

TELEVISION TAPING
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MR. MULLIN: Good afternoon. Our guest on Viewpoint is the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States, who is in Pittsburgh campaigning for the Presidency of the United States.

My name is Edward Mullin. Our guests on our program today are Mrs. Dorothy Kirschbaum, who is a teacher at Churchill area high schools in history; and also a senior from Penn Hills High School, 17-year-old Charlotte Davis. My other colleagues -- Bob Harper and Fred Remington.

Mr. Vice-President, a short time ago Senator Eugene McCarthy indicated that he will not run for re-election as a Senator, has no interest in running for the Presidency of the United States, and unequivocally gave you his whole-hearted support. Is this going to make a tremendous difference in your campaign at this point?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, of course it is very gratifying to me that an old friend would support me. I have known Gene McCarthy for better than 20 years. Our families have been close friends. And you can imagine how I would feel if he didn't support me. And you can imagine how very happy I am that he has seen fit to do so, and to call upon his supporters to back my candidacy.

I regret that Senator McCarthy is not going to seek re-election. He is a fine public servant. But he has many other interests. He is a very astute man. He is a scholar. I am sure that he will be doing things to enrich his life and make him happy.

So I am a happy man this morning -- what has happened in terms of his support.

MR. MULLIN: Is there any reason that you can determine at this point why it took him so long to make his decision?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. McCarthy -- or Senator McCarthy went through a long ordeal. It takes time sometimes for wounds to heal, and for feelings to become adjusted. I seldom look at people's motivations. I just want for the results.

I have said a number of times that I had been of the opinion that he would come around to support me, because of our long friendship. We know each other as men, and not just as political figures. We know each others as families, not just representatives of a point of view. And I believe that the Senator has given me his support, not because we have agreed on everything, but because he feels that I offer the better alternative. I think that is about the way that he stated it. So I say thank you, Gene.

MR. MULLIN: Mrs. Kirschbaum, do you have a question for the Vice-President?

MRS. KIRSCHBAUM: Yes. Mr. Humphrey, it seems to me that in the last few years the areas of consensus that have bound us together as a people have been seriously eroded -- certainly : not altogether by issues that can be controlled politically. But it seems to me that as President you would be confronted with a problem of rebuilding some of this area of consensus so that we can then afford to disagree again without appearing to tear the country apart at the seams.

What kind of things do you see as possibilities to rebuild some of this consensus?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, the first thing I would observe is that the wonder of our time, the news of our time is not that we have had dissent, and not that we have had disorder, but that we have held together as well as we have -- because our society has gone under tremendous strain.

We have lived almost a quarter of a century with the nuclear threat hanging over our heads. We have had wars, even after the tragedy of World War II. There has been a whole new world that has come into being, with all the stresses and strains that come in the power struggle between the nations of the world.

There is the rise of the Soviet Union as a major power. And for a period of time it showed very aggressive instincts.

Then there is the rise of the Communist regime in China, the restlessness that you see in the ferment all through Asia, Latin America.

Here at home we have had a fantastic change in our economy -- just the impact of science and technology, called automation, upon an economy, has disrupted whole communities, changed industries, changed living habits and patterns. The automobile, the mobility of the American people has surely changed many of our mores and even moral patterns, as well as economic patterns.

And then the change from a rural society, predominantly rural in its orientation, to a highly-industrialized urban society. And then the drastic change in race relations.

Now, you add that all together, and you really can stand back and say -- I wonder how we took it all, I wonder how we were able to stand it -- with the affluence that is so evident, with the vast majority of our people, that is, relatively good living, and over here is a smaller segment of our people who stand out even more vividly because poverty is still their lot, while the rest of us are doing pretty well.

The inability of our people to be able to govern in some of these cities of ours because they are so large and they haven't the proper jurisdictional power -- that is the legal powers.

I must say that I have been heartened by the capacity of the American people to take it.

Now, what can a President do?

He can try to explain these things to people.

Really, many times we solve our own problems when we recognize them. I guess you would call this sort of psychiatric treatment, in a sense.

But when we as individuals sense what our problems are, then we start to come to grips with them.

I believe that a President can help his country understand what has happened to his country, and then call upon the people to take a good, healthy look at it, and to realize that we have taken strain and stress before. And surely a President can set an example of trying to build a sense of unity and trust amongst our people.

I think particularly in our race relations it is very, very important that we understand that laws alone are not enough; that we simply must practice at the human level the very things that we prescribed in our laws; that we must start to accept people for what they are. We must judge people on merit. And we must understand that American citizenship knows no color line, knows no line of ethnic origin, race, religion or the way you spell your last name.

And once we get this through, we are going to start to pull together.

And I think young people -- I think this is really what young people are screaming out about. I think this is part of the ferment amongst young people. They are saying to the older generation -- what's the matter with you, don't you know there is a new world, can't you sense that there is something changed?

And they are really sort of kicking us in the shins and telling us to wake up.

Frankly, I have awakened. And I know that what they have been

saying in large measure is right.

MR. MULLIN: Maybe we can have an appropriate question from one of those young people right now -- Charlotte Davis.

MISS DAVIS: Mr. Vice-President, if the series of frustrations that Mr. Wallace has played upon during the present campaign should be with us in 1972, do you feel as though he will pose a greater problem to the traditional two-party system in 1972 than he did in '68?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Charlotte, it is my view that Mr. Wallace is a passing figure, a figure passing in the night of American politics. He represents the anger, the bitterness, the frustration, the pettiness, the prejudice that many of us have. We have all got a little of it. And some of it boils over. And people lash out.

As I was saying earlier, there are so many things that have happened that upset people. Young people move from one end of the country to another because of the change of jobs. Just about the time you get some friends and your children get acquainted, why, the corporation for which you work says -- well, now, we are going to send you to Savannah. Maybe you were living in Seattle. And just about the time that you thought that you had something going good for you in your economic life, something happens that changes the whole technology.

People are restless.

I THINK THAT Mr. Wallace does not represent a permanent attitude in the American people. He is in a very real sense sort of like the Saturday afternoon football game, where you can get out on the field and take out your frustrations by hollering and shouting and condemning the referee and just making all kinds of noises.

But when you go home afterwards, you have sort of got it out of yourself and you kind of spend a pleasant week with your family.

I hope that is the case. I would hate to think that America was going through a period in which anywhere from ten to twenty per cent of the people were going to be governed by passion and prejudice, because that would be a very serious thing for our democracy.

So when I am your President, I am going to spend a good deal of time trying to release these anxieties from our people and explain to them what we are going through in this country, and offering greater hope, particularly in the depressed -- to the deprived and distressed people of our country.

And remember this -- one final thing. That when you offer hope, and people see hope, they see light at the end of the tunnel, they become restless, they want to get there a little faster.

Part of the restlessness of this country is a sign of its health; that things are changing for the better, not for the worse.

MR. MULLIN: We will take a question now from our editorial director, Fred Remington.

MR. REMINGTON: In a speech here Monday night, Mr. Vice-President Richard Nixon attacked the Johnson administration heavily on the matter of rising taxes, escalating costs of living, the general diminishing dollar.

Is this something that you as a President would give priority to, a kind of roll-back in the price-cost squeeze?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think that any man that is President of the United States has to be concerned about the stability of the dollar. That is its real worth and also its validity as an international currency. He has to be concerned about any kind of inflation that seems to get at least out of hand. He has to be concerned about the general well-being of the economy.

My argument with Mr. Nixon is not over that. My argument is

over his evaluation and his judgments.

First of all, the dollar is the soundest currency in the world today -- period.

Secondly, during his -- during the Republican administration, we had the largest run and drain on our gold supply that we have ever had in the history of this country. It was really very dangerous.

Thirdly, we have had a steady growth of our economy which has added a wealth to this nation that is unprecedented, and that while it is true that the cost of living has gone up, the income of families has gone up appreciably more.

So that today in the last eight years the income of a family of four has averaged about a 32 per cent increase after taxes, after the rise in the cost of living, which equivalent to about 17 pay checks extra.

Now, that would -- compare that with the eight years of the Republican administration in the fifties, when the real income went up only nine per cent. We have over tripled it -- a little over 300 per cent increase in our eight years.

The Republican administration also, in order to have any kind of what they call price stability, had three recessions -- seven per cent unemployment. Actually up until 1965, until we really started to become deeply involved in the war in Vietnam, we had a better record of price stability and -- price stability and wage increase and economic growth than the Republicans had, by far.

And on the tax matter, Mr. Nixon is just plain wrong. I am being very kind to him when I say just plain wrong. Because the truth is that for the low income people in this country, that is people in the lower income brackets, they pay about 30 per cent less federal tax today than they did in the Republican years. And the over-all federal taxes are about 14 per cent now less than during those Republican years.

We have had three tax decreases since 1964 -- three of them. And we have had only one small ten per cent surtax, which, by the way, didn't affect anybody with an income of \$5,000 or less.

So Mr. Nixon is dead wrong on taxes. And he is surely wrong that inflation has eaten up the increased earnings. The fact is that the earnings have been substantially larger, both in business and the worker.

Dividends are up 66 per cent on American business. I can't understand how a businessman can really go into that voting booth, particularly if he is a corporate director, and vote Republican. I really cannot understand it. Because if he does so, he is really doing this to defy his own stockholders, to abuse them, because the stockholders in American business today have had the best return on investment that they have ever had in their lives. And they had one of the worst returns in the eight years of Nixon Republicanism.

Now, if they want to say they are Republican at the country club in order to feel a little better, I don't mind that. But if they have some sense of responsibility to their investors, and that is what a corporate director ought to have -- because he doesn't own the corporation -- he ought to keep in mind the people that own those stocks. He ought to be voting Democratic, because the Democratic Party has been a friend of the stockholder and has been a friend of the worker, and it has been a friend of this young lady sitting right here alongside of me. We have put 300 per cent increase in federal aid to education, so that this young lady can go to a better school.

MR. MULLIN: We will take a question now from Bob Harper.

MR. HARPER: Mr. Humphrey, being a little more specific in the

the charges and counter-charges that are going between the two parties, the Republicans insist that if you are elected, sir, that it will be a new face heading up the same old team. I recall in Cleveland a couple of months ago that you said in one instance that Mr. Rusk should take a rest.

Could you tell us if you have any cabinet plans now, if you are planning to retain some of the Johnson people as advisers or members of your cabinet?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I haven't played President. I have been Vice-President and candidate. Mr. Nixon has been playing President. I think he has played it so long, as I said the other night, that by November 5 people are going to think it is time for a change. They are going to vote for me.

Mr. Nixon has been indicating people that he would put in his cabinet and all that sort of thing. I saw that happen once before when Mr. Dewey was doing the same thing in 1948.

I have said -- and this is my -- my evaluation -- that a new team will come in when I become President. There will be a new Vice-President, and he is outstanding. And I might add the very first appointment that I made, the very first selection I think is indicative of the quality of men that you would have in my administration as compared, may I say, to Mr. Nixon's first selection.

I will put up my Ed Muskie against Spiro Agnew any day, for any kind of evaluation.

Now, that is the first choice that the two Presidential candidates made.

I will take a look at the best people in this country, regardless of party. I do not believe that a cabinet or an administration has to be simply a party administration. What I think the American people want from their next President are top quality people. And we will search for them, and we have, in terms of talent search, in industry, in finance, in labor, in education, in the professions, in government. And I am not going to start to name cabinet officers or any other officer of government, because once you do it, you get people saying -- well, what about the next one, and there is no end to it.

There are too many federal employees for me to go down that line.

MR. HARPER: Are you saying, then, sir, that you have no obligations to the Johnson people who are actively supporting and campaigning for you?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: None whatsoever -- and none of them would expect it. All of them, I am sure, would turn in their resignation. I am not saying that some of them would not be considered. To the contrary. But I am going to judge people on the basis of what they can do and what their service can be to this country; and also whether or not they can adhere to my policies. Because when you are President, you are the man in charge, and you must be able to have people who are going to give you loyalty right down the line and work with you in terms of your policies and your programs.

MR. MULLIN: Mr. Vice-President, at this late stage in the campaign, can you assess what has been and what is today your biggest problem -- the biggest thing that you have to overcome between now and November 5.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I wish I had a few more days -- that is all. We were late in getting started. You know that our convention was very late. Ordinarily the Democratic convention takes place in July. Most of the work that we had to do, that is the kind of nitty-gritty work of preparing for the campaign, getting our organizational structure, raising the funds, planning our advertising, setting up the organization, all of that was ordinarily completed by the first week of September.

I had to start mine on the first week of September.

So we have been shrot of time.

That wasn't due to my fault.

The convention date had been set much earlier, when President Johnson, as an incumbent President, thought he was going to seek re-election. Actually, I have a feeling that the fates are shining well in my direction -- are working in my direction.

There are two factors in politics that are fundamental and basic. One of them is timing and the other one is momentum and when do you peak. Those two come together to say when do you peak in terms of your strength.

I see a tremendous upward movement of my candidacy and of the strength of the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. Every place we go the enthusiasm is explosive. And I think it is spreading throughout the country. I think the polls indicate that. I think the attitude of the people.

Here I come to Pittsburgh at midnight, and it is cold, and there were hundreds of people out there. I would say more than hundreds -- a couple of thousand -- waiting for us at the airport.

And they told me an equal number had already gone home.

Now, compare that to the reception that was given to the Republican nominee, who came in at mid-day.

I used to get small receptions when I first came to the airports in this campaign.

But let me tell you they tear down the fences now.

And I feel that the gains are coming out pretty well.

MR. REMINGTON: Mr. Vice-President, do you think the gains are coming because Mr. Wallace is losing? Where are you getting the strength that you seem to feel you are getting as the days go on?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, we are peeling off some, I think, from the Wallace candidacy, some from the Nixon candidacy. But in every public opinion survey, up until recently, the undecided vote has been as high as 20 per cent -- 18 to 20, even up as high as 22.

Now that is dropping down to five and six and ten per cent, which means that there are lots of the undecided vote is coming our way. And many of our Democrats that were unhappy during the primary struggles, during the winter and the spring and the summer months of 1968, have come back to the party; to wit, for example, my friend Senator McCarthy. I think that his announcement today will have a very decidedly good effect. He is the one man that has not been actively helping us. Now he is. All of the Kennedy people, as they are referred to, from the top echelon, from Ted Kennedy on down, are working with me and have been for weeks, hand in hand.

And so we are really just picking up strength.

And the independent one.

I might say that I think lots of the people who are workers, that are on salary, I should say, and wages are beginning to understand that there are some pretty big stakes here. And then those that are deeply concerned about peace. Mr. Nixon's attitude on arms control and the spiraling arms race is, I think, very disheartening to many people.

This is a very dangerous period we are going through. And as we start to mount -- if you have an administration that permits these nuclear arms -- this nuclear armament to mount up, just to pile up and pile up, you raise the level of danger, and I think intuitively, without a lot of expert knowledge, people feel that this is wrong, that there is something -- there is something amiss here.

And they are turning away from that kind of leadership, and they are saying -- let's see if we can't find a man who will responsibly and prudently try to slow down this arms race and call a halt to it, hopefully to be able to negotiate a mutually acceptable safeguarded agreement.

Now, I have spent a lifetime at this, and this is an area in which I -- I can say rather immodestly, claim some background and some knowledge.

MR. MULLIN: Mrs. Kirschbaum.

MRS. KIRSCHBAUM: Yes. In this area, Mr. Humphrey, don't you think that the level of armaments as well as the unwillingness of any of the large powers for anyone else to have their finger on the nuclear trigger makes regional alliances somewhat -- well -- unsafe and unstable? Don't we have to look for new kinds of arrangements internationally, to keep the peace, and don't we have to share the job, too, of being the world's policeman?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, let me say I still believe that there is a great role for regional cooperation, particularly in the economic field, and also in some areas of self defense.

I would hope that one of the lessons that we have learned out of Vietnam is the importance of self-defense by peoples in their own region, and that we carefully evaluate any commitment that we make on the basis of whether or not they are willing to fight for their own survival and their own defense, and not be precipitous. In our saying -- well, this is a problem that we must become involved in.

I think that we don't want to say that we wouldn't become involved anywhere. But we ought to be very prudent and very careful.

Now, on the matter of peace-keeping machinery -- we have been derelict, all of us, all the countries have, on the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations, and I have laid out what I call the new strategy for peace in an address at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco -- I thought that was the appropriate scene for it, because the UN started in San Francisco, had its first meeting -- in which I outlined some of the ways that we could strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations.

I believe that the UN has a distinct role to play now.

And if there can be more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, which I believe there can be -- because I think we both have reasons to want to prevent struggles which may blaze forth into total confrontation -- I believe that we can then strengthen the United Nations as a peace-keeping operation and help reduce the possibilities of our own involvement.

But we will have a responsibility. We will have to provide supplies, we will have to provide funds -- we may -- the larger nations generally do not supply the manpower, lest it look like some of the larger countries are taking over.

MR. MULLIN: Miss Davis -- another question.

MIRR DAVIS: In your long political career, what do you regard as your proudest legislative achievement?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The Civil Rights Act of 1964. I worked at that for 16 years. I would put that at the top of the list.

The other ones that I would like to include are the Peace Corps, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the resolution which helped the President negotiate that treaty-, the National Defense Education Act, the U.S. Disarmament Agency. These are some of the ones. The Food for Peace program.

But at the top I think I would put the Civil Rights Act, because I committed a lifetime of activity and really of my political life to it.

When I took my first stand, it was very unpopular, and people thought that that was the end of my political life. But we survived and lasted it out. But it took from 1948 to 1964. Think of that -- 16 years of perserverance.

But I was the Majority-Whip and the floor leader for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and we debated that Act from the middle of February to the end of June. And all during that time only once did we fail to have a quorum, which means only once did we not have enough people on the floor to have a full roll call vote.

That is I think the best thing that I have been able to do.

MR. MULLIN: Fred.

MR. REMINGTON: Mr. Humphrey, you have been travelling .. around the Pittsburgh area with Mayor Barr and Congressman Moorhead. How do they read Allegheny County for you? Do they think it is going to be tight? Is there big Wallace strength here?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I'll tell you. I hope they tell you the same thing they are telling me. They tell me it looks pretty good here. And I believe they would tell me exactly the truth, because we are people that have to face up to the realities of public life.

I believe that our strength has improved. I think that the so-called third party candidate strength is being eroded. I believe that we ought to come out of Allegheny County and they believe with a healthy Democratic majority.

MR. REMINGTON: How do you care to define "healthy" numerically?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, good enough so when you add this up to Philadelphia and a few other places, we ought to be able to carry the State of Pennsylvania.

MR. MULLIN: Mr. Humphrey, as a Senator of the United States you voted against suspending the equal time provision to allow debates between Mr. Goldwater and President Johnson. What about this time around? Mr. Nixon chooses not to debate.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I did that because I was the Majority Whip and at that time the President, the incumbent President did not want to debate Mr. Goldwater.

Now, an incumbent President has many difficulties in a debate, because every word that he says is very sensitive in the international scene. I am not at all sure that an incumbent President ought to be debating, because he may make a slip and it could cause a great deal of difficulty.

But I am not an incumbent President. I was following, frankly, the wishes of the President of the United States as his floor leader in the United States Senate. And people who understand parliamentary processes know that that is what happens.

But that has never been my position.

In 1960 I debated John Kennedy in the primaries. In 1960 in the senatorial elections I debated my opponent many times. I have in every election. I have done -- I debated Mr. McCarthy and Mr. McGovern in the Democratic convention caucuses of the California caucus, for example, out at Chicago.

I happen to believe in debates. I think they make politics a little better, to be honest with you.

I think that when we sit here like we are today, and talk to each other, and if we were in debate that we would be a little more careful what we said. I think the rhetoric would be a little softer. I think the argument would be a little more crisp. I think you would be a little more careful about your statements of alleged fact. And why? Because we are right here to check the other fellow out. We are not here before our own partisan jumping, clapping, applauding, hollering audience.

Now, what I believe the American people ought to have, with this blessed thing called television, is an opportunity for a big

town meeting of the air, so to speak, the kind of debates that characterized American politics in the earlier days. And I would like very much to have that chance.

MR. MULLIN: And as with a debate and a program such as this, we have our time limitations and presently we are out of time.

Our guest has been the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States, who is a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

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