

ORIGINAL  
DRAFT

CU - We were thinking of a question which ~~sort of~~ had something to do with the American spirit, ~~and~~ I've been reading your book and early in the book ~~when~~ you talk about your father and ~~you~~ use the phrases of his "unshakable faith" and his "sense of wonder" about America and the American political system, ~~and in our times of pragmatism and a little bit of cynicism, and sort of a~~ *many* ~~general sense of a lot of~~ people feeling overwhelmed by problems or by big technology, Do you see that same kind of faith and sense of wonder in young people or in Americans today?

SH - I see it in young people. Young people are still idealistic. Young people are still imaginative. Young people are still filled with hope. They have dreams. But all of this is buffeted by the constant barrage of the negative media and by that I mean the bad news of the world. We are inundated with tidbits of information and we are starved for philosophy. To put it another way, we are given no idea of the strategic concept of our society - what it really is about - and we are constantly being torn with tactics of how we deal with each ~~little~~ day's event. But ~~I go back to say that~~ if you just keep in mind that in my day as a young man, when I was eighteen years of age - impressionable, idealistic, looking forward to the university, and my eyes filled with wonder about what it was all about - I came from a community where we didn't see the daily newspaper very often. We got a weekly newspaper and we got the Watertown Public Opinion and the Sioux City Journal. We didn't have television. We had the newsreel once a week in the local theatre. And I was representative of a vast number of Americans - a vast number, *a little to extent* maybe in a sense ~~even~~ more sensitive because of the nature of my family and my upbringing. But today my children and their children, while they may have that innate ~~youthful~~ idealism which I believe is a part of ~~just the spirit of~~

~~youth~~, and that spirit of adventure which <sup>are</sup> is so much a part of youth, and that desire for the good things and the hopes and dreams that they have - they constantly are told that things are bad. That politicians are corrupt. That the church is corrupt. That business is corrupt. That labor is corrupt. And that really, if you're on the highway, you'll most likely get run over. If you drink water you'll die of cancer. I'm giving you a dramatic exaggeration - but this is the emphasis. And while you may think you're living well, the scourge and the plague is soon to come. People are starving while you're eating. You've got a job but there are millions who are jobless. Now, don't misunderstand me. I think it's important that young people be able to face hard facts of life, but you ought to be able to face a storm - in my part of the country you ought to be able to walk through a blizzard - but not every day. You ought to be able to survive a hundred degree temperature - but not every day. And every day it's just a constant wave of this that moves in on young people and everybody else. Now older people turn it off later on. They don't become just cynical - they become neutral. They turn it off. Younger people, who are filled with the, really the love of life, and they are no different now than they were in that sense, they in a sense do become cynical because there are no heroes anymore. You've got to have heroes. There are no standards anymore. They've all been destroyed. And we are going through a period of time now, as I said to the interns today, of uncertainty. If there is any one word that characterizes our times it's uncertainty. Another word is ambiguity - ambiguous. We're trying to sort out the pieces. Now I'm an optimist. I think that we'll go through these times. We've had them before in history. But we've had more happen in the last twenty-five years to the psychic makeup of humankind than happened in the previous two hundred years. We've had television. We've had two or three wars. We've had recessions.

We've had civil rights revolution. We've had the breakup of empires. We've had the consciousness of the world that has come to us. I mean, after all, something happens in Afganistan this afternoon; it's on the TV tonight here. Something happens or somebody gets a new disease in Upper Volta and it's all at once called African Flu - and right here it is - they discovered somebody, they found somebody out of God's four and one-half billion people on earth that has this bug. And right now it's the African Flu. And so right away people get a pain or ache and they think they've got African Flu. There's got to be some balance. You can kill yourself drinking water. Now a man's judgment is said no better than his information and obviously information and experience lends to wisdom. But too many experiences with no time for reflection -- too much information with no time for evaluation -- doesn't give you wisdom. It gives you confusion. And I happen to believe, going back to what we said earlier, that our young people are optimistic. I sense it very much so. I see their radiant faces, I notice when you talk to them about the things that can be, they get excited and they are able to come to grips with the things that are, if you sort them out for them. Now I give you my feelings about this.

CU - Switching for a minute to foreign policy, America's place in the world seems to have been changing. You know in the past we were the policeman, or at least we were perceived to be the policeman, and now there's a lot more interest on social issues -- the kinds of issues you worked on in the United States earlier, now seem to be world issues, and the United States seems to be evolving as a leader in things like human rights and food, nutrition - things of that sort. How do you see America's role in the future? Do you see it changing? Do you see our role reverting, or do you see us becoming a secondary power?

SH - Well, first of all, it isn't only that our role in the world is changed but the world in which we have a role has changed. That's the critical point.

It's like when I went to Dallas, Texas and spoke at the Petroleum Club. Somebody got up and said, "Can you imagine Senator Humphrey speaking at the Petroleum Club?" And I got <sup>up</sup> and said - and he said, "Oh, how he must have changed." And I said, "No, I said it isn't that Humphrey's changed as much as you have changed. You have been willing to listen. You've come around to the point of listening." Now what I'm getting at here is that when we started out, the role that we played for many years of what they called the world's policeman, was a necessary role -- at the time it was necessary. Just as there are certain times that it's necessary to do certain things with yourself, with your business or your profession. And there's a breakpoint where you've got to realize that that time is over. It's necessary for a parent to give guidance to a young person through those formative years of life. But it's equally necessary for the parent to be willing to let go and let the young person build his or her own life. It was necessary for us in the post war world to be the world's policeman -- that's the only one there was for any hope of justice or authority. It wasn't as if we were bashing people's heads in; we were trying to help people from having their heads bashed in. Misguided at times, no doubt, but our instincts were right. Now the world has changed. It isn't a colonial world any longer and our thinking has changed a lot about the world because, as I pointed out in my book, we were a world power with a half world knowledge. We're still a world power and we're the greatest world power but we're not the only power. At one time we were THE world power. THE world power. Today we are A world power. And we have a different world in which we're operating. We have a world of independent nation states that have just come out of the period of imperialism and colonialism. And they are very sensitive - highly nationalistic - proud - sometimes arrogant in their pride - they are newborn. We have to understand that.

It's very difficult for us to shift from our knowledge of the British foreign office and how we worked with the British foreign office in their colonies -- then all at once they have to work with the foreign minister of Ghana. Or the French foreign office and now having to work with the French foreign minister of Gabon, or of Senegal. They are different people. They are independent people. It's just like in America, people say, "Well, you know, we used to get along good with the blacks." Yes, as long as you had them in a subjective -- in a suppressed position. But today, many of our blacks are difficult to get along with simply because they've become independent. Because they are emancipated, they are free. And needless to say, at times they overdo it, like anybody does. Just like a person who suddenly gets wealth, he frequently squandered a lot of it. He doesn't know how to handle it. But I think that our position in the world today is a much better position than it was, and may I say that young people need to know that America is respected throughout the world. Some of the political leaders cause us trouble because they are taking care of their own kettle of fish. They don't make themselves look big by praising us at times. They make themselves look big by attacking us, knowing that we're not going to swing back. But amongst people, when you're a traveler throughout the world, Americans are still respected, to put it simply, popular, but most of all, a wonder. They've heard wonderful things about us. America is envisioned in the world in extremes- either it's all crime or it's gold in the streets. It's everybody living the good life or it's the abject slums and poverty of the ghetto. Depending on who portrays it. We have to recognize that these are the dimensions in which our profile will be painted or will be made visible. But our role in the world I think is a much better one. We're teaching people today how to produce food, not just how to train armies and have a police force. We ought to be doing much more than we are doing. Actually we haven't quite moved in to what our role ought to be. Our

role in the world today ought to be of the healer and the doctor and the educator and the engineer and the humanist. This is our real role but at the same time, as one old pacifist said, there is no freedom without authority. And there is no liberty without discipline. So we have to have power but it's a question of how you use it. Our power today is immense - immense. Our economic power - when America has a revitalization of its economy, exports pick up all around the world. The greatest foreign aid that we can offer any other country is to be able to buy their products. And when we have high productivity and high income, every country in the world comes up with us. We're like the tides -- all the ships come up and down with the tide. We in a very real sense represent the tide. And I think we ought not to underestimate our role but we need to realize that we are so powerful that we have to be humble. We have to have a sense of humility and self-discipline. We've got to be careful that we are not arrogant but by the same token, we must not be demeaning of ourselves. We've got a lot of people today that want to run around in ashes and sackcloth. That isn't going to get you anyplace. What you need to do is to go around with the book in the hand, and the medication in the other hand, or the desire to build and create -- we ought to be a nation of builders, not a nation of destroyers, but a nation of builders. And that is our role in the world. And when I talk to young people about this stuff they get real excited. And it can be true and they can make a difference, an individual difference. We have the people-to-people programs that make a difference. People in my state -- mind you, Montevideo, Minnesota-- Montevideo, Minnesota, filled with Norwegians having fiesta day for Montevideo, Uruguay. But let me tell you something. We've had exchanges programs between them. Worthington, Minnesota turkey day having an exchange with El Paso, Texas. We're beginning to become citizens of the nation, number one, and citizens of

the world. Remember most of us, in my generation, were citizens of a county, of a state. We never got out of our immediate environs. Ninety percent of the people of my age by the age of twenty hadn't been two hundred miles away from home. Think of that. Today I have thousands of kids that come in here from Minnesota. Fifteen hundred miles, eleven hundred miles -- coming down and spending a week here and another week up in New York at the UN and going to Williamsburg and Boston. They see more of America in one month than I saw in thirty years. And I think it's all the better for them.

CU - That was a vivid recollection from your book, too. I really enjoyed seeing that.

END OF FIRST SEGMENT OF INTERVIEW

CU - What we're going to start on -- Betty was kind enough to provide us with this wonderful article you just did for the Reader's Digest and one of the questions we were going to ask you sort of ties in with that. And, as you remember, this is sort of a futuristic thing, and when we were here day before yesterday you talked about one of the problems you saw in society today as being a lack of standards and sort of the lack of leadership for the young people...

SH - Heroes, and the lack of...yeah, that's right.

CU - Yes, and so we were going to ask you since we know that you are a grandfather and that you're very fond of your grandchildren - what is your greatest fear for your grandchildren in looking at society from the point of view of the year 2000?

SH - My greatest fear is nuclear war. That's really a fact. I mean the reason I say that is history tells us that mankind has never developed a weapon that he didn't use. Now we did use the nuclear weapon of course in World War II but the nuclear weaponry is getting so widespread -- the technology, the



knowledge of how to do it, and the capacity to do it, with plutonium and the proliferation of plutonium -- that the greatest danger that mankind faces of explosive nature is nuclear war. Now the second danger that I see is actually -- I won't say it's the second but one of the other dangers -- is the physical pollution or the pollution of the physical environment in which we live. It's interesting to note that you can keep pouring sewage so to speak into a stream or a lake for a long period of time and nothing seems to change. I mean, somehow or another, it is absorbed or it is oxidized and nothing happens. Then all at once it explodes, because it gets to a point -- critical mass, such as a critical mass, a critical point -- where, bingo! A little extra makes it absolutely, well, makes it dangerous. Or makes it uninhabitable, or makes it infectious, or whatever the product may be. Our capacity to dispose -- our ability or the technology to dispose of industrial wastes and solid waste is not keeping up with our production of solid waste and industrial waste. The pollution of the atmosphere, its effect upon not only the immediate physical health of people but the long term effects of weather -- because we know that it does have an effect upon weather, which in longer years can change production of food and fiber, it can change climate and so forth. So there is another one. And that, by the way, in the next few years could be very critical, very critical, much more so than -- we could do more damage to the atmosphere or to the physical environment in the next ten years than we did in the past one thousand. Now that's strange to say but the reason is that in the past one thousand it didn't get to the point where it was of a critical nature where you could measure that it was critical. But now that it's at a point where just a little more makes it critical it's like being able to put chlorine in water up to a certain point you can put a lot of it in and absorb it. The body seems to handle it. But a little bit more and it becomes poisonous. And this is what's happening and



I think this is very - I think this is why environmental protection is of the utmost importance for the future. This goes beyond just air and water -- it goes to our land resources, our timber -- for example, most of my generation and my parents' generation have been robbing other generations, the future generations. We've been using up the good soil, we've been using up the top soil. We've been using up our underground water supply. We've been using up our forests and we've been using up our mines. We have been, in other words, ripping into the inheritance that others ought to have. Instead of looking upon our generation as stewards of the common good, we have become exploiters of the common property. And I think that my grandchildren will have to face up to this, and as I tell young people when I am getting out talking to them, I say, "Look. When I tell you that we need to conserve water and we need reforestation, and we need to take a look at how we protect the top soil which is of course the great resource for agricultural production. I'm talking about what you're going to need and your children are going to need in fifty years." Because if we keep at it the way it is now, it's going to be a disaster. And we know that this can happen. The Gobi Desert was once a very fertile area and they let it go, denudited it of its trees, changed the climate when the trees leave and the same is true of the Middle East. There was a time when much of the area which was the land of milk and honey was really just what it was - milk and honey. And then it became a desert - a pile of rocks and sand. Why? Because they didn't take care of the water resources, they didn't take care of the trees and shrubbery, and as a matter of fact, even as late as World War I, the Turks were going through cutting out all of the trees to feed their locomotives, for fuel. Even in this century. So that you change the climate of vast areas of Syria and of what is now known as Jordan and Israel, and Israel has proved what you can do by reforestation. It has changed the climate of Israel. It has made it look different. It's become verdant and

green where it once was just a pile of rock and sand. So that I look at that as one of the dangers that my grandchildren will have to face. But then you get down to the what I call the, not the physical pollution, but the social pollution that comes with prejudice and with poverty and with discrimination -- when people are set against each other, when they build up habits of lifestyle that really pollute their minds. Their thoughts are the result of their poverty and of the stigma that is placed upon them because they're poor or because they're ignorant or because of their color or because of their creed or their race. And as I've said many times in speaking about housing, it's one thing to clean up the physical housing ugliness of the slum, to clean out the physical part. But you also have another problem -- there is the problem of the people that inhabit the facilities whether they're poor or modern. If the persons inhabiting them are poorly educated, the victims of poor health, the victims of ignorance and of superstition, and all those other things, there isn't any way that you're going to save the community. I mean all you're doing is coming in and painting over -- it's really, it's just whitewashing the filth and the dirt only to have it come springing through again because it doesn't have any permanency to it. So then -- now of course this doesn't relate particularly to what I said the other day except to this sense, that somehow another we aren't able to get people to understand that you have to have some priorities, you have to have some standards and you have to move to fill those priorities and live by those standards. You can't do everything. I was just reading a little note here - it's very interesting from one of my staff people -- there was an editorial that he was commenting on. I won't mention the party particularly but it's very possible for someone to be a master of detail. Let me give you an example. I think that the President is a highly disciplined man. He is an engineer. He's hardworking. He understands fiscal policy and

management. But the difference between a great president and just a president is whether or not he can motivate people to greater achievements. Motivation. You have to be what Teddy Roosevelt said. You have to be -- the White House has to be a bully pulpit. You have to be a combination of an educator and an evangelist. You have to move people up. Now I'm hoping and praying that this is what Carter's Administration will be and he has all the potential and all the possibilities for it. But what we need in our society today is a kind of clarion call on a few things and not too many. You can't just make everything important. It can't just be as if no matter what the issue is that it is the alpha and the omega. You simply have to make up your mind what is the most important thing and then how do you implement it. And that's where leadership comes in. The need of a country is for leadership. You cannot expect people just to drift towards a better life -- they drift backwards. They drift backwards. It's like a stagnant pool -- unless there is some force and propulsion -- by that I mean some leadership, some sense of direction -- the water becomes stagnant. And finally it seeps away, it drifts backward. And that's exactly what happens to people and young people above all need inspiration. They're born for it, you know; the fact that they're in the growing period I mean they're not only physically growing -- they're maturing emotionally and mentally and intellectually and spiritually -- all along with their physical growth. And we sometimes forget that. We fill them up with vitamins, we look at their diet - their physical diet - but we don't look at their philosophical diet. We don't look at their intellectual diet, their cultural diet. And this is maybe what's happening to us, more than anything else. When I look at tv and what it does - I mean, there's so much good on tv - we know what good can be done but tv looks today -- commercial tv is constantly looking for what it calls the mass market. They are always looking at the Nielsen ratings - whether or not there's 90 million people viewing it or 30

million. But it's maybe better to have 30 million or 20 million people viewing something that is inspiring or uplifting because that becomes contagious, than it is to have 90 million people looking at something that is nothing but just blah, fluff and even worse. We have not become a qualitative society - we've been a quantitative society and we know that our defense and our security depends on quality - we know that. We can't match man for man with the Russians or the Chinese. We have to depend on quality. We know that our medicine has to be quality, therefore we resist programs that just anybody handling medical care. We want quality medicine and everytime that we talk about it, it's quality medicine. But we haven't applied that universally in terms of the general cultural pattern in the country. It's better -- don't misunderstand me. I think we've made some improvement. There are more people today going to classical music than before -- to listen to it -- more participation in the fine arts by a broader number of people but we haven't put the priorities yet on it. The way you sense it is when a baseball player - and I love baseball - can get a million dollars a year but a great cellist or a dancer or an artist or a musician or whatever it may be, struggles along and has to carry his cello running across the country and moving his piano -- or a teacher gets substantially less. And a teacher in most cities gets less than the garbage collector.

CU Working with teachers on a regular basis, they can't understand why it's such a low priority if everyone's down on education and what it's not doing and yet when it comes to the teachers, they don't....

HHH But I think all of us that are in all kinds of public work have to understand that you can't expect to get the pecuniary, the monetary rewards in public life that you get in private life. There are other rewards; the kinds of rewards I get are the kind of things that come from Project CLOSE UP where the kids seem to like me and where I like them.

CU That's the understatement of the year.

HHH That is a real reward to me.

CU What would you say on that same note--you said something in the Foreward to your book that was really interesting. I was thinking about it for a long time, where you said no matter how high a man may rise in this democracy he functions with the same human emotions and limitations that we all share. On this note of the positive things that public service brings, what sort of advice would you give to young people, some of our students who might be contemplating political careers, not only about the rewards that they can reap, but what are some of the pitfalls or some of the prices that they might have to contemplate paying or facing?

HHH When you are involved in anything, you have to expect to take some criticism and you have to ask yourself constantly, am I prepared to do that? You can always run away from problems, hide out, a lot of people do. The difference between involvement and non-involvement is scar tissue; whether you are willing to take the bruise and the beating and the clubbing or the buffeting around that comes. I think many young people today feel that it isn't worth it--why go through all this sweat--why put up with it, let somebody else do it. So what I tell young people is that politics is another word for people. It comes from the Greek word "polis" and politics is the peoples' business, in a democracy particularly and if the people don't take care of the business by participating, by their own involvement, then they get the business, as they say. In other words, they get clubbed; they get shafted, ripped off. And I also try to point out to young people that while you may not think that your own individual effort amounts to much, remember that every absentee gives those that are present that much more power and in a contest, it may seem to

you that if its in any kind of a contest, that you could leave the field of struggle and it won't make that much difference because you're just one, but you're not just one, you are one that's left the field on your side only to add another one on their side. You doubled it. It's a factor of two and they've got to understand, they must come to understand that great decisions may carry the nametag of an individual but ultimately those great decisions are the product of a kind of digestive process or fermentation process that takes part in the gray public--an almost amorphous mass. I guess that what I'm trying to say is that it's minorities that in a sense make the great decisions, the people that are willing to first decide to do something. It was a Thomas Edison that stood up against a lot of his critics that made the decisions. Most all scientists that have made a great breakthrough in anything were outside the mainstream and somebody once said the definition of a free society is a place where it's safe to be in the opposition, or where it's safe to be the dissenter, or to be out of the mainstream, so that people get an identification many times with a decision. For example, let's see if we can't pick one out, well, take for example, Lyndon Johnson. Lyndon Johnson is known for his decisions, his great work ultimately as President, in the field of civil rights. But a lot of people, including myself and I'm not saying that...I was one of many, but really the decisions on civil rights, even though I led the fight in the Senate for it, was being made not only by me as a leader...I've had my input, but it was the ferment out here in the countryside--you have to take you message out to the people. To be a teacher, you have to have more than classroom, you've got to have students; you've got to have more than a rostrum, you've got to have people that will listen and you have to make your message sufficiently simple and

yet profound, that they will listen. I think that's the teacher, the good teacher is the one that knows how to simplify great, difficult problems and at the same time, make them interesting...make his message interesting so he holds his audience. You have to recognize that it requires repetition. You must keep in mind that people can only absorb about so much at any one session. You repeat, repeat, repeat, repeat with adaptation so that you make it interesting. It's like a song, so that you make it interesting. If you take a look at a piece of music, even the most beautiful classical, most (what would you say,) the most complicated classical music, it maybe has just two or three themes in it, repeated time after time after time after time in different variations. This is what a leader, what a teacher has to do.

CU This reminds me of what Justice Clark said, the late Justice Clark, we interviewed him last year and he was talking about the Supreme Court and its role in these decisions and he always used the phrase, "people came knockin' on our door," which forced us to make decisions.

HHH Right! See I've always felt that my job here as a Senator was not only to get legislation passed. Passing of legislation is like the birth of the child. It's the period, it's first of all, it's conception; it's intercourse, conception and then ultimately, the pregnancy and the delivery of the child. I have spent most of my time, through my lifetime, out in the field planting these ideas, talking to hundreds of audiences. I know I've taken a lot of razzing for it, but I have my own methodology. I mean I know what I'm best at doing. And I go out here in the countryside -- for years I've been doing this, for forty years, better than that, maybe fifty years since I was a really little boy, since I left high school. I've been in a sense of propogandis



for my ideas, what I thought we ought to do and finally you build a constituency and it begins to multiply like anything else. It's like compounding interest. It grows faster than the numbers -- it just keeps growing -- and all at once it's there. And what makes a successful politician to the reporter is the man that seems to be there at the right moment, the timing when the child arrives, they almost forgot who was the mother or the father, you know. The child arrives. So we've often said in politics, it's events and timing. Sometimes just plain luck -- you're just there at the right time. But lots, most of the things that really were important were started by people, I mean that ended up being important, were started up by people that faded into anonymity, faded into the unknown. For example, our laws of social security and workmen's compensation, everything that we have today. There were pioneers in this field years and years ago, Professor Commons, out at the University of Wisconsin for example, fortunately his name is remembered by a few people who study it, but we generally think of social security, Franklin Roosevelt. But there were all kinds of experimentation before that, even in the American scene, people that were talking about this, thinking about it. Well, I've always looked upon my role in politics as being the cutting edge of progress, I know that I have to take chances and one of the reasons I've spent a lot of my time doing things which reporters think is ridiculous, going home to my constituents, doing all kinds of little leg work errands for my constituencies, that I learned from Walter Reuther that if you want to stay in top of the union you'd better have your own base. And I was always protecting my own base in Minnesota. As long as I could be elected from Minnesota, I had then the privelege and the luxury of traveling around the country and mouthing off and spouting off the things that I wanted to talk about -- the things I'd like to get people interested in. But if I had to be fearful every day that

I couldn't make it back home or that I was in an insecure position at home, then it limits what you can do with any sense of confidence. I always watched my home base very, very carefully and tried out my ideas on people back home, see how they would react, then I would move out and explore and do a lot of talking, talk too much. One of the best ways to find out how wrong you are is to talk out loud. It's a fact--you have to be willing to accept the humiliation of having people ridicule you and pointing out your mistakes, pointing out your inconsistencies and finally it comes out. Finally you get a pattern. Finally you get a rhythm. Finally you get a product. It's, uh, you've just got to be willing to do that. I don't have much time for the person that sits down here and tries to draw out on a piece of paper the absolute perfect scenario because it's too theoretical. You've got to get knocked around a little bit; you have to have people, and I'm talking about people in public life, that expose you for your inadequacies, for limitations, for your lack of knowledge, the failure to get proper input. And after you've been knocked around a little bit, you start to get wised up.

CU You mentioned a couple times, heroes and the lack of heroes. We've been longing to ask you this question being in here...who, at this moment in time, who would you name that you have either worked with or met in your...

HHH Well they're pretty well up on my walls up here, you know. Not all of them.

CU Could you single out any one person who was an inspiration?

HHH No one, that I would...well, I would say that I was fortunate to have my first political awareness of a substantial degree under Franklin Roosevelt. See, Franklin Roosevelt gave to me my definition of freedom, which is not the absence of restraint, but the extension of opportunity. Freedom to many

people is, you know, the less government you have the better. The absence of restraint. He looked upon freedom as a way of opening up the opportunities so that I'm a freer man if I had a college education. I'm a freer man if I have a good home in which to live, if I have a job. I'm a freer man if I have a chance to read and interact with other people, to travel, so that it isn't just the absence of restraint. Freedom has to have a positive force, that was Franklin Roosevelt. Also Franklin Roosevelt brought to my life the realization that government could be a partner with people; that it had a positive role to play -- that government could remove impediments so that your own individuality could have some impact, that it could act as an equalizer to see that the powerful didn't push you down in the ditch--not by pushing the other guy down in the ditch, but by helping lift you up a little bit. So Roosevelt was my first great political hero; as a boy my idol, or the man I was brought up to respect was Woodrow Wilson, primarily on the League of Nations. I know that my father taught me that Woodrow Wilson was right on the League of Nations, that America had an international responsibility and every day of my private and public life I've been an internationalist even when I was the editor of the little local high school columns that we used to put in the "Hiscopep" column. I would always be writing these big editorials about something of which I knew very little, namely about how to save the world, about world trade, about the need of a League of Nations or a United Nations so that my whole life was geared to the ideals of Woodrow Wilson as an internationalist. Now other people that have been heroes of mine were, uh, yes, one of my senatorial heroes was Alben Barkley. I consider him the all American, the real all American politician. He was just as normal and just as American as corn in Iowa and wheat in Kansas and milk in Minnesota.

I mean, he was just a part of the American culture, the American milieu. He was just thoroughly an American politician in the best sense of the word. He was not a great leader, as such, the great leader, nevertheless, he was an important spokesman, he was a good interpreter of democracy, the democratic process. I balance them off, most of my heroes, obviously, I guess all of them, are in the political world. Truman. Truman is very different from Stevenson, you know, almost the opposite side of the spectrum. But what I liked about Truman was his directness; he was feisty; he had guts. I liked that about him and he took on the giants and he was just like David against Goliath and he never ran an inch. And I also liked the fact that he seemed to understand the difference between good and evil within his time. Maybe too simple, but he sharpened it up for people and he was there when we needed him. He made decisions. I don't like people in public life, particularly as presidents and mayors and governors, who can't make decisions. You have to make decisions. You have to be willing to run the risk of unpopularity. Political popularity is but a deposit in the bank to be used for noble purposes, and worthy purposes. You have to be willing at times to run a deficit and you have to pile up your deposits in order to have them for the days that you want to make a tough decision that somebody won't understand. You have to be willing to do that otherwise you're a nothing. This is what worries me a lot about contemporary politics or public opinion poll politics. I call them the P O Ps. They're watching all the time -- they've got their fingers up feeling the political winds. Never ever trying to change the climate, just taking the temperature and seeing what the velocity is. That's nothing. That means that you're a drifter. You're storm tossed in

the tempestuous life of politics. You can't do that. You've got to have something more than that. So when I hear people come into me and say well you know the reason I got to be this is that the Gallop poll showed this or something. I say well, the Gallup poll is a momentary, current, unscientific survey of what they call public opinion. The question is, what do you think is right. Now you don't ignore public opinion; that's one of the factors. But if you have a strong conviction, you have to do it. I, for example, had a strong conviction about civil rights legislation. There wasn't much public opinion on my side -- I'll guarantee you that -- and surely not amongst the political powerhouses. I ran right smack bang into all of them. But I felt I was right. And, boy, if you feel you're right and you're willing to recognize that there's a timing factor that takes time and you can't get everything you want day one, and you stay with it, perserverence, guts, you'll make it. Now Adlai Stevenson, I consider him one of the great men primarily because of the nobility of his spirit. He added a dimension to politics at a time when politics was becoming sterile, during the 50s and the early 60s. Adlai Stevenson came in with a philosophical tone and a philosophical note to politics that was needed at the time. We had just gone through the kind of the managerial era of Eisenhower, the pragmatic era of Dulles -- and you needed a man like Adlai to put pieces back together that made you understand what the relationship of democracy to communism really was, for example. His magnificent phraseology that he used -- he added tone, quality, to the rhetoric of democracy; he made you feel good, even in defeat; you felt that you had a cause, that if you were not right, at least it was something to be noble for. It wasn't shoddy and junky stuff. Those are the kind of people that have been my heroes. Mrs. Roosevelt -- I loved her very, very much. She was

such a compassionate and wonderful woman. And again, the kind of quiet and active person that had an inner calm and an inner strength that carried her through. Look at the ridicule that was heaped on that woman. All of her detractors, you know, they faded either away into the dust or into ignomy. Nobody even knows about them except that they were bad. But that's, you know, like Marian Anderson, the great singer -- she's remembered because of her triumph and Mrs. Roosevelt with her down here at the Lincoln Memorial. Who were those jerks that were trying to keep her away. You know, that's all you can think about. I mean, even the people today that might have been her critics then if they were alive at that time realize how right they were -- how right she was.

CU If we could ask one last question...One of the reason that students respond in an even greater degree than we said before to you is that you are a hero to them I think mainly as we said before, so much is negative and you represent something very positive. I think the caption on your article, "You Can't Quit," is, you know, exactly says it. How do you keep your perspective? How do you keep from getting discouraged? How do you keep your optimism about pursuing these things and moving ahead when everything else around you sometimes is all negative?

HH Well, see I look around and I don't find all that, I mean, it's all that negative. There are times that I am discouraged; I have to be frank with you. Or at least I momentarily, um, I'm momentarily upset, I see, for example today (end of side 1)

I guess the way I'd have to look at it is when I look at the world in which we live today and I could look at it and say, well, it's nothing but arms sales and terrorism and instability, fear, the Irish are fighting the... the Protestants are fighting the Catholics in Ireland; the Moslems are fighting the Jews -- you can go down the line and find all these areas that there's trouble in, and by the way, you can add it all up and it looks pretty dismal doesn't it. But the other fact of the matter is that there are a lot of things good that have been happening. And nothing comes easily. More people, despite the problems of today, more people today live better than they ever lived in their lives. More people do, and that's a fact. There are more people that are given the chance of an education that have had some education. There are more people today that are getting some medical and health care -- not nearly enough -- but better than they had 25-50 years ago. There are people today who begin to feel a sense of pride, their own identify. They're no longer colonial slaves. We may not like the actions of a particular country but there's a sense of pride and dignity that they have. Maybe it's overly done to a point of arrogance, and to misbehavior, but there are lots of things that are better. And I can't help but feel in our own country that despite all of the problems that we have today the people do actually live better than they did before. Their physical conditions are better. Some places they're not as good, but basically, overall, they're better. And I have a feeling that we in the United States, I guess I'm kind of a jingoist, that we've made a great contribution to the world. I like something about Americans. American people are childlike in some times in their attitudes; they're either for you or against you quickly. They don't want to have any what they call middle ground. That's... some



people are very critical of that. In my book, that indicates a kind of yet youthful approach. They're not trying to rationalize themselves in every kind of position. They want to be on one side or another. That's the part of growing up. We're still a very young people, a very young country, in spite of the fact that we've had 200 years of independence. It's a fleeting moment in history. I also feel that we've done alot. We've shown the way. We have made representative government work and that's a major achievement. We have a classless society. There's great mobility in the American society. Britain has a parliamentary democracy but it has a class society. The French have class and they have bitter hostilities, ideological bitterness in the society. We have some of it due to racism in America, but not that much. We're still, as I keep telling our people back home, our problems are big but they're still manageable. Now if we let them go and drift, they'll become unmanageable as a nation. In Minnesota we have minorities; we have slums, some slums; we have lots of problems, but there isn't a single one of them that isn't yet manageable. If you let it get out of hand it gets unmanageable. Like problems of your own health. It gets to a point where they become unmanageable. New York City, for example, not due to the New Yorkers as such, but due to a thousand and one things that have happened in America that have no relationship to how New York was governed. The fact that Eastern Airlines has a daily flight to San Juan brought in literally hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans that wanted to escape from the island of Puerto Rico and come to New York. It had nothing to do with how New York was governed -- that was a cultural impact on that city, a tremendous cultural impact. The fact that the blacks for years in the south were denied economic opportunity, that it appeared that life would be better primarily as a result

of World War II with the great shift of population, a tremendous shift of population that we never prepared ourselves for at all. We thought if we could fight a war the size of World War II without any social or cultural consequences in the United States, just as Europe was blown to pieces physically, we were shattered culturally in this country by the war. We've never understood that. And millions, hundreds of thousands of people moved to the north as the greatest migration of people that the world has ever known happened in the United States in the last 30 years. Thirty-some million people moved from rural America into urban America in this great country of ours. Just think of that. Nothing like this has ever happened in the world and we never planned it at all; we didn't plan what to do with this. Detroit changed in a decade. Nobody ever planned it at all. Now, but when we bring Cubans in, when the Cubans come in to Miami now, we have programs for their orientation, for their education, for their training, for their job placement, for their housing, everything. And when the Vietnamese refugees came in, we had the same thing; when the Hungarian refugees came in. But we didn't understand that we had people in America that were just as much refugees as there were people from other countries. The blacks and the chicanos that were coming in from a subculture, that were coming in from poverty, they were coming in from illiteracy, they were coming in from a segregated society into what they thought was going to be an unsegregated society; coming in from a very backward, rural community into a modern industrial complex. This was a greater shock than any kind of refugee movement that you ever knew in Europe as a result of the war. But we never understood it. We never even...we thought that somehow or another all we had to do with the war was fight the war and that everything would be just fine. Return to normal. We've always believed that you could just return to normal. You

don't return to anything. There is no return. You know where you are and then things are changed. So I guess that I have a great optimism about America because despite all of these things we still hang together. Let me give you another reason. Imagine this country going through what we've done since World War II -- World War II with all of the cultural shock and economic change, I mean really a fantastic, a mass migration from rural America to urban America, the growth of our population, the incredible breakthroughs in science and technology, the movement of our people with mass transportation, the interstate highway system, the airplane, Korea and Vietnam, with the rebuilding of Europe, sharing of our wealth to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars with people all around the world, taking on the responsibility of world leadership that we had to take on, and then on top of all of this, having a President and a Vice President that brought disgrace to themselves and their country by the abuse of power; with a constitutional crisis and both our economic system lasted and our political system survived it. Not without change -- but it didn't collapse; it didn't fall apart. I think the greatest testimonial to America was what has happened in the 60s and early 70s -- that we could take the civil rights revolution (it was a revolution, believe me, violence and revolution and every sense of the word; we just didn't want to call it that; with the tremendous social and physical and economic impact upon this country), a war that nobody understood or nobody wanted and didn't know how to get out of and wondered how we got into it, and then a President and a Vice President that brought disgrace to themselves and defiled their offices. A whole constitutional crisis on top of this other and we lasted. We not only lasted, we changed for the better. It is not worse, it is better. The government is better. The government is more honest today. Politicians

are more careful today; they're more sensitive today. It's better. It's better for the blacks today. It isn't as good as it ought to be but it is better, lots better. And of course, I've always used old de Toqueville whose, and I'll put my sermon beyond this, but here is something that every American ought to know (I've got a little black book back here). It's very interesting this man de Toqueville who gives here a hundred and thirty years, a hundred and forty years ago, he says the sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute. This is what we call rising expectations and we have rising expectations in our country and if you don't have rising expectations, you're dead. Every society that is alive has rising expectations. The interesting thing is our rising expectations are still within the framework of a social structure. de Toqueville goes on about this: the loss of community, which I think is one of our real dangers in this country, the sense of loss of community; that's one of the dangers I should have mentioned earlier. We don't have enough identification with community because community is a standard; it gives you standards. Abe Martin, the old country philosopher that was a character in a little weekly newspaper -- they used to have little sketches of him -- he said, "All men are alike when they're away from home," a generalization with a great deal of truth but its community, standards, why did I behave as well as I did, and I'd say I behaved real well as a young man. First of all I lived in a town; everybody knew what I was doing; I didn't want to hurt my dad and my mother; my Dad was pretty sharp, he knew what I was doing; I was afraid of disgrace, I didn't want to be shamed; and also I

was afraid of parental, not afraid, but I recognized parental discipline. Now, when those things, when you can get lost, when you're just another number in a mass and there's no reason for you to worry about whether you're going to be caught or shamed and to lose your sense of standards and shame, you've lost your sense of community; you've lost your sense of belonging. We have a lot of people like a man without a country that just are floating around and that's one of the dangers. Here's what old de Toqueville says of defining loss of community, "Each of them living apart is a stranger to the fate of all the rest. His children and his private friends constitute to him the whole of mankind. As for the rest of his fellow citizens, he is close to them, but he sees them not. He touches them, but he feels them not. He may be said at any rate to have lost his country." That's what the dehumanization of urban life is like. When a person can...when you can see someone down in the gutter that's been beaten down in the gutter and walk by them and leave them there and won't help them, you've lost your sense of community. He sees them, he touches them, but he doesn't feel them...and this is really what I think is maybe one of our real serious problems and people sense it. That's why they are trying to escape in a sense to find new areas of living. That's why they're beginning again to want to build neighborhoods and I think some of more intellectual types have done us a disservice by trying to make it appear that you didn't need neighborhoods, that you didn't...that somehow or another you just fit into the whole complex like you fit into the solar system or the universe. Everybody isn't capable of doing that and very few are, as a matter of fact. Most everybody needs the kind of security that comes with comfort of a neighbor and a friend and a community, an identity. He needs that. That's not weakness, that's very desirable. But we've had a lot of people try to teach

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us that that isn't really what you ought to have at all. There is something to the neighborhood school and the neighborhood church; and there is something to the neighborhood business and we've put the super markets in and we've put the big shopping centers in and we've put the big super highways in, all of which in this very real and certain senses are more efficient, move you faster, but when you get all down to it, you're not...is it more just, do you feel better, is it more kindly? No. The answer is no. Does it really make life easier for you? The answer is no. And you gotta go.

general goodbye comments and noises



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