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CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT
"Hubert Humphrey: A Tribute"
as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Monday, January 16, 1978
11:30 PM - 12:00 Midnight, EST

With CBS News Correspondent Roger Mudd

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

SENIOR PRODUCERS: David Buksbaum and George Murray

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Russ Bensley

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REVEREND CALVIN W. DIDIER: Let us pray. The eternal force that holds the spiralling galaxies in tension hold us at attention. If it is not too much to ask, attend our meaningless-without-you ceremonies in memory of Hubert Horatio Humphrey. Storm maker, flake maker, maker of men in the image of God, in the dead of winter blaze our hearts with circles of care around us to hold back the cold a little stronger; stay the sun in his brief circuit above us until we are able to finish our Aijalon; quicken our mornings with high expectations, and create an outlook of rare beauty on all our windowpanes, that we may look upon the mighty works of the Lord and wonder that He is mindful of such a man as his servant Hubert.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

[Organ music - hymn: "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"]

ROGER MUDD: The Reverend Calvin Didier at today's funeral service in St. Paul for Hubert Humphrey - a service Senator Humphrey asked to be a celebration for the people of Minnesota. But few could bring themselves to celebrate and, instead, they eulogized. So, as in life, Hubert Humphrey in death had to compromise.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "Hubert Humphrey: A Tribute".

Reporting from New York, here is Roger Mudd.

MUDD: Good evening. Senator Humphrey was buried today in the frozen ground of Minnesota. His body had been flown there from Washington after a beautiful and moving ceremony in the U.S. Capitol. But the service in St. Paul - in Minneapolis - this afternoon was, in the words of Vice President Mondale, an even more special day. It was the eloquence of Vice President Mondale, who knew Humphrey better and longer than all the others who gave eulogies, which gave today's service its distinction. There were several long speeches, one by President Carter himself. There were some memorable music. But mostly there were sweet memories of the man who never found a person who wasn't worthy of his time.

Our reporter in St. Paul is Chris Kelley.

CHRIS KELLEY: The funeral was held at House of Hope Church, not far from the state capitol rotunda. It was in this church that Hubert Humphrey once preached himself; the church where he often attended Sunday services when he was back home. President Carter,

Vice President Mondale, most of the Senate joined the Humphrey family in a service that his friends said he would have liked.

[Tom Tipton, soloist - Sabathani Baptist Church Choir - singing "He'll Understand and Say, Well Done"]

An old friend, the Vice President, Walter Mondale, one of Humphrey's political proteges, remembered his fellow Minnesotan.

VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE: Yesterday our nation honored Hubert Humphrey in a wonderful outpouring of affection. Hubert would have liked it. But today is an even more special day - the day Hubert comes home to Minnesota for the last time, to rest in the place he loved best, and the place which gave him spiritual and political sustenance. While he was an international figure and a national figure, as we in Minnesota well knew, he was always a Minnesotan, and always a son of the prairie. There was something in this land and its lakes and, especially its people, that fed the springs of love, the strains of ideas, the torrents of enthusiasm, and which nurtured the special genius and the immense humanity of Hubert Humphrey. There was a kind of unity of integrity in this love affair with the people of Minnesota that permitted Hubert's idealism to flower. He was a special man in a special place, and I know he would want me to say today, "Thank you, Minnesota."

KELLEY: When President Carter spoke, he said he thought of Humphrey during his recent overseas trip.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: According to Gandhi, the seven sins are wealth without works, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, worship without sacrifice, and politics without principle. Well, Hubert Humphrey may have sinned in the eyes of God, as we all do, but according to those definitions of Gandhi's, he was Hubert Humphrey without sin.

KELLEY: While the services were going on, several hundred people who were unable to attend inside stood in the bitter cold outside the church, hearing and seeing nothing.

In the twilight the services ended, and the hearse bearing Senator Humphrey's body headed the motorcade to the cemetery.

—Chris Kelley, CBS News, St. Paul.

MUDD: Hubert Humphrey spent almost 30 years in Washington, and from the first was a leading spokesman for liberal causes. His

interests were wide ranging - from civil rights to nuclear testing. And just as wide ranging was his circle of friends. A couple of nights ago, four of Senator Humphrey's close friends came to our Washington studio to reminisce about him. They were Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, Humphrey's running mate in '68; Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall, appointed to the Supreme Court in 1967; Democratic Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, first elected to the Senate in 1962; and Eric Sevareid, recently retired from CBS, himself a native of the upper plains.

ERIC SEVAREID: Well, we here are just four people among an extraordinary number who know they've lost a friend.

Senator Muskie, you became one of his closest friends in the political world. What do you think was the essence of this remarkable fellow?

SENATOR EDMUND MUSKIE [D-Maine]: He had an incurable optimism about the future. He refused to look at the past, refused to concede that any setback was a defeat. And I listened today to a lot of the tributes to Hubert, and I remember something he said: that people did not turn away from those who were defeated. His attitude about life was made up of courage (he demonstrated that; we don't have to debate that), faith in the future, but above all, he believed as, I think to a greater degree than Thomas Jefferson did, that the average citizen, if given a full opportunity to-- to enhance his own capabilities and to use them, could govern himself and could shape the future. He believed anything could be done that we wanted to do and believed could be done.

SEVAREID: Justice Marshall, your association with Hubert went way back--

JUSTICE THURGOOD MARSHALL: Hm-hmm.

SEVAREID: --early civil rights days. How did it start?

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Back to the forties, when he was Mayor. I was out there for some affair - I've forgotten what it was - and I was impressed with what he did about the police. Nothing to do with civil rights [indistinct]. And then his civil rights record began to build up in my mind, and I think that people who believe in civil rights as such have to just realize that we were blessed to have him.

SEVAREID: You know, I remember that '48 convention in Philadelphia pretty well - when he really burst on the national scene. This young man in his thirties, Mayor of Minneapolis, made that great civil rights speech: "Let's go out and take this party in the sunshine of civil rights, not states' rights." Woke up the

party, to a degree. But you know, those people worked all night on that plank and that speech, in a little hotel over Rittenhouse Square. We were all hanging around there. I left about three in the morning, and went back to my hotel, and Hubert called me about six. They'd gone all night. And I think that, at that point, they were-- they were going to have a little bit weaker plank, but then they changed their mind; they went all the way. And I had to do a morning broadcast, and he-- and then he got up there, at 11:00 or so in the morning, in front of this convention. Now, that man had not been to bed at all. He didn't have two minutes' sleep, and gave this tremendous speech, and the Dixiecrats walked out, and that really started that [indistinct].

JUSTICE MARSHALL: [Indistinct name] from Birmingham.

SEVAREID: Yes, he was very [indistinct].

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON [D-Wisconsin]: And it was 15 years after that he led the civil rights fight on the floor of the Senate. Senator Muskie and I were there. It went for 83 days, and I think the remarkable thing about it was that, though it was a serious and important matter, and he was leading the fight against the Southerners, there was never a harsh word expressed against him or by him all through that 83 days of arduous and serious debate on a-- on a-- on a major issue. It was remarkable how the people he fought against, on issues that were very important to them, never got angry about it.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, that's one of his secrets: I've never seen him exhibit the slightest bit of bitterness or rancor toward anybody. And I think everyone in the Senate and the country came to recognize that Hubert believed in principles, and he fought for principles, and against those that he thought were wrong, but he never fought against individuals or people, and he never carried bitterness.

SEVAREID: No, no. No, I never saw him bitter, either. I-- I did see him terribly shaken once. It was-- he wasn't always the Happy Warrior. Some defeats he took - for a while - he took hard. And that was the night in Chicago, in the '56 convention. He thought he would be Adlai Stevenson's running mate. Adlai wanted him. He was very close to him. At three o'clock in the morning or so, I went up to Stevenson's suit in the Blackstone, and Hubert was just leaving, and he was a shaken man. He was-- he had-- really had tears of frustration in his eyes. And-- and Stevenson had just made the decision to throw the VP nomination open to the convention, to-- as contrast to what the Republicans were doing - you know, closed arrangement with Eisenhower and Nixon. And he knew that that would mean

Kefauver. He didn't have the strength on the floor. And Stevenson had just said to him, "If it's you on the ticket, Hubert, we'll win, and if it's Estes, I'm afraid we'll lose." Of course, I don't think they would have won if he would-- had been on it that year, against Ike. But he was just-- for a few minutes a rather shattered man. He-- he-- he wasn't all that stoical; he felt things deeply.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, he could be [indistinct]. But I remember when I first went to the Senate, and all of us who've gone there remember those first months and even first one or two years when it-- it seemed so difficult to get placed, and how discouraged I was. And Hubert, to comfort me in my first two years, told me that when he went-- first went to the Senate, and, of course, he had that '48 convention behind him--

SEVAREID: Yeah.

SENATOR MUSKIE: --which stirred up a lot of the Southerners against him, and including Southern Senators, who then were very dominant in the Senate. And he was pretty much brushed aside when he went to the Senate. He told me that often at night he'd drive home with tears streaming down his cheeks from frustration - not from weakness, but from frustration.

SEVAREID: Hypothetically, what do you think would have happened had he been elected in '68?

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, I, of course, think he would have been a great President. I knew Hubert before the '68 campaign, never expected to be chosen as his running mate. To this day I don't know why.

SEVAREID: He said that was his proudest achievement - to bring you into public-- national attention.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, I hope he had other achievements that were greater, and I think he did. But-- but I got to know him then, and what struck me about him, you know, was his refusal to accept adversity, or the results of adversity.

JUSTICE MARSHALL: That's an important--

SENATOR MUSKIE: Just his utter refusal. I mean, a week ago I talked to him on the phone. I-- I talked to him a couple of times

a week in the-- toward the end. And his voice was cracking and weak, and he was obviously tired, and the first question always was, "How are you feeling, Eddie?" I don't know why he called me Eddie. Nobody calls me Eddie, but it was a term of affection. But then I asked him, "How do you feel?" "Oh, I'm feeling better." He refused to accept the consequences--

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Yes.

SENATOR MUSKIE: And in-- in '68, you know, I-- we started in a low point, you know, very low. We were about 24 percent and-- and Nixon was in the forties, and then we came so strong that it looked as though we might win, and then we lost by a-- you know, by a gnat's whisker. And so that must have been a bitter blow for him. He and I and our families went to the Virgin Islands for two weeks after that, and not once in that two weeks, not once, did he discuss what had just happened, you know. He talked about the future, what I could hope to become; you know, what he might hope to become.

JUSTICE MARSHALL: That's the-- the important thing to me is that, even when he was frustrated, he'd never let me know it - the little guy out there in the street. His leadership stayed right there where it was. He never gave up himself. And he is one of the beauty spots of politics. I mean, he-- as a politician he was a beautiful, decent leader, or whatever you want. And we need those in a day like this. And he never gave up politics. I know on his trip [indistinct] in Ethiopia, in our embassy at-- at a dinner, and Hubert was shaking all the hands of the help around there, and went out in the kitchen shaking hands - in Ethiopia. And I said, "What in the devil are you doing?" He said, "Are you kidding? There is still a possibility that one of them will emigrate to the United States, will settle in Minnesota . . . [Words cut off by laughter]. . . and I can't pass up that chance." Well, I mean-- I think it's that kind of drive in-- I would like to put more emphasis on the political side as a political leader of the people, because we need those today that we can point children toward.

SEVAREID: I suppose had he been elected in '68, well, of course, we wouldn't have had Watergate, and I think we'd have been out of Vietnam a good bit earlier. I don't--

SENATOR MUSKIE: I have no doubt about it.

SEVAREID: --stood-- stood that killing of these young men much more.

SENATOR MUSKIE: I just have the-- he never complained about - to me, at least - about the posture he found himself in as Lyndon Johnson's Vice President; never really complained. Did his best, and maybe-- I think he confessed later to me that he might have done better in-- in-- in striking an independent course. He didn't complain about it. But I have no doubt in my mind that the war would have ended.

SEVAREID: Ed, politics is a hard business. You were close to him. We all thought you were - many of us - you were going to be nominated in '72, not McGovern. And then Hubert got into the act, and I had been persuaded by his friends that he wouldn't; wasn't going to do it. One reason I thought you'd be nominated. How did you feel about that as his-- because I had the feeling it damaged your prospects a little.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, it did, and I felt hurt at the time, but Hubert had a knack-- you know, there-- there are those who think that he often was more generous toward his enemies than toward his friends. But there was something about him that made his friends forgive even that. It was his strength as well as his weakness. But I'll tell you my regret about '72. It was just before the California primary, and he came to see me and my wife at breakfast, and he asked me to join me-- to join him in a ticket in '72 for the California primary. And my re-- great regret about '72 is not that I didn't get the nomination but that I didn't accept that invitation, and I might not have been--

SEVAREID: What did he mean? To-- you to run--?

SENATOR MUSKIE: As a ticket in the-- in the California primary.

SEVAREID: As a ticket. You for Vice President. I didn't know that.

SENATOR MUSKIE: No, nobody knows that except Hubert and me, and now I am the only one.

[Laughter]

SEVAREID: You regret not doing that?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I regret not doing it because, you know, at the time he and I were rivals, after having-- having run together in '68. You know, after '68 there was sort of a feeling that Hubert had had his run, that he was done.

SEVAREID: Yes.

SENATOR MUSKIE: And you've expressed that somewhat in what you've just said. And I ran on that assumption - not because I was opposed to Hubert, but because I-- I think it was time for a new generation. Well, then everything turned, it turned around. And the '72 primaries were deadly to me. They gave Hubert another opportunity. We-- we split our vote, I think. I've had no doubt about it-- I think that the fact that Hubert and I split our vote had more to do with the result of that primary than Mr. Loeb in New Hampshire or some of my own shortcomings. But in any case, Hubert came out and, for one morning, you know, we rekindled the bond that-- that we'd had in '68, and that would have been fun. It might not have lasted more than a month, because George McGovern at that point had a lot of momentum going for him. But as a personal friend - and I said this to Hubert within the last month - I-- I wish I had said yes.

SENATOR NELSON: And he was prepared to run in '76, too.

[Laughter]

SENATOR MUSKIE: He was prepared to run in '76, too. I mean, he was incurable. Incurable.

SENATOR NELSON: I talked to him about it several times, and he was ready to go.

SEVAREID: Before Johnson picked him on the ticket in '64, I remember going up to see him, and-- and all-- all my questions about his prospects, he seemed very dubious and doubtful. Well, he might do this, and this doesn't look so good, and so on, and it was all, to me, terribly unconvincing. And finally I said, "Senator, you must have a feeling in your stomach about this." And his face lit up, and he said, "Yes, I do. That's pretty good."
[Laughter] He knew he was going to be in, I think, though I don't think the President had told him so. He just knew he'd be in; couldn't have been anyone else, really.

SENATOR MUSKIE: You know, he was ready for a fight at any time. . . . any bloodthirstiness in him at all.

SEVAREID: No.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Just the idea of grappling over important issues.

SEVAREID: You know, he was into so many issues that many people said that he was scattering his fire too much, but they didn't mean-- [indistinct crosstalk].

SENATOR MUSKIE: But he had more answers than there were problems.

[Laughter]

SEVAREID: More answers than there were-- It seemed to me that one of the reasons he was into so many things was because he knew so much about so many things. What-- he talked a lot, and often too long, and people said he didn't have the dignity. That was because he just couldn't feel superior to the-- human beings--

JUSTICE MARSHALL: That's right. That's right.

SEVAREID: But what many people didn't realize was the quality of his intellect. He had a remarkable intellect, I finally realized. I remember asking Mike Mansfield once (when Johnson was Majority Leader, Mike was his assistant): "Regardless of party, Mike, who-- who's the best brain in the Senate?" And he said-- he said, "I think, without a doubt, it's Hubert Humphrey." Am I wrong about this?

SENATOR NELSON: No, I--

SEVAREID: I think he was a terribly bright man.

SENATOR NELSON: That's why he covered so many subjects. I-- Any number of times, any number of us had talked to him about a subject matter of our interest, what happens to be his interest. And I was always astonished at how much he knew about it.

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Yes.

SENATOR NELSON: And when he didn't appear to be studying anything, I think he absorbed information by--

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Osmosis.

SENATOR NELSON: -- ear, osmosis, in a very remarkable way.

JUSTICE MARSHALL: He did.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, one reason he talked so much was he had so much more to say.

[Laughter]

JUSTICE MARSHALL: That's it. He had it to say and he was going to say it, and nobody was going to stop him from saying it--

SENATOR MUSKIE: But there was another thing-- there was another thing about it, Thurgood. You know, he--he was a great artist of words.

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Yes.

SENATOR MUSKIE: And if-- if his first formulation, you know, didn't quite get his point across, damn, he was going to try another one. [Laughter]

JUSTICE MARSHALL: Yeah.

SENATOR MUSKIE: And you could see him on the Senate floor, you know, working these things over. [Laughter] He'd work one formulation [indistinct] wasn't quite sparkling enough. It didn't quite hit it. So he'd work another one. And then when he finally got a good one, well, he still had to try to improve on it again. [Laughter] He still had to try to improve it.

SEVAREID: You know, he called me, too, a couple of weeks ago. I was sitting at home and didn't expect this. He called me about a broadcast, ostensibly. He sounded on the surface cheerful, and he talked about what he could see from his bed or his chair - the snow around the lake, and all the children and grandchildren were there. And I asked him when he was coming back to Washington, and he said, oh, he'd be there in maybe two, three weeks, maybe a month. And yet, there was another strain to this talk. He talked about people he'd known, and he said how fortunate he and Muriel had been - in the places they'd been, all they'd done, and particularly the human beings they'd known. He didn't have to, you know, spell it out for me - that he was a man coming to terms with-- with his end. But, my goodness, he-- he showed us how to do it, didn't he?

MUDD: Back when Senator Humphrey was running for one office or another, every two years it seemed, the mere recitation of his full name, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, always brought laughter or smiles. But looking back, those were the perfect names for the man the nation has just honored. Those three names evoke a vision of a proud family, unembarrassed to use alliteration or to name a child after a hero; a family confident of the future and in love with their country. Those three names, indeed, sum up the essence of his character: optimism, openness and exuberance. So it was Hubert Horatio Humphrey who was buried this afternoon as the Minnesota winter sun was fading, and though the TV pictures were marginal, the ceremony at the Lakewood Cemetery in Minneapolis was moving.

[Burial ceremony]

REV. DIDIER: Under the mercy of Almighty God, we commend the spirit of our brother departed, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, and we commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.

Let us pray. Oh, Lord, support us all the day long of this troublous life until the shadows lengthen, the dizzy world is hushed, the fever of life is over and our work is done. Then in Thy mercy, grant us a safe lodging and a holy rest - and peace at last. And now may that peace that passeth all understanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son, Christ our Lord. May the blessing

of that God, Father, Son and Spirit be with us now and evermore.
Amen.

[Rifle salute]

["Taps" - lowering of casket into ground]

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "Hubert
Humphrey: A Tribute".



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