



*The Public Record*  
*of*  
*Hubert H. Humphrey*



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Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey tends to be an incurable optimist. Seen through his eyes, no domestic or international problem is beyond solution if sufficient resources can be mobilized. This type of optimism has enabled him to overcome a series of threatening obstacles in his public career.

An obscure college professor and government functionary in the midst of World War II, Humphrey mobilized his University of Minnesota friends to win him the Minneapolis mayoralty in 1945, despite an initial defeat in 1943. Hampered by the schism between Minnesota's Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties, he became the midwife of a successful merger that paved the way for his own election to the Senate in 1948.

Known originally as a strident liberal and prairie populist who offended the old-line Senate establishment, Humphrey by 1964 was able to guide the most comprehensive civil rights bill of the century to passage through a skillful manipulation of the Senate machinery that once seemed so foreign to him. Early regarded as an apologist for organized labor, Humphrey by 1964 also was considered a friend of business in national Democratic circles. A maverick Vice Presidential hopeful in the 1950's and a dismal failure in the contest for the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination, Humphrey by 1964 was the leading candidate among party leaders -- and thus the choice of President Johnson -- for the Vice Presidential nomination. By the mid-1960s, many of the programs Humphrey had proposed when they seemed visionary if not radical -- medicare, the Peace Corps, a modern-day Youth Conservation Corps, Food for Peace, a national Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an advanced national wilderness preservation system -- had become the law of the land.

Like many Vice Presidents before him, Humphrey appeared to many to be a prisoner of the office, destined to play the role of apologist for a strong-minded President. The Administration's determination to force a showdown with Asian Communism in Viet Nam seemed to be a policy in which Humphrey fully concurred, but his support of the war was costing him support from the liberal community that had once been the backbone of his support. In late 1966, with his Minnesota political base eroded by a Republican victory over the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) party and public opinion polls showing him far less popular with Democratic voters and the population as a whole than New York's Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, Humphrey seemed headed for a political eclipse.

By mid-1967, however, President Johnson had made it clear that he wanted Humphrey to be his running mate again in 1968. At a March 9 press conference, the President said, "I have never known a public servant that I've worked better with or for whom I have more admiration, or who I thought was more entitled to the public trust than the Vice President." President Johnson said he felt this way when he asked the 1964 Democratic National Convention to accept Humphrey as his running mate and that he felt "even stronger about it today."

As the 1968 election year approached, Humphrey held two political trump cards -- his natural position as leader (outside of the President) of the moderate and anti-Robert Kennedy factions of the Democratic party and the fact that as Vice President he stood the proverbial "heartbeat away" from the Presidency itself. Should the Johnson-Humphrey ticket win re-election in 1968, Humphrey would stand as good a chance as any living American of one day becoming chief executive.

## BIOGRAPHY

**Born:** May 27, 1911, Wallace, S.D.

**Education:** Denver College of Pharmacy, pharmacy degree, 1933; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, B.A., 1939; Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, M.A., 1940.

**Family:** Married Muriel Fay Buck, Sept. 3, 1936; four children: Nancy (Mrs. C. Bruce Solomonson); Hubert Horatio III (Skip); Robert; and Douglas.

**Religion:** United Church of Christ (Congregationalist).

**Affiliations:** Americans for Democratic Action; American Political Science Assn.; Public Administration Society; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Phi Beta Kappa; Delta Sigma Rho.

**Profession:** Pharmacist; college instructor; government official.

**Offices:** Mayor of Minneapolis, 1945-48; U.S. Senate, 1949-64; Vice President of the United States, 1965 to date.

## EARLY YEARS

Hubert Horatio Humphrey was born in an apartment above his father's drugstore in Wallace, S.D. The family moved to Doland, S.D., where Humphrey attended public schools.

Humphrey entered the University of Minnesota in 1929, but financial difficulties of the Depression forced him to return home in 1931 to help run the family drugstore. He entered Denver College of Pharmacy and received a pharmacy degree in 1933. Humphrey worked in the family drugstore in Huron, S.D., until 1937, when he was able to resume his studies at the University of Minnesota. He majored in political science and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. In 1939 Humphrey received his B.A. degree from the University of Minnesota, magna cum laude. He entered the graduate school at Louisiana State University, receiving a master's degree in political science in 1940. He was awarded a teaching fellowship at the University of Minnesota from 1940-1941 and subsequently taught at Macalester College in St. Paul, 1943-44.

At the University of Minnesota, Humphrey first met Orville L. Freeman, who would later become Governor of Minnesota and U.S. Secretary of Agriculture. Freeman became a close friend of Humphrey and, with Sen.

Eugene McCarthy (D Minn.), headed the Humphrey-for-President movement in 1959-60.

From 1941 to 1943 Humphrey worked for the Minnesota branch of the War Production Administration, rising to become head of the state division and sectional director of the training re-employment division. In 1943 he became an assistant regional director of the War Manpower Progress Commission. While teaching at Macalester College, 1943-44, Humphrey was an instructor for the Air Force ROTC program.

During the war years, Humphrey tried many times to enlist in the Navy but was rejected because of color blindness and a double hernia. Humphrey offered to have the hernia repaired but was told that even with the operation the past condition would disqualify him. In 1940 Humphrey had been classified 3A draft status as the father of a small child. While teaching ROTC courses at Macalester College, he received a 2A draft classification as an essential civilian. In July 1944 Humphrey received a 1A draft classification and was called up in August. He passed his Army physical but was sent home. In September 1944 the Army reduced its induction quotas and Humphrey suddenly was reclassified 2A under a new Army regulation deferring men over 30 years of age and married with children. In January 1945, when draft quotas were increased again, Humphrey and other men who had been placed on standby status were called up for Army induction. By this time, the Army had become more selective in its physical requirements and Humphrey's double hernia again caused him to be rejected. The clerk of Humphrey's draft board, John B. LaDue, later asserted that Humphrey had never tried to shirk his military obligation. LaDue said, "Humphrey never asked for a deferment from us."

Fishing, ice skating, boating, swimming, reading and talking are some of Humphrey's favorite activities. His loquacity is a subject for much political ribbing and some disparagement. He is known for the diversity of his subject matter as well as for the quantity of words. He says simply, "I like every subject."

## POLITICAL CAREER

Humphrey's name first appeared on a ballot June 14, 1943, when he ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Minneapolis. He was defeated by incumbent Mayor Marvin Kline (R) 60,075 to 54,350. Deciding that the lack of a strong party base had been one of his difficulties, Humphrey worked to effect the merger of the Minnesota Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties, which was finally achieved in 1944. Also in 1944, he served as Minnesota campaign manager for the Roosevelt-Truman Democratic Presidential ticket.

On June 11, 1945, Humphrey was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, defeating Kline by a vote of 86,377 to 55,263. Since his powers as mayor were limited, Humphrey acted through a series of citizens groups. He moved to close down gambling houses and brothels in the city, reorganize city law enforcement and administrative agencies and improve housing and social welfare programs. Humphrey established a Mayor's Council on Human Relations to review problems of racial discrimination and obtained enactment of the first municipal Fair Employment Practices law in the United States.

Humphrey was re-elected June 9, 1947, over Frank J. Collins (R) by a vote of 102,696 to 52,358, the largest plurality in the history of the city. During his period as

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**By Hubert H. Humphrey**

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**About Humphrey**

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*Humphrey, A Candid Biography*, by Winthrop Griffith, William Morrow Co., New York City, 1965.

mayor, Humphrey made about 2,000 speeches and 500 radio broadcasts throughout Minnesota. In 1948 he announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate, challenging the incumbent Sen. Joseph H. Ball (R 1940-49). Receiving united labor support, Humphrey defeated Ball 729,494 to 485,801 (60 percent). Humphrey was re-elected to the Senate in 1954 over Val Bjornson (R) by a 162,574 vote plurality (56.4 percent) and in 1960 defeated P.K. Peterson (R) by 235,582 votes (57.5 percent).

Humphrey was one of the co-founders in 1947 of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a self-described liberal, anti-Communist group. He was national chairman of the organization in 1949-50. Between 1944 and 1948, Humphrey engaged in a successful fight to oust Communists and other extreme left-wing elements from the Democratic Farmer-Labor party.

In 1944 Humphrey was an ardent supporter of Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Commerce (1945-46), for the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination. Following Wallace's controversial Sept. 12, 1946, Madison Square Garden speech on U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, Humphrey broke with Wallace, declaring he was "totally irresponsible." In 1948 Humphrey, as the DFL Senate candidate, succeeded in swinging the Minnesota party behind President Truman, rather than Wallace, the Presidential candidate of the newly formed Progressive party.

At the 1948 Democratic National Convention, Hubert Humphrey received national attention as a leader of party "liberals" seeking a stronger civil rights plank. Speaking before the convention in support of the stronger plank, Humphrey July 14, 1948, said: "To those who say that this civil rights program is an infringement of states' rights... the time has arrived in America for the Democratic party to get out of the shadows of states' rights and to walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights." The substitute plank offered by the liberals was adopted, 651-1/2-582-1/2, resulting directly in the walkout of Southern state delegations and the formation of the States Rights (Dixiecrat) party.

In 1952, 1956 and 1960, Humphrey was considered a possible candidate for either the Presidential or Vice Presidential nomination of his party.

In 1952, before President Truman withdrew from the race, Humphrey entered the Minnesota Presidential primary as a "favorite son" at Truman's request. At the 1952 Democratic National Convention, Humphrey's name was placed in nomination for the Presidency, but he released the Minnesota delegation after the first ballot.

On July 30, 1956, Humphrey broke precedent and formally announced his candidacy for the Vice Presidential nomination. At the Democratic National Convention Aug. 15, a group of AFL-CIO leaders presented Stevenson with a list of four Vice Presidential candidates "acceptable" to labor. Humphrey's name was on the list. When Stevenson threw the Vice Presidential decision to the Convention, Humphrey apparently was ill-prepared to wage the necessary fight. On the first ballot, Humphrey ran fifth with 134-1/2 votes. On the second ballot, on which Kefauver won the nomination, Humphrey had 74 votes. Accepting his defeat in good grace, Humphrey campaigned vigorously on behalf of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

On Dec. 30, 1959, Humphrey became the first candidate to formally announce his availability for the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination. During the spring 1960 Presidential primaries, Humphrey engaged in two major

## Humphrey Foreign Travels

Following is a listing of the foreign countries Hubert H. Humphrey has visited during his term as Vice President.

June 1965 -- Paris, France, to attend the Paris Air Show.

July 1965 -- London, England, to escort the body of Adlai Stevenson back to the United States.

Late December 1965 through mid-January 1966 -- Philippines, Taiwan and Korea, to attend the Philippine Presidential inauguration.

Mid-January 1966 -- India, to attend the funeral of Prime Minister Shastri, talks with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin.

February 1966 -- Viet Nam, Thailand, Laos, India, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines and Korea, to follow up Honolulu Conference with emphasis on regionalism, economic and Social progress in Southeast Asia.

June 1966 -- Dominican Republic to attend Presidential inauguration.

March 1967 -- Canada, to attend Governor General's funeral.

Late March to early April 1967 -- Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France, England and Belgium, to discuss non-proliferation treaty, the Kennedy Round, NATO and general rebuilding of Atlantic relations.

June 1967 -- Korea, to attend Presidential inauguration and meet with Asian leaders present for the inaugural.

contests with Sen. John F. Kennedy (D Mass.). The April 5 Wisconsin primary was considered a turning point in the Presidential fortunes of both Humphrey and Kennedy. Humphrey had banked on the support of farmers and organized labor for success in Wisconsin but failed to receive the support he expected. Kennedy won the Wisconsin primary with 476,024 votes (56.5 percent) to Humphrey's 366,753 votes (43.5 percent).

In the crucial May 10 West Virginia primary, Humphrey and Kennedy engaged in a spirited and often bitter campaign. Many political analysts predicted Humphrey would win in West Virginia, expecting opposition to Kennedy's Catholicism to be a deciding issue. Defying the experts, the voters dashed Humphrey's Presidential hopes. Kennedy scored a striking victory, winning 236,510 votes (60.8 percent) to 152,187 votes (39.2 percent) for Humphrey.

Kennedy's nomination and election to the Presidency appeared to bode no good for Humphrey's political future, but Humphrey's work as Senate Majority Whip soon made him an important man to the new Administration. After Kennedy's assassination and Johnson's accession to the Presidency, Humphrey emerged as one of the top contenders for the 1964 Democratic Vice Presidential nomination.

## Senate Career

Considered a brash upstart when he entered the Senate in 1949, Humphrey soon won the respect of his colleagues and eventually membership in the Senate's "inner club."

Possessed of boundless energy and enthusiasm, Humphrey was a tireless but skilled debater and orator.

Humphrey's activist approach to government was expressed in his maiden Senate speech March 14, 1949, when he chided his colleagues for arguing, not acting. "What the people want is for the Senate to function," he said. "Sometimes I think we become so cozy -- we feel so secure in our six-year term -- we forget that the people want things done."

Humphrey had a wide range of interests and was able to speak well on virtually any subject. On the Senate floor, however, Humphrey's cosmopolitan approach at first brought criticism from some of his colleagues that he was spreading himself too thin. Recognizing the criticism, Humphrey limited his major concerns to foreign policy, disarmament, civil rights, farm programs, health improvement, labor legislation and welfare programs.

Considered one of the most "liberal" men in the Senate, Humphrey consistently supported and sponsored legislation on civil rights, medicare, school aid and urban renewal. Over the years, however, Humphrey made some effort to modify the ultra-liberal image of his early career. In 1956, for instance, he refrained from joining a Democratic National Convention floor fight to strengthen that year's civil rights platform plank. During the 1964 civil rights bill Senate debate, he made every effort not to offend Southerners unnecessarily.

In an apparent attempt to allay suspicion of him in the business community, caused by his long-standing support of organized labor, Humphrey July 10, 1964, in a speech to the American Management Association Conference in New York City, called for an end to the "myth of hostility" toward business by Government and a "fruitful business-government partnership." Humphrey has continued to stress this view.

In 1961, when Johnson left the Senate to become Vice President, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) was chosen as the new Majority Leader and Humphrey was made the new Majority Whip. Mansfield's low-keyed approach to the Majority Leadership contrasted strongly with Johnson's style. Humphrey became an increasingly important mainstay of the Administration in pressing for Senate passage of key measures.

The chief accomplishment of Humphrey's career as Majority Whip was his leadership in achieving Senate passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Selected by President Johnson to be floor leader for the bill, Humphrey worked closely with Senate Minority Whip Thomas H. Kuchel (R Calif.) and Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) to work out necessary compromises and win the required Republican votes to invoke cloture and push the bill to passage. (*For background, see 1964 Almanac p. 354.*)

Some of Humphrey's most outstanding Senate efforts were in the field of disarmament and arms control. In 1955 Humphrey was instrumental in persuading the Senate to create a Foreign Relations Disarmament Subcommittee, of which he became chairman. The 1961 bill creating the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was the direct outgrowth of an original Humphrey proposal on Feb. 4, 1960, for the establishment of a National Peace Agency. He played a major role in Senate ratification of the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Always a strong supporter of the United Nations, Humphrey was appointed by the Eisenhower Administration to

serve as a U.S. delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1956-57. In 1958 he was the U.S. delegate to a UNESCO conference in Paris and also a delegate and observer at a nuclear test suspension conference in Geneva.

During his 16 years in the Senate, Humphrey served on the Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Expenditures in the Executive Department, Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office and Civil Service, Appropriations, Foreign Relations and Government Operations and the Select Committee on Small Business. Humphrey served as chairman of the Foreign Relations Disarmament Subcommittee.

## Election as Vice President

Throughout the spring of 1964, President Johnson maintained silence -- broken only by slight and differing hints -- on his choice for the Vice Presidential nomination. In most of the public opinion polls, Humphrey and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the late President Kennedy, led other possible contenders.

In a surprise statement July 30, President Johnson announced that he had "reached the conclusion that it would be inadvisable for me to recommend to the convention any member of my Cabinet or any of those who meet regularly with the Cabinet" for the Vice Presidential nomination. With this statement, Johnson eliminated from consideration not only Kennedy but such frequently mentioned possibilities as Peace Corps Director R. Sargent Shriver, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai E. Stevenson and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Humphrey and his Minnesota colleague, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, remained as the leading possibilities for the nomination.

Even as the delegates gathered in Atlantic City, N.J., for the convention, Mr. Johnson continued to keep silent on his decision. All reports of sentiments among the delegates and other Democratic leaders indicated overwhelming support for Humphrey's selection. The view was frequently expressed that if Johnson were to reject Humphrey after allowing speculation over his possible choice to reach such a crescendo, he would destroy his political ties with Humphrey and Humphrey's followers and risk the alienation of a key man in the Senate.

Johnson did not officially reveal his choice for the Vice Presidential nomination until Aug. 26 when, upon arriving at Andrews Air Force Base in Washington, D.C., for the flight to Atlantic City, he introduced Humphrey to a group of reporters as "our next Vice President." Earlier the same day, Johnson had asked Humphrey -- who had been working behind the scenes at the convention to work on a settlement in the Mississippi and Alabama credentials disputes -- to fly to Washington to confer with him at the White House regarding the Vice Presidency.

In a move unprecedented in the annals of American politics, Johnson appeared before the Democratic Convention in the evening of his own nomination to announce to the delegates that Humphrey was his choice for the Vice Presidential slot and to ask them to nominate him. Humphrey, Johnson said, had long experience both as an administrator and a legislator whose "every step has been marked by excellence and achievement.... I will feel strengthened knowing that he is at my side at all times in the great work of your country and your government.... This is not a sectional choice, a way to balance the ticket. This is simply the best man in America for this job."

On a motion by Sen. Olin D. Johnston (S.C.), the convention nominated Humphrey for Vice President by acclamation.

Humphrey's Aug. 27 acceptance speech reflected his natural liberalism as he called for "making our country a land of opportunity for our young, a home of security and dignity for our elderly and a place of compassion and care for our afflicted." But the dominant note was an appeal for "national unity" of Democrats and "responsible and forward-looking Republicans" under the "banner of Lyndon B. Johnson." The GOP, Humphrey said, had been captured by men who made it a party "of stridency, of unrestrained passion, of extreme and radical language."

Leading the Democratic party to its greatest national victory since 1936, the Johnson-Humphrey ticket Nov. 3, 1964, defeated the Goldwater-Miller ticket by a plurality of 15,951,083 votes. Following his election as Vice President, Humphrey Dec. 30 resigned his Senate seat. Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag (D) appointed Minnesota Attorney General Walter F. Mondale (D) to fill out the remaining two years of Humphrey's term.

#### ROLE AS VICE PRESIDENT

"There can be only one President... I did not become Vice President with Mr. Johnson to cause him trouble." With these comments, Humphrey has summed up his role and duties as Vice President.

The office of the Vice President has long been viewed as largely a ceremonial one with few duties and even fewer responsibilities. Any duties or responsibilities assumed by the Vice President have been largely at the whim of the President.

The Constitution awarded the Vice President only one job -- that of presiding over the U.S. Senate. But Humphrey's official duties, either by direction of the President or Congress, go far beyond wielding the Senate gavel. They include: chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council; chairman of the Peace Corps Advisory Council; honorary chairman of the National Advisory

Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity; chairman of the Special Cabinet Task Force on Travel USA; member of the National Security Council; member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; and chairman of the Cabinet Task Force on Youth Opportunity. At the request of President Johnson, Humphrey also helped coordinate and implement the Federal Government's efforts in the fields of civil rights and poverty.

President Johnson sent Humphrey on many foreign trips, including a 1966 Southeast Asian tour and a 1967 European mission. Humphrey also represented the United States at funerals of foreign heads of state. Johnson put Humphrey's long Congressional experience to use, for example, in the 1966 legislative fight over the demonstration (now model) cities proposal.

Humphrey also assumed a political role in the Johnson Administration, giving countless speeches to Democratic party meetings and fund raising dinners where his task was to carry "the message of our Administration and our party." Humphrey's zeal in carrying the "message" produced strains with his old liberal Democratic allies. Their objection, however, was centered almost entirely on the Administration's policies in South Viet Nam. Observers believe Humphrey has gained new acceptance from party moderates and regulars.

Of his former liberal allies, Humphrey April 10, 1966, told the Associated Press, "I've never left the liberals even though some are disappointed in me. Liberals have a great emotional commitment. They're volatile. If you do something to displease them, their respect becomes cynical."

In the same interview, Humphrey said, "I have my own views. I have my own conscience. I wear no man's collar. President Johnson's foreign policy is one I've been involved in as one of his advisers. When I disagreed, I expressed my differences. He accepted some of them."

Of the Vice Presidency, Humphrey said, "It's an unnatural role for an active politician. As a Senator, I was a creative man. Now I get satisfaction in letting my thoughts become part of an amalgam, an administration...the country needs a stand-in."

## HUMPHREY'S STANDS AND VOTES ON KEY ISSUES\*

### Domestic Policy

#### ECONOMIC POLICY AND TAXES

Humphrey believes that the Federal Government, through its basic economic policies, should stimulate the national economy to more and more rapid growth. During his Senate career, he backed increased federal expenditures and dismissed as groundless complaints about the possible dangers of an increasing national debt. He has supported tax reductions, especially for low-income groups, but opposed special tax privileges (including the 27-1/2 percent oil depletion allowance) said to benefit upper-income groups.

#### Key quotes on economic policy taxes:

"Public debt figures, or a chart picturing them, provide no basis in themselves for concluding that a government is or is not wasteful. A debt is merely a means for meeting

current obligations when current revenues are insufficient. Conceivably, a nation with a small debt could be more prodigal than one with a large debt."

"Generally the size of a public debt is a rough indicator of the scope of a government's activities." -- *Congressional Record*, Oct. 20, 1951.

"The federal tax laws are rigged against the middle and low income families -- and for the big corporations." -- Speech in Huntington, W.Va., April 29, 1960.

"The tax cut of early 1964 is clearly emerging as a major factor for economic expansion -- an absolute necessity if we are to bring to a halt the intolerable waste of human resources. The tax cut should also help safeguard us against a recession that could have cost a minimum of \$25 billion in lost output, perhaps an additional 2 million persons unemployed, and a severe setback in the advance toward our economic goals." -- *The Cause is Mankind*, 1964.

\*In vote breakdowns, party figures do not always add up to vote totals because of independent or minor party Senators.



"We propose a surtax to go into effect July 1 (1967). That moderate surtax -- one which will cost the majority of taxpayers less than 5 dollars a month -- is intended to keep a proper balance in our economy and to combat inflation. It is intended to lessen pressure on credit. It is intended to enable our citizens to share in the burdens of Viet Nam, which I believe they want to do. But it is also intended to help us sustain our programs for opportunity in America." -- Speech to The Plans for Progress Fifth National Conference, Washington, D.C., Jan. 24, 1967.

"Washington abounds today with proposals for federal revenue-sharing with states and localities. Let me say first that we already share substantial amounts of federal revenue with our state and local governments....

"I do not think, for example, that the Federal Government would be keeping proper faith with American taxpayers if tax revenues were to be handed over, no strings attached -- as some have proposed -- to state and local governments which might not be ready or able to use them effectively. Methods of distribution would have to be devised, and, above all, problems of allocation among the

states and among the various levels of government would have to be solved.

"Tax-sharing is not a panacea. It should not be oversimplified, as a few people have attempted to do. However, it is worth serious consideration and thorough debate -- and I expect that to be forthcoming in the year ahead." -- Speech to the International Newspaper Advertising Executives, Washington, D.C., Jan. 26, 1967.

#### Key votes on economic and tax matters:

1958 -- \$6-billion tax cut. Rejected 23-65 (D 20-24; R 3-41) June 18.

Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Increase national debt limit to \$307 billion for fiscal 1963 and to \$309 billion for July and August, fiscal 1964. Passed 60-24 (D 45-11; R 15-13) May 28.

Humphrey FOR.

1964 -- Reduce the oil depletion allowance from 27-1/2 to 20 percent over a three-year period, 1964-66. Rejected 33-61 (D 25-41; R 8-20) Feb. 6.

Humphrey FOR.

1964 -- Revenue Act of 1964, cutting personal and corporate taxes by \$11.9 billion over a two-year period. Passed 77-21 (D 56-11; R 21-10) Feb. 7.

Humphrey FOR.

#### DOMESTIC AID

Humphrey has consistently backed the broadest federal programs for aid to depressed areas, urban renewal and housing. He has, at the same time, emphasized the importance of local initiative in developing programs in this area. The Administration's 1964 poverty bill incorporated Humphrey's earlier ideas for a Youth Conservation Corps, a combination work-educational development program.

#### Key quotes on domestic aid:

"I grew up in an America in which the Federal Government did very little to fulfill one of the major purposes for which it was created...to 'promote the general welfare.' This was the battle which Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal liberals fought and won -- to get the Federal Government to assume and fulfill its share of responsibility for the general welfare of the American people. Please note that I said 'its share' for modern liberals recognize that it is just as wrong for the Federal Government to attempt to do too much as to do too little. Most of our problems are best challenged where they arise, at the local level. They are best dealt with by the people who are there -- who know at first hand the people and the circumstances concerned. That means programs, policies and projects locally inspired, locally developed and locally administered -- but in the context of a broader pattern that includes state and regional development, backed and supported by federal assistance and resources." -- Address to the International Newspaper Advertising Executives, Washington, D.C., Jan. 26, 1967.

"For my part, I know of no sounder or more necessary investment in the future of America than investment in urban renewal, housing, water works, pollution control, schools, airports and other works that add to our wealth, welfare, and productivity.

### Voting Scores, 1949-64

The following Congressional Quarterly statistics, all in terms of percentages, measure Humphrey's voting performance during his 16 years in the Senate: how often he voted; how often he supported or opposed the Presidential position on roll-call votes; how often he joined or opposed the stand of other Republicans and Southern Democrats when they formed a coalition against Northern Democrats on roll-call votes; how often he voted with and against the majority of his party against the majority of the other party; how often he voted with the majority when a majority of both parties took the same position. (A blank indicates CQ did not make a study that year.)

Congress	Voting Participation	On The Record	Presidential		Conservative Coalition	
			Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
81st		94%				
82nd		91				
83rd	87%	94	39%	49%		
84th	91	99	52	41		
85th	88	99	51	37		
86th	65	98	29	43	1%	71%
87th	86	98	83	8	2	86
88th	90	99	86	4	2	86

Congress	Partisan Votes		Bipartisan Votes	
	Party Unity	Party Opposition	Bipartisan Support	Bipartisan Opposition
81st	91%			
82nd	91		75%	
83rd	89		88	
84th	85	12%	70	17%
85th	76	14	70	17
86th	64	6	51	12
87th	87	1	86	5
88th	89	2	76	10

In addition, Humphrey received a 100-percent rating from the Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, a 99-percent rating from Americans for Democratic Action and a 1-percent rating from Americans for Constitutional Action, based on each-group's selected roll-call votes of the 86th, 87th and 88th Congresses.



"That is why I have supported and will continue to support these programs, on an expanding scale and for longer terms..." -- Speech to the annual Conference of Mayors, Los Angeles, Calif. July 13, 1959.

"There is a great deal of criticism today of public housing. But I would like the record to show that there have been literally thousands, hundreds of thousands, of people in America who have had their first opportunity for wholesome and decent housing through public housing. And for those who were the critics, what were their alternatives when we fought for public housing? Their alternatives were to do nothing -- or to say that it could be done by somebody else...and it wasn't done." -- Remarks to the National Housing Policy Forum, Washington, D.C., Feb. 14, 1967.

"It is important to get young people off the streets and into productive work of some kind. The Economic Opportunity Act (1964) accomplishes this and creates better work habits and work experience. These programs will also train those involved for permanent employment as adults. This is no more expensive than an alternative welfare program and will do much to alleviate the problem of juvenile delinquency by instilling in our youth a sense of the dignity of work." *War on Poverty*, 1964.

"Unless we come to grips with it, we may see some of the basic programs of the Great Society starved of funds, and some of its most promising innovations cut off altogether. Some people never feel comfortable except where the inaction is. Progress, even if it be so gradual as to be imperceptible, alarms and disturbs them. Their watchwords are: 'Not now -- some other time -- better still, never.' And, right now, their chosen alibi is the war in Viet Nam. They are grievously mistaken. This nation, with its Gross National Product running over three-quarters of a trillion dollars a year, can afford to extend freedom at home at the same time that it defends it abroad. And it must." -- Remarks on receipt of Histadrut Humanitarian Award, May 8, 1967.

#### Key votes on domestic aid:

1963 -- Passage of Youth Employment Act establishing the YCC. Passed 50-34 (D 43-14; R 7-20) April 10. Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Passage of the National Service Corps Act establishing a program of volunteer public service and authorizing \$15 million for two years. Passed 47-44 (D 44-16; R 3-28) Aug. 14. Humphrey FOR.

1964 -- Passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorizing \$947.2 million in fiscal 1965 for a variety of federal antipoverty programs and an Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President to direct and coordinate the projects. Passed 61-34 (D 51-12; R 10-22) July 23. Humphrey FOR.

1965 -- Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. Long (D La.) motion to reconsider the vote on the defeated Fannin (R Ariz.) amendment to delete from the 1964 Act the section which eliminated the Governor's veto power over certain federal antipoverty programs, thereby retaining the veto in the law. Rejected 45-45 (D 16-43; R 29-2) Aug. 17. Humphrey cast a 46th "nay" vote, although his vote was not necessary to reject the motion. Humphrey AGAINST.

1949 -- National Housing Act of 1949 (S 1070) providing five-year program for slum clearance and low-cost housing construction. Passage of the bill. Passed 57-13 (D 33-2; R 24-11) April 21.

Humphrey FOR.

1959 -- Boost urban renewal funds to \$450 million a year for four years. Rejected 33-56 (D 32-26; R 1-30) Feb. 5. Humphrey FOR.

1961 -- Authorize \$6.1 billion in housing programs. Passed 64-25 (D 52-8; R 12-17) June 12. Humphrey FOR.

#### BUSINESS

Once critical of U.S. "big business," Humphrey has in recent years taken a more moderate view of the business community. He has stressed a "creative and constructive" partnership of business and government as well as the role of government in supporting and encouraging private enterprise. In the Senate, Humphrey took a keen interest in small business problems and frequently sponsored "fair trade" legislation. In 1961, he introduced a bill allowing manufacturers to set prices on brand goods in interstate commerce, compelling all dealers (including nonsigners) to conform to them and allowing anyone -- manufacturer, wholesaler or retailer -- who considered himself damaged to sue in any court any person who undersold the set price. In 1962, Humphrey and 10 other Senators introduced a measure entitled the "Quality Stabilization Act," similar to his 1961 bill except that it would permit a manufacturer to revoke a merchant's right to handle his product in place of court suits.

#### Key quotes on business:

"The chief role of government in this system (free enterprise) is to support -- not to supplant -- the system. When a lack of private credit stifles business growth, government action should be taken to stimulate credit. When tax incentives are needed to encourage private investment or the modernization of plant and equipment, the government has a responsibility to act. When business firms seek to expand by competing successfully in the markets of the world, government can remove international trade barriers and bring its vast knowledge about foreign markets to the aid of the businessman. When patent rights are used to foster monopoly instead of rewarding inventiveness and promoting technical competition, government must seek ways to make technical knowledge work for everyone. When massive investment beyond the means of private business is required for pioneering efforts in space, communications, atomic energy or aviation, government has a crucial role as an investment partner. When the power of large corporations is used to restrain the competition of dynamic medium and small-sized firms, government must act -- not to oppose monopoly not to punish bigness for its own sake but to encourage free, productive competition.

"In this role of creative and constructive partnership, government must always recognize the legitimacy of reasonable profits for businessmen. Profits are rewards for successful risk-taking ingenuity, and hard work. Not only are such profits fair, their reinvestment in an expanding economy benefits everyone." -- Address in Houston, Texas, Sept. 18, 1964.

**Key votes on small business:**

1950 -- Formation of Small Business Select Committee. Adopted 55-27 (D 25-21; R 30-6) Feb. 20. Humphrey ANNOUNCED FOR.

**LABOR**

A staunch friend of organized labor, Humphrey during his Senate career strongly opposed any efforts to impose restrictions on unions and opposed all measures to allow injunctions against strikes or to strengthen measures against secondary boycotts. He was opposed to the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act (which he termed "profoundly reactionary") and called the 1959 Landrum-Griffin bill a "punitive" measure. But he voted for the labor reform bill approved by a Senate-House conference in 1959, even though it contained many elements of the Landrum-Griffin bill approved by the House. Humphrey consistently supported measures to raise the minimum wage and expand its coverage and provide for increased and expanded unemployment benefits.

**Key quotes on labor:**

"Even though (the steel) settlement has been reached, there is still a need for Congress to study new legislative proposals to deal effectively with national emergency disputes. The Taft-Hartley provisions are far too rigid and one-sided. Management knows that under Taft-Hartley if it holds out long enough the government will come to its aid and force workers back into the plants against their will. Such procedure simply impedes rather than encourages settlement....

"I have been disturbed by some of the proposals which have been made such as compulsory arbitration.... Under our political and economic system it is the role of government to encourage voluntary settlements arrived at through the traditional give and take of the bargaining table.... What we need is legislation designed to protect the public interest while at the same time preserving free collective bargaining.... I would favor legislation, for example, for fact-finding boards which would make findings and recommendations to the President and the public-at-large. Such boards through focusing public attention on the facts and on recommendations for an equitable settlement, could not help but facilitate a voluntary settlement." -- Statement, Jan. 4, 1960.

"It is clear that the greatest hope for eliminating poverty is regular employment at decent wages for America's wage-earners.... It means making it easier -- not harder -- for unions to organize the unorganized and bring them the economic benefits of collective bargaining. It means raising the federal minimum wage at once to at least \$1.25 -- and, even more importantly -- extending the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions not now covered. It means at long last doing something about the one million migrant farm workers, who, on the average, work less than 150 days a year -- and these at miserable wages and under disgraceful conditions of housing, transportation and child labor." -- Speech to West Virginia State Legislature, Jan. 25, 1960.

**Key labor votes:**

1949 -- Amendment to grant President power both to seek injunctions and to seize plants in national emergency strikes. Adopted 50-40 (D 17-35; R 33-5), June 28. Humphrey AGAINST.

1949 -- Taft revision of Taft-Hartley Act. (Acceptance of the Taft substitute for the administration bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and reinstall the Wagner Act "with improvements.") Passed 51-42 (D 17-35; R 34-7) June 30. Humphrey AGAINST.

1959 -- McClellan "Bill of Rights" amendment to protect union members against unfair actions by their unions. Agreed to 47-46 (D 15-44; R 32-2) April 22. Humphrey ANNOUNCED AGAINST.

1959 -- Senate-House compromise labor reform bill, including provisions of Landrum-Griffin and Kennedy-Ervin bills. Agreed to 95-2 (D 62-1; R 33-1) Sept. 3. Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Passage of joint resolution establishing a seven-member tripartite arbitration board to resolve the railroad work rules dispute and enjoining unions from striking over secondary issues during the 180-day life of the resolution. Passed 90-2 (D 61-1; R 29-1) Aug. 27. Humphrey FOR.

**WELFARE, SOCIAL SECURITY**

The first bill Humphrey proposed in the Senate in 1946 was for the establishment of a program of medical care for the aged through Social Security. He continued to support every move to increase Social Security benefits and coverage. Humphrey sponsored several health measures and pressed for improved regulation of pure food and drug standards. He has persistently stressed the responsibility of the Federal Government to assure every American citizen an adequate standard of living.

**Key quotes on welfare, Social Security:**

"Anyone who thinks that the relief rolls are jammed with people enjoying a bonanza should be made aware of the facts. In March, 1963, the average cash payment to individuals on AFDC (Aid for Dependent Children) -- these are fatherless families where children are involved -- was less than \$30 a month.

"Somewhat better off were those receiving Old Age Assistance. But they averaged less than \$61 a month. I do not understand how these people get along. It is hard for me to understand how anyone would want to 'chisel' his way onto a relief roll for this kind of money." -- *War on Poverty*, 1964.

"Our objective is to create opportunity for every American who is capable of working. But I believe our rich nation can and must assure to those unable to work, or unable to find jobs -- through no fault of their own -- enough income to provide the essentials of life and of human dignity." -- Speech to the Communications Workers of America, Kansas City, Mo., June 21, 1967.

**RESOURCES, POWER, PUBLIC WORKS**

Humphrey has consistently supported expansion of public works and power projects. He has favored public or community cooperative control of power as conducive to lower utility rates and preventive of power monopolies. A 1954 Humphrey proposal gave preference to rural electric cooperatives, public bodies and high cost power areas in licensing for atomic energy-electric power projects.

An ardent conservationist, Humphrey favors a large portion of federal control in the protection and preservation of natural resources. Many of Humphrey's previous proposals were incorporated into the National Wilderness

Preservation System Act signed into law by President Johnson Sept. 3, 1964.

#### Key quotes on power and public works:

"Atomic energy and its peacetime uses represent a great natural resource which belongs to all the people. That is why it is the duty of Congress to make sure that the most readily apparent benefit -- low-cost electric power -- will be made available to everyone -- the small individual consumer, the member of the rural electric cooperative, and municipalities as well as the powerful private utilities." "The Struggle for Atomic Power," *The Progressive*, October 1954.

"An expanded public works program is clearly indicated, particularly those efforts which will tend to increase the vitality and the productive capacity of the private sector, or which will contribute to education, conservation, and recreation. More roads, water, and sewage-disposal facilities are still needed in many distressed areas. The population growth is simply outrunning the hospitals, schools, libraries, and recreational facilities of every major city. And the outdoor recreational resources of our state and federal parks and forests have not been able to keep up with the expanding needs of our people." -- *War on Poverty*, 1964.

#### EDUCATION

Humphrey has persistently worked for improvement of American education. In 1949 he headed a subcommittee which reported out the first federal aid to "impacted areas" school bill, channeling government funds for school construction to areas heavily populated with defense workers and government employees. Humphrey was also one of the chief sponsors of legislation for federal aid to universities and colleges. Many of his earlier proposals were incorporated in the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

#### Key quotes on education:

"We have a national responsibility not just to improve our educational system and to provide full opportunity for talented youngsters but also to offer the very best education each youngster can absorb. Federal aid for education is no longer a subject for debate. The real problem is how much and what kind of aid it will be...." -- Interview published in *New Leader* magazine, March 28, 1960.

"It is my view that trained, educated people constitute our major natural resource. And this natural resource deserves national support. By that, I mean federal support .... We have recognized this in principle, but we have taken only relatively small and cautious steps -- for instance, the National Defense Education Act -- to implement the idea.... Knowledge -- brainpower -- must become the chief national product of America, and education our chief national industry....

"The extraordinary demands on education in the decade ahead of us cannot be met by state-local-private sources alone. The Federal Government must provide more assistance to institutions of higher learning. To do so is an investment, not an expense -- a stimulus to freedom and a protection to a diversified system of education, not a stultifying control." -- *The Cause is Mankind*, 1964.

"I believe it has been President Johnson's greatest single achievement on the domestic front that he has succeeded, with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), in charting a path through the old minefields that held back aid from our schools. I consider this an

historic breakthrough -- and not least because it channels the biggest share of federal help to youngsters who need it most, the children of the poor. The program has been in operation less than two years -- and it was twenty years late.

### Humphrey's Key Staff Members

Following are brief identifications of the leading staff members in Humphrey's office and of some of his informal advisers.

**William Connell.** An aide to Humphrey for 12 years, Connell is executive assistant chairman of the Scheduling and Planning Committee and has major responsibility for political matters.

**William Welsh.** A former administrative assistant to Sen. Philip A. Hart (D Mich.), Welsh is administrative assistant responsible for general coordination of government programs.

**Julius Cahn.** Cahn, who has been with Humphrey since 1958, deals with public relations and health matters.

**Ofield Dukes.** Dukes is assistant press secretary and also works with civil rights matters.

**David Gartner.** He coordinates the Capitol Hill office.

**Martin J. McNamara.** He is in charge of scheduling and supervision of advance work for Humphrey's trips.

**Neal Peterson.** Peterson acts as liaison with mayors and local government officials.

**Eiler Ravnholt.** He is in charge of general research.

**John Rielly.** A former faculty member at Harvard University, Rielly handles foreign affairs.

**Norman Sherman.** He is press secretary.

**John Stewart.** Currently on leave at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Stewart will return to the Vice President's office in the fall of 1967 as legislative assistant.

**Ted VanDyk.** A former Washington representative for the European Common Market, VanDyk coordinates public relations and speech writing. He also works on scheduling and general planning.

**Vi Williams.** She is personal secretary to Humphrey.

**Betty South.** She is secretary to Mrs. Humphrey.

Informal advisers to Humphrey who were particularly active during the 1964 Vice Presidential campaign include:

**Max Kampelman.** A former staff man, Kampelman is now a Washington attorney. He has long been an adviser and personal friend.

**Robert Short.** A Minneapolis businessman, Short was executive director of the 1964 Vice Presidential campaign.

**Fred Gates.** A close personal friend, Gates was comptroller of the 1964 campaign.

**Herbert Waters.** A former administrative assistant, Waters is director of the War on Hunger.

**Gene Foley.** A former director of the Small Business Administration and Assistant Secretary for Economic Development in the Department of Commerce, Foley advises on policy and strategy.

## Humphrey - 10

But already some self-professed friends of education in the Congress seem willing to risk reviving all the old controversies, reopening all the old wounds of the past 20 years and more. We cannot go once more down that blind alley. We cannot afford to take apart what we built with such pain and effort. Let us, rather, take what we have and make it work even better." -- Remarks on receipt of the Histadrut Humanitarian Award, May 8, 1967.

### Key votes on aid to education:

1958 -- National Defense Education Act. Passed 62-26 (D 35-10; R 27-16) Aug. 13.

Humphrey FOR.

1962 -- Authorize a five-year \$2.7-billion program of aid to higher education. Passed 69-17 (D 45-10; R 24-7) Feb. 6.

Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Five-year \$1,895,000,000 program of federal grants and loans for construction and improvement of academic facilities in public and private colleges. Passed 60-19 (D 41-11; R 19-8) Oct. 21.

Humphrey FOR.

## FARM POLICY

Humphrey has been a leading exponent of the Democratic party's farm program. A consistent advocate of higher farm price supports, Humphrey has favored coupling supports with a system of production controls as the best method of raising farm incomes.

In 1959 Humphrey was one of the chief sponsors of the International Food for Peace Act to sell U.S. farm surpluses overseas for local currencies and create a "peace food administration."

## GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Humphrey has backed proposed reforms to abolish the electoral college and streamline Congressional procedures. He backed the Supreme Court's 1964 decision requiring equally populated Congressional districts, favored home rule for the District of Columbia and supported Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

Humphrey has been a consistent supporter of civil rights throughout his public career. In virtually every Congress he sponsored fair employment practices legislation. He gave strong backing to the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964, acting as Democratic floor leader to win passage of the 1964 measure. He urged passage of the Administration-sponsored civil rights measures in 1965, 1966 and 1967.

Humphrey was the focus of attention during an attempt by liberals early in the 90th Congress to modify Senate Rule 22 to make it easier to cut off unlimited debate and prevent civil rights proposals from being filibustered to death. As a Senator, Humphrey had supported moves calling on the President of the Senate to rule that the Senate could change its operating rules at the beginning of each Congress by majority vote. However, when Humphrey (as President of the Senate) in January 1967 was given the chance to rule directly on a motion on the matter, he put the issue to the Senate. Recalling his position as a Senator, he said "the

Presiding Officer...stands as a servant of the Senate, rather than as an advocate within it." However, Humphrey later made a ruling on a series of parliamentary procedures that put to the Senate a motion requiring only a majority vote that could have led to changes in the filibuster rule. But advocates of the changes lost the motion by a 37-61 roll call.

### Key quotes on civil rights:

"I am the first to grant that nothing would be as effective in achieving racial equality as a change of heart in the people who harbor racial prejudice. *But it is grievous error to assume that governmental action can do nothing to cause a change of heart....* The argument that we must rely exclusively on moral and spiritual regeneration overlooks the distinction between prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination involves behavior, action and choice; prejudice is a matter of belief, attitude and involuntary feeling. We seek by law directly to attack discrimination, not prejudice. If we succeed in eliminating discrimination by law, we have reason to expect that the lessening of prejudice will be a by-product of our success.... We need a concerted effort against prejudice and discrimination on both moral and legal grounds by all branches of our government and by all institutions of our society...." -- Statement, June 15, 1955.

"I am often asked about my views on the morality and worth of the demonstrations -- the sit-ins, marches, fasts, and other types of nonviolent activity -- that Negro leadership uses in its campaign for 'Freedom Now.' Some of these have been in violation of local laws. I can hardly be expected to condone law-breaking. But I believe the reasons for the demonstrations must always be examined; they are the core of the problem, not the demonstrations themselves.... When Negroes have equal rights and full protection of the law,...then the demonstrations, technically legal or not, will cease." -- *The Cause is Mankind*, 1964.

"Our Negro fellow-Americans, our Indian fellow-Americans, our Mexican fellow-Americans want to be equal citizens of this country, nothing less and nothing more. We sometimes talk of the revolution of rising expectations as if it were something that is going on somewhere else and far away. Do not be deceived. It is going on here and now, right here in America. And we dare not -- we must not -- deny it. I am not saying that we can reach the promised land overnight. But it is essential that there be progress -- visible progress. We cannot afford to lose all the momentum we have gained. We pause only at our peril." Remarks on receipt of the Histadrut Humanitarian Award, May 8, 1967.

### Key votes on civil rights:

1957 -- Civil Rights Act of 1957. Passage of the bill. Passed 72-18 (D 29-18; R 43-0) Aug. 7.

Humphrey FOR.

1960 -- Civil Rights Act of 1960. Passage of the amended bill making obstruction of all federal court orders a crime, outlawing all bombings and bomb threats, requiring preservation of voting records, providing for court registration of Negroes, and other matters. Passed 71-18 (D 42-18; R 29-0) April 8.

Humphrey ANNOUNCED FOR.

1961 -- Prohibit withholding of school aid because of racial segregation in the schools. Rejected 25-70 (D 19-44; R 6-26) May 17.

Humphrey AGAINST.

1964 -- Passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Passed 73-27 (D 46-21; R 27-6) June 19.  
Humphrey FOR.

### RIOTS, CITIES

In remarks to the National Assn. of Counties in New Orleans, La., July 18, 1966, Humphrey said that if he were living in a city slum he might "lead a mighty good revolt" himself. He was immediately criticized for the statement by several Republican Members of Congress, including House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R Mich.), who called Humphrey's statement "incredibly irresponsible." Humphrey July 20, 1966 said that "every responsible American official" should understand that slums were a seed-bed for trouble. He added, "But I also said that 'We cannot condone violence, lawlessness and disorder.'"

Since the violent riots in Newark, N.J. and Detroit, Mich., in July 1967, Humphrey has made several speeches urging positive action to control the riots and then to alleviate the causes behind them. In a July 31, 1967, address to the League of Cities in Boston, Mass., Humphrey placed the blame for the riots on every citizen of the United States: "For whose fault is it when our cities bleed and burn? ...It is the fault of the racial extremist who incites to riot. It is the fault of the looter and the sniper who deny their neighbors' right to live in peace. It is the fault of Governments who do too little, too late. It is the fault of decent men of good will who fail to act. It is the fault of all of us."

In that same speech, Humphrey said that a "sense of urgency is lacking" in Congress. He said that Congress had been "inexcusably slow" in acting on bills and appropriations "which would substantially aid our cities."

### INTERNAL SECURITY, EXTREMISM

In 1952 Humphrey led a Labor Subcommittee investigation of Communist infiltration of labor unions and proposed tighter laws to curb subversives in unions. Humphrey in 1954 introduced an amendment to a subversive activities bill outlawing the Communist party and barring members of the party and similar organizations from serving as union officers.

Humphrey in 1952 appealed to Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R Wis.) "to quit fooling around and wrecking people's lives." After that, he had little to say about the phenomenon of "McCarthyism" until a landmark 1954 speech to Americans for Democratic Action defending ADA's early role in fighting Communists in the United States. In 1954, Humphrey backed Senate censure of McCarthy.

In recent years, Humphrey has spoken out forcefully against "extremism" of the far right.

### Foreign Affairs

An avowed internationalist, Humphrey has backed basic U.S. foreign policy in the postwar era with its mixture of firmness against the Communist challenge and willingness to negotiate.

In a March 6, 1967, speech, Humphrey strongly advocated adoption of an "Open Door" policy to encourage further development of trade and technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Humphrey's long-term interest has been in widened negotiations that could eventually lead to a lessening of world tensions.

He has been an enthusiastic backer of the United Nations since its inception.

### Key quotes on foreign affairs:

"What today are the priorities we face in helping to build a world in which men and nations may live in just and enduring peace?... First -- and this priority is second to none among all our national priorities -- is the need to slow down and halt the international arms race. And this includes ...the need to conclude an international nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

"Second, if we value peace, we must lead in the effort to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world. And this includes...the need to wage all-out war on famine and hunger.

"Third, there is the priority of building international bridges of understanding -- bridges built upon every conceivable base of common effort -- among nations of differing political systems and ideologies. And this includes...the need to build such bridges of understanding and coexistence between our America and the peoples who live today in nations governed by Communist regimes.

"Fourth, there is the priority of continuing to help build international institutions and international law which can provide the lasting framework to bind men together -- institutions such as the United Nations; laws such as the treaty recently concluded there to keep outer space free of weapons.

"And underpinning these four priorities are two others: The necessity of resisting aggression before it can gain international momentum; the necessity of building here at home a strong and free America able to carry the burdens that are ours." -- Address to The Buffalo Club, Buffalo, N.Y., Jan. 6, 1967.

### FOREIGN AID AND TRADE

Humphrey is a strong supporter of U.S. foreign aid programs. He has advocated more emphasis on economic than military aid and called for an increasingly multilateral approach to aid programs for the underdeveloped nations. He favors some U.S. aid to Communist nations which show signs of splitting away from the Communist bloc. A confirmed free-trader, Humphrey favors steps toward increased trade with the Communist bloc and liberalization of trade policies among Western nations.

### Key quotes on foreign aid and trade:

"My belief is that the primary aim of foreign aid should be to build a more stable and interdependent world.... Aid-financed U.S. procurement also gives U.S. business the opportunity to gain experience in world trade. Through foreign aid, American businessmen are learning the skills necessary to sell through regular commercial channels in years to come. As trade replaces aid, these skills, techniques, and contacts are sure to help them flourish in the world market." -- *The Cause is Mankind*, 1964.

"Let us commit ourselves to the maximum possible reductions of all barriers to trade among the developed nations. This means full and determined commitment to the Kennedy Round negotiation. This means acceptance of the fact that, in any trade liberalization, there must be reciprocity and that we must give as well as get. This means patience and fortitude in finding solutions to the knotty problems of agricultural trade liberalization. This means...the acceptance by those American industries not

## Humphrey's Tie-Breaking Votes and Ties He Did Not Break

Through July 1967, Humphrey had cast three tie-breaking votes in the Senate as President of the Senate:

- Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 (HR 8283) -- Long (D La.) motion to reconsider the defeated Fannin (R Ariz.) amendment which would have retained the Governor's veto power over certain federal antipoverty programs. Aug. 17, 1965. Rejected 45-45 (D 16-43; R 29-2). Humphrey cast a 46th "nay" vote, although his vote was not necessary to reject the motion.

- Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (HR 9811) -- Bass (D Tenn.) amendment to delete from the bill a provision transferring authority over importation of foreign farm workers in the United States from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture. Sept. 13, 1965. Accepted 46-45 (D 43-17; R 2-28). Humphrey cast the 46th "yea" vote to break the 45-45 tie.

- Investment Tax Credit and Accelerated Depreciation (HR 6950) -- Gore (D Tenn.) - Williams (R Del.) substitute amendment for pending Mansfield (D Mont.) amendment to make the 1966 Presidential Campaign Fund Act inoperative after Sept. 15, 1967, unless Congress by law directed otherwise. May 9, 1967. Rejected 48-48 (D 14-47; R 34-1). Humphrey cast a 49th "nay" vote, although his vote was not necessary to reject the amendment.

### When He Did Not Vote

On the following five tie votes in the Senate, Humphrey did not vote.

- Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 (HR 8283) -- Fannin (R Ariz.) amendment which would have retained the Governor's veto power over certain federal antipoverty programs. Aug. 17, 1965. Rejected 45-45 (D 16-43; R 29-2). Humphrey was absent.

- Economic Opportunity Amendment of 1965 (HR 8283) -- Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to retain the Governor's veto over certain programs until the end of fiscal 1966. Aug. 18, 1965. Rejected 43-43 (D 16-41; R 27-2). Humphrey did not vote.

- Defense appropriations for fiscal 1967 (HR 15941) -- Hartke (D Ind.) amendment to delete language limiting to \$455 the per pupil allowance in operating funds for Defense Department-administered overseas dependent schools. Aug. 18, 1966. Rejected 43-43 (D 28-27; R 15-16). Humphrey was absent.

- Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 (HR 13712) -- Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to eliminate the bill's second step sales volume cutoff, effective in 1969, which extended minimum wage and overtime pay protection to workers in certain retail and service firms with gross annual sales or business of \$250,000 or more. Aug. 26, 1966. Rejected 41-41 (D 21-34; R 20-7). Humphrey did not vote.

- Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 (HR 13712) -- Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to stipulate that a farm worker must perform farm work for at least four hours a day to have the work count as a man-day for the purpose of determining whether the farmer was subject to the bill's minimum wage coverage. Aug. 26, 1966. Rejected 37-37 (D 17-33; R 20-4). Humphrey did not vote.

fully competitive that they must become competitive." -- Address to the Economic Club of Detroit, Detroit, Mich., Oct. 22, 1965.

"There are those who argue it is dangerous, wrong, and immoral to increase trade and cultural exchange with the nations of Eastern Europe.... Our democratic system has not been tainted because of our contact with those with whom we disagree. Rather, we have helped bring currents of change and liberality to nations and people desperately in need of them.... It is the policy of our Government to persist -- however long it may take -- in an effort to break down, by peaceful means, the barriers which today isolate a good share of the world's people from the community of nations." -- Speech to the Buffalo Club, Buffalo, N.Y., Jan. 6, 1967.

#### Key votes on foreign aid and trade:

1961 -- Amend the Battle Act to give the President discretionary authority to supply economic aid to Eastern European countries. Passed 43-36 (D 36-18; R 7-18) May 11. Humphrey FOR.

1961 -- Bar assistance to countries exporting arms to Soviet-controlled nations. Rejected 43-45 (D 17-40; R 26-5) Aug. 18.

Humphrey AGAINST.

1962 -- Authorize \$100 million in loans to the UN. Passed 70-22 (D 48-11; R 22-11) April 5.

Humphrey FOR.

1962 -- Passage of Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Passed 78-8 (D 56-1; R 22-7) Sept. 19.

Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Amendment to Foreign Aid Assistance Act of 1963 cutting off aid to any country which the President determines is engaged in or preparing for aggression against the United States or any U.S. aid recipient (directed against United Arab Republic). Accepted 65-13 (D 39-12; R 26-1) Nov. 7.

Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Foreign Assistance Act of 1963 authorizing appropriation of \$3,702,365,000 for fiscal 1964 and adding a number of restrictions on administration of the foreign aid program. Passed 63-17 (D 43-10; R 20-7) Nov. 15.

Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Kill provision prohibiting Export-Import Bank guarantees of private credit for sales to Communist countries. Adopted 52-32 (D 44-16; R 8-16) Dec. 19.

Humphrey FOR.

## Defense, Disarmament

Humphrey has backed strong U.S. defense forces and consistently voted for increases and against cuts in defense appropriations. He has supported a strong Western Alliance and urged U.S. cooperation with other nations in space exploratory programs. However, he also has been a long-time advocator of arms control. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Disarmament Subcommittee and establishment in 1961 of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

### Key quotes on defense and disarmament:

"Let me make this absolutely clear: no one hates the arms race more than I do; but, if I am sure of anything, it is that unilateral disarmament is no way out. We must redouble our efforts in the missile program and in the contest for space. We must show that we can stay in the race as long as our opponents. I say this because I know that this is the only way to convince them that they have no alternative except to join with us in bringing the race to an end." -- Speech to the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, Calif., Feb. 12, 1960.

"Disarmament should be the core of American foreign policy. We are a nation dedicated to peace and we know that peace is always threatened by an arms race. A case can be built for an armament structure as a holding action, but a world armed to the teeth is a dangerous world...." -- Speech at Yale University, Dec. 6, 1959.

"The need for NATO has not declined. I think the purpose of NATO will take some shift. In other words, NATO will become more of an effective political instrument than it has in the past.... It is my view that NATO can be a very, very constructive force now, not merely as a deterrence...but also for peaceful engagement, for reaching out, to improve the political and economic climate of all of Europe." -- Statement on a CBS Special Report program, April 18, 1967.

### Key votes on defense, disarmament:

1949 -- North Atlantic Security Pact. Ratification. (Under the pact, an attack upon one or more of the 12 signatories in the North Atlantic area is to be considered an attack upon all.) Ratified 82-13 (D 50-2; R 32-11) July 21. Humphrey FOR.

1949 -- Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 (HR 5895) providing arms aid for Atlantic Pact nations. Passage of bill. Passed 55-24 (D 36-10; R 19-14) Sept. 22. Humphrey FOR.

1957 -- Mideast Doctrine, authorizing President to use military and economic aid to combat Communism in the Middle East. Passed 72-19 (D 30-16; R 42-3) March 5. Humphrey FOR.

1961 -- Bill establishing U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency within the State Department. Passed 73-14 (D 48-4; R 25-6) Sept. 8. Humphrey FOR.

1962 -- Eliminate \$93.8 million appropriated for civil defense. Rejected 14-68 (D 11-45; R 3-23) Aug. 31. Humphrey AGAINST.

1963 -- Ratification of limited nuclear test ban treaty. Ratified 80-19 (D 55-11; R 25-8) Sept. 24. Humphrey FOR.

1963 -- Amendment to reduce National Aeronautics and Space Administration funds by \$519 million. Rejected

36-46 (D 23-33; R 13-13) Nov. 20.  
Humphrey AGAINST.

## VIET NAM

Humphrey has been a strong supporter of the Johnson Administration's policy on the Viet Nam war. His stand has caused an estrangement with many of his former liberal allies, including the leadership of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D N.Y.) Feb. 19, 1966, suggested that the National Liberation Front be given "a share of power and responsibility" in South Viet Nam. Humphrey Feb. 21, 1966, likened Kennedy's proposal to putting "a fox in a chicken coop; there aren't any chickens left."

Humphrey March 9, 1967, delivered a passionate defense of the Administration's Viet Nam policies to a close-door meeting of the Democratic National Committee. The speech was considered so effective that the committee has used it in an attempt to neutralize opposition to the war among liberal Democratic contributors. Humphrey reminded his audience that two previous Democratic Presidents had used military force to oppose Communist expansion.

"In 1961, lest you have forgotten, your President, John F. Kennedy, called up 250,000 reserves in this country -- families disrupted, men taken from their jobs -- 50,000 of those reserves sent to Europe immediately, forces sent to Berlin augmenting our military establishment," he said.

"In Korea, we had been defeated in the North, driven out to the battlefields in the South, hanging on by the very skin of our teeth, and there were those who said 'get out.' (President) Harry Truman said 'stay.' A new command was put in, new forces were put in. Over one-half million men were put in....

"What kind of a Japan do you think there would be today, what kind of an Asia do you think there would have been today, if militant Communist aggression had succeeded in Korea?"

"Do you think there would have been a free India?... a free Malaysia?... a relatively free Burma?... a free Indonesia? I don't," the report quoted Humphrey as saying. Humphrey also indicated that halting the bombing of North Viet Nam would not win new peace efforts or concessions. "Let me tell you that your government knows the Viet Cong is managed out of Hanoi. We know; we intercept their messages! Good God, who are you going to believe? Do you think that your President, your Secretary of State, our Secretary of Defense would lie to you on matters of this importance?"

Speaking on ABC's Issues and Answers March 19, 1967, Humphrey said, "We are not trying to achieve an all-out, overwhelming military defeat of the enemy. We are seeking to protect the political and territorial integrity of South Viet Nam. We are seeking to demonstrate that aggression is an unacceptable form of political behavior for the attainment of political objectives in this, the 20th Century, and we are seeking to try to provide a climate in Southeast Asia, a political climate in Southeast Asia that will permit vast economic and social development there.... We are going to pursue the course on which we are presently charted or which we presently follow, regardless of political consequences.... There will be no effort made for the purposes of partisan politics, or personal politics, to dilute our purposes and objectives in Viet Nam in order to get a sort of tentative peace."