

[Feb 18]

NEWS

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY TELLS UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS ON TELEVISION SPECIAL, FACE TO FACE

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey expanded the education of a gathering of Washington-area university students during the videotaping of a television special, FACE TO FACE, to be broadcast Sunday, February 18, from 7:00 until 8:00 p.m. on WTTG 5.

During the hour-long question and answer period, Vice President Humphrey informed the student gathering concerning his reactions to campus dissent of Selective Service laws, reminding the students that "students (P. 20) have really less to complain about Selective Service than most other people". The Vice President also told (P. 16) the student group that he believes "that our Selective Service Law can stand a good review".

The Vice President, during the student questioning, remarked extensively on the reporting of the Viet Nam war by both Intelligence sources and members (P. 33) of the news media.

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Moderated by Mark Evans, Vice President and Director of Public Affairs for Metromedia, Inc., FACE TO FACE is broadcast throughout the United States over Metromedia Radio and Television stations and sixteen stations of the Eastern Educational Network. The program is distributed internationally via the Armed Forces Radio and Television System and Radio Worldwide New York.

F A C E TO F A C E

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of The United States

confronts

a panel of twelve students from six
Washington, D.C. area universities

moderated by

Mark Evans

Vice President and Director of Public
Affairs, Metromedia, Inc.

for

"Face to Face", a WTTG 5 production for
Metromedia Television. The program is
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Washington, D.C. on Sunday, February 18,
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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. EVANS: The program is dedicated to public enlightenment through dialogue. My name is Mark Evans; you are welcome to Face to Face.

(General applause.)

MR. EVANS: Welcome to a special edition of Face to Face. We are honored to have as our guest the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey.

Vice President Humphrey has agreed to this, his first televised confrontation with a panel of college students representing a cross-section of campus opinion in the Washington area. These twelve young people come from many parts of the United States and from several foreign countries. It can be said they represent the questions the young people of today want answered. You'll meet our student panel individually as they question the Vice President.

I would inform you that the ground rules are very simple; I will act as arbiter and will relay the questions to the Vice President. I know that you're pleased, as I am, to be able to meet him Face to Face. We'll continue with the questioning, or get on with the questioning, right after this moment.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Vice President, with half the population of the United States now under 25, we are singularly

1 honored that you would meet with this group of young people
2 to answer questions. I thought maybe, feeling a little
3 younger myself, facing them, that I might pose the first ques-
4 tion myself, which would be more objective than if they had
5 asked it.

6 Are you disturbed by the growing unrest on the college
7 campuses of the nation?

8 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, in fact, I really welcome the
9 involvement and the concern of students in their own academic
10 affairs, in the operation of their universities, and their
11 concern over national policy, and their interest in human
12 rights, their concern about peace and war. I've always cher-
13 ished, as I hope every free man does, the right of dissent,
14 but I would hope that those of us that, on occasion, feel that
15 we need to dissent, would also recognize the right of advocacy.
16 If I have any complaint at all, it's only this: that I believe
17 that those of us who are privileged to have an education have
18 a special obligation to make sure that our protests, our con-
19 cern, our dissent or our advocacy, is all accomplished or all
20 undertaken in good manners, in a respect for the other man's
21 point of view, for each party to be heard and no one to be
22 victimized, either by violence or disturbance that would deny
23 freedom of speech.

24 MR. BYRNE: Alright, sir. I think there might be
25 some examples here of people who are concerned and who may

1 have some questions.

2 Let's have the first question, please. Your name, and
3 your state from which you come, and your university?

4 MR. ATKINSON: My name is Dave Atkinson, from the
5 University of Maryland ---

6 MR. EVANS: A little bit louder, please. Go ahead.

7 MR. ATKINSON: My name is Dave Atkinson, from the
8 University of Maryland; my hometown is Bremerton, Washington.

9 Mr. Vice President, last summer when you were in Detroit,
10 you mentioned, or suggested, a domestic Marshall Plan. Would
11 you precisely tell us what you meant by that?

12 MR. HUMPHREY: What I meant by it was, first of all
13 a great national commitment to the plight of our cities, to
14 overcoming, I should say, the blight and the plight of our
15 cities. The first characteristic of the Marshall Plan, which
16 was the post-war European recovery program, was a commitment
17 on the part of government and the private sector as well, of
18 the American economy, and the recipient governments and the
19 peoples of the European countries. In other words, a total
20 commitment to the problem, and to the finding of the solution.
21 I made note of the fact, in that address to the National
22 Association of County Officials, that I thought that in our
23 Model Cities Program, the concept of a Marshall Plan was there,
24 because it required, first of all, a long -- it required
25 planning at both the governmental and the private level. It

1 required a long-term commitment of both public and private
2 resources. It required a sharing of responsibility by the
3 recipient as well as by the grantor; the grantee and the gran-
4 tor, and it required a mobilization of all the human and
5 physical resources that we could put our hands upon.

6 Now, I still think that that concept is really the answer
7 to our urban problems, and we begin to see it formulate now
8 in the Urban Coalition that met here in Washington about a
9 year ago, and I see where our friend John Gardner, former
10 Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, still as Secretary
11 but when he leaves the Cabinet will head up the National Urban
12 Coalition, which represents the great private resources of
13 this country, and then we'll have the governmental programs
14 at Federal and state levels, and if we can mesh those two
15 together in a partnership, I think we have what I would call
16 the Marshall Plan for our cities.

17 MR. EVANS: I would urge those who have questions
18 that follow-up, go ahead; if any of you would like to add
19 your questions to that question, please signify. Go ahead,
20 young fellow.

21 MR. ATKINSON: In terms of money, though, you can't
22 certainly equate the Model Cities Program with a Marshall
23 Plan, can you?

24 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, Model Cities is only one of
25 several programs. The fact of the matter is our Marshall Plan

1 I think, valued out at a little over thirteen and a half bil-
2 lions of dollars over five years. We're actually putting into
3 our cities this year over ten billions of dollars. The
4 Marshall Plan is only -- I mean, the Model Cities is only one
5 facet of that. When you get into urban renewal, and when you
6 get into housing, and when you get into community facilities,
7 and when you get into sewage and water programs and when you
8 get into highway construction, you get into all the many facets
9 of our aid to our urban areas, you have a very large sum of
10 money. I don't want to be misunderstood; I still think there
11 is a greater need for more resources, but it isn't just money
12 that's required. The truth of the matter is that our cities
13 today require very intensive planning as to the use of what
14 facilities we have. Even if you could plow an extra hundred
15 billion dollars into our cities, as some people have suggested,
16 you really don't have the manpower, either at the local or the
17 state or Federal levels, to properly utilize that sum of money
18 right now, and to utilize it in terms of good community plan-
19 ning.

20 For example, in the new communities, what we call the
21 "cities of tomorrow," we don't have any plans, my friend, for
22 cities of tomorrow yet. We're at the stage of seminars. The
23 American Institute of Planning, or of Planners, this summer
24 will be holding ten regional meetings throughout the United
25 States, to talk about the communities of tomorrow. The

1 communities of tomorrow are not on paper; you have a few,
2 such as Reston, and Columbia City, near by Washington, but
3 those took several years in their own planning stages, to get
4 them where they are.

5 MR. EVANS: Gentleman here from Detroit, who may --

6 MR. TALBERT: My name is Dennis Talbert; I attend
7 Howard University, and I'm from Detroit, Michigan.

8 Mr. Vice President, I'd like to refer to your first re-
9 sponse. You said we've witnessed in the past disturbances on
10 white college campuses. We've also witnessed disturbances on
11 black college campuses, and we've noticed that there's been
12 a disparity in the kinds of reaction that such disturbances
13 have caused. I'd like to know, do you think that the recent
14 disturbance in South Carolina was dealt with appropriately,
15 and do you believe that the Federal government can take some
16 steps to mitigate such barbarism on the part of officials in
17 the future?

18 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, indeed, in all honesty and can-
19 dor, I'm not familiar with all the details of the situation
20 that you describe, except for what little I read in the press
21 in a very hurried weekend.

22 The Federal government does not exercise police power,
23 and I want to caution each and every one of you on the use
24 of police power at the Federal level. We have some powers
25 that we exercise because of tax laws; we have powers that we

can exercise under the Constitution when there is insurrection. But the police power, as an old college teacher in the field of political science, may I say, rests with the state, and it's very, very important that those police powers be maintained at a local level rather than being concentrated in the bureaucracy and the central government. I happen to believe that the central government possesses about as much power right now as it ought to have, and there are many people who believe that it exercises more power than a free society ought to endure.

I do think that there is a discrepancy in the manner in which demonstrations, if you wish to call them that, on college campuses are dealt with, and I would hope that local authorities, wherever they may be, would exercise great restraint in the use of force. I would also appeal to the college student body to exercise the right of peaceful redress of their grievances. Frankly, violence is not going to produce the results that some people expect it will. Violence is a very bad habit, either internationally or nationally, or locally, and the sooner that free people understand that violence generally leads to a counteraction, or reaction, the better we'll all be off. We have democratic processes in this country; we can use those processes for the peaceful redress of our grievances, and I think we ought to do so. This does not mean that you can condone brutality on the part of police

1 officers or local government officials. I abhor it; I do not
2 support that kind of action, but by the same token, I don't
3 believe that it becomes a student to act as if somehow or
4 another that he is without -- well, without cultural attain-
5 ment, without decency of approach or without understanding of
6 how to get redress of grievances without violence.

7 MR. EVANS: We have a gentleman in the second row
8 here.

9 MR. BURKE: I'm Lee Burke, from Logan, Utah, repre-
10 senting the University of Maryland, and on this issue, Mr.
11 Vice President, you said in 1966, in New Orleans, talking
12 about the slum conditions, and I quote: "I've got enough spark
13 in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions."
14 Then later, a year later, you said that "riots will be sup-
15 pressed, and those individuals who spark disorders will be
16 found and prosecuted." I wonder if you'd comment on this?

17 MR. HUMPHREY: I surely would, and my comment would
18 be that you should never read a headline and try to make it
19 appear as if it is the substance of an address.

20 Now, the truth is, that in New Orleans, when I was speak-
21 ing to the same association, the National Association of
22 County Officials, I said "I think I can understand some of
23 the pain and the suffering, some of the frustrations that come
24 to a family or an individual that has to live in these pitiful
25 conditions of slumism." I said "where a rat is nibbling,

1 literally eating at the toes of a child, and where these
2 filthy tenements represent what people call housing." And
3 I did say that under those conditions I can understand how a
4 person would react and I'd have enough spunk or spark in me
5 to rebel, too, but the very next sentence, I said "This does
6 not mean to condone violence, lawlessness or rioting," and I
7 went on to say that while you can have these emotional reac-
8 tions, as many of us do many times in our personal relation-
9 ships with individuals or groups, that we do have ways and
10 means of redressing these grievances without taking to the
11 streets.

12 Now, this is the danger, you see, of half-truths, and
13 half quotes; a headline, yes; and you're right. You quoted
14 the headline accurately, and you quoted even what went over
15 the television, but if you'll read the text, which was kept
16 on a tape, just as this broadcast is, which I generally make
17 sure that we do because of my public position, you will find
18 that the very next paragraph, the very next line was that I
19 said "You cannot condone or tolerate violence, rioting or
20 acts of criminal behavior," and I still say the same thing.

21 MR. : Well, what is your position on this
22 coming up demonstration of Martin Luther King in April, and
23 what does -- what is the Administration planning to do to face
24 this?

25 MR. HUMPHREY: Now, there are all kinds of demonstra-

1 tions. Let's be perfectly clear about it. People have a
2 right to walk and to petition; they have a right to boycott.
3 They have a right to hold up their signs, to speak out, and
4 to hold rallies. Those are peaceful demonstrations. I don't
5 go around believing that you should take a look ahead and say
6 "Well, a man says he's going to come to Washington, and that
7 the demonstration is going to be violent." I'm not at all
8 sure that it's going to be that. As a matter of fact, there's
9 good reason to believe that it will not be. We have people
10 that are constantly fanning public emotion, getting people
11 overly excited before the fact. I can recall here when they
12 had the so-called "March on the Pentagon." I saw all the re-
13 ports saying there'd be a quarter of a million people, pound-
14 ing on the gates of the White House, and they were going to
15 surround the Executive Office Building, and they were going to
16 block the traffic. Now, none of that stuff happened. Now
17 there was some disturbance out at the Pentagon, but consider-
18 ing everything, it wasn't a particularly violent performance,
19 and I think that we ought to assume that most of these demon-
20 strations will be carried out peacefully. And if they're not,
21 we have the means to assure the public, the great majority of
22 the public, that there will be respect for law and order. And
23 that's the duty of people in government, whether it's Federal,
24 state or local.

25 HR.

: Are any steps being taken now to

1 prepare for this?

2 MR. HUMPHREY: I think you ought to talk to the
3 local government officials. We have a mayor and a city coun-
4 cil in this city, and I imagine that Mayor Washington, who
5 I consider to be one of the ablest public officials in America,
6 has taken due notice of this. He's a very fine man, of great
7 tolerance, understanding and courage.

8 MR. EVANS: We have a brief demonstration now that
9 will originate with our sponsor, and we'll return in just a
10 moment to our visit with the Vice President of the United
11 States.

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13 MR. EVANS: On Face to Face, from the nation's
14 capital, the Vice President of the United States is meeting
15 a group of students from the six area colleges, and they're
16 questioning him about the world and the people who live in
17 it. As evidence of the worldwide representation, a gentle-
18 man here from Gambia, I believe. Would you state your name
19 and your city, and college?

20 MR. SECKA: I'm Pap Secka, representing American
21 University, from Gambia. I'd like to get off the domestic
22 scene if I may, for a moment, and refer to Africa, your tour
23 in Africa. You took a quick swing of about nine African
24 countries. I'd like to know if you think you have put your
25 finger on the progressive force in Africa, to the extent that

1 American policies would try to attune its policies with
2 African policies because the United States might be -- has
3 been guilty in the past, in Latin America, of --

4 MR. EVANS: We don't want a speech; we just want
5 a question. What's the question, now?

6 MR. SECKA: The question is whether the United States
7 has identified, or tried to identify the progressive force in
8 Africa, and what adjustments have been made in your policy in
9 accord with this discovery?

10 MR. HUMPHREY: Well I gathered, too, in your ques-
11 tion, that you were concerned about whether or not a public
12 official like myself, in a rather brief tour such as this, in
13 a limited number of countries, could really gain a full in-
14 sight into the problems of Africa, and whether you come in
15 touch with a good cross -- a good representation of the poli-
16 tical leadership.

17 I would say, first of all, that this was my very first
18 visit to the continent of Africa, with the exception of one
19 or two countries in North Africa. Therefore, it was very much
20 a -- as I put it, a journey of discovery. I came back very
21 impressed with what I saw, both in terms of the prospects for
22 the future and the problems of the present. I do not claim
23 to be an expert at all on Africa, but I think this was a very
24 important part of my learning process. I happen to believe
25 that elected public officials ought to acquaint themselves as

1 much as possible, as much as time permits, with the countries
2 and the peoples in this world, with which our country has
3 relationships or will have relationships. I wish I could
4 have gone to more countries; I simply didn't have the time.
5 Congress was opening on January 15th; I returned on the night
6 of January 11th, so I needed to get back.

7 I think I did come in contact with a fairly good repre-
8 sentation of the African leadership. Obviously I missed much
9 of it, but when you see Kenyatta, for example, of Kenya, you
10 see a great progressive. When you see Kawanda, of Zambia,
11 you find a man of great sensitivity and liberal persuasion.
12 When you see Houphouët-Boigny, of the Ivory Coast; he's one
13 of the senior statesmen -- I imagine you may say a more
14 moderate man, but he's a French African. When you see the
15 Emperor of Ethiopia, you see one of the older statesmen that
16 still represents, however, a force of stability in Africa.
17 I had a chance to get to French-speaking countries, to English
18 speaking countries, to people of different cultures and dif-
19 ferent political persuasions. By and large, my observation
20 was that Africans were very busy dealing with problems of
21 Africans and of Africa. Each country that I visited was very
22 unique, very different, very interesting. The peoples were
23 different; their approach to problems differed. All of them
24 had an insatiable desire for the improvement of education,
25 and the advancement of health resources and health facilities,

1 and a great desire for economic development, but not one of
2 them was willing to mortgage his political independence, or
3 freedom, merely for economic assistance, which I thought was
4 really an expression of their courage and of their faith in
5 themselves.

6 I found fewer people in Africa complaining about the
7 rest of the world than most any other place I've been in.
8 These people wanted to do something for themselves. They
9 asked us for cooperation, for a helping hand, but they were
10 not begging.

11 I came back very encouraged, and I hope to be able to
12 go again.

13 MR. EVANS: Was that the answer to your question,
14 Mr. Sackin? Are you satisfied? Next question.

15 MR. LYONS: Yes. My name is Mr. Jim Lyons, from
16 Omaha, Nebraska. I attend George Washington University.

17 Mr. Vice President, my question relates to the two wars
18 we are fighting, the war in Vietnam and the war on poverty.
19 For those youths who are not classified as conscientious
20 objectors, and who yet refuse induction into the military ser-
21 vice in this first war, for a personal or moral consideration,
22 is there any reason why they cannot become involved and gain
23 a deferment for involvement in the second war, the war on
24 poverty in this country?

25 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, I don't think you ought to make

1 it an "either/ or", to be quite candid about it. Now I
2 happen to believe that our Selective Service Law can stand
3 a good review. There was a Commission that was established,
4 the Burke-Marshall Commission; I hope that the Congress will
5 take note of the recommendations of that Commission, and make
6 a very substantial revision of Selective Service. But what
7 that revision will be is the will of the Congress of the
8 United States; this is a very -- very much a public matter,
9 and I don't think it ought to be too executive. I think this
10 is something that the representatives of the people ought to
11 get down to and put themselves to the task of modernizing
12 and making more effective and more equitable the whole sub-
13 ject of national service and of Selective Service.

14 I cannot agree with those that go around and make per-
15 sonal moral judgements as to which war they think they ought
16 to fight. Now, for the conscientious objector, on the basis
17 of religious grounds, there is a provision in the law, and
18 those people have been respected in their views. And by the
19 way, some of the bravest people that I know, that are actually
20 in service, even though not carrying weapons, are the con-
21 scientious objector on the basis of his religious scruples or
22 a religious or moral position. But this business of going
23 around saying "Well, I'm willing to fight in Europe but not
24 in Asia; in the Middle East but not in the Far East," or some-
25 thing like that -- I don't think that's a moral judgement at

1 all. I think that becomes a matter of just your personal
2 desires, and I can't agree with that.

3 Now I would hope that sometime we would look upon
4 national service for our young people as a privilege; not just
5 military service, but the whole matter of national service,
6 and I do believe that in times ahead, that we will have a
7 much more progressive view, or let me say a more enlightened
8 view.

9 By the way, while we bring this up -- and this is a
10 little off your question -- might I once again get my plug
11 in for the Peace Corps, and for Vista? We need you and we
12 need people desperately, and I want to tell you, every time
13 there's a volunteer for the Peace Corps, I think it just --
14 it helps make a more peaceful world. This -- see, these are
15 what I call the building blocks of peace. Every time there's
16 a worker for Vista, or Volunteers In Service To America, it
17 makes for a better and a more peaceful America. I wish we
18 could get this public of ours as excited about the works of
19 peace, internationally, as we get people excited about a war
20 that's being fought on the cruel battlefield of war. I wish
21 we could get people as excited at home about building a just
22 society as we are about applying the restraints of law, the
23 use of force. Now, I happen to believe that there is no
24 national security without national development, and I don't
25 believe there's any national development without national

1 security; I think they're one and inseparable. I don't be-
2 lieve you can have a just America and an America that is
3 progressing and democratic and outward-reaching and open to
4 opportunity if you have violence in your streets, if you have
5 a kind of general state of anarchy. But by the same token,
6 I don't think that repressive measures alone, repressive
7 measures make for a good society. There's a matter of bal-
8 ance, and here, I think, is where the student community has
9 so much to offer us. Because, very frankly, the students
10 in America are very patriotic, and I don't mean just razzle-
11 dazzle patriotism; I mean they're good citizens. They frankly
12 are. Now there are a few that are always a little more
13 noisy than others, and that happens in the best of organiza-
14 tions, and I've been in quite a few organizations myself on
15 occasion, and rather noisy so I think I have some toler-
16 ance about this. But I really believe that what our student
17 community needs to get the rest of America to understand is
18 that while you do have your concerns about wars in Vietnam,
19 and the Middle East, and other areas of the world, that you
20 also have your concern about building the kind of conditions
21 that are conducive to a just and enduring peace.

22 You see, I'm a fellow that believes very strongly in
23 peace. But I do not believe that you get peace by just
24 demonstrating for it. I think you get it by the hard work
25 of building the kind of a social, political, economic structure

1 in this world that lends itself towards peace. The easiest
2 thing in the world to get involved in is a battle. The
3 hardest thing to do is to get peace. And if you don't be-
4 lieve so, take a look at what's going on right now.

5 MR. EVANS: Mr. Vice President, you give a great
6 commercial; if you ever lay down the cudgels of public ser-
7 vice, you don't have to go back to the drugstore --

8 MR. HUMPHREY: Don't mention that right now; it's
9 a little too early.

10 MR. EVANS: You won't have to go back to the drug-
11 store.

12 (General laughter.)

13 MR. EVANS: Broadcasting can always use you. The
14 gentleman here, please.

15 MR. LYONS : Mr. Vice President, in a recent
16 letter to my student body at George Washington University,
17 General Henshey stated, and I quote: "A finding by the
18 Selective Service System of inadequate grounds for deferment
19 can be observed in illegal acts, legal acts, and no acts at
20 all." My question is, first, is it the Administration's pol-
21 icy to lift student deferments because of participation in
22 anti-draft or anti-Vietnam protests of a legal or illegal
23 nature, and second, what is the rationale, if this actually
24 is the Administration's policy?

25 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, the Administration knows that

1 there are legal procedures that a student or anyone else can
2 follow relating to his attitude toward the draft. Now, the
3 law is the law, and I'm not going to sit on a TV show and try
4 to be a junior lawyer; I'm not a lawyer. The most that I've
5 had in the form of legal education is as a political scien-
6 tist.

7 I think students know what their rights are under the
8 law, and might I say in all candor, students have really less
9 to complain about Selective Service than most other people.
10 It's the non-student that really gets rooked in this one and
11 really gets hooked up, I should say, in this business. He's
12 the one that really has the problem.

13 MR. EVANS: Is there another --

14 MR. HUMPHREY: I don't mean that a student shouldn't
15 be concerned, sir, but the fact of the matter is that the
16 student deferment is one of the things that has caused a
17 great deal of concern about the Selective Service System all
18 through the United States. Now I'm not passing any value
19 judgement on it; what I am saying to you is simply this, as
20 I said earlier. I believe the Selective Service System re-
21 quires the most intelligent discussion, in groups, in the
22 Congress, in every civic group that you can find, because it
23 relates to the security of our nation and also to the fulfill-
24 ment of what our citizen obligations may be or should be. I
25 also believe that students ought to recognize, above all

1 others, what the legal process is relating to Selective Ser-
2 vice, and they ought not to engage in illegal acts. There
3 are plenty of legal ways to do what you want to do, and you
4 really don't help the cause of progressive legislation by
5 indulging in illegality. I said to a group of young students
6 the other day, that came in -- they were militants they said.
7 "Well," I said, "Fine. Let me join the crowd." The very
8 first meeting they had, they said "We're going to march out
9 and picket the White House." I said "Well now, that'll get
10 you a fine headline; that's true. You'll be in the papers,
11 I guarantee you, and you'll even get your picture there. Now,
12 you won't do any good now, but you'll get in the papers. Now,
13 here you're down here to represent young people in conference."
14 This was our Youth Conference. I said "Do you want to stay
15 in here with these adults and fight it out, and state your
16 point of view and make your views heard and argue your case,
17 or do you want to just be plain dramatic, and walk out of
18 here and take your picket signs and go over to the White
19 House and get your name in the paper? And thereby betray
20 the very people that you say you're down here to represent?"
21 I convinced them to stay, and you know what happened? They
22 stayed in a conference of over three hundred adults, and
23 they won their case, by staying. Now, had they walked out,
24 they'd have won a headline, but what they did by being per-
25 sasive and staying with it, with their recommendation, they

1 made an impact upon that -- on the group.

2 Now, I still think this is the way to operate. It isn't
3 quite as dramatic, but I'll tell you something: it gets
4 results.

5 MR. EVANS: In just a moment, we'll recognize the
6 gentleman who comes from Nigeria.

7 We're met with the Vice President of the United States
8 on Face to Face, and we'll continue right after I recognize
9 the man who pays the bill to make it all possible.

10 - - -

11 MR. EVANS: We continue now with our interview
12 with the Vice President of the United States, and as I
13 promised, I recognize the gentleman from Nigeria.

14 MR. OLAMIYAN: My name is Richard Olaniyan, from
15 Nigeria; I'm from Georgetown University.

16 Mr. Vice President, I want to refer you to the last
17 question but one. You talked about oppression and suppres-
18 sion. It seems to me that in some parts of Africa today,
19 especially in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the
20 colonies of Portugal and Spain, this is the order of the day,
21 and as the United States is a member of the Security Council
22 and the Committee, the U.N. Committee on Colonialism, what
23 is the U.S. doing as the champion of liberty to effect some
24 sane policy, a sort of -- a kind of civilized policy in
25 these parts of Africa?

1 MR. HUMPHREY: In all candor, I think we're doing
2 a great deal more than most other nations. We have -- we
3 consistently support the principle of "one man - one vote."
4 We consistently support the principle of majority rule. The
5 President of the United States has openly said that we do
6 not support minority regimes that represent new or old forms
7 of colonialism. We have backed sanctions on Rhodesia; we
8 took very strong action on the matter of Southwest Africa. I
9 think that our government has demonstrated both a dedication
10 to principle and to pragmatic action. But it isn't something
11 that we can do alone. And can I be quite candid with you,
12 since you've opened the subject? Many of our friends in
13 other parts of the world are much more open in their consort-
14 ing with the colonial powers than we are, and they receive
15 no criticism at all. Now, I'm not asking that they be abused,
16 but if we're going to have some criticism spread around,
17 then I've got a few clients I'd like to suggest to you, and
18 I'll meet you and tell you about it privately, and I don't
19 need to. You know who they are. For example, we do not sell
20 weapons to some of the countries that you've mentioned, but
21 some of our very dear friends, and some of your dear friends,
22 do sell weapons to those countries, and they get no criticism
23 at all. I say, for the government of the United States, that
24 we have taken as effective action as has been asked for in
25 the United Nations on Rhodesia, and we have led it. We have

1 taken effective action in terms of our policy and our commit-
2 ment and vote in the United Nations on the subject of South-
3 west Africa. We have branded the trials that have taken
4 place there as a fraud, as open language as anybody can state
5 them. I spoke at the African Unity Organization in Africa
6 Hall in Addis Abbaba; my speech was not a milktoast speech,
7 and it represented the policy of the government of the United
8 States. And I might say I rather thought I did a good job,
9 and I'll tell you why.

10 The opponents to majority rule in southern Africa
11 attacked me very vigorously, and I was also the subject of
12 considerable abuse and attack in rather extended editorials
13 and comments out of Pravda and Ivestia. I thought I really
14 hit a ten-strike, when you can get that kind of opposition.
15 Sometimes a man is known better for the enemies he has than
16 the friends he has.

17 MR. EVANS: Alright; let's go to the distaff side
18 here.

19 MISS CARGAN: Catherine Cargan, the American
20 University, from Pennsylvania.

21 This is to carry it to your comment on how easy it is
22 to get into a battle. I notice an increased amount of com-
23 munication between Germany and Russia in these last couple
24 of months, and I wonder, if the position of West Berlin
25 should once more come up to question as a part of West

1 Germany, would the United States maintain our position there?

2 MR. HUMPHREY: No doubt about it. Absolutely.

3 MR. EVANS: Any further questions?

4 MR. HUMPHREY: I'm happy to tell you that the com-
5 munication between West Germany and the eastern countries,
6 particularly the Soviet Union, is not of a militant, belliger-
7 ent state or mood; it's one of trying to build understanding,
8 of opening up doors, of reconciliation. Now there hasn't
9 been much success as yet, but it surely has been in that
10 spirit, and I hope that that effort of the Foreign Minister,
11 Mr. Brandt, and of Chancellor Keisinger continues. I think
12 that if they continue, that it can be very helpful.

13 MR. EVANS: Question in the front row here, please.

14 MR. THOURNOUT: Mr. Vice President, Al Van Thournout,
15 Georgetown University.

16 As Senator Ted Kennedy, among others, has brought home
17 from his last trip to Vietnam some accusations of rather
18 extended corruption in the South Vietnamese government. My
19 -- and that these conditions are a rather important key to
20 the ability of the South Vietnamese government to mould a
21 national society. I was wondering what the U. S. government
22 has done in the past weeks or so to react to these accusa-
23 tions, and also if this South Vietnamese government is not
24 going to respond to correct these conditions, if we will
25 continue our commitment to that nation?

1 MR. HUMPHREY: Well now, corruption is not exactly
2 a monopoly of Southeast Asia, or of Vietnam. I don't want
3 to make any invidious comparisons, but there are a few cities
4 in the United States that could teach the South Vietnamese
5 some lessons in how to operate corrupt government, and I
6 think we might spend a little time cleaning our own stables
7 before we start lecturing, piously lecturing a goodly number
8 of other people.

9 There isn't any doubt but what there's corruption in
10 the government of Vietnam, and by the way, there's a good
11 deal of it in some other governments, a good deal of it.
12 Now, if you want to go around the world, picking out people
13 that you're going to do business with, and with whom you
14 have alliances and allegiance, on the basis of whether or
15 not they meet puritanical standards, you're going to find
16 yourself with very, very few friends. As a matter of fact,
17 there may be a few of them that'll leave us, because we have
18 a little problem here every once in a while. We even have
19 to appoint committees in the Congress on ethics.

20 So let's not try to pretend that corruption is a mon-
21 opoly of any particular people or country. Now, the next
22 thing. We wanted -- for a period of time there was a great
23 deal of criticism because the government in South Vietnam
24 was a military junta. So we insisted, as an ally, and en-
25 couraged as an ally, the development of representative

1 government institutions, and with all its limitations, the
2 people of South Vietnam did elect a Constituent Assembly, and
3 my fellow American, we never did. Our Constitution was not
4 written by elected officials. That Constituent Assembly did
5 write a Constitution, despite the fact that most of the cri-
6 tics said they never would, and it wrote it in the open light
7 of day without any censorship; ours was not. Ours was written
8 behind closed doors; there wasn't a single cameraman or news-
9 paperman permitted within a hundred yards. Had anybody known
10 what the Founding Fathers were doing in Philadelphia, we never
11 would have had a Constitution; everybody knew that.

12 Now, those of us that are students of history and govern-
13 ment ought to start leveling with the American people. A
14 Constitution was written and it was adopted, and elections
15 were held. Now, it's no small task to have an election in a
16 country that's beleaguered by guerilla warfare, but they held
17 it. There were very few elections in World War II, in the
18 Allied countries that were under attack; I don't recall any.
19 As a matter of fact, it's rather unusual. Now, a government
20 has been elected. Now it may not be so good, but some people
21 don't think ours is so good. There's a substantial portion
22 of the American public that thinks they ought to change here
23 too. And they accuse us of all kinds of things. Now, that
24 government is their government; it may not be as good as I'd
25 like, but we insisted that they have one that was elected. Now

1 the fact of the matter is that there is a need for progress as
2 we see it in the government in Vietnam, and we do press for
3 it. But they are not a satellite. On the one hand, if we
4 took them and bent them to our will, somebody would say "Now,
5 that's the total Americanization, not only of the war, but of
6 the government."

7 On the other hand, if we don't bend them to our will,
8 we're criticized because we don't exercise our influence. So
9 what do we try to do? We try to reason; I think one of the
10 most impressive men in American public life, in my lifetime,
11 is Ambassador Bunker, and one of the things I'd like to leave
12 with you students is that this man has been respected in uni-
13 versity circles, in church circles, in political circles, and
14 professional circles, for at least forty years. He's a trem-
15 endous person. Now when did he get to be so bad? I mean,
16 here is the same Ambassador Bunker that was a United Nations
17 representative, an Ambassador to Italy, an Ambassador to India,
18 our special representative in the Dominican Republic; heralded,
19 considered one of the great, ethical, practical statesmen of
20 our time. Now he goes to Vietnam and all at once you can't
21 believe him; all at once he's ineffective. All at once he
22 isn't telling us the truth, according to some people. I don't
23 agree with that at all. I think Ambassador Bunker is doing
24 the magnificent job representing the people of the United
25 States, and if any man wants decency in government, if I know

1 him, and I know him well. I served in the U.N. with Ambassador
2 Bunker; I know of no more moral man in this world than
3 Ambassador Bunker. I know of no more effective man in diplom-
4 acy than Ambassador Bunker. I think he's doing everything that
5 can be done to influence people to do what is right. In the
6 meantime, it is an elected government, and that's some accom-
7 plishment. By the way, has anybody made a report on the cor-
8 ruption in North Vietnam? When did they have an election?

9 MR. : Mr. Vice President, the real question
10 seems to be the -- not so much the fact that there is corrup-
11 tion, which I'm willing to agree to, not only in South Vietnam
12 but anywhere, but what if, in light of this, the continued
13 problems that the South Vietnamese government continues to
14 face, within its own structure, that it collapses, what will
15 then be our position? Is this not a possibility?

16 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, my good friend, there are
17 always possibilities, but there's been no evidence that it's
18 going to collapse. As a matter of fact, this is what people
19 have been predicting all along. The predictions about this
20 country have been unbelievable. First of all, some people
21 predicted in the Congress that the elections would be a hoax
22 and a fraud. They weren't. Some people predicted that the
23 junta would never permit a Constitution to come into being,
24 but they did. Some people said that Thieu and Ky and the
25 Assembly would never respond to constitutional government, but

1 they have. And now we are saying it'll most likely collapse,
2 and it hasn't, and it has gone through the most terrible blood
3 bath in recent days that any country could possibly face, and
4 what's been the result? Thus far, the government is holding
5 its own; thus far, not a single unit of the South Vietnamese
6 Army has defected, not one. Thus far, the National Assembly
7 meets and debates. I haven't heard of any reports of a National
8 Assembly debating up in Hanoi. I think we are -- ought to be
9 praising these people for their efforts in trying to make
10 constitutional government work. It isn't that it's perfect;
11 it's not very perfect here. We've been trying to get a tax
12 bill out of committee in this country for a year and a half.
13 Can't even get it out of subcommittee. I don't think that
14 we've got too much to brag about sometimes, when we're criticizing
15 others. All I'm saying is, don't sell them out before
16 the facts. The truth of the matter is that they've done better
17 than most of their critics ever thought they would do. We
18 hope they'll do better; we encourage them to do better. But I
19 learned a long time ago that if you constantly brand a fellow
20 as a failure, if you are suspicious as to whether or not he
21 can ever do anything, you can rest assured that most people
22 will react just about the way you treat them, and if you treat
23 them like losers, they'll start acting that way. If you treat
24 them as if they're unwanted, they'll act that way, but if you
25 give them some sense of confidence, and at the same time

1 encourage and persuade and cajole and try to instruct, you
2 may get a better system. And I think that's what we're doing.
3 I think we have a right to be somewhat encouraged at what
4 we've seen.

5 MR. EVANS: We'll continue with our discussion on
6 Vietnam after we share a few moments with a friend of ours.

7 - - -

8 MR. EVANS: I hope you're enjoying with me the ex-
9 citement of witnessing the second highest official of the
10 United States government facing eager faces who have questions.
11 They have more, and let's turn to them right now.

12 We have a -- gentleman here, please. Have you asked a
13 question yet? Let's have one who hasn't. Would you state
14 your question?

15 MR. KAYSER: I'm Joe Kayser, representing Catholic
16 University; I'm from Atlanta, Georgia.

17 Mr. Vice President, positions regarding U. S. involvement
18 in Vietnam are widely disparate, even among the most respected
19 public officials and figures in the United States. Do you
20 interpret this as simply misinformation, or maybe differences
21 of opinion, or is it misinterpretation of facts, or just is it
22 misinformation?

23 MR. HUMPHREY: I think it's a compound of all of
24 those. This is the first -- maybe I can be helpful on this.

25 First of all, I don't think that people that disagree with

1 us are unpatriotic. I want to make that quite clear. This
2 is a very complex situation. This is an entirely different
3 kind of struggle than this country has ever been engaged in
4 before. This is the first war in the nation's history that
5 has been fought without conditions of censorship. This is
6 the first war in the nation's history that's been fought on
7 television, where the actors are real, where, in the quiet of
8 your living room, of your home, or your dormitory, wherever
9 you may be, this cruel, ugly, dirty fact of life and death and
10 war and pain and suffering come right to you, and it isn't
11 a Hollywood actor. I've had letters from mothers that have
12 seen their boys shot down in battle, and let me tell you that
13 I think that television is the most -- well, it's the most
14 dramatic instrument of our time. That tube, for either good
15 or evil, and thank goodness we can use it now at least in dia-
16 logue, which I think is the way it ought to be used. At least
17 in part. It can be a great educational instrument.

18 There are so many different views about -- even whether
19 we should be there, whether our national interest is involved,
20 whether a treaty ought to be fulfilled. Whether we should have
21 ever signed a treaty; there are a lot of -- well, many people
22 feel that we made mistakes, and we really are over-involved.
23 There are people that honestly feel that way. I happen to be
24 one of those, sir, that believes that you can't relive the
25 past. I also happen to be one that believes that the greatest

1 protection of peace in this world today is the integrity of
2 the American word or commitment. Now maybe we shouldn't give
3 our word as often as we do, or our commitment; but when we
4 do, it is imperative that we mean what we say, and I can say
5 for President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey, we signed
6 no new treaties in the years that we've been in power. One
7 treaty that we've signed is the space treaty, to prevent the
8 orbiting of weapons of mass destruction. That's the only
9 international treaty of great international significance.
10 Now we're trying to get a non-proliferation treaty on nuclear
11 weapons, to stop the spread of nuclear power in this world,
12 because we think it increases danger.

13 But going back to your question, sir. I, as a government
14 official, must place a great deal of reliance upon what we
15 call our intelligence sources. I do not place total reliance
16 upon them; I know there are newsmen in Vietnam for whom I
17 have great respect, that differ with these intelligence ob-
18 servations, but might I say that it's pretty much like the
19 domestic scene. Some of us get a fixation, or get a fixed
20 point of view on a particular development and do not see the
21 totality of it. For example, if you wanted to talk with me
22 about politics, domestic politics, let's say two or three
23 years ago, I most likely would have concentrated most of my
24 attention upon that area which I knew the better, which is my
25 home state of Minnesota, and I'd get into intricate details

1 about it which would be rather baffling both to the viewer,
2 the listener, and even to the propounder. But when you take
3 a bigger view of the nation, you don't have time for all of
4 that little detail, and your observations become more general-
5 ized, and in a sense, I think, more meaningful. I think this
6 is part of the trouble in Vietnam. For example, most of our
7 reporters, and they're good reporters, they follow American
8 troops. They like to live with the American troops; they
9 speak the language, they like the food, they like the fellows.
10 It's their life; they don't go with the ARVN troops, only
11 once in a while. And generally the time that they observe
12 the ARVN troops is when they -- when they lose, when they're
13 in trouble.

14 Now, within recent weeks, because of the nature of the
15 Tet offensive from the Vietcong and North Vietnam, and because
16 about ninety percent of the troops that are engaged on the
17 Allies side are South Vietnamese troops, not American but
18 South Vietnamese, the reporters have, by necessity, if they
19 were going to cover anything and because much of the fighting
20 was in Saigon, where the reporters remain, they had to cover
21 South Vietnamese operations. Now the fact of the matter is,
22 the South Vietnamese have fought bravely, very bravely, and
23 they have fought well, and these are the same troops that they
24 were calling no good just a few weeks ago. The fact that the
25 war was brought to Saigon, my friend, I think has changed a

1 great deal of reporting on the war, and I noticed over the
2 weekend that even from Paris, the observers in Paris that
3 have been very critical of us now seem to come pretty much
4 to the conclusion that some of us had about the nature of
5 this recent Tet offensive and what its purpose was. They
6 now agree, all the capitals around the world now seem to agree
7 that the Vietcong were out to take the cities, to establish
8 what they called revolutionary administrations, to force upon
9 Saigon a coalition government, to depose Thieu and Ky, and to
10 really have a fait accompli, and tell the Americans "If you
11 want to negotiate, you're going to negotiate with us or get
12 out." It didn't work. They didn't get a popular uprising;
13 they didn't get mass defection of troops. They don't hold a
14 single city today; they hold a part of Hue, and a small part
15 of a suburb in Saigon. They had terrific losses. I speak of
16 the enemy. Obviously there have been some negative aspects,
17 pacification program has been brought to a standstill. I still
18 think the enemy has the strength to launch a very serious
19 attack; I don't know what the ultimate outcome of all this is
20 going to be. I think you'll have to wait for events to speak
21 louder than newspaper reports, but you see, it's the complex-
22 ity of a guerilla war; it's the complexity, too, of this cul-
23 ture, that we're so unfamiliar with. And I think that this
24 is why that there's so much what you call in different inter-
25 pretations. I think it is wrong, however, for us to assume

1 that there is a kind of malice on the part of some. I think
2 really what happens is people just see it differently.

3 MR. EVANS: There are just two minutes left. We
4 have two who have not asked. Would you ask a quick question,
5 please?

6 MISS CAMPBELL: Mr. Vice President, I'm Maureen
7 Campbell, from Catholic University. Another effect of the
8 war is that student involvement in active politics is for
9 the most part now beyond the parameters of the two major par-
10 ties in the United States. Can you foresee any consequences
11 to the two-party system as more of these young people become
12 eligible to vote? And are accustomed to being the protest
13 voters?

14 MR. HUMPHREY: Can I first say that young people in
15 this generation are not unusual in being protestors. Pro-
16 test -- and in this I don't want to just cover it all up by
17 saying that young people always protest -- but there is a
18 ferment amongst the young which is healthy; which is good. I
19 would hope that the young people would try to find their way
20 into the two-party structure, because both parties need an
21 injection of youthful enthusiasm and idealism, cross-examina-
22 tion and advocacy, which young people can bring to it.
23 There's a lot of room in these political parties, and I might
24 add further that I would hope that young people wouldn't be-
25 come one-issue oriented. Listen, when I see the amount of

1 energy that's put into demonstrations about Vietnam, we need
2 you desperately in these cities where we're working with
3 young people. I work with young people all the time, and I
4 cry out for young people to help us, in the slums of our
5 cities, to work with disadvantaged young people, to work in
6 our community centers, our recreation centers, to work in
7 job recruitment, job training and job placement. This is the
8 way that you build a healthier society. I don't want you to
9 be not-concerned about a war; but I want you to be concerned
10 about the living right here in your own country, and might I
11 add, even abroad, and ---

12 MR. EVANS: One more, one quick question here from
13 the young lady.

14 MISS HALL: Mr. President. Priscilla Hall, from
15 Howard University.

16 When the bombing was first started, we said it was to
17 bring the Vietnamese to the conference table, and then later
18 we said it was for to keep the guerilla warfare down. Exactly
19 what is the stated policy now for the bombing, since obviously
20 the other two haven't worked?

21 MR. EVANS: It's a good question for thirty seconds.

22 MR. HUMPHREY: Well, I'll just say this. Bombing
23 has been a part of our general military operation. I want to
24 say with equal candor, as the Prime Minister of Great Britain
25 said when he was here, that this government has proposed to

1 the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, in the San Antonio
2 formula, that we are prepared to the -- to stop the bombing,
3 aerial and naval, at once, if it will lead to prompt and
4 productive talks, provided that the assumption is that there
5 will be no escalation or no taking advantage of this type of
6 a negotiating stance. We are prepared, my dear lady, right
7 now, to accept immediate cease-fire. We are really prepared
8 to have what we call immediate stand-down, with every bit
9 of the troops standing as they are, and to enter negotiation.
10 The roadblock to peace is not in Washington. I can tell you
11 that my dear lady; the roadblock to peace is not here. The
12 roadblock to peace, regrettably, is in Hanoi. We are prepared
13 as of this moment, I say as Vice President of the United
14 States, to have immediate negotiations for the cessation of
15 this struggle; immediate cease-fire. Now, if you could get
16 a statement like that out of an equally responsible official
17 of the enemy, you will perform the greatest service that any
18 citizen in this country has ever performed.

19 MR. EVANS: That's --- thank you very much; our
20 greatest enemy at the moment is time; we've run out of it.

21 With half of our population under twenty-five, and with
22 our youth facing more complex and soul-searching decisions
23 than ever before in our history, it's been fitting that one of
24 our great leaders, the Vice President of the United States,
25 has met Face to Face with some of these young people. We're

1 grateful to you, Mr. Vice President, for your frankness, for
2 your inspiration and for the frank answers you've given to
3 our panel, our student audience here and our student audience
4 at home.

5 We're grateful too to our demanding two dozen youthful
6 panel members for their penetrating questions and their
7 preparation for this program.

8 Thanks to the faculties and staffs of the six great
9 universities in the Washington area. My name is Mark Evans;
10 we're very happy to have had you on Face to Face.

11 - - -



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