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FACE THE NATION
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GUEST: SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Democrat of Minnesota

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

Christopher Lydon, New York Times

Michele Clark, CBS News

PRODUCERS: Prentiss Childs and Sylvia Westerman

NOTE TO EDITORS: Please credit CBS News' "Face the Nation."

GEORGE HERMAN: Senator Humphrey, CBS News now calculates that Senator McGovern will have a bare 90 votes short of a first ballot victory. You are one of the most knowledgeable and experienced politicians around, a veritable professor of politics -- in your considered opinion will he win the nomination on the first ballot in Miami Beach?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I think that's a tough assignment for him, even though he's very close. It's my judgment now that he most likely will not win it on the first ballot, even though those 90 votes that you speak of put him surely within shouting distance of it.

ANNOUNCER: From Minneapolis, Minnesota, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota. Senator Humphrey will be questioned by Christopher Lydon of the New York Times, CBS News Correspondent George Herman, and CBS Reporter Michele Clark.

HERMAN: Senator, 90 ballots is not far from victory; you call it within shouting distance. It's been said there are enough people out there who want to be federal judges or whatever -- won't those 90 ballots come right quick, either on the first or at the most on the first and a half ballot?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I think you have to keep in mind that most of the, what you might call soft ballots or the delegates that may be a little bit uncertain as to what they want to do and therefore could be claimed by a front-runner, have already been listed. They've already been put into the arithmetic of the available delegates for the front-runner, so the 90 or the 100, whatever figure you have, and my people say that there's more than that, but they tend to always

feel that way -- I would say that those 90 to 100 will be very difficult to get on ballot number one. Now the question, of course, becomes will Senator McGovern pick up strength on the second ballot, will he hold, or will there be a chance for some movement away? Of course a man like myself, looking this over, believes that if he does not win it on ballot number one, that his chances of winning it are somewhat diminished, and surely if he does not win it on the second ballot, then the convention could be very different.

LYDON: Senator, Senator McGovern's campaign manager says he has a fantasy in which you, having collapsed your campaign, actually nominate Senator McGovern at the Miami convention. Has this fantasy, or nightmare perhaps in your case, ever occurred to you?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, I don't quite understand that kind of talk. I think that's part of the problem of George McGovern's politics. He needs to get away from that kind of talk and get right down to the nitty-gritty of the politics. If he means that, following California, that we were not in the New York primary, I think it's fair to say that ^{that} /surely did not help us, that I've spent my time since then contacting delegates, firming up a platform position. And by the way, interestingly enough, Mr. Lydon, on the platform, I presented my platform proposals to the Democratic Platform Committee; George McGovern did not, despite all of the talk during these primaries about policy and program and platform. Senator McGovern's people and the Senator himself were conspicuously absent in terms of presenting any solid data, any solid constructive proposals to that platform committee. I presented a document of over 30 pages of detailed programs that I believe should be included or

should
at least/be given serious consideration by the Democratic Platform Committee.

CLARK: Senator, but you did not testify in person before the platform committee, and I'd like to know why, and then I'd also like to know about this quote that you had written into your testimony -- if the party falls into the hands of a narrow, ideological elite, then we may be in for a Republican majority. To what are you referring in this narrow, ideological elite?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Can I take the first part of your question as to why I wasn't there? I think maybe the television audience would appreciate this. There are some things that sometimes take precedence over politics, and one of those things is family. My nephew was being married, and I have been for several years like his father because his father is deceased, and I wanted to be here for his wedding, and I had a choice as to whether I was going to be before the Democratic Platform Committee to read merely what I had already written, or whether I was going to be out here with a boy that's like my son for a great occasion in his life. I selected the nephew, the son, and the marriage, and I left with the Democratic Platform Committee a full, detailed, comprehensive statement of program and policy that I believe ought to be given serious consideration within the Democratic platform.

Now as to the commentary that you made out of my testimony, yes, I am concerned that the Democratic Party may be taken over by a narrow group that considers themselves very, very right -- I don't mean right ideologically, but they feel that they really have the truth, and that they are willing to sacrifice what I consider to be

a necessary coalition of forces, such as we've had for the years since Franklin Roosevelt, that has given us a Democratic majority.

CLARK: Who is this group, Senator? Are you referring to George McGovern's supporters?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Some of his supporters, yes, just like we've had some before that were the -- what I call the Dixiecrats, the segregationists, the hard-liners, the white citizens council. There was a group like that that wanted to have their way; they didn't get it. Now there's another group that is going to have their way and if they don't get it they say they threaten to bolt the party.

CLARK: Does that make them extremists, sir?

SEN. HUMPHREY: It makes them very impractical, and it makes them what I would call people that would either rule or ruin, and I do not believe that the Democratic Party can afford that. I hope and pray that Senator McGovern will exercise the kind of leadership which a presidential candidate ought to exercise to give some balance to the presentations that need to be made and some discipline, so to speak, ^{some of} over/his followers. Now we've seen these followers at work in some of the state conventions, and I want to say on this program that if some of the activities which we've seen at work in state conventions -- not merely in Minnesota, but in North Dakota, in Montana, Colorado, in other states across this country, in Vermont -- that if we see that at work in the national convention and if it succeeds, if you put into that national platform legalization of marijuana, if you put in there the right of marriage for homosexuals, if you put into that platform the kind of ridiculous platform/^{program,} which I've seen in some places, then the Democratic Party is going to suffer. Furthermore,

you cannot drive out of this party the blue collar worker, the kind of people that have been the base of the Democratic Party.

HERMAN: But is the corollary true? If you don't put in some of these things that you call ridiculous -- the legalization of marijuana, the legalization of homosexual marriage and so on -- if you don't put those extreme items, the only ones that you've really cited, in, is the party then safe, is the party not in the hands of a narrow ideological elite -- is the corollary true?

SEN. HUMPHREY: No, as a matter of fact, I think the items that I mentioned are of concern to a very small number of people in this country who are very comfortable.

HERMAN: What I'm trying to get at, what is the real narrow ideological elite that you're referring to, and the reason that I press on this is because the latest Gallup Poll that I've seen shows Senator McGovern to be supported by 46 per cent of the Democratic Party. Now that doesn't sound to me like a narrow ideological elite, and I'm trying to get what you're talking about.

SEN. HUMPHREY: No, what I -- well, let's talk about polls for a minute. In the last five polls that have been taken since January, I have led in four of them amongst the Democrats, so if the polls ^{going} were/ to control who is to be the nominee of this party -- on any basis I would have had it locked up.

HERMAN: But did they not show a trend in the most recent toward Senator McGovern?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, the most recent one -- I mean, after all, since California there have been nothing but good headlines for Senator McGovern, and you and I know, and I'm not complaining about

that -- this does affect what we call public opinion. But I think you have to take the trend, and over the trend since January out of five polls that have been taken by the Gallup organization amongst Democrats, I have led overwhelmingly. In fact, the second person has been --

HERMAN: But with a rising trend for McGovern.

SEN. HUMPHREY: The second person has been George Wallace, not George McGovern, in those polls, and you average them out, and that's the way you really have to look at polls. Now I've been in politics a long time, and I can tell you that polls are only important in terms of what the averages are and a trend over a long period of time. Now let's talk about, again, the ideological elite. I'll tell you specifically what it means. It's those that literally thumb their nose at what we call the working man of this country, that say the labor movement is old and old-hat, that look at the politicians of America in the Democratic Party and say they have no place --

HERMAN: Will you give us some names in the McGovern organization?

SEN. HUMPHREY: We've had that happen -- names are not necessary in this program -- everybody knows that this has happened; it happened right here in the State of Minnesota.

LYDON: Senator, whenever you sound the alarm against the divisiveness or the radicalism of the McGovern supporters, I always wonder at a comparable stage in 1948 what the party fathers were saying about Hubert Humphrey, the wild-eyed mayor of Minneapolis, who would come into the convention and talk about something as divisive as civil rights. The question, I guess, is how you feel,

as one who made his way in the Democratic Party, by raising hell and stirring up new issues -- how it feels now to be trying to bar the door, it seems, to the other side against young ideas, younger-- younger people in the party?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Not to bar the door to the younger people in this party. The younger people of this country are pretty wholesome and decent and intelligent. There are lots of young people today that are not in college -- two out of seven are in college, five are not. There is a large body of what we call the working young people that are worried about taxes, worried about where they are going to live, worried about how they are going to pay for their home, worried about how they are going to have a job, and what they're going to get for it. They want health care, they want child care, they want good schools, and they are not all hung up on that. you should have general amnesty for draft evaders, they are not hung up on the idea that you should have legalized marriage for homosexuals, they're not hung up on the idea that the major issue confronting this country is the legalization of marijuana. I'll tell you what they are more concerned about --

HERMAN: But none of these are issues which Senator McGovern has advocated.

SEN. HUMPHREY: May I say that we were talking about an elite within the party; I wasn't talking about the Senator as such. I am simply saying that these are some of his supporters, and he must put those supporters in their proper place within the party.

HERMAN: That's what I want to ask. Do you doubt his control of his section of the party? Do you doubt his control of his campaign and of his ideology after he gets wherever he things he's going to go?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, so far the record isn't very good. I hope that he'll do better.

HERMAN: You mean by the record isn't very good that --

SEN. HUMPHREY: In the state conventions.

HERMAN: -- that the wild-eyed people have bolted from his leadership and have done things which he does not want them to do?

SEN. HUMPHREY: That's correct. I think that is true thus far. Now I'm hopeful --

HERMAN: Therefore you doubt, I take it, that he can control^{them}/if he should be nominated?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I want to help him, and I want to say that I think it was a great mistake that he did not present to the Democratic Platform Committee his views. Now, listen, all during these primary campaigns, Senator McGovern had a program, and you people talked about it, the press wrote about it and said, look, he has a program. But when it came to the time where the program is to be incorporated into a platform, it was conspicuously absent. All during this period of January up until now, it has been said, Mr. Humphrey, where is your program? I've been talking about that program, piece by piece, item by item, and I placed it and put it together in a document that is well conceived, that is comprehensive and constructive. I presented it to the platform committee. The platform of the Democratic Party is going to have a great deal to say about whether or not our candidate can be elected. It's the platform that lays out your philosophy and your program, and I believe that if you're going to lead this party, and you have to be a leader if you want to be President, you must be willing to take the chance to go lay before that platform committee your views, your thoughts, and indeed if you have to to join the controversy with somebody that may disagree.

CLARK: Senator, if your characterization of Senator McGovern's supporters is correct, suppose George McGovern is denied the nomination--will the party fall apart, and can anyone thereafter realistically pick up the pieces?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, I think so. First of all, let me say I--these are not all--that I'm talking about--all of Senator McGovern's supporters. My good--

HERMAN: When you say you think so--

SEN. HUMPHREY: Let me just--let me just go back here again. There are thousands of Senator McGovern's supporters that want to see this party go in a forward-looking constructive path--no doubt about it at all. And we must not generalize. I'm simply saying that there is a well-disciplined militant group that in the past have tried to run things and hopefully they're going to try to do it again. I had to fight a group like this in Minnesota back in 1948, when they wanted to take over the Democratic Party in the state. At that time it was an extreme left wing group, and they did take over in 1946, and they tried to take over in 1948. We had to show the leadership to beat them, and I want Senator McGovern to do exactly the same thing.

HERMAN: For clarity and for the record, though, we need to know--you said you think so. Did that refer to both parts of Michele Clark's question--will the party fall apart and will somebody be able to pull--

SEN. HUMPHREY: No, I meant that somebody will be able to pull it together, because I'm going to try to help to do that in whatever position that I serve in, whether I'm the nominee of this party or whether I'm just a good working Democrat. I want my party to win, and that's why I presented my views to the platform committee; this is why

I--many--one of the reasons I debated Senator McGovern is that I thought that some of his proposals--and I speak of his--his proposal on welfare, his proposal on defense, his proposal on taxes--I thought those proposals were unrealistic; I thought that the one on family--not on family assistance, but what we call income distribution or welfare--and primarily it was income distribution--I thought it was fiscally irresponsible, socially unacceptable, and I hope and pray that Senator McGovern will not continue it. He said it was only a suggestion, and if he continues it as a policy, he will not do well.

HERMAN: I think last Wednesday, he said on two of them there can be no compromise.

SEN. HUMPHREY: When did he say that?

HERMAN: Last Wednesday. He said that on two of those he could--there could be no compromise--on tax reform and on reduction of defense spending.

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, may I say that I haven't been able to find out yet just what the Senator wants on tax reform. I hope that he would spell that out, and I say this respectfully of him, because I want him; he's the leader now in our party--no doubt about that. He has the delegates; he has--as you pointed out in the most recent public opinion poll, he's in the lead. I think it is imperative that he spell out what he believes about tax reform.

CLARK: Senator--

SEN. HUMPHREY: We've had several opinions from him. You can't have a grab-bag approach. He must delineate it. And on defense--I have to say over this television network that his defense cuts are too deep. They do not merely cut out waste; they cut into the very muscle

of our defense, and they will not aid us in getting mutually agreed-upon arms control agreements. I hope and pray that he'll back off.

CLARK: Senator, will you help him if he doesn't compromise on those two things?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, I think the party will help him compromise. That's why I presented my testimony to the platform committee.

CLARK: But will you help him if he doesn't, or you and some of the people--?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Yes, I will--I have to be frank with you about this. I considered the choice if Mr. McGovern gets the nomination, as compared to Mr. Nixon--I will be there to help Senator McGovern if he asks me, if he wants me. But in the meantime I'm going to do what I think I ought to do as a citizen, as a senator, as a leader in the party and as a Democrat. I am going to oppose those positions which I believe are wrong. I believe it is wrong to support general amnesty without any program of social service to this country. I believe it is wrong to offer every citizen of this country a thousand dollars, to every man, woman and child. I think it is wrong to cut our defense budget by over forty per cent. I think that is wrong, and I hope and pray that I can--that I can convince the senator and his supporters that these positions will drive the Democratic Party to defeat. I don't want the Democratic Party to--

HERMAN: How about some of the nitty-gritty details--are you going to support, for example, the challenge to the California delegation because it was elected as a bloc group?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, it violates the guidelines of our party.

HERMAN: Are you going to support, and your delegates support--?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Yes, I shall. I shall not personally take any active part, but there are five delegates--or potential delegates--

HERMAN: Yes.

SEN. HUMPHREY: --that have joined together. I believe they come from the Muskie camp, Jackson, Mrs. Chisholm, Mayor Yorty and the Humphrey delegation. They are contesting the winner-take-all in California, because the winner-take-all violates the McGovern Commission guidelines on proportional representation.

HERMAN: But this requires some votes--this requires some votes. Will you ask your delegates to vote for the challenge?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Yes, I shall.

LYDON: You've been identified, at least since 1948, with civil rights, and you've campaigned hard this year, as you always do, for black support. And yet it begins to look as if the support that could bring George McGovern close to the top, if not over, will come from a substantial bloc of uncommitted black delegates. Is this simply ingratitude on their part, or do you take some blame yourself for falling out of step with black hopes, black aspirations?

SEN. HUMPHREY: No, I don't think I've fallen out of step with black hopes and black aspirations. I think there are some black leaders in Congress, possibly, and some that are out around the country, that may feel that Senator McGovern is going to get the nomination and they'd like to be the swing vote. And I can understand that. But I want to say right on this program, to any black person listening, to anybody interested in civil rights, to anybody that has a sense of fair play, I ask the jury--those members who I would make the jury--to judge my record and then judge any other candidate's record in the

field of civil rights. If I were to have my political life to be determined on the basis of whether or not I've had a good record in the field of civil rights, and a better one than Senator McGovern or any other senator, I think I'd come out on top.

LYDON: But you made that pitch in California, elsewhere, and a lot of black voters decided otherwise.

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, black voters are independent people. They are no different than white voters on these things. They may have decided it on other things. But I'm simply saying that in 1964, on June 15, when I stood on the Senate floor, having been there since February in that great battle on the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964, and had to lead the fight against an amendment that was proposed by Southern segregationists--18 of them--and just--Senator McGovern voted for that amendment, voted for an amendment that would've denied the Attorney General the power to insist that the courts expedite the claims of people who had had their voting rights denied--I say that that's not a good record. And when you vote against the Powell amendment, which would have demanded and insisted that where federal funds were expended for school construction, that those schools had to be desegregated--I think that when you vote against that amendment, that's not a good amendment. Now Senator McGovern did both of those.

LYDON: How do you account, though, for the growth of black support for Senator McGovern through the primaries, and specifically in California?

SEN. HUMPHREY: He didn't have much growth until he got to California. That's a fact. Now you know that. We got 85 per cent of the vote in Ohio; we got over 80 per cent of what little black vote there

was in Nebraska.

LYDON: Well, let's talk about California--

SEN. HUMPHREY: We got over 80 per cent of it in Pennsylvania; we got most all of it in West Virginia. And in California, I would say it was primarily the fact of good organization, lots of money, and going after it.

CLARK: Senator, would you explain to our viewers, now with what looks like an awful lot of odds against you, why you have decided not to just drop out?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, it's been a tough decision, in all candor. I could've copped out, as they say, but I've been telling people all along the line here, don't cop out. Be in. I've been telling young people, if you believe in something, stay with it. You may not win, but stay with it. I've been telling the labor movement the same thing; the black people; the Spanish-American, the Mexican-American people. I've been saying, if you believe in something, stay with it.

Now the worst thing that I could do was to talk like that and then to cop out. Now I believe that I'm performing a service. First of all, I think I have a chance--I said about one in four, and I think that's realistic. I don't want to deceive myself or my followers. But this convention is not locked up. I do not intend to have the pollsters, the commentators, the pundits or the press, or the media, pick our presidential candidate. That's what delegates are for. I think we ought to go to the convention and let those delegates pick the candidate. I saw CBS pick Ed Muskie in January. I want to remind you of it. Wait a minute. You picked Ed Muskie /^{--you} had him 1200 delegates, but he didn't quite get 'em, and he's a delightful and wonderful man. Now you have

picked George McGovern. Now let me just come down and say that I also--

HERMAN: Now, wait a minute. Your own man, Mike Maloney(?), has come up with a pretty good--(LAUGHTER)--your own chief aide has a 1365, I think--(LAUGHTER)--now, suppose it was you?

SEN. HUMPHREY: The other reason that I want to stay is what I talked about earlier. It is that I think I can have some effect on fashioning a good, constructive, forward-looking platform. And finally, if I don't get this nomination, I want to be in the position to be able to go to some other people who may be very disenchanted, who may not want to vote for Mr. McGovern, and go to them and say look, let's be realistic about this. First of all, let me be very frank with you. On most of the great issues, I agree with George McGovern. We've been partners in legislation for years; he's been my neighbor. I think he's a decent man. I've told you this privately. I think he's a very humane man; I think he's a very compassionate man.

HERMAN: Would he make a good President?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I think he would, and I'd like to help him if he gets this nom--I think I'd make a better one, and that's why I'm seeking it.

CLARK: Can he beat Nixon? You've said up until now that you were the man that could beat Nixon. Can George McGovern beat Nixon?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I think I--if he'll follow some--what I consider to be good, constructive advice, and not be taken down these diversionary paths that gets him into trouble.

HERMAN: How about if he follows his own feelings instead of any of the advice of any narrow ideological group in his camp? How about if he goes his own way and is his own man, can he beat Nixon?

SEN. HUMPHREY: With my help.

HERMAN: All right--(SEVERAL TALKED AT ONCE)

SEN. HUMPHREY: I think that if he does that, if he'll do that, and that's what I've asked him to do, is to exert his own leadership, because he is a moral man, he's a--we use the word decent, but let me put it this way--he's a progressive-minded man, he's a compassionate man, and he's an honest man. I think he's a good fellow. I think, however, that he really has permitted some people to run his political life more than he should. And I'm sorry about that. And I'm going to use whatever influence I have as an old friend and a neighbor--number one, to beat him if I can to get the nomination; secondly, because you know, he said in 1965 that Hubert Humphrey would be the best man for President, and I've always believed that George had a good recommendation.

LYDON: Which people are too influential around him, do you think? He often speaks of Hubert Humphrey as one of the big influences on him. Now who are the people you worry about?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, the people that give him such cockeyed proposals as a thousand dollars for every man, woman and child--I don't believe that's--

LYDON: Do you know who they are?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, I don't know who it was, but he said he got it from somebody, and I don't think that makes much sense. And look, the American people don't think it makes any sense either. You are not going to tax middle income America to pay for every man, woman and child in this country getting a federal government check of a thousand dollars. Now let's knock it off. That isn't going to sell, and if the Democratic Party hangs onto it, we're going down the tube--

down the drain, going to give Mr. Nixon four more years to appoint people that he wants on the courts, to do the things that he wants to do. I'm not about to let that happen.

CLARK: Senator, are you yourself powerful enough to prevent some major defections from the Democratic Party if George McGovern gets the nomination--for example, your influence with labor, your influence with some of the regular--other regular Democrats?

SEN. HUMPHREY: I can't say I'm powerful enough, but I'll try. I don't know whether any man is powerful enough. I'm going to say that I hope that good Democrats, and people that want this country to move forward, will keep in mind that the Democratic Party over the years has served this country very well. It has really been the friend of the working families of this country; it's been the friend of the minorities of this country; and business has done well under the Democratic Party. I believe that people, once they get a chance to really line it up, will come around to us and give us the votes that we need.

HERMAN: Senator, if your friend Mike Maloney, who now says that George McGovern has 1352 delegates--if he should say in the next week that George McGovern now has 1509 delegates or 1510, what will you do?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, it's all over, isn't it?

HERMAN: Well, what will you do? Will you fold your tents? Will you go down and prepare to nominate or second or something of the sort? What action would you take?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Well, I of course will have to go to the convention and let those delegates have a chance to vote, Mr. Herman. You cannot--you can't just rub out a convention simply because somebody has added it up in the arithmetic that somebody has 1509 votes, and

that's a very iffy, iffy, iffy question. No, let's--let's--

HERMAN: Will you be available to nominate him if--?

SEN. HUMPHREY: Eighty per cent of the new--eighty per cent of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be new people. I want them to have a chance to really experience a Democratic National Convention.

HERMAN: Okay, on that point I have to interrupt. Thank you very much for being with us today on Face the Nation, and we'll have a word about next week's guest in a moment.

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ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, was interviewed by Christopher Lydon of the New York Times, CBS News Correspondent George Herman, and CBS News Reporter Michele Clark.

Next week Patricia Harris, Chairman of the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention, will FACE THE NATION.



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