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Meet The Press  
TRANSCRIPT

MEET THE PRESS

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MR. NEWMAN: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is the Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey, who yesterday announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

We will have the first questions now from Richard Valeriani of NBC News.

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Vice President, is there any doubt in your mind that President Johnson will not be the party nominee this fall?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: There is none. I take the President at his word. I believe that he has spoken frankly and sincerely, and I think we ought to leave it at just that.

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MR. VALERIANI: Earlier this month the Washington Post wrote, "The Vice President is said to have been keenly disappointed that the President did not point to him as the heir apparent." Were you keenly disappointed?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not one bit, not at all. I would not have expected the President to do that in light of his statement of four weeks ago, and I am going to abide by that statement, honor his position. It would have been in total conflict with what the President was stating for himself—in other

words, to elevate his position above the partisan battle, for him to have designated anyone as an heir apparent.

MR. VALERIANI: Before the convention do you expect him to endorse you publicly?

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Let me just say this, that I have had a wonderful relationship with President Johnson for these almost four years and many years before that in the Senate. The President is his own man. The President has not renounced his citizenship or his right to participate in American public life. What he does, he will do, and I am not going to lose a minute's sleep over what he will do. I regard him as a good friend and a great President.

MR. VALERIANI: Sir, would you like to have his endorsement before the convention?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, my good friend, any man who is a candidate for public office likes to have support, and of course, it would always please me to have the support of the number of people, including the President of the United States.

But, let's just let that rest for a while. I think that these things will all work out quite well.

(Announcements)

MR. RESTON. Mr. Vice President, I think it might be useful if you told us a bit about what role you played in the decision-making on the war during the past three or four years. For example, on the decision to go from observers to men on the ground: were you in on those talks?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Reston, I have been a member of the President's Cabinet, as you know, and a member of the National Security Council. I have had the opportunity to participate in the discussions that have taken place that lead to decision-making. The decisions that are made are made by the President after he receives the advice and counsel of his advisors. I have not been in on every talk. I wouldn't want to exaggerate the importance of my contribution, I have been in

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MR. KILPATRICK: Are you disappointed that there has not been more progress in these Vietnam negotiations since the President's address of the 31st?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Kilpatrick, of course, most Americans—and I am surely one of them—likes to see progress come more readily in these matters than has been the case up to now. But I believe we are learning something about the nature of talks and negotiations with the Communist forces, or with the Communist regime, and I don't think we ought to be particularly surprised at what has been happening.

This is going to be a long, tedious, and at times a very frustrating procedure, but we must persevere. We must have the patience and the perseverance to stay with it.

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Unless we are willing to have the patience and to have the confidence in what we are trying to do, these talks cannot lead to negotiation. If we have that patience, I think they will.

MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, Senator Kennedy said the other day that he shares what he called the public determination that there must be no more Vietnams, and he said that this kind of experience could be avoided if the United States would refrain—and I use his words—"from the indiscriminate introduction of American troops into the internal struggles of other nations."

Can you make a similar pledge, or do you think it is wise to make a similar pledge?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: First of all, I don't think that is a very factual statement. We have not indiscriminately introduced American troops into the troubles of other nations. We have had massive trouble as far as the world is concerned in the Middle East. We haven't introduced American troops. We had great troubles recently in Cyprus. When I say "we," I mean the people of the world with a great stake in world peace there. There were no American troops introduced there.

The whole area of the Middle East is a powder keg in which American troops have not been introduced. We have backed the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations as often as we could and have done everything that we could to be helpful.

I think to say that indiscriminate introduction of American troops is something that you ought not to have is what any sane and responsible person ought to say, but by the same token, I don't believe one ought to make the statement that we would not commit American forces where they were required for our own national security.

MR. BRODER: Do you think the United States can afford another Vietnam, can afford to send troops to counter another Communist-backed insurgency in a country of southeast Asia, Africa or Latin America?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think you have to judge that on the basis of what seems to be your own national interest and your own national security. I think it would be a very unfortunate thing if a man who seeks to be President of the United States were to tell the Communist world that they could go willy-nilly, without any regard as to what America would do with its strength. One of the great needs in the world today is some assurance as to what we mean and what we are willing to do, and I recall, Mr. Broder, that when treaties like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were signed and SEATO—I recall an editorial, for example, at the time of SEATO, that this was a great step in the process of peace because it gave an advance warning, so to speak, to the world that there were certain things that if those things—if the Communist did certain things and took certain actions, they had to know that they would meet American strength.

I think there is a danger of over-commitment, but I also think there is a great danger in being unwilling to commit anything. The use of power influences decision, but the absence of the use of power also influences events.

MR. BRODER: Just to nail down this point, you do feel that the Vietnam intervention has been and has served America's national interest?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that the intervention in Vietnam was required. As a matter of fact, President Johnson was not its author. I might add that the Senator to whom you referred had a good deal to do with that decision himself during the time of the Administration of the late President John F. Kennedy. He was not alone. He inherited that in part from the administration of Dwight Eisenhower. I believe that the men that served this country as Presidents thought they were doing the right thing.

Whether or not we followed all the right tactics, after that decision was made, is always subject to debate. I am one of those who believes that we ought to pursue as effectively as we can an honorable peace, to try to find a way to negotiate our way out of this tragic war, but I think it would be a greater tragedy to have any responsible citizen that seeks high office in this country to announce that American power would not be used in case there was a Communist aggression. I think this would open up a Pandora's box of trouble and breed not peace, but great chaos.

MR. VALERIANI: Sir, you talk about taking chances to get

peace. Why are we unwilling to take the chance of going to Warsaw to hold the preliminary talks?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe it is our view that peace—the cause of peace would be better served if we could find a place that was mutually agreeable in which there was a sense of neutrality, in which the environment was conducive to fruitful and productive discussions. That is my view of it.

Where we will finally end up with these talks, I cannot predict, but I know that if those of us who are really interested in trying to find a peaceful settlement, through honorable and effective negotiation, where communications are good, where the environment is conducive to sane and responsible discussion—I believe that we ought not to fix ourselves on this place or that place, but try to find, even as the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam said himself, a mutually agreeable place.

MR. VALERIANI: And yet, Mr. Vice President, this country has proposed a number of sites that obviously will not be acceptable to North Vietnam. Doesn't this bring into question our good faith?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not at all. I think it brings into question only one thing: Whether or not we can effectively conduct talks that will find a mutually agreeable place. This is all part of the first steps that lend themselves, hopefully, towards a negotiation stance. We are now at the point of trying to find out where we can sit down to visit and to talk and to negotiate.

This is an important part of the process. I don't think we ought to expect that it is going to be easy. Quite frankly, I think that every stage of our discussions with the North Vietnamese will be difficult and sticky. I think we just have to expect that is the way they are going to act. They are going to squeeze every ounce of propaganda out of every move they can make. We ought to expect that. We ought not to be shouting from the housetops that it is foul play—just expect it, and then proceed to try to find a way and a means of bringing about a genuine peace, an honorable peace where the peoples of South Vietnam can finally resolve their differences and build a viable society behind the shield of American protection that they have at this particular moment.

MR. RESTON: But, Mr. Vice President, how many men are we losing every day while this quibbling is going on?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Reston, I don't know



the exact count, but I know that in the instance of Korea that the fighting went on month after month, in fact, over two years after the negotiations had got under way. There has been some misinformation about how many people were lost after those negotiations, but it is my hope, sir, that if we can get negotiations—which we don't have now—at least we have contact; that is a hopeful sign—direct contact. If we can get negotiations, it would be my hope that those negotiations could lend themselves to a steady process of de-escalation and that we could find ways and means of bringing this struggle within bounds so that it is not exacerbated, so that there is not escalation but rather de-escalation.

MR. RESTON: At what point, sir, do you think you are going to be absolutely free to speak out for Humphrey and not merely just defend the Administration during the campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Reston, I will run on the record of the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey Administrations, but I will not rest on it. I happen to think a lot of good things have happened these past seven or eight years, and I am proud of my little contribution to some of those things. I am happy that I have had a chance to be a part, first as the Majority Whip under President Kennedy's Administration, and now as Vice President. I am my own man, and I will be my own man. I will speak out on what I think is necessary to add on, to build on what we have done. I see no reason to repudiate what we have done. But circumstances and times change, and Hubert Humphrey changes with those circumstances and times, in terms of what is needed.

I will speak specifically on matters relating to our urban crisis, on the problems of rural poverty, on the need of the improvement of our social environment, on the vast needs of education, on the malnutrition problems of some of our people, and I am sure that I can say to men that are as seasoned in the whole art and the work of politics, as you gentlemen, that you ought not to speak hastily on these things. We are working on these matters.

There are four months between now and the convention in August, and then after August there is better than two months—you have September and October—for the general election.

I can think of nothing that would be more fruitless in the long run, and really less helpful, than to start tomorrow morning trying to outline the quickie answers to complex problems. I think this would prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that I didn't know

what I was talking about.

I am going to speak and I shall speak to the point, but I hope to come up with something that is worthy of your respect and your attention, and I will do it in measure and in time.

MR. KILPATRICK: Let me get to the urban crisis now, if I may, Mr. Vice President: Two weeks ago Chicago's Mayor Daley said that he would urge his police officers to shoot to kill in order to capture arsonists in the midst of these riots. What was your reaction to that statement on Mayor Daley's part?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: First of all, I never talked to the Mayor about it, and I know only what I read about it. I think what we all ought to recognize is that prompt and effective action to restore law and order is one of the essentials in preventing mass violence in any country. We can learn a great deal from this, by the way, from some of our European friends who have had to deal with riots over a long period of time. We ought to minimize the loss of life. That is one thing we start out with. We ought to try to protect life, and we ought to minimize, if humanly possible, the loss of property.

The National Commission on Civil Disorders gave us some pretty good suggestions. They propose that there be effective law enforcement: the training and retraining of police forces, the proper use of the means of law and order, and the use of non-lethal gas. I happen to think that the Mayor of Chicago is a good Mayor, Mr. Kilpatrick. I think he has done a great deal for his city. I think that he has a great affection for people, and he has done many things for the poor people. He came from poor people himself. He still lives in that poor neighborhood. I don't think the Mayor of Chicago wants to do anything that would brutalize a people or a city. I think he is concerned, like any other Mayor is over, how do you restore law and order once it gets out of hand?

Whether he over-spoke himself—I noticed there was some revision of his statement later on—I am not going to stand in judgment on that. I do know that he has been able to build a mighty good police department under some good professional direction, and I think that we can depend that there will be a minimum use of what we call "force," but an adequate use to maintain law and order.

MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, I'd like to ask you a political question: I know you are not involving yourself in the Presidential primaries, but you do have supporters in states where



Senator Kennedy, Senator McCarthy and others are running.

What would you like them to do, say, in Indiana?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am surely not in any primary, and if I wanted to be in a primary I would enter the name of Hubert H. Humphrey. I would do it myself and not have any stand-ins. We have no stand-ins. You have asked in the instance of Indiana, Governor Branigan is running on his own, and he made it quite clear. This morning I noticed in the press that he is running entirely on his own.

There are Humphrey people in Indiana. I hope there are thousands of them. I hope that if there is an uncommitted delegation, a favorite-son delegation to Mr. Branigan, that those thousands of Humphrey supporters—hopefully thousands—that they will try to influence the Governor in being for Vice President Humphrey at the time of the convention, but I am not endorsing—and may I say most candidly, I think the Governor didn't want one or expect one.

MR. BRODER: As I recall, you took some credit for persuading Governor Branigan to be the stand-in for President Johnson.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. BRODER: Is it not logical then to regard him as your representative, despite these formal disclaimers?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have a high regard for Governor Branigan. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think he is a good Governor, and he has a very broad base of support throughout that state. I think his base of support goes far beyond the Democratic Party. In fact, if it were an open election and not a primary, I don't have any doubt at all where Governor Branigan would come out. I think he'd win hands down against all of his opponents, but this is a closed primary and the Governor may not have quite as much support amongst some Democrats as he has amongst the independents. But I was acting for President Johnson, then; and to go back again, I am Hubert Humphrey, now. I am not acting for the President in Indiana. The President appeared that he might be available for renomination. I spoke to Governor Branigan about that. I did ask him to stand in for the President. But when the President withdrew, it was the President that withdrew, and Humphrey was never in. But I want to say I hope there will be many people in Indiana that are listening to this colloquy between us that have decided that they would like

to support Hubert Humphrey, and I welcome the formation of any citizen groups or clubs—a little commercial, David.

MR. NEWMAN: We have about three minutes left, gentlemen.

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Vice President, if Senator Kennedy sweeps the primaries, wouldn't it be reasonable to expect delegates from other states to flock to him?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, it would not. In the meantime we expect to do a little work along the way.

MR. VALERIANI: What will you tell delegates who say "Well, the Senator has won all these primaries. Why should we stick with you?"

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: In the meantime there will be a number of delegates that will be, as you put it, "sticking with Humphrey," and when you add it up that is what really counts. After all, if you can get the delegates in a state that is a non-primary state, through the convention process, through the caucus process, such as you have in my own state of Minnesota, they are just as valuable as if you go and spend millions of dollars in a primary. Which leads me to another thing. These primaries get to be a rather costly enterprise. I think I will be able to run a more frugal and prudent campaign, may I say, by talking to people, to the delegates, to the party leaders and in the meantime to build a broad base of national support all across this country, north, south, east and west, with labor and business and with many people in many walks of life.

MR. NEWMAN: We have about two minutes left, gentlemen.

MR. RESTON: I read in the Times this morning that you said you were going to unify the country and make us happy. In what order are you going to do these two things?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Reston, I think the first requirement of a program of reconciliation and of unification is to believe in it and to try to ask people to think these problems out together. As I said in my statement of yesterday, we want free expression. We are not trying to stop dissent. We surely wouldn't want to stop debate. We don't want an America of one mind, but of one spirit, and I think this is rather important. By that I mean, where we sense that we can work together, and I think there is something happening in America that proves this. I think the American people are concerned, first about the need of law and order on the one hand, but also, the need of social

justice on the other.

I think they want to find a way to come together, to heal their wounds. I really believe they do. I think I can be helpful. I really believe I can.

MR. NEWMAN: One minute left.

MR. KILPATRICK: I wanted to ask about the South, Mr. Vice President. There was a time when you were immensely unpopular in the South. Are you astonished now to find that most of the Southern political leaders expect to go to Chicago in your support?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I am gratified.

MR. KILPATRICK: Have you changed, or has the South changed?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We have all changed, thank goodness. We have all changed, and I hope we have all changed for the better.

Let me say that I think one of the most wonderful things that has happened in America is the fact that we are growing up, that we are beginning to be able to talk to each other. In the South there are developments today that you and I would never have dreamed possible ten years ago. I saw that when I was in Mississippi, when I have been in South Carolina, when I have been in state after state in the South. We can talk to each other now, and there is a new America. You see, this is what I believe. I think that things that we fought for for years are beginning to come into focus, into reality. Sure we have all changed. I am a little older and I hope not quite as intemperate as I have been—

MR. KILPATRICK: Doctrinaire?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, that is right. I am not a doctrinaire man. I hope to be a reasonable man.

MR. NEWMAN: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, my.

MR. NEWMAN: Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for being with us on MEET THE PRESS.

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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC's MEET THE PRESS."

M E E T   T H E   P R E S S

Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak

SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1968

GUEST:

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
The Vice President of the United States

MODERATOR:

Edwin Newman - NBC News

PANEL:

James B. Reston        - The New York Times  
David S. Broder        - The Washington Post  
James J. Kilpatrick - Washington Star Synd.  
Richard Valeriani      - NBC News

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25 commit American forces where they were required for our own

national security.

MR. BRODER: Well, do you think the United States can afford another Vietnam, can afford to send troops to counter another Communist-backed insurgency in a country in Southeast Asia, Africa or Latin America?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think you have to judge that on the basis of what seems to be your own national interest, and your own national security. I think it would be a very unfortunate thing if a man who seeks to be President of the United States were to tell the Communist world that they could go willy-nilly, without any regard as to what America would do with its strength. One of the great needs in the world today is some assurance as to what we mean and what we are willing to do, and I recall, Mr. Broder, that when treaties like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was signed and SEATO, I recall an editorial, for example, at the time of SEATO, that this was a great step in the process of peace because it gave an advance warning, so to speak, to the world, that there were certain things that if those things -- if the Communist did certain things and took certain actions, they had to know that they would meet American strength.

Now, I think there is a danger of over-commitment, but I also think there is a great danger of being unwilling to commit anything. The use of power influences decision, but the absence of the use of power also influences events.



1 MR. BRODER: Just to nail down this point, you do feel that  
2 the Vietnam intervention has been and has served America's  
3 national interest?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that the intervention  
5 in Vietnam was required. As a matter of fact, President John-  
6 son was not its author. I might add that the Senator to whom  
7 you referred had a good deal to do with that decision himself  
8 during the time of the Administration of the late President  
9 John F. Kennedy. He was not alone. He inherited that in part  
10 from the administration of Dwight Eisenhower. I believe that  
11 the men that served this country as presidents thought they  
12 were doing the right thing.

13 Now, whether or not we followed all the right tactics,  
14 after that decision is made, is always subject to debate.  
15 I am one of those who believes we ought to pursue as effectively  
16 as we can an honorable peace, to try to find a way to negotiate  
17 our way out of this tragic war, but I think it would be a great-  
18 er tragedy to have any responsible citizen that seeks high  
19 office in this country to announce that American power would not  
20 be used in case there was Communist aggression. I think this  
21 would open up a Pandora's box of trouble and breed not peace,  
22 but great chaos.

23 MR. VALERIANI: Sir, you talk about taking chances to get  
24 peace. Why are we unwilling to take the chance of going to  
25 Warsaw to hold the preliminary talks?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe it is our view that

1 peace -- the cause of peace would be better served if we could  
2 find a place that was mutually agreeable in which there was a  
3 sense of neutrality; in which the environment was conducive to  
4 fruitful and productive discussions. that is my view of it.

5 Now, where we will finally end up with these talks, I  
6 cannot predict, but I know that if those of us who are  
7 really interested in trying to find a peaceful settlement, through  
8 honorable and effective negotiation, where communications are  
9 good, where the environment is conducive to sane and respon-  
10 sible discussion, I believe that we ought not to fix ourselves  
11 on this place or that place, but try to find, even as the Foreign  
12 Minister of North Vietnam said himself, a mutually agreeable  
13 place.

14 MR. VALERIANI: And yet, Mr. Vice President, this  
15 country has proposed a number of sites that obviously will not  
16 be acceptable to North Vietnam. Doesn't this bring into  
17 question our good faith?

18 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not at all. I think it brings  
19 into question only one thing: Whether or not we can effectively  
20 conduct talks that will find a mutually agreeable place. This  
21 is all part of the first steps that lend themselves, hopefully,  
22 towards a negotiation stance. We are now at the point of  
23 trying to find out where we can sit down to visit and to talk  
24 and to negotiate.

25 There is an important part of the process. I don't think

1 we ought to expect that it is going to be easy. Quite  
2 frankly, I think that every stage of our discussions with the  
3 North Vietnamese will be difficult and sticky. I think we  
4 just have to expect that is the way they are going to act.  
5 They are going to squeeze every ounce of propaganda out of  
6 every move they can make. We ought to expect that. We ought  
7 not to be shouting from the housetops that it is foul play.  
8 Just expect it, and then proceed to try to find a way and a  
9 means of bringing about a genuine peace, an honorable peace  
10 where the peoples of South Vietnam can finally resolve their  
11 differences and build a viable society behind the shield of  
12 American protection that they have at this particular moment.

13 MR. RESTON: But, Mr. Vice President, how many men are  
14 we losing every day while this quibbling is going on?

15 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Reston, I don't know  
16 the exact count, but I know that in the instance of Korea  
17 that the fighting went on month after month. In fact over  
18 two years after the negotiations had gone under way. There  
19 has been some misinformation about how many people were lost  
20 after those negotiations, but it is my hope, sir, that if we  
21 can get negotiations -- which we don't have now -- at least we  
22 have contact; that is a hopeful sign -- direct contact. If  
23 we can get negotiations it would be my hope that those negotia-  
24 tions could lend themselves to a steady process of de-escala-  
25 tion and that we could find ways and means of bringing this

struggle within bounds so that it is not exasperated, so that there is not escalation but rather de-escalation.

MR. RESTON: At what point, sir, do you think you are able to be going to be/absolutely free to speak out for Humphrey and not merely just defend the Administration during the campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Reston, I will run on the record of the Kennedy-Johnson, and the Johnson-Humphrey Administrations, but I will not rest on it. I happen to think a lot of good things have happened these past seven or eight years and I am proud of my little contribution to some of those things, and I am happy that I have had a chance to be a part, first as the Majority Whip under President Kennedy's Administration, and now as Vice President. I am my own man and I will be my own man. I will speak out on what I think is necessary to add on, to build on what we have done. I see no reason to repudiate what we have done. But circumstances and times change and Hubert Humphrey changes with those circumstances and times in terms of what is needed.

I will speak specifically on matters relating to our urban crisis, on the problems of rural poverty, on the need of the improvement of our social environment, on the vast needs of education, on the malnutrition problems of some of our people and I am sure that I can say to men that are seasoned in the whole art and the work of politics as you gentlemen that you ought not to speak hastily on these things. We are working

on these matters.

There are four months between now and the convention in August and then after August there is better than two months -- you have September and October -- for the general election.

I can think of nothing that would be more fruitless in the long run, and really less helpful, than to start tomorrow morning trying to outline the quickie answers to complex problems. I think this would prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that I didn't know what I was talking about.

I am going to speak and I shall speak to the point that I hope to come up with something that is worthy of your respect and your attention and I will do it in measure and in time.

MR. KILPATRICK: Let me get to the urban crisis now if I may, Mr. Vice President. Two weeks ago Chicago's Mayor Daley said that he would urge his police officers to shoot to kill in order to capture arsonists in the midst of these riots. What was your reaction to that statement on Mayor Daley's part?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, I never talked to the Mayor about it and I know only what I read about it. I think what we all ought to recognize is that prompt and effective action to restore law and order is one of the essentials in preventing mass violence in any country. We can learn a great deal from this, by the way, from some of our European friends who have had to deal with riots over a long period of time. We ought to minimize the loss of life. That is

one thing we start out with. We ought to try to protect life and we ought to minimize, if humanly possible, the loss of property.

Now, the National Commission on Civil Disorders gave us some pretty good suggestions. They propose that there be effective law enforcement. The training and retraining of police forces, the proper use of the means of law and order, and the use of non-lethal gas. I happen to think that the Mayor of Chicago is a good Mayor, Mr. Kilpatrick. I think he has done a great deal for his city. I think that he has a great affection for people and he has done many things for the poor people. He came from poor people himself. He still lives in that poor neighborhood. I don't think the Mayor of Chicago wants to do anything that would brutalize a people or a city. I think he is concerned, like any other Mayor is, over how do you restore law and order once it gets out of hand?

Whether he over-spoke himself -- I noticed there was some revision of his statement later on. I am not going to stand in judgment on that. I do know that he has been able to build a mighty good police department under some good professional direction and I think that we can depend that there will be a minimum use of what we call "force," but an adequate use to maintain law and order.



1           MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, I'd like to ask you a  
2 political question: I know you are not involving yourself  
3 in the Presidential primaries, but you do have supporters  
4 in the states where Senator Kennedy, Senator McCarthy  
5 and others are running.

6           What would you like them to do, say, in Indiana?

7           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I am surely not in any  
8 primary and if I wanted to be in a primary I would  
9 enter the name of Hubert H. Humphrey. I would do it myself, and  
10 not have any stand-ins. We have no stand-ins. And you  
11 have asked, in the instance of Indiana -- Governor Branigin  
12 is running on his own and he made it quite clear. This  
13 morning I noticed in the press that he is running entirely on  
14 his own.

15           There are Humphrey people in Indiana. I hope there are  
16 thousands of them. I hope that if there is an uncommitted  
17 delegation, a favorite-son delegation to Mr. Branigin, that  
18 those thousands of Humphrey supporters -- hopefully  
19 thousands -- that they will try to influence the Governor  
20 in being for Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the time  
21 of the convention, but I am not endorsing and may I say  
22 most candidly, I think the Governor didn't want one or expect  
23 one.

24           MR. BRODER: As I recall you took some credit for persuading  
25 Governor Branigin to be the stand-in for President Johnson.

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

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MR. BRODER: Is it not logical then to regard him as your representative, despite these formal disclaimers?

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I have a high regard for Governor Branigin. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think he is a good Governor and he has a very broad base of support throughout that state. I think his base of support goes far beyond the Democratic Party. In fact, if it were an open election and not a primary, I don't have any doubt at all where Governor Branigin would come out. I think he's win hands down against all of his opponents, but this is a closed primary and the Governor may not have quite as much support amongst some Democrats as he has amongst the independents. But I was acting for President Johnson, then, and to go back again, I am Hubert Humphrey, now. I am not acting for the President in Indiana. The President appeared that he might be available for renomination. I spoke to Governor Branigin about that. I did ask him to stand in for the President. But when the President withdrew, it was the President that withdrew and Humphrey was never in. But I want to say I hope there will be many people in Indiana listening that are / to this colloquy between us that have decided that they would like to support Hubert Humphrey, and I welcome the formation of any citizen groups or clubs.

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MR. NEWMAN: We have about three minutes left, gentlemen.

3 1 MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Vice President, if Senator Kennedy  
2 sweeps the primaries, wouldn't it be reasonable to expect  
3 delegates from other states to flock to him?

4 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, it would not. In the  
5 meantime we expect to do a little work along the way.

6 MR. VALERIANI: What will you tell delegates who say  
7 "Well, the Senator has won all these primaries. Why should  
8 we stick with you?"

9 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: In the meantime there will be  
10 a number of delegates that will be, as you put it, "Sticking  
11 with Humphrey," and when you add it up that is what really  
12 counts. After all, if you can get the delegates in a  
13 state that is a non-primary state, through the convention  
14 process, through the caucus process, such as you have in my own  
15 state of Minnesota, they are just as valuable as if you go  
16 and spend millions of dollars in a primary. Which  
17 leads me to another thing. These primaries get to  
18 be a rather costly enterprise. I think I will be able to run  
19 a more frugal and prudent campaign, may I say, by talking  
20 to people, to the delegates, to the party leaders and in the  
21 meantime to build a broad base of national support all across  
22 this country, north, south, east and west, with labor and  
23 business, and with many people in many walks of life.

24 MR. NEWMAN: We have about two minutes left, gentlemen.

25 MR. RESTON: I read in the Times this morning you said

1 you were going to unify the country and make us happy.

2 In what order are you going to do these two things?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Reston, I think the  
4 first requirement of a program of reconciliation  
5 and of unification is to believe in it, and to try  
6 to ask people to think these problems out together. As I  
7 said in my statement of yesterday, we want free expression.  
8 We are not trying to stop dissent. We surely wouldn't want  
9 to stop debate. We don't want an America of one mind, but  
10 of one spirit, and I think this is rather important. By  
11 that I mean, where we sense that we can work together, and  
12 I think there is something happening in America that proves  
13 this. I think the American people are concerned, first  
14 about the need of law and order on the one hand but also  
15 the need of social justice on the other.

16 I think they want to find a way to come together,  
17 to heal their wounds. I really believe they do. I think  
18 I can be helpful. I really believe I can.

19 MR. NEWMAN: One minute left.

20 MR. KILPATRICK: I wanted to ask about the South, Mr.  
21 Vice President. There was a time when you were immensely  
22 unpopular in the South. Are you astonished now to find that  
23 most of the Southern political leaders expect to go to  
24 Chicago in your support?

25 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I am gratified.

1 MR. KILPATRICK: Have you changed, or has the South  
2 changed?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We have all changed, thank  
4 goodness. We have all changed and I hope we have all changed  
5 for the better.

6 Let me say that I think one of the most wonderful things  
7 that has happened in America is the fact that we are growing  
8 up, that we are beginning to be able to talk to each other.  
9 In the South there are developments today that you and I would  
10 never dream possible ten years ago. I saw that when I was  
11 in Mississippi, when I have been in South Carolina,  
12 when I have been in state after state in the South. We  
13 can talk to each other now, and there is a new America.  
14 You see, this is what I believe. I think that things that  
15 we fought for for years are beginning to come into focus,  
16 into reality. Sure we have all changed. I am a little  
17 older and I hope not quite as intent as I have been.

18 MR. KILPATRICK: Doctrinaire?

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, that is right. I am  
20 not a doctrinaire man. I hope to be a reasonable man.

21 MR. NEWMAN: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is  
22 up.

23 Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for being with us on  
24 MEET THE PRESS.

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