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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 20, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Vail, Colorado)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT  
THE COURT HOUSE

RUSSELL, KANSAS

12:34 P.M. CDT

Thank you very, very much, Bob.

It is good to see Mayor Roger Williams coming back from Washington. He said he straightened everything out back in Washington. I don't have the same problem in Russell, Kansas. (Laughter)

It is great to be here with Governor Bennett, Lt. Governor Smith, my very good friend, your Senator, Jim Pearson, and my long-time and very good friend, Keith Sebelius. It is just nice to be here in the great State of Kansas.

I know that you produce a tremendous amount of wheat. I know that you are a great cattle-producing State. I know that you make a significant contribution in the production of oil energy which we need so badly. But the thing that impresses me -- and I think it is worth noting -- the great State of Kansas produces some great statesmen.

You can run down the list from Dwight D. Eisenhower to Alf Landon, to former Senator Frank Carlson, to another fine Senator, Harry Darby, and as Bob Dole said, I have been out in this part of Kansas on a number of occasions. I was out in Great Bend a year or so ago. I went to Dodge City and survived. (Laughter) But during the time I served in the Congress of the United States, in the House, I got to know a great, great Congressman, Wynn Smith. He was followed by Bob Dole and now Keith Sebelius.

What I am really saying is you not only produce cattle and wheat and energy, but doggone it, you produce great people.

When I looked over the list of people that I wanted to be my teammate in the months ahead, for the first 75 days while we go through a tough campaign so we can have the privilege and the honor of winning November 2nd and serving the American people for the next four years, Bob Dole was the guy.

MORE

Let me mention just one or two reasons why Bob makes a wonderful teammate. We have to bring Washington, D.C. and local government closer together. Bob Dole was your county prosecutor, your county attorney, for six or eight years. He understands the problems of local communities and their relationship with the Federal Government. We have to establish a better relationship between State Government and the Government in Washington.

Bob Dole served in your State legislature, so he understands the problems of the State House and the State legislature.

Bob Dole served in the House of Representatives for eight years in Washington, D. C., representing this great Western part of the State of Kansas. So, he understands all of your individual problems.

I bet Bob could look around this group from Russell, Kansas, mention many, many, many by name and could refresh your memories, and his, of how he helped you to do this or helped you to do that.

Bob is the kind of a person who has a personal contact with people. Then, of course, he has done a superb job in the United States Senate. Bob served in the House of Representatives on the Committee on Agriculture. He served in the Senate on the Committee on Agriculture as well as the Committee on Finance. Those are two very, very key committees that involve not only the people of Russell, Kansas, but 49 other States.

Let me just talk for a minute about the input that Bob can have and why his part on the ticket is so essential.

MORE



First, we have to find a way to give greater tax relief to the middle income people of this country who have been shortchanged over the years. About a week ago the United States Senate was considering this tax bill that has been there for their consideration for some time.

Bob took the initiative on a recommendation made by me to take some real relief for middle income tax people. He offered the amendment to increase the personal exemption for every taxpayer from \$750 a person to \$1,000.

But, I have been talking to Bob about another problem that involves his Committee on Finance. It is extremely important if we want to maintain the continuity of the family farm and the small family business. We have to increase the estate tax exemption from \$60,000 to at least \$150,000.

But then, Bob, in addition to his responsibilities on the Committee on Finance, has been a stalwart friend of the farmer on the Committee on Agriculture. Bob has talked to me not once but many times about the problems that agriculture faces, and he has been one of the most ardent and effective advocates.

Let me summarize to all of you right out here in the heartland of agriculture in Russell, Kansas what I said to the American people last night. The farmers of America must get a fair price in a free market. We want an expanded product, an increase in our exports. We want to be able as a humanitarian country to help feed the people around the world because that is our responsibility.

But, let me add this: This Administration will never make the hard work and the production of the American farmer a pawn in international diplomacy. Then one final comment -- two words. This Administration will have no embargo, period. But this great country, as I said last night, offers to young an opportunity; to the old certainty, happiness and security; to the businessman and to the farmer an opportunity to move ahead as your forefathers have done. I think every person that I look at who has children or grandchildren has worked hard, has sacrificed, has done all of the things for one single reason: We want to make a better America for the children and grandchildren that will follow us. That is our tradition; that is what we are going to do.

It is great to be in Russell. When I called Bob yesterday I said, "Bob, I would like you to be on the team." He thought for a moment and then he said, "I have to have one commitment." I said, "Well, don't hesitate too long." (Laughter) He said, "Will you come to Russell, Kansas tomorrow?" I said, "Yes." (Laughter)

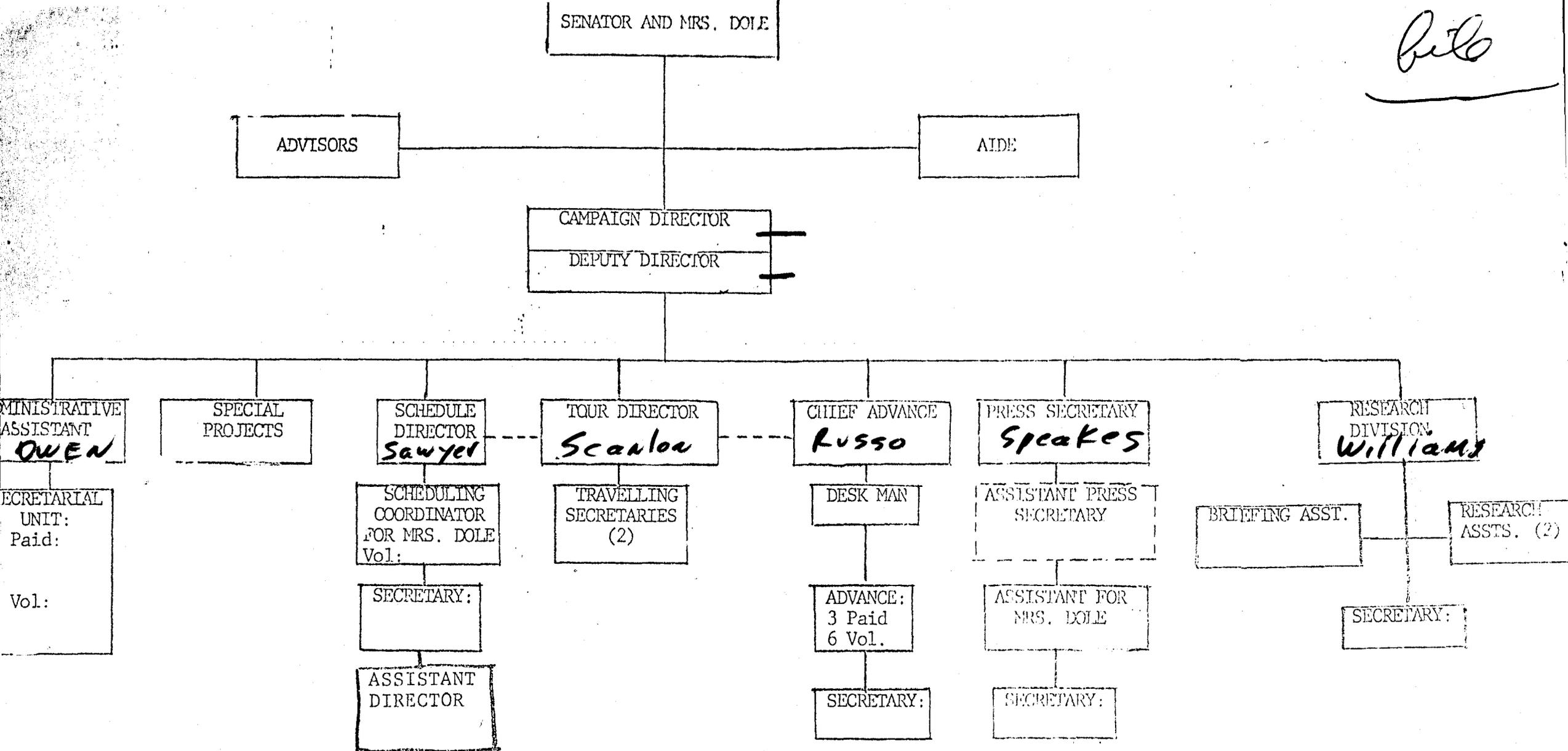
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So, here we are. I can't express my appreciation and gratitude adequately. I am looking forward to an opportunity to say hello and shaking a good many hands. We will stick with you. We need your help to keep America going to peace, prosperity and trust for the next four years.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 12:42 P.M. CDT)

*bill*



SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE

ADVISORS

AIDE

CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

*OWEN*

SPECIAL PROJECTS

SCHEDULE DIRECTOR

*Sawyer*

TOUR DIRECTOR

*Scanlon*

CHIEF ADVANCE

*Russo*

PRESS SECRETARY

*Speakes*

RESEARCH DIVISION

*Williams*

SECRETARIAL UNIT:

Paid:

Vol:

SCHEDULING COORDINATOR FOR MRS. DOLE

Vol:

SECRETARY:

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

TRAVELLING SECRETARIES (2)

DESK MAN

ADVANCE: 3 Paid 6 Vol.

SECRETARY:

ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY

ASSISTANT FOR MRS. DOLE

SECRETARY:

BRIEFING ASST.

RESEARCH ASSTS. (2)

SECRETARY:

## DOLE IS REPORTED LINKED TO '73 GIFT BY GULF OIL AIDE

Lobbyist Said to Have Told  
Grand Jury That He Gave  
Illegal Funds to Kansan

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — A lobbyist for the Gulf Oil Corporation has told a Federal grand jury here that in 1973 he made an illegal corporate contribution to Robert J. Dole, now the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, according to sources familiar with the investigation.

The sources said that Claude Wild Jr., Gulf's former chief lobbyist, testified under a grant of immunity from prosecution last January that he passed \$3,000 to \$6,000 in illegal corporate funds to Senator Dole through William A. Kats, then Mr. Dole's administrative assistant.

The illegal contribution was allegedly made as Mr. Dole was preparing to run for reelection as a United States Senator in Kansas, the sources said. The New York Times surveyed Mr. Dole's financial report for the 1973-1974 campaign and found no report of a contribution from Mr. Wild or any other employee of Gulf Oil.

### No Record Found

Larry Speakes, a spokesman for Mr. Dole, said the Senator had reviewed his own records and found no indication that he had received money from Mr. Wild or Gulf Oil.

Mr. Speakes added that Mr. Dole declined to comment on whether the grand jury members had asked about Mr. Kats and the transfer of the \$3,000 to \$6,000. The Senator said, "I did discuss other individuals, but of course I will not name them publicly," Mr. Speakes reported.

President Ford "was aware of the allegations concerning possible illegal contributions from Gulf to Senator Dole" before Mr. Dole was chosen as his running mate, a White House spokesman said today.

### Talked With the Senator

"White House aides reviewed his campaign reports and discussed the matter personally with the Senator," the spokesman continued. "He told the White House he had talked with prosecutors in the investigation and, after reviewing all this, the White House aides were satisfied that Senator Dole had no knowledge of any such contribution, if indeed they did exist."

The spokesman said Edward C. Schmults, deputy counsel to the President, had questioned Mr. Dole on the matter.

Mr. Kats, who was reached at his home in suburban Maryland, said he was called before a Federal grand jury in February or early March and was asked about Mr. Wild's allegation. He said he testified that he "could not remember ever having received anything from Claude Wild."

### Compelled to Testify

Mr. Kats added, however, that, "like anyone," he could have been the "victim of human frailty" and that his memory might have failed him. He said he knew Mr. Wild and had met him several times over the years.

Mr. Kats, a 68-year-old Kansan, served as Senator Dole's administrative assistant from 1968 until 1974.

Mr. Wild was in charge of a Gulf Oil political fund from 1960 until 1974 and dispensed about \$4 million in political contributions during this period. The bulk of money was in illegal corporate contributions.

Last January, the Watergate special prosecutor's office gave Mr. Wild a grant of immunity and compelled him to testify about \$170,000 in Gulf funds that he dispensed in 1973.

Mr. Wild, according to authoritative sources, named four senators and four representatives as recipients of the money.

Among those named was Mr. Dole, the sources said. Yesterday, at an impromptu news conference in Rhode Island, where he attended a \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinner for the Republican Party in that state, the Senator acknowledged that he had testified before a Federal grand jury last March 8.

"I wasn't called before one, I volunteered to go before one and tell what I knew," he said, adding that investigators for the special prosecutor's office had asked him about Gulf Oil funds reported to have been distributed to several senators by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Senate minority leader.

"They were concerned about whether I had received any money from Senator Scott, and the answer was no," Mr. Dole said. "They were concerned about whether I had received any money from Gulf Oil, and the answer was no."

### 1970 Incident Cited

Mr. Dole also told reporters that the special prosecutor's office had made a "third inquiry about something that happened in 1970." He said that incident had something to do with a transfer of funds, and added that it "involved a couple of other names and I don't want to embarrass them." He would give no further details.

A report on Gulf's foreign and domestic political fund, prepared by three lawyers appointed by the corporation, noted that on Oct. 9, 1970, Mr. Dole received a check for \$2,000 from Gulf's lawful "good government fund."

According to the report, the money was given to Senator Dole "for disbursement." However, Mr. Dole was not running for office in 1970 and had no reason to be collecting political contributions.

It was not until January 1971 that Mr. Dole became chairman of the Republican National Committee, a post he held until 1973.

The Associated Press quoted Senator Dole yesterday as saying that the special prosecutor's office was "just trying to get information on whether or not we were the conduit to pass it on to someone else." He said he had no recollection of serving in that capacity in 1970, the news service reported.

### 'Never Asked' for Records

Mr. Dole said he had volunteered to turn over his records to the special prosecutor, but added that "they've never asked for them." However, he later said that the special prosecutor did take "one little book."

The Senator said he did not know whether "I was being called as a witness or being investigated." Mr. Speakes said Mr. Dole had never been advised by the special prosecutor that the matter was closed.

A spokesman for the special prosecutor's office declined to comment on the case in an interview two days ago, but Government officials said that the investigation of Mr. Wild's charges was being continued.

Mr. Wild could not be reached for comment. William Hundley, Mr. Wild's attorney here, declined to comment on any matters considered by a grand jury.

Mr. Wild was indicted for making an illegal campaign contribution to Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, but the case was dismissed because the three-year statute of limitations ran out before the indictment.

The exact date that Mr. Wild made the alleged contribution to Mr. Dole through Mr. Kats is not known, but several sources said it was probably outside the three-year statute.

### Other Questions

However, if Senator Dole knowingly accepted money from Mr. Wild that he failed to report as a campaign contribution, it would raise other questions. For example, if the money was converted to his own use or for personal expenses, it should have been reported on his income tax return.

Claude C. Wild, Jr.  
5716 Bent Branch Road, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

9/9/76  
For Immediate Release

Within the past two days I have made statements to the news media which indicated that I made \$2,000 -- from completely legal funds -- available to Senator Dole or a member of his staff which was in turn delivered to one or two prospective Republican candidates for the Senate in 1970. I also said I had a letter from a recipient which would confirm this statement.

I was questioned unexpectedly and before I had time to review my records of something that allegedly happened six years earlier. After looking at the records and materials I have, I am confident I have been in error and consequently have done a serious disservice to Senator Dole. I feel confident I confused the \$2,000 in cash with a \$2,000 check made out to another individual.

I make a sincere apology to Senator Dole for my impromptu remarks without the benefit of information I could have obtained from my records. I can only excuse it as a result of the past three years of confusion, frustration and disarray in my personal life -- three years which included four sets of lawyers, briefings and debriefings, depositions at the SEC, testimony before grand juries and Senate committees, stockholders suits and trials.

# TRANSCRIPT

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CBS NEWS  
2020 M Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

## FACE THE NATION

as broadcast over the  
CBS Television Network  
and the  
CBS Radio Network

Sunday, August 22, 1976 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: SEN. ROBERT DOLE (R.--Kansas)  
Republican Vice-Presidential Nominee

### REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

R. W. Apple, Jr., The New York Times

Eric Engberg, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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GEORGE HERMAN: Senator Dole, some wit said that the Republican ticket as now constituted runs the entire political gamut from A to B. You've got two members from the midwest, President Ford and yourself from Kansas, and I'm curious as to how you see your electoral vote strategy -- how are you going to put together a majority of the electoral votes of this country?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think, first of all, it's fair to say that President Ford plans a national campaign. Nothing has been written off. I would guess that my selection may have been in part because of ties in the midwest in normal Republican areas that are somewhat restless now. I haven't been in on the political strategy briefings. I don't know just how they add up the electoral votes, but certainly can't win without the midwest. Now if I can help in that area, then the ticket would extend beyond A and B and might go to A to Z.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS News, Washington, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview on FACE THE NATION with Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, Republican vice-presidential nominee. Senator Dole will be questioned by CBS News Reporter Eric Engberg, by R. W. Apple, Jr., National Political Correspondent for The New York Times, and by CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN: Senator Dole, we had you as a guest in late July, and at the time, talking about strategies, you said the south will be very tough for Republicans whoever may be the vice-presidential candidate; the northeast, particularly with Mondale on the ticket, it's a more liberal area, will be tough; but I do believe if you look at the primaries, Carter didn't run as well in many areas in the midwest and west; and then you went on from there to say that that seems to be --



is that the core of the strategy, that you yourself would envision for this ticket?

SEN. DOLE: As I look at it, President Ford of course comes from a northern industrial state, Michigan -- many of the same problems they have in the northeast. The south will be tough with anyone on the ticket -- the south would have been tough because of Governor Carter. So we look at traditional Republican areas, the midwest, the real midwest, Michigan is the upper midwest, and we're out in the real midwest, the plains states. And then you go on southwest and further west, and I believe that may be part of the reason, whatever the reasons may have been, for my being selected to be on the ticket.

APPLE: Senator Dole, it's the usual habit of presidential candidates to pick vice-presidents who can broaden their appeal outside the party. It seems that Mr. Ford, at least in part, picked you to make a particular wing, the Reagan wing of the party, happy. Do you think you have any special appeal, any particular appeal, for Democrats and independents?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I would hope so. Again I can't say that I have any special appeal, but I do believe there is some validity in that I might provide a gap between the Reagan and the Ford forces. I'm not as conservative as some would like. I'm not as liberal of course as many would like. I have probably a moderate to conservative voting record. We have been active in revenue sharing and food stamp programs that might appeal to independents and conservatives, but again if I bring anything to the ticket, it's I think a close identification with agriculture, small towns, rural America, and that would appeal I think in those areas to Democrats and independents.



APPLE: But how is that any kind of a broadening of the base, Senator? Republican presidential candidates traditionally have appealed to small town, rural, and agricultural America. Isn't what you are saying that President Ford is in trouble with his base?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think before you broaden a base, you have to shore it up and --

APPLE: But why?

SEN. DOLE: Well --

APPLE: Why didn't the President begin with that as his strong area? He's from a small town in the midwest.

SEN. DOLE: But I'm talking about the political base, the hard core Republican base. You know we had a very tight convention in Kansas City; it was almost 50-50. As you looked out over that podium, you didn't know who the 50 were, but you knew it was evenly divided, and it was sort of a frightening thing in a way, because there was so much genuine enthusiasm. Now how do you bridge the gap between those who were strongly for Ford and those who felt strongly about Reagan? And I would guess that those who had a part in the selection process said well, maybe Bob Dole could be the bridge. I would hope that it was a positive thing, not a negative thing, who will do us the least harm, but I understand that may be a consideration.

ENGBERG: Did you wonder how good a bridge you were when they were voting for 30 other people that got votes during the nominating procedure after President Ford had annointed you?

SEN. DOLE: Well, there are some who will not vote for the Ford-Dole ticket. There were some who will probably drop out of the party. There were some Democrats there probably as delegates who felt very



strongly about Reagan -- that's the only reason they were there -- but they are a very small minority. As I understand, recent polls indicate that 80 per cent will support the ticket, and many more than 80 will vote for the ticket.

HERMAN: Some Democrats there as delegates?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I assume there were some that had either -- maybe not card-carrying Democrats, but were one-time delegates to Republican conventions -- at least I was told that might be the case in some states.

HERMAN: Let me ask you about this bridging the gap. You are going to bridge the gap and unite one-fifth of the country which considers itself Republican. Is that enough?

SEN. DOLE: My point is that you have to bridge that immediately. You might have someone else on the ticket who might help you in Massachusetts or New York, but if you end up leaving the convention without a good feeling for both members of the ticket, it's going to take a while just to settle down the Republicans and independents and conservatives who have that view. And in my view, that's where I fit the picture.

APPLE: Senator, I wonder if we can come back to George's electoral vote question. I worked those numbers over yesterday, and the question that occurred to me immediately is which of the ten largest states, other than Michigan, and conceivably Florida, can President Ford and Bob Dole carry?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I assume at this stage it would be hard to determine that. Surveys will be taken, as you probably know, almost immediately in selected areas, but you look at Michigan, there's a

good chance in Ohio, Indiana, the Democrats are having problems in California putting that together --

APPLE: Do you think you have a shot in California?

SEN. DOLE: I would say we had a shot, depending on the degree of Governor Reagan's efforts, and he indicated that he'll make a vigorous effort for the ticket, but it's too early to tell just how many of the large, the big ten states, we can carry.

APPLE: But that's where the electoral votes are, Senator, and it seems to me that the President and now you as his associate have a real problem in most of the large states -- New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts. You speak of Ohio -- I suppose that's a shot -- but you've got to get more than two or three of them, particularly with Mr. Carter having that big bloc of electoral votes in the south.

SEN. DOLE: I believe we have a shot at those, depending on how the campaign unfolds. In my view, the polls, instead of being a 23-point spread, will soon show maybe 14 or 15, which indicates a rather dramatic change in two or three weeks, from 30-some points down to 14 points or in that area, we hope. We don't know that for a fact.

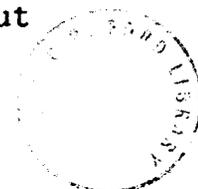
APPLE: You said at breakfast the other morning that it wasn't bad to start off as an underdog, because Barry Goldwater started off as an underdog and look how he closed the gap. You still feel that way?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I mean if the election had been postponed, Goldwater would have closed it more, but --

APPLE: You mean if it had been held in '68 instead of '64?

(LAUGHTER)

SEN. DOLE: Somewhere in that area, but we have our work cut



out for us. We're going to go out and -- but people perceive President Ford as an honest, decent person. He starts off with that big plus, and whatever may be said about it's a plus in the hearts and minds of Americans, and it was significant to me that President Ford dropped in on Russell, Kansas, really the heartland of America, to kick off the campaign, to demonstrate and underscore his concern about agriculture --

HERMAN: I thought maybe that meant you couldn't carry Russell?

SEN. DOLE: I did quite well there in '74, and I think we can count on Russell and the State of Kansas.

ENGBERG: When you talk about the President being an honest, decent person, it's obvious that that is going to be at the core of the Republican strategy this year. One of the things that happens to someone who gets named to a vice-presidential candidacy, Senator, is that people start digging through the clippings to find out what that man said about the presidential nominee, and I find in our clippings here that in '74 you were on Face the Nation, and you said that the President's biggest problem is that he has a Boy Scout image. Now what's the difference between a Boy Scout image and the honest, decent person that you're talking about, and what do you think the President ought to do about that image?

SEN. DOLE: Well, that was a bad choice of words, because I heard from every Boy Scout leader in America. I meant to say good guy image, and as it turns out that's a good image, but about that time there had been a pardon, and the embargo of wheat sales, and amnesty for draft dodgers, and I was in a race for my life in Kansas, and I think I said, you know, please don't help me any more. I've



had about all that --

HERMAN: You said, I was struggling and he threw me an anchor.

SEN. DOLE: That's right, but then he came in at the last minute in Wichita, Kansas, in the rain, and drew a tremendous crowd and did a great job on my behalf, and I think pulled my election out of the fire, so it ended up as a great plus with President Ford, and I'm just going to try to do the same for him. I've never lost an election, he's never lost an election, and we're going to try to put those two together, and see what we can do with the Carter-Mondale ticket.

APPLE: Going back to quotations all of us love, you told my newspaper about the same time that Ford was fumbling badly, he has already fumbled a couple of times, and that the best chance for 1976 would be Ford but only if he didn't kick the ball away. That does not sound like the description of a man in whom you had much confidence then. Has your confidence level improved since he picked you?

SEN. DOLE: Oh, a great -- well, it's improved before he picked me, but since then it's even gone higher. (LAUGHTER)

HERMAN: Showed good judgment.

SEN. DOLE: Extremely, but I made reference there to the same things -- the amnesty, the pardon, and the grain sales, and the President indicated in our conversations since I was named that I have been independent, that I have spoken my mind, and he doesn't disagree with that. I haven't been personal in those differences, but I have been strong. I remember refusing to go to Kansas with the President, not to insult the President, but to let the administration know I was concerned about farm problems, and they weren't getting the message. President Ford was, but some of the other people weren't.



So I've never had but the highest regard for the President. I did say that repeated actions would cause some problems, and we have problems in the farm belt, which is probably precisely the reason I'm on the ticket.

HERMAN: You have a lot of problems. When you say you -- the Republican Party. I remember you saying on one of our broadcasts here that the Republican Party doesn't reach out, doesn't reach out to the independent voter, hasn't done well with women's delegates, has failed with the blacks. Now a lot of people have said that this is why the Republican Party has about 20 per cent of the loyalties of the people of this country. How can you -- how do you plan, let me say, how do you plan to reach out to these other independent voters without whom you cannot win the election?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I've made a small effort. When I was chairman of the party, I made a lot of speeches on it but there wasn't much you could do about it. You were powerless to move because you weren't in a policy-making position, and you were critical of CREP and other organizations, and that didn't set too well most of the time. But you have to confess that we don't have a broad-base party, so we need to attract the independents and Democrats,

HERMAN: Can you --

SEN. DOLE: I mean blacks and Spanish-speaking. I've tried in the Senate through sponsoring Senator McGovern the food stamp program. I've been ridiculed and castigated by my conservative friends for doing anything in that area, but how are we going to attract the people if we don't have food stamp reform that kicks those out that shouldn't have the benefits, but brings in other people who are deprived of



benefits. Now to me, that's reform.

HERMAN: Isn't part of the problem how do you reach out to the independents, the blacks, the women and so forth without losing the Reagan followers, the extreme conservatives?

SEN. DOLE: Right, it's a very -- it's a delicate balance, and I believe most people understand that you can't just turn your back against the American people. As I said in my speech on Thurs -- it's not what we're against, we ought to articulate what we stand for in our party, and unfortunately we're in a minority position, the Democrats control the Congress, we find ourselves most of the time fighting off big spending, Carter-Mondale-type programs. It's hard to articulate when you're trying to hold down spending and these things; people translate that on the other side that we're against unem -- we're for more unemployment, we're against spending, we're against social programs -- that's not the case.

ENGBERG: It's generally assumed in Washington now that you are going to be the cutting edge of the Ford campaign. The words that come quickly to mind when people talk about Bob Dole are rapier-witted, sharp, in-fighter, tough, and so on. Is that the kind of campaign you look to be waging?

(MORE)



SEN. DOLE: Well, that comes as a complete surprise to me. I've been aggressive in a partisan sense now and then, selectively, but one criticism I've had of the Republican Party, we need more spokesmen out on the front lines, and they were hard to come by, and I found myself there even more often than I wanted to be in an effort to defend an administration position, to take on a Democrat position, not the candidate. In fact, I can recall, back in another administration where I was sent a lot of things that they wanted me to repeat, and I refused to repeat because they were personal attacks on Senator Muskie and Senator Kennedy and others.

APPLE: Senator, I'd like to go back to the era that you were talking about just a moment ago, that is, your chairmanship of the National Committee. In that role subsequently you were a very strong public defender of President Nixon, right up very close to the end. At the same time, you said to me and to other reporters privately that you thought the President was in terrific trouble. I wonder if you can tell us just a little bit about why you were not willing to disassociate yourself from him publicly earlier than you did?

SEN. DOLE: I always felt, and I someday may be--it may be proved that I was totally wrong, that I was done in by others than President Nixon. I think he had confidence in certain people surrounding him which was a mistake, but I never really felt that it was President Nixon. For example, when I went to Camp David after the big victory-- I remember the night of the massive Nixon victory, and all the Republican leaders were standing on the floor and all the CREP people were up on the platform, and we weren't even acknowledged. They didn't acknowledge the Republican Party as playing any role. Well, that

distressed me very much and I said so, and I guess because I said so at that time, hastened my exit. I was called to the mountain top and given a Camp David jacket and an autograph on what a great job I had done, and advised that it would be good if I left about inaugural day, and in the inaugural parade, if you waited long enough, you found the party chairman. I was the last car in the motorcade. So I had a bad feeling there, but I never really felt that it could be traced to Nixon. Now maybe I'm naive, but--

APPLE: How early did you conclude that Watergate itself could be traced to Nixon?

SEN. DOLE: It took some time, because I felt that, even though he was the President, there were those around him who, in effect, manipulated things and made things happen that might have been kept from the President for a long time. I don't remember the precise date, but I do remember that the longer it went on, those who kept kidding themselves that we can stonewall this thing in the Senate--and they kept talking about if you had 20-some votes, and then it went down to ten votes; I said, I don't know ten--you know, name ten people that would sustain the President at this point. So I think in that time frame it was a lost cause.

HERMAN: Senator, if your party wins this election, you'll be the Vice President and the man who would replace the President should he be out of the country or should anything happen to him. I'd like to explore your attitude on certain things. What do you think, for example, we should be doing about the incidents in--between North and South Korea in which two Americans were killed? What should be our policy?



SEN. DOLE: Well, I can only say at this point that I think the show of force by President Ford--that he personally approved--is the right thing to do. I'd draw the line there, and I'd also say that tomorrow I'll have a national security briefing by George Bush, and beyond that I can't comment. I mean, I think it's--until I really know what the ins and outs are of the Korean thing, I'm only guessing. I've read all the newspapers this morning, and we have set up a briefing tomorrow; I think it's one o'clock.

HERMAN: One other issue on which you have expressed yourself is the abortion issue. You must know that your stand on the abortion issue is at variance with the majority of the Republican Party as shown in polls, with the majority of the people. How are you going to work that?

SEN. DOLE: Well, my only stand is--and it's the one that cropped up in the '74 campaign in Kansas--that I--I've never introduced or co-sponsored any legislation. I voted against using federal funds for abortions, but I believe I said on July 18 that it wouldn't be a bad idea--when I was on this program on July 18--if we had a constitutional amendment. Now we didn't try to put the wording there. Some believe there should be exceptions; some believe there should be no exceptions. And our platform says that there should be a constitutional amendment. Now I've never been able to determine what's so wrong with the people deciding the issue. That's my position, and I think it's a valid one. It seems to me whether you're for or against the issue, it's hard to quarrel with letting the people decide that. And that's why I've opted for a constitutional amendment. When we get into the specific wording of that amendment, we're going to have great



difficulties.

HERMAN: Is that, to a certain extent--well, I don't know any more elegant word--is that a sort of a cop-out, because you must know you can't get, at this point, two-thirds majority in the two houses for such an amendment.

SEN. DOLE: I--you're right, we couldn't get a two-thirds majority for such an amendment. That doesn't mean that we shouldn't pursue it if we think it's right. It was the--

HERMAN: I guess what I'm saying is, isn't it perfectly safe for you to pursue it since you know it won't happen?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I'm not--well, it may not happen this year, but those who really believe in the issue, on one side or the other, particularly those who are opposed to abortion, believe this is the right start. They're realistic; they're sophisticated; they don't expect it to happen this year.

APPLE: How much utility do you think the abortion issue will be for the Republican Party in this campaign, and how much do you intend to use it? You used it very heavily against Dr. Roy in 1974 in Kansas. There are a lot of people who've said that Carter is weak with Catholics. There are those who expect you to try to exploit that with the abortion issue.

SEN. DOLE: Well, I might first correct. We really didn't use it so heavily in '74 with Dr. Roy. We were accused of that, and accused of all sorts of things; and frankly, we ended up the last two days of our campaign disavowing ads that some of the Right to Life people were running in papers.

APPLE: But Senator, I was in a high school in one city in Kansas

listening to you speak one day, and you said at the end of your little informal talk to the kids, when Dr. Roy comes and--it was a Catholic high school, I should add that--when Dr. Roy comes here, you ought to ask him whether he's performed any abortions.

SEN. DOLE: Right, I think that's a good question if you're a doctor, and I wasn't--I raised the question but we ended up disavowing the skull and crossbones ads, and I hope some of the people who are against abortion have--and they do have a great deal more sophistication. But I've met with the campaign leaders of Ellen McCormack's campaign some months--about a month ago--and they were very concerned about the Democratic platform. Governor Carter is very concerned it. He says it doesn't represent his view. But he doesn't say what his view is, or which one of his views he's for today.

HERMAN: Senator, you have to expect, I guess, to be questioned very strongly about your performance as a member of the Finance Committee, in which you've offered a number of amendments which, I think, would have to be described as favoring special interest groups. Oil, for example--your state is a very large oil producer. You've offered a number of amendments which would provide tax breaks to oil companies. Is this going to trouble you in the campaign? Is this the kind of thing that reaches out to the independent voter?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I was directing my amendments at the independent oil producer, and it will help in that regard, because about 85, 90 per cent of our production is because of the efforts of independents; it's for the small producers. I voted for the energy bill last year that repealed, in effect, the depletion allowance for big oil companies. We had an amendment adopted that helps the handicapped. That's



special interest legislation. It helps business and it helps the handicapped.

HERMAN: But how about an amendment that you sponsored to give a five million-dollar tax break to a Kansas insurance company--

SEN. DOLE: This is--they're a corporation that has offices in 49 states and a million policyholders, and the amendment was sponsored by Congressman Wagner in the House. It cleared all the committees; even the public interest groups found it acceptable; the Treasury Department. It was a technical amendment that corrected a mistake made in '69.

HERMAN: Does it hurt you that in part of the record it shows that the chairman of that corporation gave a good-sized campaign contribution to you?

SEN. DOLE: I don't believe so. I mean, it was all out in the open. We didn't try to cover up anything. We didn't try to sneak the amendment through. It had public hearings; it went through all the processes. Mr. Grant is an outstanding citizen, and he never suggested that I'm going to give you a contribution if you'll introduce an amendment.

ENGBERG: Every four years there is talk about changing and reforming the process by which Vice Presidents are selected. Of course, I realize it's hard for you now to criticize that process. President Ford has said that he finds some merit in 16-C, the rule that would have required the nominee to put his cards out on the table early. How do you feel about that?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I believe there's some merit in his suggestion, and might have been some merit in 16-C in different circumstances, had

they both come to the convention without a running mate, and both had to say who they might have by nine o'clock in the morning. But it was obvious--a very good strategy on the part of John Sears and the Reagan forces--

ENGBERG: Would you feel better if you had been named prior to the convention?

SEN. DOLE: Well, it depends. I--

ENGBERG: Right now?

SEN. DOLE: --feel better now than I might have had I been floated before the convention and not been named in the final round.

ENGBERG: Would it have been you?

SEN. DOLE: It could have been me. It could have been Howard Baker, John Connally or a dozen others. They're all very well qualified men.

HERMAN: Thank you--

SEN. DOLE: And women--Ann Armstrong. (LAUGHTER)

HERMAN: Thank you very much, Senator Dole, for being our guest today on FACE THE NATION.

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, Republican Vice Presidential Nominee, was interviewed by CBS News Reporter Eric Engberg, by R. W. Apple, Jr., National Political Correspondent for The New York Times, and by CBS News Correspondent George Herman. Next week, another prominent figure in the news will FACE THE NATION.

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

M E E T   T H E   P R E S S

Produced by Betty Cole Dukert

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR BOB DOLE (R. Kansas)

Vice Presidential Candidate

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Robert Hager - NBC News

Elizabeth Drew- The New Yorker

Jack Germond - The Washington Star

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, Republican vice presidential candidate.

A lawyer, Senator Dole served in the House of Representatives for eight years and is now in his second term in the Senate.

For several years in the early seventies he served as Republican National Chairman. Senator Dole's voting record in the Congress is generally conservative.

We will have the first questions now from Robert Hager of NBC News.

MR. HAGER: Senator, it is evident that the White House strategy at this point is to keep the President in the White House at least for now while you are out there on the road carrying the campaign, as it were. In a democracy where a candidate, even an incumbent, is supposed to take his case out there to the people, I wonder if that sort of strategy can work?

SENATOR DOLE: I think so. In my view he is taking his case to the people from the White House, being the President, and I am doing what I can to help out in the field, but I think it has been very effective. I note Mr. Carter commented this morning that Mr. Ford could get headlines where he couldn't so I think he can effectively take his case to the people from the White House.

MR. HAGER: We did an interview a couple of days ago and



I put down a quote that you said, not taking the case out on the road, you were talking about yourself, "It seems to me it is a big country and people want to see us, talk to us, either cheer us or boo us, but at least they want to know we are real."

How can you reconcile that with not going out, with staying here in Washington, not you, but the President?

SENATOR DOLE: In the first place, I can't think of anyone who has been out in the country more than President Ford in this political year. He has probably been in every congressional district in America at some stage in his political career.

In addition, we are going to see President Ford out in the field. In addition to the fact that Congress is still in session, I think he has the responsibility I think he will be making trips at least through October 2nd and then probably a very active field activity.

MR. HAGER: When would your guess be -- I know you have some strategy sessions later on today at the White House -- when would your guess be about the timing on that, when we might expect to see the President out, say four or five days a week --

SENATOR DOLE: I really don't know. I would guess it would come in early October, but I don't know that to be a fact. I know he is anxious but I think he must carry on as



President until the Congress leaves at least.

(Announcements)

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MS. DREW: Senator, you have said that the Ford Administration should be more positive in its approach to what you // <sup>termed</sup> the people issues. Would you describe how you think it should do that?

SENATOR DOLE: I think, and the President has indicated as recently as Vale, Colorado, and I believe it will be unfolding, his sort of quality-of-life program which deals with education, transportation, recreation and a number of other issues that I believe deal with the American people.

We are perceived at times as anti-people and I think we have to take the offensive, dispel that image if there is one -- and I think there is -- and I think he can do it with this quality-of-life package.

MS. DREW: Do you mean this is a whole new program that will be unveiled just this fall?

SENATOR DOLE: No, I think it is a program we haven't articulated: <sup>and education</sup> jobs, transportation and recreation. We are going to re-emphasize and underscore what President Ford has done, what he submitted to Congress, what he would do in these areas in addition to what he has done if elected in November.

MS. DREW: Well, what you did say was that we are in the



unfortunate position of having a President vetoing bills and getting on the wrong side of people, as you named, education and job bills that he vetoed.

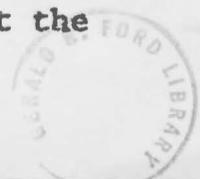
Now, are you suggesting that he should now take a different position on these points?

SENATOR DOLE: I think he must be responsible. I didn't agree with the President on the Education Bill. I voted to override, I will confess. I thought that overall the bill should have been passed but when you get into his responsibilities and inflation now it affects every American and I think he has that responsibility we don't have.

MS. DREW: Is there anything that you would do different from what the President is doing to reduce unemployment?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't believe so. I think we have to look at the fact that we have more people working than ever before. We have to concentrate on that 7.9 percent, but we don't do it with the Humphrey-Hawkins type legislation that would cost \$30 to \$40 billion as advocated by the Carter-Mondale ticket.

MR. GERMOND: I would like to follow Bob Hager's question about the President staying in the White House. It seems you people always put the loftiest construction on that, that he is tending the store. The fact is that during his contest with Governor Reagan for the nomination, the record showed it was counterproductive for him to campaign. Isn't that the



real reason he is staying in the White House?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I don't know. I tried to ascertain that myself before coming on this program. Now, was there some other reason than the Congress being in session, and the cost is a factor too. I have a very small budget for travel and we are limited on how much we can spend.

MR. GERMOND: No more limited than the two Democrats though.

SENATOR DOLE: Right. Well, we hope not. But in any event, I don't believe that is a factor. I think the President -- I think in addition to being the right thing to do, it may be good politics to stay in the White House, visit with Americans, talk about legislation, and let's face it, the President, whoever he might be, has an advantage. If he uses the incumbency properly, and I think President Ford is doing that in the right way --

MR. GERMOND: It doesn't bother you though, the possibility that the President, when he gets out and gets closer to the people that you seem to be concerned about loses strength rather than gains?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I don't think that will happen. It just seems to me that that may have been true in the primary. I don't have the figures, but we were in a very tight and a very spirited contest with Governor Reagan. That is behind us. We have a united party.



Now, we have a common foe, so to speak, the Carter-Mondale ticket. I think you are going to find people enthusiastic about President Ford; they are going to have tremendous rallies and a great deal of support, so I don't believe that will happen.

MR. GERMOND: Let me ask you one other question on that subject: Does the delay in the President getting out mean there are a large number of states that he is never going to be able to reach this fall? How many states will he be able to reach in a month?

SENATOR DOLE: I would assume he could reach all in a month if he wanted. I have reached a great number in two and a half weeks and he travels probably faster than I do, so I think it is just a point of, once he goes, I think you are going to see an all-out effort by the President.

MR. MONROE: Senator Dole, there have been reports over the past week that Claude Wild of the Gulf Oil Company gave you \$2,000 to distribute to Republican candidates in 1970 and then in 1973 gave your assistant, William Katz, \$5,000, or a bit more for your own campaign. Now, Mr. Wild who said at one point that he provided this \$2,000, said a few days later that he was mistaken about it. He did not, and you have denied receiving any of this money. Do you see this as a problem to your campaign? Can you see any way to definitely resolve the issue and get it out of the way?



SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think the only way it might be resolved would be from some statement from the prosecutor. I don't suggest that would happen. I don't know what Mr. Wild may have told the Grand Jury. He has apologized to me with reference to the 1970 alleged contribution which was in fact, had it been made a legal contribution, but, you know, I have been in politics for 16 years and in '73 and '74 we raised about \$1 million for my campaign. We returned a lot of money, milk money; we returned some \$15,600 in that area, but I think we ought to be open to questions and I have been. I did not receive money from Mr. Wild in 1973. He knows it. I know it. If the prosecutor is leaking information, or someone in the Washington Post or New York Times is dreaming up, I can't control that.

MR. MONROE: Considering the fact that Mr. Wild apparently testified to the Grand Jury about the 1973 contribution under oath and under immunity, do you have any investigation going on your own to try to counter it or can you ask the prosecutor to release, let us say, your own testimony and that of Mr. Katz, your former assistant?

SENATOR DOLE: I could ask the prosecutor -- I assume we could ask that. I understand the prosecutor has been contacted. He indicates there are no leaks coming from his office. I just know that I didn't receive any money in 1973 and I doubt very much, and I would say that it did not happen.



that any money went to an aide of mine. That was the indirect reference. It just seems to me that certainly we are subject to scrutiny. We should be. But we shouldn't be condemned and criticized and found guilty of anything without having the information and I say it didn't happen.

MR. MONROE: In connection with the report of \$2,000 to you from Mr. Wild in 1970, Mr. Wild at first was very positive that he had provided this money to you. He said, as a matter of fact, that he had a letter in his possession from a candidate who had received some of this money from you thanking Mr. Wild for the money and there was a notation on the check stub saying "Delivered to Dole for disbursement by him."

Mr. Wild's later denial didn't have as much evidence to back it up as his original assertion. Isn't there still some uncertainty here?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I don't know. I mean I didn't talk to Mr. Wild and I don't know what he may have based his first assessment on, but obviously, or at least as he looked at it and couldn't find the records, and if he had made as many transactions as it would indicate around Washington, he may have some difficulty just picking out one out of the blue and saying, "Oh, yes, I did that," but he has indicated he did check his records, that there was no contribution made and it wasn't a contribution; if it had been made, it was a



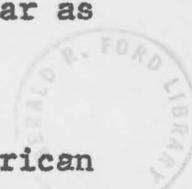
transfer of funds but that did not happen and I just say that I accept his apology. It was unfortunate. I am willing to have my campaign records looked at.

My financial records are open, my tax summaries for ten years. We might take a look at others if we wanted to.

MR. HAGER: Senator, you have been described as a slashing campaigner. You say you are not. But I wonder what you consider to be fair campaign tactics and what are unfair tactics. For instance, you have been knocking Jimmy Carter pretty hard, Topeka, I recall, in Austin, yesterday, for taking a \$41,000 credit on his taxes for investment that he and his family made in their peanut warehousing operation, and then you turn around and say, "Well, really, I am for the investment tax credit, Republicans are for it, but I just wonder about Jimmy Carter. You sort of toss it out as an innuendo. I wonder if that is a fair campaign tactic?"

SENATOR DOLE: I am just trying to find out what he means by "tax reform." I think we have a right to know. I support the investment tax credit. Obviously he is for it. He reduced his taxes by \$41,000 in 1975. But is this the loophole? He has talked about the tax system being a national disgrace. I just suggest that Mr. Carter, as he is in most other areas, is very fuzzy. He has no firm position. He hasn't told us what we can expect in tax reform as far as specifics are concerned.

Let's put the record out, let's just tell the American



people, I think we ought to do away with this, and away with this.

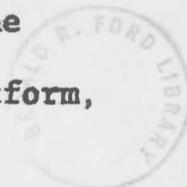
He told some of these small businessmen, Henry Ford and others, well it might take a year before he could really come together with any tax reform proposal. So I don't suggest he did anything improper. It was certainly a proper thing to do, but is this what he calls tax reform or is this a provision that ought to stay in the tax law? I think it should stay, but I am accused of being a tool of big business and others who are looking for tax havens.

MR. HAGER: Another thing you do at a lot of stops is -- well, the first time I remember you just mentioned it as a one-liner that Jimmy Carter was going to cost every taxpayer a thousand dollars and then when reporters asked you about that later you said, well, somebody calculated that the Democratic platform would cost a hundred billion dollars.

SENATOR DOLE: Right.

MR. HAGER: Again I wondered if that -- I mean that seems sort of unfair, the way it is put.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, we don't want to be unfair. We want to be specific. Now, McGovern was going to give everyone \$1,000 and apparently Carter is going to take away \$1,000. If you are going to add \$100 billion -- if you look at the Democrats' platform, which is certainly a Carterized platform,



and you look at just four or five programs and even conservative estimates say over a hundred billion dollars, somebody has to pay the bill. If you add up the taxes, it works out to about \$1,000 and that is a conservative estimate.

MR. HAGER: Who is doing the calculating? Who came up with the figure of \$100 billion?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know specifically, but somebody in the PFC, somebody who can count.

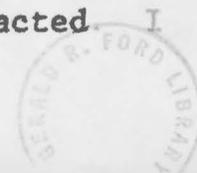
MS. DREW: Senator, would the Ford-Dole Administration implement the entire Republican platform?

SENATOR DOLE: I assume we would. It is our platform. It is a delegates' platform as contrasted to the Carterized-dictated platform. It is one that neither the White House drafted, and there were some accusations about that in Kansas City; it is not Governor Reagan's platform. I was on the committee. It was written by the delegates.

Now, there are some things in that platform that may cause some problems, but it is our platform and I assume we would be bound by it.

MRS. DREW: How many conversations with how many White House aides of what general duration did you have about your vice presidential qualifications, or any questions about your record before you were selected?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I took down the information requested, and I assumed at the time a number had been contacted.



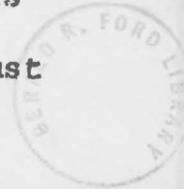
didn't know what number but a few. Twenty or thirty or maybe more, and I left those at the White House on the 9th of August before I left for Kansas City.

My tax records, my contribution records, I had a personal visit at that time with Mr. Shmultz, Ed Smultz. I talked with Mr. Buchen briefly. That is about the extent of it. But I think as contrasted to the Carter selection I have known Mr. Ford for 16 years. He had known Mr. Mondale for one or two hours. So I think you can make a better judgment if you know someone 16 years than you can if you know them an hour or two.

MR. GERMOND: Let me ask you about a couple of issues that have arisen in the first days of the campaign. You have been very critical of the Democratic nominee, Governor Carter, on his proposal to cut the Defense spending by five to seven billion dollars. He describes it as cutting fat; you describe it essentially as cutting muscle.

Does your position on this mean that the Republican position in this campaign is that the Defense budget is set; it cannot be cut?

SENATOR DOLE: I would think so. I think in fairness everyone is looking for the fat. I don't suggest that we should leave any fat or waste in any budget, but I am on the Budget Committee. We have taken a hard look at Defense and for the first time in years, and the first time in eight years we have had some real growth in the Defense budget. It just



seems to me that President Ford was able to persuade the Congress, Democrats and Republicans, this was necessary. It wasn't a partisan effort to increase the Defense Budget to 110 to 111 billion dollars. It was a congressional effort with the President, so I think Mr. Carter, in his effort to appeal to liberals, he is going to damage himself with the Jewish community and others who are concerned about a strong defense.

MR. GERMOND: Why the Jewish community?

SENATOR DOLE: They are concerned about the Middle East and they keep waving the Arab boycott around trying to distract attention to the fact that Mr. Carter is about to cut the Defense budget \$5 to \$7 billion and Mr. Mondale has a record of opposing Defense increases and of supporting a lot of cuts, so I think in this area, as I told the Zionists in New York last Thursday, take a hard look at the liberal position on Defense and I believe they are.

MR. GERMOND: You are saying a \$5 to \$7 billion cut jeopardizes the security of Israel?

SENATOR DOLE: I think it could have some impact. When you add it to the \$36 to \$40 billion cuts in the past eight years by the Democrat Congress. If I were interested in the state of Israel, I would take a hard look at that, and I think they are.

MR. MONROE: Senator Dole, you and President Ford are



backing a constitutional amendment on abortion to permit states to have abortion if they wish. Might that not turn out to be a fairly empty promise considering that the polls show that only about one-third of the American people want a constitutional amendment, considering that almost half the states now have laws permitting abortion, and these things suggesting that three-quarters of the states and two-thirds of the Congress preceding that are not likely to approve any constitutional amendment that would permit abortion?

SENATOR DOLE: I think so.



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MR. MONROE: You think that you are offering a fairly empty promise ---

SENATOR DOLE: Not an empty promise but it is a very difficult area. I differ slightly with the President on the issue. I don't intend to make it an issue, I have not raised it as an issue. It seems to me that Mr. Carter is pretty much in that web by himself because he has at least a different position at times. President Ford's position may not totally please everyone who is against abortion. The platform may not please everyone. It is a very delicate, personal issue, but I don't suggest it is an empty promise. They want to know what our position is. What is President Ford's position. We can't control what the Congress' position might be but it seems to me that it is another area where those who have an interest should take a hard look at Mr. Carter's position and Mr. Ford's position and then make a choice.

MR. MONROE: You say you would differ with the President on it. How, Senator?

SENATOR DOLE: I have said I would support a Constitutional amendment. In fact he has co-sponsored a sort of states rights Constitutional amendment and from that standpoint I am talking out the broad amendment and he is talking about the states rights amendment. I would demand some exceptions. I have never co-sponsored an amendment but

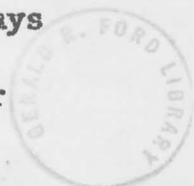


I have said in my '74 campaign that I would support <sup>17</sup>  
such an amendment. I have voted to not spend federal  
funds for abortions. The President has indicated he is  
taking a look at that and that he is against abortion  
on demand from a personal standpoint. But we can't  
control what the Congress may do. I think those who have  
an interest in this want to know what my view is, what  
President Ford's view is and what Governor Carter's view is  
and what Mondale's view is, if he has one.

MR. MONROE: Aren't you unlikely, Senator, to get  
any Constitutional amendment on abortion considering  
the fact that it takes two-thirds of the Congress, three-  
quarters of the states and the opinion polls show that only  
one-third of the people want a Constitutional amendment?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, that doesn't mean that you give  
up on it. I mean if you believe the Supreme Court decision  
was wrong, as President Ford has consistently indicated,  
that it went too far, then you persevere, you keep trying.  
You may not succeed this year. It may take ten years, I  
don't know. But you don't say, "Well, the odds are this  
and the polls are this. If somebody has a point of view,  
just forget about it." I think if they have a view and  
that point of view is generally supported, they keep trying.

MR. HAGER: Senator, you accused Jimmy Carter of flip-  
flopping on the issues and as one prime example you always  
create a case in which in Des Moines he told a state fair



3 that he was flat out against any more embargoes against sales of grain or agricultural goods to foreign countries and then a couple of hours later he told a newspaper reporter, I gather under questioning, "Well, there could be some extreme cases in which they would need to go to an embargo again." But hasn't the Republican ticket in effect done the same thing, didn't President Ford say that he was against any more embargoes on grains, with no qualifications and then you in effect have said, "Well, there might be some situations in which you could have embargoes on grain sales"?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think any realistic producer of grain understands if you had a shortage in this country, if you had only a small amount where you could really cause prices to sky-rocket, the government might have to step in. They don't do it in any other commodity. They might not only do it with grain but anything else we might produce. They might say you can't send this product or that product or wheat because it would have an adverse effect not just on the economy but it would be disastrous to our national security, or whatever.

Now President Ford said at the convention in Kansas City, no more embargoes but prior to that time -- I think in July of this past year -- he said, of course it would be foolish to say it could never happen in case of some



emergency.

Now, you compare that and contrast that to Carter's position. He goes flying into Des Moines, Iowa, to an audience he knows wants to hear him say, "I am going to end embargoes once and for all" and he says that but as he leaves town he runs into some reporter and he says, "I probably didn't mean to go that far. Maybe in certain cases there would be embargoes."

Then you couple that with the statement he made last year that he would use food as a weapon, which ought to scare the farmers; then you put in the platform which talks about the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and requiring export licenses and then you go one step further and he says, well, if it is going to be inflationary, there might be embargoes -- in the platform it said, you have really got a mess on Carter's side and I don't believe the farmers will ever really understand what his position is.

MR. MONROE: We have a bit more than one minute.

MS. DREW: Senator, where, exactly, would you cut the federal budget?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I am on the Budget Committee. I think perhaps I would take a look at some of the social programs.

MS. DREW: Which ones?

SENATOR DOLE: Food stamps, which I have tried to reform with Senator McGovern by the way, and we think we have cut



about, a small amount, \$300 million. I would take a look  
at the Public Works program, which I don't/really help jobs.  
That is another \$3.5 billion. That is now pending before the  
Congress and the President may have to act on that very soon.  
It just seems to me that that doesn't help us any because it  
is long-range, and the unemployment hopefully is short-range.  
That is a question of about \$4 billion, for starters.

MR. GERMOND: If you had to give up your Senate seat  
to accept the vice presidential nomination, given the way the  
polls are today, would you have done it?

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know. I have thought about that,  
but not very long.

MR. GERMOND: You have thought about not doing it?  
Someone suggested that.

SENATOR DOLE: I have thought about doing it./ One of  
our long-time critics in Kansas suggested I give up my  
Senate seat to show confidence, but knowing the source of the  
suggestion, I declined.

MR. MONROE: Our time is up. Thank you, Senator Dole,  
for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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PFC. EY - Jole

October 11, 1976

I have just returned from a campaign swing through New Jersey and Illinois. We were before ethnic groups in Newark and Chicago, <sup>the</sup> <sup>area,</sup> and I must say the only adverse effect of what the President is construed to have said about Eastern Europe has been the ferocious outpouring of bitter words by Mr. Carter.

There was some speculation that Mr. Carter would benefit from all his sudden concern for Eastern Europeans. But when the vicar-general of Chicago gets up at the Polish-American Congress in Chicago and apologizes to his audience for being obligated to deliver the invocation at a dinner to which Mr. Carter was invited, I think we have to conclude that people see through Mr. Carter's sudden conversion to defense hard-liner.

The fact is that Mr. Carter's defense policies, as nearly as anyone can understand them, would not only consign Eastern Europe to continued communist domination -- they would endanger the freedom of Western Europe as well. President Ford has fought to maintain a strong defense budget, and he has been successful. People know that. Our citizens of Eastern European extraction understand it. And it is one thing to concede that the governments of these nations are

under the thumb of Moscow, but to insist that the people of Eastern Europe have accepted that domination ~~and agree they are dominated~~ is to say that the light of liberty has gone out, that the desire for freedom has gone out of the hearts and souls of the people of Eastern Europe. I do not believe that and neither does President Ford.

Anyone who knows the history of Poland <sup>or</sup> and Hungary <sup>or</sup> and Czechoslovakia <sup>or</sup> and Romania ~~and so forth~~ understands it also. Nobody understands better than the Russians that they don't control the hearts of these people. We have seen too many rebellions there, which had to be crushed by Soviet tanks, to believe that those courageous people accept Communist control, or that they have at last conceded domination by Russia.

But what I would like to know, and what I think Eastern Europeans, and their brothers and sisters in this country would like to know, is just what Mr. Carter would do to end Moscow's control of the governments of Eastern Europe. We don't even know how he proposes to defend freedom in America, much less redeem it in Eastern Europe.

I can tell you from my conversations with ethnics in the last two days that they have been watching Mr. Carter and have watched him turnaround on virtually every issue he has ever pretended to take a stand on. And they wonder how long it would take him to turn around on Eastern Europe.

# *Agronsky at Large*

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## TRANSCRIPT

Senator ROBERT DOLE

as interviewed by

Martin Agronsky

for presentation Friday, November 5 at 10:00 PM ET \*\*

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MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, I bring you greetings from Senator Mondale, and thanks very much for letting us bother you here after all the ordeal you've been through, here in your apartment. Senator, I'd like to begin with election night, really. Look, you've run 26 years for political offices. This is the first time you've ever lost. What was it like that night, to be losing, at the White House?

SEN. DOLE: Oh, I have to confess when I went to the White House I didn't quite feel that we were going to win, but we'd had a couple of states come in by then, I think Indiana, Kentucky. I was somewhat encouraged by Kentucky, but -- and I saw the President, and Joe Garagiola was there, and a bunch of his family. You know, everything was Carter, Carter, Carter -- the south was coming in -- and I think I had a feeling that we were just losing by too much of a margin in some of the southern states, to gain anything in the south, and of course, we didn't, except for Virginia. So, it was a long night, the President was, as ever, just a good man and decent about it. You know, he never let on that -- kept thinking well, maybe it's going to happen and of course, it almost did happen, so who knows?

MR. AGRONSKY: No recrimination?

SEN. DOLE: No recrimination. No, he was very upbeat, said that we'd been a great team, and appreciated my being the lightning rod, or whatever. So it was a good evening -- a bad evening from the standpoint of the election, but again you get, I think, the measure of a man is how he accepts defeat. It's not hard to win, and it's hard to lose, and I really thought President Ford was -- probably one of his finest hours, as far as I can see.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, they have that crack, you know. I think it

was Durocher who said, show me a good loser and I'll show you a loser. I would agree with you, that certainly doesn't apply to Jerry Ford.

SEN. DOLE: I don't think so, and Jerry Ford -- he hasn't lost an election -- he really didn't seek the presidency, it was against his will, circumstances put him there. He did want to stay, but -- and I know he probably feels bad, I know he feels badly about losing, but he's not around sulking or blaming this person or that person, or the staff. So I think that says a lot for President Ford.

MR. AGRONSKY: Did you hear from Mr. Nixon?

SEN. DOLE: I had a call from Mr. Nixon -- again, he said, for whatever it's worth, I want you to know that I think you did a good job, and he did say, and I think very properly, he said I hope Governor Carter does a good job for the sake of the country. He said, it's always hard to lose/close ones -- if it's a big one, but when it's close everyone is looking around, you know, the cannibals come out and try to assess what happened.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let's take a look at the entrails of that election chicken. What did happen?

SEN. DOLE: I don't know. When you're 35 or 33 points behind -- I assume after the convention one early poll showed 11 and then it jumped back to 16 or 18 -- I think it's remarkable that it almost happened. I think Governor Carter and Senator Mondale sensed we were closing in the last few days, and they were -- particularly Governor Carter was a little bit testy. He said something about the press doing a crummy job on one of his events. I really felt, oh, three or four days before the election, we might win it. In fact, I was up saying, we're winning, we're winning.

MR. AGRONSKY: Where did you figure you'd get it?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I thought we were going to carry Ohio, and I thought we'd carry Wisconsin. Those are the two -- any two would do it -- Texas, I didn't know. I'd talked to Governor Connally on last Sunday, I was in Midland-Odessa area. He said it looked good. Our polls didn't look quite as good, but -- and of course, it turned out that the polls were probably accurate. But it was a good effort. You consider the party registration, the big city mayors are Democrats, the legislatures -- we have about a three to one, or they have a three to one advantage as far as governors --

MR. AGRONSKY: State houses.

SEN. DOLE: State houses. It's remarkable that President Ford came so close.

MR. AGRONSKY: Uh-huh. Do you think that there was any particular issue that might have turned it for you, or turned it against you?

SEN. DOLE: I don't know. We talked a lot about the peace issue. We felt -- in fact, our surveys indicated -- this was a strong point for President Ford --

MR. AGRONSKY: That we were at peace.

SEN. DOLE: That we were at peace, and a strong military for the sake of peace, for no other purpose. Of course, they had unemployment going for them, and the economy -- you know, you could point to almost anything now and say, this might have helped. But the economic forecasts and indicators and reports the last couple of weeks were down.

MR. AGRONSKY: Didn't look great, yeah.

SEN. DOLE: It showed seven of the leading indicators down, four

were up. So you spend a day or two trying to explain these things, and again, it sort of interrupts your campaign and your momentum. I wouldn't want to assign blame on any one thing, because it's going to take a while to assess it, but it seems to me that we were able to offset the doubts of farmers, we did carry the farm belt with one or two exceptions. President Ford did very well in the industrial states except for Pennsylvania, of course. California came through, the west was strong for President Ford. I don't know where, if I wanted to list four or five areas that might have been pluses, I guess maybe, as you look back on it, we could have spent less time in the south. I was there a great deal, President Ford was there --

MR. AGRONSKY: You mean you should have given it up up front?

SEN. DOLE: Well, you know, we were charged early on as writing off the south. Maybe in retrospect we should have recognized that's probably what would happen.

MR. AGRONSKY: You figure he got the south because he was a southerner?

SEN. DOLE: I think they voted their accent, not philosophy. We kept pushing the line that we're your philosophical neighbor, can't be your geographical neighbor -- and I've never been in-- I was in Louisiana a couple of times where I was introduced by Democrat office holders, which is a new experience for me to go to -- but there are only about three per cent Republicans in Louisiana. I was there the Sunday before the election in Baton Rouge and was told that, don't worry about a thing, you've got Louisiana locked up. Well, of course, it didn't happen. But we did count on Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi and possibly Texas. And, of course, we ended up with Virginia, but the

south was solid for Carter and he kept it solid. I felt that Mondale might be a minus in the south -- may have been, but he had such a big lead --

MR. AGRONSKY: You mean because of his liberalism?

SEN. DOLE: Right. He had such a big lead. I think he properly -- I think he gambled with Mondale on help in industrial areas where he probably was, and felt that he was so strong in the south that he could cushion any impact there.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let me ask you this. Let's tick off some of the things -- the blacks --

SEN. DOLE: -- would have been one for Carter--

MR. AGRONSKY Yeah.

SEN. DOLE: --In fact, heavy turnouts. I think it goes back to our basic efforts, you know -- we're now very much a minority party, and have been, except for the White House -- and now we're out of the White House, and come January we're going to have to really start putting a party together. We're going to have to attract some blacks. That may be more difficult now, but on the other hand, Carter has a pretty full plate. He's made some promises, as any candidate does, and he has to satisfy now a great number of people and so-called interest groups. It's all his ball game, because Democrats are in total command of the Congress and the White House. Maybe we attract people to our party by having the responsibility on the shoulders of the Democrats for awhile. We haven't had --

MR. AGRONSKY: And you can get a really clear shot at them next time.

SEN. DOLE: Right. In other words, if they don't produce, then

they may believe us when we say, come to us and we'll work together.

MR. AGRONSKY: What about labor? Is the Republican Party ever going to attract labor, do you think? Does it matter?

SEN. DOLE: It may be the same -- oh, I think it matters; in fact, I was probably -- I ran against George Meany in certain areas. I don't know how effective it was, but we used to say that Meany was once asked why he didn't run for President and he said, why step down? Meany's got a pretty good lock on the party, the Democratic Party. If Carter produces, and the Congress produces, it's going to be difficult, but again, I think it may be with all the power vested in one party, their party, we may be able to attract some of the labor support. We lost the building trades because of the veto of the common situs picketing legislation. The Teamsters took a walk this time, and they had everything else. It's tough, it really is tough.

MR. AGRONSKY: What did Ford tell you when it was all over, when you finally learned you had to concede? You were there until about 4:00 o'clock in the morning. Had you given it up by then? Had he?

SEN. DOLE: Well, in my own mind, I'd--everything had come our way and I just didn't see how it could happen--particularly when I saw Wisconsin down the tube, and Louisiana.

MR. AGRONSKY: What does a President say to his Vice Presidential candidate, you know, when they figure, well, we've had it, now we've got to pack it in?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think he left the room. I think he may have known, but he didn't want anyone else to be disturbed. In fact, Ron Nessen had in his hand, I guess, and didn't show to the President, the

UPI statement giving it to Carter, and I guess decided not to show it to the President. The President was not feeling well, he had laryngitis, and so Bob Teeter came up, and everybody gathered around, all the Ford children and their friends, and Joe Garagiola and others who were there, and he gave us three different options on how it still might happen. The President listened and said he thought he'd go on to bed, and he walked over to me and put his arm around me and said, you've done a great job, and I appreciate it, and we've been a great team, and we're going to win this thing, and that's the last I saw of him. Now, I've talked to him since on the phone.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let me ask you this. You think you helped him? A lot of people have been critical of you and sort of tried to tag you as the villain of the piece, the hatchet man, taking the low road, and all of that. How do you answer that?

SEN. DOLE: I don't know. Again, you have to take a look at where we were and where we ended up, and the fact -- I assume I was on the ticket to help in the farm belt and we got the farm belt. Who knows precisely, when anyone rates the ticket, the Vice President is normally-- he's there and he's out campaigning, sort of a stand-in for the President. Our role, at least the role assigned to me, was, I think, maybe three or four-fold; first, to make certain of where I could get that the Reagan people came on board, that I had a conservative philosophy, and Reagan had mentioned my name to the President in Kansas City. We did some of that and there was pretty good unity. Secondly, I had the fund raising role where there were fund raisers, and then to go to typical Republican areas to sort of rev up the troops and get 'em going, and I can only -- in addition to the farm belt -- I can only

assess it from the point of view of those who left our meetings satisfied -- at least they told me they were -- and going up and down the fences at the airport stops and seeing the people, and I can't say what I brought to the ticket but I think it was a plus.

MR. AGRONSKY: You know, you said Carter got irritated there a bit with the press, and so did you. You started to refer to the press as a lion's den. Do you think they were unfair to you?

SEN. DOLE: Oh, I don't think -- no. I may have said--I don't recall saying it. I did take the New York Times on one day, and you'd thought I'd shot the editor, I mean, the way they all descended on me, (LAUGHTER) but it really wasn't that bad. I said --

MR. AGRONSKY: You've got a lot of editors --

SEN. DOLE: I just said, all the news that's fit to tint, or something like that. (LAUGHTER) But, it did seem to me that they were bearing down --almost the day I was on the ticket the New York Times was looking all over Kansas for flaws and suggesting this and suggesting that, but that's their right, as long as they do it to everyone else -- and they found nothing so, maybe I should say they did me a service. I don't really have any quarrel with the press. You know that they have to be tough in the sense that they're out there covering the campaign, and if you've made a mistake somewhere, you're going to be asked about it, and if you've been inconsistent, you're going to be asked about it. But I think that when it was all over we felt we had a good press crew on board. I assume I would have reported the stories differently, but they might have made a different speech too.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, you know, you and I have been friends for a long time, and I want to raise this whole question of the debate with

Mondale with you, and particularly that one issue of the Democrat wars. It kind of distressed me, too, really, and you know, I sort of felt that it might have been something that now in retrospect you might feel might better not have been said. How do you feel about it?

SEN. DOLE: I think it's probably--I guess you could go back and--like we do in the Senate, if you can edit your remarks, I would have changed the wording. You know, sometimes--

MR. AGRONSKY: What would you have changed it to?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think I would have said it--my--what I was trying to underscore was the fact that we had to be prepared in America, and I remember they trained with broomsticks in World War II, and I don't suggest that the Democrats got up and said we ought to fight a war and the Republicans said we shouldn't, but Democrat presidents were in the White House during these times, and I'm not suggesting it wasn't a great national effort. I was part of it. I thought it was the thing to do. So, I guess when you use the shorthand, the Democrat wars, it comes out wrong.

MR. AGRONSKY: You see, that's the point--you were a part of it. Listen, you had a magnificent war record. You were badly wounded. You made a real sacrifice for your country. A lot of people felt that when you went all through that and sort of indicated you thought the sacrifice was in vain,<sup>that</sup>/it was a cheap shot. I mean, that's what the--

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think probably the shorthand could have been longhand, but I wasn't suggesting that somehow, every time you have a Democrat, you have a war. What I should have said is that it's a historical fact that when we had these wars, there was a Democrat in the White House, but it was a national effort. But my point was, and

I kept stressing it, was the fact that we had peace under President Ford. No one can say it's going to last forever. And I pointed out everywhere that I--as a veteran, I hoped we came to the point we never had veterans any more, you know, we want peace, but I did point up, and the real thrust was, to point up the difference in Mondale's approach and Carter's approach to defense spending. I guess probably in the heat of the debate you sometimes say things--as I said, as most people know--you know, on the Senate floor, if you're there to hear the speech the Senator makes and then you read his edited comments--

MR. AGRONSKY: You can't recognize it.

SEN. DOLE: They're two different animals, but that wasn't the case there.

MR. AGRONSKY: Listen, you know, you're out on the <sup>campaign</sup> trail and you're trying to win for your party and I suppose part of the game is to make it look like your opponents <sup>are</sup> going to bring the country to wrack and ruin. You don't think that, do you?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I hope not. I hope that I could help in this case, but you know, I listened to the other side saying we're already in wrack and ruin, that Ford brings no leadership and Carter pounding away, 500,000 people are out of work this month, and three and a half million, the highest ever, and Mondale suggesting in Detroit that even Ford is responsible for increased suicides in America, and that neither Ford nor Dole are fit to be dogcatchers, and you know, you kind of wonder who's on the low road, even though Mondale stands up and says there's the hatchet man, and everybody else falls in line, but I don't believe we ever said anything that would impugn anybody's motives or character. I just don't say that. If I had suggested that somehow

Carter was dishonest or that Mondale was this or that, but it's a --you know, the difference between hard campaigning, and they're hard campaigners. President Ford got to be a pretty hard campaigner a time or two.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah. You and Mondale swapped--

SEN. DOLE: We're friends.

MR. AGRONSKY: --afterwards, didn't you?

SEN. DOLE: Oh, of course.

MR. AGRONSKY: What did you say to each other?

SEN. DOLE: I called him up on Wednesday morning and he offered to buy my dinner and I--you know, he should, after I've said he's my friend so often, but I don't think he ever really believed it. But we are friends and have been friends, and we're on the Budget Committee together, and we've had brief exchanges on the Senate floor, but we understand that politics is tough in the sense that, particularly when you're behind, you've got to get--somehow chip away at the other side, and we were cast in a little different role than Senator Mondale. I was representing an incumbent president, and we therefore were somewhat restrained in what we could say or do. I couldn't make promises, I couldn't do this. But we have no problems.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let me ask you this, Senator. I want to begin with the President choosing you. You know, you made that crack, the reason he picked you, he flipped a coin in the air and it didn't come down. (LAUGHTER). A lot of people felt he picked you because that was the way he hoped to get the support of Reagan, that in effect, he was reaching out for the support of the right wing of the party. A lot of people felt that he shouldn't have picked you because he didn't

need that support--he'd have it anyway. But it does say something about the thinking of the men who run the Republican Party. Now, what does it reflect in your opinion that you were chosen? Why did Ford pick you? Did he ever lay it out for you?

SEN. DOLE: Why, I think there was a recognition of some deep troubles in farm areas because of the embargo, and it was. In fact, the vote was down in those areas. We probably could have carried Ohio if we'd had a stronger vote in the rural areas; maybe Wisconsin, because they were upset over certain vetoes of farm legislation.

MR. AGRONSKY: Those two could have meant the election.

SEN. DOLE: Right. So, I think that was one. I think there was another factor that they needed someone to be the lightning rod, to take the heat for the President while he stayed in the White House, and someone who could stand up and dish it out, and not buckle under the pressure, and I don't think I did. So, I would guess those were some of the factors, and I wasn't one of the early entrants. I mean, I dropped my stuff off at the White House, as did 30 others, never thinking I'd be selected, but apparently my name kept popping up; southern chairmen thought I would be acceptable, Reagan mentioned my name the night the President visited him after the President won the nomination in Kansas City. I think maybe Governor Connally had indicated that I would be suitable, but I really don't know.

MR. AGRONSKY: Why'd Reagan go out to lunch during the campaign?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I don't know whether he did or not. I was with Reagan four different times during the campaign. I talked with Governor Reagan again on Wednesday, and of course we did carry California.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you think that's because of his efforts?

SEN. DOLE: I think it was helpful. There wasn't any doubt in California where Reagan stood, and he did spend a lot of time talking about the platform. I think it's fair to say that anyone who loses a hard-fought contest takes a while to climb on the bandwagon of the guy that defeated you, so I really felt that--and I know President Ford felt that Governor Reagan had done about everything he could. He made some spots; he went around the country talking.

MR. AGRONSKY: It's unfair to say that he didn't pitch in, then?

SEN. DOLE: I don't think he took a walk. I think he was there when he was needed. There's always the question, where was so and so, if you were in town and he was there, why wasn't he with you? But I think he was very helpful.

MR. AGRONSKY: Listen, the Republicans aren't giving up. The party goes on.

SEN. DOLE: Oh, no.

MR. AGRONSKY: What's going to happen now? Who's going to run your party? Who's going to speak for your party? What role do you see for yourself?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I assume there are a number of people who will be looking for a role as a spokesman. We're reverting back, well in January, that the chairman of the Republican Party would be probably the spokesman. Now, whether Mrs. Smith's going to stay, I don't know. Then there'll be others who are looking at 1980.

MR. AGRONSKY: Are you looking at 1980?

SEN. DOLE: Not really. I think it's too early to look. I think Gov. Carter is entitled to--President-Elect Carter--is entitled to several months to see what happens. Four years is a long time, and I

assume I'll be doing some speaking for the Republican Party because we have to keep going, unless we just want to turn it all over to the other side, and I don't think that would be good for the country. When you look at the vote for President Ford, it was just that close, so I don't have any preconceived notions of trying to take over the party, but I have a lot of friends out there who probably would like me to speak up, and I'll be doing that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you have any feeling that what happened should indicate in any way to the Republicans that perhaps there should be a change in their philosophy, that perhaps the elements that dominate the party have led it in an unproductive direction? Is that unfair?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think under any other circumstance, we would have won the election in a landslide, but we had a southern opponent, and so they're in tune with us philosophically, but again, the accent was with Carter, and the southern pride, and it was pride over philosophy.

MR. AGRONSKY: You mean you could have beaten anybody else?

SEN. DOLE: I think so. I think he put together the right combination. Now, maybe if you'd had a western candidate, but I--it seems to me that we have a future as a party in the so-called sun belt. You look at the west, you look at the south, you look at even some of the industrial states, and so, you know, we're confident, but we're also very much in the minority.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah, the arithmetic says--look, two to one in the House Democratic, three to two in the Senate, Democrat; three to one in the state houses, Democratic. Where do you move your party? How do you ever deal with that arithmetic? And it's constant--it doesn't

change. You get the White House a couple of times, but that's it. I mean, you haven't held the Congress of the United States since the second part of Eisenhower's first term.

SEN. DOLE: It should bring home the--we should have learned the lesson that we've been a fairly strong national party; every four years, we do quite well on a national level, but you go into some of these states where you do well in a presidential race, you have no party structure; you don't have any--you don't hold any courthouses, you don't have many in the state legislature. Now, whether we can build a party when you're out of power, I don't know, but it's an obligation we have, and it seems to me that we can put it together, and I think we can if we work at it, and it's a mixed blessing for the Democrats. Now they've got it all. If we had even a close House or a close Senate, I'd say well, they've got enough there to stop us, but you know, it's overwhelming. They've got overwhelming Democrat majorities.

MR. AGRONSKY: You see the disadvantage in that, as well as the advantage. It makes it a lot easier to govern--

SEN. DOLE: Right, it makes it easier to govern, but it makes it easier also to have some interest group have dominance or too much influence. It seems to me that if Carter does a good job and sort of balances all the interests, he'll be hard to beat in 1980. Otherwise, we might pick up a number of House seats in '78, and some Senate seats.

MR. AGRONSKY: You know, you said when it was all over, you don't see him as having a personal mandate, with this close election. Fair enough. What do you think's going to be the role of your party, in the Senate, for example, now? There's talk of you going for the

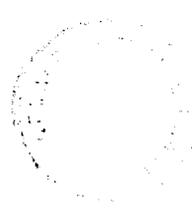
Senate Minority Leader job. Is that what you want?

SEN. DOLE: No, I haven't discussed that with anyone. I've had indications Senator Baker might be interested and Senator Griffin, of course, is interested. I don't have any present interest in that role. I haven't been making any calls. It seems to me that, you know, I was privileged to be on the ticket with President Ford. We lost, I go back to the Senate; I hope I'll be a better senator for it, but I do plan to, you know, be active, but I don't think I'll seek any role of party leadership.

MR. AGRONSKY: You know, we've only got a few seconds left. When you were going around the country, you know, pressing the flesh, like Lyndon Johnson always talked about it, what feel did you get about the kind of people we have in this country?

SEN. DOLE: I thought they were great, you know, even those that stood there with Carter-Mondale signs, and I can't say that I really appreciated some of the hecklers, because they were--some of the signs they held up were even critical of the press and the Secret Service, very obscene-type signs, but generally they were fine, and the people were great, and even those who were not for you were friendly, and--it's a good country and the people make it that way.

MR. AGRONSKY: Thank you, Senator.



SENATOR BOB DOLE'S TRAVEL SCHEDULE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1976

NEW YORK

ADVANCE: Bob Tuttle

PRESS: Terry Baxter

3:20 PM EDT Depart Senate Office enroute Washington  
National Airport via motorcade

3:50 PM EDT Arrive Washington National Airport  
Northwest Orient Terminal - Gate #1

BOARD NORTHWEST CHARTER #1976

4:00 PM EDT Wheels up enroute New York City  
Flying Time: 1 hour

5:00 PM EDT Arrive New York LaGuardia Airport  
Taxi to Marine Air Terminal  
Contact: Mr. Lockard  
(212) 476-5355

5:15 PM EDT Depart Airport enroute Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

5:55 PM EDT Arrive Waldorf-Astoria Hotel  
(212) 355-3000  
Manager: Eugene Scanlon  
Executive Assistant: Mr. Christian Mari  
Senator and Mrs. Dole proceed to suite

6:10 PM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart suite for GOP Meeting  
in hotel

6:15 PM EDT - Meeting with GOP Leaders and Candidates  
7:00 PM EDT Waldorf-Astoria Hotel - Room: Louis XVI - West  
Contact: Ed Terrill - PFC, DC Office  
(703) 684-8121 - Home

7:00 PM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart meeting room and  
return to suite

(MORE)

NEW YORK - September 9 (continued)

7:00 PM EDT- Private Dinner, Senator & Mrs. Dole - Hotel Suite  
8:00 PM EDT (212) 355-3000

8:00 PM EDT- Administrative Time - Hotel Suite  
8:40 PM EDT (212) 355-3000

8:40 PM EDT Senator & Mrs. Dole depart suite for Grand Ballroom.

8:45 PM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole are announced before the ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA CONFERENCE Waldorf-Astoria, Grand Ballroom (Opening ceremonies already concluded) Speech by Rabbi Joseph Sternstien, Pres., ZOA. Introduction of Doles by Bernard Rifkin - Convention Chairman

9:05 PM EDT ----- Prepared Remarks by Senator Dole

9:30 PM EDT Remarks conclude; Senator & Mrs. Dole depart stage and return to Hotel Suite.

PRESS FILING TIME (30 Minutes)

10:00 PM EDT Motorcade departs Waldorf-Astoria for airport.

10:35 PM EDT Senator & Mrs. Dole depart New York LaGuardia (Marine Air Terminal) for Washington via NW Charter # 1976.

11:35 PM EDT Arrive Washington DULLES Airport. Motorcade departs for residence.

PRESS/STAFF BUS AVAILABLE TO NATIONAL AIRPORT AND DOWNTOWN LOCATIONS.

12:20 PM EDT Senator & Mrs. Dole arrive residence.

END OF TRIP



SENATOR BOB DOLE'S TRAVEL SCHEDULE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1976

TEXAS

8:30 AM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart residence via motorcade enroute Washington National Airport

9:00 AM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart Washington enroute Dallas, Texas, via Northwest charter #1976 from Gate #1, Northwest Terminal

CONTACT: 202/783-9016

11:00 AM CDT Arrive Dallas, Texas - Love Field. Taxi to Southwest Airlines area

CONTACT: Ticket counter  
214/350-2280

ADVANCE: David Harris  
214/357-5601 x 1211

PRESS: David King  
214/357-5601 x 1213

11:15 AM CDT Motorcade departs Love Field enroute Executive Inn

11:25 AM CDT Arrive Executive Inn, 3232 West Mockingbird

CONTACT: 214/357-5601

Proceed to Executor Room

FRIENDS OF BOB DOLE RECEPTION

Host: Mr. Ed Drake Ofc: 214/741-3303  
Res: 214/363-5108

NOTE: Reception for local GOP officials and candidates for office. Brief, informal remarks from podium. Photo session.

11:45 AM CDT Remarks - SENATOR DOLE

12:00 Noon Senator and Mrs. Dole depart reception for Jubilee Room, Executive Inn

12:05 PM CDT PARK CITIES ROTARY CLUB LUNCHEON  
Executive Inn - Jubilee Room

Host: Horace Dryden, President, Rotary Club  
Ofc: 214/741-5101  
Res: 214/239-5732

NOTE: Prepared remarks from podium. Introduction by Horace Dryden. Attendance: 200-250.

Dallas, Texas - September 10 - Continued

1:35 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart luncheon for holding room  
Executive Inn

PRESS FILING TIME: 35 minutes

2:10 PM CDT Motorcade departs Executive Inn enroute Dallas Easter  
Seal Society treatment center

2:20 PM CDT Arrive Dallas Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children  
and Adults, 5701 Maple, Dallas

CONTACT: Lloyd Martin, executive director  
214/358-5261

Robert Mullins Ofc: 214/637-1650  
Res: 214/526-2044

NOTE: Visit with 200 outpatient children and adults,  
Easter Seal Society of Dallas County

3:00 PM CDT Motorcade departs Easter Seal Society enroute Love Field

3:15 PM CDT Motorcade arrives Love Field. Proceed to plane

3:30 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart Dallas enroute Austin, Texas,  
via NW Charter #1976

4:20 PM CDT Arrive Austin, Texas  
Taxi to Browning Aviation

ADVANCE: Don Cleary  
(512) 474-5911

PRESS: Happy Cluff  
Jerry Harvey

CONTACT: Ms. Robert Browning  
Browning Aviation  
512/459-5451

4:40 PM CDT Motorcade departs airport enroute Driskill Hotel

5:00 PM CDT Arrive Driskill Hotel, 117 East 7th Street

CONTACT: Bill Adkins, Manager  
512/474-5911

Senator and Mrs. Dole proceed to Jim Hogg Suite

5:00 PM CDT Administrative time - Hotel Suite

6:15 PM CDT Motorcade departs Driskill Hotel enroute American Bank  
Building, 6th & Colorado Streets

Dallas, Texas - September 10 - Continued

6:30 PM CDT Informal DROP-BY at reception, Texas Mortgage Bankers,  
American Bank Building, Headliners Club

Manager: Gene Granger 512/478-6637

CONTACT: Bert Pence 512/459-8763

6:45 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart bankers reception;  
walk to GOP reception, also at Headliners Club

6:50 PM CDT TEXANS FOR FORD-DOLE RECEPTION

Hosts: Senator John Tower and John Connally

CONTACT: Ray Hutchinson 512/477-9821  
State Republican Chairman

NOTE: Informal remarks from podium, 5-10 minutes.  
\$500 per person fundraising reception

7:40 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart reception

7:50 PM CDT Motorcade departs American Bank Building enroute  
Driskill Hotel

8:05 PM CDT Arrive Driskill Hotel and proceed to suite  
Administrative time - Speakes - 50 minutes

8:55 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart suite for motorcade

9:00 PM CDT Motorcade departs hotel enroute Commodore Perry Hotel

9:15 PM CDT Arrive Commodore Perry Hotel, 802 Brazas Street

512/476-7751

GOP DELEGATES RECEPTION - Drop-by

CONTACT: Doug Lewis 512/477-9821  
Janelle MacArthur 512/696-0254  
512/691-1966

NOTE: No speech - brief walkthrough and greeting

9:35 PM CDT Motorcade departs Commodore Perry Hotel for Driskill Hotel

9:50 PM CDT Arrive Driskill Hotel

RON: Driskill Hotel  
512/474-5911

BAGGAGE NOTE: All baggage will be delivered to assigned  
hotel rooms. All equipment will be delivered to press office  
(see room list)

SATURDAY BAGGAGE CALL: 8:30 AM



AUSTIN, TEXAS - SEPTEMBER 11, 1976 (continued)

10:45 AM CDT Press Conference - SENATOR BOB DOLE - Convention  
Press Room

NOTE: Senator John Tower and John Connally  
in attendance

11:15 AM CDT Conclude press conference and depart to  
holding room

PRESS FILING TIME - 45 minutes

11:55 AM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart holding room to  
motorcade

12:00 NOON Senator and Mrs. Dole depart convention center  
via motorcade to airport

12:30 PM CDT Motorcade arrives airport

12:45 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart Austin via  
Northwest Charter #1976 for Hot Springs,  
Arkansas

2:00 PM CDT Arrive Hot Springs Memorial Airport

Manager: Ralph Disheroon  
(501) 624-3306

HOT SPRINGS

ADVANCE: Joe Reppert  
(501) 623-3311

PRESS: Rocky Kuonen  
(501) 623-3311x920

2:15 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart via motorcade to  
Velda Rose Hotel

2:35 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive Velda Rose Hotel  
and proceed to Cooper Suite

Manager: Leonard Ellis  
(501) 623-3311

Administrative Time - Cooper Suite - 20 minutes

(MORE)

HOT SPRINGS - SEPTEMBER 11, 1976 (continued)

2:55 PM CDT Senator Dole departs Cooper Suite for  
press conference

3:00 PM CDT Press Conference - Velda Rose Hotel

3:30 PM CDT Press Conference concludes  
PRESS FILING TIME - 1 hour

3:35 PM CDT Senator Dole proceeds to private meetings  
with state professional and executive  
groups  
CONTACT: Bob Luther  
Arkansas State GOP  
(501) 372-7301

4:30 PM CDT Senator Dole returns to Cooper Suite for  
administrative time and dinner with Mrs. Dole

7:10 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart suite for reception

7:15 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive reception in Trojan  
Room - Velda Rose Hotel  
NOTE: Fundraising reception - \$500 per year  
contributors

7:35 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart reception for  
motorcade

7:40 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart via motorcade for  
convention center

7:45 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive convention center  
and proceed to assembling of head table in  
convention auditorium  
Manager: Earl Jones  
(501) 321-1700

8:00 PM CDT Introduction of head table - ARKANSAS STATE  
GOP CONVENTION  
CONTACT: A. Lynn Lowe  
State GOP Chairman  
(501) 372-7301

(MORE)



HOT SPRINGS - SEPTEMBER 11, 1976 (continued)

8:10 PM CDT Senator Dole introduced by  
Congressman John Hammerschmidt (unopposed)

8:15 PM CDT Remarks - SENATOR BOB DOLE

8:40 PM CDT Senator Dole concludes remarks and departs  
podium for motorcade

8:50 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart convention center  
via motorcade for airport

9:10 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive Hot Springs  
Memorial Airport

9:20 PM CDT Senator and Mrs. Dole depart via Northwest  
charter #1976 for Washington

12:25 AM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive Dulles International  
Airport, Washington, D.C.

Senator and Mrs. Dole depart for residence

1:15 AM EDT Senator and Mrs. Dole arrive residence

