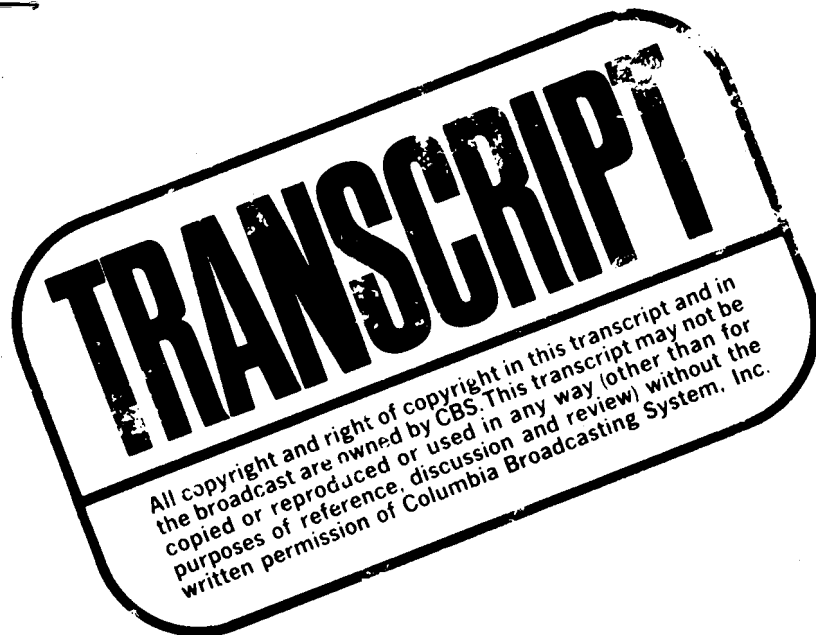


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FACE THE NATION
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GUEST: GERALD R. FORD
President of the United States

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

Jan

FROM: ~~CONNIE GERRARD~~

for campaign file

*(He said nice things
about TT in election)*

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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 MAY 2, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER (R., Ariz.)

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Catherine Mackin - NBC News

David Kraslow - Cox Newspapers

Nick Thimmesch - Los Angeles Times Syndicate

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee for President in 1964. Senator Goldwater is a member of the Senate committees on Armed Services, Intelligence and Space. His latest book, "The Coming Break Point" warns that if government bureaucracy and the welfare state are not curbed the American system may be on the way out.

We will have the first questions now from Catherine Mackin of NBC News.

MS. MACKIN: Senator, have you decided whether you will support President Ford or Ronald Reagan for the Republican Presidential nomination?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I will support anybody the Republican Party nominates and work very hard at it.

MS. MACKIN: What do you think of the drubbing that President Ford took in Texas yesterday, and what does it mean to him in terms of getting the nomination?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, it didn't surprise me. To start with, President Ford has no organization in any state that I have been in, and Reagan has a fabulous organization in every state that I have been in, including my own.

I don't think the victory in Texas means that the race is going to go to Reagan. Frankly, I don't see how the incumbent can be beaten. It has happened I think only

once or twice in our history, and particularly in these ^{troubled} times, /times as they are, I doubt very seriously that Ford will be beaten.

MS. MACKIN: Senator, is there any reason that President Ford should not be nominated? You are holding back on whether you will support him. Has he done anything as President that the party should deny him the nomination?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, I don't know why he should be denied the nomination, to be honest with you. He is being charged by Governor Reagan with, for example, the Panama Canal situation, and the military situation. I thought these would be very vulnerable points, and I tried to tell the President to be ready for it. I think that if the President would counter with our actual state of preparedness, and a good question to ask, because I am as strongly in favor of keeping the Canal as anyone in the country: Are you willing to go to war over it? What do you propose? Because I firmly believe that unless we come to some agreement with the Panamanian government there is going to be guerrilla war in that section.

MS. MACKIN: Senator, what about the problem now as we get closer to convention time and to the election, the problem of dividing the party? If Ford and Reagan keep going at each other and the President does suffer any additional defeats, what can that do to party unity?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, this has me bothered, and I spoke to my state convention last week in Arizona and warned them that we are heading for the same thing that I went through in 1964, where some 6 to 8 million Republicans sloughed off. Now, they didn't leave me for the same reason that they could leave Ford, if Ford is the nominee, and we assume he will be. The Reagan people are religiously dedicated to Reagan. So much so, for example, in my state, they denied Senator Fannon who has been governor of the state three times and senator twice, denied him a seat as a delegate to the national convention.

Now, if that kind of division keeps on across this country, then I am afraid this little minority party that I represent, the Republican party, is going to have a hard time electing whoever they nominate in November.

* * *

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. KRASLOW: Senator, the nomination of Governor Carter now seems likely and perhaps that is an understatement. What does a Carter candidacy do to a Republican presidential campaign strategy that is premised in large measure on a solid base in the south. Does it dictate, for example, the naming of a southerner on a Republican ticket?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: No, I don't think so. I don't know how strong Carter really is in the south. I would assume him to be strong, but the question that keeps haunting me -- and I don't like to be haunted by the Democratic party, but I have to consider it -- is, will the southern Democrats allow -- I mean the northern Democrats, allow a southerner to head their party, and we retain control of it for many, many years?

I have a lot of regard for Carter and I would be very glad to talk about him, but I don't believe he is going to be the candidate. I still haven't that feeling.

MR. KRASLOW: You surprise me. Upon what would you base that analysis? How can Carter be denied the nomination? Who do you see on the horizon?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I still see Hubert. I listened to his statement of refusal the other day and if that wasn't filled with hand-engraved invitations I have never seen one. And I think when the time comes -- the northern party members and the westerners say, "We don't want a southerner to head our

party," that may be the time, but I am beginning to think Carter shows more and more strength.

MR. KRASLOW: Can the Republican party win a general election without a solid base in the south realistically?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, we have done it before. On the other hand, we have lost it. I won every southern state and got the hell beat out of me. But I think we still have a good Republican base in the South. It is not as strong as the Democratic base, but it is there. They are young people, and I think they will back the Republican nominee.

MR. KRASLOW: You won only five southern states, as I recall.

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, there are some southern states that I don't call southern states. I don't think Texas is a southern state.

MR. THIMMESCH: Senator, back in 1964 you were called an extremist by your political enemies and now you are talking about some extremism in this Republican primary campaign. Could you comment on that a bit? For instance, I understand you are getting letters calling Barry Goldwater a communist. Is that so?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Yes, I think that the Republican party is going through pretty much the same thing it went through when I was running and I would say a lot of the same people who were backing me are just as viciously and strongly

backing Reagan. Now, I like Reagan and if you want to back him, back him, but I don't like people writing me and calling me a communist because I haven't openly supported Reagan.

This is the type of thing, and it is as old as the hills, as you know, in political campaigning, to downgrade you if you don't perform as they think you should perform.

MR. THIMMESCH: Now, you have said the Reagan people are tearing up the party in Arizona. Do you see this happening in other states and what is going to happen in California where there will be a big primary?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, California is, of course, the biggest state and right now it doesn't look like Reagan can take California, and I know that will shock some people because he has been Governor, but I have never known a Governor any place in this country to be Governor more than once and retain his popularity. This is true wherever I have been experiencing politics across this country.

The feeling right now is that Ford will take California, but there will probably be more division out there than we have seen in other states.

Again, referring back to Texas, yesterday you have to remember that Democrats and Republicans can cross lines and the big question is, how many George Wallace people voted for Reagan because they can't do that and remain Democrats? They

will have to cross over and register Republican to vote a Republican candidate.

MR. THIMMESCH: How do you feel, looking back and seeing your own supporters calling you an extremist today, people who have been on your side all these years?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Oh, that doesn't bother me. Like old Harry Truman said, if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.

I don't care what I am called as long as my kids like me and my wife likes me. I will get along.

MR. MONROE: Senator Goldwater, is that a good political system, to allow Democrats to cross over and vote in Republican primaries?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I don't think it is. I think the end result of this could very well be an open primary, which I think would be disastrous to our two-party system. If we start having open primaries in this country, then nine big states will select the candidate and nine big states will elect who they want and we will wind up with small states like mine sharing Senate seats with maybe five or six other states, and states like New York and California, instead of having two Senators, might have 10 or 12, and they do bad enough with two.

MR. MONROE: Senator, you have a reputation for candor. You have said here today that there is no reason why President Ford should be denied the nomination; you have praised him in

recent speeches; you are apparently working with his steering committee. Why don't you come right out and endorse him against Reagan?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Because I said I wouldn't. I don't think that a former candidate for President should make a statement that "I support this man or that man" because it might carry the inference that I would expect the 27-odd million people who voted for me to think that is a signal and I don't think I have that power nor should I have it, and I have told both men that I would stay out of it, and I have told both men if they want to talk with me at any time I would be glad to talk with them and both men talk to me, wanting advice on this, advice on that.

They don't follow that advice, but they ask me.

MR. MONROE: Some Republicans say President Ford is not a conservative. They point to some appointments, they say he fired Secretary Schlesinger, they point to other things. Why should a conservative vote for Ford against Reagan?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, I am called a conservative, and you could take Ford's voting record and compare it with mine, and there might be two percent difference. I have always said if you put Reagan in one hand and Ford in the other hand and turn the lights out, you wouldn't know who the hell you had in either hand, because of their ^{political} philosophy. They are almost identical. But even conservatives disagree amongst ourselves. I don't worry about that. I think there should be disagreement, but I think Ford is a very conservative man. Now, as far as Schlesinger, he wanted his own man, and he got Don Rumsfeld, and Don Rumsfeld in my book is just as tough as Schlesinger, and he is proving to be a very good Secretary of Defense.

MS. MACKIN: Senator, if the President is as conservative as you say, what is it that is bugging the Republican right about the President? Could he do anything that would satisfy them?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, let me try to explain that. And I found this out when I ran for President, I found in studying the office, in studying what I could and couldn't do,



that there were many things that, as a conservative I would like to do, but I absolutely couldn't do. No. 1, regardless of which Republican is elected President he will have a Democrat Congress, so right there he is stopped; and a Congress that is more and more opposed to the Presidency, more and more operative in the fields of denying the President the things that he really wants to do; and I think the country would like to have him do. Then there are other precedents that the general public know nothing of; there are things that have been done that you can't change, and the Republican party will not understand that.

MS. MACKIN: On the Panama Canal, you raised it earlier in the program, who is right on that? Whose position do you support, Ford's or Reagan's?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I have to support Ford's position on it, and I think Reagan would too if he knew more about it. As I say, I am as completely opposed to giving that canal away as anyone. I also know from personal visits to that part of the world and my personal friendship with people in that part of the world that unless the United States begins to bend a little bit -- now, this could be a gradual little more economic control, a gradual little less military occupation, that we are going to be faced with the problem of guerrilla warfare, whether we like it or not. And the question is --

the question I ask anyone who comes to me on the subject: "Are you willing to go to war over the Panama?"

Now, I would say 10, 15 years ago the answer would have been yes, but I can tell you that this Congress is not going to allow the President to use arms to defend our position in Panama.

And another thing: We have been in off-and-on discussions about the Panama since 1964, and we haven't decided on a single line, yet, where we can say "Let's depart from here and go."

I think probably a year from now you will begin to see some agreements being formulated that the American people will know about, the Congress will know about, and then we can start serious talk about it.

I would like to see Governor Reagan stop this talk on it because someday someone is going to say "Well, now, Governor, what would you do about it?"

MR. KRASLOW: Senator, our policy in Africa is becoming an issue in this campaign. In light of Congress blocking continued American intervention in Angola, how credible are the warnings of President Ford and Secretary Kissinger about further Soviet and Cuban adventurism?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I think that depends a lot on where that adventurism might take place. First of all, I think the Congress made a dreadful mistake in what we did in Angola.

I think it has almost wiped out any chance we have in having full companionship with the African nations as they develop. But I think that the statement, for example, that Kissinger made in Rhodesia the other day, while I don't completely support it, I think it is a natural one for this country to make. I just don't want to see us get spread too thin in promises that we may not be able to keep, because the Congress might say no.

You have to keep in mind that this very silly War Powers Act that was passed a few years ago prevents the President of our country from really acting as the commander in chief.

MR. KRASLOW: Let's deal with a concrete example. If the Cubans intervened in Rhodesia, what action if any by the United States government would you recommend?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, if they intervened now, after the Secretary of State has said we are going to support the blacks in their desire to participate in government, I don't think we could do anything about the Cubans. That is the situation that has pretty well been outlined by the Secretary of State, and I don't think that example could be followed. You might pick some other example, and we would be better able to talk about it.

MR. KRASLOW: What kind of a job do you think Secretary of State Kissinger has done, and do you think he ought to



remain on the job?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, for the first time since World War II, this country is not at war. We are not killing American men, and I think on that point alone I can give him a good score.

When people attack Kissinger I say, "All right, stop. Name me a Secretary of State you have liked in your whole life," and they never can think of one. And I can't, either. It is a tough job, and I think he is doing a good job. It is sort of a one-man diplomacy. We haven't had this since the days of Dulles. But I will back Kissinger; as long as we don't go to war and as long as we don't put this country in a position of possibly having to go to war, I think the Secretary of State can be said to be doing a good job.

MR. THIMMESCH: Senator, why didn't you sign the Church Committee Report on Intelligence?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Well, I didn't sign either one of them because I didn't think either report was worth signing.

MR. THIMMESCH: But weren't you yourself a victim of government surveillance from time to time?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Oh, I imagine so. I think I was back in 1964 under President Johnson, but again, that didn't bother me.

MR. THIMMESCH: Well, don't you think these kind of

abuses, though, had to be looked at, and there had to be some reform in this area?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I think the abuses that we have uncovered have all stemmed from the White House, and I don't care what President it was. If you call those things "abuses," they came from the President, and they had to, because there is no way in the world that anybody can order an assassination except the President. There is no way in the world -- well, there are ways that your life could be looked into, your phone could be tapped; but you would have to be very suspect, and I would say, knowing you, that you needn't worry about that.

MR. THIMMESCH: Thank you, Senator.

Are you saying then that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were aware of assassination plots?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I feel they were from the evidence that I sat and heard. I don't know how they could have been in the White House and not known of these plots.

MR. MONROE: Senator Goldwater, do you feel it was a mistake for Secretary Kissinger to talk in Africa about America's policy of unrelenting opposition to the white minority government policy of Rhodesia?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Yes, in a way. I have been to Rhodesia quite a few times. I know their people. I know it is a very tough situation. There are about 17 black tribes. They don't agree amongst themselves. The younger blacks want participation in government and I can't blame them. Some of the older blacks don't seem to care. But with only 300,000 whites living in a country with about four and a half million blacks, I think the day has to come when the black man has a part in the government that affects his life.

It is a hard question because they are very friendly people. Friendly to us. They fought on our side in World War II. Ian Smith, himself, was a pilot in World War II. They are good people. They are people that I think should, on their own hook, without being pushed by anybody, just tell the blacks, "We are going to take you into government."

MR. MONROE: But if they don't do that, should not the U. S. express opposition to their policy of not going in the direction of majority rule?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I have the feeling they are going in that direction. I think the talks that Smith has been having with Great Britain indicate that the talks are in that.

I don't know how they can go in any other direction. Knowing Smith as I do, he is not a man who is going to propose procedures that are going to result in the demolishing of 300,000 people. And also the economy of a very productive part of this world.

MR. MONROE: Secretary Kissinger said in Africa that the Administration will try to get the Congress to repeal the Byrd Amendment which permits us to buy chrome from Rhodesia. Will the Congress do that?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I hope not.

MR. MONROE: You are opposed to repeal?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I don't like to buy anything from Russia we can buy from somebody else at about half the price.

MR. MONROE: We have about two minutes.

MS. MACKIN: If we could return to the question of intelligence, now that the investigations are over, there is talk or there will be an effort to have an oversight committee with stronger powers, also equally, on the other side, there will be those who oppose this. What do you think is going to happen in the Congress or will things stay as they have been?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I think things will stay pretty much as they have been, with the committees charged with oversight retaining that prerogative and knowing that they have to do a better job of it.

I happen to be a member of the Oversight Subcommittee of

the Armed Services Committee, and I have to admit that we haven't done as complete a job as we should. On the other hand, there are a lot of these things I don't think the American people should know about.

When you are talking about covert operations in intelligence, I think most of this stuff should go in the ears and eyes of a handful of people who know what to do with it.

MR. KRASLOW: Senator, you were quoted a while back as saying that the government has information that the Soviets have infiltrated at least seven to nine Senate committee or personal staffs. Where do you get that information, and do you believe it to be true?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I got it from Vice President Rockefeller flying to the funeral of Chiang Kai-shek, and he told me not once but at least three times, and I repeated it to the committee, and they had it investigated and the FBI said there was nothing to it.

MR. KRASLOW: What sort of documentation did the Vice President give you?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: He didn't give me anything but his word, and I happened to take it. I will take his word.

MR. KRASLOW: Do you know where he got the information?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: He was Chairman of a committee that studied intelligence before our committee even got started, and that is where it came from.

MR. KRASLOW: Do you know which Senators he had in mind?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: No, he didn't tell me.

MR. MONROE: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up before we can get a question from Mr. Thimmesch.

Thank you very much, Senator Goldwater, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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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, JUNE 13, 1976

GUEST:

JOHN B. CONNALLY - Former Secretary of the
Treasury and former Governor of Texas

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Tom Pettit - NBC News

George Will- Syndicated Columnist

Lou Cannon - Washington Post

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is John Connally, former Secretary of the Navy under President Kennedy, three times Governor of Texas, and former Secretary of the Treasury and White House adviser under President Nixon.

Mr. Connally switched from Democrat to Republican three years ago. He is considered a possible vice presidential nominee or a possible cabinet member if a Republican wins in November.

We will have the first questions now from Tom Pettit of NBC News.

MR. PETTIT: Governor Connally, could either Reagan or Ford beat Jimmy Carter if the election were today?

MR. CONNALLY: I think the polls would show, Mr. Pettit, that Governor Carter would probably beat either one of them if the elections were held today.

I think, however, that either of them can beat Governor Carter in November. Governor Carter has, up to this point, been running more or less as a free spirit. He now has to assume the responsibilities and the burdens and the actions over the last 25 years of the Democrat party. He is going to have to try to explain their actions and the environment that they have created in Washington in the Congress, and I think we are going to be looking at an entirely different picture this fall from what we are looking at today.

MR. PETTIT: Who would be your candidate? Is your

deafening silence about Ford a repudiation of him?

MR. CONNALLY: No, it isn't at all.

MR. PETTIT: Is it an endorsement?

MR. CONNALLY: No. I understand neutrality in political years is an unprecedented thing, but I, sometime ago, as I told you, or told the press, really, had made up my mind that I was going to spend most of my time working to raise money for the party around the country and to try to help influence some of the congressional races.

MR. PETTIT: Could you support either Reagan or Ford?

MR. CONNALLY: Oh, yes, without any doubt.

MR. PETTIT: Could you accept the No. 2 position on either ticket?

MR. CONNALLY: I am not sure I would under either ticket.

MR. PETTIT: But you might? You would consider it?

MR. CONNALLY: I doubt it. This is an anticipatory question obviously, which I don't like to respond to except simply to say this to you, that I am not a candidate for it. I don't want anything elective or appointive. I never sought but one job in my life and that was Governor of Texas.

Fortunately the people of Texas saw fit to elect me Governor. I didn't seek the job as Secretary of the Navy. I didn't ask to be Secretary of the Treasury. I am not going to seek any job, appointive or elective.

I doubt that it will be offered. I would have doubt that

I would take it if it was offered.

(Announcements)

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MR. WILL: Governor Connally, although you don't want to take a stand on the two principals in the Republican dispute you do have views on almost all the issues.

Let me ask you a few of the issues that divide these men. Mr. Ford says he would like Secretary Kissinger to stay on through another term. Reagan would not. With whom do you agree?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, Mr. Will, I am obviously not in a position to pick a cabinet for either one of them. I think President Ford recognizes that he can't say much other than what he said about Secretary Kissinger. I think Secretary Kissinger has made it clear that he probably is going to gracefully step down at the end of this term regardless of what happens and so I don't think we will be faced with that question at all.

Obviously Secretary Kissinger has been there for a long time and I think spending as long as he has in the Washington environment, there is a certain erosion of support. The President knows that as well as Governor Reagan.

I think the Secretary has done a superb job. I personally think he is wise to step down as he indicates he will.

MR. WILL: Mr. Ford has been running television commercials that suggest that Governor Reagan is a reckless man who might get the country engaged in war. Judging from your knowledge of Ronald Reagan, do you think that is a fair charge?

MR. CONNALLY: No, I think those commercials frankly were a mistake, to run those commercials, particularly in Governor Reagan's home state where I think it was generally conceded that the Governor was going to win that primary in California, take all the votes. I thought it was not good strategy on the part of the President's campaign team to run those kind of commercials.

MR. WILL: Governor Reagan says that United States defenses are slipping and have been slipping for some while and that they are now at a dangerously low level. President Ford disagrees; with whom do you agree?

MR. CONNALLY: Mr. Will, I think they both are saying about the same thing. I think they are answering it in different words. I think they both recognize the facts. The facts are that if you take the entire spectrum of strength of the United States that we are still the strongest nation in the world in my judgment. I think both of them believe that. I think what Governor Reagan is saying is that the Soviets are increasing their men under arms; they have about four and a half million; they are increasing the number of tanks that they have; they have about 42,000 first-line



tanks; they are building a merchant fleet; they are building a submarine fleet that is larger and stronger than ours today, and I think what he is saying is that the Soviets are and have been for some years on a massive military build-up that threatens the future supremacy of the United States and so I think there lies the difference. I think one is talking about the situation that exists today where I think we clearly probably are stronger when you consider all of the nuclear weapons and their impact.

The other is talking about the trends and there is no question in my mind but what the trend is that the Soviets are tending to be stronger, we are tending to be weaker on a relative basis.

MR. CANNON: Governor, Mr. Reagan carried Texas, your state, by a big margin over the President. He has done very well in the other southern states in most cases. Did you think Reagan would be a stronger challenger to Mr. Carter in the South and in the southwestern states?

MR. CONNALLY: Mr. Cannon, that is difficult to say. On the face of it, you would assume so, yes, because he has a -- I must say he has philosophical adherents in the South that are committed to him in such a way that I don't think President Ford could emulate. President Ford doesn't generate that type of enthusiastic support, but what has been seen up to now is a relatively small minority speaking, in effect, in

each of these states.

In Texas, for instance, in the primary I think probably six per cent of the people participated in the Republican primary that will go to the polls in November. So you can't just say one would run stronger than the other.

Beyond any question Governor Reagan's strength is stronger in the South and the southwestern and the western part of the United States than it is elsewhere in the country.

MR. CANNON: Well, overall do you consider that Ford would have a better chance of getting elected or Reagan would?

MR. CONNALLY: I think it depends on their campaign. Now, the polls today indicate that Governor Carter would beat either one of them. The polls today indicate that President Ford will run stronger than Governor Reagan, but frankly we have got a campaign ahead of us. No one knows really what Governor Carter stands for. The American people are not committed to either candidate or either party. There is less party discipline than at any time in my lifetime and I think the winner is going to be determined by the type of campaign that is run and how effective it is, and I must say that neither campaign in the Republican ranks has been noted for the errorless way in which they have been conducted.

MR. CANNON: Last October, Governor, you said that this contest between President Ford and Mr. Reagan would provide some excitement and debate in the Republican party. That it was a good thing for the Party. Has this

succeeded beyond your wildest expectations or do you still think it is a good thing?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, it certainly has provided a lively debate. I don't think it is bad. I think we can unify the party after Kansas City. I think we have to.

If we reach the point where we can't have a discussion and a dialogue and a debate on the issues, we are in sad shape and if the party can't stand that kind of a dialogue then we better do something about it. We might as well do it.

MR. CANNON: Do you see yourself as a principal unifier of the party after the convention?

MR. CONNALLY: Not necessarily. I see myself as one of many who will try to unify the party after Kansas City.

MR. MONROE: Governor Connally, almost exactly a year ago on this program you said if President Ford convinced the American people that he was a leader, the kind that could lead the nation and lead the Free World, you would be delighted to support him for the Republican nomination. A year later you are not supporting him.

Now, aren't you creating the impression that you are sort of standing by, not taking sides, hoping to pick up some political plum or another depending on who wins, Reagan or Ford, that you are sort of the Hubert Humphrey of the Republican party?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, I love Hubert Humphrey, but I sure

don't want to be cast in that light I must say.

No, I am not standing on the sidelines waiting to pick up a plum. I don't want any plums, or positions either.

I do think that my neutrality is being misunderstood in some circles and perhaps by the press as well, but it shouldn't be. I made up my mind a number of months ago, as I said a moment ago in response to Mr. Pettit, that I was going to try to help the Republican party, help build it, help build its strength, build its financial strength, help congressional races around the country and that is what I have been doing.

I frankly think we get all too involved in the presidential primaries.

Everyone thinks that all the effort and energy has to go into the presidential race. The truth of the matter is, I said a year ago, and I will say again today, if I could trade the presidency for control of the Congress for the next four years, I would do it in a minute, Mr. Monroe.

The Democrats have controlled both houses of Congress 38 out of the last 42 years and that is where our trouble lies in this country today. It is not in the White House; it is not in the Executive Branch of government entirely, but in the Congress of the United States, and the idea that some of us are interested in trying to elect Congressmen shouldn't be interpreted in my judgment as standing on the sidelines waiting to act as scavengers, for heaven's sakes.

MR. MONROE: Well, Governor Connally, in the last couple of weeks -- I don't know whether this is publicly known or not -- you apparently have been sending letters out to Republican leaders across the country with a questionnaire on their attitudes and asking them to contribute some money to the Republican campaign, which you say in your letter that you will pass on to the Republican National Committee.

How do you happen to be doing this? Are you doing this with the permission of the Committee or are you doing this on your own?

MR. CONNALLY: No, no. I am doing it not only with their permission, but at their request. I have sent out a great many letters to people around the country asking them for support for the committee. This is entirely consistent with what I set out to do a number of months ago and this is just one of the steps we have taken to bring it about.

MR. MONROE: What about the possibility that the Kansas City Convention might deadlock and turn to you as a compromise candidate?

MR. CONNALLY: I think that is so remote that it is not even within the realm of possibility. I don't think we are going to deadlock there. I think the matter will be decided before we ever get to the Convention, frankly.

Mr. Monroe, you just can't have a deadlock when your two men are running. I just don't believe there are any of these

uncommitted delegates, however many there are, 45 or so, who can hold out to Kansas City. They are going to be under such enormous pressure that I think they are going to make up their minds one way or the other.

MR. PETTIT: Just so I am clear here, you wouldn't mind being President though, would you?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, in some ways I would, yes. I think it has become a very terrible job. It has become a very demanding job. It is a job that requires a total commitment now, not only for yourself, but a total commitment for your wife, for your children and for all your friends.

Time was when the job of President carried with it some aura of respect and dignity and times were such in this country and around the world where the pressures were not constant seven days a week, 24 hours a day, but that time is past.

And now to be President you have to forsake everything else and it is a terrible thing to ask. So in that sense I would not like to be President.

MR. PETTIT: You would take the job though?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, I suppose I would. All things considered, I would say that the President of the United States is the job that carries the greatest potential for making some of the most pervasive changes in this country and around the world and I would guess I would take it.



MR. PETTIT: You have thought a lot about those things and you can look at, say, President Ford's election campaign and analyze what he is doing wrong and how a kind of Reagan tide is beginning here. What do you think the President has done wrong politically?

MR. CONNALLY: I suppose it is not so much what he has done wrong, I suppose it is a question of -- he really hasn't done anything wrong when you get down to it in terms of the normal considerations that you view in a political campaign.

MR. PETTIT: Then why doesn't he have it locked up by now?

MR. CONNALLY: Because many of the things -- we are in a different world; we are in a different environment. The economy is strong. We are at peace around the world. We are in better shape on that score than we have been in a long, long time.

MR. PETTIT: Those aren't secrets to the people who vote, sir.

MR. CONNALLY: I know they are not, but the point I am making is that we are in a different environment from what we traditionally think of. People today are anti-Washington. They are against big government. They are against the big bureaucracy. They are against big federal spending. They are against big deficits. They are against the ever-expanding regulations of an enormous bureaucracy. And the President is against all those things himself, but he has not articulated it in such a way that he has identified with it. The truth of the matter is, and paradoxically, we in the Republican party have let Governor Carter become a symbol of opposition to all of these things. And this is the paradox in

American political life today, and the President frankly is not getting credit for many of the things he is responsible for. The economy is in good shape, the fires of inflation have been banked, the unemployment is coming down, the expansion is continuing apace. He has a great many things that he can be proud of that the Republicans can run on, but they are not articulating as well as they should.

MR. WILL: Governor Connally, you became a Republican in about May 1973, which is not the recent peak of Republican history. That is just when the Watergate scandal was beginning to unravel. The party was weak then and has been getting weaker, some people feel. How can the Republican party reverse this downtrend?

MR. CONNALLY: I think the Republican party has to be more articulate, it has to be more assertive. Frankly, it has to be more argumentative; it has to be more open in the sense that its candidates and its spokesmen are going to have to be more combative, and that includes everybody. That includes the leaders in the executive branch, it includes the leaders in the legislative branch. It includes the governors around the country. It includes everyone who subscribes to the principles that the Republican party stands for. And frankly, we don't have many spokesmen. About the only spokesman we have today is the President.

MR. WILL: If you had to choose between Reagan and Ford,

as you will sooner or later, or the Republican party will, which one of those two men seems to you to be the most articulate, to use the word you emphasize?

MR. CONNALLY: On the face of it, Governor Reagan is certainly more articulate in espousing his particular views and his particular doctrine, which is -- I don't think there is any question about that.

MR. WILL: Governor, at a recent conference here in Washington on foreign policy you indicated alarm that the United States strategic position around the world has been deteriorating and that of our enemies has been enhanced. Is it not unfair to hold that against, as Governor Reagan holds it against the diplomacy and statecraft of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford foreign policy?

MR. CONNALLY: I don't think it is fair to hold it against President Ford at all. After all, he has only been in office a couple of years, less than a couple of years. He certainly is not responsible for many of the things that are happening today. You don't build a strategic force or a conventional military force in two years or four years or six years. What we are witnessing today I think is the decline of the military establishment, beginning really about the mid-'60s in the Johnson years, when the people in the country began to turn against Vietnam and all that it symbolized, including the strength of the military

establishment.

MR. WILL: Governor, you have expressed alarm about the coming vote in Italy and the possibility that Communists might participate in the Italian government. Is there something the United States government should have done that it didn't do to try and influence that election?

MR. CONNALLY: Well, I don't want to try to be specific, because I don't know what all it has done, Mr. Will. I simply say that we have been perhaps derelict over the years in not supporting our allies more strongly than we have, in not pointing out what the Soviets have done. For instance, recently you will recall when the Moro government fell recently, there was a big story the next day that we had given \$6 million to the non-communist parties in Italy. Nobody bothers to point out as everybody in Italy knows the Soviets have been giving the Communist party in Italy from \$75 to 200 million a year for many many years; but nobody writes about it, nobody talks about it. But the fact that we give \$6 million to the non-communist party is suddenly big news. I think we should have given them \$60 million.

You know, at some point we in the United States are going to have to defend this country and our beliefs and our policies and we are going to have to defend and articulate and defend the cause of freedom around the world. And to that extent we have not done it. We have not done it as we should have.

MR. CANNON: Governor, is this organization which you founded to influence the Italian election, the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom, I think it is called, do you view that as something that is going to be an on-going thing, where we are going to have to try to get people in France and other countries over there to vote against Communists, or is this just a one-shot effort for this election?

MR. CONNALLY: No, Mr. Cannon, it is an on-going institution. It is an on-going effort on our part to say not only to the Europeans but to say to the people of the United States that: Look, we get carried away by what happens at Southeast Asia and Vietnam. We get upset about what happens in Angola. But the truth of the matter is if we really put things in perspective, our area of interest in the future of freedom in this world really rests with our relationship with western Europe and the strength of NATO. If we can't protect freedoms in western Europe and the strength of NATO, we can't protect freedoms anywhere in the world. And we are going to have to build on those strengths. This is why Italy is important, because Italy is part of NATO, and it is the underbelly of NATO, and if we can't defend NATO through Italy we are not going to be able to defend it at all.

Indeed, if Communists do get into the government of Italy it is going to require a very substantial reappraisal of our relationship not only with NATO, but with all of

Western Europe.

When you look at the countries of Western Europe there are not many upon which we can rely. So part of what we are doing is not only saying to the people of Italy and Western Europe that: "You have a very significant choice and a very decisive vote coming up here in Italy," but we are saying to the people of the United States, hopefully, that we had better keep our eye on the ball and keep things in perspective in terms of what is important to us and our own freedoms.

MR. CANNON: Governor, that organization which was funded by the Houston fund-raiser called "Vital Issues," I believe, contributed money for this effort you are talking about.

Could you tell us a little bit about how much money is in Vital Issues now and what you expect to have this organization be doing in the months ahead?

MR. CONNALLY: Oh, I don't know how much money is in it, frankly. I don't keep up with it. The Vital Issues run by a Board of Trustees of five people. I would guess there is probably in excess of \$250,000 in it, but that is a sheer guess. Vital Issues has been sponsoring seminars around the country at various universities and it started here. The first one it sponsored was through the Georgetown Institute of Strategic Studies on the Security of the Mediterranean. It sponsored that seminar. It sponsored a seminar in cooperation with the University of Houston, Rice University in Houston, Texas, on energy. It sponsored one in Atlanta with Emory University on Government Regulations, and the Quality of Life in the United States.

On the 28th of this month we are going to U.S.C. IN Los Angeles. We are sponsoring one on multi-national corporations and their impact on world trade.

Vital Issues is also making a grant, a tentative grant, subject, I think, to repayment by the Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom, to place some newspaper ads and to bring this problem into focus.

MR. MONROE: Governor Connally, what do you think of the polls showing that some 35 percent of Reagan and Ford voters say that they are angry enough at the other camp so that if their own man is not nominated, they are going to defect to Jimmy Carter?

MR. CONNALLY: I think there are going to be some defections from either camp to Jimmy Carter. I don't think it will be anything like 35 percent. These polls were taken in the heat of battle and hopefully that heat will subside considerably before they have to vote in November, but I must say the Republicans are also going to have to attract a great many votes away from Carter too if we win this election.

We are going to have to appeal to the Democrats and to the independents and Mr. Carter has his problems as well.

MR. PETTIT: Do you still talk on the phone frequently with Richard Nixon?

MR. CONNALLY: No, I haven't talked to him in some time, Mr. Pettit.

MR. PETTIT: Why is that?

MR. CONNALLY: I just haven't. I guess primarily because of my travel schedule. No reason.

MR. PETTIT: Do you think the Nixon image and the Watergate image and the pardon by Mr. Ford will somehow be shown to have played a part in Mr. Reagan's successes in primaries?

MR. CONNALLY: No, I don't really think so. I think everyone frankly is sick of Watergate.

MR. MONROE: I am sorry to interrupt, but maybe on that note, "sick of Watergate," I can confess our time is up. Thank you, Mr. Connally, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

(Next week: Hamilton Jordan, campaign director for Jimmy Carter.)

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