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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC'S MEET THE PRESS,"

M E E T   T H E   P R E S S

Produced by Betty Cole Dukert

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1975

GUEST:

MORRIS K. UDALL (Dem., Ariz.)

Candidate for Presidential Nomination

MODERATOR:

Bill Monroe

PANEL:

John Hart - NBC News

Jack W. Germond - Washington Star

William Raspberry - Washington Post

Jack Nelson - Los Angeles Times

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MEET THE PRESS

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1 MR. MONROE: Our quest today on MEET THE PRESS is  
2 Congressman Morris K. Udall, of Arizona. One year ago  
3 this week Mr. Udall, Mo Udall, as his colleagues call  
4 him, became the first Democrat to announce as a candidate  
5 for President. A member of Congress since 1961, he is  
6 considered a leader of liberal Democrats in the House.  
7 He has sponsored major legislation for a form of Congress  
8 for a form of election campaigns and for such environmental  
9 goals as control of strip mining.

10 We will have the first questions now from John Hart of  
11 NBC News.

12 MR. HART: Mr. Udall, a number of politicians seem to  
13 have discovered this year that Americans, maybe a majority  
14 of Americans, are either mad at the Government, or worse yet,  
15 don't care about it. Two Republican candidates are running  
16 against the Government and the Democratic governor has be-  
17 come immensely popular in his state by saying there is no  
18 free lunch, we have to work harder and settle for less.  
19 Maybe government doesn't work.

20 Where do you stand on that?

21 MR. UDALL: Well, I think there is a deep strain of  
22 American pessimism around, and these officials you have  
23 mentioned reflect that. I think people are not so much fed  
24 up with government generally as government that doesn't  
25 work, government that is corrupt, government that is too

1       bureaucratic, government that doesn't get the job done.

2       And rather than turn a summer doing       into dispair, what

3       I am trying to preach is that we ought to get off our seats

4       and get up and get moving again. We can make this govern-

5       ment of ours work again. We are good people with a lot

6       of resources, and I don't like all of this pessimism around,

7       but I have to concede there is some basis for it.



1 MR. MONROE: Do you mean the government will work if we  
2 get the right President?

3 MR. UDALL: I think that is a big part of it. This  
4 country is in real trouble and the present President isn't  
5 doing much about our difficulties. I think the people in '76  
6 want someone who will take charge and get us out of this mess  
7 we are in.

8 MR. MONROE: Can you honestly promise people that a  
9 President has that much influence on this vast government?

10 MR. UDALL: No, I think there is too much over-promising,  
11 but what I say is you have got to try. My whole philosophy  
12 has been if you see a problem, go after it and try something,  
13 and if that doesn't work, try something else, but the President  
14 can set the tone and he can level with people and say here are  
15 the problems and they are serious and we are going to have to  
16 change and we really are. The seventies and eighties are  
17 going -- the story of the seventies and the eighties will be  
18 how we adapt to a lot of new realities in the world and the  
19 President can level with the people on the difficulties we  
20 face and can propose some solutions.

21 MR. MONROE: We have been hearing every presidential year  
22 that we have to set a new tone; we have to try again, but the  
23 government continues to grow; it continues to take now a  
24 third of the national product; it continues to run into  
25 deficits. Can a President really do that? Can a President

1 have any influence in a reform sense on bringing the  
2 government into a size, into a -- can he control the bureaucracy?

3 MR. UDALL: I think he can. I think at least you can try.  
4 We are at a fundamental turning point here. Franklin Roosevelt  
5 took this country in 1932-33 flat on its back and said, "We are  
6 in trouble. We are going to try new things. We are going to  
7 put the people to work. We are going to have Social Security  
8 for old people. We are going to let labor unions organize.  
9 We are going to regulate the banks and stock market and so on.  
10 I think we are at the end of an era.

11 It was an era of cheap resources and easy growth and we  
12 were getting \$35 billion more federal revenues every year and  
13 it was just lovely. You could have tax cuts and more for  
14 Defense and more for poor people. Those days are gone. We  
15 are going to have to change and I think you need a President  
16 who will tell the people these hard facts and will at least  
17 try some programs that will cut this government down to size  
18 and give people a dollar's worth of government, a dollar's  
19 worth of service for every dollar's worth of taxes that they  
20 pay. I think people have some legitimate gripes about this.

21 \* \* \* \*

1           MR. GERMOND: Congressman, I would like to ask you a  
2 couple of questions about your standing as a candidate.  
3 As Mr. Monroe noted at the beginning, you have been campaign-  
4 ing for a year. By all estimates within the Democratic  
5 Party you have a very strong organization. You are still  
6 very insignificant in the polls. What does that tell us?

7           MR. UDALL: Well, there is a myth around, and the myth  
8 is that you come up in the polls through some magic game or  
9 through some magic action, you "take off," as the political  
10 writers like to say, and then you win primaries.

11           In truth, what happens is that you win some primaries,  
12 you get down in the trenches in New Hampshire and Wisconsin  
13 and a caucus state like Iowa and New York and Massachusetts  
14 where I am working, you win some primaries and then you  
15 come up in the polls.

16           I am ahead of where I think George McGovern or  
17 pretty close to where George McGovern was four years ago,  
18 and no one gave him much of a chance.

19           MR. GERMOND: Everyone uses the McGovern example, but  
20 McGovern had an issue. He had the Vietnam issue. What's your  
21 Vietnam issue?  
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1 MR. UDALL: I don't know that I have one single issue.  
2 I think I am the one candidate, however, who has been preaching  
3 not more New Deal, not more Great Society, not more of the '50s  
4 and '60s. Those days are gone. I am saying we have to  
5 make fundamental changes in this country, that we are at the  
6 end of an era of cheap energy and resources; that the '70s and  
7 '80s are going to be a time of adaptation. I am trying to  
8 tell the hard truth and preach a different way of life and  
9 a different way of government for the American people, and I  
10 think that is my issue, if I have one; plus the issue of in-  
11 tegrity, honesty and openness in government, which I think  
12 is going to be very big this time.

13 MR. GERMOND: May I ask you one other question on this  
14 point. At what point do you have to win one of those pri-  
15 maries? How long can you go as a member of the House, a new-  
16 comer in national politics? How long can you survive if you  
17 don't win a primary? Do you have to win Massachusetts or  
18 New Hampshire, or when?

19 MR. UDALL: Well, it's a little too early to say who will  
20 be in there. You give me the cast of characters, and I'll look  
21 at my crystal ball and give you a little better idea. Will  
22 Governor Wallace go to New Hampshire? He indicates he probably  
23 won't. What are Senator Jackson's plans in Massachusetts and  
24 New Hampshire? I don't know yet. But clearly out of those  
25 first four primaries and Iowa, I've got to do well in a couple  
of them, and "doing well" is usually defined by the press and  
not by the candidate.



1 MR. RASPBERRY: Twice in response to earlier questions  
2 you have suggested that we have passed the era when there were  
3 political resources and an expanding economy and so on. We  
4 are going to have to do some cutting back. I am wondering whether  
5 one of those areas we will have to cut back on is governmental  
6 services to poor people. Already, for instance, this Adminis-  
7 tration is talking about cutting back on food stamps, not  
8 because poor people are getting too much food, but because food  
9 stamps cost too much. Would you foresee further cuts under  
10 your Administration?

11 MR. UDALL: No, I go in the other direction. What we have  
12 got to do in this time of change and adaptation is to make sure  
13 that there is a fair distribution of incomes in America and  
14 we are going to get it through national health insurance. It is  
15 time we put a floor under every American and say, in effect:  
16 We don't care that your income is, you are all going to have  
17 good health care.

18 It is time we had tax reform. It is time we reformed this  
19 miserable welfare system and federalized it. It is time we  
20 had a guaranteed job for every American who wants to work so  
21 we will be moving in the other direction.

22 I think it would be cruel and heartless to say that in  
23 time of shortage and in time of scarcity we are going to  
24 inflict this on the poor who have already suffered enough  
25 in this country.

1 MR. RASPBERTY: You mentioned jobs earlier in Louisville,  
2 when, before that convention got sidetracked on the busing  
3 issue, you expressed the hope that jobs might become the focus  
4 of the entire session.

5 Obviously you and everybody else who is running for  
6 President would like to see the employment picture improve and  
7 full employment for everybody. Do you go beyond rhetoric on  
8 that? Have you really got a program in mind for improving the  
9 employment picture?

10 MR. UDALL: Yes, and we had better talk about it and we had  
11 better be prepared to answer the tough, hard questions about  
12 cost and not get in that kind of a trap. Harry Truman, thirty  
13 years ago, proposed something called the Full Employment Act,  
14 and it got watered down and was called the Employment Act and  
15 now, today, Christmas coming on, eight million Americans.  
16 Senator Humphrey and Congressman Hawkins of California, and I  
17 have cosponsored it with others, have a full employment act  
18 on the books and its goal -- and it is an achievable goal,  
19 and costs that this country can afford -- will put every  
20 American who wants to work within a couple of years, and we will  
21 cut eight million unemployment down to three or four million  
22 unemployed within a year if we get on it.

23 The social costs we pay and the financial costs we pay  
24 for unemployment are very, very high and we have got to get  
25 out and tell the American people that we can get the American

1 people who want to work back to work and we can do it in  
2 sensible, sound ways that we can pay for.

3 MR. NELSON: Mr. Udall, Robert Strauss, the National  
4 Democratic Party Chairman, has said there is a tremendous  
5 lack of interest in the current crop of presidential candidates  
6 among the Democrats and that he thinks that if there is a dead-  
7 lock at the convention the nomination could very well go to  
8 someone who doesn't go through the primaries.

9 Do you agree with that?

10 MR. UDALL: Well, this is a great old theory, this  
11 brokered convention, 13th ballot, a few people retire to the  
12 back room and annoint somebody who hasn't campaigned. The  
13 only thing about it is, it never happens.

14 You have to go back fifty years to find a Democratic  
15 Convention that was brokered. You haven't had a third ballot  
16 in the Republican Convention since Wendell Wilkie,

17 There will be a convention in July in New York and  
18 there will be a nominee on Wednesday night and that nominee  
19 in my judgment will come out of the primaries because there  
20 is an important reason. Contesting in the primaries teaches  
21 you, educates you, shows you what the country is all about and  
22 forces you to confront the nation's problems and come up with  
23 programs, and those who sit on the sidelines waiting for the  
24 brokered convention don't go through that experience.

25 MR. NELSON: Mr. Strauss also said he considered Governor



1 George Wallace of Alabama to be a bona fide Democrat.

2 Do you consider him to be a bona fide Democrat?

3 MR. UDALL: We have always had an open party. We span  
4 the whole spectrum. We are a kind of political conglomerate  
5 and I guess anyone has a right to come in and contest for the  
6 nomination.

7 I just wish Governor Wallace, if he is a Democrat, once  
8 every decade or two would give us a break. He opposed Lyndon  
9 Johnson in '64; he went out with old Curtis LeMay -- "Bomb 'em  
10 back to the Stone Age LeMay" and beat our candidate in '68.  
11 He got beat fair and square by George McGovern in '72 and turned  
12 his back on him and now he says he wants our nomination.

13 Well, I wish he would support one of our candidates once  
14 in a while.

15 MR. NELSON: Do you think he is a bona fide Democrat then?

16 MR. UDALL: The party is an open party and anybody is bona  
17 fide who wants to come in and run for the nomination.

18 I just hope if he gets beat he will stay in the party and  
19 not go off and run on a third party, but it is open -- he is  
20 a bona fide Democrat in the sense that anyone who wants to  
21 contest in the Democratic party can sign up and contest, but his  
22 record of party loyalty is pretty miserable, I must add.



1 MR. NELSON: You have said you would not have him on  
2 your ticket, or you wouldn't be on a ticket with him. Do you  
3 think other candidates should make the same sort of disavowal?

4 MR. UDALL: I am not telling other candidates what they  
5 ought to say, but Democratic candidates have been dancing  
6 around this Wallace issue for about a year now, and I think we  
7 ought to know where they stand. I said in Alabama and I said  
8 all over the country he won't be on my ticket, and I am not  
9 going to be on his, and I can't support a ticket he is on.  
10 No rancor. He has got every right to run.

11 If I were a Democratic voter I would want to know in  
12 advance from the major candidates whether they are going to  
13 make a deal with him to get those last few votes to get a nomi-  
14 nation or not. I think people are entitled to know from all  
15 of us where we stand on this.

16 MR. MONROE: Congressman Udall, there is a perception,  
17 right or wrong, that voters these days want to get away from  
18 big government and big spending. Now, aren't you talking  
19 in favor of big government and big spending when you advocate  
20 a full employment act, nationalized welfare, nationalized health  
21 insurance?

22 MR. UDALL: Yes. You show there are two cross-  
23 currents out here. People want the government to solve their  
24 problems, but they also want to get rid of waste and bureaucracy

1 and government that doesn't work, and I think we have got to  
2 show the American people that government can work. We have  
3 also got to change some priorities, this old cliché, or get  
4 rid of it. We are spending too much on national defense.  
5 We could safely cut 10 or 15 percent of the fat out of that  
6 defense budget and be better off, but I think the American  
7 people are willing to support programs, government programs  
8 that are going to work.

9 MR. MONROE: Can you tell us how much bureaucracy you are  
10 talking about and how much spending you are talking about when  
11 you advocate a government-guaranteed employment, nationalized  
12 health insurance and nationalized welfare?

13 MR. UDALL: Well, I am talking in most cases about  
14 costs we already pay. Somebody was saying about the Kennedy  
15 bill that I support costs \$80 billion, and I said, you know,  
16 we already pay \$80 billion, we already have a system,  
17 but the way it works is, if your wife gets cancer your premium  
18 this year is \$30,000 and mine is nothing. Next year I am  
19 going to get wiped out.

20 We are already paying for welfare, only the local govern-  
21 ments that didn't cause this problem -- New York didn't cause  
22 -- 70 percent of the people in New York on welfare are from  
23 out of state. It is a national obligation, only the  
24 states are paying for it. With the job -- with the full employ-  
25 ment act -- \$70 billion deficit, if we had four percent

1 unemployment today instead of eight percent unemployment,  
2 do you know what that great \$70 billion deficit would be?  
3 Zero. We would have a surplus in the federal budget if we  
4 would get this country back to work. So these are legitimate  
5 questions. Liberals ought not to be for waste, and liberals  
6 ought to be ready to answer the tough financial questions about  
7 what these programs would cost, and I think I can answer those  
8 questions.

9 MR. MONROE: Are you promising these things without any  
10 increase in federal spending, without any increase in taxes?

11 MR. UDALL: Well, I don't know. The federal government  
12 has increased as the gross national product has increased. I  
13 don't foresee any increase in taxes except if we are going  
14 to have national health insurance we are going to have to pay  
15 for it through a kind of a payroll tax, but we are already  
16 paying through this miserable inefficient health system that  
17 we now have.

18 MR. HART: Have you costed out these programs so that you  
19 can tell us what the national budget would be with all these  
20 programs, and would we have a deficit?

21 MR. UDALL: No, if we put the American people back to  
22 work we would not have a deficit at all this year. The  
23 national health insurance proposal would be financed through  
24 a payroll tax and administered similar to the Social Security  
25 Administration. The federalizing of the welfare program



1 would cost a little bit more, but I would propose to get that  
2 through abolishing federal programs that don't work and  
3 making substantial cuts in the defense budget. We are wasting  
4 20 -- the biggest item in the national budget this year that  
5 increased was unemployment compensation. It is up \$20 billion.  
6 We save that when we put people back to work.

7 MR. HART: You said you were going to abolish federal  
8 programs that don't work. You have got to cut down waste in  
9 government, you have said. What programs and what departments  
10 would you cut out?

11 MR. UDALL: In the '60s we had high hopes for a lot of  
12 programs. Some of them didn't work. A lot of this law en-  
13 forcement assistance stuff we put out, helicopters for police  
14 and things that didn't really work. The Model Cities  
15 program wasn't very successful. There was waste there.  
16 Medicaid has got to be better administered and more efficient.  
17 There is a number of the -- the SSI, the Supplemental Security  
18 Income program could be better handled. I am not talking  
19 about cutting out money for poor people. I am talking about  
20 better administration of it.

21 MR. HART: Well, that is not abolishment. What things  
22 are you going to abolish?

23 MR. UDALL: I have listed some of the Great Society  
24 programs that didn't work, and I am talking about cuts in  
25 the defense budget where we could get back a lot of this

1 money. But most of the money -- you know, we would have  
2 \$70 billion more in federal revenues this year if we had four per-  
3 cent unemployment which Richard Nixon started out with  
4 instead of the 9 percent unemployment we have today.  
5 That is where you get a lot of your new money, just putting  
6 America back to work so we have profits and salaries on which  
7 people pay income taxes.

8 MR. GERMOND: I would like to go back to the question of  
9 a competition for the Democratic nomination. There are  
10 at least four candidates: yourself, Fred Harris, Sargent  
11 Shriver, Birch Bayh, perhaps one or two others, Governor  
12 Schopp, former Governor Carter -- although that may be in dis-  
13 pute in his case -- who are considered liberals, and they are  
14 all agreed generally on busing, on cutting the defense budget,  
15 on jobs, on energy, on health insurance. They differ in par-  
16 ticulars.

17 George Wallace would say there is not a dime's worth of  
18 difference between you, or among you. How do we sort you out?

19 MR. UDALL: I think you look at a record. I don't think  
20 anything tells you quite so much about the kind of President  
21 a person will be as what he did before he became a candidate  
22 for President. My record suggests this group of candidates  
23 is going to be looked at under the microscope about honesty  
24 and integrity. This is the whole issue of believability  
25 and my record of trying to reform the

1 seniority system, disclosing my income and assets 12 years ago  
2 -- one reporter asked me for my last five years of income tax  
3 returns. I gave them out. I think in this area I am ahead of  
4 anybody else. In the area of making tough decisions of the  
5 kind we are going to have to make, in the past, the ones I  
6 made to challenge the seniority system and to oppose the war  
7 and to do some of the things in energy and resources that I  
8 have done.

9 I also think I am electable. We have got a big politi-  
10 cal conglomerate, maybe more electable than the others. We  
11 have a big political conglomerate on our hands, and we need  
12 the new forces in the Democratic Party, but we also need the  
13 mayors, Mayor Bradley and Mayor Beam, but we need Mayor Daly;  
14 and we need the liberal labor unions, but we also need AFL-CIO  
15 and George Meany and his people. I think better than any  
16 other candidate I can pull this party together and win the  
17 election.

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1 MR. GERMOND: If you need labor, and you obviously do, and  
2 if you say "Let's look at the record," what do you do on your  
3 vote on 14(b), on the right to work?

4 MR. UDALL: This is ten years old. It is a vote ten years  
5 old. From Arizona, one of the most conservative states, I have  
6 got a ninety per cent COPE record. Labor knew about this vote  
7 at the time. I had made a promise to the people of Arizona  
8 based on the vote they had made on our Constitution and I  
9 kept that promise to the people. Mr. Mooney and Mr.  
10 Barkin, the leaders of most of the major labor unions -- I  
11 have never heard any major national labor union say Mo Udall  
12 was not acceptable to labor and the fact is, I have strong  
13 support from labor and all segments of it, and it is spread out  
14 this time and that is good. A lot of the candidates are going  
15 to have labor support and I am going to have my share.

16 MR. GERMOND: Are you going to tell us at some point --  
17 are any of you liberal candidates going to tell us what is  
18 wrong with the record, for example, of Birch Bayh, compared to  
19 yours? Where are you a better candidate for the Democratic  
20 party in electability than Birch Bayh?

21 MR. UDALL: Oh, I don't know. I am not going to demean  
22 the other candidates. I would talk positively and say I was  
23 asked to run by 45 members of Congress. I have never heard any  
24 Senator asking any other Senator to go out and run. This was  
25 an unusual thing. The people who knew me best, black and white,

1 north and south, urged me to run. I think my ability in getting  
2 re-elected, the only Democrat surviving in a tough conservative  
3 state, suggests that I could pull this party together. I have  
4 been in the South. The New York Times reported after the foray  
5 in Alabama and Arkansas that I was well received in the South.  
6 I think I can pull together the conservationists  
7 and the laboring people with some of their disputes. I think  
8 my record on civil rights is acceptable to the minorities in  
9 America.

10 I would distinguish on these bases that I am better,  
11 not that he is unacceptable, and I am not, I think I am a  
12 better candidate on these grounds.

13 MR. RASPBERRY: Sir, you suggested we can judge your elect-  
14 ability by looking at your record. One of the things your  
15 record indicates is an admirable tenacity but less than  
16 earth-shaking results on such environmental questions as the  
17 Alaska Pipeline, Strip Mining and a host of other environmental  
18 concerns.

19 You have been out there for a good long time but the  
20 results don't show very much.

21 Would you say that your lack of success in this area  
22 shows either that you are out of step with the wishes and  
23 desires of the American people on this question or that it shows  
24 a lack of leadership ability on your part to get these ideas  
25 of your moved into legislation?

3  
1 MR. UDALL: No, it shows some other things. It shows what  
2 an unelected President with a veto can do to you. The vast  
3 majority of the American people want strip mining legislation.  
4 The vast majority of the governors and people and mayors want  
5 land use planning legislation, and all of the rest.

6 Gerald Ford vetoed a bill that had tremendous, overwhelm-  
7 ing support in the House and Senate. All the coal state  
8 governors wanted it. All the conservation groups wanted it and  
9 he vetoed it.

10 You know, I have always felt there is something worse  
11 than failing and that is not even to try, and we are going to  
12 try; we are going to get a strip mining bill either this year  
13 or next year that lets<sup>us</sup>/get the coal we need and put the land  
14 back so it will be there ten thousand years from now to use,  
15 and I am going to keep on trying to get these kinds of  
16 environmental goals, but we have had a backlash.

17 You know, it was very easy to get environmental legislation  
18 four or five years ago. These last few years, this whole  
19 phony argument that we have got to choose between jobs and  
20 clean air and clean water has hurt us and Richard Nixon hurt  
21 us. He pulled the plug on me on a couple of these bills after  
22 we cooperated putting them together. He was under attack and  
23 about to be impeached and he pulled the plug on us and defeated  
24 us on a couple of these.

25 MR. MONROE: We have about two and a half minutes.

4  
1 MR. RASPBERRY: One of the things you have been advocat-  
2 ing is a break-up of the major oil companies, and a separation  
3 of function from exploration, to final marketing. Is this just  
4 an ideological thing with you or do you foresee real economic  
5 benefits for the people out of this?

6 MR. UDALL: No, the truth ought to be told to the American  
7 people, and the truth is that a lot of our inflation problem  
8 is simple monopoly. It is concentrated industries where market  
9 forces don't operate and there is no better example than in the  
10 oil industry.

11 We would all be better off. Industry would be better off,  
12 consumers, the stock market, everybody. I am not talking about  
13 socializing or nationalizing; I am talking about Teddy Roose-  
14 velt and Americanizing the oil industry and making them compete  
15 in the different segments so we bring prices down and have  
16 innovation and have some honest competition between refineries  
17 and marketing people and all the rest.

18 MR. NELSON: You have mentioned former President Nixon a  
19 couple of times here. Do you expect him to be an issue, the  
20 Nixon pardon, to be an issue in the general election, and  
21 should it be an issue and should the Nixon Administration  
22 and its connection with President Ford be an issue?

23 MR. UDALL: I don't blame Gerald Ford for a lot of the  
24 things that Richard Nixon did. Obviously he has got to shoulder  
25 that blame, but I lay squarely on his doorstep this pardon.



1 I think it was unforgiveable. I think it made no sense. I  
2 think we will never know a lot of things the American people  
3 really ought to know.

4 The assassinations and all of this show that there is no  
5 substitute for getting the truth out before the American people  
6 and there are a lot of things we are not going to know about  
7 that Nixon Administration, and I think the pardon prevented  
8 them. A lot of the American people are going to hold that  
9 against Mr. Ford in 1976 if he is the nominee.

10 MR. NELSON: You mentioned something about the assassina-  
11 tions too, and I know that just recently you warned that people  
12 should not overreact to the disclosures about the FBI and the  
13 CIA, but let me ask you, isn't it really true the problem is  
14 not overreaction, but a lack of indignation or any real concern  
15 by the American people?

16 MR. UDALL: I think that is part of it, but we are beginn-  
17 ing to get indignation and out of this, out of the Senate and  
18 House investigations will come some laws and new attitudes  
19 and we are never again going to have a system in which our  
20 liberties are abused by our own agencies like the CIA and the  
21 FBI.

22 MR. MONROE: Our time is just about up. Thank you,  
23 Congressman Udall, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

24  
25 - - -  
NEXT WEEK: Hugh L. Carey, Mayor of New York City

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I S S U E S   A N D   A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY (D. Minn.)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent  
Sam Donaldson - ABC News Capitol Hill Correspondent

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This is a rush transcript for  
the press. Any questions re-  
garding accuracy should be re-  
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1 MR. CLARK: Our guest is Senator Hubert Humphrey  
2 and with me is ABC Capitol Hill correspondent, Sam Donaldson,  
3 Senator, the Democratic presidential race got under  
4 way officially this week with the caucuses in Iowa and  
5 Mississippi. We have two early winners, Jimmy Carter in Iowa  
6 and George Wallace in Mississippi, and one dropout, Terry  
7 Sanford.

8 Have any of these developments changed your mind about  
9 getting into the presidential race yourself?

10 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not a bit. Not a bit.

11 MR. CLARK: And then you have been getting some advice,  
12 we know, from some good friends and advisers, that you will  
13 not have a serious chance of getting the presidential nomina-  
14 tion unless you get into some late primaries such as California.

15 Are you totally ruling out the possibility of your getting  
16 into any primaries?

17 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I surely get that kind of  
18 advice, as you have indicated. There are a number of my  
19 friends who feel I ought to get into the primaries, but I have  
20 said I am not going to. It isn't because I have any disdain  
21 for the primaries; it is simply that I am not a candidate in  
22 the sense of going out and trying to wrap up this nomination.

23 I recognize that that, of course, puts you in a very  
24 limited position as to the possibilities of getting the nomina-  
25 tion and I am perfectly content with that posture.



3  
1 It is my judgment, however, that before this thing is  
2 through, we may very well find that no one candidate comes out  
3 with a commanding lead and, if that is the case, then  
4 the convention, of course, the delegates at the convention,  
5 will have to make the selection, and that is a possibility, as  
6 it relates to me.

7 I don't depend on it. I have said quite honestly I can  
8 live with what I am doing with considerable ease and no un-  
9 happiness, so there it is.

1 MR. DONALDSON: Senator, why should the delegates turn to  
2 you if you haven't entered the primaries? I cite specifically  
3 what Governor Carter says, which is that you have lost some  
4 elections for the Presidency, for the nomination, and if you  
5 don't demonstrate that you are not a loser by going into some  
6 of the primaries, that the delegates shouldn't turn to you.

7 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Donaldson, I have been in  
8 the primaries, 1972, and I won four of them in a row and came  
9 in second in Florida, with only a two months campaign. I  
10 won Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and West Virginia. It was a  
11 little hard to convey that message to the public, I must con-  
12 fess, but I did win them, so I know how to win a primary.

13 I was the Democratic nominee in 1968. I came out of that  
14 terribly difficult convention 22 percentage points behind, and  
15 I closed the gap within four-tenths of one percent in a six  
16 weeks' campaign. I know how to campaign. I have won a lot  
17 of them, you know. I have won a lot of them.

18 MR. DONALDSON: The question is "What have you done for  
19 me lately," though? That applies to politics. This is 1976.  
20 How can you demonstrate that you can win this year?

21 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Donaldson, I am not a  
22 candidate. I don't have to demonstrate. That is the nice  
23 part of it. I don't even have to answer a question  
24 like that. I don't have to do it at all.

25 I am a United States Senator. I intend to run for reelection

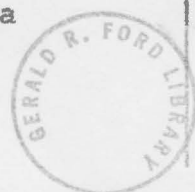
1 from the State of Minnesota. I hope I will be able to achieve  
2 the necessary support there to come back to the United States  
3 Senate.

4 In the meantime, I address myself to the basic issues  
5 that face this country, rather than running around looking for  
6 a delegate.

7 The American people want their public officials to be on  
8 the job, running the country rather than running around. I  
9 have very heavy responsibilities, as Chairman of the Joint  
10 Economic Committee, as the Chairman of the Subcommittee in  
11 Foreign Relations, in Agriculture, in many many programs.  
12 And I think the best politics is no politics. I think this  
13 country wants people that will tend to the business of the  
14 Republic. That is what I am going to do.

15 MR. CLARK: Senator, is there some implied criticism in  
16 what you are saying of those members in the Senate who are out  
17 campaigning in the primaries? You say the American people  
18 want their public officials on the job.

19 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, that is my judgment. I am not  
20 criticizing anybody. I have done exactly what some of my  
21 colleagues are doing. They want to be President, and they have  
22 made the choice. I think they have done the right thing insofar  
23 as their own decision is concerned. They have decided that  
24 they would give their time for these few months to being active  
25 candidates for the Democratic nomination. Now that is a



1 thoroughly honorable pursuit. I have just found out that you  
2 can't be the kind of a Senator that I would like to be and be  
3 the kind of a candidate that I think a man ought to be.

4 You can't do both at the same time. So, like my colleague,  
5 Senator Mondale, I decided that it was perfectly suitable for  
6 me to stay where I am.

7 MR. CLARK: Do you think, Senator, that the liberals and  
8 some of those who are out running for President are going to  
9 gang up on this week's early winners, on Jimmy Carter and  
10 George Wallace?

11 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't think so. I hope and pray they  
12 don't. One thing the Democrats don't need is some more gang-  
13 ing up, and they don't need to have any division.

14 You know, I look upon these early caucuses -- and that  
15 is what they have been, these haven't been primaries as such,  
16 these have been party caucuses and precinct caucuses -- this  
17 whole race for the nomination is like a 500 mile Indianapolis  
18 500 mile speedway. Somebody is ahead on one lap and somebody  
19 is ahead on the second lap and somebody drops out. You know, you  
20 have watched those races.

21 What really is the test is who survives. How do you per-  
22 severe, how do you stay in the race? It is too early  
23 to make any prediction as to what will happen.

24 MR. DONALDSON: Senator, about Governor Wallace, you say  
25 you think the convention will not turn to you, but it might.



1 If it does, would you consider putting Governor Wallace on your  
2 ticket? Do you think he should be on the ticket this year?

3 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I would not recommend him if I were  
4 the nominee, that is number one, and I seriously doubt whether  
5 the convention would nominate him.

6 MR. DONALDSON: Would you support him?

7 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I said I would not recommend him, and  
8 I seriously doubt that the convention would nominate him, and  
9 I think any other question is irrelevant.

10 MR. DONALDSON: May I ask you just once more, because  
11 there are a lot of people I think who may want to know your  
12 answer to it. Would you support Governor Wallace if he was on  
13 the ticket?

14 SENATOR HUMPHREY: He isn't going to be on the ticket,  
15 and I think you know that, and I think I know that, and as  
16 Franklin Roosevelt said, never answer an "iffy" question.

17 MR. DONALDSON: You have said you are not going to be in  
18 the primaries. I was in New Hampshire Friday night, and at  
19 every place, at a Democratic dinner, over a thousand people,  
20 here was this card saying "Write in Hubert Humphrey," and on  
21 the back a list of delegates who would be for you.

22 Do you disavow this?

23 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I do, and you know that, Mr. Donald-  
24 son.

25 MR. DONALDSON: Are you saying to the people in New Hampshire

1 you do not want them to write in your name?

2 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am saying to the people of New Hamp-  
3 shire this is not sponsored by Hubert Humphrey. The person  
4 who is sponsored is not authorized by Hubert  
5 Humphrey. I will say I wrote to every candidate that is under  
6 the Elections Commissions' Ruling, who<sup>is</sup>/an avowed candidate,  
7 I wrote each one of them a letter and said this was not my  
8 effort. That I disavowed the effort, period.

9  
10 MR. DONALDSON: And you don't want them to write your  
11 name in?

12 SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is correct.  
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1           MR. CLARK: Senator, do you plan any efforts in  
2           your own behalf for the Democratic Convention  
3           or are you going to try to line up delegates, or are you just  
4           going to sit and wait for the lightning to strike?

5           SENATOR HUMPHREY: Can I make it clear once again, I  
6           am not a candidate. Now, I love both of you men; you are very  
7           good friends of mine. Now, if I wanted to be a candidate, I  
8           would come and tell you, and I would even tell my office  
9           staff, you know, and I would tell the Democratic party.

10          I am not a candidate. I have said exactly what I mean.  
11          Namely, that I intend to be an active man in the political  
12          life of my party and my country. I do not intend to enter  
13          any primaries. I have said I hope to be at the convention.  
14          If the convention turns to me, I want to be ready to go out  
15          and win that election.

16          MR. CLARK: Senator, correct me if I am wrong. I think  
17          you have been saying also you would love to be President, if  
18          the convention does turn to you.

19          SENATOR HUMPHREY: I haven't made it quite that enthus-  
20          iastic. I used to say it that way.

21          MR. CLARK: Would you like very much to be president?

22          SENATOR HUMPHREY: I have said if my party turned to  
23          me I would hope to be ready in every way to carry out the fight  
24          and the challenge and to go out and to win and, believe me,  
25          I would do just that if the party turns to me.

          MR. CLARK: The question again, if I may.



1           We all know you are not a candidate in the primaries.  
2 When you get to the convention, are you just going to sit  
3 there, or will you at that time start to try to organize  
4 delegates in your behalf?

5           SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think that is a fair question,  
6 Bob.

7           If at the end of all of these primaries there doesn't  
8 seem to be any commanding lead or any one or two of the can-  
9 didates that look like they can put it together, then I think  
10 it would be only prudent on my part in light of what has  
11 developed, that I should sit down with a few of my counsellors  
12 and some of the leaders in the party and ask what, if anything,  
13 I ought to do.

14           That is just plain common sense and indeed, I would do  
15 that, but you know I am a realist about politics. You  
16 generally don't get what you do not work for and fight for and  
17 in this instance I think it is highly unlikely that I would be  
18 nominated. I don't think it is impossible, or I would have  
19 said so before. I think the conditions today are very differ-  
20 ent, with proportional representation, with the large number  
21 of candidates, it may very well be no one will come to that  
22 convention with enough delegate support to really get the  
23 nomination, and then the convention will do what it is supposed  
24 to do; it will make its selection. In the meantime, I am going  
25 to address myself to the President's budget, to the President's

1 foreign policy, to the President's manpower and employment  
2 policy, to the President and his relationships with the  
3 Congress./ There are issues that are fundamental.  
4 Congress./ This country is in a housing depression; this  
5 country has over 11 per cent unemployment. As to what the  
6 Administration says, 8.3, this country has slow economic  
7 growth, this country has a rising crime rate. This country  
8 has serious economic and social problems and I think that a  
9 man that has been in government as long as I have been and  
10 now has the responsibilities that I have and the opportunity  
11 to serve ought to address himself to those problems, and  
12 that is exactly what I am doing as Chairman of the Joint  
13 Economic Committee, and I think one of the reasons some of the  
14 people in America look to me with some favor is because they  
15 think I am really working on the problems that affect their  
16 lives, and I hope they do feel that way because that is exactly  
17 what I want to do. I want to do the very best I can in the  
18 time that I have as a Senator, or whatever public position I  
19 may hold, to address the nation's problems, and I think I  
20 know something about them.

21 MR. DONALDSON: Senator, I think we have to ask one  
22 more campaign-related question because we do want to get your  
23 views on those other issues.

24 There are several things in your background that some of  
25 the candidates and people are talking about and one is the way  
you settled your 1972 campaign debt; four cents on the dollar.

1           Would you explain to us why you think that was a fair  
2 settlement?

3           SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I wish it could have been  
4 better, but let me tell you, don't cry over the fact that some  
5 of those who got that limited amount of payment received  
6 only so little.

7           First of all, they were all people who knew me very  
8 well. They knew when they made the loan that there was a  
9 possibility that it couldn't all be paid back. They also are  
10 people that can well afford it and the most interesting thing  
11 about this, I keep getting questions from people about it, but  
12 the people that got paid back are not crying a bit. They are  
13 perfectly content. As a matter of fact, most of them would  
14 like to see me President of the United States. They would  
15 like to do it all over again.

16           I have told them that one of the reasons I don't want  
17 to run is that I am sick and tired of trying to face these  
18 problems of financing a campaign and I predict that every  
19 candidate will be saying that before they are through, even  
20 with public financing such as we have now, where in primaries  
21 you can get half of your total campaign expenditures.

22           I predict that you will have plenty of problems even  
23 under this situation.

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1 MR. CLARK: In relation to your responsibility to the  
2 Joint Economic Committee, do you think additional tax cuts  
3 are going to be needed this year to stimulate the economy?

4 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, as you know, we have a budget pro-  
5 cess in the Congress for the first time, and we are very  
6 proud of it. I think we need to look at the entire fiscal  
7 picture, the budget picture, and then we need to keep a constant  
8 watchful eye on the economy.

9 I believe that is the sensible way to approach it. My  
10 own judgment has been -- and I so recommended in an interim  
11 report of the Joint Economic Committee, that we have a tax  
12 cut for the full year of around a \$20 billion figure. The  
13 President has raised that to \$28 billion with offsets and re-  
14 ductions in spending, which of course just neutralizes the ex-  
15 pansionary stimulus effect of any kind of tax cut.

16 MR. CLARK: The President in his State of the Union address  
17 talked about a \$10 billion tax cut this year.

18 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

19 MR. CLARK: Are you saying Democrats probably will not  
20 match that?

21 SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I am not saying that. Of course  
22 he talked about a \$10 billion tax cut, plus a \$10 billion re-  
23 duction in the budget. That would reduce his budget down  
24 again from 395 down to 385. And might I quickly add that  
25 the \$395 billion figure was just picked out of thin air here



1 a few months ago and now the President has come in and tried  
2 to get a budget that would meet that figure.

3 Mr. Ford has a problem. He comes up with these quick sug-  
4 gestions and then he has to reverse his field. For example,  
5 he asked, if you will remember, in December 1974, for a five  
6 percent increase in taxes. In January, however, of 1975, he  
7 came in and recommended that we have a substantial tax reduc-  
8 tion. And I think that Mr. Ford again has got himself trapped  
9 into a situation where he has made a budget figure and now is  
10 trying to rationalize it. But again, on your taxes, we  
11 will watch it very carefully. I was the first man in Congress  
12 to propose, in the beginning of this recession, a very substan-  
13 tial tax cut. I believe that people with purchasing power  
14 do the best job of revving up the economy and getting the people  
15 back to work.

16 MR. DONALDSON: The President has proposed new payroll  
17 taxes, a lifting of the base on Social Security payments,  
18 saying the fund is going broke. Senator Long, however,  
19 the Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate, suggests  
20 that perhaps the best way to do it is to go into the general  
21 revenue fund. What do you favor?

22 SENATOR HUMPHREY: The payroll tax that the President  
23 has recommended is very hard on low-income people because,  
24 remember, it only affects people with incomes under \$15,000,  
25 the payroll tax. It is taxable for Social Security benefits

1 and unemployment compensation. They are both paid by the  
2 employer, and Social Security in part by the employee. So it is  
3 a heavy cost on hiring new workers. It is a heavy cost on pro-  
4 duction. So the President's Social Security taxes, at this  
5 time, will have, I think, a very unfortunate effect upon economic  
6 recovery. Also it will be a direct burden upon the lowest in-  
7 come people. I therefore believe that there is a better way.  
8 You can either raise the taxable base up to a higher figure,  
9 if you wish to, to get more revenue, or you can do as Senator  
10 Long has indicated: go to the general revenue for what addi-  
11 tional monies you need. That would have to come out of general  
12 income taxes. Or you could have a better policy of invest-  
13 ment of Social Security funds in securities that pay a better  
14 rate of interest.

15 We now have evidence that the American worker has subsi-  
16 dized this economy to the tune of many billions of dollars  
17 because of low interest rate investment.

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1 MR. DONALDSON: When you explain some alternatives,  
2 which one do you favor?

3 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I think if I had to, I would  
4 favor at this time no change in the taxes, right at this time.  
5 The main reason is that I don't want to in any way abort the  
6 recovery of --

7 MR. DONALDSON: Would you go to general revenues?

8 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, if we had to, but I don't think  
9 we have to do it at this time.

10 MR. DONALDSON: Don't I recall, Senator, that in your  
11 1968 presidential campaign you did propose as a major policy  
12 issue that we go to the general revenues?

13 SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. Yes, I favor that but not,  
14 let me say, at this particular time. When we have such a  
15 slow rate of recovery, I don't think we ought to rock the  
16 boat with any additional taxes, any additional drawdown. It  
17 isn't as if Social Security is going to go broke this year.

18 I think we have got to get the economy back on its feet  
19 and once you get the economy back and you get these ten million  
20 or more workers back to work paying Social Security, your fund  
21 will start to increase. That is much better.

22 MR. CLARK: Senator, I am still thinking back to that  
23 1968 campaign, but that proposal you made to use general  
24 Treasury revenue for the Social Security benefits came under  
25 very heavy attack from those who think this would open the

1 floodgates and destroy the Social Security System.

2 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I know, but many people have  
3 since then  
4 changed their minds, / fortunately, and I think we will have a  
5 much more objective view.

6 I might point out at that time we had 3.6 per cent  
7 unemployment. January, 1969, gentlemen, 3.6 unemployment;  
8 inflation rate, 4.5. Today the official rate of unemployment,  
9 quote, is 8.3, and the rate of last year's average rate of  
10 inflation was nine per cent. Double. Conditions are very  
11 different.

12 The important thing for us now is to get this country  
13 back to work. Get it back to work. Get it off of welfare.  
14 Get it off of waste, and what we have got here is what I call  
15 the three Ws. We have Welfare and Waste with this  
16 Administration and we Democrats want to put this country back  
17 to work; get people on jobs.

18 MR. CLARK: The Library of Congress, as you know, I am  
19 sure, has been rather rough on your program for putting the  
20 country back to work. Your unemployment bill, which would try  
21 to reduce unemployment to three or four per cent by the end of  
22 1976, the Library of Congress made a study of two proposals,  
23 either reducing to the three or four percent level, said both  
24 of them would be extremely costly and would bring a resurgence  
25 of inflation up to the 10 or 12 per cent level.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, let's take a look.



1 First of all, we are rewriting our employment bill  
2 completely, I think you should know that.

3 MR. CLARK: You are no longer supporting that?

4 SENATOR HUMPHREY: What we did here was to try to point  
5 out the imperative necessity of work instead of food stamps  
6 and welfare and unemployment compensation, and work gives  
7 people income and income permits people to pay taxes and to  
8 buy things which in turn puts this economy back where it ought  
9 to be.

10 If we could cut our unemployment today, Mr. Clark, by  
11 half, just half, we would have a balanced budget and state  
12 governments and local governments would have no problem at all.

13 The problem of the deficit in this government today, this  
14 fiscal deficit, budget deficit, is the cost of the recession  
15 and can I just continue here because this is important for  
16 the people to know: The cost of this recession, according to  
17 the government's own figures, from 1974 to 1980, is a trillion  
18 five hundred billion dollars in lost income. That is \$7,000  
19 for every man, woman and child in the United States.

20 Now, the job of a political party and political leadership,  
21 the job of a President and a Congress, is to get the American  
22 people back to work and Mr. Ford's budget just doesn't do that.  
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1 MR. CLARK: Senator, if I could just point out, this  
2 impartial Library of Congress study says that your program  
3 could cut unemployment in half, but would cost \$35 billion in  
4 the first year, and would not balance the budget at all but  
5 create more inflation.

6 SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is a bargain, because the cost  
7 this year of unemployment benefits and of the social cost re-  
8 lated to unemployment is over \$40 billion. If I thought --  
9 believe me, if I thought we could spend \$35 billion and achieve  
10 a 4 percent unemployment rate this year, I would be on this  
11 program asking for a half hour just to explain it to the people  
12 and repeat it again and again.

13 The cost this year, Mr. Clark, is over \$40 billion to  
14 keep, according to the Government's own figure, over 8 percent  
15 of the people unemployed. Why, it is a bargain. But I am  
16 telling you, I am more realistic. We have reanalyzed, we have  
17 analyzed our legislative proposals. I have had the best people  
18 in America look at it. We will present in a couple of weeks an  
19 entirely new manpower and employment program which we hope will  
20 bring down in the next three years -- not 18 months -- in the  
21 next three years, hopefully, unemployment down to about four  
22 percent. That would be a Godsend. This country will then have  
23 a balanced budget, and not only that, we will have something  
24 else: We will get our cities started, get our cities cleaned  
25 up, we will build up our railroads, we will clean up our parks,

1 we will plant our trees.

2 Isn't it amazing that we can have adults by the millions  
3 standing around drawing unemployment compensation, food stamps  
4 and welfare, which this Administration hands out, and we  
5 are not doing a thing to clean up America, to fix up America?

6 Hubert H. Humphrey is a workman, and I will tell you,  
7 if I could take \$35 billion in that budget and get America back  
8 to work, I would be elected President. There isn't any doubt  
9 about it. I wouldn't have to do a thing. I am here to tell  
10 you that is what this country needs.

11 MR. DONALDSON: Very quickly, another subject, foreign  
12 affairs. Another SALT agreement; apparently there is some  
13 progress on that. Secretary Kissinger reports, having come  
14 back from Moscow. Would you anticipate a SALT agreement this  
15 year, or do you think domestic politics in this country are  
16 such that it will work against concluding one?

17 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I only know what I have read about the  
18 SALT agreement. It reduces the Vladivostok levels down from  
19 24 missiles down to about 22 hundred, or something in there.  
20 Anything like that would be helpful, if we can have it  
21 properly monitored and supervised, and I think we can. But I  
22 am not at all sure that we could do it this year. Neverthe-  
23 less, I think it is important for the President and Secretary  
24 Kissinger to push the arms control effort. The biggest problem  
25 in the arms control today of course are the new weapons, the

1 Cruise missile, for example, and once that gets loose in the  
2 arms field, all bets are off.

3 MR. DONALDSON: I am really thinking about the political  
4 campaign. President Ford's problem with Ronald Reagan, let's  
5 say. How do you think that will impact on the possibility of an  
6 agreement?

7 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I don't know, but I would hope that  
8 our President -- and he is my friend, as well -- I would hope  
9 he would look over the horizon and just bypass Mr. Reagan.  
10 Mr. Reagan most likely will not be for any kind of an arms  
11 agreement, and he will undoubtedly want to attack. But if  
12 President Ford will do what he said in his State of the Union  
13 address: emphasize his foreign policy; and if he can get a  
14 further improvement in agreements with the Soviet Union, that  
15 are good agreements, it will strengthen him, not hurt him.

16 MR. DONALDSON: Do you think Governor Reagan is going to be  
17 the Republican nominee?

18 SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I do not. I think President Ford is  
19 going to be the Republican nominee.

20 MR. DONALDSON: He will be then whose opponent in the fall?  
21 Who will be the Democratic nominee?

22 SENATOR HUMPHREY: I wish I knew. I wish I knew. You know,  
23 you know so much more about that. You really do, Mr. Donaldson.  
You are out on the hustings with them. I don't know.

24 MR. CLARK: Senator Humphrey, we are out of time. It has  
25 been a pleasure having you with us, candidate or non-candidate.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you.

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AM AMERICA

Jennings and Steve Bell interview with Gov. George Wallace

Wallace says he doesn't know if he will be a candidate in '76. Doesn't know yet if he will be involved in the primaries. He does have an organization in case he does decide. He has definitely not made up his mind. But says he's very, very interested and will make a decision in a few months.

Jennings asked if he was leading his supporters on -- he has received a lot of support and money for a campaign. Wallace said he wasn't trying to lead anyone on. He's not misleading his supporters.

Discussion of his health. He's healthy but paralyzed. Has travelled around the country this way. Ran a successful Gubernatorial campaign.

Jennings pressed Wallace on why many of his Southern colleagues don't support him -- the Gov. of Miss. and Florida and Georgia. Wallace said Jennings would have to ask those people. Jennings pressed him again and Wallace stuck by his answer.

Bell speculated that Wallace will not run for the Presidency again but will keep the question open as long as possible to keep foothold in power. Wallace said he has no great strategy -- but he is concerned about the great middle class Americans who are being run into the dirt.

(Really got pretty funny)!

Will there be a 3rd party in '76? Answer: I don't close the door on anything. Do you have any advice for conservatives? Yes -- shake up the government to help the people. Too much Fed. spending, etc.

Bell asked if Wallace had decided to run and the Demos don't follow him or back up his platform would he go 3rd party? Answer: "That could be a distinct possibility."

February 20, 1975

AM AMERICA

Jennings and Koppel discuss HAK Trip to Middle East

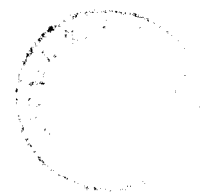
Koppel said HAK was successful in laying the groundwork for his next trip to M. E. in two to three weeks. At that time he will try to bring about negotiations for an Israeli pullback from the Sinai and with that get some kind of a signed statement of non-belligerency from the Egyptians.

Koppel said he felt the Israelis are willing to make one of three deals. The objective is peace. The first deal -- pullback from almost entire Sinai to '67 borders with only an access road to Sharm el Sheikh. They don't expect to get it. Second deal -- Israelis giving up of oil fields. With this deal they want a statement of non-belligerence from Egypt -- ad infinitum. The third deal -- Israeli pullback of 30 to 50 kilos from certain mountain passes and a signed non-belligerency statement for a period of 18 months. Sadat has said he cannot give Israel an ad infinitum non-belligerency statement.

Koppel said that both sides are in a negotiating structure which means they will be tough to each other publicly but privately they might give in and this is where HAK figures into the picture.

Shah of Iran said that if Israel gives up its oil fields, Iran would supply the oil -- that once oil is on tankers he doesn't care where the oil goes. It's a cagey way for the Shah to say that he will sell oil to Israel. The oil fields that Israel holds now supply 60% of the country's energy requirements.

Growing concern in Israel ... they feel boxed in, not going forward or backwards. Jennings asked if the whole thing could be blown because of Israeli politics -- the opposition party. Do you see the Prime Minister able to make any one of the three deals? Koppel said it was hard to say. Rabin has no majority ... less than Golda Meir had. Koppel ended the interview by saying that with more discussion of Israelis pulling back to the '67 borders, the more nervous Israelis are becoming ... and rightfully so.



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TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "NBC'S MEET THE PRESS."

M E E T   T H E   P R E S S

SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1976

GUEST:

GOVERNOR GEORGE C. WALLACE (D. Ala.)

Candidate for the Presidential Nomination

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe

PANEL:

Kenley Jones - NBC News

Haynes B. Johnson - Washington Post

Vic Gold - Syndicated Columnist

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MEET THE PRESS

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1 MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Governor  
2 George Wallace of Alabama, candidate for the Democratic Presi-  
3 dential nomination. Governor Wallace has not yet won a pri-  
4 mary, but he has won 86 delegates to the Democratic convention.  
5 Five days ago he received 35 percent of the vote in North  
6 Carolina to 54 percent for Jimmy Carter.

7 We will have the first questions now from Kenley Jones  
8 of NBC News.

9 MR. JONES: Governor, after you lost the North Carolina  
10 primary to Mr. Carter you said publicly for the first time  
11 that it would be difficult for you to get the nomination.  
12 That being the case, why are you continuing with your campaign?

13 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Well being difficult doesn't mean that  
14 it is not possible, but I like to at least have some semblance  
15 telling the truth to the press, and I think everyone knows that  
16 when you lose a primary or two that it makes it more difficult  
17 for you to win the nomination. And I was just frankly telling  
18 the truth. It is more of an uphill fight. But the primaries  
19 are not over, and the delegates have all not been chosen,  
20 and I am still No. 2 in delegates in the country.

21 MR. JONES: Well, Governor, if you continue to enter these  
22 primaries and if you continue to lose, aren't you in danger of  
23 losing any influence you might have had at the Convention?

24 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Well, very iffy questions - "if" we  
25 continue to lose, and "if" -- it is hard for me to answer



1 questions that are very speculative and so conjectural and so  
2 iffy. But the point is this, is that nearly every candidate  
3 now drinks from the same well and the same dipper as I have  
4 a long time, and I am in this for the purpose of seeing also,  
5 not only a bona fide candidate, but also to keep them all  
6 honest, because I want the Democratic party back to being the  
7 party of the great middle class in the United States.

8 MR. JONES: Well, Governor, what would you hope to do  
9 with the block of delegates that you may go to the convention  
10 with? What would you do with those when you got there?

11 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I have never been in a convention of  
12 the sort you are speaking of, and I don't know. But those  
13 block of delegates, however many they may be, are going to  
14 be delegates that are going to be used for the purpose of  
15 achieving what we have always wanted to achieve, and that is  
16 the Democratic party back to being the party of the people.

17 (ANNOUNCEMENTS)  
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1 MR. JOHNSON: Just to follow up on Mr. Jones' questions a  
2 moment ago, you have been losing. Four years ago you were  
3 telling the country you were going to send a message to  
4 Washington to the politicians. What happened, Governor?  
5 How do you attribute your losses this year?

6 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Well, the message was so well  
7 received by the establishment that everyone else now is  
8 sending the same message and many people perceive that  
9 possibly others are more able to get to Washington than  
10 George Wallace because it made quite a bit about my health,  
11 the fact that I was shot -- nothing wrong with my health;  
12 I am in good shape, but the message did get there and it  
13 also got to these candidates who are now running because all  
14 of them sound almost identically like I sounded in 1972.

15 MR. JOHNSON: But, Governor, that doesn't answer the  
16 question why in the south, for instance, your own part of  
17 the country, you have now lost two big primaries. In North  
18 Carolina you got 35 percent of the vote; Florida, you lost there.  
19 Four years ago you were winning in the south. What does that  
20 say about your political future?

21 GOVERNOR WALLACE: That says that the message has been  
22 well received by those who are now running for the presidency.  
23 In 1972 I had won well by myself. In fact, the issues I  
24 raised were not raised by the others and the negative and  
25 positive aspects of the campaign in 1972 I had alone, by

1 myself. Now, all of them are saying the same thing and, as  
2 a consequence that may have diluted the strength that I have,  
3 but it hasn't diluted the strength of the positions that I  
4 have taken and therefore I am still in the race because I  
5 still take those positions as the first person that warned  
6 the people of this country about big government eventually  
7 becoming their master and as a consequence I am still  
8 involved, and I know that in 1972 the first few primaries,  
9 Mr. McGovern lost but he wound up being the nominee. So the  
10 primaries are not over and the die has not been cast and there  
11 are may more people to vote.

12 I have 1,090,000 votes, not entering two primaries  
13 and I am second in number of delegates. I think that is  
14 pretty good when you think about the number who are involved.

15 MR. JOHNSON: Governor, your fellow southerner, Jimmy  
16 Carter, is now leading in the delegate race and you  
17 have said some critical things about him recently. Could  
18 you support Mr. Carter for your party's nomination?

19 GOVERNOR WALLACE: It is very foreign to me  
20 to talk crirically of anyone. I have never done so in  
21 campaigns before, but the Democratic party in my judgment  
22 is going back to being the party of the people and representing  
23 the gmat middle class in this country. That is, the small  
24 businessman and woman and farmer and the working people of  
25 our country and therefore, if they embrace those doctrines, and

1 the candidate embraces them, then I, of course, expect to  
2 support the Democratic party.

3 MR. GOLD: Governor, I would like to ask you about a  
4 non-candidate in the race but one who is very voluble,  
5 concerning the message which you said that you are addressing  
6 to the people and you have been addressing. The word "racism"  
7 entered the campaign this past week when Senator Hubert  
8 Humphrey charged that some candidates running against the  
9 Washington establishment are actually delivering a racist  
10 message. I would like to quote the Senator exactly.

11 "Candidates who make an attack on Washington are  
12 making an attack on government programs, on the poor, on  
13 blacks, on minorities, on the cities."

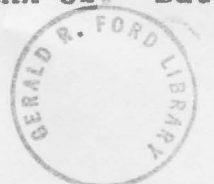
14 I am continuing to quote Senator Humphrey:

15 " It's a disguised new form of racism,  
16 a disguised new form of conservatism."

17 Would you comment on Senator Humphrey's statement?

18 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Well, I think that is not correct in  
19 the sense that those who talk about Washington are racist.  
20 If that be the case, then the overwhelming majority of the  
21 people in this country are racist and I do not believe that is  
22 the case.

23 I do believe that the government of our nation should pay  
24 more attention to the cities, which I think would help  
25 minority groups as much as anything that I can think of. But





1 I do not agree with his statement that an attack on the  
2 Washington establishment and all the inflationary spending  
3 and giveaways and high taxes on the average citizen is  
4 against people because of race.

5 MR. GOLD: Yet, Senator Humphrey, although he is not in  
6 any of the primaries, is being prominently mentioned as a  
7 possible Democratic nominee.

8 Obviously he hasn't gotten the message that you say has  
9 been delivered. Could you support Senator Humphrey, could  
10 you support a candidate who did not -- let me put it  
11 generally; could you support a candidate who did not get in  
12 any of the primaries who was the choice of the convention?

1 GOVERNOR WALLACE: It would all depend on the platform  
2 the convention adopted, and I feel like the candidate that  
3 is going to wind up with the nomination is one of those who are  
4 involved in the primaries.

5 MR. GOLD: In other words, you do not feel that Senator  
6 Humphrey or any other candidate who did not get involved in  
7 the primaries should be considered at the convention  
8 or properly be considered?

9 GOVERNOR WALLACE: No, I don't mean that they should not  
10 be considered, because anyone has a right to be considered by  
11 the delegates, and Senator Humphrey has a right to run because  
12 he is well known and has quite a following in the country. But  
13 I do think it will be very difficult for one who was not in-  
14 volved in the primaries; but that does not necessarily mean  
15 that it could not happen.

16 MR. GOLD: Would you like to extend an invitation here  
17 to Senator Humphrey to enter some of those primaries?

18 GOVERNOR WALLACE: No, I do not extend an invitation.  
19 There are enough in them already, and I am trying to eliminate  
20 some others.

21 MR. MONROE: Governor Wallace, is it a problem for your  
22 candidacy in 1976 that people remember such things as your say-  
23 ing when you were elected Governor in '63, inaugurated, describ-  
24 ing white people as the greatest race ever to tread the earth?  
25 They remember that Jimmy Carter said in his inauguration that



1 "I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimi-  
2 nation is over," so that you have some people perceiving the two  
3 of you as having different attitudes on racial matters.

4 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I didn't say that. I said the people  
5 of our particular region were great people, and some of the  
6 greatest that ever trod the earth, and I still say that. I  
7 have no apologies for that. I did not say the white race.  
8 I did not say that. That was not my statement.

9 And Mr. Carter, of course, I don't know what he said  
10 when he was inaugurated. I know when he ran he ran appealing  
11 for the support of those who supported George Wallace in 1968  
12 for President, and he used my name very glowingly in great  
13 numbers of his speeches in Georgia, so I cannot account for  
14 what he said, but I do say that the people of our particular  
15 region are some of the finest people that ever trod the  
16 earth. But that doesn't mean they are not fine in other parts  
17 of the United States. But I am very proud of the people of my  
18 part of the country. I have no apologies to make for them.  
19 I am not one of these people who says that I am a different  
20 kind of Southerner. I am a Southerner. I am proud of it.  
21 But you can be proud to be an Easterner, a Midwesterner, a  
22 Westerner, whatever you want to call it. Be proud to be an  
23 American.

24 MR. MONROE: Well, Governor, some years ago you were  
25 talking about segregation forever.

1 GOVERNOR WALLACE: That is correct.

2 MR. MONROE: And you were looked on as one of the  
3 country's best known segregationists. And when you have been  
4 asked questions on this subject in recent years, you have  
5 said that is no longer the issue; but you have not said to  
6 my knowledge that you no longer believe in segregation.

7 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Segregation is a moot question,  
8 and integration is the law of the land, and it is a moot  
9 question, and therefore we don't want to go back and make any  
10 attempt to change what is now a fact accomplished.

11 We did get into the legal arena and we lost. We lost.  
12 That is over. Let's look forward and look after those people  
13 who are citizens of our state and country, and I remind you in  
14 the last election of Alabama I received the highest percentage  
15 of black votes of any candidate running for the  
16 Presidency received in their last election. I was endorsed by  
17 nearly every black leader in Alabama. And yes, I did stand  
18 for the school system in our part of the country. I was not  
19 hypocritical about it. But I warned first, as the first  
20 national involvement in political campaigns, that big govern-  
21 ment was some day going to become the master of people instead  
22 of their servants, and that is today becoming true in these  
23 United States. The rest of these candidates are more  
24 followers.  
25



1 I have tried to be a leader. Now they are "me, too," and they  
2 are saying the same identical thing that I was saying. But I  
3 don't apologize. I am honest about it.

4 MR. MONROE: Well, Governor, as a Presidential candidate  
5 in 1976 who once said that he favored segregation, are you  
6 unwilling at this point to say that at this point you do not  
7 any longer favor segregation?

8 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Segregation is out, it is gone. I no  
9 longer favor going back to any attempt to reinstall what we had  
10 years ago which was separation --

11 MR. MONROE: Do you personally believe in it anymore?

12 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I believe we ought to have the system  
13 we have now, which is nondiscrimination, which you call inte-  
14 gration.

15 MR. JONES: Governor, part of the changes in your campaign  
16 as a result of these defeats in the primaries, your national  
17 campaign director, Mr. Snyder, says an appeal is going to be  
18 made to conservatives, not necessarily just Democrats but  
19 conservatives, to get out and work for you, and he has mentioned  
20 them to be members of the American Independent Party, the  
21 American Party, the Conservative Party, the Committee for a  
22 New Majority. Some of those groups have been working to make  
23 sure there is a third place spot on the ballots in the Presi-  
24 dential election, and some groups have talked about drafting  
25 you as their candidate. Would you under any circumstances be

1 a third party candidate?

2 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I am very grateful that these groups  
3 that you are talking about even considered the fact that  
4 they would like to have me as a candidate on a third party  
5 ticket, but I am running in the Democratic primaries, and I  
6 believe the Democratic party is <sup>going</sup> / back to becoming the party  
7 of the people, and therefore I do not look toward any third  
8 party candidacy. But I am very grateful for their confidence,  
9 and I appreciate it.

10 MR. JONES: Well, you have called Mr. Carter a warmed-  
11 over McGovern. If he became the nominee, do you think that  
12 would be going back to these principles you talked about?

13 GOVERNOR WALLACE: If he embraces the platform -- and  
14 he will have to do that if he becomes the nominee -- but he  
15 is not the nominee yet. Let's wait and see who is the nominee.

16 MR. JONES: But would you tell these people who are working  
17 on this third party ticket today that under no circumstances  
18 would you accept a draft to run as a third party candidate?

19 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I see no circumstances under which  
20 I would accept a draft.

21 MR. JOHNSON: Governor, about your own future, would you  
22 accept it as a probable case that you will not be the Democratic  
23 nominee this year?

24 GOVERNOR WALLACE: There are many obstacles in front of  
25 my acquiring the nomination, there is no question about that --



1 as there are in the path of anyone else. They will be in the  
2 path of Mr. Carter, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Udall, you name it. Mr.  
3 Humphrey. But it is going to be difficult, there is no  
4 question about it; but we are still going to be there, to keep  
5 this national convention honest as far as platform is concerned  
6 and as far as their fight against big government is concerned.

7 MR. JOHNSON: Let's go on about that, about George Wallace.  
8 If  
9 Where do you see yourself, Governor, after this year?/ You are  
10 not going to be the nominee, you are not going to be President.  
11 What do you see in your own political life?

12 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I see myself as Governor for nearly  
13 three more years in Alabama, and then of course my political  
14 career will probably be over.

15 MR. JOHNSON: Over in the sense that you wouldn't run for  
16 office again?

17 GOVERNOR WALLACE: No, sir, I would not run for office  
18 again, in my judgment.  
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1 MR. GOLD: Governor, in past years you have claimed the  
2 Democratic party establishment has ganged up on you. This  
3 year I believe that you made some of the same charges and here  
4 we have Governor Carter, on the other side, or on the same  
5 side, as some might say, also claiming he is the anti-  
6 establishment candidate. Do you believe that the establish-  
7 ment ganged up on you this year?

8 A two part question: Do you also believe that now that  
9 Governor Carter has moved out in front, so to speak, that they  
10 might be ganging up on him.

11 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I am not sure whether they are ganging up on him  
12 or not. I can't answer that question because I don't know, but

13 I think it is a known fact by all of you who are on this  
14 panel that the Democratic party wanted to get rid of me and  
15 right on this very program one of the candidates who is now  
16 out said that we were asked not to go to Florida, or he  
17 said "I am not going to Florida because I want Mr. Carter to  
18 beat Mr. Wallace."

19 Now, I believe Sargent Shriver said also -- that was  
20 Senator Bayh. Sargent Shriver, and I believe Mr. Udall, both  
21 said they were asked not to come to Florida where we can gang  
22 up and defeat George Wallace and get him out of the way. He  
23 is a nuisance. We want to get him out of our hair.

24 I think that is well known.

25 MR. GOLD: How do you see your prospects in Wisconsin  
right now and what would be the future of your campaign if



you met with another defeat in Wisconsin?

GOVERNOR WALLACE: I feel I am going to do well in Wisconsin because I think I am going to appeal to the farm people of that state, the working people of that state, because I have stood with the farm people ever since I have been involved, calling for at least ninety percent parity and I have always talked about the importation of exotic cheeses and other things that have affected the dairy industry in that particular state.

I believe that I expressed the viewpoint of the people of that state as well as anyone, but I realize, having lost a primary or two or three, that it will be more difficult than it has been in the past, but I expect to do well.

MR. MONROE: Governor, the polls have indicated, and you have admitted yourself that some people are reluctant to vote for you on account of worries about your health, even though they might agree with many of your stands.

I wonder if you have any plan to cope with this issue such as the possible appointment of a distinguished committee of doctors who might make a report to the American people?

GOVERNOR WALLACE: I have already had a group of distinguished doctors to make that report to the American people and all I can say is that it is not a matter of health. I have no disease or problem of that sort. I was shot. I was paralyzed. I had an accident, you might say, and accidents

3  
1 and diseases are entirely different things and therefore I am  
2 paralyzed, but I am not -- I have no disease, so I am all  
3 right. There is nothing that I can do to meet that other  
4 than people accept my word for it.

5 MR. MONROE: You have a political problem with it.  
6 Is there no way to cope with it? If you appointed five  
7 independent, distinguished, nationally known doctors, would  
8 that not help convince some people?

9 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I have already had distinguished,  
10 well known doctors, head of various associations in the  
11 country, made the statement. Doctors in the State of Maryland  
12 some of the best in the United States, like Dr. Shano, and  
13 others, and Dr. Hamilton Hutchison, and Dr. Galbraith at  
14 the University of Alabama, and others. I don't think you  
15 can go any further there.

16 I am not ashamed of being in a wheelchair. Take a look  
17 at it, anybody who wants to, take pictures of it. There is  
18 nothing wrong. Mr. Roosevelt was elected four times in a  
19 wheelchair. Many people have forgotten that. Elected so  
20 many times that they had a Constitutional Amendment passed  
21 here some time ago to preclude that from ever happening again  
22 in the future.

23 And I'd like to say, which is an aside, that some  
24 people who have been running our government, have been  
25 paralyzed in the head the way they have run it in the last

4  
1 number of years. At least I am not paralyzed in the head.

2 MR. MONROE: Governor, the doctors you cite, were they  
3 not for the most part men who had treated you and some  
4 people might feel they were friendly to you.

5 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Well, they asked me to stay out of the  
6 political campaign of '72, that it would affect my health,  
7 and they say the very opposite today. They are concerned with  
8 me and they wouldn't let me run, advised me not to run if  
9 that was the case, so there is nothing I can do about that.  
10 I am well and in good shape, one hundred percent, and there  
11 is nothing wrong with me.

12 MR. JONES: Governor, you say that other candidates are  
13 taking your positions. Is that your way of saying that you  
14 have received a philosophical victory in these primaries even  
15 though you haven't gotten the most votes?

16 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I feel that the people I have  
17 supported and spoken for and who supported me have won a  
18 philosophical victory in that today they are in the  
19 majority and, as a consequence, other candidates now of the  
20 Democratic party are moving toward those positions. Governor  
21 Noel of Rhode Island, the Governor of the Democratic Caucus  
22 said we have just moved closer to those positions of George  
23 Wallace, some months ago, and the candidates have done so.  
24 I think that means that the people that I have represented,  
25 articulated their positions for, are today in the majority in

5  
1 the United States and it is a philosophical victory.

2 But I want to go further than that because I want the  
3 people to know that I really mean it and that I was the one  
4 who led, that I am really concerned about the existence of  
5 the middle-class in this country; that if they go out of  
6 existence through high regressive federal taxes while we  
7 exempt those sheltered rich on the one hand, we are going to  
8 eventually destroy the free enterprise system in this country  
9 and bring about more socialist governments like we have in  
10 Great Britain, which is about to take the nation down the  
11 drain, and I believe it is time for that to come to a halt.

12 MR. JONES: But if you were the first one to say that,  
13 why do you think people are voting for someone else now,  
14 why aren't they voting for you?

15 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Of course, being the first one  
16 that says it doesn't mean eventually they will all  
17 vote for you because they now have a number of people to  
18 choose from and everybody is drinking out of the same  
19 dipper except some of them take bigger swallows than I  
20 took in the last few weeks or months and on top of that they  
21 perceive, of course, the health problem.

22 MR. MONROE: We have about three minutes.

23 MR. JOHNSON: Governor, on this question of big  
24 government, you have talked about it for many years. You  
25 to it again on this program, about balancing the



1 budget and so forth and taxes and yet how do you explain the  
2 fact that in Alabama, during your tenure as Governor, going  
3 back to '62, the number of employees on the state's payroll has  
4 increased. The level of spending has increased at a much  
5 greater rate than the federal government.

6 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I will have a good answer for that.  
7 Mr. Carter, when he was Governor, he rose from 49,000 to 60,000  
8 but that doesn't necessarily mean --

9 MR. JOHNSON: I am not talking about Mr. Carter.

10 GOVERNOR WALLACE: I know, but that doesn't mean they  
11 are bureaucrats. I am sort of defending that position.

12 In Alabama we started on a massive highway program, a  
13 massive hospital program, programs that needed to be in  
14 existence, and those people are engineers; those people are  
15 doctors; those people are serving the people. They are not  
16 bureaucrats and there is a great difference in an engineer  
17 working to build a highway system in Alabama that we needed,  
18 which is one of the best in the south, and also a new hospital  
19 program and medical school program and junior college and  
20 trade school programs, which have enhanced the wealth and  
21 income of Alabamans and brought about \$10 billion worth of new  
22 industry to the state. Those are not bureaucrats. Those are  
23 new employees, but they are not all that many. We have the  
24 lowest per capita number of employees per state in the  
25 union.

1 MR. GOLD: Governor, a quick question: It is hard to  
2 conceive of a political climate in this country, political  
3 scene where George Wallace is not active. It is very diffi-  
4 cult to see in Alabama particularly and in the South with  
5 George Wallace not active in some way. If I understood you  
6 correctly, you said you would never again be a candidate for  
7 office. Would that include any member of your family?

8 GOVERNOR WALLACE: You are probably talking about my fine  
9 wife who stuck with me and helped bring me back to health and  
10 safety, and I am very proud of it, because --- I don't think she is  
11 interested. You would have to ask her; but I know this -  
12 that she is a fine woman, and she really looked after me during  
13 the time that I was in the hospital sick, and I don't know  
14 whether she is interested or not. She is interested in the  
15 home and children and has been interested in my getting well;  
16 and I did get well. But I don't know. We will just have to  
17 ask her. I don't think she is inclined.

18 MR. MONROE: Governor, we don't have many seconds left,  
19 but I wonder if you have some idea about what we can do about  
20 Cuban troops if they were to attack Rhodesia.

21 GOVERNOR WALLACE: Of course they haven't attacked Rhodesia  
22 yet, and I think to answer a question about what you would do  
23 in advance, even if you knew --and I do not have all the infor-  
24 mation that the State Department has about this particular  
25 matter, and to say in advance what you would do on a speculative

1 question is something that I cannot answer. But I hope that  
2 does not happen.

3 MR. MONROE: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up.  
4 Thank you very much, Governor Wallace, for being with us today  
5 on MEET THE PRESS.

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7 NEXT WEEK: Congressman Morris Udall (D. Arizona)  
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