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Spivack & A/per your request

Helene

File: Humphry

Vice President Hubert Humphrey Trestland and Acowers The Spivack Report June 27, 1968

 Some critics have spoken of the "old Humphrey" and others have questioned your "liberal exadentials." What is your comment?

I can tell those nostalgic critics what happened to the "old "emphrsy." I helped convert most of the traditional planks in the secret platform into the law of the land -- civil rights, federal aid to discountion, Medicare, housing, aid to cities, job programs, an Arms Cantrol and Disarmament Agency, and a lot of other ideas that were eace far ahead of their time.

But these victories of the past only obligate me to fight for -- and achieve -- a new, up-to-date liberal platform -- turning the impossible libes of today into the law of the land tomorrow. That platform includes the right of every able-bodied American to a decent job; the right of every child to a first-class education from the age of four through college, on the basis of his ability to learn and not ability to pay, the right of every American to a wholesome and nutritious diet, the right of every American to a decent home in a decent neighborhood, and the right of every citizen to participate fully in governing that neighborhood . . . city . . . sense . . . and nation.

This new liberal platform also includes a determination that America shall back up its desire for peace with foreign aid, creative diplomacy, courage and imagination, as readily as it pays its defense bills.

This is no time for the "old" anything. And it is no time for nostalgia over the glorious battles of the past. It is the beginning of a new liberal struggle. I welcome the support of those who have enough affirmation and courage in their souls to undertake it.

- 2. Why should the Democrats be returned to office?
- -- Because America, at a time when it faces orgent problems in its cities, cannot hiford the leadership of the Republican party that voted against Model Cities and rent supplements in Congress.
- -- Because we cannot afford the leadership of the Republican party that fought against Medicare and federal aid to Elementary and Secondary Education.
- -- Because after over 7 years of uninterrupted economic growth,
 we cannot afford the leadership of the Republican party which gave
 America three recessions in the 1950's. This fundamental economic issue
 is particularly relevant when we are hoping for an end to the war in
 Viscount.

After Korea, peace brought economic retreat and increasing unemployment instead of renewed determination to attack social evils at home. Now, when we are finally pledged to provide job esportunities for the hard-core unemployed, America can simply not afford anything other than an expanding job market.

-- Because, most importantly, we cannot afford the leadership of a party which has never understood the urgent priority of reducing international tensions and of seeking out areas of mutual self-interest with other nations, especially the Soviet Union. Our recent conversations with the Soviets on the consular treaty, the nuclear non-profiferation agreement, and the limitation of weapons systems demonstrates what can be achieved.

I think the nation has a choice between a Republican party with a record of trying to stand still and being dragged forward helter-skelter by events, and a Democratic party which has been in the forefront of creative change. I have no doubt that the Democrats will be returned to office.

3. There is much talk about "New Politics." What do you understand this to mean and what relevance has it to the nation's internal and enternal crises?

I think the 'new polities" is very real and very healthy -- but perhaps not so new. It is a politics of greater involvement of the individual -- students, inner-city residents, suburbanites -- in deciding their own destiny. Its reats go back to my own Populist forebearers, to Jefferson, and beyond.

Creater popular participation is enormously relevant to the crisis in our cities. Our urban problems ultimately cannot be solved by decrees or largess from the federal government -- while the people sit on their hands. Federal aid is important, but it is nearly useless without local initiative and action in every community. As a former Wayor, I know that better cities and neighborhoods, better education, jobs, housing and health facilities are created where people live -- and only with the active support and involvement by the people themselves.

4. How do you intend to handle the Vietnam issue during this campaign?

The most relevant fact about Vietnam today is that there are peace talks going ok in Paris -- peace talks begun at our initiative. These negotiations represent our best hope of ending the costly and painful war in Southeast Asia -- and bringing greater stability and peace to that war-torn land.

We are represented in Paris by two of the world's most skilled and successful diplomats, Governor Harriman and Ambassador Vance, and I confidently place our hopes and prayers for peace in their hands.

Every American should want those talks to succeed. I mean to say nothing and do nothing during this campaign or afterwards which would in any way complicate the work of our negotiators -- or threaten the success of the Paris talks.

I am willing to be judged by historians regarding the rightness of America's plast decisions on Vietnam. But I am not ready to assume any responsibility for prejudicing the outcome of these extremely delicate negotiations.

The talks must not become a partisan political football -not within the parties, and not between the parties. Too much
is at stake. I don't think that's asking too much -- just that we
hold our tongues to win the peace.

5. Can you describe briefly your role in the Johnson Administration and your relationship with the President during your term of office?

I think it is very clear that the role of the Vice President
has grown immeasurably in recent years. There's too much to do -to many responsibilities on the President -- for him personally to
touch all the bases and spark needed action, especially in new areas
of social activity.

I have been privileged to assume some of these burdens as Vice President. In addition to my constitutional duties as President of the Senate, I meet regularly with the President and his Cabinet and with the National Security Council. I have participated fully in most of the debates which hammer out the decisions of this Administration.

I also have a number of special assignments: Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, the National Aeronastics and Space Council, the President's Council on Physical Pitness and Sports, the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering

Envelopment, the National Council on Indian Opportunity, and the President's Council on Recreation and Natural Ecauty. I have also sexved as principal liaison between the federal government and local governments. This latter assignment has brought me into daily contact with the complex problems of orban America.

I have also been the President's emmisary on international missions to consult with chiefs of state in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Earope.

Yes, these have been busy and demanding years for this Vice

President. I am also sufficiently immodest to believe that these assign=
ments have permitted me to understand our current problems more
accurately and to have contributed some productive solutions.

6. Why, in your opinion, did President Johnson decide to step aside and not seek re-election?

You know, I've known Lyndon Johnson for many many years -and often I've heard him use just the words he used that night when he
teld the nation that he wanted to be a free man, an American, a public
servent and a member of his party, in that order, always and only.

I think he was deeply concerned with the need for an end to always read in America -- especially insefar as these divisions could interfere in any way with the search for peace. And if his decision neither to seek nor accept the nomination would contribute to that expential unity -- then, following his own sense of priorities, he made that decision.

India will be critical in whatever happens in Southeast Asia -indeed all of Asia. If the independent nations on Asia's periphery
are to maintain their freedom in the long run, they will have to do it
on the basis of mutual deoperation in which India will be a major partner.
If India should succumb to its considerable economic problems, there
would be little hope indeed for any of those nations.

India is, after all, the world's largest democracy, and it has managed to stick by its democratic commitment despite enormous internal problems and external pressures. India has also undertaken population control and agricultural development efforst on a scale which is without precedent among free nations. Those efforts are beginning to pay visible dividends. India's agricultural production is up 25 percent this year, for example, partly because of good weather, but also because Indian formers are axidly using new fortilizers and modern sends.

In addition to India's obvious importance to the future of freedom in Asia, I have always considered it a good bet to succeed. I place a very high priority on aid to India.

8. What do you see as the future of Europe?

I had occasion to spell out my own views on the future of Europe -and particularly on our relationship with the countries of Europe -in a speech before the American Iron and Steel Institute last May. I

And the that I believe our policy of containment in Europe has been
successful, and that it is now time for something new. I think it is
time to move toward a policy of peaceful engagement -- and by this I
mean new, peaceful engagement with the nations of Eastern Europe as
well as with the Soviet Union. I think we ought to continue to maintain
strong military defenses in Europe -- but this does not and should not
eliminate the possibility of mutual reduction of military forces.

9. What are your priorities for restoring domestic tranquility?

We must reassert with renewed dedication our faith in the democratic process. As we seek new and better solutions to old publicus, we can demonstrate that the institutions of our democracy have on the one hand created increased awareness of these problems and will on the other provide us with the mechanisms of fulfilling the American dream of opportunity in freedom. If we understand that it is through law that we shall achieve constructive change, we will have neared respect for law and order.

Dissent is a powerful instrument in fashioning constructive change but those who dissent, and I have frequently been among them, must take particular care to insure that neither the precepts of fair play nor the rights of others are destroyed in the process. When such rights are destroyed, we are all the losers and the democratic process in placed in jeopardy.

10. What, in your judgment, constitutes the most serious internal threat to American democracy?

The only real threat to democracy lies in the possibility of a less of faith in the democratic process. I have not less that faith.

I do not believe the American people have lost that faith.

What the American people in their collective wisdom and might seek to achieve, they will achieve. When we are rightly informed of the problems confronting us, we act rapidly to correct them. Typically, we are impatient with unresolved goals. The civil rights struggle of the past 14 years I believe bears out what the American people are prepared to do in fulfilling the promises of our democracy.

18. What immediate and long-range steps are necessary to meet: a. Reactivation of the anti-poverty and related programs? b. The Housing Crisis in our cities?

Solutions to the problems of poverty in this country are not a question of the availability of the economic means to resolve them. The solution lies first in broad public recognition of the problem and then a commitment of appropriate resources. This is not to deny the great accomplishments of the past 7 years. We have raised 12 million people out of poverty in that time, 6 million in the last 4 years. The initial funding of our anti-poverty program was in 1965. Since that time the federal commitment to that effort has trebled. We have done a lot, we have learned a lot. Future programs will be better and more effective. Special emphasis must be given to providing jobs for all those able to work and to a thorough revamping of the welfare system. The effort is not one of just the federal government. It must be an effort and commit-

The enactment of the Administration's Housing Bill will go a long way toward meeting the housing crisis in our cities. The Senate has already enacted a bill substantially conforming to the Administration's request. If enacted as proposed, it will provide 300,000 housing starts in the next year for low and moderate-income families with a goal of 6 million units over a 10 year period. More will be needed, but this is truly a most significant step toward meeting the housing crisis.

Important next steps will be in the creation of new communities -- and through the improvement in the quality of life in existing rural communities.

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