

Hubert Humphrey

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NYT

5-14-74

for

~~2-3-5-1~~

...and to the Hungry

Senator Humphrey has posed a moral challenge to well-fed—and frequently over-fed—Americans with his recent call for generous United States contributions to a broad new world food action program.

Responding to the threat of widespread starvation that has been sharply increased by worldwide shortages and soaring prices of basic commodities, the Senator proposes: Resumption of large-scale food aid by the United States and other food-exporting nations; establishment of national and international food reserves; expansion of fertilizer distribution and production, and stepped up aid to agricultural development, including the pending contribution to I.D.A.

Although Mr. Humphrey's plan for action merely elaborates on promises already advanced by Secretary of State Kissinger at the recent special United Nations session, it faces stiff resistance within the Nixon Administration and from a people who have just begun to see some hope for relief from soaring food prices. The day is gone when Americans had food to burn, when overseas aid was a convenient way to unload embarrassing surpluses. Even with record harvests due, a new giveaway program on the scale contemplated by the Senator would put fresh pressure on domestic prices and would compete with potential cash sales to more affluent foreign buyers.

There will be those who will seek refuge from responsibility in the heartless suggestion of Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz that "hunger is relative—if your larder is empty, you cut back some." For one billion already undernourished people in the thirty poorest countries, cutting back means sinking from acute malnutrition into starvation, or diverting to food purchases scarce resources that are desperately needed to help develop food self-sufficiency.

The cost to Americans of helping these nations through the current crisis would be trivial in comparison. For example, Senator Humphrey estimates that a decision by Americans to eat one less hamburger a week would make some 10 million tons of grain available for food assistance, twice India's expected import requirements for the coming year. The fertilizer Americans lavish on lawns and other non-agricultural luxuries would make up Asia's anticipated fertilizer deficit, helping Asians to feed themselves.

The primary responsibility for overcoming food shortages and for curbing the runaway population growth that vastly compounds the food problem lies with the stricken nations themselves. This does not mitigate the moral obligation of the more fortunate, including the newly-rich oil states, to extend emergency relief. Population control at best requires years to take effect; and while that is an essential element in the solution, the United States in the meanwhile cannot shirk the food-supply role to which it is committed by virtue of its vast resources and its tradition of humanitarian leadership.

R2

Baltimore



PRESIDENT FORD



HUBERT HUMPHREY

	Area						Age			Race		Sex		Union		Faith			School			
	Maryland	Baltimore	Met. Balto.	D. C. Suburbs	Southern Md., Eastern Shore	Western Md.	Under 30	30 to 49	50 and Over	Black	White	Male	Female	Union	Non-union	Catholic	Protestant	Jew	No High School Degree	High School Graduate	Some College	
Bayh.....	3	1	2	3	6	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	0	2	4	
Carter.....	12	11	12	9	20	16	13	9	16	3	14	13	11	7	14	11	13	0	14	11	12	
Harris.....	2	1	1	5	2	0	3	3	1	0	2	4	1	4	2	1	2	5	2	1	3	
Humphrey.....	20	26	21	20	14	19	15	17	26	27	18	23	17	22	19	18	22	27	25	14	23	
Jackson.....	6	5	8	4	3	5	4	6	8	0	8	8	5	7	6	4	6	27	6	5	8	
Kennedy.....	18	29	20	13	17	28	23	21	13	45	13	14	22	22	17	21	18	13	23	23	13	
Muskie.....	2	1	1	4	0	0	2	3	1	1	2	0	3	2	2	2	2	0	1	3	2	
Shriver.....	3	3	3	3	2	2	5	2	3	4	3	2	3	4	2	5	1	0	3	3	2	
Udall.....	3	1	2	7	2	0	5	3	2	3	3	3	4	1	4	3	1	0	0	2	6	
Wallace.....	11	8	11	9	20	12	11	12	11	1	14	15	8	11	12	12	14	0	17	13	8	
Others.....	20	14	19	23	14	0	17	21	17	13	20	16	23	18	19	21	18	26	9	23	19	

The chart shows the choices of 665 registered Maryland Democrats in the Sun poll for their party's presidential nominee. The figures shown are percentages. The margin of error in a survey with this number of respondents is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

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Humphrey waits out a boomlet

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The noncandidacy of Hubert H. Humphrey is achieving boomlet proportions:

- Soundings by The Christian Science Monitor in all regions of the United States show growing interest in Senator Humphrey as the presidential candidate next year.

- A CBS poll of the 361-member Democratic National Committee shows that 60 percent think Senator Humphrey will get the nomination.

- Now Gov. Wendell R. Anderson of Minnesota, a former Humphrey campaign manager and a particularly close political associate of the Senator, says that "if Humphrey maintains his momentum, I will have to urge him to get into the primaries."

Did Mr. Anderson speak for Senator Humphrey? He wouldn't admit to that. But he told a breakfast meeting with reporters: "I think it would be his [Humphrey's] hope and prayer" that he would.

Many elected leaders are saying, privately, that there is no one among the 10 or so declared or soon-to-declare candidates who is likely to either (1) unify the party or (2) be able to beat President Ford.

And, therefore, Mr. Humphrey is becoming the first choice of a majority of these leaders. Further, many who have another first choice are saying that if their man can't make it, they would like to have Mr. Humphrey as the nominee.

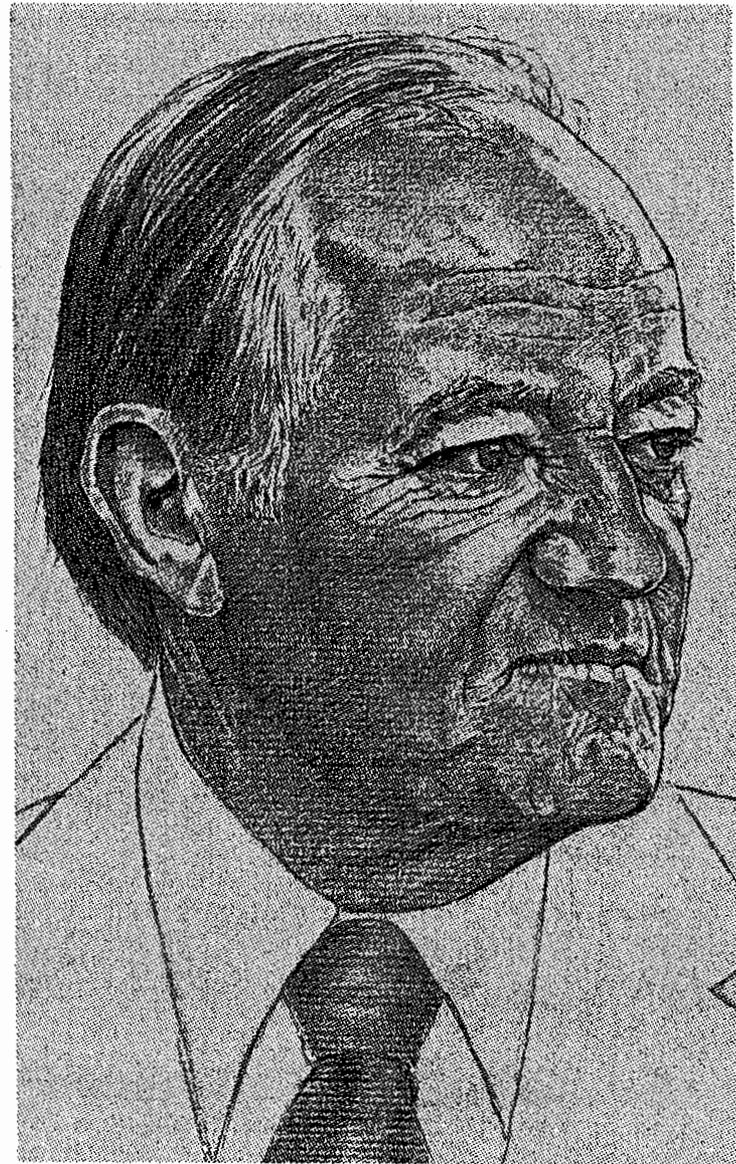
Governor Anderson says that "possibly one of the other Democrats could beat Ford. But it would be much more risky than having Humphrey as the nominee."

Senator Humphrey told this same group of reporters earlier that he was adamant against entering any of the presidential primaries next year — although he said he was quite willing to take the nomination if it came to him at the convention.

The Senator says that he is physically fit and that he is better prepared to be President than at any other time in his life. But he says he cannot even be cajoled or pushed into the primaries.

However, a scenario is now hinted where the point is reached Mr. Humphrey may have to say something like this: "I didn't want to get into the primaries. And I still don't. But I have so many people who are urging me to do so and who say the party can't win without me that I've finally given in to this appeal."

Governor Anderson would like Mr. Humphrey to enter a few select primaries like California, Ohio, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania.



By Robert McCormick

Humphrey — emerging choice of party leaders

the nomination without going into some primaries. He is convinced that, "with 80 percent of the delegates being chosen in the primaries" the nominee will be one of those who has tested his popularity in these

Running in Place Humphrey Is Striving For the White House By Just Being Hubert

A 'Brokered' Convention Is His Hope; A Drawback: Image as a 'Big Spender' Filling the 'Big Vacuum'

By ARLEN J. LARGE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Hubert Humphrey is "amazed" that the government hasn't devised a national small-business policy. "It's essential that we fill this void," he says.

In various forums this year, the Minnesota Senator also has bemoaned the lack of a national energy policy, a national education policy, a "comprehensive" national housing policy, an American economic policy, a national food policy and a world food policy. And it worries him that too many people skip breakfast.

Mr. Humphrey proudly calls himself "a professional policymaker," and he is probably busier at it now than at any other time in his frenetic life. In the Senate he is pushing economic legislation that probably will become part of the platform that the Democratic presidential nominee will run on next year.

And he is constantly on the road, preaching the good works of government in some of the best political speeches of his career.

On a Sunday he is inspiring a Jewish audience in St. Paul. To New Orleans the next day for a dairy speech. Then to Washington to preside over Senate hearings and address a birth-control group. To New York for a National Kidney Foundation speech. Back to Minnesota

for a party fund raiser in a town called Bird Island. To Atlanta for a traveling Senate hearing. Back to Washington to speak to students. To Kansas City for a farm speech. And on and on.

This, associates say, is just Hubert Humphrey acting normally, not Hubert Humphrey running for President. For that, he is standing still, hoping that a "brokered" convention in New York City next summer will offer him the nomination. A lot of people predict that it will: they include President Ford and Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who admiringly says of Mr. Humphrey: "I have more faith in his ability to run this country than all the other Democrats put together."



Mr. Humphrey's stated position is rather straightforward and is taken at face value by most politicians here. He will run in no primaries, and he will certify that he isn't a candidate if a state official wants to put him on a primary ballot (by state law he won't be able to get off the ballots in Oregon, Nevada and Idaho, but he plans no campaigning efforts there). He predicts that the nomination probably will go to a candidate who has been in the primaries and that it is "highly improbable" the convention will seek him out. But if it does, he will accept the nomination, run a dazzling campaign against the Republicans "and I would win."

The Senator is on this novel perch for several reasons. So far none of the dozen Democrats who will be scrambling through the primaries can claim to be the front-runner. "Big vacuum," says a liberal Democratic Senator, not himself a candidate, in explanation of the Humphrey phenomenon. "He's first in the hearts of a lot of people," an AFL-CIO official says of Mr. Humphrey, "and everybody always lists him second as their fallback position."

The Kennedy Effect

To a great extent Mr. Humphrey's standing is due to Sen. Edward Kennedy's apparent success in convincing Democrats that he really, truly has dropped out. The Minnesotan tops all the declared contenders in the most recent Gallup Poll of Democratic voters, but only if Sen. Kennedy's name is left off the list of choices.

Mr. Humphrey has his political drawbacks. He is old (65 next May), and two years ago he required strength-sapping X-ray treatments for a bladder tumor. He certainly appears fully recovered now, but his health is a point on which he must defend himself. And with some single-minded Democrats he must still be defensive about his long refusal, as Vice President, to break with the Johnson administration's Vietnam-war policy. Some remember Vice President Humphrey's 1966 boast that the Great Society would even be transported to "the great area of Asia."

The biggest drawback of all, though, is criticism that Mr. Humphrey is the stereotype of the "big spender" and is an anachronism from the New Deal who has a program and a policy for everything. A lot of Democrats are saying that this brand of political merchandise won't sell any more.

"A Minority View"?

"I think Hubert is a marvelous guy," says Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin, a liberal who takes conspicuous stands against some government costs. "But I disagree with him on a lot of things, especially on spending. Hubert may be right, but I think there's the considerable possibility that he now is representing a minority view in the party."

Sen. Humphrey is naturally aware of this growing Democratic attitude and has started something of a counterattack against it. He recently electrified a union audience with this passage in a stirring delivered speech:

"Now, let me tell you simply like it is. It is stylish these days to say all the old programs that Roosevelt had, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson had—all these programs, you know—are worn out, no good. I keep reading every day in the columns that some

C.S.M. June 3, 1972

Humphrey speculates aloud about some Cabinet choices

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

National political correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Hubert H. Humphrey has given this newspaper some clues to the kind of people he would bring into his administration—and the kind of administration he would run if elected president.

● Asserting, "I will have women in the Cabinet," Senator Humphrey said, "Pat Harris [Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, acting chairman of the Democratic Credentials Committee] is the kind of person I'm talking about. She is a remarkable woman." (Mrs. Harris is also black.)

● He said that former California Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown is "the kind of person" he would be looking for to fill the attorney general spot.

"Pat Brown knows the law and has the spirit of the law in his heart," he said. "He

understands that the attorney general runs a Department of Justice, not a department of prosecution or persecution."

Asked whether he might consider former Attorney General Ramsey Clark in that post Mr. Humphrey indicated he had a high regard for Mr. Clark and would doubtless put him in some other top position—but not as attorney general.

"I would want someone who has had strong experience in dealing with people for that position," Mr. Humphrey said. "Perhaps a governor or someone from the Senate or House.

"He would have to be someone who knows the law; but he would also have to be someone who worked closely with all sorts of ethnic groups—and understands their problems."

● Of Secretary of State he said: "I will very much be my own Secretary of State at the decision level. I think a president must remember that experts are not on top but on tap."

Mr. Humphrey said he approved of Henry A. Kissinger and indicated he would have a "Kissinger" in his administration.

He said that Dr. Kissinger had done much to put the Pentagon in its proper place—"at arms length" where the military gives advice but is not able to exert pressure. "He has been a buffer between the President and the Pentagon."

"What Kissinger has done," he said approvingly, "is sharpened the alternatives for the President."

● While not disclosing whom he would have in mind for Secretary of State, he made it clear that he would want someone of strong administrative experience who could put the State Department in order.

"Somehow or other, too," he said, "there must be a change in attitude among the top people in State. They must learn that they are there to provide information and expertise—but not to shape policy.

Reorganization at State

"To reorient and restructure the State Department and make it work right," he said, "I would look to people who have

proved themselves in top nongovernment decision-making roles.

"There is a new breed of college president from whom I might find the right man. Or perhaps a leading businessman. Or, again, among labor's leaders. Labor officers have all kinds of experience in negotiating and administering large organizations," he said.

● Mr. Humphrey spoke in glowing terms of former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford, adding, "He could be of great help in recruiting top personnel—as well as fitting into a high position, himself."

● Mr. Humphrey said while he did not see either Clark Clifford or W. Averell Harriman in Cabinet posts, he would turn to them for advice. "They are very able people," he said. "They undoubtedly would have a role to play."

● He said that youth would be an important part of his administration. "I would set up an office of youth affairs at a Cabinet level. I would have these young leaders at hand at all times."

● He said he would have top positions for minorities:

"We need to give recognition to all those people in our country who feel they have been left out of our political structure," he said.

"This would not be token. I would have someone whose chief role would be the recruiting of outstanding people from minority groups.

"And here I am not just talking about the blacks or Chicanos. I'm also talking about Italians, Polish, people from Eastern Europe, and others."

● Asked about women in making appointments, Mr. Humphrey stressed that he would have "women" not "a woman" in his Cabinet.

Done

1-12-4-1

Humphrey wows them

WASHINGTON—I suppose the most successful US political speech in modern times was Franklin Roosevelt's Teamsters Union speech about "my little dog, Fala" in 1944. It devastated Dewey. After that I should regretfully have to add Mr. Nixon's Republican "cloth coat" speech in 1952 when he was fighting for his political life on the Eisenhower ticket. It was corny and meretricious and it brought in his wife, his children and his dog Checkers, but there was no doubt about it, even to some of us who were disgusted by the performance, when he finished with the pledge "to campaign up and down America until we drive the crooks and Communists and those who defend them out of Washington" he had scored a political bull's-eye. "My boy!" said Ike.

There have been other notable political addresses in recent times, Hubert Humphrey made a remarkable speech the other day in San Francisco to the AFL-CIO convention. Everybody loves Hubert. But some of us give a sigh (albeit with affection) at the thought that he might be the Democratic candidate again next year. Can't the Democrats come up with a fresh face, why should they use a re-tread?

Yet, there can be no question that after that San Francisco speech Hubert abruptly emerged as somebody to be reckoned with. Momentarily, at least, Gallup has put Humphrey — the man who isn't going to enter any of the primaries — at the top of the Democratic presidential field.

Humphrey, in what "Mr. Meany and many other onlookers considered one of the great speeches of his long career," reported R. W. Apple, Jr. to The New York Times "tore the house down . . . delegates cheered and whistled and screamed . . . on the floor, delegate after delegate expressed hope that Mr. Humphrey would be the nominee . . ."

Well, there have been other powerful speeches. FDR's "Nothing to fear . . ." and his "Day of Infamy" addresses.

A cherished recollection is a speech by Ev Dirksen, a last-ditch Taft supporter, shaking the wild locks of his hair like Sargosso Sea kelp at Gov. Dewey (who was backing Ike) on the convention floor and hurling studied insults at him from the podium — "you took us down the path to defeat!"

There was Bobby Kennedy's brief, tragic talk on the back of a flat bed truck on the eve of Martin Luther King's assassination, and again his eulogy to his brother at the Atlantic City Democratic convention quoting Shakespeare. And Harry Truman's acceptance speech in Philadelphia at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787.

the cause of all of us shall overcome
Hubert Humphrey

so that if you could wire him he would light a house. A group of us asked him the other day what the Democrats should do about George Wallace? "I would treat him like any candidate who should not be a President," he said simply.

Why wasn't he running himself? "I've found you can't be a good senator and a good candidate."

Why does President Ford keep up his frantic pace? "He is doing it because he sees the shadow of Ronald Reagan. It is folly, because no Ronald Reagan can unseat a President if he IS president. He ought to stay home and tend to the store."

Asked point blank if he thought he would make a better President than Mr. Ford, Humphrey answered matter-of-factly, "Yes."

Give Hubert Humphrey 45 minutes to make a 30-minute speech before a friendly audience and he is one of the most effective speakers in America. "It is stylish these days," Humphrey told the labor convention, "to say all the old programs that Roosevelt had, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson had, all these programs, you know, are worn out, no good."

Then he went over the programs, Social Security to food stamps. "If it were not for the programs of Roosevelt and Truman, of Kennedy and Johnson," he cried, "this country would be flat on its back today in a massive depression."

There is something hypnotic in Humphrey's torrent.

"We need a new birth of freedom in this country. We need a new sense of our purpose. The people are obviously waiting, and I say to you that they have waited long enough and they are impatient . . . Let America sing once again and let's get back and get to work."

It's powerful, moving stuff. The labor audience? He wowed them.

Condensed from The New Republic.

12 Mar 70

Mary McGrory

With Humphrey They
Feel Much at Home

He had been asked to speak for ten minutes. He spoke for 50.

"I've given you more than you asked for," he said, "but that's what you get when you ask Humphrey over here."

The audience didn't seem to mind. In fact they enjoyed it. Hubert Humphrey was speaking about farmers and food policy, which is what they care about.

There were about 150 present, a smaller crowd than he usually draws. But he will always do a favor for a friend. And Rep. Berkley Bedell, D-Iowa, who was host to the Northwest Iowa Farm Convention, explained that he got the guest of honor because his wife's brother-in-law had been secretary to Humphrey when he was mayor of Minneapolis 30 years ago.

HUMPHREY'S appearance at any gathering these days stirs waves of speculation or outright yearning. The Iowans however, were thickly sown with supporters of Jimmy Carter, because, as one of them explained, "he is against Washington."

"It was a wonderful speech," said an ample, amiable woman in a long light-green crepe dress. "But we need a new face."

"I'll vote for him if he's nominated," said Bill Downey of Cherokee County, which has 10 Carter delegates and 11 uncommitted.

A young man from Sioux City who called himself "a hard-core uncommitted," went up to Humphrey afterwards and said, "I'll be pleased to tell our group what a fine speech you made."

Humphrey looked him straight in the eye and said, "Thank you, thank you very much." He did not wink.

Late in life, Hubert Humphrey has learned to say no. It's a word that in almost 25 years of panting for the presidency hardly ever crossed his lips.

TWO DEMOCRATIC congressmen, Paul Simon of Illinois and Bob Bergland of Minnesota, asked his permission to form a draft-Humphrey committee, and he said no.

Desperate liberals went to his

Minnesota colleague Mondale, and began New York as a horse. Mondale said Humphrey said no.

Every Tuesday primary results came rings. Gruff labor politicians tell him Humphrey says no.

His pals in the Senate primaries are going is the inevitable Massachusetts is their biggest Boston in 1968, still coils of Lyndon Johnson policies, Humphrey public platform. On Massachusetts voted for Scoop cold warrior who supported from beginning to end.

Humphrey has kicked running for the presidency stopped dying his hair grey now. He smiles a playing a waiting game.

WHAT HE MUST be Jackson and Carter will other and that in the not discover virtues which escape both parties and that Gov. Jerry Brown will California primary, the favorite son and defer until the convention.

Humphrey, the eternal will only be drafted this time.

If the contest is still June 8, he will authorize among the uncommitted already going on. Simon are gathering data on in all primary states, their previous votes, their towards Humphrey.

He speaks everywhere, but always did. He stirs audience then he always did. The Iowans up his lengthy and informed course. Although they prize for his anti-Washington bias seemed nourished by Humphrey declarations that what is needed the farm is not less government more.

He took a few pokes at Jackson said he didn't like to hear people about food as a weapon — something Jackson does.

"THE RUSSIANS can match gun for gun, plane for plane. They can fill the world with weapons, they can't fill the world with good," he said. "Can you think of anything better than having the Russians dependent on us for food?"

"I'm for selling the Russians anything they can pay cash for that they can't shoot back."

The Iowans seemed to feel very much at home with him. Lots of Democrats feel at home with Hubert Humphrey. That's what he's counting on.

FEB 2 1975

Clayton Fritchey: One year away

Hubert and Adlai in '76?

Washington — It would be funny, wouldn't it, if the presidential tickets in 1976 pitted Republicans Ford and Rockefeller against Democrats Ford and Rockefeller?

It's hardly necessary to identify the GOP slate as Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller, but it may take a minute or so to identify the Democrats — Wendell Ford, who has just retired as governor of Kentucky to be the new U.S. senator from that state, and young Jay Rockefeller, nephew of Nelson, the former secretary of state of West Virginia.

No matter how farfetched that slate seems, it is not much more bizarre than some of the other Democratic combinations that are being talked about these days. Not in this century, at least, has the Democratic race been so wide open only a year away from the presidential primaries.

Not long ago, quite a few leaders of the dominant liberal wing of the party were quietly counting on Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota to emerge gradually as their candidate in what then looked like a two-horse race down the stretch against Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington.

That notion was knocked into a cocked hat when Mondale unexpectedly withdrew from the race, saying he didn't want the nomination badly enough to pay the price of getting it. His decision overnight made the race even more open: so much so that relatively little-known politicians like former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and



Sen. Hubert Humphrey
... old fire horse.

Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona have since thrown their hats in the ring.

The principal effect of Mondale's withdrawal, however, has been to focus interest on the possible candidacies of an old presidential contender, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and a brand-new dark horse, Sen. Adlai Stevenson 3d, of Illinois. With their famous and respected names, either one would have a decisive head start in primaries where the rest of the field was comparatively unknown to the voters.

That would not be true of Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts or Gov. George Wallace of Alabama or Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, but Kennedy has declared himself out, Muskie is concentrating on running for re-election to the Senate and Wallace, of course, has no chance for the nomination regardless of the primaries. The

second only to Wallace, while Stevenson ran ahead of even Senator Jackson, Sen. Thomas Eagleton and astronaut John Glenn.

Humphrey is probably the best campaigner in the Democratic Party. He says he won't enter the primaries, but if he did few doubt that he would make an impressive showing. Whether young Adlai Stevenson (he is 44) could be prevailed on to run is not known. So far, he has made no moves in that direction, and it is not likely that he would if Humphrey changed his mind about campaigning.

Out in Illinois, however, where Stevenson won re-election to the Senate last year in a landslide, the politicians are certain he could easily win the presidential primary in his own state, as well as run strongly in some of the large, liberal nearby states like Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, where the name Stevenson is still revered.

Also in New York and California it remains a magic name which the younger Adlai has enhanced by the reputation for integrity he has made in



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And then there's Humphrey

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Somewhere in the background of the Democratic presidential nomination race, not quite obscured by the platoon of younger hopefuls, stands Hubert Horatio Humphrey. He is dismissed by some as a relic of the old politics, who has such post-Watergate political liabilities as the questions raised about his campaign funding by the Senate Watergate committee. He is condescended to by others for talking more than a has-been should.

But summer headlines have had Humphrey bouncing back from illness (the word "bounce" has followed him through the years) and once more willing to run if his party wants him. President Ford lists him in a small group of "most formidable" possible opponents after Senator Kennedy. At a dinner reunion of 10 leaders of the 1972 McGovern campaign, a secret ballot resulted in 6 votes for Humphrey (with 2 for Muskie, 1 for Udall, and 1 for Bayh) as the likely Democratic candidate in 1976. A network campaign correspondent privately expects a Humphrey nomination, too.

The reasoning seems to be that Humphrey could get the nomination in the trade-offs of a brokered convention. But there is some speculation that the new Democratic primary rules make a brokered election unlikely, though even the experts throw up their hands over exactly how the rules will work out.

A Humphrey advantage as a compromise choice would be that, unlike most of the field, he has been well tested in the presidential wars. He is a proven campaigner. With all the handicaps of coming out from the

Johnsonian shadow, he was only narrowly defeated by Nixon in 1968.

If, by some combination of events, Humphrey does get one more chance — and Mr. Ford receives the expected Republican nomination — the American people would have a choice between congressional veterans who share a nice-guy personal image but differ decisively in political image.

Humphrey is seen to have pulled back somewhat from his liberal stance, but Ford now is taking steps to consolidate a stance acceptable to the more conservative wing of his party. If critics are able to pin on Mr. Ford the label of big-business disregard for the people — House majority leader O'Neill calls the Ford "compromise" oil plan "a complete disaster, written by the oil barons" — then Mr. Humphrey's congressional repute of regard for the people would make a definite political contrast in the campaign. As a key Senate figure in Senate foreign aid and domestic economic matters, Mr. Humphrey has a platform for criticism of the administration. He hasn't run out of steam, he keeps trying to innovate, to find creative approaches to America's problems.

But could the American people be interested once again in Mr. Humphrey? The Democrats would probably prefer — and have a better chance — with a fresh face, unburdened by the old politics, who nevertheless could convince the public of having the experience and will to meet the nation's problems. No one has more experience than Humphrey. That's one reason his name keeps coming up — but usually with those "has-been" reservations that may be impossible to overcome.

Monitor 7/29

And then there's Humphrey

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Monitor

(THE Morning KANSAS CITY STAR)

The Kansas City Times

Humphrey Calls Race Wide Open

Atlanta (AP)—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said yesterday he felt the race for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination is "wide open."

"Anyone who makes a prediction now will be highly embarrassed in a couple of years," the former presidential candidate said in a news conference before a speech before Gold Kist, Inc., a regional agricultural co-operative.

He said that Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia "has an outstanding record" and said he felt Carter was right to try to disassociate himself from Washington.

"This is a good time for governors. State government hasn't been under the shadow of Watergate," Humphrey said.

Humphrey, who will be 65 in 1976, was asked if he felt he would be too old to run.

"No, it's not the way I feel," he said. "After all, Jerry Ford will be 64 and a half."

He also talked about the need for Congress to pass the trade bill currently before the House.

"Without the trade bill, we could be entering into a depression," Humphrey said.

"Agriculture needs a trade bill. We need the trade bill so



HUBERT HUMPHREY

we can say, "Look, we're prepared to negotiate."

Humphrey said it would be necessary to fight recession by putting more money into the construction industry.

"Don't give it an aspirin, give it a good meal," he said. "Instead of WIN buttons we should put on WORK buttons."

HHH Agrees to Repay Huge Tax Deductions

By Austin C. Wehrwein
Special to The Washington Post

MINNEAPOLIS, March 13—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Min.) has quietly signed an agreement with the Internal Revenue Service to surrender all income tax deduction claims for the vice presidential papers he has donated to the Minnesota State Historical Society.

Exactly how much Humphrey will pay in adjustments for the affected years, 1969-72, is yet to be determined by the IRS, Joe A. Walters, his lawyer, said in an interview.

Although Walters said he could not speculate on Humphrey's obligation by one rough estimate settlement could cost the senator as much as \$147,000, a source here said.

Walters said he had advised Humphrey that he had grounds to contest the heretofore secret IRS finding but that in January the senator signed an agreement with the agency that he would pay the back taxes.

After the Minneapolis Star

disclosed the agreement today, the senator said in Washington that "upon receipt of a bill from the IRS, I will reimburse the government for the deductions that have been taken."

Walters said that similar adjustments would be made voluntarily on Humphrey's past Minnesota income tax returns after the federal case is wrapped up. The lawyer offered no estimate of the state tax payments but they might amount to about \$14,000, it is speculated. Humphrey issued a statement explaining:

"The Internal Revenue Service raised a question as to whether the contribution of my vice presidential papers to the historical society qualifies as a charitable deduction for tax purposes.

"It was the viewpoint of the IRS examiner who audited my tax returns that it did not. His decision was a result of the fact that I retained certain

See HUMPHREY, A6, Col. 1

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files*

Humphrey to Repay Tax Deductions

HUMPHREY, From A1

controls over access to the papers for a period of time.

"Restrictions on access were necessary, for a period, simply because these papers contain the personal correspondence with heads of state, classified information as defined by federal law, and certain other personal and confidential documents. The only issue was the restriction on access. The papers all were delivered within the terms of the law. In other words, the historical society had possession of the papers within the time frame indicated by law.

"Rather than appeal this decision to higher authority, it was my decision to resolve the doubts in favor of the treasury."

Humphrey's appraiser on the material, housed in 2,755 boxes, was Ralph G. Newman, who was indicted last month on charges of helping to fake a \$576,000 appraisal for a tax break requested by former President Richard M. Nixon who sent his vice presidential papers to the National Archives. However, the Newman appraisal was not questioned in the Humphrey case, according to Walters.

On Dec. 21, 1973, Humphrey, prompted by reporters' questions following former President Nixon's personal finance disclosure, revealed that he had donated his vice presidential papers—valued at \$309,475—to the State Historical Society in St. Paul.

Humphrey said then that he had claimed federal income tax deductions totaling \$199,153 on gifts of these papers from 1969 through 1972. That left a carry-over of \$110,322 that he intended to use for future deductions but which he will now forget because of the IRS audit settlement. Walters pointed out that the tax saving the donor enjoys is less than the actual donation because he takes a deduction from his gross income rather than a tax credit equal to the amount of the donation.

Walters said there would be the usual 6 per cent interest assessment, but he stressed

that the case, which was resolved at the local field office level, involves neither penalties nor allegations of fraud nor charges of falsified deeds of gift.

Instead, he said, the issue hinged on an interpretation of the "future interest" clause of the Internal Revenue code. That is, the issue comes down to when the society would get final ownership. The IRS found that because Humphrey had placed a 25-year restriction on access and had reserved literary rights his gift was one of a "future interest." As such, the IRS said, it could not qualify as a charitable donation.

The Humphrey right to veto access was included in an April 28, 1966, contract between Humphrey and the historical society. Supplementing this and related other contracts were three "deeds of gift," the last dated Dec. 31, 1969.

In Washington, David G. Gartner, Humphrey's administrative assistant, said that the deeds declared the Humphrey donation were "absolute and irrevocable."

At the historical society, a spokesman said that despite the veto power Humphrey had given permission to about 100 persons to use the material and the only person who made application and had been refused was turned down by the society itself because of dubious credentials.

Walters said that he had reached the "understanding" with the IRS last mid-December and the formal papers were signed in January. The IRS audit began last July, Walters said.

Chicago Tribune

Thursday, August 14, 1975

If Hubert were President...



LET'S IMAGINE that Hubert H. Humphrey is President of the United States.

It's not such an impossible fantasy. If he had broken with Lyndon Johnson's Viet Nam policy a month before he did, and if the liberal wing of the party had not sulked after their scruffy children "trashed" Chicago during the Democratic convention in August, 1968, Humphrey would be President.

Imagine what things would be like. We would have been out of Viet Nam in a year, Congress would not have cut off military aid, and the Saigon government may have survived. Welfare reform would have been enacted. Inflation would not have been nearly so bad. We would not be in a recession.

NO ONE WOULD have heard of Sen. George McGovern [D., S. D.] or Henry Kissinger. Gerald Ford would still be minority leader of the House of Representatives.

Now let's suppose that our talkative President went off to hobnob with the Russians in Helsinki and signed a treaty legitimating the Stalin boundaries of Eastern Europe and acquiesced in the rape of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Could you imagine what G. O. P. House Leader Ford would have said?

And can you imagine how a liberal senator like Adlai Stevenson [D., Ill.] and a liberal journalist like Murray Kempton would have jumped to Humphrey's defense with talk about "peace" and "political realism" and "end of the Cold War"?

And can you imagine Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott's [R., Pa.] outrage at such a "cynical sellout"?

Richard Nixon—an undisbarred attorney



Humphrey: What might have been?

ney in John Mitchell's thriving New York law firm — would doubtless call it the greatest betrayal since Munich.

And Sen. Scoop Jackson [D., Wash.] wouldn't have anything at all to say [well, I admit that some things are hard to imagine]—mostly because no one

would care what Scoop Jackson thought. Confused?

Or as Mr. Dooley, author Finley P. Dunne's legendary Archer Avenue saloon keeper, put it: "Histhrey alysvindycates the Dimycrats—but only after they're dead. Nothin is iver officially true till a Raypooblican admits it."

What Dooley didn't notice is that sometimes Dimycrats begin to admit Raypooblican truths when Raypooblicans are admitting Dimycrat truths.

It's all very confusing. What must they be thinking in Warsaw, Vilna, or Riga? Or Moscow? And doubtless our strongest NATO supporters—the Chinese—are completely baffled.

In any case, the Helsinki treaty is one more triumph for "Realpolitik"—a moral Raypooblican "Realpolitik" as opposed to an immoral and cynical Dimycrat "Realpolitik." It probably won't make much difference to those people in the captive nations whether it is the Dimycrats or the Raypooblicans who sold them down the river this time.

They're used to it.

AND THEY MIGHT admit that there's not much that the United States can do to help them now without risking war, a war that they don't want either. One presumes, tho, that no one will echo Neville Chamberlain's Munich proclamation of "peace in our time."

But what do you think historians of the future will say about Helsinki? What do historians say about any sellout, no matter how irrelevant or harmless?

And they'll wonder what we got in return.

Universal Press Syndicate

S. D. Mercury
8/11/75

HARRY FARRELL'S VIEW:

CONGRESSMAN DON EDWARDS' appraisal of the 1974 Democratic presidential race:

"We have nine declared candidates at present, and all of them are in ninth place."

★ ★ ★

IN MORE SERIOUS VEIN, Edwards give Sen. Scoop Jackson no more chance than George Wallace of capturing the '76 Demb nomination.

"The liberals just won't buy him," Don says flat-out, "and you can't win the nomination without them. Of course, you can't win it with the liberals alone, either."

And all this can only make

things look good for Humphrey. ★ ★ ★

The front-runner: It may be H.H.H.

THE CURRENT front-runner for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency? Hold on. Hubert Horatio Humphrey!

A lot of reasonably knowledgeable politicians and political analysts are swinging around to the 64-year-old Minnesota senator. The other aspirants haven't caught fire. The departure of key campaign workers from Kennedy's staff is evidence he means what he says.

Such prophecies can be self-fulfilling, and frequently are inspired [leaked, planted] for that purpose.

Personal guess: A tossup between Humphrey or Kennedy being drafted in a deadlocked convention. With Adlai Stevenson III for veep if it's Kennedy.

A BLOODY GOOD MAN: The members of Musichorale singin' center on West 63d Street responded to our column on blood with a proud note about their director, Arthur Silhan.

Mr. Silhan has donated six gallons of blood since records have been kept, and another six gallons, give or take a few quarts, before records were kept.

His wife Phyllis, son Marc, son Jeffrey and daughter-in-law Joan all are past the gallon mark. Family total — more than 12 gallons.

You'd think they'd look a little peaked after draining out 12 gallons of blood. Not at all. You never saw a better looking family.

BAR THIS BUM: Two of the greatest privileges in sports are representing the United States in the Olympic games and in the Davis Cup tennis matches.

Jimmy Connors, a spoiled brat from Illinois whose vulgarity, arrogance and lack of sportsmanship match his raw ability at tennis, is pouting that he still won't play on the Davis Cup team under the new captain, Tony Trabert. Trabert says he's going to try to persuade Connors to change his mind.

Trabert's all wrong. He shouldn't allow Connors on the team. Men with character and some standards of personal conduct — like Marty Riessen, Arthur Ashe, Stan Smith, Chuck McKinley—are the men who bring credit to the United States. And are proven Davis Cup winners.

From a practical point of view Connors is so disruptive that his impact on the other team members probably would offset what his tennis ability contributed.

Connors would bring to Davis Cup competition the one-fingered salute and swearing at the officials. He is boxoffice

Jack Mabley

and belongs in the big money stadia. Davis Cup offers the players no dollar rewards. It is one of the few remaining pure amateur contests in sports. Connors doesn't deserve a place.

RABBIT RABBIT: Rabbits are cute fuzzy little creatures, some times called bunnies, which usually live near gardens and go hippity-hop, hippity hop, and eat beans, peas, tomatoes, flowers, peppers, and almost anything else you're trying to grow.

The following is of interest primarily to rabbit haters. Amos Pettingill reports in his White Flower Farm Notes that a British gardener soaked a sack in creosote, dragged it around the perimeter of her vegetable garden, and had no more trouble with rabbits.

A friend of Mr. Pettingill tried it with an old watering can, dribbling a line of creosote around her garden, and presto! No more rabbits.

After the loveable little creatures ate all my peas and beans I put up a two-foot-high chicken wire fence which kept them out. However I'd welcome advice on how to keep out raccoons. They climbed the chicken wire the other night and ate my corn.

Someone suggested playing a radio in the garden all night. I agree the voice of Ed Schwartz could frighten the biggest raccoon, but I doubt if the neighbors would appreciate it.

ITALIAN-AMERICAN NEWS: One of the great social events of the year is the party the Italian-American Police Association throws for the residents of Dixon State School for the retarded.

My buddies [I'm an honorary member] haul an entire carnival and trucks of food and goodies to Dixon. I've always marveled at their persuasiveness at getting donations.

Thirty or forty of the policemen will be going down Aug. 16, a Saturday, for the party. They could use a little help handing out food and watermelon and lifting this and that. Anybody who'd like to volunteer can call 774-3337. Nick Bianco is the president.



Humphrey

Montgomery
Advertiser

SUNDAY, AUGUST 10, 1975

Now They're Touting Humphrey

Gus Tyler

NEW YORK — "In all likelihood, Hubert Humphrey will be the next President of the United States."

That is the conclusion of two radical journalists, Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, writing in The Village Voice. The authors do not say that they want things to turn out this way but they do believe, on the basis of "facts" that are "incontrovertible," that this is the way it will be.

Basically, their argument is that Humphrey is acceptable to a far greater cross-section of the Democratic Party than any other candidate. "People are simply tired of waiting for Kennedy."

The scenario envisioned by these forecasters is a divided convention, fractionated among the many candidates, driven to unite against Wallace, turning finally to Humphrey to pull it all together again.

Then, they say, Humphrey "may have found his hour, a man for all seasons at a time of economic crisis, an old New Deal liberal at last rid of the trappings of the war criminal."

The fairly long piece makes no mention of Ford beyond a passing reference to his "incredible blundering." The assumption is that if the Democrats can just unite behind a candidate, they've got it.

Humphrey

CONFLICTING polls confuse us about just where Ford is right now. But they all agree that he is weak. The Gallup Poll gives the President a 52 per cent favorable rating; that's poor for a man in the White House who recently assuaged the American spirit by his swift victory in re the Mayaguez.

The Harris poll — taken two weeks later — gives the President only a 46 per cent positive score; that's real bad. A smaller Midwest poll gave Ford only a 36 per cent positive score.

While the pollster professionals explore the reasons for the differences — sampling error, sequence of questions, etc. — the explanation may lie in the differences in timing.

It took a few days for the news to sink in that Ford had vetoed a housing bill and a public service bill to create jobs. These vetoes have undoubtedly helped Ford within the Republican Party, solidifying him with GOP conservatives who may have been inclined to go with Reagan.

IN A SURVEY of a conservative Illinois community, Evans and Novak found Ford pushing Reagan off the political map. But what may "turn on" conservative Republicans may be "turning off" the rest of the country.

As Ford goes on talking about "deregulation" of industry so that the corporations can do as they please and about making sure that the rich are more enriched so they can have money to invest and about how we don't have to do anything because prosperity is just around the corner, he sounds and acts more and more like Herbert Hoover.

And the country feels more and more that we are in the 1930's, not the 1970's. Both the reality and the rhetoric are redolent with the reeking refuse of the Old Deal.

Perhaps then the country may be truly ready for a New Deal man who increasingly looks like William Jennings Bryan, who thinks and feels like Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and who talks like only Hubert Horatio Humphrey can talk.

George F. Will

Humphrey: Waiting to Ride the

For 15 minutes the Humphrey tendency to talk like a Sten gun was held in precarious check. But now he is explaining what Presidents should be and colliding images are bending each other's fenders.

Presidents should be like ol' Doc Sherwood of prairie memory—"someone who can deliver a baby in the middle of the night with the lights off and comfort the mother and make sure the baby lives"—and Presidents should see that the "orders go out to the troops," and Presidents should make the White House into what Woodrow Wilson said it should be: "the nation's classroom."

Hubert Humphrey says he is not a candidate for the office of baby-delivering, orders-barking schoolmarm. He has his pride, and remembers an earlier Minnesotan, Harold Stassen. But buried among his many reasons for not actively seeking the nomination is this reason: uncharacteristic restraint might be the best tactic for getting nominated. Unquestionably he still wants to end his career by turning the White House into a little red schoolhouse.

Like Moses, Humphrey was discovered early in his career, at the 1948 Democratic convention, when he was mayor of Minneapolis. Like Moses, Humphrey was a bundle of opinions, including those about civil rights which, forcefully put to the convention, were part of the pretext for the foreordained Dixiecrat walkout. Since then he has been near the center of the national stage.

Nevertheless, some critics wrongly persist in seeing Humphrey's career as vindication of the Biblical warning, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." Actually, he is not unstable, only ebullient in his upper-Midwest liberalism which is, if anything, too stable by half.

He has excelled at everything that senators do, except shimmying up the greasy pole from the Senate to the presidency. But because his disappointments have come so near the summit of public life, his public image is of a man toward whom Destiny



has had the warmest of intentions without getting around to implementing them. John Kennedy rode to the presidency over him, and Lyndon Johnson's presidency collapsed around Humphrey, nearly burying him under the debris.

Kennedy's rocket ignited with a victory over Humphrey in the 1960 West Virginia primary. Lyndon Johnson wanted Humphrey not only as Vice President but as a hostage against a hostile future in which, Johnson suspected, the liberal coalition would crack and turn on him.

In 1968 it turned on Humphrey, too, and did not consider the alternative until election eve, when voters began moving Humphrey's way in unprecedented waves. If the election had been eight hours later, today Humphrey might be completing his second term.

If ever a man smoldering res close-calls, he i closest thing to per today is a ishness — bees what he consid of presidential when goaded things about ri Most success modern Presid Roosevelt on, Dwight Eisen quality of li sprinkling the landscape. knows, an abt spirits that fu he does not h blood in his why he can



Humphrey

Chicago Tribune, Monday, September 22, 1975

Look ^Awho's coming back!

Since losing the 1968 Presidential election to Richard Nixon, Sen. Hubert Humphrey [D., Minn.], has been generally considered as part of the background scenery of politics. Mr. Humphrey made a respectable comeback by regaining his Senate seat in 1970, and it has been widely assumed that this was as far as he'd be going; the theory is that, once a party's national candidate has lost the big one, he is automatically retired to elder-statesman rank, occupying an honored but permanent seat on the sidelines.

This theory clearly is not shared by Mr. Humphrey. In recent weeks he has been moving, unobtrusively but steadily, away from the backdrop and toward center stage. He has, in fact, been giving the strong impression that he is after the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1976, and has a better idea of how to get it than any of his fellow aspirants.

It may be hard for many Democrats to take Mr. Humphrey seriously. [It is sometimes hard for us, too.] He has been with us so long, and has said everything he thinks so many times, that he has become a kind of living cliché; one tends to visualize Mr. Humphrey as a set of beautifully capped teeth behind endlessly moving lips. It is easy to forget that there is more to him than that, including eyes sharp enough to spot a trend developing a mile away and an astute, politically seasoned mind. Add to this a faithful following, particularly among blacks, farmers, and labor; a wide-ranging, first-hand acquaintance with issues for-

eign and domestic; and a growing impression that Mr. Humphrey could give the Democrats what they most need — a unifying figure around whom the clans could gather. It becomes hard to dismiss him, particularly among the uninspiring list of Democratic contenders.

Mr. Humphrey has serious liabilities to weigh against these assets. For many Democrats and independents, he is twice-chewed gum. The doctrinaire liberalism he has always represented has come to seem stale, out of touch with today's realities. The idea that government can solve the people's problems has lost popularity, perhaps because we've been seeing how government solves its own. Can these dated goods be sold again by the salesman who couldn't market them in 1968?

Here too, however, there may be a surprise in store. Mr. Humphrey no longer seems to work for the same firm. It has been a long time since he said anything controversial or doctrinaire. His recent statements [there haven't been many] have stressed mild reasonableness and willingness to be convinced — even, perhaps, by conservatives. He has concentrated on "fact-finding," not rhetoric. The man who, as Lyndon Johnson's Vice President, supported the Viet Nam war and argued passionately for the Great Society is going out on no more limbs.

Instead, Mr. Humphrey seems ready to wait in the wings, let the young lions fight each other to the death in debating halls and primary elections, and be there when the time comes. It might well come less than a year from now.



Humphrey draft woos undecided N.H. voters

By Curtis Wilkie
Globe Staff

MANCHESTER, N.H. — The underfinanced and unauthorized campaign to promote Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey as a write-in candidate in the New Hampshire primary is trying to attract the undecided voter.

Despite intensive campaigning and expenditures by five declared candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, their campaign managers in the state acknowledge this week that the biggest bloc of votes was still undecided. In fact, some of the managers placed the undecided factor as high as 50 percent, with only two weeks before the primary.

"The question is whether we can reach the undecided," said Robert B. Shaine, the Manchester consultant who is in charge of a "Draft Humphrey Committee" in the state.

tant who is in charge of a "Draft Humphrey Committee" series of radio commercials today.

The commercials are following up on newspaper advertisements placed in the state last week "to let people know we're alive," Shaine said.

"We're going after the undecideds and latent Humphrey vote," he said. A Globe poll this week indicated that Humphrey was better known than the actual contestants here and enjoyed a 60 percent favorable rating.

This year a slate of delegates committed to Humphrey has drawn the top spot on the ballot—the most advantageous—although Humphrey partisans will still be forced to write in his name.

Humphrey has publicly disavowed any connection with the operation here, but Shaine said that he is in contact regularly with Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois, who is trying to put together a national campaign to get Humphrey into the race.

The campaign has raised only \$2100 so far, Shaine said, and has spent almost all of it.

HHH Calls Campaign An Indianapolis 500

From Herald Wire Services

WASHINGTON — Sen. Hubert Humphrey, the noncampaigning Democratic presidential hopeful, said Sunday that the early primary elections look to him "like an Indianapolis 500 Speedway."

"Somebody is ahead on one lap and somebody ahead on the second lap and somebody drops out," the Minnesotan said. "What really is



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the test is who survives — How do you persevere? It is too early yet to make any prediction."

Humphrey was questioned on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" about not running in the primaries, but being willing to accept the Democratic presidential nomination.

"I have said I am not going to (run in primaries). It isn't because I have any disdain for the primary," said Humphrey, his party's presidential nominee when he was vice president in 1968. "I recognize that that course puts you in a very limited position. I am perfectly content with that posture."

"I look upon these early caucuses — and that's what these early primaries are, caucuses — this whole

race for the nomination is like an Indianapolis 500 Speedway," he said.

Ford's on Way Up, Maintains Morton

President Ford's newly named political adviser said Sunday that as the public begins to review the issues between the President and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan "Ford is on the way up and will do very well."

Now that Reagan is concentrating on the issues the candidates can be compared on more than just personality, said Commerce Secretary Rogers Morton, who is to become an adviser to Ford on domestic and political matters. And he added that since Ford's State of the Union and budget messages have been delivered, making the President's program public, he hopes members of the Cabinet will go out and tell the people what the President's program is in detail.

Morton, appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," said in answer to a question that he cannot foresee any circumstances in which Ford would drop out of the race.

Shapp Supports Israel on PLO

Israel should not be pressured into negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, Pennsylva-



—Associated Press

Milton Shapp, Wearing a Skull Cap, Speaks at Temple ... 'Israel must be supported,' he said

nia Gov. Milton Shapp, one of a dozen announced Democratic presidential hopefuls on the March 9 Florida primary ballot, told an overflow crowd on Miami Beach Sunday.

"Israel must be supported to remain a strong and free nation," Shapp said at Temple Emanu-El's Bicentennial Forum Series. All candidates have been invited to speak.

"Israel can't negotiate with someone (the PLO) that is threatening to annihilate the nation," he said. "There can be no outside pres-

Win Significant, Wallace Believes

JACKSON, Miss. — Alabama Gov. George Wallace believes he scored a "very significant victory" in Mississippi's Democratic caucuses and that it will help his presidential campaign in other states.

By Sunday afternoon, about 41 per cent of the estimated 3,000 county convention delegates chosen at the caucuses had been tabulated unofficially. Wallace led with more than 42 per cent of the delegates elected.

Another 26 per cent of the delegates chosen were uncommitted while former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter had almost 16 per cent.

Sargent Shriver had 13 per cent, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas about 2 per cent, and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris slightly more than 1 per cent.

Favorite sons may be a 'hold out for HHH'

By TED KNAP
Scripps-Howard Staff

WASHINGTON — Favorite-son presidential candidacies developing in Ohio added momentum this week to a movement that would keep the Democratic presidential nomination available for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., who is not running in the primaries.

Sen. John H. Glenn said he may run as the favorite-son candidate of the 38 at-large delegates from Ohio, and Rep. Wayne L. Hays said he will run as favorite-son in his own and at least five adjacent Ohio districts with 30 delegates.

De facto favorite-son candidacies are shaping up in at least five other states with 617 delegates — not enough to nominate but enough to withhold the nomination from anyone else in early balloting among a crowded field of candidates.

REP. PAUL Simon, D-Ill., chairman of an unofficial movement to draft Humphrey, said Tuesday the growing number of favorite-son candidacies could develop into a "hold out for Humphrey" movement. Humphrey, the 1968 nominee, leads all other Democrats in nationwide polls and said he would welcome the nomination if offered at the convention in July.

Senate Democratic Whip Robert C. Byrd, W.Va., who last week became the 11th Democrat to announce his candidacy, may wind up as a de facto favorite-son controlling the 33 delegates in his state. Byrd had supported Humphrey for the nomination in earlier campaigns, and still is friendly to him.

In Illinois, which has 169 delegates to be chosen in the March 26 primary, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley has filed a slate pledged to Democratic Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III as favorite-son. While the Daley slate will be challenged in downstate Illinois, it is likely to win at least half of the delegates.

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, D-Tex., has failed to develop much national following for his

Campaign strategy '76

own presidential campaign and may end up as a de facto favorite-son with the bulk of his state's 130 delegates.

In New York, with 274 delegates, Gov. Hugh Carey is putting together an "Empire State" slate of uncommitted delegates in the April 6 primary. They will be challenged by announced Democratic candidates, particularly Sens. Henry M. Jackson, Wash., and Birch Bayh, Ind.

IN MINNESOTA, Gov. Wendell R. Anderson will run as a favorite-son pledged to Humphrey. There may be no challenge for the 65 delegates to be chosen at party conventions.

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown appears "more and more likely" to become a favorite-son candidate in that state's June 8 primary in an effort to control a substantial portion of the 279 delegates, according to a Democratic National Committee source.

Also, Gov. Milton J. Shapp, Pa., could end up with a substantial number of delegates in his state even though his own presidential candidacy fails to catch on as now indicated.

Glenn's office said Ohio Democratic chairman Paul Tipps is trying to get the announced presidential candidates to let him put together an unchallenged slate for the 38 delegates at-large. Under terms of the pact, active candidates would get a first-ballot share of the at-large votes in proportion to the delegates they won in the district contests which elect 114 delegates. After the first ballot, the 38 delegates would be uncommitted.

Glenn is considering Tipps' request to run as a favorite-son candidate of such an at-large slate, according to William White, the senator's administrative assistant. Earlier, Glenn said he would not seek the favorite-son support of all 152 Ohio delegates.

Rep. John F. Sieber, Ohio, said he favors

district if a survey of voters and party leaders shows that no announced candidate has strong support. His district has seven delegates.

Humphrey's office said he is not involved in any of the favorite-son candidacies or movements toward uncommitted delegations. His administrative assistant, Dave Gartner, added that Humphrey may become the "indirect" beneficiary of the trend.

GARTNER SAID he also has received unsolicited reports from "a lot of people" around the country saying they will run as uncommitted delegates

favoring Humphrey or as delegates pledged to Humphrey. Simon said one-third of the delegates chosen in the Jan. 19 Iowa caucus — first in the nation — may be uncommitted and predominantly for Humphrey.

Democratic National Committee officials said that if a front runner does not develop by the April 6 primary in New York, the pro-Humphrey sentiment will increase.

National Chairman Robert S. Strauss plans to name about 40 persons to a convention negotiating committee whose functions would be to maintain communications among various Democratic elements and be available to recommend a nominee if a deadlock develops.

Humphrey's Intentions

LOS ANGELES—Non-candidate Hubert H. Humphrey was, on the surface, the totally committed candidate during three hyper-active days here recently but, beneath the surface, was making his nomination for President more remote and completely dependent on external events.

"I can assure you," Sen. Humphrey told a close California political associate who asked him about published reports that he would enter some key primary elections, "that I have no intention—no intention whatsoever—of entering any primary." This was the message repeated by Humphrey, privately and publicly, with uncharacteristic consistency to anyone who asked during his Southern California sojourn.

That limits flexibility even for someone so adept in changing directions during a generation in bigtime politics. Without flexibility to enter a few late primaries, Humphrey's chances become totally dependent upon an absolute deadlock at Madison Square Garden in July. How likely is Humphrey's last hurrah nomination if he really avoids all primaries? The answer from a canny party pro, until recently optimistic about Humphrey: "In the neighborhood of 3 per cent."

There exists, then, a gap between appearances and realities. The conventional and generally uninformed wisdom (shared by none less than Gerald R. Ford) sees non-candidate Humphrey pinning down the nomination while a herd of faceless announced candidates see the nomination growing more and more distant as the actual delegate search begins.

Certainly, appearances were bright during Humphrey's swing here that crowded 31 events into 75 hours and fattened the war chest for his Senate reelection campaign in Minnesota by \$40,000.

Humphrey was introduced at a reception as "the next Mr. President" by Armenian leader John Gabriel. That notion was widely shared by many contacting Humphrey here—including 40 who paid \$1,000-a-couple for a private, press-excluded dinner at the Bel Aire mansion of Roz Wyman, widow of Humphrey intimate and Democratic power Eugene Wyman.

Humphrey was lustily cheered after lectures at the University of Southern California and the University of California at Irvine, contrasting with his brutal campus treatment in 1968 and even sometimes in 1972. Also in contrast to the bad old days was his giving relatively concise answers to questions and, even more remarkably, his maintaining a strict time schedule. At age 64 after four previous national campaigns, Humphrey had fully blossomed as the complete candidate.

York's April 6 primary, they advised, Humphrey should get into seven late primaries—Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Rhode Island, New Jersey, South Dakota, and Kentucky—to show he is a winner.

That plan has been vigorously opposed by Humphrey's closest and oldest advisers as well as Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois, who is running a national Draft Humphrey operation, without Humphrey's approval. They believe Humphrey's mixing it with the pack would destroy his uniqueness and destroy the design, described by one Humphrey insider, of his entering the convention "emotionally and physically rested." Humphrey's insistent and consistent repudiation of reports he would enter primaries indicates the triumph, for now at least, of this school.

But by avoiding the primaries, Humphrey feeds unspoken apprehensions among highly placed Democrats. One prominent Californian worries whether Humphrey could survive as a candidate in the post-Watergate era carrying the burden of an old campaign manager convicted for Milk Fund transgressions and old campaign debts settled for four cents on the dollar. This politician believes Humphrey will stay out of the primaries because he cannot stand the inevitable barrage against him, which would be more lethal yet in the general election campaign.

Distaste for the pain and privation of primary campaigning is clearly one reason for Humphrey's deepening determination to remain a non-candidate right up to convention time—a reluctance that runs counter to his private assessment that the active candidates have fared poorly so far.

Humphrey expresses surprise over the inability of any candidate—particularly Sen. Henry M. Jackson—to take hold. Never known for false modesty, he feels he can energize a Democratic audience and handle key economic issues better than any of his announced rivals. But unlike some of his starry-eyed admirers, he recognizes the improbability of the convention turning to anybody who entered not one primary.

However, those Humphreyites transported into euphoria here were unaware of what for months has been going on behind the scenes.

No adviser proposed that Humphrey risk becoming the spoiler by barging into the primaries early enough to meet the California primary filing deadline of March 14. But many key Humphrey supporters, including Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota, felt he must enter and win some late primaries. If no announced candidate emerged from the pack by the time the votes were in from New



Humphrey's strategy is on track to failure

Rowland Evans
Robert Novak

LOS ANGELES — Noncandidate Hubert H. Humphrey was, on the surface, the totally committed candidate during three hyperactive days here recently, but beneath the surface was making his nomination for President more remote and completely dependent on external events.

"I can assure you," Humphrey told a close California political associate who asked him about published reports that he would enter some key primary elections, "that I have no intention — no intention whatsoever — of entering any primary."

That limits flexibility even for someone so adept in changing directions during a generation in big-time politics. Without flexibility to enter a few late primaries, Humphrey's chances become totally dependent upon an absolute deadlock at Madison Square Garden in July. How likely is Humphrey's last hurrah nomination if he really avoids all primaries? The answer, from a canny party pro, until recently optimistic about Humphrey: "In the neighborhood of 3 per cent."

THERE EXISTS, then, a gap between appearances and realities. The conventional and

generally uninformed wisdom (shared by none less than Gerald R. Ford) sees non-candidate Humphrey pinning down the nomination while a herd of faceless announced candidates flail away without effect. In truth, however, Humphrey's most astute supporters see the nomination growing more and more distant as the actual delegate search begins.

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No adviser proposed that Humphrey risk becoming the spoiler by barging into the primaries early enough to meet the California primary filing deadline of March 14. But many key Humphrey supporters, including Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota, felt he must enter and win some late primaries. If no announced candidate emerged from the pack by the time the votes were in from New York's April 6 primary, they advised, Humphrey should get into seven late primaries — Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Rhode Island, New Jersey, South Dakota and Kentucky — to show he is a winner.

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★★★ Nation

Raring to go, cagey Hubert awaits the call

By Harry Kelly

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—If you look like a duck, walk like a duck, and quack like a duck, you are a duck as the old saying goes, but Hubert H. Humphrey says he isn't.

Sen. Humphrey [D., Minn.], the old pro, is playing a tough game.

There are times when talking to friends he sounds as if he expects to be the Democratic Party's nominee and is raring to go.

He can even envision a situation—although he doesn't say it is likely—in which no Democrat would emerge from the early primaries as a dominant figure, except possibly George Wallace, and party leaders would come to Humphrey as the ultimate solution.

HE INSISTS, however, that he doesn't intend to enter the primaries, that at 64 he doesn't hunger for the presidency enough to go through that again, and that, anyway, the primaries might hurt rather than help him.

Humphrey knows the press would leap on his record, his age, his tinted hair, his former campaign manager's conviction for accepting illegal campaign contributions, and he doesn't want to be likened to an old firehorse waiting for the bell.

On the other hand, Humphrey makes no secret of the fact that he has been under heavy pressure from Democratic politicians to get into the running, and that his popularity is such he received 40 invitations in two days from members of Congress who want him to speak at fund-raising affairs in their districts.

Also Humphrey has received word from old allies running as uncommitted delegates or even pledged to some other candidate that he is their first choice.

BUT HUMPHREY has promised other Democratic candidates that he will not enter the primaries. When a group set up a write-in organization for him in New Hampshire, he disavowed it. He also sent letters to the candidates, to use as they saw fit, underscoring his decision. When Rep. Paul Simon [D., Ill.], mounted a Humphrey effort, Humphrey called the Illinois congressman off.

Simon, in a phone interview, noted he and some other House members "have been meeting with people very close to him [Humphrey]. There is a feeling on my part they know pretty much what his feelings are." Thus, without direct conversation with Hum-



Sen. Hubert Humphrey on TV Sunday.

phrey, the decision was to withdraw, temporarily, a draft-Humphrey plan because of problems with the federal election law, Simon said.

Some Humphrey advisers believe that if no one comes out of the pack in the early primaries in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Florida, the party will turn to Humphrey.

WHEN MARGARET Truman Dainel, President's Truman's daughter, was asked in a television interview Friday who her candidate was, she said without hesitation: "Hubert Humphrey."

Humphrey reportedly was miffed by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's selection of former Humphrey running mate, Sen. Edmund Muskie [Me.], to deliver the Democratic rejoinder to President Ford's State of the Union Message. Humphrey, according to the report, wanted to do it.

Humphrey was interested enough that when he went to dinner at a Capitol Hill restaurant Wednesday night he took along with him a portable TV set so that he could watch Muskie's performance.

LEGALITIES STALL HUMPHREY FORCES

Organizer of Drive to Draft
Senator Says New Rules
Would Hamper Effort

BY WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21—The draft-Humphrey movement has run into legal problems with the Federal Election Commission and has suspended, at least temporarily, plans to raise campaign funds to promote the nomination of the Minnesota Senator.

Representative Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois, an organizer of the proposed draft committee, withdrew his request for a legal ruling by the commission, complaining that the new campaign law "unduly restricted" citizens' movements behind reluctant Presidential possibilities.

Meanwhile, the latest Gallup Poll continued to show Senator Humphrey veteran of four national campaigns, continuing to lead the field of potential 1976 contenders among Democratic voters.

29 Pct for Humphrey

The poll, taken over the first weekend in January, gave Mr. Humphrey 29 percent of the vote against 20 for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, 10 for Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, 9 for Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, 6 for Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and 5 each for Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and Sargent Shriver former Ambassador to France.

The last previous poll, taken in November, showed Mr. Humphrey leading with 30 percent, followed by Mr. Wallace with 20 and Senators McGovern and Jackson with 10. The share of undecided voters rose from 14 percent in November to 16 in January.

Informal guidance given Mr. Simon by the election commission indicated that the agency would rule on the issue of campaign spending limits for draft movements in one of two ways equally undesirable to the draft forces.

Either the commission would conclude that no more than \$1,000 could be spent on a draft movement in a primary

like that in New Hampshire, or it would rule that the campaign law did not regulate unauthorized write-in efforts at all and thus they were not limited by any spending ceiling.

'Embarrassing Loophole'

Mr. Simon said that discovery of such a loophole, either by a commission ruling or a lawsuit, "could cause some embarrassment to Senator Humphrey by suggesting that his followers were trying to undermine the election law reforms."

Faced with this prospect, Mr. Simon withdrew his request for an advisory opinion by the commission. Publicity generated by the move, he said, had uncovered "tremendous good will toward a Humphrey candidacy throughout the nation."

Although he will not spend any money in attempting to galvanize Congressional support behind Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Simon said, he will continue to work toward the Senator's nomination at the Democratic convention in New York City next July.

Mr. Simon's action did not affect a separate campaign being organized in New Hampshire by Robert Shaine, a local resident, who has entered a

slate of Humphrey delegates in the primary there and is encouraging write-in votes for the Minnesota Senator in the popularity contest.

The Shaine effort will presumably be limited in spending by a future decision of the election commission, when it gets around to ruling formally on the issue.

No Change in Poll

The Gallup Poll, taken two weeks before the first Democratic competition in the Iowa caucuses, showed virtually no movement in the ranking of the Presidential candidates and indicated little or no support for any of the new contenders.

All the contenders receiving 5 percent or more of the vote were active Presidential candidates, although some of them briefly, in 1972 (Senators Humphrey, McGovern, Jackson, Muskie and Bayh and Governor Wallace) or Democratic nominees the (Mr. Shriver).

When the poll included Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who has ruled himself out of the race, the results gave the Massachusetts Democrat 32 percent, Mr. Humphrey 20, Mr. Wallace 15 and others 6 percent or less.

L.A. Times
**Humphrey Assails Ford
for 'Lack of Direction'** 11/3/76

BY KENNETH REICH
Times Political Writer

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), on his second visit to the Los Angeles area in the last three weeks, criticized President Ford Monday for "confusion and lack of direction" and charged that the President was not willing to spend enough to end the recession.

Addressing the annual convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. at the Anaheim Convention Center, the 1968 Democratic presidential nominee complained that the Ford Administration was "worrying about the cost of getting out of economic difficulty rather than the cost of the sickness."

Humphrey contended that if the government took steps to reduce unemployment from the present approximate 8% to 4½%, it would reduce welfare expenditures and increase tax revenues to the point where there would be a budget surplus rather than the present deficit.

Both during the speech and at a news conference earlier, Humphrey made his usual denial that he is running for the Presidency this year, and he took umbrage when a newsman asked why, if this were so, he had a Los Angeles public relations firm handling each of his recent trips here.

Humphrey said the work of the firm of Cerrell Associates, Inc., was strictly voluntary.

Joseph Cerrell, who was present along with two associates, said that about 25% of all his work was voluntary. Later, he and associate Harvey Englander took numerous pictures of Humphrey during the senator's speech.

In the news conference, the senator became angry when he was questioned about a statement last week by Paul Higgins, a Florida campaign coordinator for former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, that the Humphrey campaign committee still owed him \$4,311 for expenses accrued while working in Humphrey's 1972 California primary campaign.

Humphrey, whose campaign committee settled about \$900,000 in 1972 campaign debts in December by paying at a rate of about 4 cents on the dollar, said he did not know Higgins and considered his assertion "a bunch of bunk."

Cerrell aides said the debts Humphrey settled were mostly loans to his campaign from wealthy backers. Later, Englander said a check of Humphrey 1972 campaign records in the Cerrell office did not list anyone by the name of Higgins.

Gallup Poll

Humphrey closing gap with Ford

By George Gallup

American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J. — President Ford and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) are in close contention in the latest nationwide test election, with Ford backed by 48 per cent of registered voters to 46 per cent for Humphrey. In December, Ford led 51-to-39 per cent.

When Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace is included in the test election as a third-party candidate, Ford and Humphrey remain in close contention. Ford receives 36 per cent to

37 per cent for Humphrey and 23 per cent for Wallace.

Although Wallace draws support from both major party candidates, the cumulative evidence, based on three test elections in the last six months, suggests that he hurts Ford more than Humphrey.

Humphrey is the top choice of Democrats nationwide, picked by 29 per cent for the nomination from a list of 14 candidates. When the name of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) is added to the list, Kennedy emerges

as No. 1, chosen by 32 per cent, followed by Humphrey with 20 per cent.

Ford has regained the lead over rival Ronald Reagan as the choice of Republicans. In a two-way showdown, Ford now leads 53 to 42 per cent. In December, the two were tied at 45 per cent.

These findings are based on nationwide in-person interviews between Jan. 2 and 5. The GOP results are based on 343 interviews with Republicans out of a total sample of 1,572 adults. The test election results are based on interviews with 1,118 registered voters nationwide out of the total sample.

Humphrey Leads in Poll of Democrats

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—The Gallup pollsters are not sure what to make of their figures, but their new national survey of rank-and-file Democrats gives a lead in Presidential preference for the first time to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, avowedly a noncandidate. Mr. Humphrey is the choice of 23 per cent of his party, the Gallup organization reports—up from 20 per cent in July, and ahead of Gov. C. Wallace of Alabama, who is in second place with 19 per cent this month, down from 23 per cent three months ago.

The problem with interpreting the figures is that the shifts in support and size of Mr. Humphrey's lead both fall within the 4 percentage points, plus or minus, that is normally considered the margin of error in such surveys.

"You'd need a difference of about 7 points to consider the change statistically significant," Irving Crespi, a vice president of the Gallup organization, said in an interview. "With Humphrey, if you look at the two most recent surveys, you can't say there's a significant trend of growth. If you look at the trend over the year, there does appear to be growth for Humphrey."

Next in the Gallup rankings, and holdings steady since July, are Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, at 11 per cent, and two well-known noncandidates, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, at 9 per cent each. Sargent Shriver, an active contender for the 1976 Presidential nomination, is in sixth place at 8 per cent, up from 2 per cent in July. None of seven other men on a list that Gallup interviewers put to 680 Democrats throughout the country had more than 3 per cent support.

When Senator Edward M. Kennedy's name is added to the list, the Massachusetts Democrat leads the field with 35 per cent support, down from 42 per cent in July—perhaps, the Gallup report suggests, because "Democratic voters are beginning to accept his assertion that he

will not be a candidate next year."

The latest fund-raising letter for Ronald Reagan's incipient Presidential campaign pictures the conservative former Governor of California in a new light—as a poor populist David against a Goliath of entrenched money and power, as represented by the Ford-Rockefeller ticket.

"Already they have amassed hundreds of thousands of dollars for their primary battles," says the appeal from Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, chairman of Citizens for Reagan, "and there is no doubt that, thanks to the Rockefeller influence, they can raise literally millions more."

Mr. Reagan, running "a campaign of the people," has "no 'sugar-daddies' bankrolling his campaign," Senator Laxalt wrote. "Due to the distortions of the biased news commentators, Ronald Reagan must have hundreds of thousands, even millions, of dollars for TV time so that he may speak directly to the American people."

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona is the first of the active Presidential candidates to rent his own airplane—a Fairchild F127 that in honor of his wife, who Mr. Udall has dubbed "Tiger" in honor of his wife, who has the same nickname. The 18-seat plane has been leased through the end of January at \$15,000 a month, or about \$500 a day. Fuel is extra.

What makes it economically feasible, oddly enough, is the Secret Service protection that Mr. Udall was quick to accept after the assassination scares involving President Ford. Up to 10 Secret Service agents travel with Mr. Udall, and the Treasury Department pays first-class fares on every flight they take.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, continues to entertain the thought of running for the Democratic Presidential nomination—or at least the thought continues to entertain him.

In an unfinished series of political lunches and dinners, Senator Church has sounded out, among others, Ben Palumbo, the foot-loose former director of Senator Lloyd M.

Bentsen Jr.'s national campaign; Anne Wexler, the former Connecticut reformer, now at Rolling Stone magazine; Alan Baron, press secretary to Senator McGovern; Mark Shields, a co-director of Senator Muskie's 1972 campaign, and Henry Kimelman, the Virgin Islands businessman who managed the McGovern campaign finances in 1972. Opinion among the confidants is divided, but mainly confused, about Senator Church's intentions.

Terry Sanford, the former Governor of North Carolina, said his campaign is broke but not broken in announcing his new unsalaried campaign manager last week: Dennis Shaul of Akron, Ohio, a 36-year-old Rhodes Scholar, lawyer and former head of the Ohio Department of Commerce. Mr. Shaul has "no illusions," he said. "This campaign has special problems," including a \$75,000 deficit.

Meanwhile, Beatrice Smith has quit her job as Middle Western coordinator of Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign. She said she was still personally devoted to her candidate, the former Governor of Georgia, but was troubled at the discovery that his lieutenants could not accept a woman in policy talks.

Humphrey

Chicago Tribune

Bill Anderson

Humphrey leads a drive to get New York federal aid

WASHINGTON—Federal backing to salvage New York City finances in now likely to come from legislative action led by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

The financial difficulty of the city is expected to be mitigated with the creation of a federal office which would guarantee the city investment bondholders against default.

Shoring up of the sinking city by means of the Humphrey plan has received a considerable boost from Vice President Rockefeller and even the fiscally conservative Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

To reach his goal despite a reluctant Congress and adamant President, Humphrey's strategy would soften the issue by:

- Allowing other cities [like Newark and San Francisco] federal backing in financial time of need.
- Requiring submission by the city of a three year financial plan—with "specific proposals to assure the achievement of a balanced operating budget within two years."
- Having the federal government deal with the cities and states as a kind of financial overseer run by a five member board appointed by the President with the approval of Congress.
- Debating the proposal without first

putting a firm dollar cost to the taxpayers on the package.

Other legislative proposals in great variety have been surfacing in Congress, but none has been as broad based

or as carefully calculated to overcome obstacles as the Humphrey package.

Humphrey is considered one of the best legislative jockies in Congress. In recent weeks the Minnesota senator has enjoyed widespread media speculation that he can win the 1976 Presidential nomination if Democrats deadlock over the announced candidates.

Humphrey's boldly timed action comes as the Ford administration seemingly has exhausted stalling tactics designed to bring at least bookkeeping order in New York.

Until now, financial "gimmicks" have staved off bond defaults, along with a variety of refinancing efforts by the state. The city has a \$12.3 billion budget this year, with \$800 million of the amount as current deficit.

Humphrey acknowledges that the yearly debt service cost to the city is a staggering \$1.6 billion. Estimates of the actual debt vary. The situation has been so desperate that Mayor Abraham Beame, the former city comptroller, has had to resort to short-term borrowing to meet operating expenses.

Even the Municipal Assistance Corporation, recently created by the state to underwrite the city, cannot now easily raise money in the bond markets. Burns, after initially opposing federal

intervention, says he no longer dismisses the idea.

One concern of Burns is that banks all over the United States would suffer thru city bond defaults to the point another depression could be triggered. Rockefeller—who as governor helped create numerous new borrowing agencies in New York State—broke with the President a week ago on the need for federal aid.

FOOTNOTE—Both Rockefeller and Humphrey have been two of the biggest spenders of tax dollars in the 199 years of American government. As governor, Rockefeller turned Albany, N. Y., into a city of state skyscrapers. Most of the \$6 million private debt of the Democratic National Committee comes from the deficit financing of the 1968 Humphrey-for-President campaign.

DUNAGIN'S PEOPLE



"We want men to join the navy and see the world, commander, but we prefer that they see part of it ashore."

D Humphrey

Joseph C. Harsch

Hubert Humphrey's big plus

The political pundits of Washington have rediscovered Hubert Horatio Humphrey of Minnesota. They have been writing about the possibility that the Democratic convention of 1976 will look over the crop of new Democratic young hopefuls and turn gratefully back to their most respected senior citizen and invite him to lead them once more.

Whether this scenario makes any practical sense is questionable. The big American political parties seldom turn back to former leaders who have failed to win their big election tests. There is still a memory in the Democratic Party of the three times they ran under William Jennings Bryan — and lost every time. They never repeated that mistake. True, they have only run once before under Senator Humphrey (1968), and then lost by a narrow margin and might have won had the campaign gone on another week. He was pulling up at the end. But that was seven years ago. And it will soon be 28 years since he came to the Senate of the United States and national prominence.

It is difficult for anyone in Congress to remember the days before Hubert Humphrey came to the Senate and became instantly the most insistent and vociferous champion of every cause which at the time seemed to be progressive, liberal, forward looking, etc. He long since has become an institution in his own right — the automatic champion of every "good cause," of every underprivileged person or group, and the eternal optimist.

Is a party likely to turn back to someone who has been around that long and has become such a household fixture? It is difficult to get excited about someone whose flaws and virtues are so familiar. There could be no surprises with Hubert Humphrey.

But in what we know about him are two very good things.

The first is his experience. He has been at one end of Pennsylvania Ave. as a Senator or the other as a Vice-President since 1948. And he was Vice-President under Lyndon B. Johnson, which is indeed a seasoning and a

sobering experience for any human being to have to pass through. It has frequently been said that he has had more training for the office of president than anyone else in Washington. In the process of that training he has gained both knowledge of the workings of the federal establishment and the touch of humility which is so desirable in anyone approaching the White House.

This takes us to the second very good thing about him. Partly by inherent nature and partly from painful experience Hubert Humphrey is now a man graced with an inability to be pompous, stuffy, or arrogant.

If Americans truly would like to climb down from an imperial presidency to the earlier system of a citizen presiding temporarily over their public affairs — then Senator Humphrey could be the man. He is essentially a civilian and a citizen. It is impossible to imagine him keeping up as many royal residences as King Henry VIII, or moving about the world with an imperial train as numerous as the Emperor Charlemagne.

President Ford has good inclinations in this direction. Vail, Colorado, is so far the only place he visits regularly. And that has not yet been institutionalized as a "White House-West." And he has announced that he is trying to trim down the White House staff from its present 520 persons to 485.

Even at 485 that staff would be more than double what it was during World War II under Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Someone has figured that it would still be six times the staff that proved sufficient for President Lincoln during the Civil War. And it includes 40 persons on the press office staff. I can remember when President Hoover had one press officer who in turn had one secretary.

Even a Hubert Humphrey could probably not trim the White House staff back to its size of World War II. But we may be sure that the atmosphere of a Humphrey White House would be more reminiscent of the earlier and simpler days of the republic than of Imperial Rome — or Camelot.

The Humphrey Factor

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, March 3—While many were watching other states and other candidates, Henry Jackson walked off with the biggest prize so far in the 1976 Democratic race. But the real beneficiary of the Massachusetts primary may eventually turn out to be another fellow: Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

There is a straightforward reason for believing that the Massachusetts result will intensify talk of a Humphrey candidacy. Senator Jackson's hawkish views on foreign policy alarm a substantial number of active Democrats. He is the one man who could make some liberals forgive Hubert Humphrey. The prospect of a Jackson nomination, like the prospect of being hanged, will concentrate their minds wonderfully.

The Jackson win here could concentrate one particular mind, that of Senator Edward Kennedy. While he continues to say, convincingly, that he will not be a candidate for national office this year, he and Senator Humphrey have raised a lot of eyebrows by their chumminess recently. Some Democrats have been dreaming of a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket. And the Vice-Presidential role could be a way for Senator Kennedy to get Chapquiddick behind him at last.

Whether or not he relaxes his Sherman stance against running himself, Senator Kennedy may play a significant role in the process of choosing the Presidential candidate. Among Democrats who were passionately opposed to the Vietnam war—including Kennedy—Jackson's dogged support of the war will not easily be forgotten.

Of course Scoop Jackson cannot be brushed aside as to Massachusetts. He demonstrated that he can win votes in an ethnically mixed industrial state—the very votes that the Democrats will have to get to win next fall.

He did it by hard, effective work. Senator Jackson spent a lot of time in Massachusetts and a lot of money, more of both than his rivals. He did not always get media attention, perhaps because he lacks personal glamour or because he worked hard in 1972 with little effect. What he had was organization, of an old-fashioned kind—not young people.

"We've got a tremendous organization here," Jackson said before the vote. "We have seven telephone banks with 100 operators. We have support from labor and among ethnic and nationality groups." When it snowed on election day, his people were ready to drive voters to the polls.

Mr. Jackson also played shrewdly on the sensitive nerve of Massachusetts politics these days: school busing.

One week before the primary he ran a full-page newspaper advertisement with the message "I AM AGAINST BUSING." The ad said George Wallace complained about busing but never did anything about it. Then, in language reminiscent of Richard Nixon on Vietnam in 1968, the ad said: "Only one candidate has a plan that can stop it."

In the week between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, much liberal effort was devoted to attacking Jimmy Carter. Many of the votes taken from him must have gone to Jackson. Given what many liberals think of Jackson, they may now be having second thoughts about their tactics.

Mr. Carter, as he cheerfully admitted after the vote, mishandled Massachusetts. In the earlier caucus and primary states, he had shown great talent for

ABROAD AT HOME

organizing—but he did almost none here. He spent little time in the state. He relied too much on a media campaign, and on spillover effect from his win in New Hampshire.

The result could be to stop Carter's "momentum," that vogue factor of the 1976 campaign. Carter could lose some votes to Jackson in Florida next week, thus giving George Wallace a better chance to finish first. At the least, Massachusetts dents the Carter mystique. If he had won, he might have been hard to stop.

In fact, Massachusetts makes it harder to believe that the new primary system is going to produce the candidate at all. Even if Jackson does well in New York, it is difficult to see him winning enough delegates in the primaries to be nominated. Nor can realistic liberals have too much hope for Morris Udall if he could not win 20 percent of the vote in Massachusetts.

Massachusetts makes clear that it is a different ball game for the Democrats in 1976, a much more conservative one. The one state that George McGovern carried in 1972 has given more than half its Democratic primary votes to George Wallace, Henry Jackson and Jimmy Carter. If the brokers make the choice at the convention, they will be looking for someone who can appeal above all to working people, pinched by unemployment and inflation.

But the liberals may still have a veto power in the party. Before the voting here, I asked a number who were critical of Jimmy Carter how they would feel if the choice were between him and Scoop Jackson. Every one said he or she would choose Carter. If those anti-Jackson feelings remain strong, the liberals may find themselves in New York next July cheering for Hubert.

NY Times

3/5/76

Neat trick is tried for HHH

It is obvious, from the zeal with which so many Democratic presidential candidates are hitting the campaign trail in Massachusetts, that they don't appreciate what a tremendous job it is to get 15 percent of the vote cast in a presidential preference primary in this state.

Four years ago, with names like Hubert Humphrey, George Wallace, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Wilbur Mills, Shirley Chisholm, Eugene McCarthy, New York Mayor John V. Lindsey, the only two candidates who could muster more than 15 percent of the vote were George McGovern, the winner, and Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine. Humphrey came in third with about 48,000 votes, less than 8 percent of the 635,000 votes cast by the Democrats.

In that primary, the man with the highest vote won all the delegates. This year it's different. The candidate wins delegates in proportion to the vote he gets in the polls. But there is one important stipulation. If he doesn't poll at least 7 percent of the vote at the congressional district level or 15 percent statewide, he is not entitled to any district or at-large delegates.

The Democratic national guideline calls for a 15 percent requirement, but Massachusetts, because it is one of the early primaries and has so many entries, opted for the lesser requirement at the district level.

One man who appreciates the 15 percent requirement is former Atty. Gen. Edward J. McCormack, who is in the process of performing one of the neatest political tricks of the year.

McCormack proposes to translate the "no preference" or "uncommitted" vote, for which there is a provision on the ballot, into a resounding huzzah for Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, who in 1968, won Massachusetts over Nixon by a whopping 700,000 votes. But four years later, as the presidential preference vote indicates, he could muster the support of only about 8 percent.

To take advantage of the "no preference" option on the ballot, McCormack last week organized caucuses for the "uncommitted" in 10 congressional districts. In the two other congressional districts, the Fifth on the North Shore, and First in Western Massachusetts, caucuses for the uncommitted were organized on local initiative. But in all instances, the organizers were clearly motivated by the possibility of drafting Humphrey or Sen. Ted Kennedy.

McCormack is not worried whether he can prevail upon delegates elected at those 12 caucuses to back Hubert, an "avowed" non-candidate, who would accept a convention draft.

He is more concerned over whether there will be as many as 15 percent who would be willing to go to the polls to overtly cast a ballot for "no preference." It's difficult enough to get Democrats into the booth to vote for a live candidate. How do you prevail upon them to go in and just check the square that says "no preference."

He is, therefore, planning a court challenge of a ruling of Secretary of State Paul L. Guzzi, who has declared that a blank vote cannot be considered a "no preference" vote. He maintains that a voter who expresses no preference for any of the candidates listed is, in effect, an uncommitted voter and, therefore, should be represented by one of his uncommitted delegates.

His resort to the courts is presumed because Atty. Gen. Francis X. Bellotti already has informally supported Guzzi.

Even so, McCormack may be stirring up a needless tempest. For the record shows that blanks aren't worth that kind of fight. In 1972, for instance, with 635,000 Democrats voting, there were 16,115 blanks, only about 2.5 percent of the ballots cast.

If the turnout March 2 is as great as the record-breaking presidential primaries in 1972 in Massachusetts, a candidate, to qualify for the delegate sweepstakes, would have to get 95,000 votes.

Some observers think the turnout will be substantially lower than four years ago when the Vietnam War impelled so many young people to get themselves and their parents involved in the McGovern campaign. But Paul Guzzi thinks it will be greater than in 1972, mostly because so many candidates have mounted more full-blown campaigns than those of four years ago.

So far there are no indications that the campaigns have shaken the majority of the voters out of their doldrums. Certainly, you couldn't make an assessment from the caucuses held last week when a total of only about 10,000 out of a potential 2.3 million Democrats and Independents cast ballots.

A. A. Michelson writes for the *Berkshire Eagle*.

Humphrey,

Humphrey 'sees to go' while speaking out.



By Arthur Unger
TV critic of

The Christian Science Monitor
New York

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
throws his hat into the presi-
dential ring today . . . sort of.

Appearing on the final 1976
edition of Bill Moyers' Jour-
nal," Senator Humphrey says:

"I would like to be president of
the country. . . . But I am not
going to scramble, beg, or
ask. . . . If my party needs me
and wants me, they know where I am."

Turns more available

In a series of revealing answers to Mr. Moyers's probing, Mr. Humphrey discourses on such topics as former Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, the war in Vietnam, inflation and unemployment, the 1968 campaign, his personal philosophy. What emerges is a candid portrait of a politician turned elder statesman who seems to be reassessing himself and his role in politics with the wisdom of perspective.

Mr. Humphrey says that he was most hurt in the 1968 campaign when people "would come up and say there's not a dime's worth of difference between my record and Richard Nixon's. I've given a whole life over to what I call the social aspects of politics. I've fought my heart out for Food for Peace and the Peace Corps and disarmament and arms control and civil rights and civil liberties and education. And Richard Nixon has never been identified with anything but investigations."

★Please turn to Page 5

Some of Mr. Humphrey's observations:

• "If Bobby Kennedy had lived and he had received the nomination [in 1972] I think he would have won because I would have backed him. Not only because I would have backed him but he was a regular, even though he was a man that was very independent. . . . He would have carried our banner and won. Had I received the nomination and he lived, he would have backed me and I would have won. But, Eugene [McCarthy] . . . he was a maverick, he was different, and that made a little difference. I also believe that we didn't ask the President [Mr. Johnson] to do as much as we should have.

• "Mrs. Chennault [Mrs. Claire Chennault] had gone and talked to the people in Saigon and told Thieu that Nixon's going to win, you don't have to go to Paris [the peace conference]. And we were trying to get him to commit that Thieu would be in Paris immediately after the election. And that no good so and so would not commit, even though Lyndon Johnson had poured the blood of this country out, and the treasure of this country to help him . . . and President Thieu of South Vietnam listened to Mrs. Chennault, and I never was able to

prove that Nixon had his hand in it. . . . I tell you, he got no sympathy from me, when he was ousted.

• "Up to the time of the Tet offensive, I supported our efforts [in Vietnam]. I've never been a hypocrite about it. I said I'd rather be called stupid and wrong than to be called a hypocrite. I spoke in behalf of the administration's policies. . . . I became convinced in 1968 that we simply had to withdraw. . . . But I had to be very careful that I didn't jeopardize the peace efforts, that would show a break in the administration. . . . I think I could have ended the war sooner had I been elected. But I'm not at all sure at that time if I'd made a complete break [with the Johnson administration] that it would have helped me or helped the peace effort.

• "We were a world power with a halfworld knowledge. And we still are. We could make the same critical mistakes. We didn't understand what was going on in that part of the world . . . we envisioned that part of the world as if it was Western Europe. . . . But it wasn't the same. They were different people, different cultures, different values, different histories. . . . Our judgments came out of the American society.

• "We elected a president in 1968 that said this war on poverty has got to stop. If he'd quit the war in Vietnam as soon as he quit the war on poverty we'd have all been better off. . . . He put people in charge who didn't want to win. . . . and now all of these same people are running around this country selling you and others on the idea that these programs didn't work. . . . they don't work, if you don't want them to work."

Mr. Moyers persists (PBS, Sunday, 10-11 p.m., check local listings for premiere and repeats) with direct questions concerning Senator Humphrey's political posture in the upcoming presidential election. "Why don't you run for president?" he asks. Responds Senator Humphrey:

"Because at this particular time in my life, just being the open and free spirit that I hope I am, I can speak out without seeking anything. . . . If my ideas are worthwhile, people will listen to me. . . . Maybe that's another way to become president. . . . maybe if you're asking for it you don't get it, maybe if your scrambling for it, you'll lose it, maybe if you're begging, it'll be denied. . . . I am not going to scramble, beg, or ask. . . . I've been doing that a long time in my life. I don't have to do that now. And I have a perfect sense of inner peace . . . satisfaction about what I'm doing."

In this final journal of the year, Mr. Moyers comments very little, allowing Mr. Humphrey to speak his mind thoroughly. What emerges is such an effective and impressive portrait that, chances are, Bill Moyers will have to re-activate the Journal to accommodate the inevitable demands for equal time.

Humphrey draft about to burst out



Backers see victory in convention standoff

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Some 15,000 to 17,000 Democrats — all key members of the party at national and local levels — will be asked this week to join a Draft-Humphrey-for-President move.

One of the leaders of the move, U.S. Rep. Paul M. Simon (D) of Illinois, says, "It now has become clear that none of the present candidates will win the nomination on the first ballot. We think that the convention will then turn to Humphrey."

The scenario in which Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey gets the Democratic presidential nomination — as outlined by Mr. Simon, a well-known and respected Democrat — goes like this:

- Senator Humphrey picks up more than 300 votes on the first ballot — from delegates who are uncommitted. "Most of the uncommitted delegates that have been chosen are for Humphrey," says Representative Simon.

- From this modest beginning, Senator Humphrey then goes on to gain gradually in succeeding ballots and finally to win the nomination.

Leaders of the draft were heartened by a new survey of Democratic delegates to the 1972 national convention — conducted by the National Observer — which showed strong support for Senator Humphrey.

In this survey, Senator Humphrey, who is not in any of the primaries, leads everyone who is. He had the support of 203 delegates; Rep. Morris K. Udall was next with 149; Jimmy Carter next with 130; Sen. Henry M. Jackson, 61; Gov. George C. Wallace, Sen. Frank Church, and Fred Harris, 48 each; and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., 20.

Mr. Simon says he is convinced Senator Humphrey can win the nomination even if he stays out of all primaries. "I wish he would go into one or two," says Mr. Simon. "But I don't believe he will."

Does Senator Humphrey approve of this draft? Representative Simon, who has a close

★ Please turn to Page 7

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relationship with the Minnesota Senator, so that he was "purposely" not conferring with the Senator about the move.

Humphrey supporters are confident that most of the delegates being selected in state primaries are either secretly for Humphrey or view him as their second choice. Thus, the backers feel, there will be a widespread renewal of support for Senator Humphrey at the convention starting July 12 in New York City.

The assumption in this draft move is that none of the present candidates will build sufficient delegate strength in the primaries caucus states to win a first-ballot victory at the convention.

But should Mr. Carter continue to win primaries, in Pennsylvania and the South, Midwest, and West — at some point a Humphrey draft will become impossible.

"But," says Mr. Simon, "Carter now has only 26 percent of the delegates thus far selected. I think that the time has passed when either he or anyone else will be able to get enough delegates to win on the first ballot."

Humphrey Receives Aid in Pennsylvania

HUMPHREY AIDED IN PENNSYLVANIA

Labor Leaders, Ostensibly Supporting Jackson, Give Him Rousing Reception

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 8—Ostensibly committed to the candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Pennsylvania's most powerful labor leaders are nevertheless trying to enhance Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's Presidential aspirations by thwarting Jimmy Carter's campaign for the Democratic primary here on April 27.

The dimensions of their plan came to light today after an enthusiastic reception for Mr. Humphrey at the A.F.L.-C.I.O. state convention, where more than 2,500 delegates gave him prolonged applause and standing ovations.

In return, the former Vice President, who was the Democratic nominee in 1968, gave them a full hour of ringing rhetoric, ranging from comic satire to eloquent exhortations.

Then, while Senator Jackson was shaking hands with many of the convention delegates, political strategists for the 1.5-million-member organization, the most potent voting bloc in Pennsylvania, were openly explaining their plans to enhance Mr. Humphrey's chances of winning the nomination by

Continued on Page 14, Column 3

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

thwarting the candidacy of Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia.

Their blueprint calls not only for the aggressive support of Senator Jackson wherever that seems promising, but also for vigorous efforts in behalf of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and slates of uncommitted delegate-candidates.

The labor leaders will strive to deprive Mr. Carter, the current front-runner, of as many delegates as possible. This approach is consonant with Senator Humphrey's vision of a nominating convention that will turn to him once again because no one else, in the course of the primaries, gathers a majority of delegates.

Although some labor leaders here suggested that Senator Humphrey's abstention from the primaries would make a Presidential nomination for him impossible, they conceded that a successful "stop Carter" effort in Pennsylvania would at least keep him alive politically for a while.

Thus, the election here on April 27, from which Gov. Milton J. Sharp has withdrawn, has been transformed into what one observer called "the Armageddon of 1976," a contest of immense importance to the four men who are involved.

None of the three others—Mr. Udall, Mr. Carter and Senator Jackson—were invited to address the meeting. Although all of them made brief, informal sorties into the mass of delegates over the last two days, none of them expected or found the sort of welcome that Mr. Humphrey got when he walked into the crowded ballroom of the Hilton Hotel today.

With shouts and whistles, the men and women from union-affiliates greeted him with a standing ovation as he walked down the aisle to the yellow-draped dais.

There, with cameras flashing and the applause continuing unabated, he was fondly embraced by Harry Boyer, the state A.F.L.-C.I.O. president; Michael Johnson, the retiring executive vice president and chief political organizer for the unions, and Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

the chant "We need Humphrey! We need Humphrey!"

However remote or realistic the Senator's prospects for the Democratic nomination may be, he looked and sounded like a candidate today.

His pink face glowed under the television lamps. His eyes sparkled, giving the appearance of tears, and his graying hair, seemingly tinted darker, was carefully coiffed.

His gestures were animated—at times almost acrobatic, as when he stepped to the side of the microphone-studded lectern and bent over an imaginary football in referring to President Ford's collegiate experience as a center.

"He's still seeing everything upside down," Senator Humphrey said, borrowing a line from Governor Shapp.

The delegates loved all of this and roared for more, and he gave it to them.

The Republicans, he said, his voice rising higher and higher until it finally broke, are "bucaneers" who have driven the country "into the ground" with 19th century economic policies and a callousness toward hu-

man need that is 'unforgivably immoral."

Then, after leading his audience through the "horrors of the Ford-Nixon Administration," he raised himself to the tips of his toes, shot his arm like a lance across the lectern and shouted Senator Jackson's favorite line.

"The best way to get inflation down is to put people to work," he said. The roar from the audience was immediate, and out came the banner, and the chant began again.

Finally, facing the deadline of an airplane departure, Mr. Humphrey finished by advising the announced candidates not to run against Washington and not to be afraid to make promises to the voters.

"For promises," he said, his eyes even more liquid than before, "build hope, and life is built on hope. Without the promise, there can be no hope—and without hope, we are dead."

Then, Senator Humphrey left the dais surrounded by well-wishers, a man who seemed to know quite well the meaning of hope.

"We need Humphrey! We need Humphrey!" the crowd chanted, and some men unfurled a 40-foot banner proclaiming, "Pennsylvanians for Humphrey" and paraded it across the foot of the hall. That seemed to be all the inspiration the 64-year-old Senator require. As soon as he began to speak, he raised the delegates to new heights of enthusiasm. Time and again, they interrupted him with applause and foot-stomping and

Sen

Clayton Fritchey

Humphrey's New Hurrah

Sen. Hubert Humphrey seems to be having a new lease on life. One of the pleasant surprises of the new 93d Congress is the former vice president's re-emergence as a spirited leader on Capitol Hill. He is a man in motion on the Democratic side.

When Humphrey lost out in his long and bitter fight for the Democratic presidential nomination last year, he appeared to be depressed and discouraged. He campaigned earnestly for the nominee, Sen. George McGovern of

South Dakota, but the old fire seemed to be waning.

After the election, some of his friends began to think that he had lost interest not only in his career but in politics as well. But they were mistaken. The senator was merely recharging his heavy-duty batteries. Since the 93d Congress opened early in January he has been engaged in a nonstop performance.

It's hard to recall a time, even when Mr. Humphrey was the assistant majority leader (1961-64) during the Kennedy-Johnson presidential era, that the

senator has been so politically active in so many different ways. As a senior spokesman for the loyal opposition, he has been on the front pages almost daily.

It is interesting to compare his performance with that of Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana who has been majority leader since the late Lyndon Johnson retired to become vice president in 1961. Mansfield, a modest, retiring man, has little taste for battle. He is content most of the time to leave this role to others, so the Democrats have needed someone with Humphrey's initiative and eloquence to rally them. He has responded with zest.

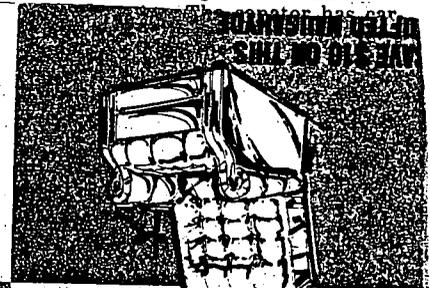
More notable, however, has been Humphrey's creative efforts, such as introduction of the Fiscal and Budgetary Reform Act of 1973, a far-reaching effort to enable Congress to exercise greater control over spending. Along with this, he has offered a resolution to modernize the Senate's committee structure.

He has also begun a drive to improve the U.S. Postal Service, and has introduced the Employment Opportunities Act of 1973 to "promote maximum employment." Another bill of his would authorize airlines to grant free or reduced fares to senior citizens and the physically handicapped.

The former vice president, who once served as chairman of the Senate subcommittee on disarmament and arms control, a few days ago introduced a resolution calling for immediate suspension of all underground nuclear testing in both the United States and Russia and proposing a permanent treaty to ban all nuclear tests.

More than anything else, though, it is President Nixon's challenge to congressional authority that seems to have revived Humphrey. The administration's anti-Great Society budget and its arbitrary impoundment of funds voted by Congress for various social purposes have brought the Minnesotan

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Only His Hairdresser Knows

Jack W. Germond

WASHINGTON — During the 1972 primary campaign in Florida Hubert Humphrey had a favorite line he liked to use when talking to the old folks in South Miami Beach. "When you're flying in a plane and you run into some rough weather," he would say, "you want a pilot up in the cockpit with a little gray in his hair."

In the back of the room the reporters would snicker among themselves. Humphrey's hair had a conspicuously unnatural orange hue that belied his pronouncement that gray is beautiful.

But today, at 64, wearing his hair in a somewhat more subdued shade, Humphrey is once again the object of the fancy of the Democratic party regulars. We could do a lot worse than old Hubert, they are saying, a lot worse.

There is already a catalogue of his assets. He has the name recognition, they say. He has the identification with the economic issue that is likely to be so important next year. And, of course, everyone likes old Hubert. How could they not? How can anyone help but like a man so extravagantly exuberant that he kisses his wife's image on a television screen?

AND THEN there is the George Wallace problem. Who else but Humphrey has a rapport with the working man to give the lie to Wallace's promises to send a message to the big shots in Washington. No political professional has forgotten those last weeks of the 1968 campaign when Humphrey cut Wallace in half.

His liabilities are ignored, no one mentions the curse of his support for the policies of Lyndon Johnson in Vietnam any more. Everyone overlooks the conviction of his 1970 campaign manager for accepting illegal contributions from the dairy industry. No one reminds us that, like Richard Nixon, Humphrey claimed a tax deduction on his vice presidential papers. Everyone knows old Hubert is no Nixon.

Humphrey is, of course, available. He tells interviewers he'll take the presidential nomination "if its laid before me" but won't seek it in the primaries, a disclaimer his political colleagues take about as seriously as Nixon's protestations of innocence. In fact, he could wait until late March or early April and still compete.

But what is significant about this Humphrey revival is not what it tells about his chances, which he accurately assesses as slim. It is what it tells about the Democratic party today.

AT THE most obvious level, the message is that the alternatives already in the field — the Jacksons and Bentsens and Bayhs and Sanford — have inspired minimal enthusiasm among the great unwashed. You don't need a Gallup poll to tell you that. It's in all the papers.

All the evidence from the electorate tells the Democrats they, too, are in trouble — that Americans distrust old politics and old politicians in both parties; that they have little or no confidence in government solutions to their problems, that neither liberal nor conservative theology has any meaning for their lives.

But the Democrats, quite understandably, resist these realities. They yearn for another John F. Kennedy and, lacking that, talk about Hubert Humphrey as the best possible alternative. He is, after all, the happy warrior who makes things all better. A candidate who could practice "the politics of joy" in 1968 must be the man for the malaise of 1976. This is the easy way, so much better than examining the credentials of a Morris Udall or Fred Harris or Jimmy Carter to see if there might be a formula for new directions. To take that course is to admit that Humphrey is an idea whose time has passed, that the grand optimism that has always characterized his politics has little relevance these days. And to admit that is to concede that the Democratic Party may be out of touch with those upon whom it has relied for support for so long.

So why not Hubert Humphrey in 1976? When you're flying in rough weather, you want a pilot with a little gray in his hair.

HHH Doubts He Can Win California

By WALLACE TURNER

LOS ANGELES (NYT) — Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey is telling close friends that he cannot win the California Democratic presidential primary Tuesday and is concentrating on keeping the loss small.

He also is insisting in private, as he has publicly, that he will continue to campaign into the Democratic National Convention next month, even if he loses here.

Humphrey's private concession of defeat contrasted with Sen. George McGovern's confidence shown as he left the state on election eve to campaign in New Mexico and to meet with Democratic governors in Houston.

There are 271 convention votes at stake in the California Democratic primary, and they will go in a block to the winner. Other presidential primaries will be held Tuesday in New Jersey, New Mexico and South Dakota.

Any chance of a fourth television confrontation here between the two senators went glimmering when Sen. McGovern decided to leave the state Monday. The two were questioned by panels of newsmen on May 28 and May 30.

Sunday night they appeared with Mayor Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles, Rep. Shirley Chisholm of New York and Taylor Hardin, a representative of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who has asked Democrats to give him write in votes.

"I don't think anybody will shed any tears if there's not any debate," McGovern said.

Yorty dropped out of the race Tuesday and asked his supporters to vote for Humphrey. The mayor's campaign has been hovering next to zero impact since he ran poorly in New Hampshire in March, even though he had the support there of the state's largest newspaper, the Manchester Union-Leader.

"Our Democratic party is threatened with suicidal radicalization by Sen. George McGovern's lavishly financed campaign of deception and demagoguery," Yorty said. In 1960 the mayor supported Richard M. Nixon over John F. Kennedy.

Asked about the Yorty endorsement, Humphrey said he did not expect it to help him much. The senator flew to San Francisco and then to San Diego for speeches before returning here.

Besides Humphrey, McGovern, Yorty and Mrs. Chisholm, the names on the Democratic ballot will be Sens. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York, and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy, all of whom have stopped active campaigning.

The scramble for California delegates — the largest single bloc in the party's national convention — has obscured the attempt of Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio to organize support among the Republican right wing for his campaign in opposition to President Nixon.

The President is now a California resident, having registered from his home in San Clemente, Orange County. But Nixon has not entered the state since January, nor, the polls indicate, has he had to win support.

The well respected California Poll reported last week that Nixon was favored by 85 per cent of the Republican voters, Ashbrook by 5 per cent and 10 per cent were undecided.

But the Committee to Re-elect the President has been working quietly in this state to organize a get-out-the-vote campaign to support Nixon, and also, it appears, to prepare for the presidential campaign in the fall.

Lyn Hofziger, manager of the Nixon campaign here, said Monday that nine test areas across the state have been selected for experimentation with telephone-calling techniques to identify issues that shape voter attitudes.

Nofziger said that the Republicans must capture Democratic and independent votes to carry this state's 45 electoral votes in November. There are 9.1-million Californians registered, with 5.1-million Democrats and 3.4-million Republicans.

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Humphrey Finds Support in S.C.

By JACK BASS

Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey made a five-hour visit here last week and left feeling "very encouraged."

Although Humphrey finished third in the presidential election in South Carolina four years ago, the state delegation to the national convention was the only one that voted unanimously for him.

Humphrey got a standing ovation after an address to the legislature Tuesday, received an almost-endorsement from Gov. John C. West, was guest at the governor's mansion for a

SOUTH CAROLINA

luncheon with the delegates, and said he believed his speech to the delegates was "well-received."

Lt. Gov. Earle E. Morris, who is stepping down as a delegate, said he believes Humphrey will get more than half of the state's votes at Miami Beach.

The delegates agreed to formally remain uncommitted until the convention.

Later in the day they met with Gary Hart, Sen. George McGovern's national campaign manager. And the black delegates also met with Mayor Howard Lee of Chapel Hill, who is trying to drum up support for former N.C. Gov. Terry Sanford, who hasn't yet given up presidential aspirations.

Hart predicted that McGovern "may get a third of the del-

egates if everything breaks right" in South Carolina, but added he may be optimistic.

In introducing Humphrey to the legislature, West said he has become "increasingly proud" of a 1968 statement in which he "enthusiastically endorsed" Humphrey for president after President Lyndon Johnson's surprise announcement not to seek re-election.

West told Humphrey, "I will support enthusiastically you and any Democratic ticket of which you may be a part in the elections of November 1972." West insisted to newsmen the statement was not an endorsement and that he officially remains uncommitted. He believes an uncommitted delegation will have more influence at Miami Beach.

The delegates also learned Tuesday that a hearing officer for the credentials committee has found the party in violation of delegates selection guidelines because the delegation fails to contain women "in reasonable relationship to their presence in the state population."

Replacement of a woman delegate for Lt. Gov. Morris on the at-large slate still leaves only eight women among the 32 delegates. Addition of two women alternates to replace men makes eight women among the 26 alternates.

The 32 delegates includes 11 blacks, 10 of them men, and five youth delegates who are 30 or under.

Hearing officer George P. Taylor found no violation of guidelines for blacks and young people. The state party "has made tremendous progress in overcoming past discrimination" against blacks, he said in a report to the Credentials Committee, and their participation at every level in party affairs "is quite obvious."

Lee

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Sen

Humphrey Called Late On Report

Reuter

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's 1972 presidential campaign organization failed to disclose \$456,732 in contributions until more than a year after he lost his bid to win the 1972 Democratic Party nomination, the Federal Elections Office reported yesterday.

The agency called the discovery "a serious frustration" of election laws and turned over its report to Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson for further investigation.

The elections office also said the committee for the nomination of Humphrey failed to document properly \$200,000 to \$300,000 in expenditures during the year.

Furthermore, the agency said that Federal law was violated by the committee since an audit disclosed that six corporations had donated \$1,900.

After the government agency started its audit in June, the Humphrey committee reported additional receipts of \$456,732 and expenditures of \$420,236, amounts that should have been reported much earlier under the law which requires prompt disclosure of campaign funds.

Before the audit, the Humphrey committee had reported it received \$2,565,370 and had spent \$2,565,252 in the senator's futile attempt to beat Sen. George McGovern for the party's presidential nomination.

The agency, an arm of the General Accounting Office, also reported that the Humphrey committee had received over \$1 million in contributions exceeding the \$3,000 limit donors can give without paying U.S. gift taxes.

Governor's backers reach for party reins

Humphrey in '76? Minnesota Democrats 'get set'

By Judith Frutig
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

St. Paul, Minnesota

Anticipating a Hubert H. Humphrey dark-horse candidacy, supporters of Gov. Wendell R. Anderson (D) of Minnesota quietly are maneuvering for control of the state party structure.

The avowed purpose of the move is to elect a slate of national delegates who would support Senator Humphrey, Minnesota's leading political figure, for presidential nomination if the national Democratic Party turns to him.

As Mr. Anderson told a breakfast meeting of reporters in Washington last week, "If Humphrey maintains his momentum, I will have to urge him to get into the primaries."

However, Mr. Anderson's main concern in placing the Humphrey name on the 1976 presidential ticket, according to political insiders here, is the Senate seat Mr. Humphrey would vacate.

Publicly, the Governor scoffs at this suggestion, saying that he simply supports Mr. Humphrey as the Democrats' best hope. He adds, "If you want to read something more into that — fine and dandy. But I think those who do are dealing with gossip rather than fact."

But among sources within the state party who were contacted by this newspaper, there are mixed reactions. Said one former campaign manager who asked to remain anonymous, "He's sniffing around." Another party regular said, "He's hiding behind Humphrey."

Some evidence tends to support Mr. Anderson's statement. The speculation over the Senate race gained considerable momentum in recent months after Republican state chairman Robert Slocum described during a press conference how he thought Mr. Anderson would pursue the Senate nomination.

But interviews with knowledgeable Minnesota political insiders also reveal:

- Common knowledge throughout the state that Governor

Anderson, a young and ambitious politician, would like to be Senator Anderson. "It isn't a deep secret," said one state senator. "There just hasn't been an announcement."

• Discussions in progress among state central committee members regarding the possibility of recessing rather than adjourning the state convention next June in the event that Mr. Humphrey receives the presidential nod at the national convention in July in New York.

Since state law prohibits Mr. Humphrey from running for both offices at once, party officials are preparing to nominate him for his Senate seat, then stand by to renominate someone else for the Senate seat if Mr. Humphrey emerges as a national candidate. If Mr. Anderson announces his candidacy for the Senate, that would mean open season among state Democrats for both the Humphrey Senate seat and the governor's office.

• Behind-the-scenes work by Mr. Anderson's staff is in progress in most of the state's eight congressional districts. The effort is aimed at organizing support for the Governor at the state's Feb. 24, 1976, precinct caucus.

The caucus is the first step in the selection of delegates to both the state and national conventions, as well as the upcoming election of the state central committee which runs the state Democratic Party between conventions.

One reason for Governor Anderson's intense interest in the state central committee is that despite his national exposure, Mr. Anderson runs second among current committee members in speculation over a two-man race for the nomination to the Senate seat. First place — at this writing — say several party figures, goes to State Attorney General Warren Spannaus.

Explained Ruth Cain, associate party chairman: "Spannaus has made so many appearances for the party around the state. He's helped . . . raise funds, and he's kept in touch . . . [he] is very fondly regarded throughout the party."

For his part, Mr. Spannaus says he's interested — adding quickly that it is premature to talk about a Senate opening that does not exist. "Never buy your ticket," he said, "until you see the train coming around the bend."



JOHN CHANCELLOR
... rainy day bet

NBC newsman says Humphrey will win in '76

Associated Press

NEW HAVEN — NBC news anchorman John Chancellor yesterday predicted that Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) would win the 1976 presidential election.

Chancellor said President Ford "has every reason to be worried" about a primary challenge by Ronald Reagan of California. But he said Mr. Ford would win the Republican nomination.

Predicting a Humphrey victory, Chancellor said: "Remember, this is a bet made on a rainy afternoon in October with probably no relationship to what happens the rest of the year."

In the campaign, Humphrey would be seen as the "happy, moderately leftist warrior" and Mr. Ford would be viewed as an "amiable Midwestern conservative — kind of a klutz." Humphrey, a former Vice President, lost the 1968 presidential election to Richard Nixon.

In his speech, sponsored by the Yale Political Union, Chancellor said if Mr. Ford establishes himself as a conservative, he will win the Republican nomination but will lose the election.

Important issues which Humphrey has supported:

Medical Care
Anti-Job Discrimination
Rural Electrification
Food for Peace Program
Tax Reform
Open Space
New Communities
Consumer Protection
Old Age Assistance
Office of Aging in H.E.W.
Right to Vote for 18 year olds
Peace Corps
Head Start

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1. Federal Financing of Education

The Federal government must expand its education effort many times fold. The Federal government should pay at least 1/3 of the total cost of public elementary and secondary education. We can create an education trust fund into which this money would be paid and then allocated to the States on the basis of educational need.

At the same time, we can provide incentive funds if local areas place a ceiling on the growth of the property tax and rebate that part of the property tax utilized for educational funding. Finally the funding from the Federal government for educational purposes might be contingent upon other goals such as first, a more equitable method of raising revenue within the state; second, giving the states wide latitude to achieve some equity in their revenue producing mechanisms; and third, a more equitable method of distributing public revenues for public education.

2. Equal Opportunity for Women

The number one priority in the struggle to secure full equality of opportunity for American women is the creation of professional day care and child development centers.

Comprehensive day care services are critically needed not only for children of the poor, but also for millions of other children in middle income families where both parents work or where the mother is the head of the household and provides for the family's complete support.

Currently 4-1/2 million women with children below the age of 6 years are in the work force of the U.S. Yet there are less than 700,000 licensed day care opportunities available.

3. National Economic Policy

Our Country needs a "National Economic Policy" - not a "New Economic Policy." We need a policy of reducing unemployment, reducing inflation, and increasing consumer confidence.

There are things we could do. We could honestly commit ourselves to the 1946 goal of full employment.

The central weakness of the Nixon economic game plan is the failure to attack the problems of unemployment and low farm income. The two are related - one out of every five jobs is akin to agriculture purchasing power. The lagging economy provides no new jobs. The work force increases, but the job market fails to keep pace. There can be no economic recovery while unemployment of 6% or more continues. But we do not have the programs or policies that will lead to full employment.

And we are not going to get them under an administration that refuses to invest in people, that refuses to utilize its resources for people-oriented programs, and that refuses to strive for balanced economic growth.

4. Welfare Reform

Goals of Welfare Reform

1. End hunger in America by
 - a. Expanded food stamp program
 - b. Basic benefit level above \$2400
2. Enact a system that treats recipients fairly and provides coverage for all needy
3. Maintain and strengthen the family by
 - a. provide adequate day care centers
 - b. Expand job training
 - c. provide assistance to working poor
 - d. expand public service employment at a fair minimum wage
4. Simplify administration of public assistance
 - a. Administration should be federalized
 - b. Red tape reduced
 - c. Employee protection for social workers and support personnel should be assured

4. Welfare Reform (con't)
5. Guarantee that no recipient receive less assistance under reform than he does under present system
6. Assure the reformed system be fair to the middle and moderate income tax payers
7. Recognize that welfare is a national problem and commit our national resources.

Statistics on Welfare Recipients

1. 48.3% white; 43.3% black; 8.4% other
2. Average number of children in a welfare family - 3
3. Families generally receive assistance for less than 2 years (median - 20 months)
4. AFDC families (Fathers' professions)
 - a. 71.1% Blue collar workers
 - b. 6.2% service workers
 - c. 11.6% farm workers
5. Average AFDC - \$50.65 per month
6. Of 1.2 million non-aged family heads not working
 - a. 50% women with responsibility for children
 - b. 33% incapacitated adults
 - c. 230,000 were in school
 - d. 15% in search of work
 - e. Less than 100,000 men were able-bodied and did not work
7. Of 12.9 million people receiving public assistance
 - a. 2.6 million could be considered eligible for work
 1. 2 million are women 44.5% of which could work if adequate day care was available, and jobs were available.
 2. 600,000 remaining, less than 1/5 or 120,000 are suitable for employment

5. Drug Abuse

Statement on Drug Abuse office and Treatment Act of 1971 (Humphrey cosponsored)

This legislation calls for a sustained and comprehensive attack, a coordinated Federal strategy that encompasses both effective law enforcement against illegal drug traffic and effective programs to treat and rehabilitate

5. Drug Abuse (con't)

the victims of drug abuse. It recognizes the critical need for a high-level authority to accomplish the full implementation and total coordination of Federal agency programs which can effect the control of drug abuse. I feel that it is important that those responsible for administering Federal drug abuse control programs and those having expertise in all areas to be combined in an offensive against drug abuse and narcotic addiction must be brought together in advisory, strategy planning, and program-monitoring councils tied in with the Federal drug abuse control action authority.

The Central truth is that effective control has suffered from fragmentation of authority. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, L.E.A.A., H.E.W., the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Department of Defense all have responsibilities in the narcotics field, but they have lacked coordination.

PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS ABC NEWS RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC NEWS' ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D. Minn.)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Sam Donaldson - ABC News Correspondent.

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This is a rush transcript for the press. Any questions regarding accuracy should be referred to ISSUES AND ANSWERS

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MR. CLARK: Senator, welcome back to ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

You apparently haven't convinced Jimmy Carter yet that you are really out of the presidential race. He implied this week that Jerry Brown is a stalking horse for you in the Maryland primary and said it is obvious you would still like to be President. Is he right on either count?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, there are several counts there. First, may I welcome you to Minnesota. You are out in a very beautiful state and it is a beautiful day.

Now, in reference to your question: Mr. Brown, Governor Brown, is a stalking horse for no one. This is a very active young man that is the chief executive of the largest state; he has tremendous resources in his state; he has great problems. He has been doing a good job as governor of that state. He has a national career ahead of him and he is a real candidate for President.

As you know, I am a very close friend of his parents. I have known Governor Brown, Jerry Brown, as we call him, personally for some time. He came to Washington. He called me, wanted to see me, asked me to come over and have a cup of coffee with him. I did so. I am glad you all took my picture.

No, he is no stalking horse.

Now, as to my own role, it is very much the same as it has been. I said I would not enter primaries and I kept my word. I have also said that if my party should, in convention,

want me, or need me, or ask me to be the nominee, that I would readily accept; I would seize that nomination and I would go out and do my level best to win and I believe I could win for the Democratic party, so I am not out any more than I ever was and I am not in more than I was. What I am, if the people need me, if the people want me, if the party delegates want me, Hubert Humphrey will be there.

MR. CLARK: You appear to give the impression you do not agree with those who think Mr. Carter has the nomination locked up.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, Bob, I don't think he has it locked up, but in all candor, of course, he has great momentum and he is leading and you know that makes you happy. You can't help feel good about that if you are in his position but, as I recollect, there are still 16 or 17 primaries yet to go; there are a number of state conventions where delegates have to be selected as a result of caucuses. There are well over a thousand delegates yet to be chosen and besides that you have Frank Church, Senator Church, who is actively campaigning down in Nebraska and is doing a good job, has a good ^{record} / in agriculture and labor for senior citizens, / ^{foreign} policy, is an articulate spokesman. You have Mo Udall who has been hanging in there. You have to admire Congressman Udall for his tenacity. He is up there working his heart out in Michigan. Has a fine labor record, you

know, and has a splendid record in the field of conservation and resource development and human rights, and then you have Scoop Jackson.

By the way, I see that Henry Jackson is back up in Connecticut campaigning again. So this thing isn't all over and there are several hundred uncommitted delegates. I know that Mr. Carter and his strategists would like to get a band wagon rolling and I don't blame them a bit. As a matter of fact, if they can work it out that way it shows a good deal of political savvy.

But, let's face it, there are still candidates in the field. Mr. Carter has about 550 or 575 delegates. It takes 1505 to get the nomination.

MR. DONALDSON: Well, Senator, excuse me. That sounds a little bit like whistling in the dark, does it not? Who will stop Jimmy Carter? Will it be Frank Church? Where will he win? Will Mo Udall win in Michigan? Do you really think that is in the cards?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Donaldson, friend Sam, let me say, I don't like this business, "who will stop."

I have heard so much about "who will stop." The real truth is there is still a scramble on for these delegates. When somebody comes in there where they have got 1100, 1200 or 1,000 to 1200 delegates, then you can talk about whether somebody is going to stop them.

But when you are at the levels here where you have only a third of the number of delegates really required to get the nomination, it is really unfair to others to talk about them trying to stop somebody.

Some of these candidates like Mr. Udall and others feel they have a shot at it. The delegates at convention are going to make the choice.

You know, the purpose of the primaries -- let's get that straight: the public hasn't quite understood the purpose of the primaries. The purpose of the primaries is exactly like a congressional election. You elect a representative to make choices for you and decisions for the people at convention. It is the delegates who are going to select the presidential nominee and many of those.

MR. DONALDSON: But Mr. Carter has all these delegates.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Carter has 500 and some delegates. It takes 1500 and some. But Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall put together with a few of the uncommitted have as many, may I say, as Mr. Carter.

MR. DONALDSON: Aren't they really dead ducks?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, they are not dead ducks and I think that is unfair to them. Plus the fact --

MR. DONALDSON: I am not trying to be unfair; I am trying to be realistic.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Let me put it this way: You are being statistically accurate, but you are not being realistic in terms of the psychology of politics. If Jerry Brown defeats Mr. Carter in Maryland, even though he doesn't have a delegate, I will bet you that you will see it in every newspaper in the United States and you men in the media will suddenly have discovered an entirely new, brilliant political force in American public life and you know it and I know it. Now, let's level with each other.

Now, if he comes out and does the same thing -- I understand that Jerry Brown may be going up to New Jersey. If he is going up to New Jersey, let's say up there he produces some results. Then, when you go to that convention those delegates are going to be looking at each and every one. That is what it is all about. Most of the delegates that are pledged thus far are for one ballot.

You know that. The primaries do not lock delegates in for the entire convention. One ballot, two ballots. That is all.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if one of these eventualities comes to pass, if Carter/^{is}tripped up somewhere, whether it is by Jerry Brown in Maryland, or it would be a longer shot, but by Mo Udall in Michigan, is there a point at which you might emerge after the primaries, reemerge as an active candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: My position is exactly as has been stated, and I think it was on this same ISSUES AND ANSWERS program that I said the following, that after the primaries were over -- that is after June 6 -- I said then I would assess the situation, I would take a good look at the realities, and if it appeared at that time that no one had really what I consider to be the kind of a commanding lead that within itself brought the necessity of seeing that the nomination was completed on the first ballot or the second ballot, that I would then assess the situation and make my decision as to what I want to do.

I am not sure what that decision would be. I am not interested in going out running for the Presidency unless somebody wants me to do so. I am happy to tell you that when I look at the polls, even after I have been doing less than nothing, I see that we still are able to defeat President Ford, I see that in a head-on, head-on, with Carter-Humphrey, I have a higher percentage amongst Democrats. You know, I am very much alive. Let's put it that way.

MR. CLARK: Well, Senator, thinking ahead again to, perhaps, the week after the primaries are over, the week after the California-New Jersey primaries, if at that point you do not feel Jimmy Carter has the nomination sewed up, could you make an active effort to start rounding up delegates on your ^{own} behalf?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I could. I wouldn't say that I would at this time, but I surely could. One of the purposes of the assessment might be to do that.

MR. DONALDSON: What figure would you place on the number of delegates Mr. Carter would have at that time that would lead you to believe he didn't have it locked up?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Donaldson, I don't know what he will have. As I said in the beginning -- let me repeat it.

MR. DONALDSON: I think at one time you said 1160 was the magic number.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Let me once again say much depends upon what is the attitude, what is the psychology at the time, the kind of momentum that he has, and the odds are, as I have said, that Mr. Carter has got a good deal of advantage and maybe will continue to have that advantage. Surely at this point he has that advantage, and he ought to be very proud of it. But when a person comes to that, if a person comes to that convention let's say with

1100 votes or 1200 votes, I really think that person is going to get that nomination, and I surely would have no hand in trying to stop it, believe me I wouldn't. I want my party to win. I want to be a healer in my party, but I do not want someone to feel that just because they are a frontrunner that they own the party. Some of us have worked a long time in this party, and I believe that my other friends that I have mentioned here all have a right to aspire to that nomination, and they are going to have something to say about what happens.

Let me tell you, Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson are going to have something to say about what happens at that convention. They have got some delegates. And there are some party leaders that are heads of uncommitted delegations that are going to have something to say about what's going to happen there.

MR. CLARK: Senator, we want to talk some more politics later with you in the program, but we want to ^{diverge} briefly. Your still unpublished memoirs which have been coming out, appearing in some newspapers in excerpt form, and some newspapers this past week published a letter from your memoirs, a letter written to President Johnson by you in February of 1965, urging against escalation of the Vietnam war. Did you indeed write such a letter with a strong protest against escalation of the war?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Of course I did. I think the letter, the text is there. That letter was delivered to the President. I must tell you that during my years as Vice President there were times that President Johnson, quite frankly, told me that he didn't care to get too many letters from me such as that. I remember on one occasion he said: Why don't we stop those memos? He said: Just tell me in words what you want.

And I understood what he meant, because they tend to get moved around, and people would say, "Well, the President and Vice President are at odds."

In fact, several times with my memos I delivered he read them, we talked about them, and he handed the memo back to me and said, "Let's not have that laying around here, Hubert, because that sort of thing can get into the hands of some people that might want to cause a little trouble between us."

MR. CLARK: This letter was delivered to him in mid-February, 1965?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's right.

MR. CLARK: Actually the day before he ordered the massive bombing of North Vietnam, so-called Operation Rolling Thunder?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is correct. I think I delivered that letter, let me see, the 15th or something of February,

around that time. Two or three days later, what was called Rolling Thunder started.

MR. CLARK: What sort of a reaction did you get from President Johnson?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think you got the reaction. I think the "Rolling Thunder" possibly describes the reaction.

MR. CLARK: You got "Rolling Thunder" from the President?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I never did, not personally, no. The President was very considerate. Truly he was, of memorandums. Many times he would say, "I disagree with you. You don't have all the facts."

Sometimes he would say to me, "Look, I wish you would
of yours
tell that staff/to lay off."

But those are relationships that take place between a President and a Vice President.

By the way, the book tells the whole story of what I call the metamorphosis of Hubert Humphrey on Vietnam. In the beginning I was very, very concerned about it, and really felt that we were running grave risk, all kinds of risk, but as the time went on I became, as you know, a supporter. And like others, as time went on further, in 1968 when I ran for President, I said I thought that it had run its course, that it had been a mistake, too costly, let's get out.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. DONALDSON: Senator, do you think you know where Jimmy Carter stands on the issues?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No.

MR. DONALDSON: Why not?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Why don't you?

MR. DONALDSON: No, I am asking the question.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I know, but really, I am sure that if you knew where he stood on all the issues we would be getting it over the media, both printed and electronic. I think that I know where Jimmy Carter stands in terms of his basic philosophy, but on the issues that relate to our cities, on foreign policy matters, on the Middle East, on the matters of how we achieve full employment, on whether or not he supports economic coordination and economic planning and policy mechanisms of our government, on national health insurance for the American people, I am not sure. But I think that as time goes on we will get a clearer definition.

MR. DONALDSON: Let me ask about one specific thing Governor Carter has pushed from the very beginning, the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy. He says he would cut down the federal bureaucracy, which he estimates to be about 1900 agencies, to 200 agencies. Is that possible?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, it may be possible, but I am not sure that it will be done; and secondly, reorganization

of the federal government is a continuing process. The
?
Brown-Lowe Commission, the first Hoover Commission, the
second Hoover commission, and some of us in the Congress
right now have programs in there for another reorganization
of the executive branch of the government. But we also
need reorganization of the Congress, of the jurisdiction of
the committees of the Congress. Reorganization
is something you ought to do all the time. It is something
like brushing your teeth, you know. It is like taking your
exercises. It doesn't mean you are going to do something
tremendous or great, but it is a kind of way to keep the
body politic healthy.

MR. DONALDSON: Do you take him literally? Do you
think it is possible by consolidation or by dropping agen-
cies that the federal bureaucracy can be reduced to 200
line agencies?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I doubt it. And I heard what Jerry
Brown said. Jerry Brown said his father had reorganized the
government. He said Governor Reagan had reorganized the
government, and he said he tried to reorganize the
government and hadn't saved a dollar.

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MR. CLARK: Senator, you have said those who have been talking against big government in the campaign and talking about reorganizing the federal bureaucracy are really against, in your words, the black, the elderly and the needy.

Does that apply to Jimmy Carter and/or to Jerry Brown?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No. Now, let me get it clear. First of all, I always believe in government efficiency. I have a citation I cherish from the Hoover Commission for sponsoring legislation to reorganize the government. I reorganized the city government of Minneapolis when I was Mayor of this city, but those were not my greatest achievements.

I think the greatest achievements or the achievements that count are the achievements of public policy and public program. The Civil Rights Act, the National Defense Education Act, Medicare, the Peace Corps, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Arms Control Agency, the National Rural Development Act, the National Solar Development Act. These are the things that I think represent what Hubert Humphrey is interested in.

Now, in reference to how our government can best operate, it seems to me that the way to get a government to operate well is to put people in charge that believe that government has a purpose and that purpose is to see to it that people get a fair shake, fairness, equal treatment.

Now, when you discriminate against the city and deny

2 c cities the revenues they need, then the HUD Administration doesn't provide money for low-income housing --

MR. CLARK: Well, Senator, who, among the Democratic candidates, are doing this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We are not in charge. We are not in charge.

MR. CLARK: You are criticizing President Ford and Ronald Reagan .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I say the Ford Administration and the comments of Mr. Reagan really add up that the elderly will get less, that the blacks will have less, that the poor will have less, the cities will have less where most of these people live and when they do that that is a form of discrimination and I don't like it. I think it is the duty of government not to see that you and I get along better, Bob, but that people who are not as fortunate as you and I.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if I may make the point again, both Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown are campaigning strongly against big government, excessively large government.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Nobody wants big government.

MR. CLARK: And I am thinking back to some of your answers here today. You seem to look in a somewhat kinder view on Jerry Brown when he says these things than you do on Jimmy Carter. Am I wrong in that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, no, I think there is a difference.

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I think that Jerry Brown ran a rather big state called California and he has a tremendous budget. He has a varied economy.

Governor Carter was the Governor of Georgia, a much smaller state. I think both of them did a good job. I am not arguing about your state government.

What I am talking about is simply this, that there are functions for government to perform and, all the campaign rhetoric to the contrary, somebody is going to have to take care of that disabled veteran. Somebody is going to have to take care of the senior citizen. Someone is going to have to help with the environmental protection. Somebody is going to have to do something about national food policy, national energy policy and that's government.

Now, big government is not the issue. The issue is government that works, government that is sensitive, government that is accountable, government that is responsive. It can be big government that is that way or it can be smaller government, but you and I know there isn't going to be much smaller government.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if I can get it a little clearer in my mind, you have noted that Jerry Brown has run the big state of California. Do you think he is better qualified to be President than Jimmy Carter?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I haven't the slightest idea and am not

going to make any value judgment like that.

They will have to demonstrate their on wares.

MR. DONALDSON: Bob's got a point now, Senator. Let's just ask you point blank: There's something about Jimmy Carter that bothers you, something that disturbs you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No.

MR. DONALDSON: Is he a Humphrey Democrat?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You don't have to be a Humphrey Democrat. Just be a good progressive Democrat. One who sees the instruments of government to be used for the benefit of all of our people. One that sees that government is there to remove the impediments from those that are in trouble, that are there to ease the pain of people who are suffering, to give people a chance, a fair break.

What I want to hear from our candidates is where do they stand on a national food policy? Where do they stand, for example, on a national energy policy. What is our position on a national health policy? What is our position on a national nutrition policy?

Now, these policies aren't all done out of Washington; they relate to the relationship between federal, state and local government in a host of matters that mean so much.

Jobs and health are two of the great issues in this country.

MR. DONALDSON: Let me ask you about something which may not be an issue from the standpoint of government, but there is a lot of undercurrent, a lot of discussion of Governor Carter's religion and the view that some people have that without even meaning to he is capitalizing on it. Do you think that is what

is happening?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I think it is perfectly proper for a man to be very proud of his religion. As a matter of fact, I think one of Governor Carter's great assets is his deep sense of morality, his convictions, his religious convictions, his sense of ethics. I would like to think all of us in public life have a religious, a deep spiritual faith. My religion is to do good. I believe the religion that I have is to help those who are less fortunate. I truly believe that it is better to minister than to be ministered unto. I believe it is better to share and I believe if these things are true in my personal life that they ought to be true in my public life. I believe ^{that} helping one's brother is real religion. That is the religion of love. That is true. It is the religion of sharing and of compassion. But you know, we don't have to debate people's religion and politics, whether you are Catholic, Protestant or Jew. The question is, what is your attitude toward your fellow man, and that attitude toward your fellow man I think is the spiritual concept, based upon the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. I believe in that.

I don't intend to get into a religious discussion as such, but my family, we have been brought up in a fairly religious home. My children have been brought up that way. Decency is religion. Fair play is religion. Love of your neighbor is religion. Doing good for others is your

religion, is my religion, and letting government help people who need help.

I will never forget what Franklin Roosevelt said once. He said "The duty of government is not to see that those who already have too much shall have more, but rather to see that those who may not have -- who have too little may have an opportunity to have enough."

In other words, help people make something out of their lives. Now, government alone can't do this. The government ought not to stand in the way. That is why I believed in federal aid to education. This is why I have worked for Job Corps. This is why I have believed in student fellowships and student scholarships. This is why I sponsored senior citizen housing. This is why I was an original sponsor of Medicare. This is my political religion. I want to see government of the people by the people be for the people. That is what it is all about. And that is what I think a Democrat ought to be all about.

MR. CLARK: Senator, we want to ask you a couple of questions about Democratic chances in November. This last week has been a pretty rough one for President Ford, which raises a serious possibility that Ronald Reagan could be the Republican candidate for President.

Would Mr. Reagan or President Ford be tougher for Democrats to beat in November?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I really don't know, but I will tell you what: I think we can take either one of them, and that is not going to be an easy task, but I believe it can be done. If I had my choice, and the Republicans don't generally ask me for my choice, but I feel that Mr. Ford has earned the right to defend his record. Plus the fact as a President he has had to make some very difficult and tough decisions.

President Ford is my personal friend. We disagree politically, but I have a personal regard for him. One thing he has done for the country is to bring back decency into government.

I disagree with his vetoes. My goodness, he just vetoed here this military sales and military assistance act. I think that is wrong. He and I are going to go to the mat on that matter; we are not going to let those things go by without a real political confrontation. But the Republicans will have to settle their problems.

MR. CLARK: Senator, I am sorry, we are out of time. Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

* * *

Next week: Governor Edmond Brown, Jr., (D. Calif.)
and
Representative Morris Udall, (D. Ariz.)

HUMPHREY FILE

LAW OFFICES
ALSTON, MILLER & GAINES

CITIZENS & SOUTHERN
NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
35 BROAD STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
404-588-0300

May 4, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark
ISSUES
Jimmy Carter Campaign Headquarters
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Steve:

Enclosed is the material I found on Hubert
Humphrey, in case Jimmy ever ends up needing it.
It should be self-explanatory.

Call me when you need me.

Sincerely yours,

B. R.

BILL ROTHSCHILD

MEMORANDUM

TO: STU EISENSTADT
FROM: BILL ROTHSCHILD
RE: Statements by or about Hubert Humphrey
DATE: April 29, 1976

From the New York Times:

June 22, 1975, News of the Week in Review at page 15, column 2, in an article by Tom Wicker: Says Wicker, "He does not intend to wait until April or May, then leap into the California and other late primaries." Wicker then quotes Humphrey to say, "You can't get something you don't work for. You can't just sit back and wait. It doesn't work that way. It won't come to you for nothing."

Wicker then quotes Humphrey to say, "None of these fellows who're running has taken hold yet"; "but by April, early May, - somebody will have done well enough in the primaries for attention to begin to center on him ... and he'll go up in the polls and begin to take hold." [Wicker goes on to say] "And that candidate will go on to win the nomination at the convention, Mr. Humphrey thinks."

New York Times, August 26, page 16, column 3, in an article by Christopher Lydon, "Senator Hubert Humphrey is polishing up his autobiography ... [for] hurry-up release in February, 1976." "...scheduled until recently to appear in 1977."

New York Times, September 16, page 50, column 8, "Humphrey won't run in the primaries, but "would accept draft".

New York Times, October 4, 1975, page 56, column 1, "Somebody said that Humphrey would enter no primaries or delegate conventions," and the article then says, "The Senator himself has also said that."

New York Times, October 8, 1975, page 17, column 1, headline: "STRAUSS SAYS PRIMARIES WILL PRODUCE THE NOMINEE"

New York Times, October 20, 1975, page 27, column 1, article by James Reston, headline: "HUMPHREY'S QUIET HURRAH", Reston speaks of Humphrey's "oft-stated resolution not to run in the 1976 primaries," but that Humphrey has begun paying off his campaign debt from 1972.

New York Times, October 27, 1975, page 16, column 1, headline "HUMPHREY LEADS IN POLL OF DEMOCRATS", Humphrey is referred to as, "avowedly a non-candidate".

New York Times, November 27, 1975, page 21, column 1, an article by R. W. Apple, Jr., headline: "HUMPHREY DRIVE BEGUN IN PRIMARY". "Senator Disavows A Right In Effort In New Hampshire, But Leaves Option Open". The article says that Humphrey did not refuse to allow Humphrey delegates in New Hampshire, which he could have done, and also says, "Mr. Humphrey has said repeatedly that he would enter no primary but would accept gladly if a 'brokered' convention were to turn to him."

New York Times, December 17, 1975, page 28, column 3, Warren Weaver, Jr., article with headline "STRAUSS HAS PLAN FOR CONVENTION UNITY", "Strauss mentioned that Humphrey would have to launch 'credibility program' as to those whom he had assured he would not run."

New York Times, December 28, 1975, News of the Week in Review Section, page 11, column 1, article by Tom Wicker "HUMPHREY VS. REAGAN", Wicker says, "Mr. Humphrey is still denying that he will enter any primaries and conceding only that he will accept the nomination but do nothing to win it;" Wicker uses the term "above the battle" in quotes, implying at least that Humphrey used the term.

New York Times, December 29, 1975, page 14, column 1, article by Christopher Lydon, headline "HUMPHREY CLEARS HIS 1972

CAMPAIGN DEBTS BY PAYING BACK 4 CENTS ON EACH DOLLAR OWED".

Lydon mentions Humphrey "who says he will not run in any Presidential primaries next year."

New York Times, January 3, 1976, page 1, column 1, article by Joseph Lelyveld, headline "HUMPHREY'S '76 STANCE: WILLING, BUT NOT RUNNING," and at the continuation on page 9, "I'm not going out asking anyone for one damned dollar for anything except the Red Cross and the Community Chest. No way. I've had a bellyful of that."

Stu, this covers the New York Times index from May 1, 1975 through February 15, 1976 (as far as it goes), except November 1 through 15, which was missing.

BILL ROTHSCHILD

TOO MUCH DEFENSE—OR NOT ENOUGH?

Views of Two Leading Senators



Senator Goldwater

With war in Asia over and the Russians turning on the smiles, a push is under way to trim Pentagon spending. President Nixon's 79-billion military budget is under fire. Show-down votes are approaching fast in Congress.

For opposing sides of a crucial debate, "U. S. News & World Report" interviewed two former presidential nominees, both with wide experience in weighing defense policy.



Senator Humphrey

"WE SHOULD BE SPENDING MORE"

Interview With Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican, of Arizona

Q Senator Goldwater, is there room for cuts in the defense budget now that the Vietnam war is behind us and we have an arms-control agreement with Russia?

A No, there's no room that I can see. In fact, I believe we should be spending more.

If you bring up the subject of the cessation of the war in Vietnam, as do many of my colleagues, and argue that this is money for peace, every cent that we will save from not being in Vietnam will go to pay increased weaponry costs caused by inflation.

Q How much more do you say we should be spending?

A That depends on how fast we make progress on the weapons we're now developing. But to rebuild our air fleet and to bring the Navy's surface fleets up to standard is probably going to take between 15 and 20 billion dollars over, possibly, a 10-year period.

This has to begin right now. The money has to go into research and development and then procurement. We have, in this year's budget, very little procurement money. Next year we'll start in with larger procurement funds.

Q Some critics of the defense budget have wanted construction of the new Trident-missile submarine to be stretched out so that spending on it during the coming fiscal year will be less than President Nixon proposed. These cuts were defeated in the Senate but may be proposed again. Do you think they would be wise?

A The question on the Trident is: Do we need it in 1978 or 1980? Frankly, I'm torn on that one. I voted against the stretch-out. But I don't see the world situation so acute that waiting for the Trident until 1980 is going to make a lot of difference. We have the ability to cover us in the interim between now and a 1980 delivery date on the Trident.

Q Why are new weapons systems becoming so expensive?

A One factor, of course, is inflation. But that can't possibly account for the total.

Another factor is that in times of peace the Pentagon designs its weapons; in times of war they fight—and they don't

have time to fool around with weapons designs. We get better weapons in wartime than we do in peace.

Today's weapons are highly oversophisticated. Our fighter aircraft, if they were just basic fighters with an optical sight and a good cannon or maybe a good lightweight computerized air-to-air missile, would cost a lot less than the type of thing we are buying.

For example, 50 per cent of the cost of the F-14 fighter is in the weapons system. We talked to pilots back from Vietnam and most of them would say: "Give me an optical sight and a cannon. That's what I'm going to hit him with."

The oversophistication is caused mostly by the military and industry trying to put something new in the air, something new in the field. I'd like to keep it simple.

Q Would simpler weapons open the way to a cut in the defense budget?

A Not immediately. We've lost over 8,500 aircraft in Vietnam. To replace those is going to take a big bundle. The Russians now have more aircraft than we have.

Our total aircraft force has deteriorated from approximately 20,000 in 1964 to around 12,000 today. Our Navy is going to go below 400 ships this year. We have yet to develop an adequate Army tank. We haven't developed our new torpedo as of yet.

So we're lagging way behind.

Q Senator, where will the "big bundle" needed to replace armament and develop new weapons come from?

A Keep in mind that the military budget is a very small part of the total budget now. Health, education and welfare programs are the big spenders.

This year, the military budget is 6 per cent of the gross national product. It's less than 30 per cent of total federal spending. So, if you're going to make cuts, that's not the place to start. The place to start is in domestic programs.

Eventually, as we can modernize the military and bring the weaponry up to date, I think defense spending will level off.

Q What about personnel costs? Can they be reduced?

A That's our biggest cost. It's 56 per cent of the total. The only way you can reduce it is by reducing forces. I think we can do some of that.

Q Can much be saved by ending what critics insist is waste and inefficiency at the Pentagon?

A Yes. I'm not talking about the man in uniform. It's the civilians in the Pentagon who have built their own little empire.

As I recall the Navy organization chart, Admiral [Hyman] Rickover's box was 27th from the top. Any weapon system that he develops is subject to cancellation at any one of these levels.

My pet gripe is that we have four tactical air forces: Army, Navy and Marines, as well as the Air Force itself. This is one of the glaring examples of repetition that we don't need. My guess is it costs us between 12 and 14 billion dollars to have four tactical air forces. We're the only country that does.

It's political. You have the Army fighting the idea that the Air Force should do it. The Air Force fights the idea that anybody else but the Air Force should do it. I personally think it's an Air Force role and mission, and it should have it.

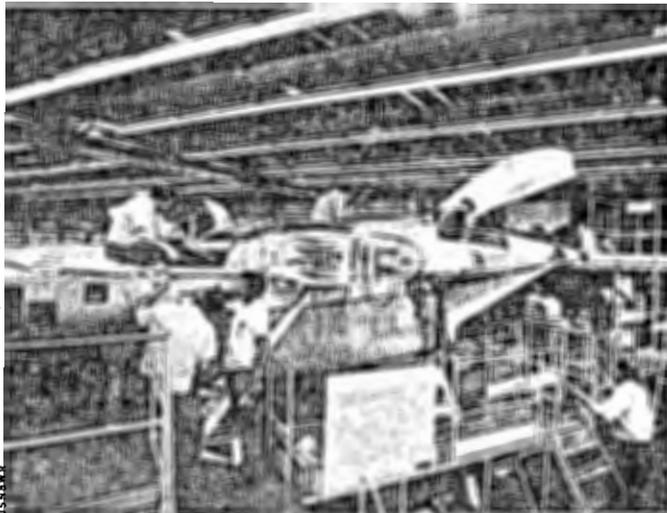
Q Would substantial budget cuts affect U. S. leadership abroad?

A Yes, it would end it.

If we give any indication to the rest of the world that we're going to become an isolated country again, and to disarm unilaterally, I think every ally we have will start looking for somebody else to be allied with. I have a hunch that many of them would tend toward the Soviets, because they see Red China as a bigger threat to peace than they do the Soviets.

Q Do you think that reduction in the U. S. military budget would force some of our allies to spend more on defense, or are you satisfied with what they are doing now?

A In some cases I think they could be doing more, but they're in a bargaining position. The allies know that if we stay overseas, they don't have to spend more. They know that if we pull out, they're going to have to reach *détente* with the Soviets.



How to combat rising cost of new weapons? "Keep it simple," says Goldwater. Cut "monumental" waste, answers Humphrey.

I don't think they see the Soviets or the Warsaw Pact nations as the big threat that they were.

Q Do you expect we will maintain a large force in Europe indefinitely?

A No, and I don't think we will have to. But I don't think now is the time to cut it. It's only one third of the total NATO force, and a large percentage of ours is in the Sixth Fleet. Of course, the Sixth Fleet is incapable of staying in the Mediterranean if the Soviets want to push us out.

Q Why do you say that this is not the time to cut troop strength in Europe?

A We have some weapons that are not yet developed but which, when they are developed, may make it possible to reduce manpower. The SAM-D [antiaircraft missile] is one.

Also, if we show any indication that we're not going to maintain our military strength, the Soviets are going to be looking down our throat at the SALT talks [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks], and we're not going to get anything that we can live with out of those negotiations.

"ABLE TO CUT 4 TO 5 BILLION DOLLARS"

Interview With Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota

Q Senator Humphrey, you're on record as proposing cuts in defense spending. Why?

A There are several reasons: One is because we have concluded hostilities in Indo-China. Another is there appears to be a better working relationship with the Soviet Union. Finally, the defense budget has to be cut if we're going to stay within the Senate's over-all budget ceiling of 268 billion dollars.

Q How much can be cut?

A We will most likely be able to cut around 4 to 5 billion dollars. I think we could make greater cuts—up to 7 billion—but I am a political realist and doubt that we will succeed in doing much more than 4 to 5 billion. Others have made estimates of up to 14 billion. I do not agree with that. I do believe in a strong defense.

Q Where can money be cut?

A In manpower, for one place. For example, the troop levels would be cut 156,000 under the military-procurement

bill the Senate has been considering. Some weapons systems can be reduced in cost. We will also have some reductions due to the closing of overseas bases. There will be a cut in the Military Assistance Special Fund for South Vietnam and Laos. So, between weapons systems, contingency funds and manpower, I think that we can make a sensible, reasonable reduction.

Had we voted to slow down construction of the Trident, had we not stepped up procurement of the F-14 [fighter plane], we would have made another 1.4-billion-dollar reduction in this year's budget.

Q Can money be saved on personnel, other than by cutting troop strength?

A Yes, by making civilian cuts as well as military. We have 1 civilian employe in the Defense Department for every 2 men in uniform. You cannot justify that. Also, we ought to cut down the number of commissioned officers. We have

(continued on next page)

TOO MUCH DEFENSE—OR NOT ENOUGH?

[interview continued from preceding page]

more officers today for a 2-million-man military establishment than we had for a 12-million-man establishment back in 1945. That just doesn't make any sense.

I expect Secretary Schlesinger [Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger] to make serious cuts in personnel at overseas bases. I expect him to prune a good deal of civilian manpower. Then, too, I think there are areas where he can reduce costs through earlier retirement of officers.

Q Is it safe to reduce spending on major weapons systems?

A It boils down to how much you feel you can afford at any one time. Sometimes a family has to make a choice between whether or not they want to buy a new car or send their daughter to college. You've got a car. It still runs well, gets you to work, takes you on your vacation. But there's a new model. It's a little bigger, horsepower's a little better, maybe doesn't pollute quite as much, has better upholstery, more comfortable, and you'd like to have it. Your old car may very well take a little more maintenance, but you've got to make a choice. You can't afford both.

Now, that's exactly where we are on the defense budget. It doesn't mean that we're going to abandon the automobile. It means that we are going to have to get along with the one we have for a while, if we're going to send the daughter to college.

I'm a supporter of the Trident system—the boat, the missiles and all. But the argument was whether we have the first boat coming off the ways in 1978, or do we have the first boat come off in 1980? It meant 900 million dollars' difference this year, and I favor that saving.

In the meantime, we can and will proceed with modernizing our Polaris and Poseidon submarines, including the installation of the Trident missile system on the Poseidon boat. This gives us an underwater nuclear missile with a range of 4,200 nautical miles.

After all, the boat—whether Poseidon or Trident—is but a launching platform for the missile. It is the missile that counts, and we can put the long-range Trident missile on the Poseidon boat in 1978. That is the deterrence we need for the two-year gap between 1978 and 1980.

Q How big a factor is waste and inefficiency in defense costs?

A Look at the record: We documented over 20 billion dollars' worth of weapons systems that we bought and paid for that never flew, moved or shot.

Look at what we did in other Administrations. I'm not talking politics now. Look at the F-111 [swing-wing Air Force fighter]. We spent monumental sums of money making that an operational airplane. Look what happened on the C-5A [Air Force transport]. Take a look at the Cheyenne helicopter. That thing never got off the ground as a weapons system. And one of these big tanks—the MBT-70—on which we spent a half billion dollars never became operational. The military dropped it.

Since it doesn't appear that tomorrow morning the Russians are going to attack, we ought to be using our time building our defense and weapons systematically, in a manner that saves us money, that eliminates as much waste as possible.

I was in Moscow on the day that Neil Armstrong landed on the moon. I saw what happened in the Soviet Union. They went around muttering to themselves in so many words: "My God, they did it! These crazy Americans—five years behind us in space—they mobilized, they set up an objective, they committed their resources, they did it within a time frame, they brought together the technical ability, the finance, the management, and they did it."

That amazing space-flight success told them something that no weapons system in the world could tell them—namely, that if we have to do it, we can do it. That's why I think we could stretch out Trident and other expensive weapons systems. The Russians know we can build them. If they start dragging their feet in those SALT talks, they know we can and will go ahead.

Q Would substantial budget cuts diminish U. S. leadership and prestige abroad?

A If we were reckless, I would think so.

For example, I am not for unilateral reductions of our forces in Europe at the time that we have negotiations under way with the Russians on mutual, balanced force reductions. If those troops in Germany are not vital to our defense, they ought to come home. But they are vital: Our defense is strengthened by the NATO Collective Security Treaty.

I don't believe in giving the Russians anything for nothing. If you knock your defense structure to pieces, refuse to modernize it on a systematic basis, cut your manpower to levels beneath your commitments, then you are jeopardizing any possibility of successful negotiations with the Russians.

But we're not doing that. We've got so many nuclear weapons, so many things with which to defend ourselves that they're trying to catch up with us instead of our catching up with them. There is not one responsible person in this Government today that says we're weaker than the Soviet Union. So, given this leadership, we can afford to make some cuts in our defense budget.

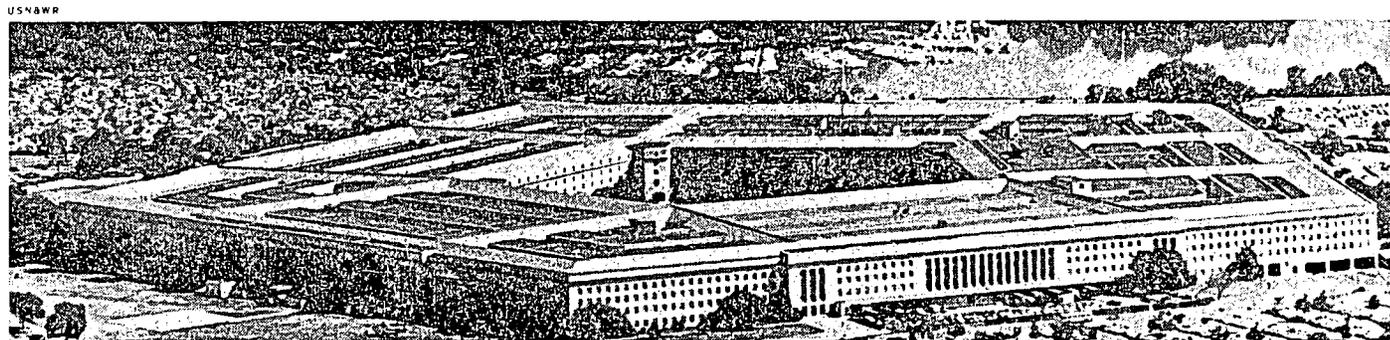
Q Should there be some cutbacks in troops abroad?

A Yes, sir—particularly in the Pacific area. We have well over 200,000 troops in the Pacific and Asian areas. I don't think we need anywhere near that number. I offered an amendment to cut over 100,000 troops from bases out of the country. It was adopted. We have some 600,000 troops overseas, of which less than half are in Europe.

Q If we pull out of Europe, can it defend itself?

A I doubt that. Let me put it another way: I look upon our participation in Europe not only to protect Europeans, but also to protect Americans.

I think it is important to have allies. I'd rather have the first line of defense away from New York City or Minneapolis. That first line is in Western Europe. As long as I can get my friends in Europe to commit their resources to their own defense and ours, I think we're in better shape.



Important issues which Humphrey has supported:

Medical Care
Anti-Job Discrimination
Rural Electrification
Food for Peace Program
Tax Reform
Open Space
New Communities
Consumer Protection
Old Age Assistance
Office of Aging in H.E.W.
Right to Vote for 18 year olds
Peace Corps
Head Start

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1. Federal Financing of Education

The Federal government must expand its education effort many times fold. The Federal government should pay at least 1/3 of the total cost of public elementary and secondary education. We can create an education trust fund into which this money would be paid and then allocated to the States on the basis of educational need.

At the same time, we can provide incentive funds if local areas place a ceiling on the growth of the property tax and rebate that part of the property tax utilized for educational funding. Finally the funding from the Federal government for educational purposes might be contingent upon other goals such as first, a more equitable method of raising revenue within the state; second, giving the states wide latitude to achieve some equity in their revenue producing mechanisms; and third, a more equitable method of distributing public revenues for public education.

2. Equal Opportunity for Women

The number one priority in the struggle to secure full equality of opportunity for American women is the creation of professional day care and child development centers.

Comprehensive day care services are critically needed not only for children of the poor, but also for millions of other children in middle income families where both parents work or where the mother is the head of the household and provides for the family's complete support.

Currently 4-1/2 million women with children below the age of 6 years are in the work force of the U.S. Yet there are less than 700,000 licensed day care opportunities available.

3. National Economic Policy

Our Country needs a "National Economic Policy" - not a "New Economic Policy." We need a policy of reducing unemployment, reducing inflation, and increasing consumer confidence.

There are things we could do. We could honestly commit ourselves to the 1946 goal of full employment.

The central weakness of the Nixon economic game plan is the failure to attack the problems of unemployment and low farm income. The two are related - one out of every five jobs is akin to agriculture purchasing power. The lagging economy provides no new jobs. The work force increases, but the job market fails to keep pace. There can be no economic recovery while unemployment of 6% or more continues. But we do not have the programs or policies that will lead to full employment.

And we are not going to get them under an administration that refuses to invest in people, that refuses to utilize its resources for people-oriented programs, and that refuses to strive for balanced economic growth.

4. Welfare Reform

Goals of Welfare Reform

1. End hunger in America by
 - a. Expanded food stamp program
 - b. Basic benefit level above \$2400
2. Enact a system that treats recipients fairly and provides coverage for all needy
3. Maintain and strengthen the family by
 - a. provide adequate day care centers
 - b. Expand job training
 - c. provide assistance to working poor
 - d. expand public service employment at a fair minimum wage
4. Simplify administration of public assistance
 - a. Administration should be federalized
 - b. Red tape reduced
 - c. Employee protection for social workers and support personnel should be assured

4. Welfare Reform (con't)
5. Guarantee that no recipient receive less assistance under reform than he does under present system
6. Assure the reformed system be fair to the middle and moderate income tax payers
7. Recognize that welfare is a national problem and commit our national resources.

Statistics on Welfare Recipients

1. 48.3% white; 43.3% black; 8.4% other
2. Average number of children in a welfare family - 3
3. Families generally receive assistance for less than 2 years (median - 20 months)
4. AFDC families (Fathers' professions)
 - a. 71.1% Blue collar workers
 - b. 6.2% service workers
 - c. 11.6% farm workers
5. Average AFDC - \$50.65 per month
6. Of 1.2 million non-aged family heads not working
 - a. 50% women with responsibility for children
 - b. 33% incapacitated adults
 - c. 230,000 were in school
 - d. 15% in search of work
 - e. Less than 100,000 men were able-bodied and did not work
7. Of 12.9 million people receiving public assistance
 - a. 2.6 million could be considered eligible for work
 1. 2 million are women 44.5% of which could work if adequate day care was available, and jobs were available.
 2. 600,000 remaining, less than 1/5 or 120,000 are suitable for employment

5. Drug Abuse

Statement on Drug Abuse office and Treatment Act of 1971 (Humphrey cosponsored)

This legislation calls for a sustained and comprehensive attack, a coordinated Federal strategy that encompasses both effective law enforcement against illegal drug traffic and effective programs to treat and rehabilitate the

5. Drug Abuse (con't)

the victims of drug abuse. It recognizes the critical need for a high-level authority to accomplish the full implementation and total coordination of Federal agency programs which can effect the control of drug abuse. I feel that it is important that those responsible for administering Federal drug abuse control programs and those having expertise in all areas to be combined in an offensive against drug abuse and narcotic addiction must be brought together in advisory, strategy planning, and program-monitoring councils tied in with the Federal drug abuse control action authority.

The Central truth is that effective control has suffered from fragmentation of authority. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, L.E.A.A., H.E.W., the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Department of Defense all have responsibilities in the narcotics field, but they have lacked coordination.

CONSULTING CHEMIST

RESEARCH

1152 MUIRFIELD ROAD

E. V. KYSER, PH. G., PH. C., SE. D.

LOS ANGELES 19, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE: WEBSTER 5-5448

July 9, 1975

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
United States Senator
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

In a measure of identity, attached are copies of biographic sketches, among others, all of which are of no great import. But that I, too, am a product of the drugstore, with barber shop next door, is significant. My mother was the first woman registered pharmacist in North Carolina. My father was a cartographer and both turned to pharmacy in the 1880's when his eyes went bad.

I was, indeed, glad to hear that you will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1976. That information was conveyed by my daughter, Martha Anne Kyser, who called your office in Minneapolis. She appreciated your personal note immensely.

Enclosed is a copy of preface and outline of proposals for recovery from the depression in California. The entire program was worked out in a few months shortly before Lend-Lease and subsequently World War II. However, the initial organization was completed and was favorably accepted by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, Chambers of Commerce, Farm and Labor Groups, Educators, other interested groups and the Press. The Press notice was exceedingly long and enthusiastic. The war came and everybody went haywire. It would seem that our problems are the same, multiplied, with the energy situations added.

I was impressed by a statement of Byrnes recently, in a discussion of the F.D.R. years by Byrnes, Farley and F.D.R., Jr. They were recalling Roosevelt's ability to innovate; that we are still using New Deal methods and nothing much has evolved since. I think you will agree that there is greater dislocation presently and that we can't support the current inflated cost of unemployment and welfare, especially with little hope of resolution. We will need a wider and more thorough agricultural and industrial basis. The old cliches and stand-patisms offer little to get enthusiastic about. We should make an all-out effort to develop our potential.

The census indicates movement from the cities--it gives no reasons; there are many. We should be concerned with the quality of life as well as the development of self-sufficiency--we should no longer rely on Detroit and the multi-national and international conglomerates. A few years ago the Chairman of the Board of an International Multiple Conglomerate told their employees that ten or twelve corporations would ultimately control the

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

July 9, 1975

entire ball of wax. I heard you were a bit shook up by the picture "Rollerball". And, I know you are even more concerned over our agriculture.

Food for Peace, for barter, even for blackmail. It is more stable than the exchange, if we've got it. The eating habits of America are more sophisticated now, which allows a greater opportunity for appropriating foreign crops, adaptable to our soil. We have half-a-million acres planted to safflower. It caught on. We can't have too much oil seed crops. Included is a clipping of the jojoba plant and its potential (May 15, 1975). In World War I, I did work on the utilization of the common pest weed, cocklebur. It's a thistle and oil bearing. There is too much involved here for more than a cursory mention.

The use of farm produce for industrial utilization has roots in Medieval Europe, especially during the Hanseatic League and Napoleon's Edicts. The relatively modern usage was coined by Dr. Wm. J. Hale, that is Farm Chemurgy. It came into being when Henry Ford was interested in auto parts made from soya beans. That was during the period of the Edison-Ford-Firestone confabs. Francis P. Garvin, World War I Custodian of Enemy Properties, in a codicil to his will, set up funds for a Chemurgic program but died without signing. So did the movement, until introduced here. Prior to that, a process for obtaining Furfural from corncobs was demonstrated at Iowa State. That would make autos jump. In fact, there are many additives available in farm-derived chemicals. The word is not commonly known. It is an attention getter.

I'd have to assume that the world plan can be used since Nixon shook hands with 'em; perhaps not five years or any definite number. This program concerns itself with land use in its diversity of crops, groundwater level, tree farming, orchards, energy-sensitive industry, ravages of nature, etc. The Army Engineers have recently stated flood control has not been a good job. Working on low grade ores is another phase. You have your think tank available. So we have more than fibers, plastics and high protein foods involved. The development of a high protein edible cotton has been announced recently.

Terry Sanford's pitch to take on Wallace is a useless gesture. The right programs in his areas of discontent will suffice. A man from the South should be good politics. The Industrial Institute at the University level is advantageous to the institution, graduate students and business, especially small business. Joe Doaks can get his R & D or other essential information. Ultimately there will have to be accredited schools for the new technology, as criteria for performance and the dignity of the Vocational Arts Specialists, perhaps like the early Land Grant schools.

In conclusion, may I suggest that foreign dignitaries be welcomed by a committee of our best, representing our citizenry. Quakers, or even flower

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

July 9, 1975

children are more appropriate than the guns and brass. They know we can shoot the hell "outten 'em." It should shake, confound and confuse the strutters with their lettuce.

Do you know the life of Benjamin Hannaker, the most illustrious Black in our history? It can be had from the Library of Congress or from one issue of Tuesday, a magazine devoted to Blacks, issued by Hearst papers some years ago.

With all good wishes, and if I can be of service, please call on me.

Sincerely,

E. V. Kyser

P.S.

I shall be staying, for a while, with a daughter, Mrs. Sara Peet, at 18528 Van Ness Avenue, Torrance, CA 90504. Telephone (213) 329-2755. I had major surgeries at a hospital in this area.

E.V.K.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
MINNESOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 29, 1975

Mr. E. V. Kyser
18528 Van Ness Avenue
Torrance, California 90504

Dear Mr. Kyser:

Thank you for your good letter of July 9, which arrived during those busy weeks just prior to the August recess. I spent the month of August in Minnesota and fully intended to catch up on all of my correspondence, but I found I was busier than ever with meetings and appointments, traveling around the state, and doing my best with the time that was available to be a husband and father.

I appreciate your enthusiasm and offer to help, but I do not plan to enter any of the presidential primaries or to campaign for the presidency. My plans for 1976 are to run for re-election to the Senate and I am proceeding to get things underway in Minnesota for that campaign. I will, however, continue to speak out on the issues that face our country and all of our people and seek to become an ever more effective member of the Senate.

I appreciate having your views on a number of these issues. I won't be able right now to respond to each of the points you raised, as I would like to, but I have read your letter carefully and will be referring back to it. It is interesting and informative.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 23, 1975

Mr. E. V. Kyser
1152 Muirfield Road
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Kyser:

Thank you so much for forwarding me a copy of your letter of July 9. We have conducted a thorough search in my office for the original, but it appears that it never reached us.

You have many innovative ideas, and I am especially in agreement with your concern for the present state of the economy. Unfortunately, the fiscal and monetary policies of this Administration have exacerbated rather than relieved America's economic woes.

Thanks also for your ideas regarding land use policy. I will certainly keep them in mind.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Input

September 24, 1976



KAMA KHALINA
I N C O R P O R A T E D

~~P.O. BOX 5471 - CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101~~

13714 Durkee Ave,
Cleveland, Ohio
44105
(216)283-0920

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Chairman
Congressional Joint Economic Committee
Room 232, Russell Building (SDB)
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Humphrey:

I read an article in a recent issue of Cleveland's Sunday Plain Dealer about the concern of lawmakers with the increasing youth unemployment problem. I thought about a project of mine which was shelved last year because we had to stop creating solutions to urban problems, in order to survive financially as a black family of limited economic means.

As a student of urban studies/psychology, as a product and a resident of a large urban ghetto, as a former assistant to the Director of Black Affairs at a local junior college, as a former civil rights activist, as a communications consultant and businesswoman, I have reached several conclusions, based on research, observation and inter-action with youth.

My suggestion is the establishment of Youth Economic Development Corporations in the major urban centers on the order of existing Community Economic Development Corporations. I have base plans for a Communications Center and an Industrial Training Center. The YEDC pilot project is an extension and creative consolidation of such programs as Junior Achievement (basically, white, middle-class oriented), high school industrial arts curricula (usually aimed at boys, and not placed in the proper perspective of occupational aspirations), career education programs and counseling, job training programs and minority youth entrepreneurship awareness.

The basis purposes of YEDC would be:

- (1) To offer insight into the world of business, which is often unfamiliar to minority youth.
- (2) To provide leadership and management training to youth who have few credible leaders and role models.
- (3) To teach marketable skills to youth based on projected job and business opportunity trends, especially in service-oriented occupations and industries.
- (4) To give youth the opportunity to become involved in profit-making operations at all levels.
- (5) To create and spin-off profit-making businesses, mainly owned and operated by the young people themselves.

Senator Hubert Humphrey
Page Two (2)



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- (6) To assist youth by counseling and training in developing skills necessary to (1) seek out, apply for, obtain, and maintain employment and/or (2) to develop, establish, and operate profitable business ventures.

No one has yet discovered a method of combining all the essentials necessary for youth, if they are to survive and be successful within the American economic and political systems. I believe YEDC can provide that solution.

As a minority owned and operated management and communications consulting firm, our company, and the principals, are particularly suited to developing structures and institutions for positive and effective change. Because we have personal insight into the predicaments of young black jobseekers and because we have experience in both big business and small business, the myriad of economic problems created by the unemployment rates and idle youth can be partially solved by or proposed project. The potential is as limitless as the free enterprise system itself.

We would like to secure a federal contract or combination of contracts for planning and implementation of a demonstration project to prove that our proposal will operate effectively and achieve the projected goals and objectives.

Please give us a chance to help save our youth from the stifling inertia of joblessness and the treacherous appeal of drugs and crime in the streets. We've been there, and we know, when you're desperate a way--any way--is better than none at all. Let us show them a more effective and satisfying way.

If you and your committee are interested in our proposals, please contact us at your earliest convenience. I have included some background information on our company which was started in 1973. I envision a cooperative effort on YEDC, possibly involving the U.S. Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Labor, Commerce and Housing and Urban Development.

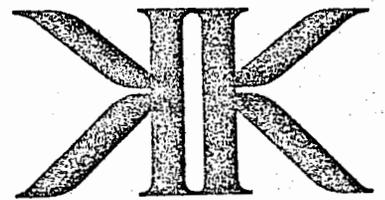
Thank you for considering our proposal. We would appreciate a speedy reply.

Very truly yours,

Carlotta Howard Williams
/dba/ KAMA KHALINA and Associates

cc: ✓ Governor Jimmy Carter
Senator Robert Taft, Jr.
Representative Clarence J. Brown
Representative Louis Stokes

KAMA KHALINA, INCORPORATED is a diversified consulting firm. The main focus is on organizational change. Working as consulting teams, KAMA KHALINA will use an interdisciplinary approach to problem-solving in organizations, especially in areas of social concern (human services) and communication (inter-personal and mass media).



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Below is a list of areas in which we have highly qualified, experienced consultants:

INDUSTRY/GOVERNMENT/ASSOCIATIONS

Public Relations and Publicity

- research and writing press release
- media placement
- communication consulting
- layout and design of brochures and pamphlets

Minority Hiring Practices

- how to judge and evaluate minority/female candidates
- what should you ask and not ask in an interview
- how/where do you find minority/female applicants

Retaining Good Minority/Female Employees

- internal vehicle for sex/race grievances
- effective staff training/communication/information program on minorities/females
- is the job worthwhile? can individuals get personal and professional satisfaction from performing these duties?

Attracting and Servicing Special Markets

- how do you merchandise for select minority/female/youth markets?
- what special support programs must be installed?
- how can you maintain a positive posture/image for your select special markets?

Community Relations/Urban Affairs

- audits of on-going programs
- budgeting, planning and justification--getting the most for your money
- research, selection and programming of suitable community relations involvement--how to donate money, services, goods, etc.

Preparing Staff for Change

- workshops re-training women/minorities toward a positive self-image and positive attitudes toward their own capabilities
- seminars/individual conferences designed to sensitize existing staff (especially Personnel specialists) to human needs--inter-personal relations

COMMUNITY GROUPS

Public Relations

- Small Business Operations (Workshops--Individual Counseling)

Staff Training

- Board Development

- Volunteer Recruitment and Utilization

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

KAMA KHALINA CLIENT LIST

Research on Educational and Training Needs of Minority Entrepreneurs, Department of Economic and Community Development, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, State of Ohio. KAMA KHALINA designed and conducted original research to: (1) identify training needs of entrepreneurs, per survey; (2) identify training opportunities in colleges and by business support and development organizations, and (3) to arrange findings by Planning and Service Districts of the State of Ohio. Completed in January, 1974.

The second phase of this research--Minority Youth Entrepreneurship Awareness Study--was conducted through surveys and interviews in local school districts throughout the state. The study was completed in March, 1975.

Contact: Marie Robinson, Education Manager, OMBE, (800)282-1085,
30 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215
(Currently on sick leave/home: (614)258-2363)

Executive Secretary Skills Seminar, Department of Administrative Services, Division of Intergovernmental Training, State of Ohio. We developed and conducted this seminar during 1973-1974. We also expanded our seminars from Columbus to Cleveland, Ohio. Evaluations are available from KAMA KHALINA or contacts listed below.

Under IPA Training we began a new course offering--Career Women's Seminar, which deals with problems facing women in business at all levels, how to cope with sexist attitudes, assertiveness training and personal development. This was given one time in December, 1974.

As a result of our successful involvement in state training programs, Carlotta Howard (Williams) dba KAMA KHALINA is listed in the Midwest Intergovernmental Training Committee's Training Resource Catalogue, 1974, published by the State of Ohio for a six-state region.

Contact: Erica Bengston or Starr Ramieh, Department of Administrative Services, (614)466-6947, 30 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

As an extension of the Secretarial Skills Seminar, we conducted a similar but tailor-made program at Clark Technical College in Springfield, Ohio, for all college clerical personnel.

Contact: Gerard Howell, Business Manager, Clark Technical College,
(513) 325-0691.

"Let's Make Her More SHARP" Seminar, sponsored by the Cleveland Jaycees and the Greater Cleveland Growth Corporation for staff clerical employees and secretaries and administrative assistants of small business owners in April, 1974.

Contact: John Robinson, Executive Director, or Ramesh Shah, Business Development Specialist, Greater Cleveland Growth Corporation, Union Commerce Building, East Ninth & Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, (216) 241-4313.

AIM-Jobs (Cleveland manpower and training agency). We developed and conducted a Communication Skills Seminar. First, we aimed at directors and their secretaries. The seminar was so successful that we were re-engaged to conduct a modified communications program for all staff members (total-80). This was completed in July, 1974.

Contact: Clarence Parker, Personnel Director, AIM-Jobs (216) 696-6171.

Metropolitan Health Planning Corporation, Community Committee on Black Physicians. We researched, wrote, edited and supplied layout, graphic design and finished artwork for a recruitment brochure to bring more black physicians to the City of Cleveland. We worked with a professional medical committee representing major hospitals in this area and Case-Western Reserve School of Medicine. This assignment was completed in August of 1974.

Contact: Bonnie Baker, Public Relations (She has since left, but the brochure is in use). MHPC or Arnold Pinkney, Chairman of Committee and President, Cleveland Board of Education, (216) 696-2929.
MHPC, Northern Ohio Bank Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio, 771-6814

Personal Improvement Course for local Honeywell, Inc. installation. WE designed curriculum to improve oral and written business communications of one women on a one- to - basis. She has subsequently been promoted to a higher position. Completed in the fall of 1974.

Contact: Robert Musiel, Assistant Branch Manager, Honeywell, Inc.
(216) 881-0300.

Interpersonal Communications Workshop, Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge, Cleveland, Ohio. An independent seminar marketed to mental health and drug abuse centers as a Train-the Trainer Workshop. This communications workshop included five intensive days of training, including films and small group exercises and discussion. Held in September, 1974.

Mike Payne Academy of Broadcast Arts, Cleveland, Ohio. Organization and development of broadcast school for local disc jockey. Coordination and preparation of prospectus for investors and potential lenders. Continuing assignment, since April, 1975. Target opening date: March, 1977.

Contact: Mike Payne (Home) 541-5475 or WABQ Radio Station (216) 241-7555.