WASHINGTON CONVERSATION

AS BROADCAST OVER THE CBS TELEVISON NETWORK

GUEST: THE HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHERY
UNITED STATES SENATE
DEMOCRAT OF MINNESOTA

HOST: PAUL NIVEN

PRODUCER: MICHAEL J. MARLOW

FEBRUARY 25, 1962 — 12:30-12:55 P.M.

ANNOUNCER: Join us now for a WASHINGTON CONVERSATION with the Democratic Whip in the Senate, Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota.

The CBS Television Network presents WASHINGTON CONVERSATION, an attempt to sketch in some of the details of this man, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota. Today, at the age of 50, he is the number two man in the leadership of his party in the Senate. He has been in Congress since 1949. Before trying for national office, at the age of 34 he was Mayor of Minneapolis, and in 1960 he made a hard try for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Today we invite you to meet him in a way you have rarely met him before, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota.

Your host for this informal, unrehearsed WASHINGTON CONVERSATION -- pre-recorded on video tape in our studio conference room -- is CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

Mr. Niven.

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MR. NIVEN: Senator Humphrey, until a year ago you had always been your own boss in politics, as leader of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, as Mayor of Minneapolis, as candidate, and as Senator. Now you are Assistant Senate Majority Leader.

Do you find that being a company man or a member of the establishment inhibits you? Is it different?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I wouldn't say that it inhibits me, but it's somewhat different. I think it compels you to be more considerate of the over-all program, of the needs of the Administration, of the planning of the Administration. When you are on your own, so to speak, you are not always privy to the long-range view, to the plans that may lead to something a few weeks or a few months from now, and therefore you can speak out quite freely without violating any trust or without consciously doing anyone any injury.

But when you are a member of the so-called leadership team, or, as you put it, member of the company, I think you do get information that tells you a little more about what can be expected a few weeks from now, and therefore your words will be more tempered and temperate.

MR. NIVEN: Do you ever miss your independence?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, once in a while, yes. I would say once in a while I do, but not particularly. There are other compensations that come that are much more rewarding than just the independence. It's the feeling that you have of being a part of a great national program, of -- well, of being given an opportunity to sit with and talk with and advise with the President and Vice President and Members of the Cabinet. Those are the real rewards of the man in public life, and I think they are much more meaningful than just being able to spout off, or just being able to assert your own independence from time to time.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, can you pinpoint the moment or the period in which you decided to go into public life?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I guess I have been interested in public life all of my life. My father was very much devoted to politics. Politics was an avocation for him, it was a part of his recreation. It wasn't a vocation. He was a businessman. But our home was always a center of political discussion. I can remember every Sunday that we would have political discussions on Sunday afternoon. My mother would cook up the finest of dinners, only to have her sons and her husband apparently almost unnotice, or go without any notice of the dinner, as they argued the political issues of the day. And when I was a young fellow in high school I was interested in politics. My father was Mayor of his town, a member of the City Council. He was an active participant in civic life. When I was young -- in my twenties, I was president of the Young Democrats of my county. I campaigned in the first election --

MR. NIVEN: You were in South Dakota?

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MR. NIVEN: Were there many Democrats in the county?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Paul, there were very few that were acknowledged Democrats, but in 1933, or in November of '32, Roosevelt carried South Dakota. But I can remember the campaign of 1928 very well, when Al Smith was the Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. My father, I think, was one of five men in the whole town, it was a small town, by the way, who was active for Al Smith. He was active in our county. And I was very interested in that campaign.

MR. NIVEN: You were 17 then. Was the religious issue of that year in any way similar to the religious issue which came up between you and Senator Kennedy in 1960?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I never felt there was any religious issue between myself and Senator Kennedy, because I have never had any feeling about -- of religious intolerance.

MR. NIVEN: It came up around you two.

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MR. NIVEN: You grew up in your father's drug store, to a large extent. You worked there, and went out and vaccinated hogs. Could you still mix a coke or a --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Oh, please! (Laughter)

MR. NIVEN: -- or a prescription?

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MR. NIVEN: They say your voice could be heard all over town.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It could, and I sold a lot of newspapers. And every time a competitor would start up against me, I'd redouble my efforts. I don't say that I had a monopoly, but let's say that I cornered the market, so to speak, on the newspaper business in the town. I started in my father's store when I was just a little boy, and I remember so well that when I was at age 11, I started to take inventory. That was a great day, because right after Christmas we'd take inventory of our stock, and my father gave me a catalogue. I can still see it.

It was a blue catalogue, blue-covered, put out by the Minneapolis Drug Company, and from there I would check the merchandise, how many bottles of this did we have, how many bottles, and see how much the cost was, that is, the wholesale price as compared to the retail. I'd put down -- 12 bottles, let's say, of Rem cough syrup, or something else, and it would cost so much. That was a great day for me. So I literally grew up in the drug business, and I love it to this day.

I am a member of the National Association of Retail Druggists, the American Pharmaceutical Association, I attend their conventions, I go home to our drug store which is out in Huron, South Dakota, several times a year. I could still mix a prescription. I am a licensed pharmacist. And I love -- I love the odor, I love the aroma of the drug store. I just like to be in them.

MR. NIVEN: When the depression came your father had to go out on the road and you rushed off to Denver Pharmaceutical College.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. NIVEN: And there is one story that you and Mrs. Humphrey were very poor, you were married by then, and that she made a lot of sandwiches in the morning and you would take them down to school and sell them for a nickel apiece.

Is that true?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, this was a little later, Paul. This was when we were at Louisiana State University. My -- the years from 1931 on were very difficult years for us. We were never impoverished, we had as much or more than most people did about the time, but everybody was rather poor. I was married in 1936. I went back to the University of Minnesota again in 1937. I had been there from '29 to '31. And Mrs. Humphrey worked, I worked, worked over forty hours a week in a drug store. We pooled our income. We lived in one room. We were able to get along fairly well, and our daughter Nancy was born while we were at the University of Minnesota, born in 1939.

It was in 1940, after we went to Louisiana State University for graduate study, that things got really rough, because I had to work very hard at the University, I was doing my Master's degree in one year, and we used to take, Mrs. Humphrey did made sandwiches, they were better sandwiches than you could buy at school, and I'd take a bag of those sandwiches on up to the graduade students and sell them. We about doubled our money, let's put it this way, it cost about a nickel to make them and I sold them for a dime. That was just a little extra income, a little something that meant that once in a while we could go to a show or that we could have some guests in for dinner. I don't regret it. As a matter of fact, I think those were almost happier days than some of the days when we have a little more money.

MR. NIVEN: Then you went back to Minnesota and at length decided to run for Mayor.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. NIVEN: How did you decide to go into elective politics?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I had always wanted to go into elective politics. I remember I came to Washington in 1935, as I recall. I was then courting my wife, the lady who is now my wife, and I wrote her a letter from Washington. I had been sitting in the gallery of the Senate, and I said to her something like this that -- possibly if we work hard, if I concentrate, if I study, if I go back to the university, if I prepare myself in economics and political science and history, maybe some day I can serve in the Congress. I was thinking of the House of Representatives. I wrote this in a letter, it's been one of our prize possessions.

My wife was a great inspiration to me. She kept telling me this was a real wonderful objective, that we ought to keep thinking about it. I don't think I'd ever gone back to the university without her encouragement. She felt that I should go back.

Now, speaking directly to your question: I took a try at running for Mayor in 1943. I was sort of in between waiting for an application in the Navy to be acted upon and the draft call, and didn't quite know what was going to happen. I didn't have much else to do, I was teaching school at the time, or teaching at the university, so I thought I'd just give it a whirl, and I ran for office. I didn't have much support. I had the endorsement of the local Democrats, and they weren't too strong. They were divided, which was a characteristic position about that time. And of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Yet I came within 5,000 votes of winning that election, and I really believe that it was that endeavor, that experience, that gave me the chance, the next chance, because we did a good job. I was young and active and --

MR. NIVEN: You ended up with a $1,300 debt, didn't you?

(Laughter)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Did I ever!

I ended up, yes, owing about $1,300; that's correct. It was a very serious matter for me, because we absolutely had no money after the campaign. I can remember that we were right down to just a few dollars, five or six dollars, and it was a most serious situation for me.

The debt of $1,300 was the result of unpaid campaign bills that I thought had been paid, and I was threatened with lawsuit. So we redoubled our efforts. I then went over to teach at Macalester College, in St. Paul. I received an appointment teaching for the Army Air Corps there, and Mrs. Humphrey and I took care of a four-plex.

MR. NIVEN: An apartment house?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: She did a good --

Yes, an apartment house. I put on all the storm windows, took care of the furnace, took care of all the custodial jobs, except Mrs. Humphrey took care of the halls, cleaned those, and we had our rent free as a result of this, and we were able to pay off that $1,300. It took me about two years. And I want to say that I, ever since then I have been very, very careful not to get myself too deeply in debt because of politics. That only happened one other time, that we got in debt because of politics, and that was in the 1960 Presidential primaries. By that time I had more friends who were willing to help me.

Then I was really alone, I was like the fellow out on a rough sea on a leaky raft. But together, Mrs. Humphrey and myself, we were able to get out of debt.

MR. NIVEN: Then you became Mayor in 1945.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. I ran for re-election in 1945 -- or I ran for election in 1945.

MR. NIVEN: And more or less revolutionized what had previously been a ceremonial office.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let's put it this way: I remember when I was talking about running for Mayor in 1945, there was a great question whether I ought to do it, because many people that were my close friends said, "Look, Humphrey, this is a dead-end street, the Mayor's office. This is a strong Council - weak Mayor plan. It's almost impossible to amend the city charter. You won't have any authority. It will be essentially a ceremonial office. And if you ever want to have a political future, you just won't have one, because no man that has been elected Mayor of Minneapolis has ever had a political future, I mean this has been the end of the line for him. You are a young fellow. Why don't you wait, why don't you get into some other kind of work and later on run for Congress or run for the State Legislature?"

But I wanted to be Mayor of Minneapolis. I loved Minneapolis, I really did. I knew Minneapolis. I knew the people in Minneapolis. I knew many of the young people in Minneapolis. And I studied the city charter. I had been a student of local government and I felt that just the fact that you are Mayor, whatever the charter said, that if you were the Mayor of the city, you are the Chief Executive of the city, at least people think you are, and in politics it's what people think that is almost more important than what really is, you see.

So I took, I went after the job, and we won a smashing victory, a great victory, and it was primarily with young people and the support of the progressive and liberal forces in our city, and I had bipartisan support, I'm happy to say. This was a non-partisan office, but it obviously became some partisan, there was some partisan activity in the respective campaigns, and I was elected with a very substantial majority, and we went on into office and started to reform the city administration, we started right out. In fact, the present Mayor of Minneapolis was my secretary.

MR. NIVEN: It was a very un- --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The present Mayor -- no -- is a Democrat.

MR. NIVEN: I'm sorry.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: His name is Arthur Naftalin, and Arthur Naftalin was a political science teaching assistant when I became Mayor of Minneapolis, and he was in his twenties. I appointed him my secretary. I was 34. I was considered to be a rather old man amongst the liberal forces of the city.

The present Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, Orville Freeman, was one of my assistants. I appointed him first in charge of veterans' affairs for our city, and later on as the chairman of the Civil Service Commission. He was 26 years of age.

They used to call this group "Humphrey's diaper brigade." That is, the old-timers.

MR. NIVEN: And you effected the merger of the Democrats and Farmer-Labor Party. And in '48 you were elected to the Senate.

Is it fair to say, Senator, that within a few weeks of arriving here you had antagonized most of the elders of the Senate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I've thought back over that period, and I don't know whether I had antagonized them or not. But let me put it this way, that by the time I had arrived here, because of my activities at the Philadelphia Convention, the Democratic Convention in 1948, on the Civil Rights front, I had become a very controversial figure. I think that is true.

You know, that always bothered me, because when I was Mayor of my city, I ran for re-election in 1947, I carried every ward in the city, and all but, I think, a half a dozen or more precincts. It was the largest plurality ever given, up to that time, to a Mayor of the city. And I had the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce --

MR. NIVEN: Newspapers?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: -- the President of the A.F.of L., the President of the C.I.O., and the Republican newspapers, all for me. Democrats and Republicans, we worked together, and we promoted charter reform, we promoted police reform, we had a good sound fiscal administration, and I think done a lot. We had the first Fair Employment Practices ordinance, and we had a splendid housing program under way.

MR. NIVEN: So it was new to find yourself controversial?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I got down here and all at once I found that after that Philadelphia Convention, that there was a great deal of controversy that swirled around my head. Also I was a strong Fair Dealer at the time when many people were, and I might say most respectfully when most of the press was quite antagonistic towards the Fair Deal. I've looked back over those days and I'm being very frank with you about it, I know they said, well, that Humphrey was right up there speaking, right after he got to Congress. The first speech I think I made after I got to Congress was somewhere in March or April. I hadn't said anything, and I did that --

MR. NIVEN: Three whole months?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. And I might say that now, as I look back after being here thirteen years, newcomers come down here and they speak the first week.

MR. NIVEN: So you were reticent, comparatively.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I felt like I was an old slowpoke, old silent Hubert, almost, compared --

MR. NIVEN: You did, however, attack Senator Harry Byrd, of Virginia, in one of your first speeches, didn't you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I attacked the Committee on Non-essential Expenditures, that I did. I had never had, I never believed in personal attack in politics. I never conducted myself that way, and I happen to like Senator Harry Byrd these days. I disagree with his, many of his political views, but he is a fine gentleman, and he is my seat-mate in the United States Senate.

MR. NIVEN: That has been very interesting.

After your initial attitude on Civil Rights had alienated the Southerners from you, you have become quite close to them in recent years. How did this happen?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, this would be my interpretation of it: I think we got to know each other. Somebody once said that if you want to dislike someone, don't get to know him. I think that when you get to know people, you become, in most instances, respectful, and there is generally the possibility of some, of a friendship, or at least a warm acquaintanceship. And we live together in the Senate, more so than any other group of people. We are very close physically, and we are close socially. We are close sometimes politically. Therefore, I found that just being with my colleagues in the Senate has given me an opportunity to get to know them, and they, I think, to know me. I like the Southerners very, very much. They are real gentlemen. They are warm-hearted people. They love politics, too. I know of no group that is more political, in the truest and the best sense of the word, than the Southern politicians. They are always filled with yarns about their family and their localities, their communities, their towns -- great storytellers and expert political persons. That is, they are expert politicians. This I admire.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, did the 1960 campaign, the primary campaign in Wisconsin and West Virginia, leave any bitterness, as far as you were concerned, between you and President Kennedy? There was certainly some bitterness there at the time.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not any bitterness at all. As a matter of fact -- well, of course, at the time of the campaign, particularly in the West Virginia campaign, you are tired, you are fighting for your political life, there is a tendency for you to lose some control over your emotions, and particularly if you are overly fatigued. Also, you're a hard fighter. I'm a hard scrapper. And at that time Senator Kennedy, a very hard political fighter, and an astute one, a very able and astute political fighter and campaigner, but I have grown to --

MR. NIVEN: How long was it after West Virginia before you and he restored your relations?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Very quickly, very quickly. In fact, it wasn't but weeks we were together visiting in the Senate. I bore no ill will, nor did he. I wanted him to win and I backed him and campaigned for him vigorously in the fall months, and I have become a very close, I hope a close friend of the President. I know I feel that way, and he has given every indication of feeling the same way. I have grown to respect him immensely. I always did, I always knew he was an able man; in fact, one of the reasons I ran against him was because I thought he was the kind of a man that could really give a good account of himself and that it would be good for the party and good for the country.

I had certain objectives in that campaign. I think you, as one of the leaders in the news media, commentators, one of the leading commentators, you know that I never really felt that my chances were better than, let's say, one to ten. I didn't delude myself about the opportunities or the chances that I had. I went into it knowing that I was running an uphill fight, no matter who it was against. I did feel if I got the nomination, I could win.

MR. NIVEN: Will you ever run again, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have no such plans, but I have no plans to say I wouldn't.

MR. NIVEN: What does Mrs. Humphrey think about it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mrs. Humphrey is a very cooperative and wonderful lady. I think she would prefer that I just attend to my knitting, but -- and that is most likely what I will do.

MR. NIVEN: Even in 1968?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, that is my present plan. I can assure you I plan on running for re-election to the United States Senate in 1966.

MR. NIVEN: Thank you very much, Senator Humphrey, for joining in this WASHINGTON CONVERSATION.

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Printed by WARD AND PAUL, Inc., 1760 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Rose - keep in transcript file

CBS NEWS
Broadcast House
Washington 16, D. C.
EMerson 2-9300

(Hold for release until Sunday, February 25, 1962
at 12:30 P. M.)

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Is that true?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, this was a little later, Paul. This was when we were at Louisiana State University. My -- the years from 1931 on were very difficult years for us. We were never impoverished, we had as much or more than most people did about the time, but everybody was rather poor. I was married in 1936. I went back to the University of Minnesota again in 1937. I had been there from '29 to '31. And Mrs. Humphrey worked, I worked, worked over forty hours

a week in a drug store. We pooled our income. We lived in one room. We were able to get along fairly well, and our daughter Nancy was born while we were at the University of Minnesota, born in 1939.

It was in 1940, after we went to Louisiana State University for graduate study, that things got really rough, because I had to work very hard at the University, I was doing my Master's degree in one year, and we used to take, Mrs. Humphrey did make sandwiches, they were better sandwiches than you could buy at school, and I'd take a bag of those sandwiches on up to the graduate students and sell them. We about doubled our money, let's put it this way, it cost about a nickel to make them and I sold them for a dime. That was just a little extra income, a little something that meant that once in a while we could go to a show or that we could have some guests in for dinner. I don't regret it. As a matter of fact, I think those were almost happier days than some of the days when we have a little more money.

MR. NIVEN: Then you went back to Minnesota and at length decided to run for Mayor.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. NIVEN: How did you decide to go into elective politics?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I had always wanted to go into

elective politics. I remember I came to Washington in 1935, as I recall. I was then courting my wife, the lady who is now my wife, and I wrote her a letter from Washington. I had been sitting in the gallery of the Senate, and I said to her something like this that -- possibly if we work hard, if I concentrate, if I study, if I go back to the university, if I prepare myself in economics and political science and history, maybe some day I can serve in the Congress. I was thinking of the House of Representatives. I wrote this in a letter, it's been one of our prize possessions.

My wife was a great inspiration to me. She kept telling me this was a real wonderful objective, that we ought to keep thinking about it. I don't think I'd ever gone back to the university without her encouragement. She felt that I should go back.

Now, speaking directly to your question: I took a try at running for Mayor in 1943. I was sort of in between waiting for an application in the Navy to be acted upon and the draft call, and didn't quite know what was going to happen. I didn't have much else to do, I was teaching school at the time, or teaching at the university, so I thought I'd just give it a whirl, and I ran for office. I didn't have much support. I had the endorsement of the local Democrats, and they weren't

too strong. They were divided, which was a characteristic position about that time. And of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Yet I came within 5,000 votes of winning that election, and I really believe that it was that endeavor, that experience, that gave me the chance, the next chance, because we did a good job. I was young and active and --

MR. NIVEN: You ended up with a $1,300 debt, didn't you?

(Laughter.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Did I ever!

I ended up, yes, owing about $1,300; that's correct. It was a very serious matter for me, because we absolutely had no money after the campaign. I can remember that we were right down to just a few dollars, five or six dollars, and it was a most serious situation for me.

The debt of $1,300 was the result of unpaid campaign bills that I thought had been paid, and I was threatened with lawsuit. So we redoubled our efforts. I then went over to teach at Macalester College, in St. Paul. I received an appointment teaching for the Army Air Corps there, and Mrs. Humphrey and I took care of a four-plex.

MR. NIVEN: An apartment house?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: She did a good --

Yes, an apartment house. I put on all the storm

windows, took care of the furnace, took care of all the custodial jobs, except Mrs. Humphrey took care of the halls, cleaned those, and we had our rent free as a result of this, and we were able to pay off that $1,300. It took me about two years. And I want to say that I, ever since then I have been very, very careful not to get myself too deeply in debt because of politics. That only happened one other time, that we got in debt because of politics, and that was in the 1960 Presidential primaries. By that time I had more friends who were willing to help me.

Then I was really alone, I was like the fellow out on a rough sea on a leaky raft. But together, Mrs. Humphrey and myself, we were able to get out of debt.

MR. NIVEN: Then you became Mayor in 1945.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. I ran for re-election in 1945 -- or I ran for election in 1945.

MR. NIVEN: And more or less revolutionized what had previously been a ceremonial office.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let's put it this way: I remember when I was talking about running for Mayor in 1945, there was a great question whether I ought to do it, because many people that were my close friends said, "Look, Humphrey, this is a dead-end street, the Mayor's office. This is a strong Council - weak Mayor

plan. It's almost impossible to amend the city charter. You won't have any authority. It will be essentially a ceremonial office. And if you ever want to have a political future, you just won't have one, because no man that has been elected Mayor of Minneapolis has ever had a political future, I mean this has been the end of the line for him. You are a young fellow. Why don't you wait, why don't you get into some other kind of work and later on run for Congress or run for the State Legislature?"

But I wanted to be Mayor of Minneapolis. I loved Minneapolis, I really did. I knew Minneapolis. I knew the people in Minneapolis. I knew many of the young people in Minneapolis. And I studied the city charter. I had been a student of local government and I felt that just the fact that you are Mayor, whatever the charter said, that if you were the Mayor of the city, you are the Chief Executive of the city, at least people think you are, and in politics it's what people think that is almost more important than what really is, you see.

So I took, I went after the job, and we won a smashing victory, a great victory, and it was primarily with young people and the support of the progressive and liberal forces in our city, and I had bipartisan support, I'm happy to say. This was a non-partisan office, but

it obviously became some partisan, there was some partisan activity in the respective campaigns, and I was elected with a very substantial majority, and we went on into office and started to reform the city administration, we started right out. In fact, the present Mayor of Minneapolis was my secretary.

MR. NIVEN: It was a very un- --

SENATOR HUMPHREY: The present Mayor -- no -- is a Democrat.

MR. NIVEN: I'm sorry.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: His name is Arthur Naftalin, and Arthur Naftalin was a political science teaching assistant when I became Mayor of Minneapolis, and he was in his twenties. I appointed him my secretary. I was 34. I was considered to be a rather old man amongst the liberal forces of the city.

The present Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, Orville Freeman, was one of my asistants. I appointed him first in charge of veterans' affairs for our city, and later on as the chairman of the Civil Service Commission. He was 26 years of age.

They used to call this group "Humphrey's diaper brigade." That is, the old-timers.

MR. NIVEN: And you affected the merger of the Democrats and Farmer-Labor Party. And in '48 you were

elected to the Senate.

Is it fair to say, Senator, that within a few weeks of arriving here you had antagonized most of the elders of the Senate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I've thought back over that period, and I don't know whether I had antagonized them or not. But let me put it this way, that by the time I had arrived here, because of my activities at the Philadelphia Convention, the Democratic Convention in 1948, on the Civil Rights front, I had become a very controversial figure. I think that is true.

You know, that always bothered me, because when I was Mayor of my city, I ran for re-election in 1947, I carried very ward in the city, and all but, I think, a half a dozen or more precincts. It was the largest plurality ever given, up to that time, to a Mayor of the city. And I had the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce --

MR. NIVEN: Newspapers?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: -- the President of the A.F.of L., the President of the C.I.O., and the Republican newspapers, all for me. Democrats and Republicans, we worked together, and we promoted charter reform, we promoted police reform, we had a good sound fiscal administration, and I think

done a lot. We had the first Fair Employment Practices ordinance, and we had a splendid housing program under way.

MR. NIVEN: So it was new to find yourself controversial?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I got down here and all at once I found that after that Philadelphia Convention, that there was a great deal of controversy that swirled around my head. Also I was a strong Fair Dealer at the time when many people were, and I might say most respectfully when most of the press was quite antagonistic towards the Fair Deal. I've looked back over those days and I'm being very frank with you about it, I know they said, well, that Humphrey was right up there speaking, right after he got to Congress. The first speech I think I made after I got to Congress was somewhere in March or April. I hadn't said anything, and I did that --

MR. NIVEN: Three whole months?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. And I might say that now, as I look back after being here thirteen years, newcomers come down here and they speak the first week.

MR. NIVEN: So you were reticent, comparatively.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I felt like I was an old slow poke, old silent Hubert, almost, compared --

MR. NIVEN: You did, however, attack Senator Harry

Byrd, of Virginia, in one of your first speeches, didn't you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I attacked the Committee on Non-essential Expenditures, that I did. I had never had, I never believed in personal attack in politics. I never conducted myself that way, and I happen to like Senator Harry Byrd these days. I disagree with his, many of his political views, but he is a fine gentleman, and he is my seat-mate in the United States Senate.

MR. NIVEN: That has been very interesting.

After your initial attitude on Civil Rights had alienated the Southerners from you, you have become quite close to them in recent years. How did this happen?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, this would be my interpretation of it: I think we got to know each other. Somebody once said that if you want to dislike someone, don't get to know him. I think that when you get to know people, you become, in most instances, respectful, and there is generally the possibility of some, of a friendship, or at least a warm acquaintanceship. And we live together in the Senate, more so than any other group of people. We are very close physically, and we are close socially. We are

close sometimes politically. Therefore, I found that just being with my colleagues in the Senate has given me an opportunity to get to know them, and they, I think, to know me. I like the Southerners very, very much. They are real gentlemen. They are warm-hearted people. They love politics, too. I know of no group that is more political, in the truest and the best sense of the word, than the Southern politicians. They are always filled with yarns about their family and their localities, their communities, their towns -- great storytellers and expert political persons. That is, they are expert politicians. This I admire.

MR. NIVEN: Senator, did the 1960 campaign, the primary campaign in Wisconsin and West Virginia, leave any bitterness, as far as you were concerned, between you and President Kennedy? There was certainly some bitterness there at the time.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not any bitterness at all. As a matter of fact -- well, of course, at the time of the campaign, particularly in the West Virginia campaign, you are tired, you are fighting for your political life, there is a tendency for you to lose some control over your emotions, and particularly if you are overly fatigued. Also, you're a hard fighter. I'm a hard scrapper. And at that time Senator Kennedy,

a very hard political fighter, and an astute one, a very able and astute political fighter and campaigner, but I have grown to --

MR. NIVEN: How long was it after West Virginia before you and he restored your relations?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Very quickly, very quickly. In fact, it wasn't but weeks we were together visiting in the Senate. I bore no ill will, nor did he. I wanted him to win and I backed him and campaigned for him vigorously in the fall months, and I have become a very close, I hope a close friend of the President. I know I feel that way, and he has given every indication of feeling the same way. I have grown to respect him immensely. I always did, I always knew he was an able man; in fact, one of the reasons I ran against him was because I thought he was the kind of a man that could really give a good account of himself and that it would be good for the party and good for the country.

I had certain objectives in that campaign. I think you, as one of the leaders in the news media, commentators, one of the leading commentators, you know that I never really felt that my chances were better than, let's say, one to ten. I didn't delude myself about the opportunities or the chances that

I had. I went into it knowing that I was running an uphill fight, no matter who it was against. I did feel if I got the nomination, I could win.

MR. NIVEN: Will you ever run again, Senator?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have no such plans, but I have no plans to say I wouldn't.

MR. NIVEN: What does Mrs. Humphrey think about it?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mrs. Humphrey is a very cooperative and wonderful lady. I think she would prefer that I just attend to my knitting, but -- and that is most likely what I will do.

MR. NIVEN: Even in 1968?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, that is my present plan. I can assure you I plan on running for re-election to the United States Senate in 1966.

MR. NIVEN: Thank you very much, Senator Humphrey, for joining in this WASHINGTON CONVERSATION.

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ANNOUNCER: Our guest has been the Democratic Whip in the Senate, Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota. He was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

For a copy of the written transcript of today's program, the private mind and public philosophy of Senator Humphrey, send ten cents and a stamped, self-addressed envelope to WASHINGTON CONVERSATION, Post

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