the American glass industry which has found it very difficult to compete with foreign imports. The American textile industry is under study right now. There will be *other* industries that are adversely affected.

The President, however, in his program is offering what we call a trade adjustment feature that would permit the federal government, working with the state governments and with the local industries, to provide assistance to an industry that may have been adversely affected, permitting special tax considerations, grants for construction of new facilities, extended unemployment compensation for the workers during the period of transition, retraining, relocation.

ME. EVANS: Has labor spoken up on it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, the AFL-CIO has endorsed the overall expanded trade program and therefore the President's program, but individual unions in certain parts of our country have taken strong exception to certain parts of the program and you have to expect that. But I believe if the country begins to understand that the economic competition in the world today is really the most serious challenge to us -- economic competition from the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, economic competition from the Common Market countries of Western Europe, from some of the Asian countries, I think that when we begin to understand that and then equip our

country to meet this competition on the diplomatic, on the political and the economic level, that we will begin to make genuine headway. The trade adjustment feature that I referred to is simply a way of saying that no one industry should have to suffer unduly for a broad national policy. That while we need the broad national policy of expanded foreign trade through lower tariffs and through the removal of quotas and embargos, that we are not going to let any one industry that may be injured have to carry an undue burden. We are going to help that industry out of national finances, out of the federal government, out of the state governments, help that industry get new jobs, new work, new production in an area that is not to be damaged by foreign trade.

MR. WELDON: Senator, on the bill for medical care for the aged through Social Security, which is one of the big ones in this Administration's program, might it be affected by this one that came out the other day backed by the AMA and Blue Shield -- \$3 a month for the aged. It has been described as an answer to the Kennedy program. Is it an answer, or is it a substitute?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't think that it is an answer and I don't believe that it is a substitute. I do want to commend the medical profession, however, on this forward-looking proposal. The Blue Shield project or proposal of \$3 a month for persons with low income and for those

persons that are 65 years of age or older is a very constructive development. It is supplemental. It doesn't supplant the Administration proposal, it is supplemental. It would provide for example, medical care, every part of medical care, including surgery for all persons 65 years of age and older.

Now the Administration program does not provide medical care, it does not provide surgical care, it provides hospitalization and nursing home care. So the Blue Shield proposal of the AMA is really just an addition, and I would hope that both of them could be adopted. I really want to compliment the medical profession on this proposal. I think it again demonstrates what happens when there is honest discussion over a great national need, and we know that there is a need for better medical care for our elderly at more reasonable rates.

So with the Blue Shield proposal, which is the private non-profit corporation-type of development -- many of us have Blue Shield; I have it myself -- with that proposal, plus the hospital and nursing home care under Social Security, the Administration proposal, we will have one of the best medical programs and hospital programs in the world for our elderly.

MR. EVANS: Suppose a low-cost hospital plan should come along, would you think it might obviate the necessity

of federal legislation in this department? Do you think it would become commensurate with this low-cost surgical plan?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I think this would greatly depend upon whether or not the coverage was brought enough, Mark. It seems that if you can get full coverage -- what we need is full coverage, and one of the advantages of the Social Security proposal is that everybody who is a wage earner will build up certain credits. It is sort of prepaid insurance, is what it amounts to, in an account.

So when he becomes age 65 and older he can go to a hospital, he can go to a nursing home and the bill will be paid. That is all. The government is merely the collector. The government doesn't provide the hospitalization. The government doesn't provide the nurses. You go to your own hospital in your own town, in your own community. But you are entitled to a certain number of days of hospitalization, with all costs being paid. When you walk out, the bill goes to the Social Security Administration. And it means, of course, that hospitals will be more solvent, it means that they won't have to charge those of us who are not eligible for old age hospitalization such high rates.

I think one of the things that happens today that is disturbing to me is that in order to take care of the charity cases, which our hospitals and doctors do, that lots of times other people are penalized by having to pay

a higher rate. You've got to keep these hospitals going and it takes money to do so.

Now it seems to me it is a whole lot more sensible to have some prepaid insurance. Now I do not think there is a basic conflict, gentlemen, between a private prepaid insurance program and a public program. I think they are both needed and I can say frankly that the Administration program does not cover the full need. There is a need of a supplemental program along the lines of the Blue Shield.

MR. WELDON: Senator, on civil rights, does it seem to you as it does to some, that the Republicans have captured the initiative from the Democrats on this? They complain about the President's failure to sign this Executive Order which would prohibit discrimination in federally financing housing. On our program last week Senator Dirksen complained about what the government is not doing about ending school segregation. "Ev and Charlie" have been at the Administration on it.

What do you think?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I think they are sort of late with their complaints. Maybe they have forgotten they had a Republican Administration here for eight years. There wasn't very much to keep one awake during that time, but if the leadership of the Republican Party feels that the Kennedy Administration has moved too slowly, may I say that that

Administration has been in office just one year and there were eight years of this rather slow-motion that we went through.

MR. EVANS: Hasn't some of the criticism been generated from leading Negro leaders, however?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, it is surely their duty to try to have any Administration, any political party, any government, to do a better job. But let me just say this, that in the one year of President Kennedy's Administration, more has been done to provide equal opportunity for people in the United States, regardless of race, color or creed, than in any comparable period in American history. And surely more has been done than in the preceding eight years.

We have established the Equal Opportunity Employment Committee in the federal government. New contracts being signed with General Motors, with Ford, with Chrysler just in the past week. There are well over two million people already covered in every region of the country. There are in the government of the United States today hundreds of people of non-Caucasian -- of our fellow Negro Americans who have top jobs. This Administration has broken through the so-called color barrier.

MR. WELDON: Yes, but what about this Executive Order on federally assisted housing?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It will come.

MR. WELDON: Do you predict it will come?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, yes, I predict that it will come.

MR. WELDON: This year?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it will come this year, yes.

MR. WELDON: You personally are completely satisfied with the advances made thus far?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I feel we have made steady advance. This is a great country. And one of the jobs the President of the United States has is to try to bring about steady progress, rather than having the country go into a constant state of crisis. Rather than more Little Rocks, to slowly move, but persistently move the rocks of obstruction and of reaction away. That is what we are doing. And President Kennedy has used the power of the Justice Department to defend voting rights. There have been more cases instituted to protect voting rights than at any comparable period in American history. And once every citizen in the country has the right to vote and that right is fully protected, it won't take long before the political officeholders in this country will see to it that equal rights are extended to every individual American citizen.

Now President Kennedy will present further civil rights legislation to the Congress of the United States. I am one of his lieutenants. I have civil rights bills in the Congress

of the United States. Senator Joseph Clark, who was asked by the President during the campaign of 1960, along with Congressman Celler of New York, to translate the Democratic Platform into legislative proposals, those proposals have been already advanced to the Congress of the United States. The President supports those proposals. All we need from the Republicans is a little cooperation.

They are very, very helpful today in pointing up our shortcomings. One or two votes here and there will do a great deal to remove these road blocks.

MR. EVANS: I guess this doesn't change, depending on which Administration is in power, does it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, the duty of the opposition is to criticize and I know that my Republican friends do a good job at that, as we try to when we are the opposition.

I repeat in all sincerity, and with great seriousness that we have made real progress. We have made progress in interstate transportation. We have removed all barriers of race and discrimination on interstate transportation. Interstate transportation facilities, bus stations, depots, airport terminals. We have made more progress at integration in the last year than in the preceding 50 years. We have protected voting rights. We are moving on the whole subject of our housing opportunities now. We are really making progress.

MR. EVANS: We will continue with this very interesting interview with Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota after we pause briefly for this message.

(Announcement)

MR. EVANS: This week's guest on OPINION IN THE CAPITAL is the Senator from Minnesota, Hubert Humphrey.

Senator, there has been much develop in Latin and South America in the past week, primarily with the spotlight on the Dominican Republic. I know that you have had conversations with leading people in South America. Would you care to give us kind of a thumbnail sketch on what your opinion is, for example, of the Dominican problem? Did we back the wrong man in Balaguer?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't believe that we did the wrong thing. Balaguer, of course, was in the Trujillo administration. He was the carryover between the past and what we hoped would be a better future. And Balaguer was doing a good job of cooperating with us, bringing about a transition government.

As you know, a Council of State had been appointed, but there are powerful forces in the Dominican Republic, following years of dictatorship, and those forces have erupted again in violence, with the military projecting itself ever more into the civilian affairs. And what the future offers is really most uncertain.

MR. EVANS: Do you believe communism is any factor in the Dominican Republic yet?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: More than that I think it is the habit of dictatorship that is a factor. There is undoubtedly some Communist penetration. The Communists are always present where there is any trouble. If they are not there when it starts, they seem to have a way of getting there, but I don't think that is the major item. I think what this Dominican situation reveals is that once a country has gone through years and years of dictatorship where the practices of democracy have been destroyed or at least submerged, that it is very difficult to restore representative government, exceedingly difficult. And what we try to do is to encourage the restoration of a transitional government to the processes of democracy in the hopes that we could do this without any exercise of force either within or from without.

This is a real test, may I say, for us. And I am somewhat confident. I really believe that the Dominicans are going to weather this storm and come through in the months ahead with a degree of what we call democratic government.

MR. WELDON: But if we backed the wrong man in backing Balaguer, does this damage our prestige in Latin America?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe the fact that we encouraged the establishment of a transitional government that had committed itself to free elections and to the restoration of

Democratic institutions was all to our credit. Until this recent upheaval you could mark down the Dominican experience as a great victory for the United States and as a plus, and I still think it will turn out to be that way.

The Air Force -- I have forgotten the name of the general now -- Roderique, I believe.

MR. EVANS: Chevario?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Anyway, the Air Force units have moved in rather strongly into the new junta, the government establishment. But I think it is too early to predict just what this will be. I can only predict one thing, that the forces of Trujilloism will not return nor will the forces of communism gain the upper hand.

MR. EVANS: Should Castro make an overt action there, would you recommend we go through more than just a parade of battleships around the island?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: If the Cuban forces under Castro should take overt action on the Dominican Republic, which would be equivalent to either a military attack or open infiltration and a type of invasion, I would suggest that we use all forces necessary to come to the rescue of the Dominican Republic and to put at an end Mr. Castro's dictatorship.

MR. WELDON: Senator, did you see the report this week that according to U. S. intelligence we expect that Red China

will explode a nuclear device within four months? Do you believe this and if so, what implications do you see?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have long felt that the Chinese Communists were approaching that point where they could explode a nuclear device. I haven't felt this out of just fiction or out of just what you might call emotional feelings, but out of some knowledge of the development of nuclear physics and the nuclear science in China. I have discussed this whole matter with some of our leading scientists in the field of nuclear energy and it has been known for a good deal of time that prior to World War II some of the most advanced nuclear scientists and nuclear physicists were Chinese, and they are still in China and it is quite obvious that the Chinese Communist government would be making unbelievable efforts to harness this great scientific knowledge and to put it to work to make a nuclear device.

I would feel that a nuclear device would be or could be exploded in Red China at any time within the coming year. This is why I have been so insistent as a Senator upon a treaty to prohibit further nuclear tests, with adequate safeguards in terms of inspection. I have long felt that the only way to stop the spread of this nuclear technology which advances itself or progresses into nuclear weapons is to stop the testing. You can not perfect a weapon if you can not test it. And therefore we want to have some

kind of a system of a guarantee of preventing further tests.

MR. WELDON: Well, would this mean if the Administration decides to go ahead with testing in the atmosphere -- and it may according to indications -- would you oppose that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would not oppose it if it were in the national interest. This will have to be judged strictly on the basis of how much advance the Soviet Union has made in its recent tests which the President is studying now, what our scientists believe has developed in terms of the sophistication of nuclear weapons on the part of the Soviet Union.

I really almost get sick when I think about it, because this constant escalation of nuclear weapons, more power, greater sophistication, greater explosive yield, more destructive violence, can only end one way ultimately. It will end in an accidental war. I don't think there will be a premeditated war. And therefore I really have become very unhappy, very distressed when I see what is happening. But worse than the failure to test would be to have an imbalance of power that would be in the hands of the Soviet, or the Sino-Soviet bloc. Our only present way of keeping the peace is to see that there is at least a balance of power so that the nuclear weapon acts as a deterrent to the possibility of open conflict. Therefore we must protect ourselves, we must defend ourselves, but I don't think we

out to test just because the Soviets tested. I think we ought to test only if our scientists have the evidence that recent Soviet tests have resulted in such advance by the Soviet Union that our national security is in jeopardy and if our national security is in jeopardy there is no argument, you must do exactly what the national security requires, namely test.

MR. EVANS: Senator, while we are still in the Far East, The British have taken an action this week in accepting an order from Red China for some airplanes, much to the disgruntlement of many people in this country. Would you care to express yourself on that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it is unfortunate. I am happy that our government opposed it. I wish that our allies would not do these things. Frankly, gentlemen, I believe there has been a much greater need of closer coordination on all commercial transactions with Red China. Red China is a belligerent nation. She is very aggressive. I regret this because the Chinese people themselves are a fine people. They are a noble people. Really they are a very enlightened people. But their government is the most hostile government on the face of the earth. I think even the Soviet Union has reason to be afraid of the government of Red China, and I think it has a concern over the government of Red China.

I do not believe it is in the national interest, I

do not believe it is in the interests of peace to sell Red China any weapon or any commodity that could in any way lend strength to its military forces or to its mechanization.

MR. WELDON: Senator, back on a domestic question, what is your opinion of the duPont Bill to allow the duPont Company to escape paying full taxes on the General Motors stock which the courts have ordered it to sell?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think there are two features in the duPont Bill. The tax feature -- the present bill, I think, provides a reasonable tax proposal. The other feature is the anti-trust feature of this whole duPont situation. If for example in the distribution of General Motors stocks by the duPont Company to their holding company, the Christiana Securities Corporation, those stocks were passed right on through to the holders of Christiana, then for all practical purposes what you have done is to let some people get by without paying their full share of taxation, and at the same time control the stocks in General Motors which would permit them to reestablish the monopolistic control that was there before the court order was sent down.

Therefore some of us in the Senate are hopeful that the District Court that provides the ways of distributing this stock will do so in such a manner that the holders of -- that the duPont Corporation will sell its General Motors

stocks in the open market rather than to pass them through as we say, to the Christiana Corporation.

MR. WELDON: Well, does this mean -- do you oppose the bill as it stands now?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No. It means that I am hopeful that we might be able to delay action on the bill. I most likely will vote for recommitting the bill to Committee to permit the court to make its distribution without any prejudice on the part of the Congress of the United States. I will vote for the tax features of the bill. I believe that the tax features are equitable and I believe that the Committee has done a good job that way.

I think the only danger is that the court may think that the Senate of the United States or the Congress is unconcerned as to what may happen to the distribution of the stocks and I repeat if those stocks are distributed to the holder of the Christiana Corporation, which is the holding company for the duPont Corporation, you have just gone around the circle and come right out where you started.

MR. EVANS: Thank you very much, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, for helping us focus opinion on the Capital. My co-interviewer on this program has been Metropolitan Broadcasting's News Director Martin Weldon. My name is Mark Evans.



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