MEMORANDUM FOR DR. MCLUCAS

SUBJECT: Humphrey Remarks

Senator Humphrey again has publicly mentioned reconnaissance satellites, this time in connection with the Space Shuttle. The letter to the right requests Mr. Helms' good offices in pointing out to Mr. Humphrey the adverse impact of his public statements. It is recommended that you sign the memorandum to the right.
MR. DONALDSON: Welcome to ISSUES AND ANSWERS, Senator.

Senator Muskie yesterday in Wisconsin attacked you directly as the man he said was using political expediency in taking positions and decided your positions on the space shuttle, the ABM, and the Lockheed loan, he said you were a promising candidate who was refusing to face the hard choices.

Do you plead at least a little bit guilty?

SPATEN RUMMY: Not a bit. Not one bit guilty.

I vowed when I entered these presidential primaries that

I would avoid discussion of personalities, that I would

concentrate my attention on what I thought were the major issues

that confronted this nation and the differences between the
Republican Administration and myself. I have adhered to that policy. I think it has produced constructive results. I remember and recall when I entered the primaries I had less than what I would have liked in the rating of public opinion. I have followed the course of action I have outlined, a frank discussion of the issues of the day without indulging in attacks upon my fellow Democrats whom I respect.

After all, I selected Ed Muskie as my vice-presidential running mate and I think highly of him. I believe this course of action that I pursued has been what the people want. I think people are tired of any kind of personal attack and I want to also keep in mind that we have an election in November and the political opponent that I see is not my fellow Democrats but Mr. Nixon.

MR. DONALDSON: It was not particularly a personal attack I suppose as much as an attack on your position. Is that unfair in a Democratic primary where Mr. Nixon is not entered, for candidates to point out the positions of other candidates, with Muskie being unfair to you and why won't you respond to him?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I still consider that the major opponent that we ought to be targeting our attacks or our arguments on is Mr. Nixon. I don't think we ought to ever forget that and I think we ought to be very careful that we don't say something in March and April that we will have
to live wit and have thrown back at 8 o'clock in September, October and November, and that is why I have been exceedingly careful. I haven't hesitated to address myself to the issues. For example, I happen to believe that jobs are important and when I voted for a guarantee of a loan to Lockheed I did it for jobs and it produced 12,000 jobs in Lockheed that wouldn't have been there, and I think the workers appreciate that vote. There has been no money from the government, 12,000 people went off unemployment compensation. 12,000 people are paying taxes. 12,000 more people are earning income. I think that was a pretty good vote. I also have to say that, on the ABM, that I have been one of the opponents of the antiballistic missile system. I also was one that advocated no deployment of the MIRV because I felt that was a dangerous escalation of the arms race. I didn't get much help on it, I have to add to that, and on the ABM we are negotiating with the Russians. I felt that I should follow the lead and Senator Cooper, Senator Brooks, Senator Church, who were the three men that led the fight against the ABM, and yet said that the two ABM missile sites that they had approved prior should be continued simply as a bargaining tool when we sit down with the Russians. I don't believe you can bargain with the Russians from nothing.

MR. DONALDSON: May I ask just one more question in this series about the space shuttle? I gather from what
Senator Muskie says he is complaining a bit that you come out for the space shuttle in Florida, which is very important, but you don't talk much about it in Wisconsin, where perhaps other priorities are important.

Senator Humphrey: Yesterday I spoke considerably about the whole space program, including the space shuttle. I don't back away from it a bit. It is solid economy. It is jobs. It is economic advancement; it is scientific advancement. It represents real economy in the space program.

For example, the space shuttle will make possible the repair of reconnaissance satellites, the repair of communications satellite. It can actually save our space program over the next ten-twelve years, millions, hundreds of millions, maybe billions of dollars rather than having to destroy a communications satellite that no longer works.

A space shuttle will permit you to repair it. I would join on the space shuttle in Florida. I was chairman of the Space Council for four years. I know the Space Program. Maybe I know it a little bit better than some of my opponents.

Mr. Donaldson: Who, Ed Muskie?

Senator Humphrey: Oh, just any of them, let's put it. I don't want to get personal about it.

Mr. Gill: Senator, another issue you were very lucid on in Florida which will continue to be brought up in all of the primaries is the busing issue. You seemed at
first, of course, to fully endorse what the President had said about a moratorium and the various things in his statement on busing. That was very soon amended, very critically. But there is one point that I am still confused about.

Now, the President has called for a moratorium on busing. I thought he made it very clear that he was talking about a moratorium only until the issue is settled in Congress and you get a ruling from the court, but you have severely criticized him for that while indicating some type of moratorium would be acceptable, so precisely what would you have offered?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let's just get the complicated issue of busing in some perspective because I have moved changed my opinion. I am opposed to busing children from good schools to poor schools. I am for busing children from poor schools to good schools where it adds to their quality of education.

I happen to believe that the best way to get integrated is to use in part busing as a tool but to open up the neighborhoods, to break down the housing barriers, to redesign school districts and, above all, I think what this country really needs are good schools. Where there are poor schools let's have good schools. Where there are poor teachers, let's have good teachers.
Now, as to the President's own message, the message that he gave us on television, the commercial, was far different than the final print that came out a couple of days later and what I have said was simply that the President did not offer any new money at all. He offered $2.5 billion that he would take away from other programs, and as to the moratorium, no President can withhold the action of the courts.

I seriously doubt its constitutionality and think that it is most likely unconstitutional.

MR. GILL: Where and when has anyone proposed numerical balance by busing? That is not what I understood in the background briefings and what later was brought out by the President, and you did indicate that you were questioning the timing of the moratorium, so again I will ask you, would you support a moratorium until the issue is settled either in a court hearing or on Capitol Hill rather than the more or less five, ten or fifteen-year plan that you have of overall housing integration? Would you support any kind of moratorium?

SENATOR FUNKHAUSEN: I considered the President's statement on a moratorium to be a violation of the separation of powers that is prescribed under the Constitution of the United States. He is not merely asking for a moratorium on the Richmond case, such as the Mansfield-Scott amendment.
did, he is 

asking for a total moratorium on all court 

actions relating to desegregation, and in fact it may very 

well open up many, many cases that are presently in 

litigation or many cases that have already been settled. 

I consider the President's proposal on the moratorium un-

acceptable; I consider his proposal on the $2.5 billion of 

money not to be additional money, but merely the shifting of 

funds in programs presently pending in the Congress. 

MR. DONALDSON: There are places where the courts 

have said: Busing is the best way to try to break down the 

old de jure-caused segregation. 

SENATOR HUMPHREYS: Yes. 

MR. DONALDSON: Now, which is more important in your 

mind: Continuing the effort to integrate the schools in 

these situations even though it calls for busing, or being 

against busing because of the inconvenience and the other 

problems associated with it? 

SENATOR HUMPHREYS: Well, Mr. Donaldson, no one should be 

against busing where it improves the quality of education. 

We have it all over America. The consolidated school system 

has made that necessary. Also, busing is one of the tools 

and an important tool for integrated education. 

I think what the average citizen is rightly concerned 

about is where you bus a child from a good school in to a 

poor school in the name of racial integration.
I don't think it makes any sense and I don't think very many people do. I think most Americans are fair-minded; they'd like to see a child have a better educational opportunity and an integrated educational opportunity from busing from a poor school to a good school. Now, that is what the court has suggested and that is what I am suggesting.

MR. DONALDSON: As I understand it, beginning with Brown vs. the Board of Education, the issue was not quality education, although I think all of us can assume that is the goal.

SENATOR HUMPHREY:

MR. DONALDSON: And I think the court said no what school was good or bad if it was desegregated because of the de jure situation it was inherently unfair and must be corrected so, without regard to whether the school is good or bad, will you continue a very strong drive to include the use of busing to break down segregation?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would indeed, and may I say de jure segregation is by law. That is unconstitutional. Do factor education is by housing pattern.

MR. DONALDSON: Segregation?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And that is a kind of new kind of segregation. Economic segregation, social segregation. I think that also should be destroyed.
MR. GILL: Senator Humphrey, big labor, George Meany, and the President, seem to be now at definite odds.

Mr. Meany has taken the AFL-CIO, as you know, off of the Pay Board. With all that you know about the economy of the country and efforts to control inflation, can you endorse that move by George Meany?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I can surely understand the move because it is quite obvious that the so-called anti-inflation program has not worked. It has actually been a hoax and it is understandable that Mr. Meany, speaking for millions of workers, would do as he did, and not only for organized labor, but for people all across this country.

Let me just cite a few things that would give some indication. There have been seven thousand applications for price increases, and only 107 have been denied, and five have been turned back. They are the price increases in this country since Phase II, the cost-of-living has gone up five per cent before it had gone up slightly over four per cent. There are just hundreds and hundreds of cases. Let me give you another one. The ITT, we have heard a lot about that. On January 14th the ITT and its subsidiaries asked for price increases in 26 different subsidiaries and different items and all 25 were granted, up as high as 14.9, almost 15 per cent.

Now, J. Pierpont Morgan, the great financial institution,
had profits increase of 35 per cent. Overall corporate
profits have gone up about 19 per cent. One hundred of the
largest corporations have gone up 75 per cent.

Now, the people in this country who expected to have an
anti-inflation program when their wages were held down,
whether they were organized or not -- a school teacher, some-
body working in a shop or a filling station -- those wages
have been frozen and over here on the other side is the Price
Commission that has let these prices get totally out of hand.

Mr. Meany didn't speak just for organized labor; he
spoke for millions and millions of housewives in this country
that know that prices are going up and know that the inflation
program is not working, that know they are being taken at the
same time that their husbands coming home with the paycheck or
a woman working in an office or a factory coming home with that
paycheck finds that it won't meet the bills. Now, that is that
it is all about.
MR. GILL: What you are actually doing is questioning the motives than of the Administration and the President. I would deduce from that that you are saying the effort as established and operating is nothing but a political facade but at the same time their answer is that the price of food is the greatest offender in this, with the meat prices, the fresh produce. How would you answer that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First, Mr. Nixon said it was all the workers' fault that we had inflation. Then he got around to one of his spokesmen where he said it was the farmers' fault. Now he says it is the middleman's fault. Maybe the President should really take a look and see whose fault it is. He said that Mr. Meany had walked off the job on the fight on inflation. I charge that Mr. Nixon has walked off the job three and a half years ago. There is no anti-inflation program in this country. Interest rates, bank profits, corporate profits have gone up fantastically. Prices have gone up.

The consumer has not been protected. Mr. Nixon's anti-inflation program just doesn't work, and it hasn't worked, and what he is trying to do is find a scapegoat and I suggest that the Administration go get a big mirror and take a look in it and see whose trouble it really is. They have no program.

MR. DONALDSON: If it hasn't worked, let's make you
President: Now, and you tell us why you would do that he isn't doing?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, if you could--could you assure us that we could have that success tomorrow on the first part of being President?

MR. DONALDSON: I am neutral.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, don't be.

What is needed is enforcement.

What is needed is an even-handed policy. What is needed is just simply fairness. If you are going to ask workers--and I am not just talking of organized workers. I am talking of a school teacher, I am talking about a secretary, I am talking about hundreds and thousands of people across this country who are living on fixed incomes.

I am talking about the elderly who are really the victims of inflation, almost more than anybody else, because of their fixed incomes. I am saying that if you are going to have--if you are going to have wage control, then you have got to have price control, and you cannot have it just lopsided, with 45 percent of your rental units not covered by price control.

MR. DONALDSON: Should we cover them?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think if you are going to have wage control, you have got to have even-handed controls across the board.
MR. DONALDSON: Should we have wage and price controls?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think it is desirable if you are going to try to stop inflation, but Mr. Nixon has decided that he would try to put on the wage controls on the one hand, but has not had the political courage to really move in on the giant interests of the country, and let me say this Administration is loaded in behalf of, hands over backwards in behalf of the super rich, the large corporate structures of this country and the price fixers of this country.

MR. DONALDSON: Well, should we now put controls on unprocessed farm products?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We don't need to do that. We didn't even do it in World War II. We didn't do it in the Korean war. Farm prices have gone up on the average of six percent in the last 20 years. Wholesale food prices have gone up 19 percent. Retail food prices have gone up 45 percent -- in fact, 62 percent of the entire cost of food is at the middleman level. Only 33 percent is in the actual food. Beef prices have gone down $5 a hundredweight in the last week, but it hasn't been shown in the supermarkets. I think it is about time that we had a total investigation of the entire anti-inflation program of this Administration, and I have called for it because I consider it to be a hoax and a sham and it is working a grave injustice upon the American people and no one is at
fault more, for the President of the United States.

MR. DONALDSON: By the way, if I may go back just a moment, you say you understand Mr. Nanny has walked out. Does that mean that you agree with it, that you think he did the right thing?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think Mr. Nanny performed a real service for the American people because he is going to precipitate a total reevaluation of the so-called Economic Stabilization Program, and if he does that, it that is what is the result of his walkout, then he has performed a service.

MR. DONALDSON: You don't think that it was a rule or ruin type

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not one thing. Listen, the labor people were promised when they came on the board they would have a fair shake, and they haven't gotten it.

MR. GILL: You have long had the support of organized labor, Senator Humphrey. Labor now appears to be in their own public statements hesitant, with some exceptions -- some important exceptions -- to give you the endorsement that we might have expected for a Hubert Humphrey from organized labor. What encouragement do you have that you are going to be able to persuade them that you can win this in order to get their endorsement before this convention?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You know what they did was really a
good thing for me. They made me go out and work for it and it is coming. The International, the Executive Council, the AFL-CIO didn't try to pinpoint or earmark one candidate. There are a number of good candidates in the Democratic Party, and many of them have good records with organized labor, and I think this proves again that the labor movement is attempting to be fair and not to dominate the political scene in the Democratic Party. But I will tell you what has been happening.

In Pennsylvania when I met with the AFL-CIO representatives, I got 84 percent of the vote in the straw ballot, secret ballot. In Texas, I got 85-1/3. At a recent meeting of three states in the Chicago area -- Wisconsin, Ohio and Illinois -- Wisconsin, Michigan and almost Illinois -- I received 90 percent out of all of the Democratic candidates. So I am earning it and by the way I think I ought to have to go out and earn it and I am gaining it, so I am very pleased.

MR. DONALDSON: May I move ahead to the problem of George Wallace in Wisconsin, and nationally the Democratic Party. Some of your colleagues who are running for the Democratic nomination, Senators Muskie and McGovern come to mind, and Mayor Lindsay, have criticized Mr. Wallace very strongly. They have called him a demagogue, and worse. Why?
SENATOR HUMPHREY: What I have done, Mr. Donaldson, is to take Mr. Wallace on on the issues, and I will continue to do so and I have done it in Wisconsin and I did it in Florida. I have taken him on on the issues of taxes, I have taken him on on the issues of education, I have taken him on on the issues does he really represent the little guy, and the answer is he does not, and I can document the case, and I continue to do it. I don't think personal vilification is going to help. I think it makes a martyr out of him, rather than to weaken his chances.

(Announcements)

MR. DONALDSON: I am going to ask you that I admit it is a loaded question. You have just told us that you think your strategy about not attacking Governor Wallace has worked. Isn't that what gives rise to these complaints that you read in the public press about you these days that it is political expediency that is guiding your campaign, rather than principle?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not a bit, Mr. Donaldson. Let me tell you, I fought the medical lobby on Medicare, health insurance. George Wallace didn't. I have tried to close tax loopholes as a voting Senator in the United States Senate and taken the rap for it. George Wallace didn't. I have fought for the elderly in this country and expanded Social Security benefits. George Wallace didn't. And
I have been going right down the line. I fought for federal aid to education, and George Wallace didn't, and I fought for civil rights for 23 years for every American. George Wallace didn’t. I fought for equal opportunity, equality of pay for equal work, equal rights for the American women. George Wallace didn’t. That is exactly the issue, you see. It is issues that count, and I am going to stay on those issues.
MR. DONALDSON: After Florida and his win there, Governor Willeco said that we reporters should really ask people like you whether you would support him if he turned out to be the Democratic nominee. I know you say that he hasn't got a chance, but it is a fair question. Should he win the nomination in Miami Beach, would you support him?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't think that George Wallace's stands in the Democratic party are the kind of stands that are going to get him the nomination, nor the ones that can gain him the election. He has no chance to be the nominee of this party and I see no reason that one should go around pretending that he would. That is playing games. He doesn't have a chance. I think that I have a fairly good chance to be the nominee of the party.

MR. DONALDSON: Do I conclude then, sir, that you would not support him even if he should win the nomination?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, if Mr. Wallace will endorse full civil rights for the American people, equal opportunity, breaking down the bars of segregation in this society, opening up the schools to the American people for children of all races, then I would say he would start to qualify, start to qualify, but until he does that he does not qualify for my support.

MR. GILL: Well, Senator Humphrey, many of the political observers, whoever they may be, politicians and reporters,
believe the Wisconsin could be a make-or-break primary. Now, the polls show you out front. Can you tell me exactly how important you think it is? To what extent will the results of that Wisconsin primary actually determine the Democratic nominee for President?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't believe it is going to be the make-or-break. Honestly I don't, even though, as you have said, it appears now according to what some of you say that I am out front. It would be nice if I could say that I won that it was the make-or-break, but I doubt that. I think other candidates will go on and will be very tough in the primaries. Let me say that it helps to win, though. I know, I have lost some and it doesn't help. The uplift that you get, the psychological lift that comes from a win is really very, very helpful to you. But each primary is a battle unto itself. From Wisconsin we go into Pennsylvania and Ohio, into Michigan, and we have to fight it out one at a time.

MR. GILL: Some of the issues that we haven't been able to cover in any depth I would like to ask you about. Knowing what has come out so far in the ITT controversy with the administration, Mr. Kleindienst's role in it, can you — with what you know — vote for the confirmation of Mr. Kleindienst for Attorney General?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: If things were not any more clear than
they are today I could not, but I don't like to hold myself precisely to that because the Senate Committee on the Judiciary is investigating these charges. I don't believe in trying to make accusations without the proof, but there is a cloud hanging over the government today and over the Justice Department and Mr. Kleindienst has been involved in it and unless that cloud can be removed, unless this pallor of uncertainty and suspicion and doubt about the ITT case can be removed, then Mr. Kleindienst ought not to be Attorney General and, frankly, he ought to step aside.

MR. GILL: From what you know of your colleagues' thinking on this, you must have discussed it and had input, how do you predict now that vote will come out on this. Small Cloud? Can he win confirmation?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Only if all the allegations which have been made are disproved. Otherwise I seriously doubt that he could be confirmed.

MR. DONALDSON: May I jump back to politics in Wisconsin for a moment? Senator Muskie said today that he is the only one who has won anything aside from Governor Wallace. He said he has won in Arizona, in Iowa, in New Hampshire and in Illinois, and therefore he is in the best position to defeat President Nixon.

Now, it is true you haven't won anything. What is wrong with his argument?
SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I wouldn't say we haven't won anything. We have picked up a few delegates down in Florida, which was my first effort, and he picked up none. And that is when we were in the contest together. It is rather difficult to compare how we do if we don't meet in a contest.

Now we are in a second contest in Wisconsin. I think I am the one progressive Democrat that can defeat George Wallace in these primaries. I think I am the one progressive Democrat that can defeat Mr. Nixon. I received 32 million votes in my last effort against him. It won't take many more to defeat him.

MR. DONALDSON: You know, you keep saying "Progressive Democrat." Who are the "unprogressive Democrats" who are running now against Governor Wallace?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I didn't try to say others were not. I said I think I am the one progressive Democrat that can defeat Mr. Wallace and can defeat Mr. Nixon. I have a good track record. We came within a half --

MR. DONALDSON: Some people think the word "progressive" means Henry Jackson; that you were trying to make a distinction there. Are you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think well of Henry Jackson. I don't try to call my opponents names. They are fine men. Many of these are men I have helped along the way like Senator McGovern and Senator Muskie and I like to speak well of
there with me I have been associated, and whom I have helped.

MR. GILL: Senator Hubert Humphrey, thank you very much for being with us today on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.