

REMARKS OF  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AT THE RECEPTION FOR CITY AND  
COUNTY DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEEMEN

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Empire Room  
Chase-Park Plaza Hotel  
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Thank you very much. Thank you.

I am going to tell you what I was really smiling about when I got up here. This dear lady that travels with us, who is the stenotypist, her fingers are one-half inch shorter today after taking down all those words that I have said. All the things that I have said she has had to put down there. My goodness. I hope you clean them up a little.

(Laughter)

I was asked if I could stop by with you for a while and I said, yes indeed I would, particularly after I found out that these are the elected committeemen, and you are responsible for what is really going to happen in this election, because I believe if I am not mistaken that you are the ones that are responsible for the precinct organization, and while I heard of elections being won without good organization, if you really want to be sure that you are going to win, you had better have good organization.

And not only that, a political party ought to be an effective instrument of political persuasion. It ought to be organized so that it does its job and that you do not just rely upon accident, good fortune, or a sudden change in public opinion to bring about the results that you may want in an election because if you rely upon accident and what you think is good fortune and a sudden change in public opinion to bring about what you hope will be a favorable result, it can switch on you the other way, too, and one of the ways that we have of somewhat affecting the outcome of elections is by having people that are sufficiently well acquainted with their neighborhoods and the people that live in those neighborhoods, with their precincts, the people that live in those precincts, so that you can talk to them.

It is an amazing world and a contradictory world that we live in. We have more means of communication today than ever before and more of us are saying things than ever before and yet I think that we have a greater difficulty than ever before really talking to people or getting them to listen. It is maybe because so much is said that many people just tune everybody out, and I think there is a great deal to that, and that is why you can tune in and get to be, to listen, because you are of the people, with the people.

Now, I know that the mass media has a tremendous affect on everything that we do politically these days. It has a great effect on everything we think. If you don't believe so, just listen to your children. They know the names of all the cereal that is advertised. They know all the prominent personalities. They live in a very real -- they live in the world of public relations, of advertising, of communication.

Sometimes I think that those of us who have responsibility for leadership fail to understand that it is possible to communicate and it isn't necessary for you to always do it in a big way. You can do it in a very intimate, personal, group, community, block by block, precinct by precinct way.

Now, there are some people here with me tonight that know what I am talking about. I look over to my right and to your left and there is a lady here that started with me in politics in Minnesota. She has served as Ambassador to Denmark, as Ambassador to Bulgaria, representing your country. She was the first woman Ambassador behind the Iron Curtain and she stood up beautifully, may I say, under great

pressure from the Communists and taught them a few lessons. She has been an Ambassador to the United Nations. She lives in Red Wing, Minnesota, and you know what? She is a precinct worker, and we started to build a political party and I am going to ask Eugenie Mrs. Anderson, Ambassador Anderson, if she will stand up. Eugenie, will you stand up, please.

(Applause)

I can tell you how she got in politics. I stopped by her house one day and started talking to her -- and she said that isn't the way; she came up and talked to me; but that isn't the way I remember it. Since I am telling the story I will have it my way.

But be that as it may, we helped build a political party. We built a party in my state called the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party. The reason for the hyphenated party is because we had to put two parties together. I was one of the architects of that party. And we built it to be a majority party in the state when it was really a very small minority party.

We have elected governors -- since 1952 we have had most of the governors, I think there have only been two Republicans since then. We have had two United States Senators. We still have. We have had at least half of our Congressional delegation up until this last election, we lost one by a hair, which meant that if we had had a little more precinct organization in the 6th Congressional District, and I told my Congressman, I said, look, you have got to get out and get those folks, got to talk to them, and we would have had our majority.

I used to pride myself in knowing the thousands of people in my state and I still know a lot of them but I think there are very few county fairs that I haven't visited, and I have walked those fair grounds and I would know people by the hundreds and the thousands by their first name and as a Senator I sent letters to them by the thousands and I was on the radio and doing my job. But what I really depended upon was what did we have in our county organization and what did we have for a state organization? What did we have in some of the block organizations that we had in the Twin Cities, for example, Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Yourstate is very much like ours. It votes very much the same way, by the way. As I indicated tonight.

We have to carry Minneapolis and St. Paul and the Iron Range, as we call it, that is up in the great Mesabi Iron Range up in Hibbing and Duluth, the Great Lakes and Port of Duluth. WE HAVE TO CARRY Minneapolis and St. Paul with not less out of those twocities than 100,000 majority, and then we have to go up in the Iron Range and hopefully come out with a minimum of 60 to 65,000 majority. That gives us, let's say, 165 to 175,000 votes that we have in the bank, and then the tart nibbling them away down in the southern part of the state, you know, and as we have certain counties that, well, it is just -- we just don't do too well.

But, I can tell you how an election is going to come out by how the Twin Cities come out and when I see that the organization is at work when I see that our people are taking responsibility, I know that we are going to do the job. And when I see it disintegrate as I have, I know that we are not going to do the job.

And I don't care how good the candidate is. You can have the best candidate in the world and the difference between a real smashing victory and just a squeaker, or a victory and a loser is organization.

Now, you are the ones that count and that is why I am here. I am tired tonight, to be frank about it. I have really been hitting it all day long and it is a -- it is a rough pace. This is the 8th, 9th or 10th meeting I have been to and besides that I have shaken thousands of hands and it is a tense, hard business all day. But I wouldn't do it if I didn't like it and I wouldn't do it unless I thought it was important, and I wasn't compelled to come here. I came here because I owe you something.

assure everybody's election is to take the most popular man you have and make him more popular and then everybody else just kind of gets -- you know, I know how to hang on.

(Laughter and applause)

Now, the same thing is true of your Senator -- Senatorial candidate, and I want you to help him. We need Democratic Senators. We are going to need them very, very much in this coming Congress, and if I am your President, I want a Democratic majority. If that shouldn't happen, you will need a Democratic Congress more than you ever needed it. So, you had better elect that Senator and don't you leave any stone unturned and just make up your minds you are going out and work, and the same thing is true of the Congressmen.

Now, you have Congressmen and you have a Congresswoman, Leonor Wasn't there with us tonight. She is one of the finest Congresswomen, one of the finest members of the Congress that you have in Washington today, and you get her reelected. I tell you.

(Applause)

But you have got here in this country, Bill Clay, Jim Symington, and you want to remember that both of them are non-incumbents. Both of them can be elected. I think both of them will be elected. And I know how they will get elected, if you make up your mind that they are going to.

Now, I have said more to you than you needed to have said. I just want to thank you very much for what you do for me. I am so proud to be the leader of our party in this election. It is hard for me to say and it is hard for me to realize it sometimes. It is an awesome responsibility and yet it is a great privilege. I have been a Democrat so long and my dad before me that it just makes me feel good to think that I can go out here today and talk to Democrats and say -- ask them to follow the leadership, work together and work as a family, let bygones be bygones.

You know, you can't have everybody agree with you all the time. You don't need to have somebody every line -- we don't ask Democrats to walk lock step. We don't ask everybody to look alike, talk alike, be alike, say everything alike. One of the reasons we are Democrats is that we reserve the right to be a little ornery once in a while, a little difficult once in a while and a little different once in a while. As a matter of fact, that word Democrat includes such things as dissent and debate and dialogue and discussion and it also includes decision.

Now, we have made the decisions. The primaries are over. The convention is over and I don't care which faction you belong to, just remember this, that no matter what you think of the faction, the faction looks like a kissing cousin compared to a Republican. Just remember that.

(Applause)

I hope you got the message. That is the Democratic gospel. I will go out and preach the message. There are a lot of political souls to be saved. Go to it.

Thank you.

(Applause)

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CLOSE-UP  
KMOX -TV  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1968

MR. MANN: Mr. Vice-President, we just heard about debates again. Where do we stand now?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, they stand at about where they have been. Senator Muskie and I have issued the request and the challenge to both Mr. Wallace and Mr. Nixon. Mr. Wallace had agreed on a three-man debate. Mr. Nixon has failed to respond. I imagine that his previous response of no debate still stands. I think he has made one other response -- namely, that he is purchasing four hours of national TV time on Saturday, just before the election. This is apparently his way of saying that he will debate according to his standards, under his terms, under his paid network broadcast.

I don't consider that satisfactory.

MR. MANN: How do you counter this sort of strategy, though?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I counter it by saying just as I have said from our platforms. I believe that the American people are entitled to hear the respective candidates face to face, side by side, at the same time, at the same place, before the same audience respond to the questions that confront this nation -- each to present his own case in his own way -- each candidate to be able to cross-examine the other, each candidate to have his opportunity for refutation.

This is fair. That is what the networks wanted us to do. This is what the House of Representatives suggested in its passage of the suspension of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act.

It is regrettable, and it is ironic, that the Republican leadership in the United States Senate should use the privilege of unlimited debate in the Senate to prevent public debate in the country by the leaders of their respective political parties.

Now, I intend to counter the other on the national television by a nationwide appeal to the American people to help me to finance equal time.

Very candidly, the four hours that Mr. Nixon is purchasing for his final blitz campaign, which will be the Saturday before the election, is over and beyond anything that he programmed in his \$20 million commercial TV and public relations program. That four hours is more than all of my total television time -- all of my television time put together, the sum total of everything that we have for this campaign.

I feel that the American people will want me to have equal time. Quite candidly, I can't afford it unless I have the help of the people. And I am going to call upon the Coalition of Students, wonderful young people that have joined together from the different groups across the nation, from the colleges and from the high schools and from other places, to help me in a nation-wide campaign of raising the funds that will permit me to go to a network and say that I want equal time so that I, too, can answer the questions of people. I would like to have the time, may I say, between now and the end of this campaign to be on a sort of a telethon, a TV show where you can call in and you can ask any question of me and I will answer it to the best of my ability.

I think that is the way, the only way we are going to have a chance to really discuss the issues.

MR. MANN: Are you saying there is going to be such a program?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am saying that I will reserve the time. I am trying to find the money. Quite candidly, I haven't got it. And I think you gentlemen know that it requires cash on the barrelhead, as we say, to be able to provide for that time.

MR. SERAFIN: Mr. Vice-President, four years ago didn't you and Senator Muskie vote against the debate resolution?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, four years ago the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, had his own view as to whether he wanted to debate Mr. Goldwater. There were only two candidates, I might add, however, not three. Mr. Johnson had never favored what we call the debate. But that was Mr. Johnson. I was then the Majority Whip of the Senate. I had the responsibility, as the Majority Whip, to try to put through the Congress those proposals that the President wanted, as one of his floor leaders in the Senate. And I voted, I believe, on a tabeling motion at that particular time. But that has never been my personal view.

In 1960 I debated my opposition all across the State of Minnesota, even though my polls showed me winning, and I won by the largest majority I had ever received, or any other senatorial candidate has ever received in Minnesota.

In 1963 at the Democratic Convention I debated Senator McCarthy and Senator McGovern before the California caucus.

I have never shunned the opportunity for open discussion and open debate. Quite frankly, I think it brings a respectability to politics.

Here I see you three men. I am sure that if you were the three candidates for President and you were facing the American audience, that you would speak more, with greater candor, with greater care, with greater knowledge of the subject. You would prepare yourself better. You would know that you were on the spot and you were under the spotlight.

I happen to believe that this elevates the tone of American public life. I am not at all sure that what we are doing is the way it ought to be done. I speak to many street rallies. It isn't the best way to campaign. You can't really present a case systematically and thoughtfully. You indulge far too much in the catch phrase, in the bombastic attack. I think the American people would like to be able to sit in their homes and think it through with us, to look at us, to see -- you know that television tube is like I call the x-ray of the conscience. It really shows you for what you are. You can get yourself all dressed up, but there is one thing you can't dress up and that is your heart, and that is your mind, and that is your conscience.

And that television tube has a way of revealing what you are, particularly when you are under stress and under contest. And I want to be under stress and contest, because the next President is going to have plenty of stress and plenty of contest, plenty of pressure. And if you can't take it on the television, you are not going to be able to take it in the White House. And if you can't debate me, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace, how do you think you are going to be able to debate Mr. Kossygin? How are you going to stand up against the men in the Kremlin? How are you going to stand up against the leaders of the world?

The last debate that Mr. Nixon had of any consequence was with Mr. Khrushchev over in the kitchen at an American exhibit in Moscow. They debated the wonders of color television. The last debate that I had with Mr. Khrushchev was in the Kremlin and we debated and discussed the fate of mankind.

I think that shows the difference.

MR. FORD: Mr. Humphrey, I don't know how much stress this question will put you under as you say in television but in the opening quote for this program you made a reference to the "Bomby Twins" referring to Wallace and LeMay.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

MR. FORD: Well, now, General Lemnitzer, who is the head of NATO, is quoted this past week as saying that it might be necessary at a very early stage to use nuclear weapons to defend

Western Europe if there was an invasion. What do you see as the difference between Lemnitzer advocating or at least saying he would use nuclear weapons or they should be used and the statements made by LeMay.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think we know that if there were any invasion of Western Europe, it would be by the Soviet Union, which is a nuclear power, which undoubtedly would not hesitate to use whatever power it had. And one of the reasons we have stationed nuclear weapons in Europe is for the defense of Europe. We have stationed there -- stationed them also because we wanted to be sure that they were ready in case we needed them in Western Europe.

I think it is a great deal of difference of using nuclear weapons upon a rather primitive country like North Vietnam, in a limited struggle, than it is for the very fight for survival.

But I will make it very clear. I think that if there is nuclear war, that there will be very few people left to write about it.

We have the capacity ourselves and the Soviet Union for total annihilation and total destruction of what we call western civilization. And scientists know that nuclear war would have its greatest devastating effect upon what we call the people in the northern zone, and that is across all of Europe, the United States, the northern parts of Asia, the Soviet Union. And it would be -- it is almost beyond a person's capacity to speak of it.

The first nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union, if that ever happened, and pray God it will never happen, would cost us between 240 million to 250 million people dead on both sides. I mean the total on both sides.

MR. MANN: Let me see if I understood you correctly, sir. You are saying that there might be a point that we would have to use nuclear weapons in Western Europe?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am not saying that at all. I am saying I hope and pray to God we never have to use them anyplace. I am saying that part of the arsenal of our defense, which Winston Churchill maybe best explained it -- the balance of terror -- is to be found in the nuclear weapon. And it has been a part of our defense. We hope and pray that we will never have to use it. I am saying that if Western Europe were under attack by the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union being a nuclear power, that you have to face up to the fact that that might be one of the things that could develop -- namely, nuclear war. And that is why we do everything we can and must do everything we can to slow down this arms race. That is why I am for this treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. That is why I supported the nuclear test ban treaty to prevent the development of further nuclear weapons by testing them in the air and in the atmosphere and on the land.

I think that the greatest challenge before mankind is to halt the arms race before the arms race halts humanity.

I think we are engaged in a panic of madness. We have simply got to somewhere draw a line as to what we call -- what we call the power structure, for our defense. The more you build, the more the other man builds, and the more he builds, the more you build. And pretty soon you have a pyramiding of the nuclear stockpile. And then you wonder where is that level of danger that becomes catastrophic.

That is why I feel that this is one of the questions that ought to be discussed. I am not sure that any of us have the answer. I think we are searching for the answer. But I want to know what Mr. Nixon would do about this arms race. He knows and I know -- we are both well-informed men -- he knows that we are right at the stage of a whole new system of weapons -- unless we call a halt to it. And in order to call a halt to it, we are going to have to get an agreement with the Soviet Union on offensive and defensive missile

systems.

And I submit to you that I think I am in a better position to try to negotiate that agreement, because I believe that I have a better working relationship, that I can talk to the leaders of the Kremlin. I don't know whether I can talk effectively or successfully. But I know I must make the try if I am the President.

MR. SERAFIN: Mr. Vice-President, there were rumors and reports in this country and South Vietnam and other countries this morning that a halt of U.S. bombing in North Vietnam was immanent. I know that you and the other two candidates received a conference call from the President. Can you tell us anything about what that call contained.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe that --with all respect to you, sir, and respect to the requirements of our country -- that the best that I can tell you is that the White House statement itself explains what the President said to us.

MR. SERAFIN: That statement said there was no change in the policy.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is right. And there have been a number of rumors that have been floating around, and the President felt that we should be informed as to what the White House was putting out rather than getting it piecemeal -- he felt that all of us should be informed at the same time.

MR. SERAFIN: Part of the rumors apparently grew out of the fact that Ambassador Bunker and President Thieu have been meeting. Is there anything special in connection with these meetings?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think, again, that this is a matter of considerable sensitivity, and I think I serve my country best by letting the Commander in Chief discuss these matters rather than myself.

MR. FORD: In your stand on a bombing halt in Salt Lake City you indicated that if the North Vietnamese by word or deed, directly or indirectly gave some evidence of good faith, possibly restoring the demilitarized zone as a true demilitarized zone, you would halt the bombing as President.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes. My position in that paper is my position, and it is the one that I leave for the public to study, and I also, of course, went far beyond what I considered to be the problem in Vietnam. I went beyond into the area of arms control.

MR. FORD: Isn't your stand still a matter of reciprocity?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My stand is just what it says. And I feel that I best serve the interests of my country now just stating quite candidly that the paper speaks for itself.

MR. MANN: In connection with these rumors, sir, and on the matter of practical domestic politics, Senator Everett Dirksen today said if there is any major change in the conduct of the war this close to election, it would be for political reasons. Would you subscribe to this statement?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My good friend, every day of my life I pray for the end to this war. And I say that reverently and sincerely.

The President of the United States is not in politics. The President of the United States, on March 31, for all practical purposes, renounced his political leadership of the Democratic Party. He stepped aside. He said he was not a candidate for re-election, nor would he accept the nomination. He said he wanted to devote all of his time to the search for peace in Southeast Asia. And any time that the President can bring peace to Southeast Asia, a whole nation will rise up in thanks and appreciation, and a whole world.

I don't care whether -- as far as I'm concerned -- if he would get it this afternoon or tomorrow, or if he gets it on January the 19th, or whatever date he can get it, or on 11:55 a.m., 11:59 a.m. on January 20 -- I will only say God bless him.

I think that we shouldn't play politics with this. I think the President is going to do the very best thing that he can do. I know he is. I know this man better than most anybody in American life. And I know that the President of the United States has one consuming desire, and that is to find a way under the terms -- the terms that protect our security, that protect the security of South Vietnam, to find a way to bring this war to a conclusion.

MR. FORD: Mr. Humphrey, some people who at least claim to have some insight into the inner workings of your campaign claim that you would hope to turn the corner, as they say, by mid-October, and that the polls and so forth would start to reflect some momentum in your behalf. Do you think -- this is mid-October. Have you turned the corner?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: You bet. We not only turned the corner; we are coming down right now on the stretch.

MR. FORD: What evidence do you see of this?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I see it in the people's enthusiasm. I see it as I came to your airport here in St. Louis, with thousands of young people out there to cheer me on. I see it in the work of hundreds of volunteers, thousands of them every day. I see it in the rising tide of support that we have, in the large crowds that we are bringing out to our meetings. And I see it -- I feel it -- I have been in public life long enough ---

MR. FORD: Well, Mr. Nixon sees these same things, Mr. Vice-President -- cheering crowds. And he feels momentum as well. Is it in the eye of the beholder, then, whether you have turned the corner or not?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I suppose there is always a degree of that. All of us like to think that we are doing well. But I have been very candid in this campaign. I didn't try to pretend in the beginning that we had it easy. I knew that we were behind. I still think we are. I think that is a fact. But I'll tell you what I think. I think we are gaining. And I want to tell Mr. Nixon he better not look over his shoulder or I will pass him on the inside going around the last turn.

It's my view that we have the momentum that is needed. I believe it is a close election. It is a very uncertain election -- with three candidates in it. But I do believe that we can pull it off.

I think that we are going to be -- give you the biggest surprise that you have had for many, many years. And I think that when you wake up on November 6, and you give that news broadcast, you will be able to say -- well, do you know what; he told me he could do it, and he did it. Namely, I told you.

MR. FORD: Why the emphasis on Missouri right now? You have been in Kansas City and St. Louis combination in this state three days or more. Why the emphasis on a state which really doesn't have that much electoral strength?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think this election is very much like the one in 1960, the Kennedy-Nixon election. I expect that

our vote will be very much the same. Missouri went for Kennedy. Minnesota went for Kennedy.

Missouri is a big state. It is an important state. It is not only important in terms of its electoral vote; it has important electoral vote. But it has an effect in influencing neighboring states. It is called one of the border states. We intend to have a good deal of activity in all of the border states -- in Missouri, in Tennessee, in Kentucky, in Oklahoma, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia. We intend -- we think that this is the promised land, so to speak. We think that there is a chance for us here in a three-man race to pick up these electoral votes. And I think we are going to carry Missouri. The state chairman has assured me. The Governor has given me reason to believe that we can carry this state. And our own private polling tells us that we have better than a 50-50 chance to carry Missouri.

MR. MANN: At the same time, our viewers are also in Illinois, just across the Mississippi River. How do you feel about Illinois?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think we are behind in Illinois. I don't like to tell you that, but I think that is true. But I intend to fight for it. I am going down into Illinois. The other day some of my so-called experts said "Well, I don't think we can carry it". I said "Well, you may not, but I think we can, so change your scheduling". In other words, I am in charge. I said we are going to go down into Illinois and fight for it. We are going to carry that state if it is humanly possible.

We have four or five critical states that we think we really ought to put in everything we have. We ought to carry and must carry California. We believe that this is a hard fight. We are behind in California. We think that we have 50-50 and maybe a better chance in Ohio. Our recent indicators tell us that surprisingly that we are doing quite well in Ohio. We are ahead in Texas -- and not only by our evaluation, but by very objective non-Humphrey evaluators and polls. We think that we know we are ahead in Pennsylvania. We realize that we have -- we have got a real battle on our hands in New York State. Mr. Nixon indicates he is ahead about 2 percentage points up there. We think we are ahead about 4. So we will split it off and say it is up for grabs.

Now, that is just about the way that it looks. That is why this is one of these Hairbreadth Harry, down-to-the-line campaigns that is going to get a little more exciting each and every day. And because that is exciting, that is my kind of a life. I think I have got a little more of the adrenalin in me than Mr. Nixon has, and I think I can carry on, and I think we can bring this into a victory.

MR. MANN: Mr. Nixon says one of his mistakes in 1960 was not asking General Eisenhower, an incumbent President, to get into the race before he did actively in his behalf. How do you feel about asking President Johnson during these next three weeks to get into this race in your behalf?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I want -- I want his help. The only reason that I would hesitate at all is if he feels that the international situation would require his total unqualified attention. If that were the case, I would not in any way implore him to help me. But he has assured me of his whole-hearted cooperation. He has already given a very splendid speech in my behalf. I have indicated to him areas where I thought he could be of extreme help to us. And he has told me he will do whatever he can.

His wife was only recently in Louisville. Mrs. Humphrey and Mrs. Johnson are making a tour all the way through Texas. I think we will have the President's help when we need it and where we need it.

MR. MANN: Have you asked him specifically for certain appearances?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes. We are in that process of discussion with him now. But as I said, I put the international situation first. I want it clear. I need him. I want him. I think he can be helpful.

MR. SERAPIN: Would an endorsement by Senator McCarthy be a big boost to your campaign right now?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It would help. I like the endorsements that we can get. And we have most of the McCarthy young people with us. But the Senator -- the Senator's endorsement would be helpful. I can't imagine that the Senator is for Mr. Wallace. I know he is not. He wouldn't possibly be for Mr. Nixon. He says he is for Mr. Muskie, and Muskie is with me. So I kind of take it it might be a sort of perverse, inverse, outverse way of coming around. But I will accept it. Mr. Muskie and I are on the same ticket.

MR. SERAPIN: He also said you have to go a little further in this direction before you will get his endorsement. Do you plan to go beyond the Salt Lake City stand?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have read what he said. I think that I shall leave it up to the Senator to make his own decisions as to whether or not he can help me.

MR. SERAPIN: You don't plan to go any further in his direction?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe that the Senator knows where I stand.

MR. FORD: Mr. Humphrey, I know from personal experience that you have campaigned hard for Mr. McCarthy on various occasions. Does it come to you as a personal let-down that he has remained so aloof in this matter now?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, every man has to make up his own mind what he wants to do. Politics has many disappointments in it. It also has some very surprising and happy moments.

Senator McCarthy and I have been -- and you know better than most people -- we have been companions in campaigns year in and year out. And I have a feeling that the Senator will do what is right. I don't intend to try to pressure him publicly or privately. The Senator has reasons for his feelings, and whatever those reasons are, I respect them. But I know that Senator McCarthy loves his country. And I know that he has never voted for nor has he ever supported the views of Richard Nixon. I know that he cannot possibly stomach what George Wallace is saying. And I know that he knows Hubert Humphrey and Muriel Humphrey and our families know each other, and he knows in his heart what I am and who I am and what I stand for.

I think the verdict will come out alright. I will trust that jury.

MR. SERAPIN: Mr. Humphrey, as Vice-President it has been your job, I guess, to staunchly support the President's policies. But because of that job, doesn't that make it a little difficult to establish an image as your own man, and also to come up with different policies in a credibility sense? Doesn't it make it difficult?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: First of all, I am very proud that I have been a loyal vice-president to the President. I think that is what people expected of me. I think I would have

performed a great disservice to this country to have tried to confuse American policy by me going one way and the President going another.

I made up my mind when I became Vice-President that I would in a sense submerge my own personality -- you have to have a passion for anonymity in that role, and if you don't have a passion for it, you have to discipline yourself to it. And you really sort of go as you say kind of back in the shadows. And Mr. Nixon understood that. And he continues to want to stay in the shadows. I am trying to get out in the sunlight here now for a while.

I tell you -- I give you an analogy. I am sort of like the man that retires from competitive sports and then the Olympics came and they said the man that was going to be our standard bearer decided that he couldn't -- that he couldn't participate. So they come back and they said "Well, Humphrey, you come forth".

Now, that meant that for four years -- for four years I have been second man. For four years I have been a down-field blocker on the team of the administration. For four years I have been an administration spokesman. Now all at once I am called upon to stand out in my own light, my own right, as my own man, with my own programs, as the leader of my party. It takes a little time to get your timing back. It takes a little time to get, well -- to get in shape. It takes a little time to tune up your reflexes. It takes a little time to get back into the swing of it.

I am back. I'll tell you I didn't realize that I could retrain myself so fast. I am ready to go. And there isn't any doubt about a man being his own man.

When you become President of the United States, you will be responsible and you will be your-self. We are very different personalities, the President and myself. I hold him in the highest regard. I respect him as a man, as a President, and I cherish his friendship. And I don't regret a single day of my life with him as the Vice-President.

But I am now the leader of my party. I am now the candidate of my party. I intend to be President of the United States. And when I am President, I am going to be just as much President as the present President is President. He runs it when he is in charge. And when I am in charge, I will run it.

And I recall one day that I heard someone say that no ex-President or ex-Vice-President or Vice-President will tell the President what to do. He can advise, he can counsel. I think that is true. And when I am President, no ex-President or ex-Vice-President will tell me what to do. I will look for advice. I will welcome it. I will welcome your advice and others. But I will be responsible for the decisions. There will be no problem about identity at all.

MR. MANN: I have time for just one quick one, and it is strictly a local matter. Immediately after the Democratic Convention, we understood that our State Chairman in Missouri, Mr. Houtchins, had a leg up on being the next National Chairman. Is this correct or incorrect?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is correct.. That is very definitely so. And we thought that someone from one of the border states could serve a very useful function and served very faithfully the Governor of this State. The Governor has been very helpful to me. And what you have said is right.

MR. MANN: Thank you, Vice-President Humphrey, for being our guest on Close-Up.



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