

PRESS CONFERENCE
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Empire Room
Waldorf-Astoria
New York, New York
Friday, October 11, 1968

Good morning, if you really believe it.

We have a couple of statements here and then I think Mr. Sherman has given you the information, that we will take some questions.

Yesterday the Republicans in the Senate refused to permit the vote on the equal time bill. This bill would have made it possible for debates to take place on a national television network.

At first glance this appears to have denied the American public a chance for a face to face debate among the contenders for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. Senator Muskie and I still believe that the people have the right to hear and see the issues debated by the principal candidates.

We have, therefore, agreed to guarantee the cost of the debates. I have proposed that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace both appear with me on two debates and that Governor Agnew and General LeMay both appear with Senator Muskie in a third debate.

We have commenced negotiation with one of the networks this morning for an hour of prime time on Sunday night, October 20th, with the debate among Mr. Nixon, Governor Wallace and myself. And at the same time, we are asking Democrats, Republicans and independents throughout the nation to help pay the cost for these debates.

Naturally, we would hope that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace will agree to share the cost of the debates but if they do not, we are prepared to pay the entire cost with the help of those Americans who want to see and hear the discussion of the vital issues of the campaign.

We do not intend to allow our opposition to evade a direct face to face discussion of these issues, including such topics as Vietnam, the race, civil order, human rights in America, the crisis of our cities, and other matters of national concern.

Mr. Nixon wrote in his book "Six Crises", that, and I quote:

"Joint TV appearances of candidates at the Presidential level are here to stay, mainly because people want them and the candidates have a responsibility to inform the public on their views on the widest possible audience, before the widest possible audience."

Now, I ask Mr. Nixon to stand by that statement which is his statement in his book. The people do have a right to know and we as candidates have an obligation to inform the American public as to our views on these critical issues, and we mean to see that they do know before casting their votes on November fifth.

Senator Muskie.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Thank you, Mr. Vice President. This supposedly is a form of the government that rests upon the consent of the governed and it seems to me that there are two reforms in our system that we need if we are truly to have that kind of government.

First of all, the registration of voters ought not to be dependent upon the competition of political parties to get out and register the voters friendly to them. I think it ought to be almost automatic that any American who makes up his mind on election day, not a month or two before, is able to vote, and the second point is that in this day when we have great communications media, it ought to be a requirement of custom if not of law, that Presidential candidates confront each other, and together the electorate, in order that the governed, who must consent, truly understand the differences between them. It seems to me that this is so elementary in a government of this kind that there should be no hesitation on the part of any candidate to engage in this kind of confrontation.

It is said that Mr. Nixon doesn't want to debate because he is ahead. The other side of that is that he is afraid that a debate might cost him his lead, and this is the real clue to this issue of the debate. A man who is sure of himself, sure of his potential for leadership, sur

his positions on issues, need not be afraid, whether he is ahead or behind, and I think the American people ought to focus on the fact that he is afraid that what he might say or do or be asked in a debate could cost him his lead and judge him accordingly.

I think it is a very fundamental question. I thought we had it behind us in the 1960 campaign. Apparently Mr. Nixon recalls those debates all too well and is not interested in debating again.

So, I fully support the Vice President. I would be delighted by two counterparts on their tickets in debate and I think the ideal

format is a three-way debate in which each of us can be tested against the other two and we can see the whole package in one place. It would be great fun, too.

(Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, does your statement indicate that if you purchase time on the 20th of October, should Mr. Nixon not decide to appear with you, that you would go ahead either alone or with Mr. Wallace should he decide to appear?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We believe that the ideal format is for three candidates to appear at the same time as Senator Muskie has just indicated to you and as I have said. All three candidates in the public opinion polls command a rather substantial percentage of the voters' attention or support, and we are asking that this be a genuine debate amongst the three principal Presidential candidates.

It seems to me that that is the least that we should expect at a time of great crisis in our country and of crisis in the world. So we are now asking for what is the obvious fact, that the three serious Presidential candidates appear at the same time over the same television network or networks before the same audience to discuss their respective views on the issues of the day.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, if Mr. Nixon refuses, will you debate just Governor Wallace?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We will come to that at a later time. We are not going to let Mr. Nixon pick and choose the format of this debate. The fact is that he has been in debates before. So have I. And we know what they are about. He should be willing, as has been indicated here, to present himself to the public. If he is not, then he will have to explain why and then later on we can talk to you about other matters.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, are you satisfied that this kind of arrangement if you bought the time would meet the FCC Act, the Federal Communications Requirements as to fairness? In other words --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, I am.

QUESTION: -- that the networks would not have to give time, then to --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not if it is purchased time. There have also been suggestions from some of the publications that they would buy the time at a convention, at a mutually convenient time for the participants in some large hall or some -- like Madison Square Garden or the Astrodome or some place like that where there would be a sponsor of the debates. I imagine that the law would permit -- I am not an expert in these matters but from what we have heard, that if the time is purchased and it is agreed upon amongst the participants, and the time is not given by the network but rather purchased time, we can -- we can in a sense control who will appear on the program.

QUESTION: Are the networks satisfied on that?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: From what I hear, yes.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you and Senator Muskie both have said that one reason Mr. Nixon won't debate is that he is ahead. If you were ahead, would you agree to these debates?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, it is an "iffy" question and, of course, it makes it rather easy for me to answer. Yes, I would, and I will tell you why. I have done it at home in my own state. In 1954 for example, in 1960, I was ahead substantially in both of those elections insofar as any polls were concerned and I debated several

Several times my opponents, several times around the state.

QUESTION: May I --

SENATOR MUSKIE: May I add also, Mr. Vice President, the 1964 campaign in Maine, the election, I was ahead two to one in the polls and I agreed to debates with my opponents and held them. I believe in that as a matter of principle as does the Vice President.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Nixon has said that he wouldn't want to debate, a debate including Governor Wallace because it would build Governor Wallace up.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have heard that.

QUESTION: You obviously don't buy that idea.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do not.

QUESTION: Why?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Because I think Governor Wallace is a very serious candidate in this campaign. We might just as well face up to it. I don't like it. I think that his candidacy is not a desirable development in American politics but it is there and I think one of the best ways to expose what it is is to have Governor Wallace and Mr. Nixon and myself on the same platform at the same time.

Maybe Mr. Nixon will have an opportunity to say what he apparently thinks about Mr. Wallace. Up till now he has been touching him with a feather. He might very well really have to face up to the music, face up to the realities, if he is on a debate just as I will be willing to.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Senator Dirksen said yesterday that President Johnson and you, then a Senator, in 1964 refused to help pass legislation that would have made debates possible then. Is that so, sir?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know, and if so, then it was a mistake.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I really don't know, Max. I heard that.

QUESTION: Did you oppose it at that time?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do not recollect that I did but I just don't want to get myself in a position of saying yes or no on it until I check the record. But I want to say this, that I have always in my public life been willing in every election that I have been in as a United States Senator in my home state to engage in debate with the candidates of the respective parties.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, if the -- in terms of the debate, if Mr. Nixon will not debate, if Governor Wallace will not debate, but the Vice Presidential candidate decides to debate, would you still proceed with the debates of the Vice Presidential candidates?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think for myself it would be a very, very interesting and revealing discussion, but maybe the Senator would like to comment.

SENATOR MUSKIE: I would be delighted to. I notice that once the man he describes -- described as his boss apparently decided not to get involved in debates that my opponents, Mr. Agnew, decided to attack me. I remember kids like this when I was young. When they can get behind a safe tree they were very aggressive but when they had no chance of having to confront the subject of their attack, this seems to be Mr. Agnew's posture at this point.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, do you regard the debates as essential to your winning the election?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I regard the debates as essential for decency, integrity in American politics, and also as essential for an intelligent discussion of the issues. Let's face it. If all three of us stand on the same platform at the same time, talking to the same audience, you are inevitably more careful. You are inevitably, I think, better informed and you are more sharp in your discussion. Instead of it becoming an occasion with a circus atmosphere, it becomes an occasion of serious thought, of cross examination, rebuttal. I think it just makes sense.

I for the life of me, can't understand why anybody is even arguing

about it. It makes all the sense in the world

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, do you think it would be helpful if we had some general press conferences with open questioning on every subject?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, from time to time we have had that, Mr. Wollenhoff, and we will have more of it as we go along.

QUESTION: Can we have one here rather quickly?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Not this morning, if you don't mind. I think we would like to keep on this particular topic but I have had some and I will have some more, and both Senator Muskie and myself appear readily and often on "Face The Nation", "Issues and Answers", "Meet the Press". Mr. Nixon has yet to appear since 1967.

If you want a good press conference, why don't you get a fresh one that hasn't been exposed for a long, long, long time. But we are perfectly willing to do it. We are kind of old hat at it.

I will guarantee that you will have one along the route. In fact, I would be very pleased to do it but this morning we would like to sort of stick on this, but I assure you, I give you a positive assurance that if you want press conferences you will get them readily.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, could you tell us about your present illness?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have a stomach ache. I had a little stomach flu last night. I feel fine this morning except I feel a little weak. Ever had a stomach flu? Yes, sir, it is kind of miserable.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, with opening and closing statements, do you think the one hour for the three men would really get very far? Would that be much of a debate?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, it maybe wouldn't be as much as you would like but I think it is about as much as the audience will take and if it isn't, why, we can do more. I don't want just one as we have indicated, and we have suggested three, working them out to mutual satisfaction.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, in 1960 I believe you were trying to get a debate with Senator Kennedy in the West Virginia primary. Mr. O'Brien, your present campaign manager, on the other side, at that time apparently was not in favor of debates.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We had one in West Virginia. We had one indeed.

QUESTION: But after considerable delay.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is right but we had one. I remember it all too well.

(Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you have been pleading poverty some of your recent speeches. Does your willingness to pay for this time means that you have solved your financial problem in the campaign?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It means I think there are a great number of American people that are perfectly willing to pay up and help us with this. I don't think there is any doubt about it. I think if we put an appeal out on this, as we will, money will come in to take care of it.

QUESTION: You mean the money isn't there now?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We will find it. We will find it. We asked the last time on our national broadcast for some help. We got a great deal of help in small contributions. It came through in bagfuls. I don't think there is any doubt at all. I expect you at least to give \$10. I will go around here and we ought to be able to pick up a \$1000 out of this crowd.

QUESTION: How much will it take?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know.

QUESTION: Do you have any commercial sponsors lined up, Mr. Vice President?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No. The New York Times indicated its interest in doing something like this.

Thank you very much.

APPEARANCE OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ON THE
TODAY SHOW
Friday, October 11, 1968

MR. DOWNS: How do you feel this morning, Mr. Vice-President? you told a group last night you had a slight stomach ache.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, after hearing what you just said, I don't know if I feel any better at all. In fact I have a little touch of stomach flu. But I am going to survive.

MR. DOWNS: You are in good shape, though.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes. This politicking is not exactly the way to take care of your health. You come out of these meetings at night very warm, perspiring, and you go outdoors in the cold air and you get little sleep. And once in a while something hits you. But I think I will be alright.

MR. DOWNS: You said about two weeks ago, Mr. Humphrey -- you are quoted as saying if the elections were held then, that you would lose. Now do you think that has changed now, or do you still feel that way today?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think we have picked up a great deal. We were considerably behind. There is no use pretending that we were not. But our indications are that we have gained a good deal of momentum. The polling that we have been able to do in the Northeast in particular here, from Maine and Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, where there are large population centers, we are on the plus side. Now, in the Midwest we don't do very well, I regret to say. I would hope we would do better because I am from the Midwest. I do alright in my home state of Minnesota, I am pleased to tell you. We have some problems in the State of Illinois, but we think that we can overcome those, and in the State of California.

So we still have three-and-a-half weeks to go, Hugh, and in those three-and-a-half weeks, with momentum I believe we can make it.

MR. DOWNS: You apparently feel that the more airing of the issues the better it would be for you--.

Now, the Senate has killed the bill that would allow the free television debate. But I understand that you and Senator Muskie have a new challenge to Mr. Nixon to lure him into debating and possibly a line-up of sponsors to get around that problem. What is the plan -- can you tell us?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, we are supposed to have a press conference on that this morning, Hugh/

It is my view that the American public is entitled to listen to the views of the respective candidates. In this instance there are three of us -- Mr. Wallace, Mr. Nixon and myself. When we go separately, by ourselves, to our own sort of selected audiences, I do not think the public gets as good an appraisal of what a candidate stands for and what he means and what his thoughts really are. I have always felt that it would be better if we could have the three candidates side by side, in old-fashioned Lincoln-Douglas type debate, where you each have your opportunity to state your case, where you have an opportunity for cross-examination, and where you have a moderator that can accept the questions from an audience.

It just seems to me that that is fair.

And I can't understand for the life of me why anybody would be afraid to do it, and why people wouldn't want to do it.

There is so much circus atmosphere around politics these days, and it is so costly, that if you get a chance for free television on the networks, where the networks are willing to do it, it seems to me that we ought to readily accept it.

Now, the Senate turned that down. As you know, the minority leader, frankly, said that the Republicans were not going to turn up for a quorum. And you can't do business without a quorum. It is all in the news today -- what really transpired.

In other words, it is perfectly alright for Senators to debate in the Senate, but it is not alright for the candidates for the highest office in this land to debate before the public. I think

that is an indefensible position.

MR. DOWNS: You think this reflects Mr. Nixon's disinclination to get involved in a debate?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think Mr. Nixon feels that he is ahead -- why should he debate. But mayh I say with equal candor that we owe something to the public. We have serious issues today that affect us -- the whole subject of arms control, the subject of race relations in the United States, the subject of Vietnam, the subject of fiscal policy, our economy, the subject of our cities -- what are our views. I think that the American people would like to know. I think they would like to know how do we look at the issue of law and order, which is talked about all the time. What are Mr. Wallace's views, what are Mr. Nixon's views, what are mine. What do we intend to do about it.

Now, we generally get out and give these big street rallies and whoop it up for about fifteen, twenty, twenty-five minutes and then the public goes away. I don't think that is really the way you educate the public. It is a part of the momentum of the campaign. It is a part of the atmosphere.

But the dialogue is what is important.

MR. DOWNS: You know, on the subject of Vietnam, there have been reports that the heckling that all of the candidates suffer from, the heckling in your audiences has diminished somewhat after your foreign policy speech. Do you think you might have gained wider support had you earlier broached this subject and taken that stand on the bombing?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I might have, yes. I think the young people, though, Hugh, are coming to us. I was in Boston here the other day, and you know theretare a large number of universities and colleges in the Boston-Cambridge area, and they were simply wonderful, the young people were. They waited for me for a couple of hours. I had two or three other meetings. And there were young people t hat had supported Senator Kennedy and Senator McCarthy and myself. And we are getting them by the thousands all around the country. And we have a program of a million young people working on the last week of this election, going door to door. Now, this is what we call the Student Coalition, representing the different forces there were rprior to the convention.

And as I have said, the one thing that I am going to do if elected President, I am going to make it my business to see that young people have a chance to be heard, that someone is there in that White House, namely myself, who is willing to listen to them, to try to understand them, not always to agree with them, not necessarily to accept every proposal -- but that they feel wanted, that they feel they can perform, and that they can participate, and that they can have something to say about their country.

I have been meeting with young people individually and in small groups, and I find that what they really want is just somebody that will listen.

MISS WALTERS: Mr. Vice-President, you said that you are going to try, as I understand it, to find some wayh to lure Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace into a debate. Can you tell us before your press conference, since it is a very short time from now, whatthat plan is.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, let me say that we want to have, first of all, a debate in which the three candidates ought to appear. Now, why do I say the three? We have to face up to the fact that Mr. Wallace does have an appreciable part of the electorate supporting him. I think this is very unfortunate, I think it is unhealthy. But it is a fact. And I think therefore that he should be involved in the debate. There is where Mr. Nixon parts company with me. He says he doesn't want to debate Mr. Wallace. Well, maybe I don't, either. But the fact of the matter is that the public has a right to know what he thinks as compared to Mr. Nixon and myself.

Now, if we can't get the three men in debate, we may have to try to propose some other things. We can have private sponsors, hopefully.

We have got several things that we are going to do, Barbara.

MISS WALTERS: The New York Times suggests that it might be possible for the newspapers to rent a hall, for example, and have the three of you there, and perhaps have TV cameras there.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Excellent idea. I am all for it. I think I read something about that this morning -- where they rent Madison Square Garden or the Astrodome, or one of these large places. I think that would be an excellent thing to do.

MISS WALTERS: You think Mr. Nixon would consent to something like that?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know. I hope he would. I don't know why he shouldn't. If he has a case, he should be willing to state it. Actually it might be a little bit more difficult for me, because the Administration is in power and I would obviously be the person that is under considerable attack. But I am prepared, for example, to ask some questions. I notice the economic advisor of Mr. Nixon this morning said that his economics would tolerate a little larger unemployment than mine. I would like to ask some questions about that. I would like to ask some questions why he does not support the ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. I have a few questions I would like to ask. And I think that if he has answers, that he has nothing to lose. If he doesn't have answers, he has something to lose.

MR. DOWNS: Mr. Vice-President, in connection with the timing, most of the nation will be seeing this in time zones that will put it after the 8:30 deadline. So if there is anything you want to say about it, you won't be breaching the line.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, what we are really proposing in the beginning is a three-man debate. And it is my view that that could be divided up three ways, the costs of it could be divided up three ways. If that is not possible, -then we think we could get money from the general public. I mean I think that you would contribute ten dollars, and Barbara you might contribute five or ten.

MR. DOWNS: That might be a great ten dollar show to watch.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't think there is any doubt but what the American people would say this is what we have been looking for -- it will clean up politics, it will make it much more responsible and responsive.

You know, when you sit alongside of another man who is of opposite -- who represents an opposition party, you just are a little more careful what you say. It is just inevitable. It is very hard, as they say, to dislike a person that you have really met. And it is very difficult to be too flamboyant, filled with too much political exaggeration in the presence of the man that might be able to reply to you.

MR. DOWNS: You think more reality --

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think much more reality comes out of it.

MR. DOWNS: We will be back in just a moment with Vice-President Humphrey. Right now, this is Today on NBC.

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MR. DOWNS: Vice-President Humphrey has said that he would be willing and anxious to debate on the same television program with Mr. Wallace and Mr. Nixon.

Now, in connection with the possible outcome of the election, Mr. Vice-President, Governor Wallace's growing strength in several states could conceivably throw the 1968 election into the House of Representatives. That is, for the Presidency. And as we know, a Presidential candidate needs more than a possible plurality in order to win the election; he has to get a clear majority of the electoral college.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

MR. DOWNS: So if Mr. Nixon should win a plurality of the popular vote but lacked a clear majority of the electoral college, would you urge your supporters in that case in the House to back Mr. Nixon on the basis of that plurality and prevent a three-way fight if it wouldn't necessarily reflect what the public appeared to want?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I feel that I would have to give it some very serious thought to that, because what you might have, for example, are very large pluralities in certain small states that would add up to a large figure, but would not really reflect some of the grave problems that exist in a state like New York, for example.

MR. DOWNS: You would have to consider a breakdown, then.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would really believe so -- even though I am prone to agree that if you get a majority, or if you get the largest vote, that that is the person that ought to be -- ought to be the nominee. I would not let any attitude of mine precipitate a constitutional crisis, let me put it that way, so that there would be a delay in the selection of a President. I think too much of our country to permit any kind of selfish attitude of mine to permit that.

MR. DOWNS: If the positions were reversed, would you care to speculate on Mr. Nixon's probable outlook on it.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know. I really don't. And I would hope he would feel the same way. We both represent the major political parties. I think we have a special obligation, both of us.

MR. DOWNS: On the position that you took in that foreign policy speech, where you said you would stop the bombing, what exactly is your position now on the bombing of North Vietnam?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I said that I would stop the bombing of North Vietnam, and that I would regard this as an acceptable risk. You must remember our platform said that we ought to take risks for the quest of peace.

I did say also that before taking this action, that I would look very closely at the evidence, direct or indirect, by deed or word, of the Communists' willingness to restore what we call the demilitarized zone. And then I would reserve the right, if the North Vietnamese did not bargain in good faith, to resume the bombing.

Now, the emphasis is upon stopping the bombing.

I would like to see that before doing so, that there was some indication, some evidence that in doing that it would lead to substantive negotiations, and that the demilitarized zone could be restored.

Now, why did I select the demilitarized zone? Because it means that the Communists don't have to give up anything. It means that North Vietnam doesn't have to give up anything. It is not a part of their territory. And it was not violated for a long period of time in this war. It has only been within the last year or so.

So this is the most readily susceptible area for some kind of adjustment.

MR. DOWNS: In view of your announcement there, would you have been more comfortable had the minority report on Vietnam been adopted in the platform at the convention?

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I don't think so. I think the majority report provides great flexibility. And if you look at it very carefully, both the majority and the minority, the differences are not as sharp as they seemed to be at the time of the feverish debate that we were going through. But I think the majority plank states --the first thing it says --whoever is the next President must be willing to take risks for peace, just as he must be willing to take risks on the battlefield.

MR. DOWNS: Thank you, Mr. Humphrey.

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8:09:10 & 8:25:00 VICE PRESIDENT FRI., OCT. 11, 1968
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (2:50 & 4:05 BROKEN BY LOCAL)

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PRINCIPALS: HUGH & VICE PRESIDENT H. H. HUMPHREY (GUEST WILL BE IN
STUDIO BY 7:45 AM; TEL.: KEN ROMAN--YU 8-2824)

AUDIO

VIDEO

HUGH:

OPEN ON HUGH.

Election Day is less than four weeks away, but some of the national polls are already predicting that the next President of the United States may be Richard M. Nixon. According to their surveys, Mr. Nixon has been steadily widening his lead over his Democratic opponent, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. The Vice President is here on his second visit to New York City and we are pleased that he is with us this morning.

WIDEN TO INCLUDE
GUEST.

(more)

QUESTIONS:

1. Mr. Vice President, about two weeks ago you were quoted as saying that if the elections were held then you would lose. Do you still feel that way today?
2. Throughout this campaign you have urged legislation to permit television debates with your opponents. Now that the House has finally passed the bill that will pave the way for televised debates, do you feel that a series of television confrontations with Richard Nixon and Governor Wallace could be the turning point in your uphill fight for the Presidency?
3. Have you received any indication from Mr. Nixon or Governor Wallace of a possible date for the first television debate?
4. Governor George Wallace's growing strength in several states could conceivably throw the 1968 election into the House of Representatives. A presidential candidate needs more than a popular plurality to win the election. He must also gain a clear majority in the Electoral College. If Mr. Nixon should win a plurality of the popular vote but lacked a clear majority of the Electoral College, will you urge your supporters in the House to back Mr. Nixon and prevent a three-way fight?
5. If the positions were reversed, would you care to speculate on Mr. Nixon's actions?
6. Mr. Nixon hinted in Washington this week that a Nixon Administration might be able to agree to peace terms that the Johnson Administration could not accept now. This statement took on an added significance because Mr. Nixon made it in the context of what happened during the Presidential Race of 1952 when General Eisenhower did not indicate exactly how he would end the Korean War. Do you share Mr. Nixon's analogy between the two campaigns?
7. In response to your major foreign policy speech televised last week, which was interpreted by some that you had adopted a more independent stand on the conduct of the War in Vietnam, Mr. Nixon said that you were endangering the prospect for a settlement in Paris by breaking with the President, whose war policies Mr. Nixon supports. He also implied that you were allowing Hanoi to think that it might get a better deal from you. Do you have a reply to Mr. Nixon's charges?
8. There have been reports that the heckling in your audiences has diminished somewhat after your foreign policy speech. Do you think you may have gained a much wider support if you had taken this stand earlier during this campaign?
9. Do you expect President Johnson to campaign actively on your behalf during the remaining days of this Presidential Race?
10. You have often compared this campaign with that of President Harry S. Truman's 1948 campaign. In 1948, President Truman lashed out at the do-nothing 80th Congress. What do you consider to be the major targets of your campaign?

(END)



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