

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
IN ATTENDANCE WITH
"PROFESSORS FOR HUMPHREY"
A TASK FORCE
ON DOMESTIC, URBAN AND POVERTY PROBLEMS
BEVERLY HILLS ROOM - CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL
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1 MR. NATHAN: Mr. Vice-President, these are the members
2 of Task Force.

3 MR. PRALE: First of all, on behalf of all of us here,
4 Mr. Vice-President, on behalf of Californians, we hope you
5 are here for a free and full exchange of the issues. We
6 hope, too, that we may generate some ideas that will be
7 useful to you.

8 Time is short, and we have a lot of ground to
9 cover.

10 The ground rules are that everything that is said
11 is off the record, and we hope that the questions will be
12 brief, and that we can have a very useful exchange.

13 With that, we will get to the question period.

14 MR. LIPSITT: I am Martin Lipsitt, Harvard, and I am
15 Chairman of the Task Force on Alienation and Involvement.
16 We decided we ought to change the name of it. We had a
17 meeting here yesterday, and there are a lot of different
18 topics that we were discussing. First there were the groups
19 that would fall under the heading of alienation, one of
20 them being the intellectuals and academics, the youth,
21 problem of students, the black community, Wallace workers,
22 and some other groups. But in terms of trying to come to
23 grips with some of the sort of deeper causes, or factors
24 which might be involved in people's feeling unhappy about
25 the political processes one way or another, one of the long-
26 range solutions that was discussed in our group, which I

1 think might be worth having some discussion of, is the
2 extent to which the whole phenomena of the welfare
3 bureaucracies, which have been the produce of the New Deal,
4 et cetera, developments since the 1930's, have in many ways
5 clearly become an obstacle to participation in the system,
6 that we have built up a whole pattern of a tendency. It
7 is clear, in my mind at least, that some of the criticisms
8 of the conservatives have turned out to be valid, even
9 though the reasons for doing what was done were also valid,
10 and the positives, I think, far outweigh the negatives.

11 Anyway, while we haven't come to getting a
12 position paper yet, our general thinking runs along the line
13 that has been suggested by many people to find ways and
14 means of dealing directly with individuals in terms of
15 giving them money -- the negative income tax is one of the
16 more, or most obvious general accepted solutions, but this
17 moves into things like family allowance, rent subsidies,
18 and educational grants, the sort of thing that James
19 Coleman, who was a member of our Task Force, suggested
20 some time ago in an article in the public interest, that
21 this in a way gives people, if you give money directly to
22 the people, they become participants in the sense of a
23 free market process. Well, I am sure you know better than
24 we do, or at least as well as we do, the various arguments
25 and points in this sort of point of view, and I would think
26 that in terms of a new Administration and a new look, and

1 just the criticism that, in the sense you represent a
2 continuation of the old, and after all, the old was good,
3 but now we begin to clean up some of the mistakes, or
4 some of the problems of the progress that we have made,
5 which creates that this kind of shift is worth doing, and
6 very much worth being part of the Humphrey campaign in '68.

7 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: How do we do this? Can I
8 make a response to this as we go along?

9 MR. NATHAN: Surely.

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The very first thing that I
11 want to underscore is the point that Bob Nathan made, to
12 speak out, and I am going to do exactly the same way, to
13 the best of my ability.

14 I am grateful for your attendance here and your
15 participation.

16 You wouldn't be here unless you wanted to be,
17 and I wouldn't be here unless I desperately needed you and
18 wanted you, and wanted to be with you.

19 There is a great deal about what we should do in
20 terms of sort of a new look, but you have to prepare the
21 way for anything that happens.

22 One of the needs today is not just for a candidate
23 for President to speak out, but for the thought leaders
24 in this country to speak out, and to sort of set the
25 environment, to create the climate and environment in which
26 new ideas find at least some receptivity.

1 In other words, if these seeds are going to be
2 planted, they cannot be planted in the Arctic Circle of
3 intellectual sterility. They have got to be planted where
4 there is a hope that they can grow. And that is why I
5 believe that we need a good number of people just speaking
6 out, out of the intellectual and academic community, and
7 out of other communities, on ideas and proposals that ought
8 to possibly become public policy.

9 I have just noted, as Professor Lipsitt was just
10 talking, that the next President of the United States can
11 come out with the most far-reaching programs, but unless
12 that Congress is conditioned, he will be cut down like he
13 was walking across the field into a battery of machine
14 gunners.

15 The Congress of the United States has not shown
16 a great deal of receptivity of late to some of the ideas
17 that have even been opened up, or broached thus far. And
18 I think we are going to have to prepare the people's
19 representatives for the kind of new -- well, the innovative
20 ideas and new programs that some of you are talking about.

21 Now, I know the job of the President is to help
22 on that. I wouldn't even think about doing what I am doing
23 if I wasn't willing to do that.

24 I may be a half-a-term President, or a one-term
25 President, or I don't know how long it will be, but I do
26 not intend to try to get into a canoe and find myself a nice

1 smooth, serene creek, to follow down, and to paddle. I
2 intend to try to ride out some rather rough waves and
3 turbulent seas, and direct my energies toward a goal, toward
4 a harbor on a course.

5 So that you know what I am thinking about, I am
6 perfectly willing to take all the risks that you are willing
7 to take if you are willing to stick with me.

8 I think also we need to prepare the way. This
9 may be the wrong analogy, but I never forgot one time when
10 I came to address the NAACP, and I was introduced, and he
11 said, "He is the John the Baptist of the Civil Rights
12 Movement."

13 Then I said, "You remember what happened to John --
14 had his head on a platter."

15 Now, I would kind of like for you to be John the
16 Baptist, but I don't want to put your head on a platter,
17 unless it should happen that way.

18 We need these thoughts presented and backed up,
19 and, of course, at the proper time, we hope we can get
20 enough support to be able to present them in a way that
21 will provoke both public argument and public policy.

22 Now, I just want to get my little lick in on
23 that and give you an idea of my thinking. Go ahead, now.

24 A PROFESSOR: I have here the consensus of one of my
25 students in the upper grades, of 30 years of age or more.
26 It seems that the things that are bothering them is in in-

1 tangible form. I would like to submit them to you for your
2 consideration. They can be described as intangible and a
3 vague one, and I will give them to you.

4 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

5 A PROFESSOR: And then I believe you will understand
6 what the persons of 20 to 30 years are really thinking
7 about as to what is bothering them the most.

8 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

9 MR. PRALE: May we have another question?

10 MR. AUERBACH: I am Carl Auerbach, Professor of Law
11 at the University of Minnesota.

12 Mary McGrory had a column the other day in which
13 she said that some of your platform people, particularly
14 Bob and David Ginsberg, were thinking of writing the
15 Kerner Commission Report into the platform. That is almost
16 a physical impossibility. The idea is there. I wonder if
17 you have given consideration yet on the way to handle the
18 charge of white racism and also elective guilt implication
19 in that Kerner Report.

20 There have been efforts made by black militants
21 in State Conventions in many places, including Minnesota,
22 as you know, to write the white racism charge into the
23 Democratic platform. How do you feel about that?

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I don't believe that a
25 platform serves any great public purpose by just denuncia-
26 tion.

1 I will put it in the broadest terms. I have said
2 quite openly, I don't think it ought to be a eulogy of the
3 past, nor should it be a denunciation, per se, of the past.
4 I think it ought to be a prospectus for action. I think the
5 next platform -- and there is a question as to how much
6 detail there should be in it -- there are several kinds of
7 platform formats, one of which is a philosophical statement
8 of the broadest public purposes and policies. The second
9 one is putting the platform into different categories
10 without too much specificity.

11 The third one is just a laundry list of proposed
12 legislation that you might want to have.

13 Now, we have gone over this. I have met
14 individually with my good friend, the Secretary of Labor,
15 Willard Wertz, who has his points of view about this, and
16 with David Ginsberg, and with Bob, and with some of our
17 staff people that are working on it.

18 I would not want to write into the platform the
19 charge of, as I see it, white racism.

20 I would surely want to write into the platform
21 the fact that the institutions of this society need to be
22 severely, or very much readjusted and redesigned to take
23 into them, or into the policy-making and decision-making
24 processes that people have been excluded.

25 I don't think there is any doubt but what a
26 number of our institutions have, either overtly, or

1 indirectly, acted as if they were racists, maybe un-
2 intentionally, but they work that way.

3 But whether you are going to make a constructive
4 -- whether or not you are constructive in identifying such,
5 in a platform, storing up all of that animosity that comes
6 out, is questionable in my mind. I think you are a whole
7 lot better to point to the positive ways that we can do
8 things that need to be done. Now, that is my view of it.
9 It is open to discussion. I would surely welcome people's
10 views on it.

11 We haven't really discussed this amongst our
12 issues group. I don't recall any time that we have taken
13 it up.

14 MR. COOK: Clark Cook, Claremont Mens College.

15 The reason for the poor people's campaign in
16 Washington emphasized the point the anomaly that the poor
17 people received very little in assistance, and some very
18 wealthy farmers received hundreds of thousands of dollars,
19 of what in essence are welfare payments. I wonder if it
20 would not be possible to adopt general guidelines for
21 welfare policies, that they be directed toward poor as poor,
22 rather than to specific groups, which may or may not
23 consist of poor people.

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have served on the
25 Committee of Agriculture for a long time in the Senate,
26 and I have gone through all of these arguments about these

1 payments. I have had a much different view about how the
2 payments should operate than some have. For example, I
3 have always believed, if you were going to have payments,
4 that you ought to try to have your agricultural prices with
5 what we would call direct payments, rather than these kind
6 of subsidies that acreage limitations and to crop control
7 limitations, the type of Brannon Plan, a direct payment.
8 I think it is much better. It has its problems; but it is
9 better for the consumer, and in a sense, it's one way that
10 you get some compliance with the benefits going to the
11 consumer as well as to the producer.

12 Also I felt that there ought to be a cut-off
13 point. There ought to be a maximum amount of payments.
14 I know when you take a look at the payments that are made
15 under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, some people get
16 payments that run up into the hundreds of thousands of
17 dollars. That is, of course, primarily the result of
18 cooperative farming, where large acreage, and where a
19 large production is involved, and where there is no limita-
20 tion on the amount that can be paid. So this again is a
21 matter that our Task Force on Agriculture Policy has under
22 study. I can tell you that the Congress has repeatedly
23 rejected any such effort.

24 I was able, in 1964, in the Agricultural Act of
25 1964, to get some direct payments placed in it, in
26 reference to, for example, wheat. We made some break-

1 throughs, but not nearly enough as yet.

2 My concept of agricultural policy for the future
3 includes bargaining, the strengthening of cooperatives, and
4 making them effective units in the marketplace, and being
5 able to bargain just exactly like anybody else does for a
6 fair price.

7 The problem that you have here, however, is that
8 it will affect some consumer prices. But it also will give
9 the producer, who belongs to a cooperative, which is a
10 democratic-oriented economic and social institution, gives
11 him a chance to get a fair price for his production and
12 his product. But again you are dealing with a very
13 difficult Congress. But I want to make it clear, I think
14 the biggest mistake that we make is trying to outguess the
15 Congress.

16 I think that the Democratic platform must state
17 what we think ought to be done, and then we go out and
18 fight for that platform, and try to condition the public
19 mind, so that whoever is elected to Congress, they feel
20 some pressure from the public to do what is in the platform.

21 If we have made any serious mistake in recent
22 years that I would identify, it is that we have always
23 assumed that we had to work so closely with the Congress,
24 that we are coming down to minimums instead of pointing
25 up to maximums; and I would like to be a President that
26 is an advocate, with the realization that you will still

1 have to get something out of that Congress. I have that
2 kind of a background. I have been a little bit ahead of the
3 Congress in most of my life in the Congress, and yet as the
4 Majority Whip of the Congress, I was able to get to work
5 with the Congress. It is a neat balancing act, you might
6 say. It is one thing to be an advocate and get nothing;
7 and it is another thing to be an advocate and get something.
8 But I think unless you put your sights high enough, you
9 don't get anything. It becomes an exercise in mediocrity
10 and minimum standards. We don't want that to happen.
11 So on the agricultural policy, we will come down to pretty
12 much what you are thinking about, and the general idea of
13 limitation of payments on one hand, and a new form of
14 payments on the other.

15 Now, on that Ressurrection City, the poor people's
16 march, let's just face it. It wasn't handled as well as
17 it could have been, and much could have been accomplished.
18 I was prepared to see that a good deal was accomplished,
19 and I couldn't find anybody to work with to accomplish it,
20 to be very frank about it.

21 There was no desire to have some minimum progress.
22 I don't want to lay the blame on anybody's doorstep, but
23 I was the first official that went over there, long before
24 I got booed at the second time. I went over there when the
25 place was just being erected. I wasn't particularly
26 popular. I didn't get any letters of thanks from anybody,

1 nor any praise. I got plenty hell; but I thought that
2 somebody in the Administration ought to have contact.
3 I thought they ought to know that we cared. I thought
4 they ought to know that there was a channel open. I tried,
5 and I had top grade staff members -- Bill Welch is here.
6 He helped me. He was working all the time trying to put
7 together a package, so that they could go away from there
8 with a victory, and we had some victories that they could
9 go away with. But you know that in these movements, there
10 is a great contest for leadership, and I am being very open
11 and frank about it -- maybe too much so -- and maybe there
12 wasn't a desire to come away with what you might call half a
13 loaf. It was maybe, from their point of view, to go away
14 with no loaf at all and to come back another time. My
15 own view was that we could have made some break-throughs,
16 particularly after the first two or three weeks, and I wanted
17 to see them make some break-throughs in it, and I think we
18 could have made some substantial ones; but maybe I will get
19 my chance again to be of some help.

20 A PROFESSOR: On agriculture, I would like to underline
21 the agricultural point, the Department of Agriculture.
22 I read in the paper the other day that there are about
23 5,000,000 in the agriculture labor force, which is
24 \$1,000 a head for the farmer, rich or poor, which is quite
25 an impressive figure. When you multiply the number of poor
26 people by a thousand, and I don't think we quite reach that

1 standard -- what I really want to leave with you is an
2 agreement about your attitude, your expression of elective
3 guilt in the platform. I should like to say that I heartily
4 endorse your point of view about that, Mr. Vice-President.

5 I think, and my feeling is, that the Kerner
6 Commission didn't perform a public service in that part of
7 its report.

8 I should also like to ask in connection with
9 poverty help, how far are you proposed to stress the subject
10 of economic discrimination? I think this is something
11 that the Kerner Commission underplayed. I do not think that
12 most of these people who advocate solutions for poverty,
13 I think, speak too much in terms of public expenditures of
14 one kind or another; whereas if I am going to get rid of
15 discrimination by trade unions -- I mean by employers, this
16 might have more to do with solving the problem of poverty
17 than anything else anyone can think of.

18 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I met a man this
19 morning that wanted to talk to me a little bit about the
20 poverty of the farm workers. I have known Caesar Chavez
21 for some time, and I wanted to have a chance to talk to
22 him while out here. After all, he is a very significant
23 force amongst the poor people, the Mexican-Americans, in
24 particular, and the farm workers, and it is his view, and
25 it is very much my view in this instance, that the best
26 thing that can be done for these poor people is to give

1 them a chance to organize and bargain collectively.

2 I want to make it quite clear, so that none of
3 you have any doubt about it, I believe they ought to be
4 brought under the National Labor Relations Act, and given
5 the protection of that Act and all that goes with it, so
6 that they can lift their own standards through collective
7 bargaining.

8 Now, insofar as the poverty program is concerned,
9 I just make this one observation for you. I think most of
10 what we have done in the poverty program and all of its
11 ramifications is experiment. For that, I believe it gets
12 kind of about a B grade. I think it has been worth-while.
13 We have not done enough at any one level to make a huge
14 impact. But we found out some things, that if you can
15 pour the resources to it and mobilize the elements and the
16 factors that relate to it, that you can get something done.
17 We are beginning to find out that this manpower training
18 program does have some merit. I mean the "on-the-job
19 training," wherein you really rely for the training and
20 placement, primarily in a private sector, backed up, where
21 there is financial needs and so forth, with public resources.

22 I don't think we have thrown the case out yet,
23 but I think we have proven that there are some possibilities
24 there. We have to ask ourselves, "How much more do we need
25 to do?" I think we have learned on Head Start -- just
26 take a very common program pretty well accepted -- that it

1 does have some merit. And maybe we have gotten down now
2 to where we are about ready to have children enter school
3 at age 4, and I think that we surely have to at least
4 project our educational horizons at that level.

5 I think we have learned a great deal in the
6 poverty program about community action. I think the best
7 thing of the poverty program thus far is how you can really
8 get people, who had never before been in any decisions
9 relating to their lives, to make those decisions, and do
10 something constructively in the decision-making processes.

11 The problem is that we have all of these people
12 looking around for the mistakes, and there isn't any doubt
13 that we are going to make a lot of mistakes the minute that
14 you let poor people have something to say about their lives,
15 because they had little or no experience in what we call
16 institutional organizational structure. They have had very
17 little experience in making decisions that even relate to
18 themselves, much less to a larger community, and we have
19 got every committee in Congress, and every special journalist,
20 and every special subcommittee looking for every mistake
21 that they make. For example, if you deal with militants,
22 most of them have a record, a police record, and right
23 away you have some pure-minded soul that is going to
24 expose that. Now, the people that we need to help are the
25 people that have been in trouble, and a lot of them have
26 been in trouble long enough to fill up a page, with all

1 sorts of public record -- most of it not too good. So we
2 have to be willing to take that chance, and I think that if
3 we stick with it, we can ride it through and get people to
4 understand it.

5 I don't want to go into the whole matter of the
6 poverty program, except to say that I don't think it has been
7 a failure. I think it has been helpful. I think it's
8 primary result has been experimentation, pilot projects,
9 and we ought to pick those out now and try to expand on
10 them.

11 PROFESSOR HOLSBY: Mr. Vice-President, I am Nelson
12 Holsby, from Berkeley, although I am over 30, and I have
13 shoes on today.

14 I would like to hear your comment on one of the
15 things that we talked about yesterday, on Marty Lipsitt's
16 Task Force. A couple of us were thinking that it might be
17 a good time for you to talk about black power, come out
18 in favor of black power. Now, the argument that we wanted
19 you to comment on went along something like this, "We feel
20 that the main thrust of the Democratic Party and of your
21 leadership over the last 20 or 30 years has been to bring
22 black citizens into citizenship, first by making it possible
23 for them to vote in large numbers; secondly, by giving them
24 equal protection of the law; and thirdly, by giving them
25 job opportunities and economic strength. Now, this next
26 phase as we see it, is a normal and natural phase of them

1 wanting to organize as an interest group, to define their
2 own goals, and to operate in the political system the way
3 other interest groups do.

4 We wondered whether you would find it a suitable
5 part of your program, since you have been so instrumental in
6 doing the things that laid the groundwork to make this
7 possible, whether you wouldn't want to comment on the
8 possibility of legitimatizing this interest group activity
9 by endorsing something along the lines of black power.

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Is there any comment?

11 PROFESSOR HAMILTON: Charles Hamilton.

12 I suspected it would follow that I would talk now.

13 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would be glad to comment
14 on it myself.

15 PROFESSOR HAMILTON: I think that one of the problems
16 has been rhetoric. It has been used rather loosely, and I
17 think that it is very important that we come to terms
18 with a class race dichotomy. And I think that if you did
19 decide to deal directly with this rhetoric of black power,
20 I think that it would be very important to think of it in
21 terms of a process. Frequently we talked about helping
22 the blacks and the poor people in terms of an equitable
23 distribution of goods and services. Give them more jobs,
24 give them more schools, give them more hospitals, and so
25 forth. I think that there is one rather judicial
26 response. I think it is also terribly important -- I suspect

1 that what I am saying has been said by yourself and others,
2 and I think I am just putting it in different language --
3 one can look upon black power and all these other kinds of
4 things as not just an equitable distribution of goods and
5 services, more jobs, more housing, because I suspect if we
6 did just that, we might well be talking about perpetuating
7 a welfare mentality.

8 If it would not be efficacious to talk about
9 inequitable distribution of decision-making power, and that
10 is power, it's a process; what you do then, you see, you
11 don't promise what the system can't deliver. We can't
12 employ all of those people today, so it is only raising
13 their hopes. We aren't going to get those millions of
14 houses today, or next week, and, you know, you talked about the
15 Congress and so forth.

16 But, if we talk about a process, which begins to
17 involve people in it, I suspect in a real sense, then this
18 to me is black power. In a real sense, what we will be
19 doing is involving people, so that they themselves can
20 see the protracted nature of the solution; and when the
21 results don't come right away, they will not construe this
22 as, how shall I say, as some sort of sinister motive on
23 the part of the system, you see. But rather it is just a
24 problem, a series of problems, that have to be worked out.

25 I think much more effort, in other words, interests
26 and concern should be put in this business of process as

1 opposed to, or in addition to result. And that to me is,
2 as I said, is black power. If you are going to talk about
3 it, though, you had better define it.

4 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir. I must say, Mr.
5 Hamilton, I couldn't agree with you more. If we are going
6 to talk about it, we had better define it.

7 This word "power" fits into the jargon of our
8 time. Everybody talks these days about the power of wealth,
9 or commitment, or involvement. There are very strong words
10 being used today. I wish we could somehow or another tone
11 down the language.

12 The noise of the language is almost a part of the
13 environment of disturbance. We demand power, commitment,
14 involvement, confrontation; it all has kind of a sharpness
15 to it. My view -- I have talked to a number of people
16 about the whole concept or concepts of black power, because
17 there are many different definitions, and different
18 conceptual ideas about it.

19 One of the first things that appealed to me in
20 reference to the discussion of black power is that many of
21 my friends in the black community tell me that the first
22 thing that you need to even -- if you are thinking about an
23 integrated society is to be in a bargaining position so
24 that you can really come in as an equal, into an integrated
25 society. This is a concept of pride that comes with a
26 great deal of thought and action in reference to culture,

1 history, personal activities, to keep people in the total
2 community.

3 But as I see it, black power has a constructive
4 meaning in the development of this nation, if that power
5 means as you have indicated here, coming into the decision-
6 making institutions, becoming an integral part of the
7 process, coming to grips with the problems in one's own
8 community.

9 Those of us of the New Deal era, I believe, have a
10 certain liability that we saw a certain society almost
11 collapse, and we saw a system not working, and we also were
12 able to identify certain quotes devils end of quotes in the
13 system, so we designed a legal structure to take care of
14 the "devils."

15 Those that went through the twenties in a rather
16 selfish orgy and binge did a little repenting, and they
17 became a little more compassionate, and more charitable.
18 So the concept of liberalism has been essentially a legal
19 structure of liberal law, and sort of a, well, a rehabilita-
20 tion of one's life to become a little more charitable and
21 understanding of the other fellow.

22 I think we are now at a point where the individual's
23 involvement and the individual's participation, whomever
24 that individual may be, in his community, at his level,
25 where he lives, is the vital thing. And this means, as I
26 see it, black power -- black power in school boards, where

1 the schools are, where they start to have something to say
2 about their own schools, and also see what the problem
3 is about making schools be relevant to the needs of the
4 youth.

5 Black power in terms of running a program of
6 economic or social rehabilitation and economic reconstruction.

7 Take for example, right here in this city, on
8 model cities. It is incredible to me that you could ever
9 have a Model Cities Program in the community of Los Angeles
10 without involving in the planning of and in the consideration
11 of even the project itself at its earliest stages, those
12 people that would be affected by the Model Cities Program.
13 This can't be planned out of City Hall or out of the
14 normal community agencies. If these community agencies
15 had been doing the job that they were supposed to do, we
16 wouldn't be having the problems that we presently have.
17 Actually most of the United Fund agencies that I have
18 contributed to, that you have been related to, working with,
19 those agencies haven't been able to get down as far into
20 the social structure as was needed. So if you are going to
21 have a model cities application, you have got to bring in
22 people who today are literally excluded, and being excluded,
23 are rapping on the door, sometimes almost with a hammer,
24 to get your attention.

25 Now, I don't disagree at all. In fact, I welcome
26 your suggestions about how we discuss the matter of black

1 power, and I am prepared to discuss it, but I want to
2 discuss it after some very careful preparation, because
3 the word "black power" today is related primarily in the
4 white man's mind, with the kind of militancy that is
5 destructive, rather than the kind of militancy which is
6 constructive.

7 I have a great sympathy for militancy as long as
8 that militancy is directed towards trying to readjust the
9 processes of government, and the processes, not only of
10 government, but the social and economic structure, so that
11 those who are excluded get a chance to come in. And once
12 they are on the inside, they will find out what some of us
13 have found out being on the inside, some of the frustrations
14 of it, and also they will find out that, well, they will
15 find out that they have some critics of their own, which
16 would be kind of a refreshing experience to some of us.

17 I would appreciate any paper or anything that
18 you have done on this.

19 PROFESSOR LEVINE: Martin Levine, UC, Irvine.

20 You mentioned about the Kerner Commission Report,
21 that it would not be helpful to put it into the platform,
22 and you talked about some of the problems and proposals of
23 the Kerner Report, and your response as to its inclusion
24 into the platform and its use in the campaign. There are
25 not only the important proposals themselves, but it would
26 be a way of re-affiliating yourself with some of the

1 academic community, who are thoroughly disappointed by the
2 Johnson Administration response to this report. It would
3 seem to me that a goal of your campaign would be a marginal
4 differentiation from your campaign to the Administration
5 without disaffiliating yourself.

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have said several times,
7 sir, that the basic recommendations of the Kerner Report
8 were not only constructive and desirable, but they ought to
9 be implemented.

10 You know, the trouble with any of these reports
11 and your relationship with the public on them, if you show
12 any sensitivity to the possibility that the report may not
13 be complete, or may not meet every standard that you believe
14 in, that you are automatically put in the position of being
15 opposed to it. For example, I said I did not consider the
16 Kerner Report an obituary of the American society. I
17 considered it a health report with some danger warnings,
18 and that is exactly what it is. There really isn't a great
19 deal that is new in it. What it is is sharpened evidence,
20 it is up-dated evidence, and brought together in a much more
21 comprehensive study than we had before; not only the
22 economics of the poor, but the social attitudes, the social
23 difficulties of the poor. We have always identified
24 poverty most of the time, insofar as government is concerned,
25 with the lack of income. Well, that is the easiest kind of
26 poverty for us to meet. If that was the only kind of poverty

1 today, good God, a man could run for President and be the
2 happiest man in the world. It isn't the poverty of the
3 purse that is bothering me. It is the poverty of the spirit,
4 and the alienation that comes with it, this whole business
5 of bitterness, frustration, being left out, and some of us
6 who want to do something about it, not quite knowing how
7 to open the gates to get the people in. It is one thing to
8 open the gates, but how do you get anybody to march through,
9 if he thinks on the other side of the threshold there is
10 going to be somebody that is going to hit him, and work him
11 over again.

12 Now, I want to see us take that Kerner Report,
13 insofar as the Humphrey group is concerned relating to this
14 platform. I don't know how much influence we will have on
15 the platform. I hope we will have a lot of it. I can tell
16 you quite candidly that the platform situation is not as
17 good as I would like it. I don't think we have a draft
18 that has been -- most platforms, by the way, we presented
19 an outline -- we are in the process of presenting one --
20 but most platforms are written by an incumbent administra-
21 tion, or there has been a period of time prior to that, like
22 in the period for the Democrats from '53 to '61 when we had
23 a Democratic National Committee Council that was an active
24 organization that was relating itself to the problems of
25 the day.

26 Well, the Democratic National Committee has been

1 as dead as McNamara's goat for the last four years, to put
2 it bluntly. I haven't seen much signs of life in it recently.
3 As I understand, the President has laid down orders that
4 since there are so many charges, that this Administration
5 is writing a platform, that he in so many words said, "By
6 God, we will teach them. We are not going to write it at
7 all."

8 So you end up here with no structure or framework
9 on which to even have an argument. I wish the Administration
10 would write a platform, even if it was all wrong, so we
11 would at least have some places where we could say, "I don't
12 agree with Article I. Let's rewrite it. I don't agree
13 with Article II, or Paragraph 3."

#3 14 But as it is now, what Bob Nathan is doing, and
15 Dave Ginsberg, the two key men that I have working on this,
16 is to take our thoughts from our task forces, and our
17 studies that we have made, and putting it into a framework
18 that we think a platform should be, and presenting it to the
19 Chairman of the Platform Committee, and then we hopefully
20 will want to line up witnesses and others to come on in
21 and battle for what we believe to be some worthy points
22 in the platform.

23 This platform process is a very, very difficult
24 one, particularly when the architect of a platform, at
25 least the embryo, the framework, has decided that we are
26 not even going to have a blueprint. I want to tell you that

1 they sure scared the living daylights out of the
2 Administration on this, unless you got some information.

3 The last I heard was, "Well, since Humphrey's
4 forces are disagreeing with the Administration, and the
5 other forces don't like the Administration, to hell with
6 you."

7 PROFESSOR PILLSBURY: I am Kent Pillsbury, and I am
8 Chairman of the Educators for Humphrey of Southern
9 California.

10 We debated this title. We think educators, with
11 a broader umbrella, by which we can get to people, such as
12 Vista teachers, Head-Start teachers, teachers in our
13 ghettos, and elsewhere, who are activists, and you reach
14 out and get their support, as well as professors, and
15 associate-professors.

16 I wish to bring you an interesting and empirical
17 research that has just been accomplished. Professors are
18 de facto segregationists. You have one black American in
19 this room, and you brought him with you.

20 Now, to the next plea. So, therefore, I think
21 this word "educators" can be very helpful to you.

22 I do want to take myself off the hook as a
23 professor, not my attitude, but by circumstances that we
24 find ourselves de facto segregationists.

25 The final plea, is that, do you remember when as
26 liberals we were denoted as liberals because we believed in

1 elective security, international involvement, America's
2 role in the -- and this is the kind of international
3 involvement represented by Bob Nathan so well and nobly.
4 But as my boy, who is 16, becomes 18, I am becoming
5 increasingly less enthusiastic over America to become
6 the military bastion for the world's security. I think I
7 represent something of a dilemma. We don't want you to
8 advocate international responsibility, but we want
9 international education, and I would hate to see Pax
10 Americana.

11 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I must say to you that
12 the one thing we can't get ourselves into is a Pax
13 Americana.

14 I will be really brief and very pointed on this.
15 I really believe that if there is one time an end of an era
16 and the beginning of a new one, it is the year 1968.

17 1948 period was the era in which we crystallized
18 once and for all the involvement of America internationally,
19 in that election. That was the real importance of that
20 election, much more than on the domestic side. Harry
21 Truman's greatness as a President was not so much what he
22 did domestically, because actually very little was
23 accomplished in the domestic areas, except his forthright
24 statement on social problems.

25 His greatness was placing this nation on the line
26 during the post-war period as a shield of protection behind

1 which other nations could start to develop, or redevelop,
2 and regain their position of independence and strength,
3 and which other nations, or peoples which hadn't come as yet
4 into statehood, could come into their period of independence.

5 And there was a period of time in which American
6 power stood guard at all of these different passes, so to
7 speak. Every pass, every Thermopylae, we were there.
8 I think that period has fundamentally changed. I am not
9 quite sure yet how to rearrange the rhetoric on it, but in
10 my own mind and heart, what has happened, all we need to
11 know is just what is going on today in Czechoslovakia.

12 All we need to know is what's going on all
13 through Eastern Europe, even the Soviet Union itself,
14 with its hawks and its doves, in the Council of Ministers
15 in the Presidium. We know these things now. The simplest
16 way to say it is that communist monolith is no longer a
17 monolith. It has been restructured, fractured, torn,
18 and rented, and this iron curtain is no longer an iron
19 curtain. If it is, it has rusted through in quite a few
20 places. There is some fresh air getting behind it.

21 You know, I happen to believe that two of the most
22 dynamic figures of the recent period were Khrushchev and
23 Pope John, and I tell you why.

24 I think that Khrushchev, in order to consolidate
25 his power, as he thought so, had to lift that iron curtain
26 and let a little fresh air into the Stalinist society; that

1 he had to tear down for his importance, and his power base;
2 and in so doing, he was never able to get it down again.
3 The whole world changed. The second communist world changed.

4 The ecumenical movement that Pope John started
5 is maybe the greatest thing that has happened in the
6 spiritual world, and I think ultimately in the political
7 world. There is a whole new dimension of thought and of
8 attitude that has come out of these men of opposite poles;
9 one a deeply religious man of the Catholic faith, and one
10 a very pragmatic man of the communist ideology, both of them
11 pragmatists in a very real sense.

12 Now, I don't want to stand in judgment of this,
13 except that this is from observation of a man of limited
14 capabilities. As a man in public life, I haven't had a
15 chance to do all the reading that I would like to do. But
16 here we are, and it is perfectly obvious that America has
17 to reassess its priorities. I think we have to take a great
18 look as to what the role today is of Congress in our
19 involvement in things from here on out.

20 I think one of the mistakes that we have made in
21 Southeast Asia is that we should have put Congress on
22 record, in one way or the other. We did it with the Gulf of
23 Tonkin, but things changed a great deal after that. I
24 believe that one of the reasons that the President has had
25 a great deal of difficulty with Congress of the United
26 States, since that time, that there was never a real face-up

1 as to what we really wanted to do. In turn, we have had
2 all kinds of loose debate in the Congress without ever
3 anybody coming to a point of responsibility.

4 I have been in Congress where there is loose
5 debate, and boy, what a field day it is. As long as you don't
6 have to rack it up on that scorecard, you can say anything
7 you want to. But I will guarantee you if I am President
8 of the United States, and this Congress decides that it
9 knows more about foreign policy than I do on something,
10 I am going to give them a chance, by God, to register
11 where they are, because that shapes them up. I have been
12 around there. You can't vote "maybe." You vote "Yes" or
13 "No."

14 (Applause)

15 Now, I have talked a good deal about what I
16 consider to be the framework of American foreign policy,
17 but I think the candidate has to be very, very careful that
18 he doesn't either overcommit or undercommit himself in
19 this area, because the world is watching, and the world is
20 listening to what you say. And it is particularly true,
21 if I may say with a degree of, well, sort of egotistically
22 on one hand, and with humbleness on the other. I never
23 knew just how important this office of Vice-President was
24 until I found out how much trouble it can get you into;
25 and I still can't understand why so many people want it,
26 when apparently it is supposed to be such a death trap.

1 But this is a set of contradictory terms, you know.

2 But when I say something as the candidate, as the
3 man aspiring even to the nomination, I get messages back,
4 I read the intelligence reports that come into this
5 Government, and what does the Vice-President mean about
6 this? Is this Administration policy? Is he feeling
7 things out? All kinds of worriers. There are more worriers
8 in Government than in any other set of institutions. So I
9 have to be a little bit more restrained sometimes more than
10 others. Oh, how I long for the old days, where I could
11 say, "Sock it to 'em. Let 'em have it." I can't do that.
12 I am talking out loud about east-west relationships. I am
13 talking about the relationships of this country in the
14 future with Communist China, and what kind of contact, if
15 any, that I think that we must make.

16 I am going to lay down a paper in reference to
17 American policy in Asia, which I think is very, very vital.
18 Dr. Clark Kerr -- the paper that Clark Kerr's National
19 Committee on Political Settlement in Vietnam, I have been
20 working with Dr. Kerr and some of these people, and this
21 states a good deal of what I think at least is a reasonable
22 position on the Southeast Asia situation. I put a little
23 caveat on Item No. 1, which I would be happy to discuss
24 with any of you, that is the immediate stand-still, cease
25 fire, where all sides, starting with the end of the bombing
26 of North Vietnam. I do have to keep in mind that I am the

1 Vice-President of the United States. I have a statement
2 that we are going to make on this. I didn't feel that I
3 ought to be making some statements until at least I had a
4 chance to talk to some people in Government; but I went so
5 far as to endorse these eight points, with a slight
6 elaboration on Item 1.

7 But I think more importantly, that the eight points
8 that are here -- I don't think this is necessarily going to
9 condition the conference at Paris -- what is most important
10 for the American people, for the candidate of Presidency,
11 is, "Have we learned anything out of this business?" What
12 kind of standards are we going to have from here on out?
13 We can't refight the battles in Vietnam. But what have we
14 learned out of this period? And what are we learning
15 right now? What are we learning out of foreign aid?
16 Listen, there isn't going to be much foreign aid out of the
17 Congress in future days. What kind of aid are you going to
18 have? What kind of capital structure are you going to
19 have for developing nations? This is very, very important.

20 Who is going to keep the peace in the world?
21 What kind of peace-keeping machinery are you going to
22 involve?

23 Really, I am getting something up that is going to
24 scare the living daylights out of this country on nuclear
25 weaponry.

26 In 1963 when we confronted Mr. Khrushchev in
Cuba, he backed down for one reason, and one reason only.

1 Make no mistake about it. Because he would have been
2 destroyed. There isn't any doubt about it. We had a ten-to-
3 one superiority. That is all over. By the time I become
4 President of the United States, if I am nominated and
5 elected, we will be on what you call a parity with the
6 Soviet Union, and maybe going behind.

7 Their capacity to build nuclear submarines today
8 is three times ours of the Polaris type.

9 Now, this all changes the power relationships of
10 this world. Really, what it boils down to, as I said to a
11 group in New York the other day, "You had better make up
12 your mind. There is no place to hide, no place to escape.
13 You are here. You are caught. We have to do something
14 about this crazy world."

15 Now, this Vietnam business that everybody has got
16 themselves in a lather about -- I characterize it as
17 the infected thumb on the palm of Asia, and the palm of
18 Asia is just a part of the whole world body politic.
19 And the peace of the world isn't going to depend on what
20 happens in Vietnam. It is going to depend on what happens
21 between the United States and the Soviet Union, and
22 ultimately the Soviet Union, United States and China. But
23 in the next decade, between the United States and the
24 Soviet Union.

25 Now, mark my words, the day when the United States
26 could talk back to the Soviet Union and call Mr. Khrushchev

1 on the carpet and say, "Listen, buddy, you make one move
2 in Cuba and you have had it," because he didn't know where
3 our nuclear submarines were, with our Polaris missiles.
4 They didn't know then. They know now.

5 He knew one thing. He knew that we had the
6 Minute Man. He knew we had the superiority of nuclear
7 weaponry. He knew that we could destroy him and wipe him
8 out.

9 Today, we had better learn that we can be wiped
10 out so damned quick you couldn't even count it, and we can
11 wipe them out.

12 So you have the anti-ballistic missile. They
13 send in ten one-megaton missiles on a city. There is no one
14 that has perfected a perfect defense system. Any one
15 missile can destroy the whole damned thing. Any one can
16 clean out Los Angeles just like that. So you send in ten,
17 and you get nine. What good does that do? So these are the
18 problems that we face. When you are talking about being
19 Commander-in-Chief, and chief spokesman in foreign affairs,
20 you better damned well make up your mind what the relation-
21 ship of the United States to the world is. And I am
22 worrying about it plenty. And this is why within the
23 confines of this room I maybe already have said too much,
24 but these are the serious problems, and these are the things
25 that are not being talked about.

26 Somebody is going around talking about, well,

1 maybe we are ready for a unilateral withdrawal. So what?
2 I mean, while I don't agree with that -- I mean this is still
3 not the fundamental. This is not the guts of what we are
4 talking about. What we have got to talk about is defensive
5 and offensive weapons. What we really have got to talk
6 about is to control this arms race. Not only because of the
7 economics of it -- we can still afford the arms race --
8 if you want to be just totally crazy. You know, it's sort
9 of like going out, you can still afford to go out to a
10 nightclub, if you are rich enough, every night and still
11 spend it and booze it up. But ultimately the question you
12 have to ask is, "What about the time that comes when some-
13 body loses his cool?" or when there are vital national
14 interests.

15 Everybody has their mind on Southeast Asia. What
16 about the Middle East, where there can really become a
17 confrontation of interests between the United States and the
18 Soviet Union? Because we are still very much a European-
19 Western civilization oriented power.

20 These are the things that really make me break out
21 in a cold sweat. And there hasn't been one intelligent,
22 honest, discussion about the power relationships in this
23 world since this campaign started. I have tried to a
24 couple of times, but they say, "Now, what do you think about
25 Ho Chi Minh?"

26 What the hell about Ho Chi Minh? He is a pip-

1 squeak in the first place compared to the power relation-
2 ships in this world.

3 He is important only because of the relationship
4 of the Soviet Union to the socialist states. And the bombing
5 problem is important only because in relationship of the
6 Soviet Union to the socialist states, and when a socialist
7 state is under attack. Enough of that. I have unloaded
8 on you too much.

9 PROFESSOR MORELAND: Bob Moreland, University of
10 Redlands.

11 Following up just a little on what you have been
12 talking about just now, a matter that I wonder what your
13 reaction to be on the basis of your past record, and the
14 interest seems to be appropriate that strategically you
15 could argue in this campaign for a much greater emphasis
16 upon the institutions of international cooperation, and
17 further than that, of an advocacy, and if it is going to
18 be done, it seems to me, in a fairly massive kind of
19 advocacy, of moving clearly and forthrightly in the direction
20 of institutions of world law, however we are going to
21 define this.

22 I don't think any other candidate is talking
23 along these lines, really.

24 It seems to me also that we all know that one of
25 the great problems, ironically, and idiotic as it is at the
26 moment, is to somehow erase this popular image that

1 Humphrey is the great defender of the status quo. This
2 is insane, but this is the problem that we have got to
3 deal with, and that has struck me as -- maybe it seems far
4 out in certain kinds of respects, but I really don't think
5 it is in the context of what you have just been saying.
6 It seems to me that it has a great deal of potential merit.
7 You can argue, not just as a side reference, but you could
8 place a major emphasis on this kind of theme, which is
9 constructive, which would catch the attention very favorably
10 of many of those in the self-styled liberal wing of the
11 party, who are at times maybe disaffected at the moment,
12 which is where our problem is. I wonder what your reaction
13 is.

14 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think this would be
15 the fundamental difference between Mr. Nixon and myself.
16 The defender of the status quo, and maybe a step backward
17 will not be Hubert Humphrey. I think that is going to be
18 the opposition. I think it would be one or two people in
19 the Republican Party, if the nomination is either Nixon or
20 Reagan. Mr. Rockefeller is not going to get it.

21 In our party there is only one or two choices at
22 this time. And of course that could change. You never
23 can tell what a Democratic Convention is going to do. But
24 if I am the candidate of my party, I intend to once again,
25 just as it was done in '48, update the foreign policy of
26 this country in 1968, and upgrade the domestic policy of

1 this country, away from the old standards of the New Deal,
2 and Fair Deal, and the welfare, and the humane welfare system,
3 into a new humanity, so to speak. I mean, where we were
4 talking, as we were here a moment ago, about individual
5 participation, individual involvement, and really, entrepre-
6 neurship, jobs, getting into the political processes,
7 governing their own lives, emphasis upon this localism,
8 with the backup of your Federal resources and your Federal
9 programs being used by people here at the local level.

10 I think there are two new dimensions. What is
11 happening in this world today that is positive and good?
12 There is a great drive for emancipation. There are the
13 satellite countries of the big powers that are demanding
14 to be heard. They want some autonomy. They want some
15 individuality. These young people that you have in the
16 universities that get these IBM cards that give them their
17 grades, they are as mad as hell about it, and rightly so.
18 So am I when I see one. The classes are too big. They feel
19 they are left out. There is a lot of this that is going
20 on. And there's a whole group in America that feels more
21 left out than ever before because they begin to see what
22 the rest of us have got. That didn't come out of a
23 university. That came out of a television tube. I think
24 that is the most revolutionary instrument that ever hit
25 this country, in every conceivable way, is that television
26 camera. It has brought home the horror of war, as well as

1 the distortion of war. It has brought home the horror of
2 riots, as well as the distortion of, and even of what goes
3 on in the community. It has had a tremendous impact. One
4 thing it has made crystal-clear, when the poor could be
5 segregated, when they didn't see anybody but the poor,
6 maybe their conditions, at least they lived within them,
7 and they didn't know there was a better world. But now they
8 know in an open society, that has been opened by a camera,
9 where you don't have to read or write, where all you have
10 to do is look, they can see that there is something else
11 going on, and they want a piece of the action. That is a
12 simplification of it, but it surely is part of the problem.

#4 13 A MEMBER OF THE RAND CORPORATION: I have been
14 concerned for some time with the fate of the group which I
15 think is a test case for many of the things we are talking
16 about now, and that is the black veteran coming back from
17 Vietnam. That is a group which conservatively numbers now
18 between one hundred and one hundred fifty thousand young
19 men, and they are going to play a very strategic role in
20 the black community in the years ahead.

21 What one hears, this group is far from being an
22 alienated group, but if they are back in the ghetto for a
23 couple of years, and nothing happens to take them out of
24 this, then I think that you have stunted the potential of
25 that particular group. It is likely to be enormously
26 important for the future of this country, and I wondered if

1 you had any thoughts on that.

2 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I sure do feel that way.
3 I must say that the Federal Government is trying to do
4 something about it, but here again it is limited, but this
5 man is not going to live in Washington. He is not
6 necessarily going to live in a Federal agency. He is going
7 to live in a community. Some way, somehow they have to be
8 involved, not just as another citizen, but as part of a
9 power structure, if I can use the word, and they are
10 tremendous.

11 You know, I am sort of a preacher at heart on a
12 lot of this stuff, as you know. I go to these business
13 meetings, and I say, "If a colonel, in charge of a division,
14 or a regiment, in all of its supplies, its manpower, its
15 logistics, its tactics, and if that man can do that on the
16 battlefield, don't you think he can run a production line
17 for you, or don't you think he can operate a particular
18 branch of your corporation, or don't you think he could
19 serve as an official in the local government, county
20 government, or community agency?"

21 We have just got to wake people up to it. I
22 don't know how you get people to respond to these demands,
23 except to just pound it at them. I guess people are just
24 very slow learners. Or I should I put it this way, there
25 is so much conflicting noise, that you have to keep getting
26 your message to them. This is a very serious problem, and

1 one that I want all the advice and counsel that I can get.

2 PROFESSOR HARDY: Dean Hardy, Cal State, Long Beach.

3 We have been talking about several of the alienated
4 groups, or whatever you want to call them, particularly
5 in terms of the minority groups, in terms of the liberal,
6 the national and international movement, et cetera. What
7 are we going to do relative to the blue collar, where there
8 is considerable reaction as to what is going on and the
9 concern being shown the Democratic Party, in other words,
10 those people who constitute the swing vote in the election,
11 even if you can bring together the minorities, and the
12 liberal intellectual? I am not saying that I am against
13 the liberal and minorities; but I am pointing to the politi-
14 cal reality of this group that is very alienated from the
15 party. In the case of Reagan, he has a million dollars and
16 a million votes.

17 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I guess you sort of have to
18 have faith in people in order to be in this business. It
19 is my view that if a man is worthy of being elected
20 President of this country, he ought to be able to convince
21 and persuade people what we are trying to do is not merely
22 to help those who have been helpless, or those who have
23 been victims of frustration, or deprivation. We are not
24 only merely trying to help them to help themselves, but to
25 try to bring about conditions and attitudes, in which they
26 themselves can help themselves; but in the process, they

1 themselves helping themselves, it helps the total community.
2 You see, what really happens with the blue collar manager,
3 as you know better than I, he feels that all of the interest
4 that Hubert Humphrey has, or somebody else has, relating
5 to a military group, or a minority group, or people that are
6 classified, for lack of a better terminology, the poor, in
7 the ghettos, in the inner cities, he feels that there is an
8 over-emphasis on our part with them and not enough
9 consideration of the political leader with the guy that still
10 has a mortgage on his house, and he may be laid off from the
11 factory, and he is barely hanging on, and he is working
12 hard, and so forth.

13 Now, what we have got to show is that when you
14 are able to sense it, and able to establish conditions in
15 which somebody else is able to lift himself, this doesn't
16 pull the blue collar down, it puts the blue collar up another
17 notch, and it's good for him, and it's good for the country.
18 And the people that could help this more than anybody else
19 are the business people themselves, and the people in the
20 higher economic life of this nation. And we have got to
21 get them to start to literally sell the idea that the
22 greatest market in the world is yet here undeveloped. The
23 greatest potential in the world is here untapped and
24 un-developed, and that if we could tap it, and if it could
25 be brought into its own, everybody is going to be benefited.

26 Finally, I have a belief that these blue collar

1 workers are not going to be strained off into third and
 2 fourth parties. When the chips are down, they have a kind of
 3 basic common sense that tells them that the judgments are
 4 going to be made by the two big parties. They are not
 5 really as esoteric thinking as some of the other folks are,
 6 that are flitting around here like butterflies to see if you
 7 can't get a fourth and fifth party. They understand two
 8 words above all, Democrat and Republican. They have been
 9 able to condemn either one and raise hell with both. I
 10 think when the election comes around, they are going to
 11 see a ticket over here that says Wallace with whatever party
 12 it will be, and then they will see one that says Republican,
 13 and maybe it will be Nixon, and they will see one here that
 14 says Democrat, and if I may say hopefully, it will be
 15 Humphrey; and then they will see maybe another one over
 16 here, and I don't know who will be on that one, and there
 17 may be a fifth one. I guess you have got a Peace and
 18 Freedom Party out here. There may be all kinds.

19 Now, this blue collar group, in my book, will do
 20 less straying than some of the others. I am worried about
 21 those that have no collars on, or has got a \$10 silk tie.
 22 I think they are going to be in here.

23 Now, the question is, where are they going to
 24 vote? Are they going to vote protest and go on the
 25 Republican side? Or are they once again, are they going to
 26 say, "Well, haven't done too well, but give them another

1 try," and go over here on the Democratic side? I am going
2 to try to get them to stay with us. Because I think we can
3 talk to them. I believe there is communication with them.
4 The problem in many areas is that we don't have communica-
5 tion.

6 PROFESSOR HARDY: I agree, and I think you are very
7 right in your analysis. I would suggest your strategy
8 in the final election to very carefully precinct in, let
9 us say, the 23rd Congressional District, which elected
10 Gus Hawkins. There is a tremendous McCarthy vote that
11 is registered in that district, and I think that should
12 give you a tip-off in terms of the good solid workers --

13 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Let me just say a quick
14 word about these delegations in the primaries. We did
15 some work on these, so that we would have some idea.

16 The Lynch delegation, in the public polls out
17 here polled a great deal more in the polls than they polled
18 in the ballot box, which is exactly my point. What have
19 you got out here? What is the name of that big California
20 poll? Anyway, one of your big polls showed me, with not
21 even being on the ballot, just three points, two or three
22 points behind the late Robert Kennedy, and with McCarthy
23 way down, and that was just a couple of weeks before the
24 primary election out here. It was in mid-May.

25 Now, I was never on that ballot. Of course, the
26 propagandists were saying, "Well, all the Lynch people are

1 really Humphrey people," but, you know, folks are sort of
2 clear thinkers. They looked up there, and they saw Lynch,
3 and they know how to spell Humphrey, a lot of people do;
4 maybe not all the way, but they get the idea. And they
5 didn't see the name. So they said, "Who are these nuts that
6 talk about Humphrey being on the ballot? I don't even see
7 him down here." But they saw some other names, and one
8 of them was McCarthy and one was Kennedy. You know, the
9 people are pretty smart.

10 I know that there were columnists who said that
11 I was on the ballot. I don't know what they were smoking,
12 because it was perfectly obvious that I wasn't on the
13 ballot. Now, this was true in every single instance. It
14 is seldom that -- the write-in votes are very meaningless,
15 and you get very few of them, unless it is highly organized.
16 The only successful write-in votes in recent months was
17 President Johnson in New Hampshire. Now, most people
18 don't even know that he got the majority of the vote.
19 You have been led to believe that somehow or another McCarthy
20 got the majority. McCarthy got 42 per cent, and Johnson
21 got 49, 48 or 49.

22 Now, when I go out and say anything to anybody,
23 they say, "Well, he won in New Hampshire." That is a
24 hell of a way to win. I would have won in 1960. I got
25 44-1/2 per cent of the votes in West Virginia.

26 My point on this is that the average citizen, his

1 politican mind is not nearly as mixed up as some of the
2 sophisticates; and he has a way of being able to get right
3 in there, and he says, "I think this guy is for me." Then
4 the question is, "On what issue?" "I don't know. He is
5 just for me." He hasn't figured out where you ought to
6 bomb in Vietnam, and he hasn't even got an idea on the
7 negative income tax. But I will tell you what he has got,
8 he has got a smell about you. He just knows that you are
9 either for him or against him. This is the greatest single
10 factor in politics. As a matter of fact, if I could have
11 people that weren't always giving me an intellectual blood
12 test, such as, "Just how did you stand on that last bill in
13 Congress?" and whether they believe in you or don't. This
14 is what Eisenhower had going for him. They didn't know
15 what he was for, but they either trusted him or they didn't.
16 And you couldn't have beaten him with any combination of
17 politics, because the people had a feeling that he was for
18 them. They just felt that way. Even workers that were being
19 told by their unions that they ought not to vote for him,
20 they went over and voted for him, and the mothers and the
21 women voted for him.

22 Now, the women have more intuition in one minute
23 than most men have in a month. I have a feeling that's the
24 way this election is going to be, and it will be decided,
25 not on the basis of all of the little issues, but on the
26 basis of the general feeling of the great mass of the voters.

1 that minority group who feel, "Is he really with you? Does
2 he really mean it?"

3 I had somebody come to me last night after a
4 rather difficult little session we had, and when he rapped
5 on the door of the car, I am sure that most people thought,
6 don't open the door, but I opened the door, and he looked
7 like he was a bit far out, as they say, but do you know
8 what he told me? He said, "Do you know something? I didn't
9 like what happened tonight. I think you are sincere, and
10 I am going to vote for you." And he said, "There are
11 millions more just like me." He said, "I just wanted
12 you to know that." Now, this fellow looked like he was
13 taking off for Mars, as far as I was concerned. He meant
14 it, though.

15 PROFESSOR ROBERT NATHAN: Could I just take one second,
16 although there is another question or two, they did ask that
17 the photographers be allowed to come in to just take
18 pictures, and for no other purpose.

19 A MEMBER OF THE RAND CORPORATION: Mr. Vice-President,
20 I wonder if I could make one comment, and raise a question
21 about the remarks you made earlier about reassessing priori-
22 ties, and this concerns the relations between domestic
23 problems, which we have been discussing, and foreign
24 problems, which we touched upon. I think we used the
25 phrase, "assessing priorities," and your views of shifting
26 attention from problems abroad, which are less acute, to

1 problems at home, which are more acute, shifting attention,
2 shifting funds, shifting talent and so forth. At the
3 same time it seems to me there are some neglected connections
4 between these two sets of problems. Without going into
5 details on them, I wonder if you would care to comment on
6 the following kinds of connections between them? One
7 sort of connection involves the problem of training and
8 development and the imparting of skills.

9 Another sort of connection involves the problem
10 of inter-cultural communications;

11 And the third sort of connection involves the
12 contagion of violence and disorder in different parts of
13 the world and disorder at home.

14 While I think it is true to say that the world
15 situation has changed, and there isn't the same need to man
16 the passes as there was 20 years ago, but it does seem to
17 me there is at the same time a tendency to infer from that
18 what is not wanted, or at least what has not been adequately
19 explored, namely that we can turn our attention to domestic
20 problems, and it assumes that they are relatively isolated
21 from what is going on elsewhere in the world.

22 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I didn't mean that. I didn't
23 mean that you should forget the world, or at least down-
24 grade its importance on the basis that what you had to do
25 was concentrate 90 per cent of your energies and attention
26 domestically. I think all of us have learned, through the

1 years, that what happens in this world, basically, has very
2 direct effect on what happens here. For example, if the
3 trade and commerce of the world were to become distorted and
4 start to dry up, the impact on this economy would be
5 catastrophic. So that our trade policies, which are inter-
6 national policies, have a great deal to do with what our
7 domestic development will be, our domestic policies will be.

8 Surely, if you take a look at the international
9 monetary policy, an area in which I claim no great expertise,
10 or any great knowledge, I would think that this would have a
11 tremendous effect on whatever was done about international
12 monetary policy over and beyond what has been done in our
13 drawing rights, and so forth, thus far, on our domestic
14 policy.

15 What I was getting at is, that, and this is a
16 very uncomplicated, simple way of pointing it out, there is
17 a development, for example, a new international financial
18 institution, such as the Asian Development Bank, the
19 African Development Bank, the Inter-American Development
20 Bank, the whole family of institutions out of the World
21 Bank, so to speak.

22 Now, it is my view that we must place a higher
23 priority on that kind of international financing of the
24 capital structure and the capital needs of developing
25 nations than we have in the past, and that we are right at
26 this particular moment. Two reasons: No. 1, you are not

1 going to get bilateral aid, as much as you wanted before,
2 as much as you were able to before. The people have soured
3 on it.

4 Secondly, it has too many political overtones,
5 and it gets involved more deeply than the public wants it
6 to be. And the public, slowly and surely, is beginning to
7 understand, by our putting a percentage in a multi-lateral
8 operation, we draw a larger amount of capital from other
9 countries that are capable of capital export into an
10 international institution.

11 Thirdly, regional development. I think if there
12 is one thing that we are learning today, it is in the field
13 of trade, commerce, and the fields of development, that
14 it is regional institutions and regionalism itself has a
15 whole new role to play. We found it out in a modest way,
16 not too successfully, in so-called Central American regional
17 development of the common market, a rationalization of some
18 of their own industry. We are beginning to find it out in
19 telecommunication and transport. I think this again is where
20 we can put some new priorities on.

21 Then, I think also, we might have to ask ourselves,
22 how many military commitments do we have? Where are they
23 vital? I am not capable of giving you the answer today.
24 But where is our national interest? We have national
25 interest, I suppose, to a degree, all over the world. But
26 since you can't be all over the world, at least I don't

1 think you can be, with what you might need as an effective
2 response in case you are called on. Where are your key
3 areas of national interest?

4 Now, those are all subject to re-evaluation.
5 But I think you have to start with it. Once we thought
6 that our key and only area of national interests was in
7 Western Europe. Then the tide of Stalinist communism was
8 moving toward the west and toward the Atlantic. Now, we
9 have possibly, maybe some other areas in which we have a
10 greater interest in terms of security needed, and it is now
11 within the realm of possibility to start to do some thinning
12 out in Western Europe on a mutual basis. Maybe the
13 Soviet Union has some interest in that. I don't know. I
14 think so.

15 So what I am getting at is a re-assessment of
16 priorities in the international field does not necessarily
17 mean that you will be doing less. It means that what you
18 will be doing will be in different places under different
19 circumstances and for different purposes.

20 When you come back to the domestic scene, if you
21 can get arms control, I mean if there was any way, and we
22 must seek it, if we can start to cut down on defense budgets
23 between ourselves and the socialist-communist bloc, then
24 we can surely do a great deal more here at home with our
25 resources in terms of our domestic needs. Now, we have made
26 a study after post-Vietnam, what this would mean in terms of

1 new resources. Some people would believe that it leads to
2 a great deal. In fact, I think for a period of time it
3 would only be a modest increase, a modest increment in the
4 amount that we could put out of current taxation, out of
5 current policies into domestic needs.

6 I happen to believe if the crisis is great enough
7 in the country, you have got to be willing to pay for it.
8 The one thing that I have been saying in my speeches around
9 is, I am not advocating a cheap policy. If you want to
10 save your cities, you are going to have to invest a whole
11 lot more than that you are now. I think that a man that is
12 running for President ought to tell them that. It doesn't
13 mean that you are going to get a repeal of the surtax.
14 It doesn't mean that at all. It means that you are going
15 to have to keep it. You may have to look for new taxes.
16 Surely out of tax reform, you ought to be able to bring in
17 some new revenue.

18 Those are the things that I would like to emphasize
19 on priorities. It boils down simply to hold down the
20 military budget as best you can. Try to find out what is
21 the minimum military budget that you can get and have the
22 degree of security that is necessary for your national
23 interests. That requires at the very beginning a re-
24 assessment of just what is our national interest? How many
25 places do we have to really say that America must be there
26 with massive military resources? I am not prepared to say

1 where that is. That is what I need you for, and what I
2 need more like you for.

3 PROFESSOR PRALE: The Vice-President is on a very
4 tight schedule, and we have run over the time. Thank you
5 very much, Mr. Vice-President.

6 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Permit me to thank you.
7 I know that many of you came here out of support for me, and
8 I would be less than honest if I didn't tell you, of course,
9 that it is very gratifying if I had all of your active and
10 enthusiastic support, but I am the kind of a person that
11 believes you have to earn it; and what I would like to do
12 in the weeks and months ahead, if I am privileged, is to
13 earn that support, earn your commitment, and to have it.
14 But more than that, what is important is that I have your
15 thoughts. No matter whether we have some disagreements in
16 our midst, and I can't imagine with bringing this many
17 people together that there be quite an intellectual ferment
18 over a number of issues.

19 If you will share with me your thoughts, your
20 ideas, your constructive proposals, your constructive
21 criticisms, I think I will be better for it; and if I am
22 privileged to serve in high office, I think the country
23 will be better for it.

24 I want to thank you very much.

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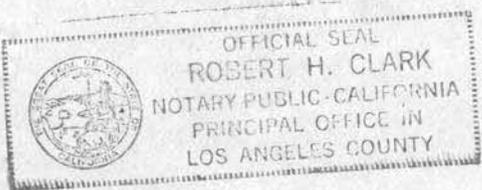
STATE OF CALIFORNIA }
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES } ss.

I, Robert H. Clark, CSR and Notary Public within and for the County of Los Angeles and State of California, do hereby certify:

That the foregoing, consisting of 54 pages, is a full, true and correct transcript of proceedings taken before me at the time and place herein set forth, and was taken down by me in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction.

WITNESS my hand and seal this 7th day of August, 1968.

Robert H. Clark
Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California
ROBERT H. CLARK



MINERS FALL
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QUESTION CONTENT

CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY

NEWS from:

Co-chairmen: Robert E. Short
David Ginsburg

PROFESSORS FOR HUMPHREY
1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

For Release Sunday, 1:00 P.M.
July 28

Contact: Rob Parker
area 202/659-4770

OVER 1,000 COLLEGE PROFESSORS ENDORSE HUMPHREY

Los Angeles, July 28...Over one thousand of America's college and university professors today announced their endorsement of Vice President Humphrey as their choice for President.

In what is believed to be the largest group of academicians to jointly endorse a presidential candidate in the present campaign, the formation of the National Professors for Humphrey Committee was announced at a news conference with the Vice President at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles Sunday.

Making the announcement were the three co-chairmen of the Professors for Humphrey Committee: Samuel P. Huntington, Chairman of the Department of Government at Harvard; Paul Seabury, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley; and Carl A. Auerbach, Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota.

In addition to the co-chairmen there were approximately 60 other professors present at the news conference. In proclaiming

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their support in a joint statement, the professors said, "We support the candidacy of Hubert H. Humphrey for the Presidency of the United States. We believe he possesses the qualities of intellect, statesmanship, and devotion to human rights which are necessary to help insure America's maximum contribution to a peaceful world."

The news conference was held immediately following a closed door meeting of the Vice President with approximately 60 professors and other experts who are members of a task force advising the Vice President on important policy and domestic issues. The Vice President is meeting with task forces in a series of regional discussions to be held during the presidential campaign.

Speaking for his fellow co-chairmen, Samuel P. Huntington said, "From Hubert Humphrey's early career as a professor through his years in the Senate and as Vice President, he has maintained close contact with the academic community. Today's endorsement by 1000 college professors reflects only in part his support within this community.

"Hubert Humphrey is a great leader because, among other qualities, he is a great educator of the American public. His innovating role in the areas of disarmament and arms control, civil rights, social development and international economic and political

cooperation testify to his capacity for creative leadership.

We believe he will be an outstanding President."

Professors for Humphrey includes a wide range of disciplines. The largest single group within the more than 1,100 consists of professors of government and political science. Other study areas represented include: law, social sciences, economics, philosophy, science, medicine as well as university presidents.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, before beginning his political career, served on the faculty of University of Minnesota as a teacher of Political Science.

Professors for Humphrey have been active on campuses organizing faculty and student groups. The three co-chairmen said the committee's activities for Humphrey will greatly expand when the fall semester begins.

Many of these professors are participating in the intellectual work of the campaign, serving as individual advisors, members of task forces and in speakers' bureaus.

Full page advertisements, listing many of the professors, will appear shortly in major newspapers across the country.

Attached is a partial list of Professors for Humphrey.

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