INTERVIEW I

DATE: August 13, 1979

INTERVIEWEE: HUBERT H. "SKIP" HUMPHREY III

INTERVIEWER: Joe B. Frantz, with comments by Anne H. Maschka

PLACE: Mr. Humphrey's office, Minneapolis, Minnesota

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F: I don't want to get too personal, but how far back do you go in memories of your daddy?

Do you remember the mayoralty years?

H: I can remember my mother telling me that I should not touch the side of the building because it was black from soot when I was going into my father's office to visit him down there. And it was; it was pitch black. They used to have trains coming through here with the steam and all that, and now they've sandblasted it off, and it's beautiful. But that had to be about 1946 or 1947, and that would put me at about four or five years old. I can remember that. I can remember the police being in my front living room on occasion, when there had been threats or something. I don't remember a lot of it. I remember living around that neighborhood, certain instances.

- F: Well, I'm older than you, and I'm a Texan, I should add, in case that's necessary.

 [Laughter] But that far away, we were very much interested in the new mayor of

 Minneapolis, and, of course, it made him a national figure when he went to the Senate.

 Then you, of course, being young, moved down to Washington with him. What did that
 do to your own lifestyle? You had to go off and leave all your little friends.
- H: Well, I don't know whether I had that much of a lifestyle by that time. Actually, my growing up was suburban Maryland. I mean, that's what I remember. Everything that I can--

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F: Where did you all live?

H: Outside of--well, it was called [the] North Chevy Chase area. It's north of the East-West highway there, and in those days it was the outer outskirts. I mean, that was where the new houses [were] and beyond that were the woods and everything else. Now it's the inner suburbs.

F: Right.

H: You know, it's an old area.

F: It's almost downtown.

H: It's just unbelievable. I used to think that--well, when we first got there, I remember they cleared the area, and there was nothing but that red clay mud. It was really the outskirts, the suburban fringe.

F: What's your first awareness of a fellow named Lyndon Johnson?

H: I can't honestly tell you. I know that he was a senator from Texas, and I knew that he was the majority leader, and I knew that he was the assistant majority leader, wasn't he?

Yes.

F: He was the minority leader first and then moved to majority leader.

H: Now, I don't recall him as minority leader. I think that would be something I would have read from the textbooks. But I know that I remember definitely his being majority leader. I remember that.

F: Did your dad ever come home screaming about the way he ran the Senate?

H: No, I honestly don't remember that. I tried to think back a little bit in anticipation of our interview, and--

F: The senatorial years are still too young, aren't they? [Inaudible]

- H: Well, yes, but I can remember some things. I can remember, for instance, going to Senator Wayne Morse's. He had a farm somewhere around Washington. I remember going out to Senator Morse's home, and I remember some of the people that Dad used to have over for dinner, and I don't recall whether Senator Johnson was one. We used to have Sunday dinners, chicken dinner at two o'clock Sunday, and that was a big meal, and usually, or quite often, we had a guest. Most of the time they were Minnesotans that were in town, but quite frequently they were senators or other people. But I don't remember--
- F: My guess is that Johnson didn't come. I don't know of any instance, but he did very little socializing except out at his house, where he was in charge.
- H: Well, we weren't--my mother kind of kept us--I don't know whether she kept us sheltered or was embarrassed to send us anywhere or whatever, but the fact was that we went to the public schools and pretty much--from what I see my own children doing, it must have been a normal life, except that we probably--how she survived three boys and one girl is more than I know, but she did.
- F: You didn't get into that business of being kind of brass-hat brats there in Washington?
- H: No, we really didn't, and it's a rather funny thing because if we had, if I'd gone at least to some of the debutante circuits and some of those other things and all the social circuits that apparently there are in Washington, I probably would have met my wife at one point or another, but I didn't. We were--she couldn't drag us to those things. I don't know why, but we just--it was very difficult. She had enough trouble just getting--
- F: [Inaudible] stay home and watch "Captain Kangaroo"?

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- H: Yes. Taking cello lessons. One time she attempted to get my brothers and I--we were going to be great singers in the choir at the National Cathedral. That lasted two weeks, and then there was a protest, one which embarrassed her enough that she let us quit.

 [Laughter] Then there were other things. We weren't doing too hot in school and all that, so the next thing I knew, I went out here and I spent three years of my high school going to prep school here in Minnesota. And then I went back down to Washington, American University, and that is where much more significant memories--
- F: Now, when did you arrive at American?
- H: In fall of 1961, I guess. But before that, the very first time that I remember significantly meeting Senator Johnson, a person I can remember very brilliantly, ex-Senator Benton--at that point I think he was ex-senator--William Benton of *Britannica* fame and others had a home in Scottsdale, Arizona, backed up on Camelback Mountain. And in 1956--I think it was 1956--he invited my parents out there for--I think it was Easter vacation or something like that. I remember taking an all-night flight, stopping everywhere, with my mother, to get to Phoenix.
- F: A real local.
- H: It was unbelievable. But we got out there, spent the time. And on the way back we flew to Texas, and we stayed at the LBJ Ranch. There they were just building the guest house, and it was at the guest house--and when they had the blueprints out, my mother asked Lady Bird for a copy of the blueprints, which she gave her. And that was the beginnings of Waverly, and Waverly is essentially a modification, a much larger home than that original guesthouse version. She took those plans and started working with them, and the next thing you know, that next summer we were building at Waverly.

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The other thing that I recall distinctly about that was that was the first time that I had ever gone open game hunting, and then-Senator Johnson gave me a .410, and we went out and shot mourning dove or partridge or something, of which I never shot anything except probably endangered the life of the future president. [Laughter] But I can remember eating that--it was dove, I'm sure it must have been dove--that morning. Oh, they fixed it up, and we had grits and--

- F: Somebody shot some doves that day.
- H: Yes, somebody shot them, and we just had a great time.
- F: Did Johnson go with you?
- H: Oh, yes.
- F: Did he join the hunt?
- H: He was out there, and my father was out there, and I was out there. We rode horses, and we stayed there for about three days. That's the only time we've ever been to San Antonio, but I would like to go back. And I can remember being there and having just a wonderful time.
- F: What did you do? Did you fly into San Antonio on a commercial plane and he picked you up?
- H: Yes. And then they picked us up, or I don't know whether he picked us up or not, but then we went south to the--I think it's south, is it?
- F: North.
- H: Is it north? Okay. Well, we went, anyway--
- F: Well, you can be forgiven. [Laughter]
- H: --across the river. At that point, they had the ford. I don't know whether they still do.

- F: Yes, they still do.
- H: You had to cross that river, I remember that, and it was flowing at that time. It wasn't real high, but it was--
- F: It comes up over the hubcaps.
- H: Yes. And then we came up to the Ranch. I think I can still remember most of it, but I can definitely remember that was the first time I had ever gone hunting--I think. That maybe wasn't the first time--well, maybe it was, but I've been hunting since then. We hunt pheasant up here, and I love hunting pheasant. I may have hunted pheasant before that, but that was definitely an important event.
- F: Well, it was at least a different hunting experience.
- H: So then that's when I met then-Senator Johnson.
- F: Did he pay any attention to you, or were you just Humphrey's son and that was it?
- H: Well, I don't know. I don't remember that well. I remember him saying, "Come on, get that bird!" And I remember, in fact, there was one bird sitting on a fence, and he said, "You get that!" So I came all the way across. Of course, by the time I got over there and shot the .410, the thing was already gone, and the .410 was such a narrow gauge, anyway, there was no way you could ever hit it. But I tried. I never hit anything that day. I can still remember that, though.

So that was really the first time, I think, that I really personally knew Senator and Mrs. Johnson. I remember distinctly Mrs. Johnson being very--you know, Mom and she just talking very casually to each other and being very interested in the home and the building of that guest house down there.

F: You stayed in the house proper.

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H: Yes, I don't remember where.

F: You probably didn't have anyplace else to stay.

H: No, I think at that point they were just building this thing. Mom was impressed with the idea of having the bedrooms--apparently it has two bedrooms? I'm not sure. It may have two bedrooms and then there's a center area. We did the same thing, only we added four bedrooms, and we put a whole kitchen and everything, and that was the beginning of Waverly. Then the next year I was shunted off to school to see whether or not I could survive, and I did.

F: Where did you go?

H: Shattuck School.

F: Here in Minnesota?

H: Then a military prep school down in Fairbault, Minnesota. I survived three years of that, graduated, and found out that I actually could be smart if I tried. Again, funny I didn't recognize it at that time, but the great benefactor that led Dad on to that was William Benton, who had gone to school there in nineteen-something-or-other, way back there. [Editor's note: Benton graduated in 1917.] Then we came back, and I went to--I was a freshman at American University, and I think just generally I remember knowing Johnson at that point, you know. I don't remember anything specific.

F: Now, where were you in 1964, when politics began to take over? Were you in Washington?

H: In fact, I do, too, remember things. I've got a great picture, I think--no, I don't know whether I can--do I have a picture? I remember the second year I was there I took my friends--Dad had arranged for us to meet--remember, they had those leadership

breakfasts after the election and when he became vice president, and one morning he had arranged for us to meet him in one of the side rooms of the White House to meet the President. I distinctly remember Kennedy and Johnson and Humphrey coming out of this breakfast meeting just howling, and it must have been an awfully good dirty joke or something, these guys--

- F: Or they had just pulled a smart one on somebody.
- H: And all of them were pretty tall; Dad was the shortest of them all. And all of us standing in awe, and here are these three men coming out just acting like they were the best of friends, patting each other on the back, you know, and that thoroughly impressed me. I'll never forget that. Kennedy and Johnson and Humphrey. So that was another meeting, and I'm sure I must have met him on occasion during the time when he was vice president, but I don't know how often.
- F: Do you remember anything--did your dad agonize?--he was the most prominently mentioned person to be vice president [in 1964]. You know, Johnson was playing his own little game. Did he agonize over whether he wanted to be vice president in case it was offered to him or whether he wanted to stay on in the Senate? Was this a question around the house?
- H: That's a darn good question. As I recall, and I'm telling you these are just impressions, okay, not even clear, but my impression was that there was some question about that.

 But I don't think it was ever there very much. I think if it was offered, it was going to be accepted. The question was, was it going to be offered?
- F: Did he ever rail against Johnson for playing games with him?

- H: Oh, I think that he--not specifically, no. I think he knew that that was on, that that was happening, but he had accepted that, I think.
- F: I think everybody knew it but Johnson, who had--
- H: I can remember the frustrations of the convention and just prior to the convention and the pressure leading up to that. Would he, wouldn't he, what was going to happen here and there? I'll never forget all that. We were ensconced way out in--I don't know, some house way out on the beach somewhere, and I remember roaring down the night [inaudible], and then I remember the helicopters leaving and everybody going to Washington and the announcement and all that stuff. But I don't--I'm pretty sure it was considered, but I think it was something that was considered and accepted. It was never something that would be so--you know, there was never any doubt of the decision if the offer came, I don't think.
- F: It didn't strain the relations between the two?
- H: Not at that point, I don't think. I don't know. I'll be honest with you. I just really couldn't give an opinion as to what their relationship was at that point except for the fact that he had been a friend and a senator. But I think there was a relationship there that was beyond just senators. I guess I get that again as an impression from the time [we went] hunting and things like that. It just seemed to be much more than the official kind of stuff.
- F: Did your dad ever express an opinion of Johnson as a colleague or semi-sponsor in the Senate?

- H: Oh, I suppose so. Gosh, I can't remember. I hate to think we're talking more than sixteen years. My anniversary is tomorrow, and I'm just remembering back that far and becoming ancient. [Laughter]
- F: Was your dad satisfied with his vice-presidential assignment?
- H: Yes and no.
- F: I mean, it's a dirty job.
- H: Well, I think his public statements were pretty accurate as to his own private understanding. He may not have liked it, but he used to love to say, "The President giveth, and the President taketh away." And apparently some days that was exactly what would happen, depending on--I know that Dad had to be very, very much aware of his relationship and his role in some things. He had to know where Mr. Johnson was on a lot of things. Sometimes--I think he was extremely satisfied in working with the municipal governments, the domestic things, the space area. He enjoyed that. I really don't know as much as I should about the relationship as it came up to 1968 and thereabouts. I don't know. I haven't even had a chance to ask my mother.
- F: I can't see much variance any more than you and I would disagree on something between your father and Johnson on the domestic programs. By and large, they'd go down the line together, and I think your father would have applauded [inaudible] and very enthusiastic.

 But when you get into foreign policy, you're getting into a different matter. Did he ever express himself during the vice-presidential years privately on the way things were going in Vietnam?
- H: Well, he was frustrated, to say the least. He'd been over there. He was--well, I'll be honest with you, he did not discuss it very much. I think he really felt a degree of

through all that.

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restriction with regard to what he knew and what--even with his family. Again, you've got to understand, by that time I was no longer in Washington. As things really were building up, in 1966, 1967, 1968, I was out here going to the university. And indeed we had some conversations, but he stuck pretty much to the line of, you know, defense, and he'd been there, and what he had seen. But I think he was frustrated with the way things were going. Well, I know he was.

F: When the student opposition began to rise, it was no different here than in the remainder of the country. Did he use you as kind of a sounding board for what they were thinking?

H: Oh, some, some. My brother Bob was 4-F, because he'd had cancer and he was still in the five-year period, and they wouldn't take him. I was deferred because by that time I had a child and was in law school, and somehow or other my deferments kept one step ahead of the draft. But Doug was not deferred, and he was in the lottery, and we went

So he had the pressure of that, and he would talk about it. But, you know, he was down in Washington quite a bit. He didn't come back here that much, and, in fact, I think one of the things that he felt after the election was that he really was not that much in touch with people, that he had become much more isolated than he had thought at the time.

- F: Was your dad the type who brought troubles home, brought his business home, or did he pretty well drop it when he came in the door?
- H: No, he brought it, maybe in the way of not wanting to talk about things [inaudible]. I always used to want to talk politics right from the word "Go": "What's doing?" "What's this, what's that?" And by the time he got back to Waverly, he had about had every bit of

politics he could ever take, and the first thing was we were going out on the lake, or we were going to clean out the garage, or we were going to do this, or we were going to do that, and he pretty much stayed away from it. I had a difficult time sometimes getting him to talk about some of the things, because this was a place where he could get away from it.

I begin to understand a little better the pressure because I get enough of [it from] my wife during just the legislative sessions. You know, I come home at night, and I'm tired, and I'm mad at people, or things haven't gone right, and all I do is I take it out on my dog and my kids and my family, but I'm not usually talking about it, and then she'll say, "Well, you never talk to me." And the point is, you just don't want to. You've had enough of it.

But he talked about some of it, and he was pretty open, and I think he accepted some of the doubts that some of us had. But as things were going, he was a firm believer in--at least, I remember him always saying, "Now, look, we're making progress, and we've got people talking about what size table, and, you know, is it going to be square or round," this and that. Maybe he was just voicing what he had to voice to just keep himself going on it, that things are going to get better, that it's a long, tough road, and you've got to negotiate these things out. I can remember sitting around that television watching the announcements of "We're going to halt the bombing," and hoping that everything was going to be right. I don't know how that exactly relates to Dad. I remember visiting with him about some of these things, hoping that things could be pushed. I tell you, it's sketchy, now that you say it.

F: It's awfully easy--

- H: I should have written it all down, I suppose.
- F: Well, you don't. That's one reason I'm doing this, because people don't. You get away from it.
- H: That's a good point.
- F: As [the] 1968 [election] came on, Johnson on March 31, 1968, announced that he would not--and he made it pretty definite--be a candidate. That immediately threw your dad into next in line. But Johnson was a long time ever coming out again and saying, "This is the man I want," for whatever reasons motivated him, whether he thought he would be the kiss of death or whether he had other things in mind.
- H: I'd love to find out sometime.
- F: Yes. Did this irritate your father?
- H: Oh, I'm sure it did. Yes, I know it did. But I also know that he never really publicly--and even privately he never really said much about it. He said, "Well, the President has got his reasons." I'm sure it did, and I know from other conversations I've had that--I guess I could say it hurt.
- F: Your father was good at bowing his neck and going on, wasn't he?
- H: Well, I think he'd learned that you're not going to get anything out of wondering why. A lot of people faulted him for that. I've heard an awful lot of people saying, "By golly, you're just not tough enough! You're not really ready to knock somebody down and hold it against them and really do it!" And maybe that's true, maybe that's true. But I suspect in the end he won the respect of an awful lot of people for a long time because of that. But who knows the measure of politics? I have seen people even on the local level wonder, you know, that people will hold grudges, or they'll remember things, and they'll

take actions on those memories, and I don't know whether Dad did that. I don't know of any real incidents about that. But at that point he didn't have time, and I guess that was the thing. Maybe he just was not able to work out the situation of how you pressure a president to do what you'd like him to do.

- F: Yes. He's still the president.
- H: Particularly when he's said, "I don't want this top job any more." You know, there isn't anything else! [Laughter] You can't say, "Well, I'm not going to make you a nice president past when I'm president," but--
- F: How active did you get in the campaign of 1968?
- H: Very active, very active. I was fairly active in 1964. I roamed around the country in 1964 a little bit and in 1968 as much as I could--well, again it was a fairly short time between the conventions. Prior to the convention, I went around and did a lot of things.
- F: Like contacting people and just seeing that things were going to work?
- H: Yes, and speaking and being interviewed. Basically, the media things. Try and be a family member when the guy couldn't be there or when my mother couldn't be there, so they'd have representation. Immediately after the convention I came back, and I'll never forget it. We were out at Waverly and they were having a week's-long kind of strategy [session], and Larry O'Brien was out there and Orv Freeman and others, and [Walter] Mondale, and one night--I think it was a Tuesday night or so--I was watching Charles Kuralt, "On the Road with Charles Kuralt." It was one of the first years he had that whole thing, roaming around in his Dodge van and all, and I looked at my wife and I said, "That's what we're going to do. We've got three weeks to go before school starts."

 We had three weeks to go before law school started for my senior year, and I determined

I could not take off during the week--during the first part, or during the middle of the week. So we hired one of those things within a week and took a ten- to twelve-day tour from Minneapolis to Augusta, Maine, and just hit all the little side spots.

- F: You had a good cross-section there, didn't you?
- H: We had a fantastic time. We went to more--that was the best thing I ever did in my whole life. I learned more about this country in ten days than I would have ever learned. And it was tough in some places. We had an advance crew that was working us, and at one point we got only about eight hours behind them, and they usually were working two days ahead of us. But we had a great time, and I had some friends of mine working on it. We got a good sense of what people were thinking in various communities, and I learned an awful lot about the political system, but mainly it was that. And then once school started, I would take off on a Friday morning and be gone until probably Monday afternoon and then I would be back Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday in school and then do it again until--
- F: It must have played hob with your studies.
- H: Well, yes, but [inaudible] I wanted to get a few hours in, and by that time I figured if they were going to flunk me, they could do it later on. By November, it was all over and done with anyway.
- F: Did you get that feeling that pundits still agree on, that if the campaign had gone on one more week your dad would have made it?
- H: Yes, I think there is a lot of truth in that. I think the pressure was--you could feel it as you got going. I mean, it was an unbelievable surge. All of a sudden it was as if the country was making its decision.

- F: I mean, I had that feeling myself, that "Something's happening here."
- H: All of a sudden the whole thing--I can distinctly remember we were trying to argue about--the whole theme was, "Well, who can you trust?" You know, "Where are you going to go with this government?" And Dad kept trying to talk about things that frankly an awful lot of people didn't want to talk about. They didn't want to talk about Vietnam; you couldn't talk about Vietnam. They were in the middle of the negotiations and all this, and the President was still the president, and Dad was very concerned, I can remember him being very concerned about--well, like the Denver [Salt Lake City?] speech. I remember when they were going to do it, and I was just hoping it was going to be the strongest possible thing: if we've got to break, let's break, and let's do it. And it wasn't, and a lot of people said that [it] wasn't enough. Of course, for a lot of people, it wasn't going to be enough anyway, no matter what. But it wasn't as strong as it could have been from a lot of people's views, I think, and so we didn't get the full reaction there that we wanted, and again I think that was because--
- F: But it was when he was making that Salt Lake-Denver area that they began to say, "Well, he's finally broken out from under the Johnson shadow."
- H: Yes. But you see, they said that, but again I think--and as I recall, there were some conversations well subsequent to that--that he just didn't feel he could go as far as he wanted to go. The President was just too concerned about things, and he really felt like--you know, he didn't want to jeopardize the possibility of--
- F: Didn't want to undercut the man.
- H: --of the country solving this problem. And the funny thing is maybe that concern for the country at that point is what cost the country the next presidency. You never know. You

never know how it was. There are just a number of things. People have asked, "Why didn't Johnson come out earlier?" People say, "Why didn't [Senator Eugene] McCarthy endorse him stronger?" Now Mr. McCarthy says it was because he wanted to sell his poetry. I'm sure that was sarcastic. But you can go over a hundred different reasons why these didn't happen, but I think that what happened in those last two weeks was--and I sensed it in the meetings that I was going to-people finally were coming up to the confrontation of "Well, who am I going to vote for?" And they all of a sudden realized that there was a heavy responsibility, and it was catching on like wildfire, but it wasn't there, and, you know, to overcome that feeling--and I don't think that Dad measured fairly the depth of feeling about Vietnam. I don't think I did. I know I didn't. I was just too caught up in the campaign trying to talk about any number of other things. And I have seen that happen on much less important issues over here. It became--well, it's not less important, but it became an issue almost like the issue we have here in this state, and I don't know what it's like in Texas, but I can tell you right now that the abortion question in this state--

F: You saw what happened down in Iowa.

H: --is one that you cannot--you can go and talk about the fact that you are going to do good for education, you're going to take care of the health of people, that you're concerned about housing. If that individual's only concern is "What is your position on abortion?" you cannot explain that you're a good person doing these other things. It is all-encompassing. It's a single issue. Maybe that was the first single issue that just overwhelmed him, and of course it was the proper single issue that overwhelmed the country. And that is what I think Dad could not fathom, that all these other things that he

had worked for and the things that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration had done could not be balanced so that people would put it in perspective.

- F: Think [of] twenty issues; they're with us on 95 per cent, and it's just this 5 per cent they're not.
- H: Right.
- F: But that 5 per cent can determine the vote.
- H: But that was the overriding issue. If you like, you can put it on a scales. It just could not--and it didn't, and essentially someone who wasn't in, who was fresh, and hadn't said much about what he was going to do was the victor. So I think Dad was--he wasn't shocked that he lost, but he just was really disappointed that he came so close. It was really hard.

He really had to come home. He had to come home and get his feelings back in order, and the best thing that ever happened to him was going back to Macalester [College] and the University [of Minnesota] and teach for two years.

- M: I was a student while he was teaching there, and I remember him. [Inaudible]
- H: Oh, you were? Well, if you were there, you probably know more than I do because I wish I had attended those--
- M: Oh, they were great!
- H: You see, he got into it then, and I really think he let his hair down a little.
- M: He had a natural--
- F: He couldn't not throw himself into anything, could he, that he undertook?

- H: No, but he had a hard time talking about some of these things with his family. I don't think he wanted the emotional stress that he had in some of the things with his family, but he was willing to get involved with it a little bit with students and others.
- M: Well, he had a remarkable memory. Many times he would be talking about his vice-presidential years, and--"We were sitting in such-and-such a room, and so-and-so was here, and so-and-so"--and he knew where everyone was seated, and "He said, and then he said"--it was just fantastic.
- H: Yes, that, and unfortunately many times when I would see him, it was usually at a time where he had worked like three weeks straight and he was coming home to rest, and he'd swim, and he'd relax by cleaning up garages, which--Nemesis, [and] all of us, you know, ran to the hills. In fact, one year we gave him a broom for his birthday. So we didn't get into this that much. We did have some long conversations and some good discussions. But, you know, he thoroughly enjoyed the vice presidency. He enjoyed the opportunities that he had.
- F: I remember that somewhat infamous incident down at the Ranch, when Johnson put him on a horse and sent him off across the prairie, that the reporters made a great deal of as Johnson's way of humbling him. Did your dad feel that? Do you remember that?
- H: No, I don't remember it. I really don't.
- F: Well, he put him in cowboy gear and hat and everything else. Your father wasn't natural to sit on a horse.
- H: No.

- F: So the reporters made a great deal out of it, that Johnson was just trying to let him know, you know, "I'm the macho in this thing, and you're just around." I never got to see Johnson on that, and I didn't get that far with your father.
- H: Well, I think Dad understood. He had enough, I think, understanding of political egos, and, you know, if you want to be president, you've got to have it, and you've got to have a very big proportion of it; to succeed in that, you do. And he had it himself obviously in some respects. But we all were aware that we had to take care of Mr. Johnson.

Now, I can remember one time when Mr. Johnson came to our home--in fact, I ought to call my wife because she can specifically tell me--when was this? This was a bad time, Vietnam. He came to the apartment. I was a student still--

- F: This was in Washington?
- H: Yes, I was a senior at American University in 1965. [Buzzer] Yes, Lee? Can you tell me what was that meeting we had? Remember when you were telling me about the time when Lyndon Johnson--the President came to the apartment? What was that concerning? That was a birthday? Yes. It was his birthday, wasn't it? No? Oh, that's right. Yes. Right. Right. That's right. That's right. They had cancelled. Yes. That's right. And then we sat around the piano and--well, but that was up at Dad's apartment, right? Okay. And it was after the dinner? Oh, it was before it. Okay. Okay. Yes, I remember that. Yes. Okay. All righty. You called me. What about?

[Interruption]

H: I'm telling you, I know I'm becoming older. Teenage daughters. They're driving me crazy just like I'm sure my sister and us must have driven my father and mother crazy.

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But the situation was this. There was a traditional cabinet officers' dinner dance. Every year they would have--there must have been two--it must have been the cabinet officers and then there was the one where they would have the dinner and dance with the constitutional officers, the Supreme Court, the chief justice, and all the rest of the people. This was in--I think it was in 1965, although that sounds awfully early. It was at the same time as the capture of the *Pueblo*.

- F: That would be in 1968.
- H: All right. Then we were down there for the event. We had been invited down for the event or something. What happened was we had gone down, and we'd either been down there or--anyway, one way or the other, the *Pueblo* was captured, the dance was cancelled. The dinner was still on. This was either the night before--it must have been the night before. My wife remembers, the night before the dance, that he came over to my mother's and father's condominium apartment. As she recollects, and as I recollect now, he was really under pressure. He just looked tired and distressed and that office was showing its wear on the President. The whole family was around, and we talked, and there was some music played on the piano, and then he and Dad went off into the den and for a couple of hours nobody saw anybody. Then he came out, and I remember Dad saying, "Well, the President has got a lot of tough decisions to make." And it was something that no one--you never knew what he talked about, but it was an example of the kind of pressures that he was under. And 1968--that just doesn't seem right, but I know it was something like that. I remember distinctly that it was subdued, and I do remember the thing had been cancelled.
- F: The *Pueblo* [incident] came right toward the close of his administration.

- H: Yes, we were going to go to the--was that after the election?
- F: I don't know.
- H: No, I don't think it was. Well, we were going to go to the dance, I remember that, and then the dance was cancelled. The dinner was on, and it was a time where they thought they were even going to cancel--they didn't know whether they should cancel the dinner or not, now that it was all set. They didn't want to be having celebrations at the time they had this kind of thing on, so--
- F: When he showed up at a time like that, did he bring that whole retinue of Secret Service men in with him, or did they stay outside and let him come on in?
- H: Oh, yes. They stayed outside. But on top of that, there was Secret Service already there.

 I suspect there was more there than I knew about, but there was always a guy out in the hall, and they always had three or four, anyway, around, although I never seem to recall them in that much prominence, except I remember whenever--we never had direct coverage, at least as far as I knew, except when we became members of the family. Then we were officially covered, and things really rolled, and you had to know where you were and what you were doing and all the rest.
- F: Johnson was a non-stop talker and about half the time your father was no slouch.
- H: Yes.
- F: Did they vie for the floor, or did that ever cause problems?
- H: No, but I think my father--as much as people are always accusing him of being a talker, even more than a talker, he was able to be a listener. He was able to discipline himself to listen, particularly to people like Johnson, I suspect, and to others, although I suppose that was why he gave such long speeches. When he had an opportunity to speak, he just

let all that pent-up time go back out. But I would suspect, between the two of them, there was a lot more listening on the side of my father. Well, I just can't say. I was not there enough times.

- F: Well, Johnson was a good listener, too. He would get somebody started, and then he would just sit back and--
- H: Dad used to love talking about some of those cabinet meetings, you know, where the President would just go after people or raise the question, you know, be the devil's advocate. There were times when they really had good times together. I think Dad had immense respect for the President in terms of his ability to get things done when things needed to be done. There were other times when he just wondered why things had to be, you know.
- F: You weren't at the Astrodome in Houston in 1968 when the big affair took place?
- H: No.
- F: That was kind of the beginning of the whole reconciliation. On the other hand, John Connally was there, which seems a little bizarre now, [for him] to have come out for your dad, and I suppose probably--
- H: I remember that, though. I remember that making Dad feel a lot better, but also the wondering, "Gee, why so late?" But you know, he didn't have time then. I remember Dad saying, "We haven't got time to worry about that. Let's keep going. Let's get this plane on the road and let's roll!"
- F: Did your dad have a feeling that Johnson was in control of the Chicago convention, or that [Mayor Richard J.] Daley was, or that he was?

- H: Well, all I know is that he wasn't. That's for sure. I'm pretty sure that--no, I don't have any--I have my own opinions, but I can't say what my dad would have felt about that. I know that that was about the toughest thing he ever went through.
- F: Were you there?
- H: I sure was. I remember having those windows open at the top of that place and smelling the gas, the tear gas, and Dad just saying, "How terrible! Here I am embattled in my own city," you know, and yet--
- F: Being nominated for the presidency.
- H: "And I'm being nominated for president, and I'm going to be the presidential candidate, and I'm going to be president, and I'm going ahead." And yet you stuck your head out and you couldn't even keep your eyes open for the masses that were down below, and here your own military guarding you against your people. I think that was the hardest thing that ever, ever hit him, was that. He loved being with people as much as Johnson, I'm sure. He just loved being part of them. And here with the very people that he really respected the most, the students, people [in the] streets, the working people, out there en masse in opposition--that convention was just a nightmare for him, I'm sure. I don't know why anybody would ever have it that late. I mean, it was all there only because the President was going to be renominated. To think that you could in a month and a half, or a little over two months barely, put together a whole presidential campaign--absolutely impossible.
- F: You needed a month to recover from Chicago.

- H: Yes, and normally a convention is one where at least you get people together and decide with a consensus as to what you're going to do, and all that convention ever did was make sure that absolutely everybody was apart.
- F: Okay, now, your father had been the front-runner of the liberals since he emerged up here in Minneapolis as mayor. The liberals let him down to a certain extent in 1968, and they were having nothing to do with anything that had anything to do with Johnson. Now, I know Texas liberals, lots of them, who said, in arguments with me, "Vote for Nixon." [I would say,] "You can't be serious." They'd say, "Anything is better than a continuation of what we've got." I'm not going to get into that whole argument, but what I'm wondering is, did that--that must have hurt your father terribly.
- H: Well, it did.
- F: To see old colleagues--
- H: Well, I don't remember whether Joseph Rauh was one or not, but there were others that he counted as great friends and that he had worked with--
- F: And he'd been in the trenches with them.
- H: --and people that, you know, literally he had brought up. I know some of them, and I grew up next to some of them, and to see the reluctance--but they eventually came. And that did hurt. That hurt very, very much. It hurt that it took so long for people in the unions, for instance, to really get moving, although they were there, they were there. The confusion that reigned, though, was so great, and the time shortage was so great that it was a very difficult thing.

But really what happened was, they didn't get that whole campaign going for at least a month! It was just a total disarray. There was no money. There was no nothing,

you know. I remember him running around, having to run back [inaudible], but it was in pretty much disarray for at least a month after that convention. And then it started to pull together and slowly, ever so slowly, it started going, but the money was short.

But the liberals--it was hard. Obviously there are people who are liberals who will say, "Well, by golly, he sure let us down," seeing all the compromising and everything, and I don't know whether Dad thought that afterwards he--you know, now you've raised all these questions, I sure wish he was around so I could ask him all of it.

- F: Well, I started in with him, and with that fantastic memory of his--
- H: Well, I've got to come down and hear your tapes.
- F: --we were doing it almost day by day, you know--
- H: Well, I'm glad you did those oral--
- F: --until we finally just ran out of time, and he ran out of health.
- M: We could send you copies of that interview.
- H: Well, one of these days we'll have to see what some of those are.

In fact, I just heard someone is putting on--they're going to start it here at the Orpheum Theater. They're going to try to do a musical based on Dad's life--

- F: That would be great.
- H: --starting with the decision to go and make the speech in 1948, with flashbacks to his youth, and why all those things fit in to make him want to to make that speech. It ought to be very interesting, but--
- F: He's going to rate like--to put it in another century--Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the finest man who never became president.

- H: Well, actually, that's what I told him at one point. I remember he was down, pretty down after that election, and I was just finished reading [Arthur] Schlesinger's book, *The Jacksonian Era*, or whatever it was, and it was really all about--
- F: The Age of Jackson.
- H: The Age of Jackson, and the real guy in there that was the hot guy is [Martin] Van Buren, who put things together, became president, and really ran the show in many respects.

 Jackson in his own right was a great president and all that, but Van Buren was always there. Then he became president, and after that he went back to the Senate. A lot of people don't realize that he was a great senator for a number of years after that. I remember in 1970, as things started to look like maybe there was going to be an opening here, and McCarthy was just anywhere but in the Senate, I remember writing a long letter to Dad saying, "Look, your good days are yet to be. Van Buren did it, and so can you, and who knows where you'll go," and all that. We had a good long conversation after reading that book. It is an unbelievable book. But we had good political conversations after that. Anyway, that was a---
- F: He didn't waste time in recriminations.
- H: No, there were things that had to be healed. You know, I hope that you not only talk to me, but you also ought to talk to my sister.
- F: Where is she?
- H: She is out here in Minnetonka. She has had better opportunity to visit with Dad and to be close to him than I did, in fact. First of all, she spent the last six months of his life practically with him day in and day out, and she also was--he confided in her probably a little more.

- F: Fathers talk to daughters better. Sons [inaudible].
- H: Yes, I think you're right. Somehow or another, the minute we got out--I was always fascinated with what was going on, so I had to talk about politics, and it never came from a kind of a personal thing. I was either studying it or being involved with it, and all he wanted to do was to make sure I was making enough money, and, you know, somehow or another, all the responsibilities of this or that, and "What are you going to do?" And then, afterwards, it was "Well, now, are you going to run for this or run for that, or what are you going to do?" So we had a different relationship with each other than certainly she did.
- F: What's your sister's name?
- H: Nancy Solomonson.
- F: Spell that.
- H: S-O-L-O-M-O-N-S-O-N. Solomonson.
- F: You know where I can get hold of her?
- H: You probably can call her through--Mary Conover [?] would be the easiest. She has got all the info, and I don't know how Nancy wants to be contacted or whether she wants to be contacted, but--
- F: Now, who is Mary Conover?
- H: Mary Conover is my mother's secretary, and that's [Editor's note: telephone number deleted] here in Minneapolis. The reason I say that, too, is that I'm sure that Nancy probably was aware of some of the things. Remember, she had Vicky [Nancy's daughter], and Vicky played a very important role in my father's life, and my mother's, in their family relationship. But the tie-in there was a constant call--for instance, he called

the Solomonsons all the time to talk to the children, just all the time. He'd call ours--you know, every Sunday night we'd get a call from Dad no matter where he was. He was always checking around with the family, but Vicky was someone whom he really watched out for. He had a special relationship with her, and because of that, I'm sure that he had--she was probably more personally close to him than any of the other children.

- F: Did she reciprocate?
- H: Oh, I'm sure she did. You mean, in terms of--
- F: Mutual affection, and the feeling of something very special.
- H: Yes, and when he got very sick, she and Mother--particularly she was the one that just stayed with him, literally. And I think that his death was toughest on Nancy. As tough as it has been on my mother, it was really tough on her. So I think there's a relationship that if you--and I just bet you that she can recall some of the--and she'll probably be more blunt than I am. Maybe I'm just conditioned by being in politics to be nice, but my sister is not in politics, doesn't like politics, and tells me very clearly [what] she likes or does not like. [Laughter]

Another thing, though, is that we had--you know, the funny thing about Dad and the Johnson family--maybe you've already talked about this with Luci, but he and Luci Baines were just--it was just like another kid in our family.

- F: I know she adored him.
- H: Somehow or another, he just--she would call him up, for instance. I remember being in the vice president's--you know, in his suite over there in the [Old] Executive Office Building. And she would call him up, and he'd say, "Oh, I'm coming right over, Luci, right now!" It was her birthday or something, you know, and a big deal for her was to

have Hubert come over. There was really something there. And Lynda also, but it was a little different with her.

- F: Yes, Lynda is a little more subdued.
- H: Yes. But he and Luci--and he used to send her notes or something, you know. It was just a very interesting--like another daughter. I don't think it was ever that strong, but I know it was different than--I guess he just liked her. She was bubbly all the time, you know, doing things. She was still in high school at that time. As I recall, she was going to National Cathedral or something like that there.
- F: Your mother and Lady Bird have remained pretty close, haven't they?
- H: Yes. Yes.
- F: It was a genuine friendship, not just a political attachment?
- H: Absolutely, and she--
- F: I've heard Mrs. Johnson speak so affectionately of her.
- H: She had great respect for Mrs. Johnson, too. Funny thing, I think they found a parallel, that they had to live with these characters, you know.
- F: I'd rather live with your dad. [Laughter]
- H: It was an interesting partnership, I suppose, but, you know, they both in their own ways were characters, I'll tell you. And I think that maybe did it. Also, Mrs. Johnson never put on airs, in a sense. She was still a family person and someone who was--well, she was a businesswoman, too, but she had a way of--you know, my mother, I suspect, had more of a hard time getting along with some of the wives in the Senate. I remember she'd go down and do their Nurses Aid stuff and all that, but she never did all those circuits. Dad used to demand that she go to a couple of the dinners ever so often, but she always

made all of her own clothes, and then, when she could get away, she wouldn't go, you know. I don't know whether Mrs. Johnson went to all those things either, but I think that that kind of a relationship was one of mutual admiration of hard-working--

- F: Mrs. Johnson didn't like it, but she was the most thoroughly disciplined person I know, and she would have been there. And all would have been sweetness and light while she was there, but she wouldn't care for it.
- H: Well, my mother was able to do that, but she also had this drive--"Well, let's get back to Minnesota." I'll tell you, she had a home-calling that was . . .

And they also, I think, had a parallel on what they liked to do. Now, I don't know how often Mrs. Johnson decided to build things onto houses.

- F: All the time.
- H: But my mother, I'm telling you, you give her a porch and that was the beginning of a new room, and Dad used to just harangue her about it; of course, he loved everything she did after she did it. Then they got to the point of each needlepointing and doing other things, and Mom got involved in and liked the ideas of the beautification programs. Mrs.

 Johnson took a very sincere interest in Vicky and in mental health and gave Mom opportunities to do things like that. So there were some times where I think they really hit off very well with each other. Again, I don't know that much about that relationship, but--so, anyway, that's where it is.
- F: Where is Gene McCarthy?
- H: Heaven only knows. I don't know. I really don't know. I've seen him a couple of times.
- F: I've never been able to meet him. Probably never will.

- H: That would be an interesting perspective because you know what happened. I think you really ought to try and get hold of him, and you ought to ask him about being played with, because I think my father--
- F: [Inaudible]
- H: --I think my father could have survived a choice other than [himself], although it would have been difficult. I am convinced in my own mind that Mr. McCarthy could not, and that, as much as he may have tried to, he had a hard time forgiving Mr. Johnson for doing that. And yet, you know, from my perspective, if you looked, I didn't see where the choice was.
- F: I spent about an hour with your dad, I guess a week before he left Washington, in January of 1969. And it was a little sad, quite sad, in fact, particularly from my political viewpoint. But at the same time he was just being his usual bubbly self and saying, "I love this city, and I don't know what I am going to do. I'm coming back." And I often wondered about him. He came back here. He went out to Macalester. He fulfilled his function there. Did he have his eye on the Senate all the time, do you think, or was he just looking for anything to come back?
- H: No, I think during the first year for sure he just was trying to find himself a little. He just--he had had enough. He was somewhat bitter. I wouldn't say bitter; just very deeply affected with disappointment. He had to get his roots, you know, in a sense, and I know that he enjoyed friends. He enjoyed being able to come home. And then he was roaming around the world, too, because his good friend, again, Mr. Benton--he was on the board of directors of *Encyclopedia Britannica* and a couple of other things. He had plenty of speechmaking to do. But he was frustrated being here, too. He liked being in

Washington, and that was where he wanted to be, and when the opportunity for the Senate came again, he just jumped [inaudible].

And a funny thing, you know, he got out there and he literally turned this state upside down, and he brought these--the first time when I ran in 1972--he won in 1970. In 1970, we got [Wendell] Anderson in by the skin of our teeth. Almost won the house [of representatives] in the legislature essentially because he was roaming around again. In 1972, he barnstormed for everybody and literally won--for the first time in the history of this state since its inception, the state senate went Democratic, and just basically because he campaigned for everybody. And I think that really brought it out to him. He loved it. That brought him alive.

Also when he talked about Johnson--I can remember him in other times talking about Johnson. He really respected Johnson's background, you know, where he came from. Maybe I'm just remembering back from reading some of his book, too, but that was a strong tie.

- F: There was no bitterness between the men at the end. Of course, Johnson preceded him in death.
- H: I don't think Dad had--
- F: He wasn't one to harbor rancor, was he?
- H: No, he really wasn't. You know, one of the last people he talked to--and they had a wonderful conversation--was Richard Nixon. [He] wished him Merry Christmas. That was a week before he died, or two weeks before he died. And [he] meant it. Called him up. Mr. Nixon just couldn't believe it.
- F: I can believe that.

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H: And he said, "You've had enough troubles, and you don't need to have these things, Mr. President, you ought to"--with all the dignity that he could muster. And they talked, talked about football and things like that. So I don't know. He can forgive. There's a lot going for you, I guess, when you can do that. I remember one statement he said to me. He said, "Don't ever waste your time hating people. You're just spinning your wheels. You're not getting anywhere, and the other guy's taking advantage of it." That's an interesting concept.

F: Yes.

M: We're working with an idea and a problem of what makes a basically local or regional politician become a national figure. Now you're involved in statewide politics. What in your father's experience do you think made him become a national figure, versus a senator from Minnesota?

H: Oh, I suspect, number one, he had the local media during those days. A good speech was what you went out to meetings for, and it wasn't television, and it wasn't anything else, so when Humphrey came out--and I tell you, as mayor of Minneapolis, he went to everything under the sun out here. I have people coming up to me every day and saying, "I remember when your dad was mayor he came out here to our plowing contest!" What is the mayor of an urban center doing up in Podunk somewhere going to a plowing contest? But you know what, they don't remember much about it except that "Boy, he gave a speech!" It was an event, and it is just like saying, "What a great movie I went to see! What a great thing!" Like a revival. "We went and heard this or that."

F: Yes. "I got moved!"

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H:

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Then I think the combination is that he obviously had these desires to solve the problems that he saw, and they were national problems and big problems. You ask why anybody has the drive. I guess--I don't know, my own perspective--the only reason I would ever want to do anything like that is I get so tired and frustrated trying to solve things here I can't solve. I'm going to do my best. This state is going to be so far ahead of the rest of the country in two years, if I have anything to do with it, in energy. I'll do my best here, but I cannot solve, unfortunately--not unfortunately; fortunately I have to work within the federal system, but it's just driving me absolutely crazy. And I am convinced that the energy thing is just very much like civil rights or like poverty or like health care or desolation, and when a Lyndon Johnson and a Hubert Humphrey, North-South, see the same thing happen to people in a depression, it drives them, and once they've got--you know, they're just like any corporate executive, I suppose, that sees the possibilities and says, "Why not?" And they just go. They have the means, they have the capacity to organize and to discipline themselves and to give of themselves completely and to sacrifice family time and other things, and they end up having partners that are willing to do that. You have to have all those right combinations. When you don't, you see people faltering or slowing down or not making it now.

It would be interesting to do some of these parallels. Was Johnson ever really able to master television?

F: No.

H: I'm not sure. Hubert Humphrey was not, in my opinion. On the whole, he could do some that were good. The times that he was good on television were the times that he got into a good dialogue and response on "Meet the Press" or "Issues and Answers," where again

it was one-on-one, and you could feel a dynamism going between the two, and you were kind of an outside witness.

F: And he got caught up.

H: Yes, but when that television [camera] was on the speaker, he could not transfer, and I think it's because he could not pick up from that little red light and that lens the natural response that you get from an audience when you speak and they start responding. I've had that happen on a couple of occasions to me, where all of a sudden you've got them rolling, and you get the rhythm of the audience, and you give them a slogan and they pump it back; it's like knowing what to do in a football game when you know where people are moving. You get that feeling. I don't think either one of those two picked it up. On the other hand, Kennedy, in some respects, although I don't remember too well--there's been so much written on it that I may be warped a little [inaudible].

F: [Inaudible]

H: But he had a capacity to turn people on from a television in a way that others couldn't, and I even think that Ted has got some of that. And I don't think Jimmy Carter has got it.

And yet, if you're with Carter and you're looking at his eyes, there's a tie, but it isn't nearly as dramatic as either Johnson or Humphrey.

So, those things--I think when you have all those things going, then you go, and then there's timing, circumstances, you know. We were ripe to put ourselves together at the time. He didn't have anything to lose. What the heck did they care? You know, they were making sandwiches over at the U., and a bunch of crazy idiots that didn't know any better thought that they could do this. And why not? All they had to lose was nothing, so they went. Now, if you get people like me here, I've got a family out there that wants

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me to succeed at anything I do, but they can't stand me doing three different jobs. I'm thirty-five, and my partners say, "When are you going to start practicing law?" And the people in the legislature say, "When are you going to stop practicing law and start doing these other things?"

F: Are you in the legislature right now?

H: Yes. And it drives you crazy. And he never used to understand that. He had a full-time job starting from the time when he was mayor. We had a tough time talking about that at times. He'd say, "Why aren't you doing this? Why aren't you doing that?" one week, and then the next week it would be "Well, now, are you working hard at the office?"--you know, at the law office—and I'd say, "Dad, I'm over here at the legislature now." It drives you nuts!

[Interruption]

H: That was my first convention [the Democratic National Convention of 1960]. I remember going out there because it was also the first time I ever flew on a jet. We flew out there, and everybody had all sorts of different buttons and everything, and Johnson was definitely a strong man.

[Interruption]

F: You know, the Kennedys outmaneuvered Johnson on that in many ways. They put all the Johnson delegates ten miles from the convention center. They tied up all the hotels within easy taxi distance.

H: Is that right?

F: Yes. That was one of the few times that Johnson ever got-

- H: Well, I was real young. I was going to be a senior in high school, and I didn't know much, but I can, number one, remember the brilliant speech of McCarthy nominating Adlai Stevenson. I can remember how short--I can remember him writing it, because he was sitting in my father's office in the apartment, or he had a desk there anyway. I can also remember Orv Freeman deciding to nominate Kennedy and how that disappointed my father. But I remember definitely all the discussion about Johnson and whether--
- F: Did your dad have a candidate, privately or publicly, in 1960, or was he [inaudible]?
- H: Oh, I think he always--he loved Adlai Stevenson, but he knew that Stevenson was in a sense out of it.
- F: He had had his day, yes.
- H: And so by that time Dad kept saying, "Well, it's"--you know, privately he would say it was Kennedy, but publicly, if you will recall, the pressure was on through Orv Freeman to have Humphrey endorse and even possibly nominate Kennedy, and Dad said he could not do that. He had too many people that had supported him through the Wisconsin and the West Virginia primaries and others that had stayed with him that had asked him not to do that. That was a real breaking point between my father and Freeman that took a while to--those two got over it, I think, but the wives didn't get over it so well.
- F: And friends don't get over it.
- H: No, no.
- F: Your friends will remember the slights a long time after you and I would have shaken hands and gone on.
- H: Yes, it's funny how that made a break, because, of course, they had been long political friends for a while here.

So that's essentially what I remember of that convention. But I can distinctly remember the Johnson buttons and Dad's involvement. He was not unsympathetic to Johnson; in fact, I think in the background he was working with him, you know. He also was interested in becoming whip, or at that point--was he whip at that point?

- F: I guess he was--
- H: No.
- F: No, he wasn't whip. Johnson was majority leader.
- H: That's right.
- F: And he had a lifetime lock on it.
- H: That's right.
- F: You had to get him out if--
- H: That's right, and Mike Mansfield at that point--that's who it was. So then when Senator Mansfield became the majority leader, then Dad became whip. So that led into 1964 and the civil rights thing and all that.
- F: Of course, they [Humphrey and Johnson] were the ideal pair for civil rights.
- H: Yes, that was the battle royal.
- F: Your father had smoked it out way ahead of anybody else in the party, really. But Johnson recognized that now is it. I mean, you're talking about timing.
- H: Oh yes, you've got to--
- F: This is when you move.
- H: Yes, and I think that was frankly the key to their relationship, too, because politically they knew they had to come to terms with the reality of the politics that was there, and

yet at the same time they had a personal friendly interest in the whole subject. And he remembered those days. I remember him talking about that.

But I can't remember anything more about that darn convention except that it was a long way to drive. Every time we wanted to go anywhere you had to drive those freeways. And even then the smog was horrible.

F: It hasn't improved.

[Interruption]

H: Along the north shore of California, we stopped at a place south of Carmel, and we stayed overnight, and they were having these--what do you call them? Not Sierra Madres, but where the wind blows down the heat from the desert, and then another one will blow the opposite direction from the ocean, and one minute you're sweating and the next minute you're freezing. I never thought you could ever have anything like that happen, but it was true.

But the people that were there--let's see. Who was there? Walter Reuther, Eleanor Roosevelt--was Adlai Stevenson there? I don't think Stevenson was there. Oh, just some of the most interesting political people I have ever known in my life were there, and they sat around for about four hours talking politics, and I was absolutely fascinated.

The other thing that I recall was that after the death of Kennedy, the night after the funeral, Dad called me and said, "Get over to such-and-such a place. I want you to come in and sit and listen." And--who else was there? Dad, Willy Brandt, the President of Denmark. I don't know whether Harold Wilson was there or not.

F: No bad lineup.

H: No, it was unbelievable. It was in the embassy of--Denmark? Danish embassy, Swedish embassy?--some embassy, and they sat there, and they talked about who was going to be doing what. Everybody was saying, "Well, Hubert, you're going to be president one of these days." And they were talking about this and how the Johnson presidency was going to work and the relationship that Dad had with Johnson and how it was going to work out. I can distinctly remember people saying, the group saying, "Well, Mr. Brandt is going to be chancellor, and you're going to be prime minister, and you're going to be president," and the denials going around, you know. I just couldn't believe it. I sat there in the making, you know, so it was really something. Anyway--

End of Interview and Tape 1 of 1

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