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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, July 18, 1976 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: SEN. ROBERT DOLE (R.--Kans.)
Temporary Chairman, Republican National
Convention

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

George F. Will, Syndicated Columnist

Phil Jones, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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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, July 25, 1976 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: SEN. JOHN TOWER
Republican of Texas

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

John Lindsay, Newsweek Magazine

Lesley Stahl, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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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 1, 1976 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: SEN. HIGH SCOTT (R.--Penn.)
Senate Minority Leader

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News

Marya McLaughlin, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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AND 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, AUGUST 8, 1976

GUEST:

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON - The Secretary of Commerce

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Hobart Rowen - Washington Post

Rowland Evans - Chicago Sun-Times

John Cochran - NBC News

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson. Mr. Richardson resigned as Attorney General three years ago rather than obey President Nixon's orders to fire special prosecutor Archibald Cox. He recently completed a report about bribery by American companies abroad. During this year's primary election Secretary Richardson campaigned for President Ford and has been mentioned as a possible vice presidential candidate.

We will have the first questions now from John Cochran of NBC News.

MR. COCHRAN: Mr. Secretary, do you have any reason to think you are being considered by President Ford as his runningmate?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Well, I am certainly one of those who are being considered. I take it there are quite a few of us, but I have been asked to submit financial data or at least to assemble financial data and so on in case the field should narrow down and still include me.

MR. COCHRAN: What sort of vice presidential candidate would you make? Would you help Mr. Ford on the ticket? Some people say that you are too liberal and that you are a dull campaigner.

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I think I could help in various ways. For one thing, I think that President Ford needs to

reach behind the Republican party for independent and some Democratic support. I have been a successful campaigner in Massachusetts for Lieutenant Governor and for Attorney General of the state, and you have to win a lot of independents and Democrats to get elected as a Republican there.

And then I think too that my being on the ticket could help to make it possible to maximize the affirmative side of the Nixon and Ford Administration records.

To put it the other way around, to help assure that Watergate is not an issue.

MR. COCHRAN: Well, about that now, not specifically referring to Watergate, but the whole moral climate that exists in this election year, you really have to be cleaner perhaps than in past years, any candidate does. Do you think you would be vulnerable to the charge that you, as Attorney General, let Vice President Agnew off the hook too easily by letting him plead nolo contendere instead of having him plead guilty?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I don't think so. I don't think it should be. The considerations that governed that decision were fully laid out at the time and they included the concern that we might be going forward with a trial or impeachment proceedings against the incumbent vice president, the man next in line to the presidency at the very same time that the President himself was in deep trouble over Watergate, and it

would seem to me that if we could obtain the resignation of the Vice President on a basis that made the facts fully available to the public and on a basis which was a matter of record in open court, that this was in the public interest.

(Announcements)

* * *

MR. ROWEN: Mr. Secretary, the rate of unemployment in the country increased last month to 7.8 percent of the labor force. Over a two months' period it has increased from 7.3 to 7.8, a full half point. Also the rate of inflation has increased in the second quarter compared to the first.

Doesn't this change in the direction constitute a blow to the idea that the nation is enjoying a rapid recovery and isn't it as well a political blow to President Ford?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Well, I think it is a disappointment certainly, Mr. Rowen, but I don't think it points to a conclusion that the recovery is faltering or that the forecasts by the Administration for the year are off from the figures earlier. In fact, the Congressional Budget Committee, which, of course, is dominated by the Democratic majority, has recently generally confirmed the Administration's projections for overall growth for the year.

As far as unemployment last month is concerned, I think it is important to emphasize that although unemployment increased, so also did employment. We went up by 400,000

additional jobs. The problem was that the number of people entering the labor market increased by 700,000, which is half a million more than an ordinary one-month period, and we have perhaps a record participation now by people of working age in the labor market.

MR. ROWEN: But by that same token, Mr. Secretary, if the labor force increased that much and jobs weren't available, isn't that a sign that the recovery is not all that steady or strong?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: No, because I think the -- the fact we were able to absorb that many additional people, 400,000 in one month, is a sign of the fact that the recovery is still moving forward. Not only that, but the average duration of unemployment went down; teen-age unemployment went down, and what happened was that a larger than usual number of mainly women entered the labor market and are now seeking jobs, but I don't think it is indicative of any retarding of the pace of the recovery.

MR. ROWEN: But in terms of political impact, the Administration has been saying all along that the direction of these numbers would be right, that gradually through the summer and early fall that the rate of unemployment would be coming down. Now we have had what amounts to quite a reversal. The projection for the year is 7.3 percent, but to get to that you would have to have a drop in the

unemployment rate to 6.5 by the end of the year. Do you think that is possible?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I think it could be under 7 by the end of the year. I think it would be hard to do much better than that, but it can drop over the next several months and I think is very likely to, given the improbability of another increase in the labor force as unusual as the one we had last month.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Secretary, you said, in answering Mr. Cochran, that as a vice presidential candidate with Mr. Ford you would help to reduce the impact of Watergate as an issue. Do you think that is true of the Secretary of the Treasury and former Governor of Texas, John Connally?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I think John Connally would bring a different set of assets to the campaign obviously than I would. He is a man of impressive public stature and certainly a very effective speaker, campaigner. Whether or not that liability would create problems, I think is probably inappropriate for me to try to comment on at this stage now that I have, in effect, indicated that I would be willing to be considered as a possible nominee.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Secretary, you just used the word liability, which is a comment on Secretary Connally, it seems to me. Do you think he would be a liability?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: No. I was referring to the



combination of qualities and attributes that he has, that anyone has. All possible candidates represent a different mixture of assets and liabilities.

MR. EVANS: Let me try to pin that down, sir. Do you feel that former Governor Connally, as some of your colleagues in the House, Congressman Cohen, Congressman Railsback of Illinois, have said, Paul Findley of Illinois, would be a disaster, or a drag, or a real handicap to President Ford if he were to be on the ticket?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I think that the views reflected by those congressmen are typical of concerns that many people, particularly in the northern and northeastern parts of the country have, and speaking as a northeasterner, I can attest to the reality of those concerns.

On the other hand, Governor Connally has other strengths and the problem I think is for the President to decide -- which only he can decide -- what, on balance, is going to help him most.

MR. MONROE: Secretary Richardson, although you were the principal hero of the so-called Saturday Night Massacre when you refused to fire special prosecutor Archibald Cox, wouldn't you, as a vice presidential candidate, have some problems with a "too close to Nixon, too close to Watergate" kind of charge? For example, isn't it correct that you tried to stop Archibald Cox from probing White House wiretaps on

Administration aides and journalists?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Let me speak first on the broader question. I don't think I would have any problem on this score. Everything I have done or touched in this whole context is a matter of detailed public record as a result of the Senate hearings held following my resignation

Now, on the question of Cox' role with respect to wiretaps, this is a matter that we discussed. It was a question at that time whether it was within the jurisdiction of the special prosecutor to go into this, whether it was a "watergate" matter, given the fact that a civil suit had already been brought against various Administration figures, including the Secretary of State, or whether this was a matter that belonged in the jurisdiction of the Civil Division which was then handling it.

We looked into this issue, discussed the question of whether there might be any violation of the Civil Rights Act, whether or not there was any criminal problem and this was a matter that Mr. Cox and I discussed, but I was in no position to tell Mr. Cox what he could or could not do.

My fundamental commitment was to his independence, and any discussion we had over jurisdictional matters was in that framework.

MR. MONROE: Well, you gave him some advice expressing

doubt as to whether he should go into the wiretaps at that time, is that not correct?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I did, and I think he basically agreed with me.

MR. MONROE: As Defense Secretary, did you not go along with the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam ordered by President Nixon?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I was then Secretary of HEW. I had no advance notice that this was going to be done. Later, as Secretary of Defense, I said that I believed that it had been justified as a means of showing the North Koreans that we were very serious about trying to get the talks resumed and I pointed to the precision of the bombing in the light of the aerial photography that had been taken. It was not, as it has sometimes been referred to, a carpet bombing of Hanoi. It was very precise and it was that kind of thing that I tried to emphasize, after I came in as ASecretary of Defense on January 20th.

MR. COCHRAN: If I may follow up, Mr. Secretary, my earlier question about former Vice President Agnew, you apparently are not second-guessing yourself at all in letting him plead nolo contendere instead of guilty, but let's say you were the vice presidential runningmate of Mr. Ford. The Democrats go after Mr. Ford on the Nixon pardon. At least Mr. Mondale may, Mr. Carter says he won't. Then Elliot

Richardson is Mr. Ford's runningmate and then they go after you by saying that you let the Vice President off the hook and here we have Mr. Agnew now coming out of his shell and saying that he was indeed not guilty and never pleaded guilty; he pleaded nolo contendere so we never know.

Therefore, people can say Mr. Ford and Mr. Richardson let these two people off and we are never able to get to the heart of the matter.

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Well, he was sentenced in the first place. In the second place, I insisted upon filing with the court a full summary of all the government's evidence against Mr. Agnew. That evidence had been taken under oath and it is true that that evidence, if believed by a jury, would have justified the jury in finding Mr. Agnew guilty of many more crimes than he was ever charged with.

But the problem I had was whether, in effect, to force him to trial, knowing that this could have taken -- given the preparation for trial, the trial itself and appeals, probably at least two years. All I can say is that I would submit to the judgment of others the question of whether I was right or not. I think I was right.

I think that the most important thing in any event that I insisted on from the outset was that all aspects of this be made a matter of public record so people would be free to make up their minds, criticize if they saw fit.

MR. MONROE: Concerning the President and vice presidential race, if indeed it is that, do you agree with some of your former colleagues such as Representative John Anderson of Illinois, who says that a southerner should not be Mr. Ford's runningmate; that this could only hurt the President's election chances?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Well, I personally think the President is going to have to seek (1) to broaden the base of the constituency prepared to vote for him, and he is going to have to look at the combination of electoral votes that he has the best chance of winning, and I think that that combination of considerations would lead him to conclude that he probably doesn't have much chance of winning the South.

MR. ROWEN: Mr. Secretary, the President, through your office at the Department of Commerce, has sent Congress a proposal for disclosure of all payments by corporations to foreign governments whether they are legal payments or bribes, payoffs or anything else.

As a former law enforcement official yourself, wouldn't you say that a more direct and traditional approach might have been the plain, simple outlawing of the payment of bribes?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: That certainly was the principal alternative we considered and it is an obvious alternative. The only trouble with it is that it wouldn't work as well or

be as effective as the course we chose.

MR. ROWEN: Would you explain why not?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: For two reasons basically:

One is that the payments in question are payments made in another country. This means then that in order to develop proof that anybody violated a criminal law against paying a bribe in another country, the United States would somehow or other have to carry out an investigation there. This raises serious practical questions as well as questions of the extra territorial application of U.S. law.

Another thing is that bribery is very hard to prove anyway.

So, we concluded that it would be a more effective deterrent against improper payments to require their disclosure and to make it a crime willfully to fail to report the payment. That means then that all we need to prove to establish the crime is that the payment was made and not reported.

MR. ROWEN: Well, as I understand the proposal, the disclosure would be withheld from the public for a year. Is that correct?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: The information reported to the government would be withheld for a year, yes. It would, however, be transmitted promptly to the government of the country where the payment was made with the idea that that

country -- after all, if you bribe the official of another country, that is a crime under the law of that country.

MR. ROWEN: But, nevertheless, doesn't that involve what is in effect a cover-up of information that is disclosed and aren't you really asking government lawyers who should be officers of the court who normally are supposed to report immediately any knowledge of wrongdoing, to cover it up for a year.

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: No, because it is, of course, available to the U. S. Department of Justice; it is available to the law enforcement officials of the other country and since the disclosure requirement of names the recipients of other of payments like this except under the SEC laws is not now required would be less of a cover-up, or permit less cover-up than is now possible.

MR. ROWEN: There are some companies that have said publicly that they have engaged in bribery and will continue to do so. At least in a small way. If these come to your attention, what would you recommend be done with those companies, simply recognize the fact they are acknowledging bribery and take no legal action?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: Under existing law, the only possible legal action might be legal action that might arise under the Revenue laws, for example, ^{or} where the payments had been deducted as a business expense which would be improper

and illegal.

If there had been a failure to report a material payment under the Securities and Exchange Act, which could also be a violation of law. Those things should certainly be pursued by law enforcement officers and I would make sure that they knew about them.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Secretary, your comment a minute ago that the Watergate connection of Governor Connally would definitely hurt him in the northeast, you said, "I can attest to that from what I personally know," and you also just told us that you think a Southerner would be bad for the ticket because the President wouldn't get the electoral votes with a Southerner on the ticket.

Now that takes care of Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee.

Who does that leave as a leading candidate for Vice President other than Elliot Richardson?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I didn't eliminate Senator Howard Baker by that analysis --

MR. EVANS (interposing): He is a Southerner is he not?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON (continuing): -- or Governor Connally.

Well, he is a Senator from a border state. He has certainly broader appeal than to the South or to the border states.

I really don't think I can -- I am not in a position to weigh the potential benefits of all the candidates now being considered. This is a process the President is going through. I take it whatever my own chances I am among those who are being looked at.

MR. EVANS: Would you be a little more specific on this question of how the President broadens his electoral strength. If Connally were on the ticket there are those who believe he would bring in Texas, which is a sizeable number of electoral votes.

What other vice presidential candidate could bring in a big state?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I am not sure. I don't think that any of the candidates whose names are commonly mentioned is perhaps of as relatively great stature in as big a state as Governor Connally is in his own.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Secretary, isn't the team of Carter



and Mondale going to be hard for Republicans to run against in this season, particularly considering the polls show a two to one advantage at this time for the Democratic ticket?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I think it is an up-hill fight all right Mr. Monroe but I don't think it is going to be a hard ticket to run against in the sense that you have at the head of the ticket a man who succeeded to an extraordinary degree in persuading conservatives that he was conservative and liberals that he was liberal and populists that he is a populist and he has been able, I think, to achieve this because the process of primary campaigning didn't force him to pin down his positions.

Now he is joined with a liberal Democratic senator who has positions and votes on a great many things on the liberal side of the Democratic spectrum.

Certainly the first step in any campaign against a Democratic ticket is to seek to force the Democratic nominee Governor Carter, to be clear about where he stands within the spectrum of Democratic positions.

MR. MONROE: Are you a liberal Republican, particularly going back to when you were Secretary of HEW, many conservatives looked on some of the positions you took with regard to busing, with regard to welfare, education, spending, day care, as liberal positions?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I supported President Nixon's busing legislation which seemed to me a moderate and sensible way of trying to get guidelines established that were more consistent than the very variable results of individual court cases.

In welfare reform of course I was supporting the administration's bill, which I still think was a sound approach to establishing a minimum floor of income for all families while associating with it a strong work requirement for those able to work.

On day care, I started out working toward what I hoped would be a reasonable bill but I think that the ultimate veto of the legislation by President Nixon was, as I said at the time, the right result.

MR. MONROE: We have just about five seconds.

You don't think the word Liberal applied to you makes sense?

SECRETARY RICHARDSON: I am certainly not as "liberal" as, say, Senator Schweiker. I think I am a moderately progressive Republican in the mainstream of the Party.

MR. MONROE: I am sorry to interrupt but our time is up. Thank you, Mr. Secretary, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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NEXT WEEK: One-hour Special. Reagan Campaign Director

John Sears, followed by Vice President Rockefeller.